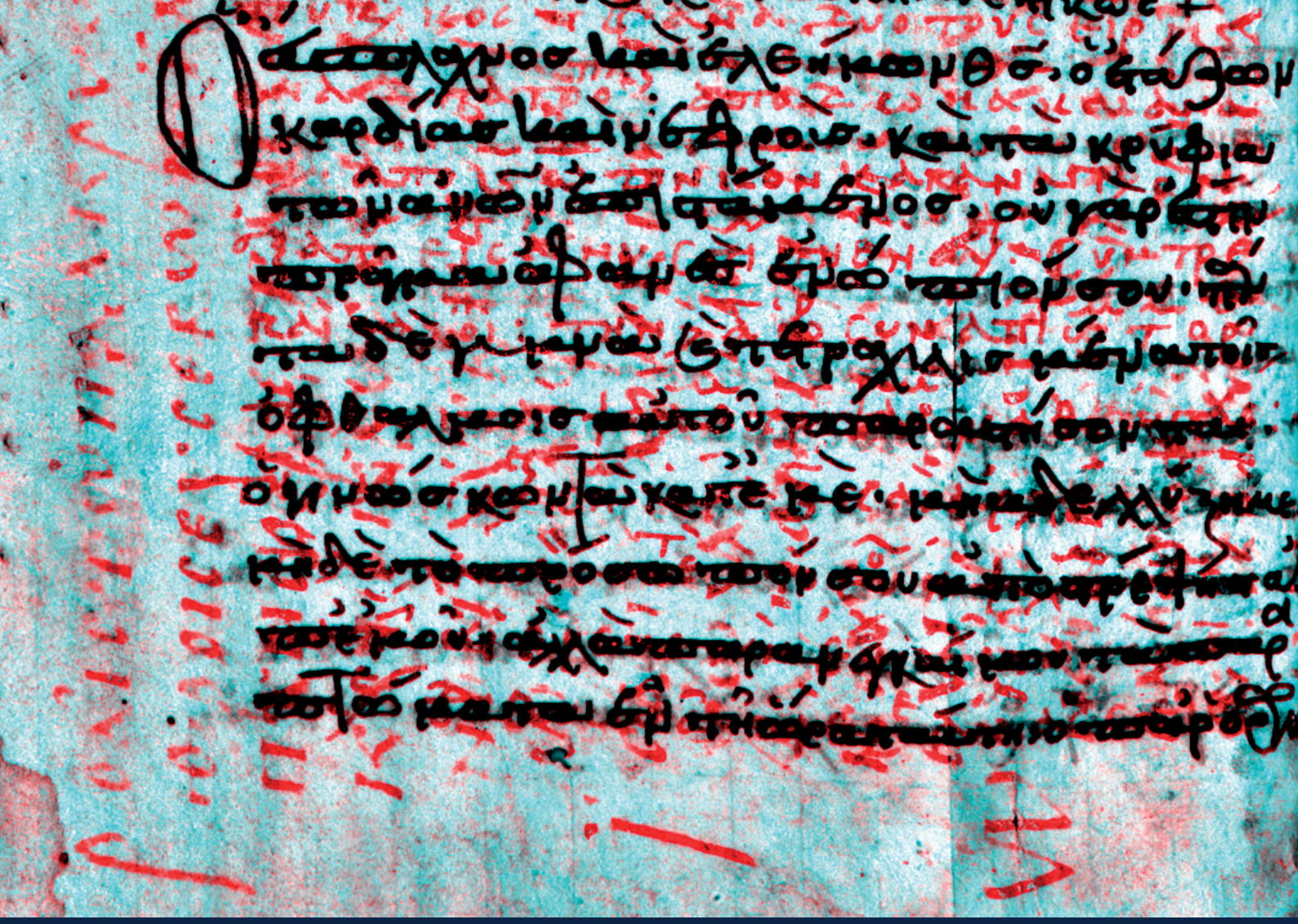


Greek Palimpsests at Saint Catherine's Monastery (Sinai)

Three Euchologia as Case Studies

Giulia Rossetto

AUSTRIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES PRESS

GIULIA ROSSETTO

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PHILOSOPHISCH-HISTORISCHE KLASSE
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GIULIA ROSSETTO

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FOREWORD

Giulia Rossetto first came to Sinai in September, 2014, to help create catalogue entries for the Sinai Palimpsests Project. These catalogue entries controlled the entire process in which manuscripts with erased layers of text were photographed with multispectral imaging. Over the course of repeated visits, as her familiarity with the Sinai manuscripts increased, she became especially interested in the Sinai Prayer Books. Saint Catherine's Monastery has the largest collection of Euchologia in existence, the oldest dating from the eighth century.

This study presents a masterful overview of the Sinai Euchologia, and the Sinai palimpsests. It examines three Euchologia in detail. For two of these, the author was able to identify folia from the New Finds, recovered from the tower of Saint George in 1975, that had originally been part of these manuscripts, and restore them to their proper place. All three manuscripts are palimpsests, and the study includes an edition of the erased texts.

From a detailed examination of this kind, one can learn much about manuscript production in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. One can also reconstruct lines of communication that linked Sinai to other parts of the world.

This is a masterful study that demonstrates how much we can still learn from the Sinai manuscripts, if we approach them with the same expertise, patience, and tenacity as that exhibited by our author.



Father Justin, Librarian
Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

"You can check out any time you like, but you can never leave". With these words taken from the song 'Hotel California' by the Eagles, Michael Phelps, Director of the Early Manuscripts Electronic Library (EMEL), welcomed me on the occasion of my first visit at the Monastery of Saint Catherine in the Sinai. It was September 2014, I was still completing my Master's degree and had no certainty regarding the future. At that moment, those lyrics became wedged in my mind. Soon after that, I found them to be true: my involvement with the *Sinai Palimpsests Project* began, I visited the monastery several times, and—most importantly—its manuscripts became the focal point first of my doctoral research, and now of my daily research.

However, this would never have been possible without the support, encouragement and generous help of others. First of all, I wish to thank His Eminence Damianos, Archbishop of Sinai, Pharan and Raitho for allowing me to visit the Monastery of Saint Catherine, and also Father Justin Sinaites, the Librarian of Saint Catherine's, for suggesting that I worked on the Sinai manuscripts for my dissertation, for welcoming me several times to the library, and for patiently answering my many questions on the history of the library.

I am extremely grateful to my doctoral advisor, Prof. Claudia Rapp: for taking me to the Sinai as her assistant on the *Sinai Palimpsests Project* starting with that memorable September; for her role in our sketching out together my PhD project at Cairo airport; for involving me in the *Vienna Euchologia Project*; for discussing chapters, doubts and questions at airports, on planes, and in many other locations; for her mentorship, kindness, and constant encouragement. To her goes my deepest gratitude. Thanks are also due to Michael Phelps, Executive Director of EMEL and Director of the *Sinai Palimpsests Project*, for giving me the chance to be part of the project and for providing me with full access to all the collected data (the multispectral images of the palimpsests and their descriptions). During the project, I have had the opportunity to meet brilliant colleagues from different backgrounds and with different expertise: from data management to imaging science. I am particularly grateful to have met Damianos Kasotakis, who introduced me to the operation of a multispectral imaging system and to the imaging capture of palimpsest manuscripts (he is also to be thanked for providing technical and moral support in assembling this book); the same goes for Roger Easton and David Kelbe, who guided my first steps in the art of image processing: Dave with Skype tutorials (2015–2016), and Roger by hosting me for a month at the Center for Imaging Science at the Rochester Institute of Technology, NY (April–May 2016).

In Vienna, thanks to my affiliation with the *Vienna Euchologia Project* led by Claudia Rapp, I have greatly benefitted from the advice, help, and support of team-members Eirini Afentoulidou, Daniel Galadza, Ilias Nesseris, and Elisabeth Schiffer. The project's research trips to the Holy Monastery of Saint John the Theologian in Patmos (October 2016), the Library of the Monumento Nazionale della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata and the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (March 2017), the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (August 2018), and the Bodleian Library in Oxford (August 2019), each constituted invaluable moments for learning from the expertise of the others, and for collecting material and ideas which have fed into this work too.

For discussing palaeographical issues and problems of terminology, I am grateful to Ernst Gamillscheg, Anna Gioffreda, Jana Grusková, Pasquale Orsini, Rudolf Stefec; for their help with Arabic, Georgian, and Syriac, I thank respectively Alexander Treiger, Tinatin Chronz, and Grigory Kessel. I would also like to thank the following for their insights: Georgios Boudalis, Donatella Bucca, Stig Frøyshov, Petros Koufopoulos, Nina Glibetic, Peter Jeffrey, Alexandra Nikiforova, Nicholas Pickwoad, Gabriel Radle, Irmgard Hutter, Gerda Wolfram.

I would additionally like to thank a number of colleagues from the Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies at the University of Vienna (and some who have spent time there as visiting scholars), and others again at the Institute for Medieval Research of the Department of Byzantine Research of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, for their collegiality as well as scientific and moral support over the years: Andrea Cuomo, Alessandro De Blasi, Maria-Lucia Goiana, Krystina Kubina, Ekaterini Mitsiou, Christodoulos Papavarnavas,

Bojana Pavlovic, Pınar Serdar Dinçer, Grigori Simeonov, Paraskevi Sykopetritou, and Nikolaos Zagklas. Additionally, I thank for their steady encouragement Dirk Hoerder, Jacqueline Jürs, Dimitra Makri, Ida Rupp, and Rebecca Travaglini.

The two anonymous reviewers of this book are deeply to be thanked for the careful reading and detailed suggestions. In addition, a special thanks goes to the reviewers of my dissertation, Filippo Ronconi and Stefanos Alexopoulos, for their thorough advice, and for encouraging me to transform my dissertation into two books, this being the first. The second, on the history of Saint Catherine's collection of manuscripts, is in preparation.

This book, my dissertation, my time in Vienna, and all my research trips would not have been possible without funding. For this I am grateful *in primis* to the University of Vienna for awarding me a three-year Uni:Docs stipendium (October 2015–September 2018). Several research trips to the Sinai were funded by the *Sinai Palimpsests Project*, supported by a grant from the Arcadia Fund London. The funding for the publication of this book comes from the Austrian Sciences Fund (FWF, PUB 910). In this respect, sincere thanks go to Sarah Blair for revising my English, and to Katharina Preindl for her careful work on the layout. Last but not least, I would like to thank the editors of the series *Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung*, Christian Gastgeber and Claudia Rapp, for accepting my monograph and for the constant support in all its phases.

Finally, I wish to thank my family—in particular, my brother Giacomo for drawing the schematic representations of all the manuscripts, my brothers Marco and Francesco for their moral support, and my parents Daniela and Pierpaolo for their love and for having always encouraged me to be curious, to travel, and to look beyond appearances: this not only applies to personal relationships. It also explains my interest and eagerness in trying to decipher texts which are difficult to read, in this case those works which lie erased behind three prayer books preserved at the Monastery of Saint Catherine in the Sinai.

ABBREVIATIONS[1]

AHG = I. Schirò (ed.), Analecta Hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris. I–XIII. Rome 1966–1983.

Aland = K. Aland, Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. Berlin 1994[2] (1963[1]); http://www.uni-muenster.de/NTTextforschung/INTF.html (19.09.2022).

Aldama = J. A. de Aldama, Repertorium Pseudochrysostomicum. Paris 1965.

Arranz = M. Arranz, L'eucologio costantinopolitano agli inizi del secolo XI. Hagiasmatarion & Archieratikon (Rituale & Pontificale) con l'aggiunta del Leiturgikon (Messale). Rome 1996.

Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology = J. R. Watson – E. Hornby (ed.), Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology. Canterbury 2013; https://hymnology.hymnsam.co.uk/ (19.09.2022).

CBM = I. Hutter – O. Demus, Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften. I–V. Stuttgart 1977–1997.

CPA = Christian Palestinian Aramaic.

CPG = Clavis Patrum Graecorum, ed. M. Geerard. I–IV. Supplementum. Turnhout 1974–2018.

Diktyon = Réseau numérique pour les manuscrits grecs, Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, Paris; http://www.diktyon.org/ (19.09.2022).

Dmitrievskij II = A. Dmitrievskij, Opisanie liturgičeskichă rukopisej, chranjaščichsja vă bibliotekachă Pravoslavnago Vostoka, II: Εὐχολόγια. Kiev (Hildesheim) 1901 (1965[2]).

Follieri = E. Follieri, Initia hymnorum ecclesiae Graecae. I–V, Vatican City 1960–1966.

Goar = J. Goar, Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale Graecorum complectens ritus et ordines Divinae Liturgiae, officiorum, sacramentorum, consecrationum, benedictionum, funerum, orationum … editio secunda expurgata et accuratior. Venice (Graz) 1730 (1960[2]).

Greek New Finds = Archb. Damianos – Archim. Sophronios – B. J. Peltikoglou – P. G. Nikolopoulos, Τὰ νέα εὑρήματα τοῦ Σινᾶ. Athens 1998 (English translation by A. Hatzopoulos, The New Finds of Sinai. Athens 1999).

Grove Music Online: Grove Music Online/Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press; http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grove-music (19.09.2022).

LDAB = Leuven Data-Base of Ancient Books; http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/ (19.09.2022).

Library of Congress = Digitized Manuscripts from Saint Catherine's Monastery, Old Collection (Kenneth W. Clark Microfilming Mission, 1950); https://www.loc.gov/collections/manuscripts-in-st-catherines-monastery-mount-sinai/ (19.09.2022).

MR = Μηναῖα τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ. I–VI. Rome 1888–1901.

National Library of Israel = Digitized Manuscripts from Saint Catherine's Monastery, Old Collection (Microfilming by the Israeli authorities, 1970s); http://aleph.nli.org.il/F?RN=647479495 (19.09.2022).

NDB = Neue Deutsche Bibliographie. Berlin 1953–.

NETS = New English Translation of the Septuagint, The International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies; http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/ (19.09.2022).

ODB = A. Kazhdan et al. (ed.), The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, I–III. New York – Oxford 1991.

PaR = Παρακλητικὴ ἤτοι Ὀκτώηχος ἡ μεγάλη. Rome 1885.

Passarelli = G. Passarelli, L'eucologio Cryptense Γ.β. VII (sec. X). Thessaloniki 1982.

PG = J. P. Migne et al., Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca. 1–161. Paris 1856–1866.

Pinakes = Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, Paris; https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/ (19.09.2022).

PmbZ = R.-J. Lilie – C. Ludwig – Th. Pratsch – I. Rochow – B. Zielke et al. (ed.), [nach Vorarbeiten F. Winkelmanns], Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Berlin–New York 1998–2013; https://www.degruyter.com/view/db/pmbz (19.09.2022)

Polidori = V. Polidori, L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto: Cod. Ottoboni gr. 344 (AD 1177). Wrocklaw 2018.

Pravoslavnaja Enciklopedija = Kyrill I – Aleksij II, *Pravoslavnaja Enciklopedija.* I–XLVII. Moscow 2000–2017.

Rendel Harris, Appendix = J. Rendel Harris, Appendix, in: A. S. Lewis, Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the Convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai. London 1894, 95–123.

RGB = red, green, blue (additive colour model).

RGK = E. Gamillscheg – D. Harlfinger – H. Hunger, Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600. I. Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Großbritanniens. II. Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs und Nachträge zu den Bibliotheken Großbritanniens. III. Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Roms mit dem Vatikan. Vienna 1981, 1989, 1997.

SAV = Standard Abridged Version of the Sticherarion. Cf. Chr. Troelsgård, A List of Sticheron Call-Numbers of the Standard Abridged Version of the Sticherarion. Part I (The Cycle of the Twelve Months). *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin* 74 (2003) 3–20.

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[1] This list includes author names without dates and titles for relevant works referred to throughout the book, not only in footnotes but also in text.

Specimina Sinaitica = D. Harlfinger – D. R. Reinsch – J. A. M. Sonderkamp (in Zusammenarbeit mit G. Prato), Specimina Sinaitica. Die datierten griechischen Handschriften des Katharinen-Klosters auf dem Berge Sinai, 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert. Berlin 1983.

SPP = Sinai Palimpsests Project; https://sinai.library.ucla.edu/ (19.09.2022).

TLG = Thesaurus Linguae Graecae ® Digital Library. Ed. Maria C. Pantelia. University of California, Irvine; http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/ (19.09.2022).

TR = Τριῴδιον κατανυκτικόν. Rome 1879.

Typikon Kasoulon = A. Apostolidis, Il Typikon di S. Nicola di Casole secondo il codice Taur. Gr. C III 17. Introduzione, testo critico, indici. Doctoral Thesis. Pontificia Università S. Tommaso D'Aquino in Roma – Facoltà di Teologia – Sezione ecumenico-patristica greco-bizantina "S. Nicola". Bari 1983; http://thesis.ekt.gr/thesisBookReader/id/4368#page/1/mode/2up (19.09.2022).

Typikon Messina = M. Arranz, Le Typicon du monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine: Codex Messanensis Gr. 115. Rome 1969.

Typikon Nikon = Chr. Hannick, Das Taktikon des Nikon vom schwarzen Berge: griechischer Text und kirchenslavische Übersetzung des 14. Jahrhunderts. I–II. Freiburg 2014.

Typikon Saba = D. Kanellos, Τυπικὸν τοῦ Ὁσίου καὶ Θεοφόρου Πατρὸς Ἡμῶν Σάββα τοῦ Ἡγιασμένου. Athens 2010.

Typikon Stoudion = A. P. Pentkovskij, Tipikon Patriarcha Aleksija Studita v Vizantii i na Rusii. Moscow 2001.

Velkovska – Parenti = E. Velkovska – S. Parenti, Evchologij Barberini Gr. 336. Omsk 2011.

VG = M. Vogel – V. Gardthausen, Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance. Leipzig 1909.

INTRODUCTION

Leafing through the pages of manuscript catalogues in order to track down the Euchologia each library preserves,[2] one can observe that a considerable number of these codices are—entirely or partially—written on recycled palimpsest parchment.[3] The most famous is certainly the so-called *Archimedes palimpsest* (Diktyon 8838), a 13th century prayer book currently preserved in a private collection, which contains as erased texts Archimedes' *Method* and *Stomachion*, speeches by the orator Hypereides, and a commentary on Aristotle's *Categories*.[4]

But there are others. Because Euchologia were utilitarian objects, common books of everyday use, they were frequently written on reused parchment. A few statistics will illustrate the frequency: nine out of 27 (33%) in the Vatican Library, seven out of 18 (39%) in the Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale di Grottaferrata, five out of 23 (22%) in the Library of Saint Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai.[5]

The idea of combining a study of Euchologia with that of palimpsests preserved in the Sinai originated from my involvement with two research projects: the *Vienna Euchologia Project*[6] and the *Sinai Palimpsests Project* of EMEL.[7] I first came into contact with both projects during 2014, while I was in Vienna on an Erasmus exchange writing my Master's thesis. My curiosity was awakened: how were prayer books to be written on reused parchment prepared? What kinds of texts lay erased underneath the Euchologia? Why were they discarded? Where and when did it happen?

This book lies at the intersection of palimpsest studies and the study of Euchologion manuscripts, with an additional focus on the Sinai library collection. It deals with the palimpsests and prayer books (Euchologia) in Greek from the manuscript collection of Saint Catherine's Monastery, and presents three case studies: descriptions of three Sinai prayer books written on palimpsest parchment. Although, to the best of our knowledge, there are five Euchologia written on reused parchment in the Sinai, the choice fell on the three which belong to the Old Collection (Sin. gr. 960, Sin. gr. 962, Sin. gr. 966). This was for the reason that they are more complete, and so easier to handle and offering more material for analysis. Moreover, on the occasion of my trip to Saint Catherine's in December 2018, I came across loose folia and quires originally belonging to Sin. gr. 960 and Sin. gr. 966 among the Sinai New Finds, and I have included these in this study. Similarly, in May 2020 I came across one quire originally belonging to Sin. gr. 966 and currently kept at Bryn Mawr College (USA). This has been included here as well.

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[2] Euchologia are Byzantine prayer books used by priests and bishops for the celebration of all services of the Byzantine Rite.

[3] A palimpsest is a manuscript page, either from a scroll or a codex, from which the text has been removed so that the parchment may be reused for writing another text.

[4] R. Netz – W. Noel – N. Tchernetska – N. G. Wilson (ed.), The Archimedes Palimpsest, I–II. Cambridge 2011.

[5] G. Rossetto, Codicological Pathways in Search of Euchologia Palimpsest Manuscripts, in: C. Rapp – Ei. Afentoulidou – D. Galadza – I. Nesseris – G. Rossetto – E. Schiffer, Byzantine Prayer Books as Sources for Social History and Daily Life. *JÖB* 67 (2017) 173–211, esp. 183–191.

[6] Funded by the FWF from October 2015 (P 28219 "Daily Life and Religion: Byzantine Prayer Books as Sources for Social History" and P 34090 "Liturgy, Libraries and Learning"), but conceived already in 2014, the *Vienna Euchologia Project* is directed by Claudia Rapp and based at the Institute for Medieval Studies, Department of Byzantine Research of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. Members of the project in addition to myself are Eirini Afentoulidou, Daniel Galadza, Ilias Nesseris, and Elisabeth Schiffer. Its goals are the investigation of occasional prayers for everyday concerns, and the creation of a database of prayer books up to 1650. For further details, see https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/imafo/research/byzantine-research/communities-and-landscapes/euchologia-project (19.09.2022)

[7] The *Sinai Palimpsests Project* of the Early Manuscripts Electronic Library (EMEL) took place between 2011 and 2016 and was led by Michael Phelps (Executive Director) and Claudia Rapp (Scholarly Director). The goal was to describe, digitize, and provide online access to a number of palimpsests preserved in the manuscript collection of Saint Catherine's Monastery. Funding was provided by the Arcadia Fund of London. The results can be found at http://sinaipalimpsests.org/ and https://sinai.library.ucla.edu/ (19.09.2022).

The discussion that follows comprises six chapters. The focus of the first is the Greek palimpsests housed in the monastery. It opens with an outline of the state of research, then discusses the evolution in techniques used for reading palimpsest manuscripts, and deals with past and present projects connected to Greek palimpsests. It then moves on to address the *Sinai Palimpsests Project* and its novelties. The second chapter presents for the first time an inventory of the Greek palimpsests of Saint Catherine's and a list of newly identified *membra disiecta sinaitica*. The third chapter offers an overview of the Euchologia kept at Saint Catherine's: a *status quaestionis* on the research so far undertaken on such manuscripts, an introduction to this collection, and an annotated list of prayer books kept in the library, pertaining both to the Old and New Collections.[8]

The last three chapters are of a more technical character, and contain the descriptions of the selected case studies, i.e. the three above-mentioned Sinai Euchologia written on recycled parchment. These descriptions are based on original work with the manuscripts themselves, which have never before been studied with regard to their *scriptiones inferiores*. In accordance with Marilena Maniaci's perspective on the archaeology of the book, manuscripts are not here regarded as mere "containers" of the eucharistic and sacramental liturgies, but as complex textual objects, and—more especially—as excellent records of "material culture".[9] Being palimpsests, they are multi-layered records of "material culture" *par excellence*, and this can be analysed through stratigraphic analysis, since we can recognise at least two different layers: a *scriptio superior*, containing the most recent text (the Euchologion), and older *scriptiones inferiores* that were erased in order to prepare the parchment for reuse.

In structuring the descriptions I have taken as a model (with some variations) those provided by Jana Grusková for the Viennese palimpsests.[10] As in Grusková's publication, to provide a visual idea of each manuscript, I have equipped each chapter with pictures, schemes and diagrams. The organisation of each description is as follows. First, the *scriptio superior* (Euchologion) is analysed under several headings: codicology, palaeography, decoration, and content (with a special focus on the occasional prayers). Next comes the analysis of the *scriptiones inferiores*. It was possible to have access to these during onsite visits and also in Vienna, by virtue of the images processed as part of the *Sinai Palimpsests Project* or by myself. Codicological and palaeographical characteristics of each recovered text are set out with the aim of providing a reconstruction of its original manuscript; the erased texts are then transcribed and commented on for the first time. The transcriptions are diplomatic and follow the Leiden conventions. Each of these descriptive chapters concludes with a summary of the most significant features emerging from each investigation.

A particular challenge in this work has been the choice of English terminology. As a general rule, I have followed the spelling of the ODB. However, for the names of specific kinds of scripts I have preferred to keep the original names (e.g.: "*Perlschrift*"). I have otherwise used English terms in order to describe—for example—the form of the letters or the structure and condition of a manuscript. As reference points I have made use of publications in English (especially catalogues and handbooks), which are widespread and well-recognized.[11] For specific palimpsest-related *termini*, I largely employ those first used for the *Sinai Palimpsests Project*.[12] One example is the use of the words "overtext" and "undertext" as a variation for *scriptio superior* and *scriptio*

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[8] An in-depth study of the entire Sinai collection of Euchologia is the focus of my FWF project T 1192 *Priests, Books and the Library at Saint Catherine's* (1.12.2020–30.11.2023), which is based at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Medieval Research, Department of Byzantine Research.

[9] M. Maniaci, Archeologia del manoscritto. Metodi, problemi, bibliografia recente. Rome 2002; on manuscripts' stratigraphy see also F. Ronconi, Manuscripts as Stratified Social Objects. *Scandinavian Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 4 (2018) 20, 25–26, and F. Ronconi, I manoscritti greci miscellanei. Spoleto 2007.

[10] J. Grusková, Untersuchungen zu den Griechischen Palimpsesten der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Vienna 2010.

[11] Most relevant were, in alphabetical order, M. L. Agati, The Manuscript Book: A Compendium of Codicology. Revised and Updated English Edition. Rome 2017; D. Bianconi, Greek Palaeography, in: Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction, ed. A. Bausi et al. Hamburg 2015, 297–305; C. N. Constantinides – R. Browning, Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570. Nicosia 1993; M. Maniaci, Greek codicology, in: Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction, ed. A. Bausi et al. Hamburg 2015, 187–207; P. Orsini, Studies on Greek and Coptic Majuscule Scripts and Books. Berlin – Boston 2018; C. Wright – M. Argyrou – Ch. Dendrinos, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Manuscript Collection of Lambeth Palace Library. London 2016.

[12] D. Emery – C. Rapp, KatIkon: A Digital Catalogue as Multi-Purpose Tool, in: Greek Manuscript Cataloguing: Past, Present, and Future, ed. P. Degni – P. Eleuteri – M. Maniaci. Turnhout 2018, 221–227, and the "description glossary" on the *Sinai Palimpsests Project* website: https://sinai.library.ucla.edu/user-guide/mss-terms (19.09.2022).

inferior. However, instead of referring to "undertext objects" (which is a term coined by the *Sinai Palimpsests Project*) I prefer to speak of "textual units". With "textual unit" I mean distinct works with the same layout, usually written by the same scribe at the same time and place, and preserved within distinct manuscript objects as defined by their shelfmarks.[13] A single "textual unit" does not necessarily correspond to one original manuscript: several "textual units" might be *membra disiecta* of one and the same "original manuscript".

On the basis of this detailed analysis, a few general observations emerge which may be summarized as follows: manifold texts—some previously unknown—have been recovered and identified. This prompts speculation as to why such texts were discarded—whether this was due to physical degradation, illegible writing, or outdated content. Equally, there is the question of the various ways in which Euchologia manuscripts were produced, and also of the reading preferences and ownership practices of those who read and used the prayer books over time, and also of how, when, and why they actually reached the Monastery of Saint Catherine.

It is self-evident that the systematic study of more manuscripts of this kind would improve the quality and extend the significance of the conclusions drawn from the study of these three codices individually. Hence, this study—which has only been made possible by means of advances in technology and fresh avenues of enquiry within scholarship, and, added to these, the opportunity for collaboration with specific projects—should be considered merely the starting-point for further studies of Euchologia, and of the palimpsests at Saint Catherine's and those in other libraries.

[13] As far as the Sinai palimpsests are concerned, only in few cases was one textual unit written by more than one hand. This happens for texts of documentary nature, like those extant as *scriptiones inferiores* of Sin. ar. NF 8.

THE GREEK PALIMPSESTS OF SAINT CATHERINE'S MONASTERY

INTRODUCTION

The library of Saint Catherine's Monastery is the oldest Christian monastic library with an uninterrupted history. Its holdings are "living" proof of the changes experienced by the monastic community over the centuries.[14] The monastery owns one of the largest collections of ancient manuscripts in the world, preserving in entirety over 4500 codices.[15] About 3300 codices are contained in the so-called Old Collection,[16] while 1200 manuscripts are held as New Finds.[17] These last—quires, loose folia, probably put aside in the 18th century—were discovered after a fire[18] by Archimandrite Sophronios Montesatos in 1975 (i.e. under the episcopate of the current Archbishop of Sinai, Damianos), in a room located under the Chapel of Saint George, situated along the monastery's northern wall.[19]

More than half of Saint Catherine's manuscripts are written in Greek, but the library also contains Arabic, Armenian, Christian Palestinian Aramaic (CPA), Coptic, Ethiopic, Georgian, Latin, Persian, Polish, Slavonic and Syriac texts. The multilingualism of the monastic community and its visitors, with all the concomitant changes in its long evolution, is reflected in the presence of texts in all these languages. Most of the manuscripts are Christian texts, but there are also classical and medical works, lexica, and travel accounts.

There are at present 3075 Greek manuscripts at Saint Catherine's: 2319 belong to the Old Collection, 756 to the New Finds.[20] Most of this total (2100) contain biblical and liturgical texts.[21] In the past the number of manuscripts was undoubtedly higher, but between the mid-19th and the beginning of the 20th century the collection underwent substantial depletion at the hands of visiting scholars. Unfortunately, the curse of the 318 Fathers of the Council of Nicaea—often invoked by copyists or owners in order to discourage ill-intentioned readers from stealing books—proved ineffective.[22] As a result, a great number of manuscripts were plundered,

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[14] On the history of the monastery and its library see, for instance, G. H. Forsyth – K. Weitzmann, The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Church and Fortress of Justinian. Ann Arbor 1973; K. Weitzmann – G. Galavaris, The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts, Volume I: From the Ninth to the Twelfth Century. Princeton 1991; C. Mango et al., St. Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai: Its Manuscripts and their Conservation. Papers given in Memory of Professor Ihor Ševčenko (Oxford, 27 November 2010). London 2011; Father Justin Sinaites, The Sinai Library: a Resource of Continuing Significance. *Sinaiticus* (2017) 13–17. See also G. 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. Doctoral Thesis. Vienna 2019, 17–50.

[15] 4549 codices according to Father Justin Sinaites, personal communication (February 2021). See also S. Frøyshov, Les manuscrits de la bibliothèque du Sinaï: archive du monde orthodoxe, trésor de la liturgie hiérosolymitaine. *Le Messager Orthodoxe* 148 (2009) 61.

[16] 3328 codices according to Father Justin Sinaites, personal communication (February 2021); 3329 codices, according to M. Kamil, Catalogue of All Manuscripts in the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai. Wiesbaden 1970, 1; 3306, according to A. Velios – N. Pickwoad, Current Use and Future Development of the Database of the Saint Catherine's Library Conservation Project. *The Paper Conservator* 29 (2005) 39; 3307, according to Frøyshov, Les manuscrits de la bibliothèque du Sinaï 61.

[17] 1221 shelfmarks according to Father Justin Sinaites, personal communication (February 2021).

[18] The fire broke out in a kitchen opposite the Sinai basilica on November 30th 1971 (Father Justin Sinaites, The Sinai Library 13).

[19] The discovery was first announced in 1978. For a detailed report, see Greek New Finds 25–137.

[20] Father Justin Sinaites, personal communication (February 2021).

[21] Frøyshov, Les manuscrits de la bibliothèque du Sinaï 63.

[22] See, for instance, Sin. gr. 2045, Euchologion dated 8.2.1572. The curse, written by Archbishop Anastasius V (1583–1592) on f. 2v reads: +τὸ παρὸν εὐχολόγιον, ὑπάρχει τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ θεοβαδίστου ὄρους σινᾶ, καὶ ὁ ξενώσας αὐτὸ τεύξετε τὰς ἀρὰς τῶν ἁγίων καὶ θεοφόρων πατέρων τῆς ἐν νικαία. τιη'. Translation: "This Euchologion belongs to the Holy and God-Trodden Mountain of Sinai, and if someone takes it away, may he have the curses of the 318 fathers of [the Council of] Nicaea". On Archbishop Anastasius V see A. Marinescu, Mânăstirea Sf. Ecaterina de la Muntele Sinai şi legăturile ei cu Ţările Române. Perspectivă istorico-patristică. Bucharest 2009, 441.

and they now form the core of major European collections. A comprehensive list of the dispersed Sinai Greek manuscripts has yet to be compiled.[23] However, Vladimir Nicolaevič Beneševič provides—in the first volume of his catalogue—a list of 120 Sinai manuscripts that in his time were already in collections in Saint Petersburg, Berlin, Leipzig, London, Cambridge, Vienna, and so on.[24]

Saint Catherine's Old and New Collections preserve approximately 170 palimpsests, in which eleven different languages are attested as *scriptiones inferiores*: Arabic, Armenian, Caucasian-Albanian, Christian Palestinian Aramaic (CPA), Coptic, Ethiopic, Georgian, Greek, Latin, Slavonic, and Syriac.[25] These manuscripts have been identified by means of catalogues, the recommendations of individual scholars and, in many cases, quite by chance in leafing through a manuscript's pages.[26] With such a high number of palimpsests—a number, moreover, that is set to increase—Saint Catherine's library outstrips all others.[27] By way of comparison, Naples has five,[28] Venice ten,[29] Athens 23,[30] Messina 29,[31] Florence 31,[32] Milan 45[33] and Grottaferrata 60.[34] A closer match is posed by the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, where mons. Paul Canart has identified 137 palimpsests in the Greek collection alone.[35] The number of palimpsest manuscripts preserved in other Vatican collections (for in-

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[23] This could be a very useful tool for reconstructing the contents of the library before the loss of its manuscripts.

[24] V. N. Beneševič, Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum qui in Monasterio Sanctae Catharinae in Monte Sina asservantur, I. Hildesheim (Saint Petersburg) 1965[2] (1911[1]), 605–651. To be omitted from this list, it seems, are those manuscripts now in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (Beneševič, Catalogus I 646–647), since they are more likely to have come from Saint Catherine's metochion of Crete in Chandax, today's Herakleion. This view is confirmed by the recent study by N. Zorzi, Da Creta a Venezia passando per le Isole Ionie: un lotto di codici di «Santa Caterina dei Sinaiti». Per la storia del fondo di manoscritti greci della famiglia Nani ora alla Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia, in: Bibliothèques grecques dans l'Empire ottoman, ed. A. Binggeli – M. Cassin – M. Détoraki. Turnhout 2020, 311–338, which reviews the existing literature on this topic and also gives a complete list of the manuscripts (18) currently preserved at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana which first belonged to Saint Catherine's metochion in Chandax/Heraklion. During the siege of Chandax (1645–1699)—or just before the fall of the city to the Ottomans in 1669—they were moved to the Sinai metochion of Zakynthos. There, they were acquired by Giacomo Nani and brought to Venice. However, this does not exclude the possibility that for a certain period of time the manuscripts were at Saint Catherine's in the Sinai: this could well have been the case with Marc. gr. II 117 (Diktyon 70279), a 14th century Typikon of Mar Saba, which contains an ownership note in Arabic.

[25] The exact number is 172 (January 2021). This does not include the over 100 palimpsest fragments from the fragments collection of the monastery, which were surveyed and documented by Damianos Kasotakis in the period March-May 2020.

[26] For instance, in September 2014 Grigory Kessel was invited by the *Sinai Palimpsests Project* to examine the Syriac collection: out of the 65 manuscripts he studied, he identified 13 palimpsest manuscripts. Eight of these were not documented as palimpsests in A. S. Lewis, Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the Convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai. London 1894, 95–123.

[27] Here and below, I consider palimpsests as "manuscript objects" identified by a shelfmark (see more regarding this terminology in Emery – Rapp, KatIkon 255). Counting palimpsest folia instead of palimpsest objects would undoubtedly be more exact, but—given the lack of precise and consistent data—this is currently possible only in the case of some libraries. The same reasoning has been adopted by the author elsewhere: see Rapp – Afentoulidou – Galadza – Nesseris – Rossetto – Schiffer, Byzantine Prayer Books, 183–191.

[28] M. R. Formentin, Palinsesti greci della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli e della Marciana di Venezia, in: Libri palinsesti greci: conservazione, restauro digitale, studio. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Villa Mondragone – Monte Porzio Catone – Università di Roma «Tor Vergata» – Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale di Grottaferrata, 21–24 aprile 2004), ed. S. Lucà. Rome 2008, 155–161.

[29] Formentin, Palinsesti greci.

[30] Z. Melissakis, Οι παλίμψηστοι κώδικες της Εθνικής Βιβλιοθήκης της Ελλάδος. Προκαταρκτικά συμπεράσματα μιας έρευνας. *Symm* 16 (2003–2004) 159–216.

[31] M. T. Rodriquez, I palinsesti di Messina: indagine preliminare, in: Libri palinsesti greci: conservazione, restauro digitale, studio. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Villa Mondragone – Monte Porzio Catone – Università di Roma «Tor Vergata» – Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale di Grottaferrata, 21–24 aprile 2004), ed. S. Lucà. Rome 2008, 201–213.

[32] S. Magrini, I palinsesti greci della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana: una introduzione, in: Libri palinsesti greci: conservazione, restauro digitale, studio. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Villa Mondragone – Monte Porzio Catone – Università di Roma «Tor Vergata» – Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale di Grottaferrata, 21–24 aprile 2004), ed. S. Lucà. Rome 2008, 163–169.

[33] C. Pasini, I palinsesti greci all'Ambrosiana: risultati di un'indagine complessiva, in: Libri palinsesti greci: conservazione, restauro digitale, studio. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Villa Mondragone – Monte Porzio Catone – Università di Roma «Tor Vergata» – Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale di Grottaferrata, 21–24 aprile 2004), ed. S. Lucà. Rome 2008, 223–229.

[34] E. Crisci, I palinsesti di Grottaferrata. Studio codicologico e paleografico. I–II. Naples 1990; E. Crisci, Codices Graeci rescripti fra antichità e medioevo bizantino. Il caso dei palinsesti di Grottaferrata, in: El palimpsesto grecolatino como fenómeno librario y textual, ed. A. Escobar. Zaragoza 2006, 37–38.

[35] P. Canart, Les palimpsestes des fonds grecs de la Bibliothèque Vaticane. Une liste sommaire et quelques précisions, in: Philomathestatos. Studies in Greek and Byzantine Texts Presented to Jacques Noret for his Sixty-Fifth Birthday, ed. B. Janssens – B. Roosen – P. Van Deun. Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA 2004, 45–55 (reprinted in P. Canart, Études de paléographie et de codi-

stance, in the Oriental section) remains unknown.[36] Moreover, we are entirely ignorant of the total number of palimpsests preserved in Russian libraries: it is probably very high and may even exceed the Sinai collection.

But what is a palimpsest? The word palimpsest is an adjective, or rather an adjectival noun, that means "scraped clean for reuse".[37] The two Greek compounds of this word—πάλιν (literally "again"), and ψάω ("scrape")—refer to the process of cleaning off the parchment for re-writing using a technique similar to the one used for the preparation of animal skin as a writing surface.[38] The lower script of a palimpsest is referred to as the undertext (or *scriptio inferior*); the upper script as the overtext (or *scriptio superior*). The parchment of some palimpsests could also be reused more than once, resulting in double or triple palimpsests (or *codices bis rescripti* and *ter rescripti*). These, in addition to the undertext and the overtext contain one or two other texts in the middle layer.

The main reason for reusing the parchment was its scarcity and great expense: this was a particularly acute problem—though not exclusively so—in regions peripheral to the empire, such as Southern Italy, the Greek islands and Palestine, where new parchment was more difficult to come by.[39] The process of palimpsestation was particularly common in the 8th–9th, and again, in the 12th–13th centuries.

How was the palimpsestation process carried out? First, it was necessary to take apart the original manuscript and isolate the quires in order to obtain individual sheets. After this, the writing had to be removed, which could be accomplished in several ways: we can reconstruct these processes because the act of deletion leaves distinctive traces on the parchment sheets.[40] There were two principal methods involved, sometimes used in conjunction: a dry abrasive method (or scraping) i.e. with the use of a knife, pumice stone, sepiolite (or "white fish bone"), *Schleifbrot* (literally "scraping bread"),[41] sandstone, or eraser powder; or, as an alternative, some form of chemical process (effectively a kind of washing), i.e. using water, wine,[42] or milk. Indications of how this was done are found in recipes of the period. For instance, we read in an 11th century book of recipes preserved at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek of Munich: 'Whoever wishes to rewrite, if this becomes necessary, on already written parchment, should take milk and immerse the parchment in the milk overnight. After taking it out, flour should be spread over it, so as to prevent wrinkles where it starts to dry, and he should press

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cologie. Reproduites avec la collaboration de Maria Luisa Agati et Marco D'Agostino. Vatican City 2008, II, 1311–1321).

[36] That the status of the research on non-Latin and Greek palimpsests is less advanced is a statement of fact and generally valid for all libraries.

[37] The standard reference works for palimpsest studies are Crisci, I palinsesti di Grottaferrata; Á. Escobar (ed.), El palimpsesto grecolatino como fenómeno librario y textual. Zaragoza 2006; Grusková, Untersuchungen; S. Lucà (ed.), Libri palinsesti greci: conservazione, restauro digitale, studio. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Villa Mondragone – Monte Porzio Catone – Università di Roma «Tor Vergata» – Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale di Grottaferrata, 21–24 aprile 2004). Rome 2008; Netz – Noel – Tchernetska – Wilson, The Archimedes Palimpsest; V. Somers (ed.), Palimpsestes et éditions de textes: les textes littéraires. Louvain-La-Neuve 2009.

[38] It is likely that the practice of re-using writing material goes back to the wax-tablets that were common in the ancient Mediterranean. In fact, the entire tablet could be erased for reuse by warming to about 50 °C, and then smoothing the softened wax surface. Papyri were also subject to palimpsestation, though more rarely. In this case, the text was removed by washing with a sponge or feather. P. Holmiensis describes a rather odd chemical solution (a combination of soda, earth, cow's milk, and oil of mastic) which was apparently used to erase ink from papyrus (the same solution was used to whiten pearls). Compared to parchment, palimpsest papyri are not at all numerous. According to the LDAB, out of a total of 9844 papyri recorded, 139 are palimpsest (1,4%), whereas out of the 5283 parchment manuscripts in the database, 746 are palimpsests (14,1%) (analysis carried out 04.03.2021). On palimpsest papyri in general, see Th. Schmidt, Greek Palimpsest Papyri: Some Open Questions, in: Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology (Helsinki, 1–7 August 2004), ed. J. Frösén. Helsinki 2007, 979–990, and Th. Schmidt, Les palimpsestes littéraires grecs sur papyrus, in: Palimpsestes et éditions de textes: les textes littéraires, ed. V. Somers. Louvain-La-Neuve 2009, 83–100.

[39] E. Crisci, "Ratio delendi". Pratiche di riscrittura nel mondo antico. *Aegyptus* 83.1–2 (2003) 56: 'un dato può ritenersi ormai acquisito: la natura essenzialmente marginale del codice palinsesto, intendendo per marginalità sia la sua dislocazione geografica prevalentemente "provinciale" rispetto ai più attivi centri di produzione grafico-libraria del mondo greco-bizantino, sia la sua collocazione in zone di confine – e quindi anche di confronto, di scontro, di sovrapposizione – fra esperienze culturali, tradizioni religiose, eredità grafiche molto diverse, sia, infine, il suo *status* librario in qualche modo "dequalificato" nel sistema di gerarchie testuali, grafiche, codicologiche di una determinata epoca e di uno specifico contesto storico-culturale'.

[40] On this topic see P. Engel, Deletions in Manuscripts – Source Literature and Traces. *Care and Conservation* 14 (2014) 109–135.

[41] *Schleifbrot* was made of flower, chalk, egg white and glass, sometimes with yeast, which was baked.

[42] Wine was used for three reasons: it was considered "cleaner" than water; the alcohol it contains addressed other substances and evaporated a bit faster; its pH was lower than that of water (wine in the Middle Ages had a pH of 2–3).

it under a press until it is dry. When this is done and the parchment is polished with pumice and chalk it will regain its white shine'.[43] And so, regarding milk, we have proof as well as explanation of its use as a deleting agent.

Once the writing was removed, the folia were usually redeployed in three ways:

1. in the same configuration, i.e. with the same writing orientation;
2. cut in half and refolded to create new smaller bifolia (involving a script reorientation of 90° or 270°);
3. sewn together to create new bigger bifolia.

A codex was not necessarily made up entirely of palimpsest folia: very often only a proportion occur in any one codex, and these are usually taken from several original manuscripts. From this we may infer that in some contexts the use of palimpsests was routine, and that piles of prepared erased sheets were available to the scribes.[44] Moreover, it is not uncommon that parchment folia used to restore a manuscript (for instance, to replace a damaged or lost quire) originate from a palimpsest manuscript.[45] It must also be considered that not necessarily the place where the erased parchment sheets were copied did correspond to the place where the overtext was copied.

Finally, what kinds of texts were chosen for erasure? A manuscript was a good candidate for recycling on the following grounds:[46]

1. it was unusable (for example, if its content was no longer current, or its language was not comprehensible. Individual sheets of parchment were also discarded on account of mistakes in the parchment preparation, likely to result, for instance, in uneven lines);
2. it was damaged (the ink was very faded and not easy to read) or incomplete (with folia and quires missing);
3. the text was readily available, perhaps even in multiple copies;
4. the style of its writing had become outmoded. For instance, around the 9th century many Greek manuscripts became subject to palimpsestation because of the so-called *metacharakterismos*—that is, the transliteration of Greek text from the old majuscule script into the newer minuscule—involving the subsequent elimination of the oldest, now redundant manuscripts in majuscule;
5. the book form itself was no longer current, as in the example of liturgical scrolls.

THE GROWING INTEREST IN A PROMISING RESEARCH FIELD

Scholars' interest in palimpsest manuscripts is a quite recent phenomenon: it dates back to the early 19th century and was directed, in the first place, at those codices that at the time were already held in European libraries.[47] However, more audacious academics with a propensity for travelling took advantage of the opportunity to inspect rewritten manuscripts in their original context and locale, namely in the libraries of the East. This is evident from Constantin von Tischendorf's words:[48]

> June 15th 1844: '[…] Jetzt höre aber nun etwas von den erklecklichen Resultaten meiner Forschungen. Ich bin namentlich in den Besitz von 43 Pergamentblättern A. Test. (i.e. Altes Testament) griechisch, gelangt, die zu den allerältesten gehören, was an dergleichen Europa besitzt.[49] […] Ferner besitz' ich

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[43] München, BSB, clm 18628, f. 105v. The Latin text reads: 'Quicunque in semel scripto pergameno necessitate cogente iterato scribere velit, accipiat lac imponatque pergamenum per unius noctis spacium. Quod postquam inde sustulerit, farre aspersum, ne ubi sicari incipit in rugas contrahatur, sub pressura castiget quoad exsiccetur. Quod ubi fecerit, pumice cretaque expolitum priorem albedinis suae nitorem recipiet'.

[44] Grusková, Untersuchungen 17.

[45] See, for instance, Sin. gr. 962 (description below).

[46] Grusková, Untersuchungen 18.

[47] The 19th century witnesses the conclusion of the formation of the main European manuscript collections, the ultimate outcome of repeated "hunting" trips to the libraries of the East.

[48] Selected literature on Constantin von Tischendorf: C. R. Gregory, Tischendorf. *Bibliotheca Sacra* 33 (1876) 153–193; K. Aland, Konstantin von Tischendorf (1815–1874). Neutestamentliche Textforschung Damals und Heute. Sitzungberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Band 133, Heft 2. Berlin 1993; K. G. Wesseling, Tischendorf, in: Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon, vol. 12. Herzberg 1997, 167–181; Ch. Böttrich, Tischendorf-Lesebuch. Bibelforschung in Reiseabenteuern. Leipzig 1999; Ch. Böttrich, Bibliographie Konstantin von Tischendorf (1815–1874). Leipzig 1999.

[49] These are the first 43 folia of the *Codex Sinaiticus* obtained by C. Tischendorf. They were originally collected under the name of *Codex Friderico-Augustanus*, in honour of King Frederick Augustus II of Saxony, who had supported Tischendorf's journeys in

24 Blätter Palimpsest, mit einer arabischen Schrift aus dem 12. und einer griechischen aus dem 8.-900 (*sic*);[50] ferner vier ähnliche Palimpsestblätter,[51] endlich außer anderm (*sic*) minder Bedeutenden 4 verstümmelte Blätter eines griechischen Manuskripts des N.T. aus dem 7-800 (*sic*).[52] Diese Sachen werden großes Aufsehen machen […]'.[53]

These lines written by Tischendorf (1815–1874) to his brother shortly after his first trip to Saint Catherine's (24 May–1 June 1844), represent the earliest source that explicitly mentions the existence of palimpsest manuscripts at the monastery. Despite the fact that he received these rewritten leaves—now part of the Leipzig manuscript collection—as gifts from the monks, he never refers to them in the travel accounts he was to publish over the years.[54] The reason lies probably in Tischendorf's desire to obtain more folia of the same manuscripts on subsequent visits, and fear of competition from other scholars.[55]

Tischendorf's interest in Greek biblical manuscripts is well known. Not many years later, others were showing curiosity with regard to the oriental (palimpsest) codices. I am referring to the twin sisters Agnes Smith Lewis (1843–1926) and Margaret Dunlop Gibson (1843–1920), who visited the Monastery of Saint Catherine four times (1892, 1893, 1895, 1897).[56] In the introduction to her book *In the Shadows of Sinai*,[57] Agnes Smith Lewis describes the moment when the famous palimpsest *Sinaiticus Syrus* (Sin. syr. 30) was discovered,[58] containing among its erased texts the oldest of the few extant copies of the Old Syriac translation

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1843 and his edition of the folia of 1846 (see C. Tischendorf, Codex Friderico-Augustanus, sive Fragmenta veteris testamenti e codice graeco, omnium qui in Europa supersunt facile antiquissimo in Oriente detexit, in patriam attulit, ad modum Codicis edidit Constantinus Tischendorf. Leipzig 1846). "Codex Friderico-Augustanus" was then assigned the shelfmark Cod. gr. 1 (Diktyon 38316) in Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek (V. E. Gardthausen, Katalog der Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Leipzig, III. Die griechischen Handschriften. Leipzig 1898, 1–3).

50 There are only 22 folia in the *Codex Tischendorfianus* II (first described in C. Tischendorf, Rechenschaft über meine handschriftlichen Studien auf meiner wissenschaftlichen Reise von 1840 bis 1844. *Jahrbücher der Literatur* 110, Anzeige Blatt (1845) 6–7, nr. 5), now in Leipzig bearing the shelfmark Cod. gr. 2 [Diktyon 38317] (see Gardthausen, Katalog Leipzig 4). The number "24" we read in the letter was Tischendorf's own mistake: 'ich hatte früher in meinen Notizen die Zahl „24" verzeichnet. Als ich aber die Blätter behufs der Abgabe an die Bibliothek von Neuem zählte, fanden sich nur 22 vor. Ich kann jedoch nicht glauben, dass unter denjenigen Händen, in die vorher meine Manuscripts gekommen sind, die Zahl dieser Blätter in der genannte Weise beeinträchtigt worden ist, und vermute dass ich mich anfangs in der Zählung geirrt hatte' (C. Tischendorf, Die Manuscripta Tischendorfiana in der Universitätsbibliothek zu Leipzig. *Serapeum* 8/4–8/5 (1847) 54, n. 1). Folia once belonging to this same manuscript are today scattered across three libraries: Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine (Arabic NF 66, six folia and three fragments), Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia (gr. 26, six folia = Diktyon 57096), and Cambridge, University Library (Add. 1879.5, one fragment = Diktyon 77955). For a comprehensive study of the original codex see G. Rossetto, Fragments from the Orphic Rhapsodies? Hitherto Unknown Hexameters in the Palimpsest Sin. ar. NF 66. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 219 (2021) 34–60.

51 These are the four bifolia (eight folia) of the *Codex Tischendorfianus* III (first described in Tischendorf, Rechenschaft 7, nr. 6), now Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, gr. 69.1 (Diktyon 38384; Gardthausen, Katalog Leipzig 84–85).

52 First published by Tischendorf as *Codex Tischendorfianus* I in 1846 (C. Tischendorf, Monumenta sacra inedita: sive reliquiae antiquissimae textus novi testamenti Graeci ex novem plus mille annorum codicibus per Europam disperses. Leipzig 1846, 9–10), it corresponds to the current Cod. gr. 7 of Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek (Diktyon 38322; Gardthausen, Katalog Leipzig 7).

53 The letter has been partially published in Aland, Konstantin von Tischendorf 10. For a complete transcription see Böttrich, Tischendorf-Lesebuch 92–96. The publication of Tischedorf's letters to his wife and his brother is under preparation by Michael Featherstone; an annotated summary is accessible on the author's academia.edu site (J. M. Featherstone, The Discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus as Reported in the Personal Letters of Konstantin Tischendorf). About Tischendorf's *Nachlass* see Böttrich, Bibliographie 71–74.

54 C. Tischendorf, Reise in den Orient. I–II. Leipzig 1846; C. Tischendorf, Aus dem heiligen Lande. Leipzig 1862.

55 N. Tchernetska, The Tischendorf Greek Palimpsests. *Appunti Romani di Filologia* 2 (2000) 107–108.

56 On the sisters and their journeys see, for instance, J. Soskice, Sisters of Sinai: How Two Lady Adventurers Found the Hidden Gospels. London 2009.

57 A. S. Lewis, In the Shadows of Sinai. A Story of Travel and Research from 1895 to 1897. Cambridge 1898.

58 For a selected bibliography on this manuscript see: R.L. Bensly – J. Rendel Harris – F.C. Burkitt, The Four Gospels in Syriac: Transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest. Cambridge 1894; A. S. Lewis, The Old Syriac Gospels or Evangelion da-Mepharreshê: being the Text of the Sinai or Syro-Antiochene Palimpsest; including the Latest Additions and Emendations, with the Variants of the Curetonian Text, Corroborations from Many Other Mss., and a List of Quotations from Ancient Authors. London 1910; A. Hjelt, Syrus Sinaiticus: Codex Palimpsestus Sinaiticus. Helsinki 1930. It should be noted that the manuscript has been newly described in the course of the *Sinai Palimpsests Project* of EMEL by Sebastian Brock for the Syriac undertexts, and Pasquale Orsini for the Greek (see: P. Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci: nuovi materiali dal Sinai, in: New Light on Old Manuscripts: The Sinai Palimpsests and Other Advances in Palimpsest Studies, ed. C. Rapp – G. Rossetto – J. Grusková – G. Kessel. Forthcoming).

of the Gospels (late 5th–6th century):[59]

> '[…] When I was asked, "What do you wish to see?" I replied, "All your oldest Syriac manuscripts, particularly those which Dr. Harris had no time to examine, for I want to take a report of them to him" […] A few minutes after this daring speech we were taken through a small room containing twelve boxes of manuscripts, into the dark closet which I had so often dreamt about, and from one of its little chests some six or eight manuscripts were carried into the light of day. I first examined n. 16 […] Then I saw the palimpsest. It had a forbidding look, for it was very dirty, and its leaves were nearly all stuck together through their having remained unturned probably since the last Syrian monk had died, centuries ago, in the Convent. I had never before seen a palimpsest, but my father had often related to us wonderful stories of how the old monks, when vellum had become scarce and paper was not yet invented, scraped away the writing from the pages of their books and wrote something new on the top of it; and how, after the lapse of ages, the old ink was revived by the action of common air, and the old words peeped up again […] I saw at once that this manuscript contained two writings […] the latter was written in two columns […]'.[60]

In those early days, undertaking *Palimpsestforschung* at Saint Catherine's meant studying a particular selected palimpsest. This approach is highly understandable since—before the publication of the first printed catalogues—there was little way of knowing what a wide range of palimpsest material the library harboured. As a consequence, the very idea of a comprehensive investigation of the palimpsest collection was as yet unimaginable.

Moreover, the catalogues, and especially the early ones, are very irregularly conceived: the information provided is neither complete nor accurate, and the presence of palimpsest folia is recorded in a very sporadic and unsystematic way. For instance, according to Beneševič there was no mention of palimpsests at all in Kosmas' 1704 inventory.[61] Gardthausen makes no reference to palimpsests in the *praefatio* to his catalogue,[62] but he did register—though inconsistently—the presence of rewritten folia: he identified eleven palimpsests in the Greek Old Collection, yet nowadays we know of 21 such manuscripts.[63]

It was only at the beginning of 1950 that the Sinai manuscript collection was considered in its entirety. This was the year of the Sinai expedition, led by K. W. Clark and supported by the American Foundation for the Study of Man and the Library of Congress. The project's stated aim was the photographic recording of all Saint Catherine's manuscripts, which implied 'a more exhaustive examination of the library collections than they have ever before received'.[64] Six months of activity (January to June 1950) resulted in 1700 rolls of microfilm and 1000 photographs capturing over two million manuscript pages. Out of about 3300 examined manuscripts, 1687 were chosen for recording on photographic film.[65] The principal outcome was the 1952 publication of the so-called "Checklist of Manuscripts in Saint Catherine's Monastery", a guide to the microfilm collection.[66] The digitized microfilms were made accessible online at the Library of Congress website in May 2017.

This broader overview for the first time allowed scholars to get an impression of the extent of the rewritten

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Descriptions are available online at http://sinaipalimpsests.org (19.09.2022).

59 For the Old Syriac version see: B. M. Metzger, The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations. Oxford 1977, 36–48, and, more recently, J.-C. Haelewyck, Les Vieilles versions syriaques des Évangiles, in: Le Nouveau Testament en syriaque, ed. J.-C. Haelewyck. Paris 2017, 67–113.

60 Lewis, In the Shadows of Sinai VI–VIII.

61 V. N. Beneševič, Les manuscrits grecs du Mont Sinaï et le monde savant de l'Europe depuis le XVIIe siècle jusq' à 1927. Athens 1937, 25–27.

62 V. E. Gardthausen, Catalogus codicum graecorum sinaiticorum. Oxford 1886, V–VIII.

63 See below Appendix 1: Palimpsests with Greek *Scriptio Superior*.

64 K. W. Clark, Microfilming Manuscripts at Jerusalem and Mt. Sinai. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 123 (1951) 18.

65 For details of the mission, its aims and outcomes see: Clark, Microfilming Manuscripts; K. W. Clark, The Microfilming Projects at Mount Sinai and Jerusalem. *Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions* 8/3 (1951) 6–12; K. W. Clark, Checklist of Manuscripts in Saint Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai, Microfilmed for the Library of Congress, 1950. Washington 1952; K. W. Clark, Exploring the Manuscripts of Sinai and Jerusalem. *Biblical Archaeologist* 16/2 (1953) 21–43; K. W. Clark, Twenty-Five Years Ago: Exploring the Manuscripts of Sinai and Jerusalem. *Biblical Archaeologist* 41/2 (1978) 76–79.

66 Clark, Checklist.

manuscripts in the monastery's collections: 'there are numerous palimpsests at Saint Catherine's, but time did not permit special treatment of these. In some cases, the underlying text may be at least identified from the film, though a complete study would require examination of the original manuscript. Those palimpsests that have received special attention in the past are Sin. syr. 30 and Sin. ar. 514. But there are many more still to be studied and they are most numerous in the extensive Greek collection'.[67]

Almost 70 years later—a time frame that has been marked by great advances in the techniques used for reading palimpsests—the *Sinai Palimpsests Project* of EMEL has responded to this call.[68]

READING THE ILLEGIBLE: FROM CHEMICAL REAGENTS TO MULTISPECTRAL IMAGING

Many palimpsests are almost illegible to the naked eye. Scholars have therefore long resorted to artificial aids to render the undertexts visible. A range of techniques for restoring legibility have been adopted: from the use of chemical reagents in the 19th century—with lasting damaging effects—to the most recent non-invasive imaging systems.

Before focusing on the *Sinai Palimpsests Project* of EMEL and dealing with the more sophisticated imaging techniques, I will offer a brief account of how reading palimpsest manuscripts has changed over time.

The Bitter "Magic" of Chemical Reagents

The desire to decipher the potentially immensely valuable texts hidden in palimpsest manuscripts led 19th-century scholars to experiment with various means of quickly making the erased scripts readable. Thanks to the assistance of apothecaries and chemists, it was soon understood that chemical reagents had the "magical" potential to make the traces of metallic iron gall ink in the undertexts more legible, if only for a brief moment.[69] The most widely used substances were oak-gall tincture, liver of sulphur tinctures, and Gioberti tincture.[70]

1. Oak-gall tincture. This essence, derived from so-called oak-apples and rich in tannic acid, brightens the faded metallic ink of the undertext so that it becomes legible. A negative side effect is that the tannic acid causes the parchment to become brownish in hue, and the ink to corrode over time. This tincture was used by Cardinal Angelo Mai (1782–1854) to read the famous Cicero palimpsest in the Vatican Library.
2. Liver of sulphur tinctures. The detrimental consequence of lasting damage from the oak-gall tincture led to experiments with different reagents thought to be less destructive. There are three kinds of such essences: liver of sulphur, calcic liver of sulphur, and volatile liver of sulphur. Reagents made from these chemicals, when in contact with the metallic traces of the *scriptio inferior*, help to "freshen up" the optical effect of the old traces of ink. The first two (liver of sulphur and calcic liver of sulphur) have the regrettable property of leaving a white mineral film on the parchment, which is difficult to remove. The third, namely the volatile liver of sulphur, does no noteworthy damage to the parchment. Because of the presence of sulphur, all these tinctures produce a characteristic smell of rotten eggs. They were used by Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776–1831) to read palimpsests in Milan, and by Wilhelm Karl Grimm (1786–1859) to decipher a 12th-century palimpsest fragment of early German courtly poetry in the University Library of Göttingen.
3. Gioberti tincture. This reagent is named after the Turin chemist and mineralogist Giovanni Antonio Gioberti (1761–1834). It is a weak acid solution of potassium hexacyanoferrate (II), which reacts in contact with the iron sulphate of the ink to produce a deep blue precipitate. As a result, the *scriptio superior* assumes a blue discoloration and the *scriptio inferior* a greenish one. This tincture, often used by Tischendorf, caused the greatest damage to the manuscripts.

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[67] Clark, Checklist VII and n. 3.

[68] A preliminary survey of Saint Catherine's palimpsests was accomplished by P. Nikolopoulos with his assistant G. Foukaneli–Fyssa in the context of the *Rinascimento Virtuale* project (2001–2004). The result of this investigation is unpublished.

[69] See for instance footnote 71 for the amazed reaction of Father Galaktéon to the reagent's effect.

[70] On the use of chemical reagents in the 19th century see F. Albrecht, Between Boon and Bane: The Use of Chemical Reagents in Palimpsest Research in the Nineteenth Century, in: Care and Conservation of Manuscripts 13. Proceedings of the 13th International Seminar Held at the University of Copenhagen 13th–15th April 2011, ed. M. J. Driscoll. Copenhagen 2012, 147–165, and A. Bausi et al., Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction. Hamburg 2015, 31, with further bibliography.

Many palimpsests have been damaged irreversibly by eminent scholars because of their heavy use of reagents: their destructive effects were at that time unknown.

Were such tinctures used on Saint Catherine's manuscripts too? The following words by Lewis are illuminating:

> 'I had still another project in regard to the palimpsest [*Sin. syr. 30*], which my friends [*Rendel-Harris, Burkitt, Bensly*] were one and all reluctant to let me disclose, as they did not know how the monks would take it. I had made enquiries in the manuscript room of the British Museum as to the best means of reviving ancient writing, when faded, without risk of injury either to the script or to the vellum. I had come provided with four bottles of a very ill-scented composition, from the fumes of which I hoped to be protected by a respirator specially designed for the purpose'.[71]

> 'I of course made some use of the re-agent. This takes time, for one has to apply it very cautiously to a palimpsest, so as not to make the ink of the upper writing run. It had to be used within the four walls of a room instead of as formerly in the open air, as it served the useful purpose of shortening the visits of the curious, whether monks or others […] I got so accustomed to the scent from my bottle, that I actually came to like it'.[72]

This is the only written attestation for the use of reagents at Saint Catherine's Monastery.[73] Lewis and Gibson employed an ill-smelling solution[74] in order to make the erased texts of manuscript Sin. syr. 30 legible: a liver of sulphur tincture, as confirmed by Lewis some pages later.

> 'Owing to a mistake in my calculations, I had brought very tiny bottles of the reagent, less than a fourth I had actually used in 1893. The time came when I could decipher no more without a fresh supply. Father Euthymios and the English visitors both said that I ought not to hesitate a moment in despatching a Bedaway and his camel to Suez to procure this […] To guard against any possible mistake, I wrote a letter in Greek to the apothecary […] He [the beduin] brought a letter from the apothecary, stating that having no hydro-sulphuret of ammonia in stock, he had sent to Alexandria to have it made, and he hoped to send it on in a few days with some chance caravan'.[75]

From these words it is clear that the sisters used the third kind of liver of sulphur tincture, namely the volatile liver of sulphur, which consists of ammonium hydrogen sulphide in solution. This chemical was also referred to as sulphurated ammonia or hydrosulphuret of ammonia, exactly as Lewis calls it. The palimpsests treated with volatile liver of sulphur manifest no particular damaging changes to the parchment surface. This is certainly the case with the leaves of manuscript Sin. syr. 30, which apart from displaying a light-yellow discoloration in the margins and being cockled and glossy, do not appear particularly damaged.[76]

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[71] M. D. Gibson, How the Codex was Found. A Narrative of Two Visits to Sinai. From Mrs. Lewis's Journals 1892–1893. Cambridge 1893, 134–135. It is very interesting to note how Lewis and Gibson's colleagues were against the use of the reagent, Bensly in particular ('Professor Bensly at first disapproved the proceeding', p. 136). The use of the reagent was instead much welcomed by Father Galaktéon: 'for ten days I had to restrain my impatience about using this, but on the eleventh I happened to open a large volume of Mar Isaac's discourses […] which contained many pages so faded as to be quite illegible. I asked Galaktéon to let me restore one of these, with the result, that it came up in a brilliant hue of dark green, and he was so astonished that he asked me to paint up the whole volume, then to try my "scent bottle", as it was called, on other hoary documents. How triumphant I felt when he gave me permission to touch up the palimpsest, though only in places where it could not be read otherwise', pp. 135–136.

[72] Lewis, In the Shadows of Sinai 92–93.

[73] Tischendorf used the Gioberti tincture on the Sinai palimpsests he brought to Europe, for instance on Leipzig UB gr. 2 and Cantabr. Add. 1879.5, but he is not known to have used reagents in Sinai. This is reflected in the fact that we have not come across any trace of damage caused by Gioberti tincture on Sinai palimpsests.

[74] Concerning this "side-effect" with some reagents see the words of Wilhlem Karl Grimm on April 28, 1827: 'The very smell of the reagent had such a strong effect that I had to give up this winter and had to wait until milder weather allowed me to work with the windows opened' (Albrecht, Chemical Reagents in Palimpsest Research 156).

[75] Lewis, In the Shadows of Sinai 122–123. See also Bensly – Rendel Harris – Burkitt, Four Gospels XX.

[76] Personal inspection at the Monastery of Saint Catherine, September 2014.

Another interesting piece of information that can be gleaned from Lewis' narration is that there was even some reagent preserved from an earlier visit in the monastery's storage rooms.

> 'Necessity, however, is the mother of invention, and I bethought me of a bottle which I had left with Father Galaktéon in 1893 for a keepsake. Though tightly corked and sealed, its contents had partly evaporated when Father Euthymios produced it triumphantly from the Convent stores. It contained more than I required'.[77]

All in all, the current state of the Sinai palimpsest manuscripts is very favourable because, not having been severely damaged by reagents, their undertexts are easier to recover with the most advanced non-invasive technologies.

The path which has led to the non-invasive methods of today began about 120 years ago and has been characterized by a number of experiments. A decisive role was played by the invention of photography.

Photography at the Service of Palaeography[78]

After the maturation of the technology of monochrome emulsion imaging in the 1880s—half a century after the first manuscript was ever photographed by William Henry Fox Talbot in 1839[79]—using photography for historical documents started to become more common: not only in European libraries, but even in Sinai, as the activities of scholars like James Rendel Harris and the sisters Agnes Smith Lewis and Margaret Dunlop Gibson prove. Rendel Harris, a true experimenter in imaging, was the first to photograph manuscripts at Saint Catherine's in 1889.[80] With his strong encouragement, the sisters followed his example.

> 'Mr. Rendel Harris, who visited the Convent of Saint Catherine in 1889, and there made the happy discovery of the Apology of Aristides, not only insisted on teaching us photography, but lent us his own camera, and accepted with Christian resignation all the little injuries we did to it. […] Our only fear was that, being such utter novices in photography, and having got our camera only two days before we started, we might be quite incapable of doing justice to a unique opportunity'.[81]

On the occasion of their first stay at the monastery in 1892, they brought with them 1000 film exposures (nitrite emulsions), while Rendel Harris had ordered them a half-plate camera and designed a manuscript stand.[82] They were successful in taking pictures of the *Codex Syrus Sinaiticus* and other Syriac, CPA, and Arabic manuscripts, ready to be developed back home.

> '[…] we came home laden with treasure in the shape of a thousand undeveloped photographs. […] We set about developing the negatives ourselves, and succeeded with them beyond what our inexperience justified'.[83]

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77 Lewis, In the Shadows of Sinai 124.

78 Overviews of the topic can be found in C. Faraggiana di Sarzana, La fotografia applicata a manoscritti greci di difficile lettura: origini ed evoluzione di uno strumento di ricerca e i principi metodologici che ne regolano l'uso, in: El palimpsesto grecolatino como fenómeno librario y textual, ed. Á. Escobar. Zaragoza 2006, 65–80, and R. L. Easton Jr. – D. Kelbe, Statistical Processing of Spectral Imagery to Recover Writings from Erased or Damaged Manuscripts. *Manuscript Cultures* 7 (2014) 35–46, with relevant bibliography. On the history of manuscripts photography at Saint Catherine's Monastery see D. Kasotakis, The Manuscripts of Saint Catherine's Monastery (Sinai) through the Photographic Lens: From Glass Plates to Digital Spectral Imaging. Doctoral Thesis. Ioannina 2022 (accessible online: https://www.didaktorika.gr/eadd/handle/10442/51267?locale=en) (19.09.2022).

79 William Henry Fox Talbot photographed an autograph of Lord Byron containing the last stanza of the *Ode to Napoleon*. The picture, defined by the author as "a tribute of science to poetry" was put on display in an exhibition organised by the Graphic Society of London (Faraggiana di Sarzana, La fotografia applicata a manoscritti greci di difficile lettura 67).

80 He took between 300 and 400 pictures with an ordinary camera provided with an Eastman-Walker Roll-Holder. The books to be photographed were mounted on a manuscript-holder built according to Rendel Harris' instructions by a certain Mr. Crouch, an optician in London (J. Rendel Harris, Biblical Fragments from Mount Sinai. London 1890, VII; A. Falcetta, The Daily Discoveries of a Bible Scholar and Manuscript Hunter. A Biography of James Rendel Harris (1852–1941). London 2018, 90).

81 Gibson, How the Codex was Found 7 and 9.

82 Soskice, Sisters of Sinai 136; Falcetta, Rendel Harris 116.

83 Gibson, How the Codex was Found 70.

Up to this point, the effort of photographing manuscripts was concerned with making copies that would later be conveniently accessible at home.

The next step was to improve readability, which is the reason why palimpsests are imaged today. The first palimpsest chosen for such treatment was a Greek manuscript when, on June 1st 1894 at the *Physikalische Gesellschaft zu Berlin* Ernst Pringsheim and Otto Gradenwitz pioneered the use of multiple photographic images to enhance an erased text. With the effect they achieved, they became the first to use a kind of image-processing which is rightly considered a precursor to modern techniques. The chosen manuscript was the codex Berol. graec. quart. 65 (367), now preserved at the Biblioteka Jagiellónska in Krakow (Diktyon 9234). Their method involved the preparation of two negatives using separate collecting and processing conditions, with the *scriptio inferior* displayed with a different degree of intensity. The two resulting transparencies were aligned mechanically. This procedure was very time-consuming, but allowed for a partial reading of the *scriptio inferior* on f. 51r, containing the beginning of the *Enkomion on the Protomartyr Stephen* by Gregory of Nyssa.

Four years later, the *Erste Internationale Konferenz zur Erhaltung und Ausbesserung alter Handschriften* (Sankt Gall, 1898) marked a decisive turning-point in palimpsest research, since photography was now recommended as an essential tool for scholars.[84] At the beginning, analogue photography was the means, followed much later by the use of digitized analogue photographs.

In the early 1900s, the Benedictine monk Raphael Gustav Kögel first photographed fluorescence emission from manuscripts subjected to illumination from UV light, a process that he called *Kontaktoxydationsmethode*. This was carried out at the *Institut für Palimpsestphotographie* at the Archabbey of Beuron (Germany, Baden-Württemberg), which Kögel helped found. However, his efforts were interrupted by World War I and not resumed subsequently (though he did publish a monograph describing his methods in 1920).[85] In general, the 20th century is characterized—largely because of the wars—by little advance in the development of non-invasive methods for the study of palimpsests.

It became usual for scholars to work in libraries using UV portable lamps (so-called Wood's lamps, which emit long-wave ultraviolet light and not much visible light) for decipherment purposes. However, the heat output of conventional UV lamps is enormous. This has an impact on the parchment and exposure to longer UV-radiation causes undulations by altering the humidity on the surface.

For this reason, all current projects using photographic analysis make use of modern LED technology that emits a very low level of thermal energy. Moreover, the late 20th century has seen great advances in imaging and illumination hardware, and also in processing software driven by the digital revolution in computing technologies. Images are collected under different qualities of illumination over a range of wavelength bands, and then compared with each other digitally in order to further improve the visibility of the lower layers. This method is known as multispectral imaging and will be treated in greater detail in the next section.

THE *SINAI PALIMPSESTS PROJECT* OF EMEL (2011–2016)[86]

Thanks to progress in digital photography and increasing cooperation among scholars with different expertise (e.g.: imaging, computer science and philology), the study of palimpsests has gained notable momentum in recent deacades and several "palimpsest projects" have been conceived.

With few exceptions, these projects have dealt or deal with individual palimpsests, philologically interesting and attractive because their erased layers preserved previously unknown, or little known, classical texts. Elias Avery Lowe's words are still rather valid: 'the fascination of palimpsests rests primarily on the possibility of recovering a hitherto unknown text, as Angelo Mai once recovered Cicero's long lost *De Republica*'.[87]

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[84] M. J. Smith, Die erste internationale Konferenz zur Erhaltung und Ausbesserung alter Handschriften, in: Care and Conservation of Manuscripts 13. Proceedings of the 13th International Seminar Held at the University of Copenhagen (13th–15th April 2011), ed. M. J. Driscoll. Copenhagen 2012, 33–47.

[85] P. R. Kögel, Die Palimpsestphotographie. Halle (Saale) 1920.

[86] I am grateful to Michael Phelps, Ken Boydston and Damianos Kasotakis for the technical information on EMEL's multispectral imaging system; to Roger Easton, David Kelbe and Keith Knox for information on image processing.

[87] E. A. Lowe, Codices Rescripti. A List of the Oldest Latin Palimpsests with Stray Observations on their Origin, in: Mélanges Eugène Tisserant. Vatican City 1964, V, 68.

Examples of projects of this kind are the *Archimedes Palimpsest Project*,[88] which began in 1998 at the Walters Art Gallery (now Walters Art Museum) in Baltimore, and the *Scythica Vindobonensia* project, beginning in 2013 and dealing with the undertext of manuscript Vind. hist. gr. 73 (Diktyon 70950).[89]

But, considering only those palimpsests that contain rare classical texts thought to be worthy of interest would be a mistake, conveying a wholly inadequate and misleading idea of the phenomenon of palimpsestation. Indeed, palimpsests that contain erased layers of classical texts are in the minority. Even if not always of great philological interest, the erased layers and codicological characteristics of palimpsest manuscripts can shed light on the interests of the communities that produced these manuscripts and their way of working when reusing old parchment. Furthermore, their codicological and palaeographic value makes them intrinsically worth investigating.

Yet a considered evaluation of palimpsestation as an all-round phenomenon has only recently begun.[90] Projects have rarely entertained a thorough investigation of entire manuscript collections. Just to focus on Greek palimpsests, before Edoardo Crisci's comprehensive study of the entire palimpsest collection of the Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale di Grottaferrata in 1990, in general terms only preliminary contributions were available. In this connection, I would note, in chronological order, individual pieces on the palimpsests of the University and the National Library of Greece in Athens (Reich[91]), of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Jacob[92]), the Athos' Monasteries (Lambros[93]), the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Bick[94]), the Bodleian Library (Lobel[95]), and the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana and Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona (Formentin[96]).

Almost ten years after Crisci's publication, the *Rinascimento Virtuale* project (2001–2004) was launched, led by Dieter Harlfinger.[97] It included 26 European countries and 51 partners (universities, research institutions, foundations, and libraries). The aim was to conduct a census, describing, studying, and making digital reproductions of Greek palimpsests preserved in European collections. Because of its broad scope, this can be regarded as a revolutionary project that has opened the way for joint undertakings between scholars and cross-national institutions, resulting in a number of conferences and publications.[98]

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[88] This is a 13th-century prayer book, currently preserved in a private collection, which contains among the erased texts Archimedes' *Method* and *Stomachion*, speeches by the orator Hypereides, and a commentary on Aristotle's *Categories*. See N. G. Wilson, Archimedes: The Palimpsest and the Tradition. *BZ* 92 (1999) 89–101, pl. IV–IX; N. G. Wilson, The Archimedes Palimpsest: A Progress Report. *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 62 (2004) 61–68; R. Netz – W. Noel, The Archimedes Codex: How a Medieval Prayer Book is Revealing the True Genius of Antiquity's Greatest Scientist. Cambridge, MA 2007; Netz – Noel – Tchernetska – Wilson, The Archimedes Palimpsest and the project website http://www.archimedespalimpsest.org/ (19.09.2022).

[89] Four folia of this 13th-century prayer book are palimpsest and contain previously unknown fragments on Gothic incursions into Roman provinces in the middle of the 3rd century AD by the historian Dexippus of Athens. See: https://www.oeaw.ac.at/byzanz/sprache-text-und-schrift/buchkultur-palaeographie-und-palimpseste/scythica-vindobonensia/ (19.09.2022), with the literature there listed.

[90] See for instance Crisci, I palinsesti di Grottaferrata 8 about the aims of his own study: 'indagare quindi i modi e le forme di riutilizzazione di manoscritti antichi, distrutti e ridotti al ruolo di supporto materiale per nuovi testi; analizzare il rapporto fra testo inferiore e testo superiore; individuare, per quanto possibile, gli ambienti e i luoghi della riutilizzazione, e dunque il probabile itinerario di certi codici; chiarire infine la "ragion d'essere" del palinsesto in un particolare ambito storico-geografico, sono questi gli obiettivi che uno studio del genere dovrebbe almeno proporsi'. Similar intentions are expressed by Crisci, Codices Graeci rescripti 37–38.

[91] W. Reich, Über die Palimpseste der Universitäts- und Nationalbibliothek in Athen, in: Festgruss dem Rektor des Gymnasiums zu Nürnberg Herrn Oberstudienrat Dr. Heinrich Heerwagen zur 25. Feier seines Amtsantrittes in dankbarer Verehrung dargebracht von den Lehren der Studienanstalten Nürnberg und Fürth. Erlangen 1882, 91–101.

[92] Al. Jacob, De nonnullis codicibus graecis palimpsestis in Bibliotheca majore parisiensi asservatis, in: Mélanges Renier. Paris 1887, 347–358; Al. Jacob, Notes sur les manuscrits grecs palimpsestes de la Bibliothèque Nationale, in: Mélanges Julien Havet. Paris 1895, 759–770; Al. Jacob, Notes sur les manuscrits grecs palimpsestes du fonds Coislin et du Supplément grec de la Bibliothèque Nationale. *Revue des Bibliothèques* 9 (1899) 372–380.

[93] Sp. Lambros, Περί τῶν παλιμψήστων κωδίκων τῶν Ἁγιορειτικῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν. Athens 1888.

[94] J. Bick, Wiener Palimpseste, in: Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Klasse, CLIX, nr. 7. Vienna 1908.

[95] E. Lobel, Palimpsests in the Bodleian Library. *Bodleian Quarterly Record* 3 (1920) 166–170.

[96] M. R. Formentin, I palinsesti greci della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana e della Capitolare di Verona. *ΔΙΠΤΥΧΑ* 2 (1980–1981) 146–186.

[97] http://www.rinascimentovirtuale.eu/ (19.09.2022).

[98] For instance: the conference "Libri palinsesti greci: conservazione, restauro digitale, studio" (Grottaferrata, Abbazia di San Nilo, 21–24 aprile 2004), the papers of which were published in Lucà, Libri palinsesti greci. As a result of this project, important

The *Sinai Palimpsests Project* of the Early Manuscripts Electronic Library (EMEL)[99] is, for its part, the first palimpsest project to deal with an exceptionally rich, non-European collection in its entirety—namely to consider manuscripts written in all the attested languages.[100] The project, conducted at the invitation of the Synaxis of the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine and His Eminence Archbishop Damianos, Bishop of Sinai, Pharan and Raithu, was launched in 2009 with an initial feasibility study, and then continued over a six-year funding period, beginning in 2011 and supported by the Arcadia Fund of London.[101]

Out of the ca. 170 Sinai palimpsests,[102] 74 manuscripts—accounting for a total of over 6900 sides—have been imaged during the project.[103] The work was undertaken under the directorship of Michael Phelps with Claudia Rapp as Scholarly Director. I joined the project in September 2014 as Claudia Rapp's assistant.

The workflow adopted for working on the palimpsests at Saint Catherine's was as follows:

1. evaluation of the material to be handled; codicological description of the manuscripts *in situ*, then entered into the palimpsest database KatIkon;[104]
2. multispectral imaging of the palimpsests (by camera operators);
3. processing of the multispectral images (by imaging scientists);
4. analysis of the erased texts by the participating scholars associated with the project, and entry of the text identifications and other relevant information into KatIkon;[105]
5. transfer of the KatIkon material (accessible to project members only) to an open-access database (freely available after registration) providing images and descriptions for each recto and verso.[106]

A project of this kind requires input from individuals with different skills: data managers, camera operators, imaging scientists, palaeographers and philologists.[107] A complete list of participants can be found on the project's website (http://sinaipalimpsests.org). EMEL is a world leader in the field of manuscript digitisation, and many of their partners were previously involved in the aforementioned *Archimedes Palimpsest Project*.

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monographs and various articles that apply an up-to-date and more holistic approach to the study of palimpsests of specific manuscript collections (or sections of manuscript collections) have been published. To quote just a couple of examples: Melissakis, Οι παλίμψηστοι κώδικες της Εθνικής Βιβλιοθήκης της Ελλάδος, for the palimpsests of the National Library of Greece; and Gruskovà, Untersuchungen, for those of the Austrian National Library.

99 http://emel-library.org/ (19.09.2022).

100 For general articles on the project see C. Rapp – M. Phelps, The Sinai Palimpsests Project. *Sinaiticus* (2017) 18–20, and Father Justin Sinaites, The Sinai Palimpsest Project. *Sinaiticus* (2014) 4–5. The project was also reported in *National Geographic* (March 2017: http://www.nationalgeographic.com/magazine/2017/03/explore-ancient-manuscripts/ [19.09.2022]), *The Atlantic* (August 2017: https://www.theatlantic.com/science/archive/2017/08/sinai-peninsula-hidden-texts/536313/ [19.09.2022]), the *Smithsonian Magazine* (January/February 2018: https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/archaeologoists-only-just-beginning-reveal-secrets-hidden-ancient-manuscripts-180967455/?no-cache [19.09.2022]) and *BBC news*: https://www.bbc.com/news/business-44144527 [19.09.2022]).

101 https://www.arcadiafund.org.uk/ (19.09.2022).

102 For clarity's sake, the *Sinai Palimpsests Project* did not go through the whole collection folio by folio, in search of new palimpsest folia. Nonetheless, a complete survey should be the prerequisite for *Sinai Palimpsests Project II*, a very desirable next step.

103 They are distributed as follows (the language refers to the *scriptio superior*): 6 Arabic, 8 CPA, 14 Georgian, 21 Greek, 2 Slavonic, 23 Syriac.

104 KatIkon was created by Doug Emery on the basis of a previous database developed for the *Archimedes Palimpsest Project* at the Walters Art Gallery (now Walters Art Museum). It is a complete tool, which allows for the recording and visualisation of information about the palimpsests at different levels: manuscript level (overtext), manuscript level (undertexts), folio level. This digital cataloguing tool is thoroughly described in Emery – Rapp, KatIkon.

105 The Project was not designed to supply editions of the recovered texts.

106 https://sinai.library.ucla.edu/ (19.09.2022). The database is hosted by the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA). A duplicate of the data is kept at the Athen's metochion of Saint Catherine's Monastery.

107 One of the first to underline the importance of this kind of cooperation was the father of Byzantine studies, Karl Krumbacher. In a far-sighted contribution, he welcomed the use of discoveries made in the field of photography in the service of manuscript studies, insisting on the palaeographer or philologist knowing at least some basics of photographic techniques. See K. Krumbacher, Die Photographie im Dienste der Geisteswissenschaften. *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* 9 (1906) 604: 'der Lehrer der Paläographie sollte bei der Benutzung der Tafeln auch die Hauptarten der Reproduktion und ihre Vorzüge und Nachteile praktisch erläutern können'. On Karl Krumbacher and photography see also A. Müller, Von Umkehrprismen, Lumièreplatten und dem Photometer: Karl Krumbacher und die Photographie, in: Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. K. Belke – E. Kislinger – A. Külzer – M. A. Stassinopoulou. Wien 2007, 459–466.

I will now briefly describe the most technical aspects of the workflow process (Imaging and Image processing).

As some of the participants of the *Sinai Palimpsests Project* were part of the *Archimedes Palimpsest Project* too, the Sinai system was partially based on that used in the earlier project. It features components from three firms specializing in scientific and cultural heritage imaging.

1. MegaVision provided a 50-megapixel monochrome camera, with a specialized lens designed to capture ultraviolet, visible, and infrared light at the same image plane. Moreover, MegaVision's Photoshoot digital image capture software has allowed the supervision of all aspects of image capture and illumination, enabling the automated collection of each sequence of 33 images.
2. Equipoise Imaging supplied innovative spectral illumination solutions using light-emitting diodes (LEDs), which provide illumination in 12 wavelengths from UV (365nm) to IR (940 nm), raking illumination in blue and IR, and first-of-their-kind transmissive spectral illumination sources, which are very useful in the case of a manuscript where the ink has eaten into the parchment.[108]
3. Stokes Imaging provided a computer-controlled cradle for fragile codices, which rotates the spine of codices according to the natural movement of a book as its pages are turned. A simple copy-stand, with the camera on a vertical column, suffices for folia, bifolia, and fragments.[109]

Multispectral Image Capture: Recovering Erased Writing[110]

How did this imaging system work? After setting up the system, under the direction of chief camera operator Damianos Kasotakis, the operators collected a set of 33 images for each folio. Four modalities of image capture were employed, sequenced automatically by the MegaVision *Photoshoot* software. They were:

1. Spectral reflectance. Each folio is illuminated with 12 wavelengths of light from UV (365 nm) to near IR (940 nm), which is significantly broader than the narrow range of the human eye's spectral sensitivity (between approximately 400nm in blue light to 700nm in red light). However, significant information is often present at wavelengths outside this range, such as the ultraviolet and infrared ranges.
2. Fluorescence. When parchment is illuminated with ultraviolet or blue short-wavelength light it fluoresces. This happens because it absorbs the short-wavelength light and emits light at a longer wavelength, giving off a typically "glowing" effect. Since the fluorescent light comes from the parchment, the faint traces of erased ink on the surface of the parchment become more visible. Moreover, a filter wheel in front of the lens distinguishes reflected UV light from UV fluorescence, and differentiates the colour components of the fluorescence coming from the parchment.
3. Raking illumination. This is light projected onto the parchment at a 15 degrees angle, which allows the texture of the parchment's surface to be much more fully appreciated and thus facilitates the detection of traces of prickings, rulings, or erasures.
4. Transmission. It often happens that iron-gall ink (the most common ink used for writing parchment manuscripts) corrodes the parchment over time and leaves letter-shaped depressions or holes ("Tintenfrass"). This occurs most often on the flesh sides of the parchment leaves. In transmissive imaging, each folio is backlighted with multiple wavelengths of light in order to turn the letter-shaped channels into legible text.

Image Processing: Maximizing the Legibility of Erased Writing[111]

Raw multispectral images captured at Saint Catherine's were combined through image processing to generate derivative images with the goal of maximising the erased texts' legibility.[112] The choice of processing algorithm

[108] See **Figure 1**.
[109] See **Figures 2–3**.
[110] On this in general, see D. R. Falk – D. R. Brill – D. G. Stork, Seeing the Light: Optics in Nature, Photography, Color, Vision, and Holography. New York 1986.
[111] On this in general, see G. A. Baxes, Digital Image Processing: Principles and Applications. New York 1994.
[112] See **Figure 4**.

to enhance the desired features depends on the specific situation. In the present case, both automated and manual image-processing techniques were used.

1. Automated batch processing.[113] This technique was developed primarily by scientist Keith Knox. Two or more raw images are combined into a single monochrome or pseudocolour image, through a simple processing algorithm. For instance, subtracting an infrared image from an ultraviolet fluorescence image has the effect of reducing the contrast of the overtext while enhancing the contrast of the undertext. The result is satisfactory for approximately 70% of the imaged folia and is very useful, as it permits an accelerated process—essential in dealing with a large quantity of images.[114]
2. Supervised processing.[115] When automated processing did not give satisfactory results, the folia were assigned to imaging scientists Roger L. Easton and David Kelbe, who manually applied other image-processing methods.[116] In most cases, they used statistical analysis to select the bands to be rendered. In statistical processing, the band combinations are calculated from the statistics of the grey values in the ensemble of spectral bands for each class of object. Statistical processing techniques are able to distinguish features not otherwise visible in the images. There are a number of techniques of this kind, including principal component analysis (PCA) and independent component analysis (ICA), which isolate different features in the stack of image bands of each folio (as many as 50), such as the parchment, the overtext, and the undertext. Many of these techniques were originally developed for military purposes (for example, in camouflage detection) or for environmental applications in practices like assessing the health of crops, but they are directly applicable to the goal of enhancing subtle reflective differences in reflectance spectra of the different features of a manuscript. This is done using IDL® and ENVI® software from Harris Geospatial, after which, the best of the grayscale images produced by the statistical analysis are combined into a pseudocolour image in Adobe Photoshop. The pseudocolour rendering seems noticeably to improve the legibility of the undertext, especially with the variation of the hue angle, which Adobe Photoshop users can modify at will. Formally, modification of the hue angle in a pseudocolour image changes the mapping of the colour tones without varying saturation or luminance values at the pixel level. In practice, perceived changes in luminance and saturation accompany hue rotation. It is this triad of adjustments that is exploited to enhance the visibility of the undertext in different places on any particular folio.[117]

At this point, the processed images were ready to be sent to scholars, who had the task of deciphering and identifying the erased texts.[118] Some of the results—primarily concerning Greek palimpsests—are found in the following pages.

No comprehensive scholarly publication on the project exists as yet, though one is forthcoming following the international conference, "New Light on Old Manuscripts: Recent Advances in Palimpsest Studies", organised by Claudia Rapp together with Jana Grusková, Grigory Kessel, and myself in Vienna (25–27 April 2018).[119] On this occasion, scholars involved in the *Sinai Palimpsests Project* and other palimpsest projects made their results available to a wider public.[120]

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[113] Netz – Noel – Tchernetska – Wilson, The Archimedes Palimpsest 180–188 (see the section on Knox' techniques, with further bibliography on p. 207).

[114] See **Figure 5**.

[115] Easton – Kelbe Statistical Processing and (unpublished) tutorials by D. Kelbe and R. L. Easton. Easton's tutorial ("Spectral Imaging and Image Processing using ENVI Classic") was distributed to the participants of the Franco-German Summer School ManuSciences 2015 (myself included).

[116] See **Figure 6**.

[117] Thanks to a year's training (2015–2016) from David Kelbe, and a month's stay (April–May 2016) at the Rochester Institute of Technology (NY) under the supervision of Roger Easton, I learnt the techniques for supervised image processing and was able to apply them to manuscript Sin. gr. 960 (see more on this below). See one of my results in the Appendix, **Figure 7**.

[118] It is often necessary for the image processing to be adjusted at this stage in response to the scholars' input.

[119] C. Rapp – G. Rossetto – J. Grusková – G. Kessel (ed.), New Light on Old Manuscripts: The Sinai Palimpsests and Other Advances in Palimpsest Studies. Forthcoming. Further individual publications on the Sinai palimpsests are listed online at the project website: https://sinai.library.ucla.edu/terms-of-use/contributors (19.09.2022).

[120] For an assessment of the conference see S. P. Brock, 'New Light on Old Manuscripts: Recent Advances in Palimpsest Studies', Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, *Sinaiticus* (2018) 12.

APPENDIX: FIGURES

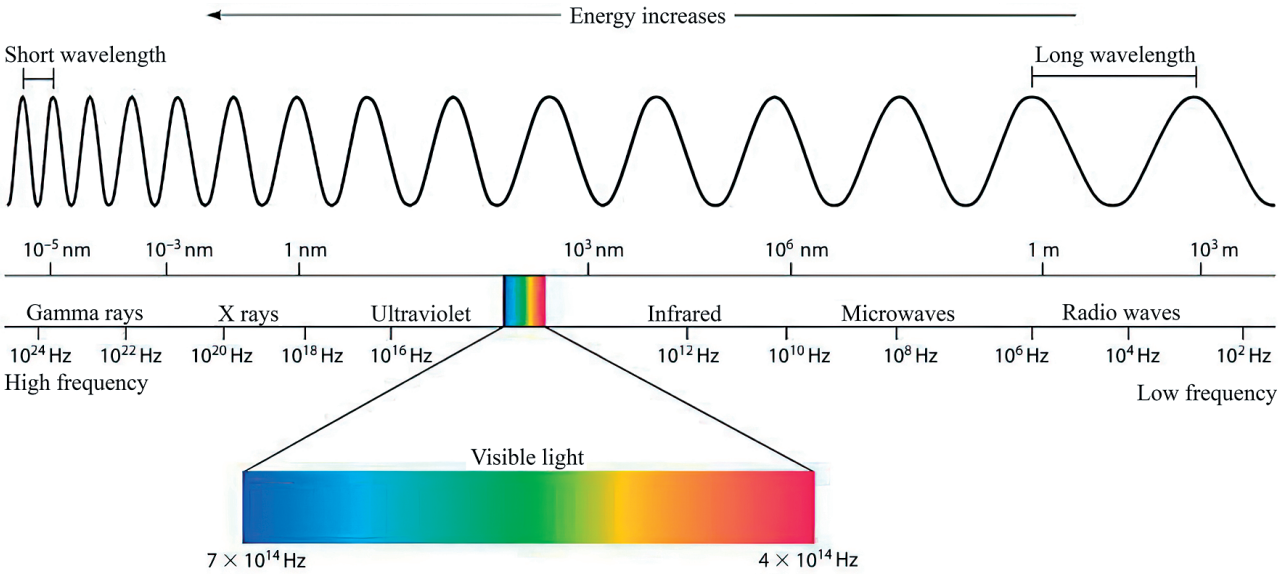


Figure 1 – The electromagnetic spectrum



Figure 2 – The Stokes computer-controlled cradle installed at the Monastery of Saint Catherine (© Damianos Kasotakis, 2015. Imaging for the *Sinai Palimpsests Project* was done in a temporary location since the library was under restoration)



Figure 3 – Copy-stand used for imaging unbound folia and fragments in the foreground; computer for capturing data on the left (© Damianos Kasotakis, 2015)

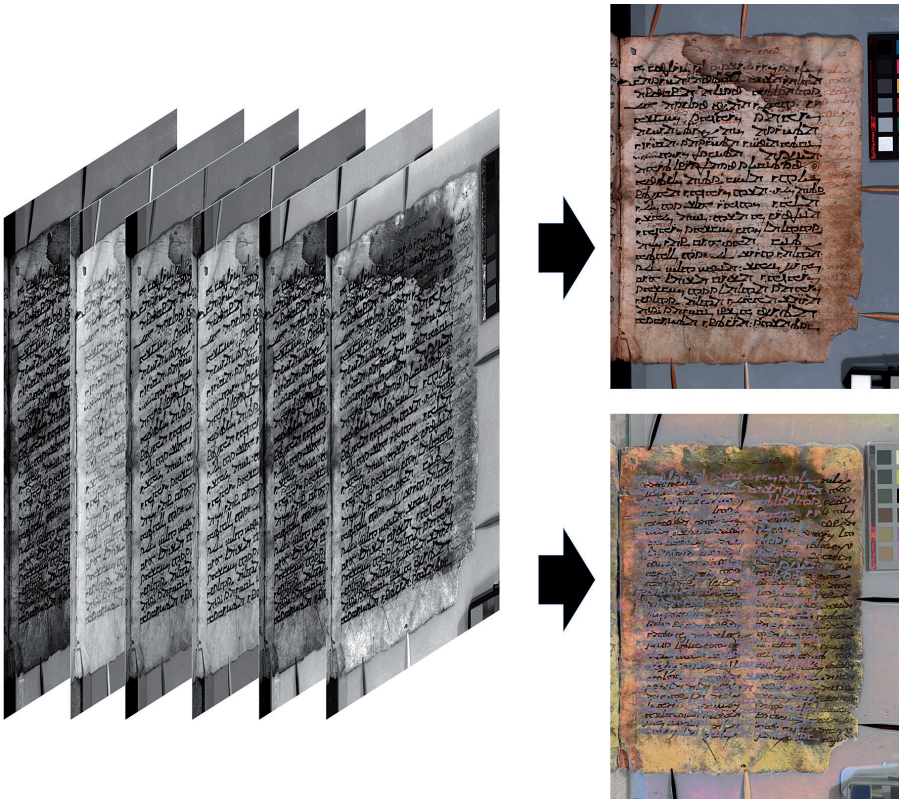


Figure 4 – Digital stack of images (left), with a series of raw images combined through image processing (right) (© Damianos Kasotakis)



Figure 5 – A palimpsest folio before and after automated batch processing by Keith Knox (Sin. gr. 966, f. 61^{r}: *scriptio inferior* in red). Processed image: KTK_pseudo_WBUVB47-MB780IR (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)



Figure 6 – A palimpsest folio before and after supervised statistical processing by Roger Easton and David Kelbe (Sin. syr. NF frg. 65, f. 1ʳ). Processed image: bands01-23_RF+FL_cal_bands_01+02+17-23_undertext_only_ICA_R_ratio2-1_G7_B7 (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

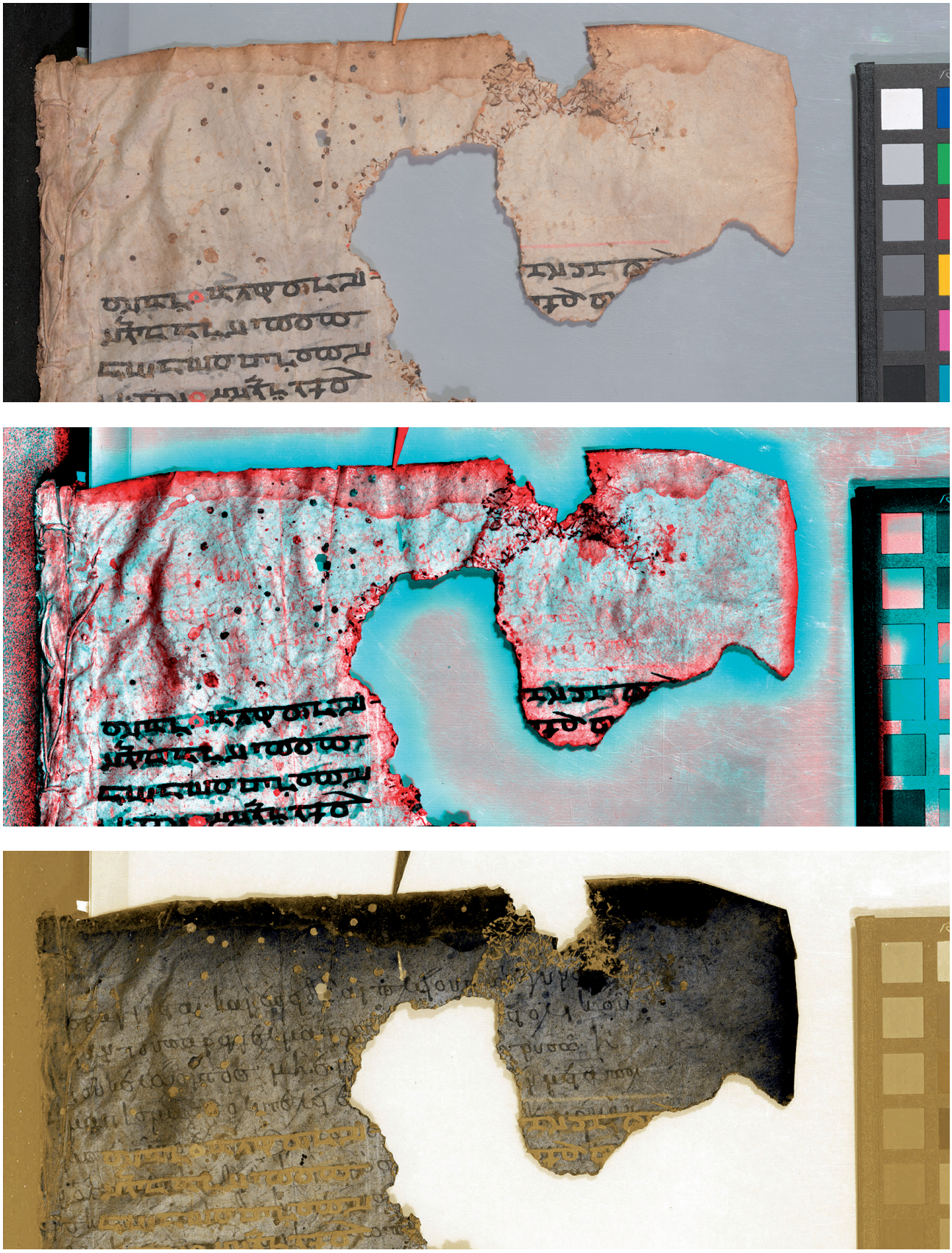


Figure 7 – Part of manuscript Sin. syr. NF M42, f. 1ʳ, without processing, after automated batch processing (by Keith Knox: KTK_pseudo_MB365UV-MB780IR), and after supervised statistical processing (by Giulia Rossetto)
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

TOWARDS AN INVENTORY OF SAINT CATHERINE'S GREEK PALIMPSESTS

In the following pages I will provide a general overview of Saint Catherine's rewritten codices that feature Greek in the upper or in the erased layer(s).[121] What I will present goes beyond the data collected during the *Sinai Palimpsests Project*, as I deal not only with those manuscripts which were subject to the imaging process, but also with those not selected for imaging.[122] With regard to the latter, I have relied on the existing literature, personal discussion with other scholars, and the fruits of my own observations.[123] Moreover, there are some new Greek palimpsests taken into account here that have come to light during the digitalization of Arabic and Syriac manuscripts in the *Sinai Manuscripts Digital Library* of EMEL and UCLA (2018–2022).[124]

Consideration is given to rewritten manuscripts with Greek attested as *scriptio superior* (i.e. palimpsest manuscripts with overtext in Greek, and undertext in Greek or any other language) and/or as *scriptio inferior* (i.e. palimpsest manuscripts with undertext in Greek plus—potentially—other languages, and overtext in Greek or any other language). The discussion here of language, date, script, content, and origin of the manuscripts (for both overtext and/or undertext) intentionally focuses on statistics to prioritise objective detail and facilitate analysis. I leave interpretative discussion and final considerations for the conclusion of this study.

The aim is to place the three palimpsests that are the main object of this study into a wider context, namely the collection of which they happen to be part. The data presented below is based on the Appendices 1, 2, and 3, found at the end of the chapter. Manuscripts are considered as physical objects in their current state, identified by shelfmark, not as reconstructed original codices. This decision has been guided by the fact that in-depth investigation of the entire collection is still in progress. Reconstructed original codices and reunified *membra disiecta* are listed in Appendix 4.

GREEK AS *SCRIPTIO SUPERIOR*

This section deals with palimpsests with Greek *scriptio superior*, that is those having as overtexts exclusively Greek texts and as undertexts texts in any language.

As Appendix 1 (Palimpsests with Greek *Scriptio Superior*) indicates, the Sinai collection holds 64 manuscripts (that is, shelfmarks) with Greek *scriptio superior*: 21 belong to the Old Collection, the remaining 43 to the New Finds. All of these are written in codex format, except Sin. gr. NF E 64, which is a scroll.

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[121] For an overview on Sinai palimpsests in all languages and on the language distribution among the *scriptiones superiores* and *inferiores*, see C. Rapp, Secluded Place or Global Magnet? The Monastery of Saint Catherine in the Sinai and its Manuscript Collection, in: Global Byzantium. Papers of the 50th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, ed. L. Brubaker – R. Darley. 2022, and C. Rapp, A Cache of Palimpsests and Christian Manuscript Culture across the Medieval Mediterranean: First Results of the Sinai Palimpsests Project, in: New Light on Old Manuscripts: The Sinai Palimpsests and Other Advances in Palimpsest Studies, ed. C. Rapp – G. Rossetto – J. Grusková – G. Kessel. Forthcoming.

[122] This inventory of the Greek palimpsests of Saint Catherine's is provisional. While inventorying palimpsests (or, more generally, manuscripts) of a given collection, one has always to bear in mind that where they were copied may be various. This is particularly true of the Sinai collection, but not exclusively so. The same applies to other libraries whose palimpsest catalogues have been published (for instance: Melissakis, Οι παλίμψηστοι κώδικες της Εθνικής Βιβλιοθήκης της Ελλάδος and Gruskovà, Untersuchungen). The situation is different for Grottaferrata (Crisci, I palinsesti di Grottaferrata), which is a peculiar case, with the vast majority of the surviving manuscripts coming from southern Italy. In any case, the information that a comprehensive analysis of palimpsests preserved in a specific collection yields—especially where the collection is substantial—is invaluable, and may well expand our existing knowledge of manuscript production and use in terms of chronology and location.

[123] I I have been able to inspect all mentioned Sinai palimpsests personally.

[124] I thank Michael Phelps and Damianos Kasotakis for notifying me about the newly identified palimpsests. About the project: https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/ (19.09.2022).

In preparing to write, the Greek scribes tended to recycle books written in six different languages, namely Greek, CPA, Arabic, Latin, Ethiopic, and Slavonic—languages that amounted to more than half the languages found in the lower layers of Sinaitic palimpsests. As can be seen from the pie graph below (**Figure 8**), Greek—with 82%—is most common among the erased languages (it features as *scriptio inferior* in 59 Greek manuscripts). CPA and Arabic follow at a significant distance.

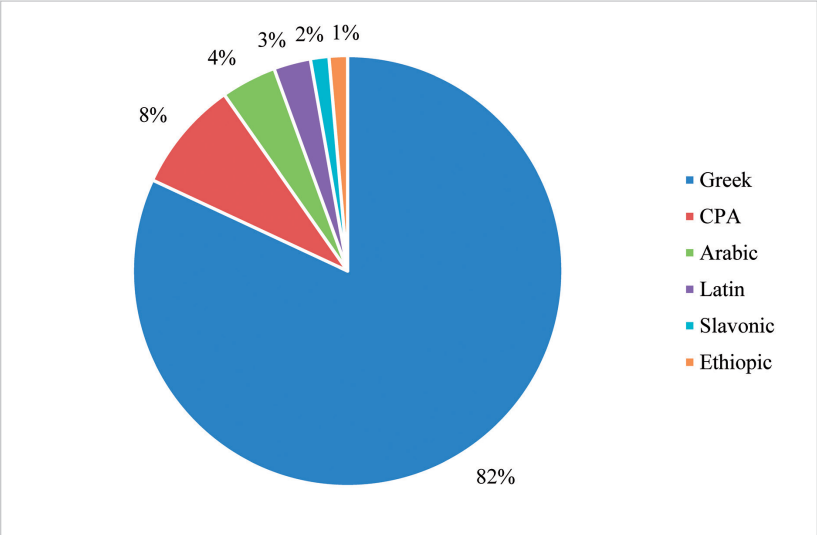


Figure 8 – Languages attested as *scriptiones inferiores* of palimpsests with Greek overtext (by percentage)

Even if most of the Sinai manuscripts with Greek overtext have no more than one language attested in the lower layer (i.e. Greek: 51 mss; CPA: 2 mss; Arabic: 1 ms; Ethiopic: 1 ms; Latin: 1 ms), this is by no means always the case. In eight manuscripts, we find Greek in the lower layer in combination with another language:

- CPA (four mss: Sin. gr. NF MG 14, Sin. gr. NF MG 24, Sin. gr. NF MG 32, Sin. gr. NF M 38).
- Arabic (two mss: Sin. gr. 468, Sin. gr. 929).
- Latin (one ms: Sin. gr. NF M 48).
- Slavonic (one ms: Sin. gr. NF M 83).

Only four of the 64 Greek manuscripts lack *scriptiones inferiores* in Greek. These are: Sin. gr. 501 (Latin undertext), Sin. gr. 930 (Arabic undertext), Sin. gr. NF M 90 (Ethiopic undertext), Sin. gr. NF M 211 (CPA undertext).

Equally, as far as the Sinai collection of palimpsests evidences, leaves from books written in Armenian, Caucasian Albanian, Coptic, Georgian, and Syriac were not employed by Greek scribes in assembling new manuscripts.

To summarise, therefore, in most cases (i.e. 51 out of 64 instances, or 80%) Greek texts feature as *scriptiones superiores* over earlier Greek texts. In only 12% of cases did Greek texts supplant texts written in Greek and another language (8 out of 64 instances). Even less frequently were Greek texts used to overwrite texts not written in Greek (4 out of 64 instances, or 6%).

This would seem to suggest that the reuse of Greek texts by Greek communities was more common than is usually thought. This places in a rather different perspective Crisci's observation—based on the Grottaferrata collection—that in the Levant manuscripts containing Greek texts were more often reused by communities speaking a different language such as Arabic or Syriac.[125]

[125] Crisci, I palinsesti di Grottaferrata 263. This suggestion was taken from J. van Haelst, Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens. Paris 1976, which is far from being complete and representative.

Date, Origin, Content

More than half Sinaitic Greek manuscripts written on reused parchment were produced between the 12th and the 14th century (41 manuscripts). Before then, there is a noticeable spike around the 9th century (12 manuscripts). Fewer manuscripts were copied on recycled parchment in the 10th and 11th centuries, and after the 14th century (**Figure 9**).

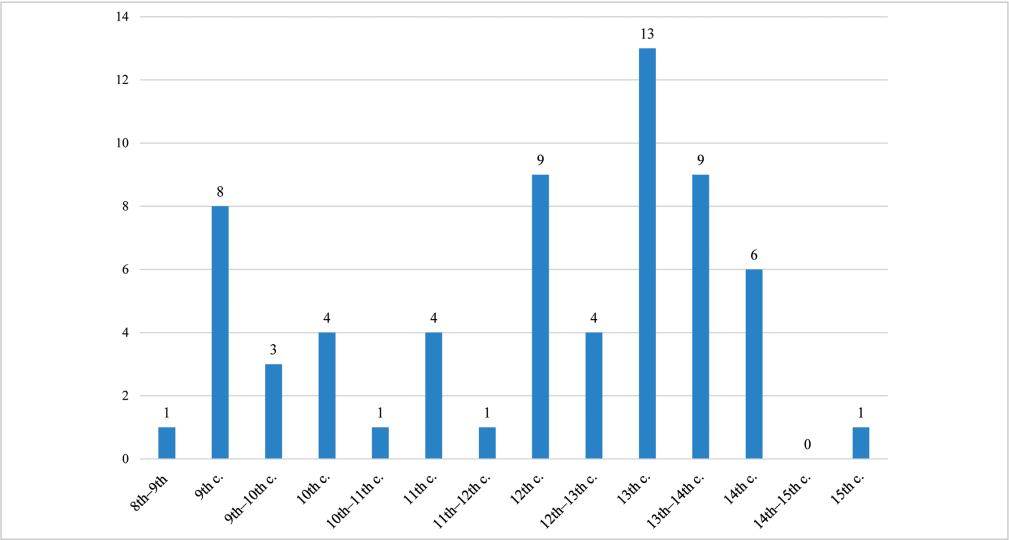


Figure 9 – Date of the 64 Greek manuscripts copied on reused parchment

Where these manuscripts were copied remains largely unknown and awaits further investigation (this is true of 37 out of 64 manuscripts, or 58%). An important factor here is that few have subscriptions or other relevant information: only three of the 64 Greek manuscripts bear dates (Sin. gr. 929, Sin. gr. NF M 3, and Sin. gr. NF M 65), and their colophons do not mention the place where they were copied. As a consequence, to establish a manuscript's origin we must rely on palaeography, codicology, or the analysis of content. On this basis, 23 manuscripts (36%—though this is a preliminary figure which will likely increase after more detailed research) are thought to have been written in the Levant, and above all, therefore, in Palestine, Sinai, and Syria. In addition to these, four further manuscripts were copied in Southern Italy, more specifically in Salento.

Regarding the content of the texts preserved in the upper layers, the vast majority (49, or 76%) contain various kinds of liturgical texts, while classical literature is entirely absent (**Figure 10**).

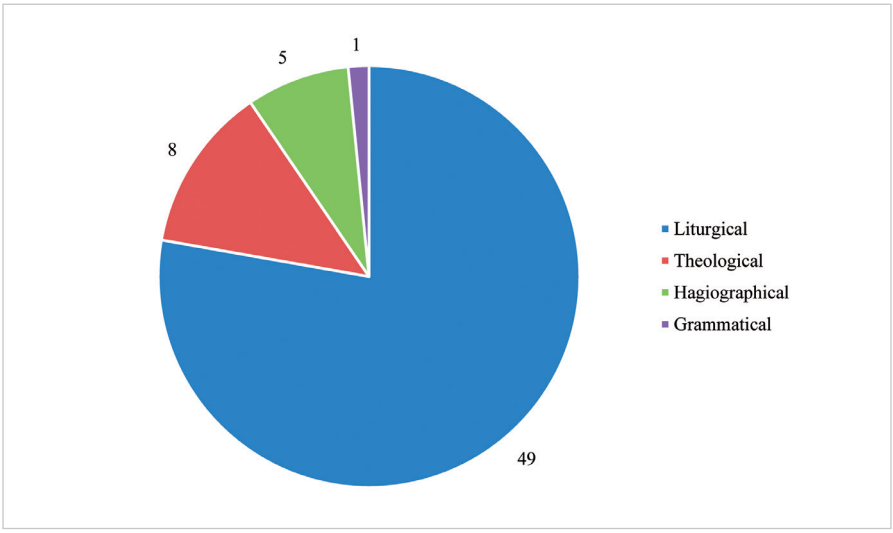


Figure 10 – Content of the 64 Greek manuscripts written on reused parchment

GREEK AS *SCRIPTIO INFERIOR*

This section considers Sinai palimpsests with Greek *scriptiones inferiores*, that is those having as their undertext at least one text in Greek and as *scriptio superior* texts in any language. As often noted, it was common to re-use sheets with erased texts from multiple sources for the creation of a new manuscript.

Appendix 2 makes it clear that 94 Sinai manuscripts (shelfmarks) contain at least one *scriptio inferior* in Greek. 32 of these 94 manuscripts were investigated during the *Sinai Palimpsests Project*.

Greek texts were erased and their parchment reused by—and therefore available to—communities speaking Arabic, CPA, Georgian, Slavonic, Syriac, and above all Greek: in fact, 59 of the 94 Greek palimpsest manuscripts (63%) have Greek *scriptio superior* (**Figure 11**).

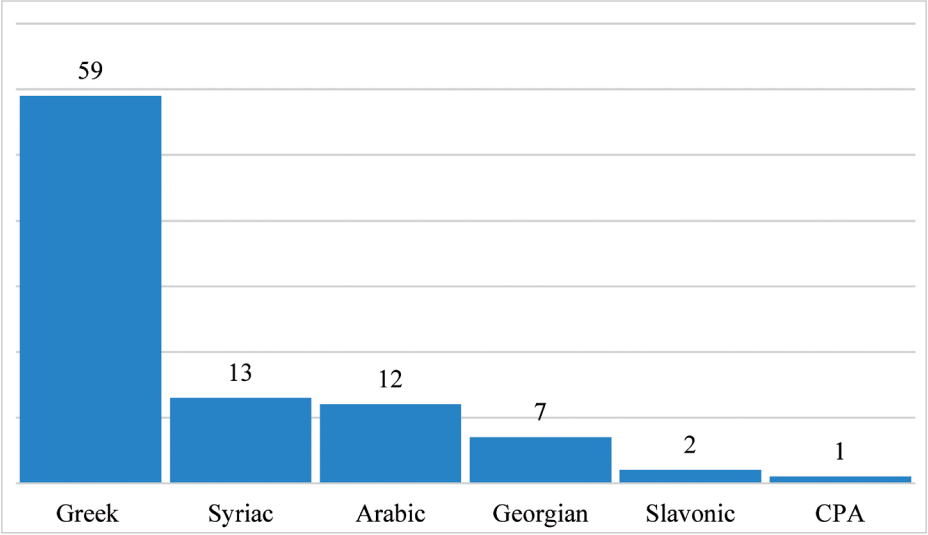


Figure 11 – Languages attested as *scriptiones superiores* of palimpsests with at least one *scriptio inferior* in Greek

In the majority of the manuscripts (i.e. 72, or 76%), erased Greek texts occupy the lower layer(s) alone, while in the remaining 22 they sit together with texts in up to five other languages, as is shown in the table below. In this respect, the combination Greek + CPA is the most frequent (attested seven times), while other combinations are less prevalent. Greek is most commonly found in combination with only one other language (18 manuscripts), while in only four cases do we find texts in a further two to five languages. In this regard, it is worth noting that there seems to be a relationship between the language(s) found in the lower layers and the specific language of the *scriptio superior*. In fact, manuscripts with *scriptiones superiores* in Arabic, Syriac and Georgian were produced using a variety of parchment sheets originating from manuscripts written in three to five different languages. In contrast, manuscripts with Greek *scriptio superior* were assembled reusing manuscripts in Greek only or, more sporadically, in Greek plus another language.

Language combinations (*scriptiones inferiores*)	Number of attestations	Manuscripts (shelfmarks)	Language of the *scriptio superior*
Greek + CPA	7	Sin. ar. NF 66, Sin. geo. NF 19, Sin. gr. NF MG 14, Sin. gr. NF MG 24, Sin. gr. NF MG 32, Sin. gr. NF M 38, Sin. syr. NF M64	Arabic, Georgian, Greek, Syriac
Greek + Syriac	4	Sin. syr. 27, Sin. syr. 30, Sin. syr. NF M4, Sin. syr. NF M60	Syriac
Greek + Arabic	3	Sin. geo. NF frg. 73a, Sin. gr. 468, Sin. gr. 929	Georgian
Greek + Armenian	1	Sin. syr. 7	Syriac
Greek + Georgian	1	Sin. geo. 34	Georgian, Greek
Greek + Latin	1	Sin. gr. NF M 48	Greek
Greek + Slavonic	1	Sin. gr. NF M 83	Greek
Greek + Arabic + Syriac	1	Sin. ar. 514	Arabic
Greek + Arabic + Latin + Syriac	1	Sin. ar. NF 8	Arabic
Greek + Georgian + Latin + Syriac	1	Sin. syr. NF M21	Syriac
Greek + Arabic + Coptic + Latin + Georgian + Syriac	1	Sin. geo. 49	Georgian

Patterns of Parchment Reuse

Turning now to the patterns of reuse of the Greek *inferiores*, the sample for analysis becomes smaller, since I concentrate solely on the 32 manuscripts containing Greek undertexts, which have been studied during the *Sinai Palimpsests Project* (Appendix 3). In the lower layers of these 32 manuscripts, 92 distinct Greek undertexts—totalling over 3000 individual folio sides[126]—were identified. Each of the 92 undertexts will be referred to from now on as a "textual unit". As noted in the introduction to this study, by "textual unit" I mean distinct works with a coherent layout, written by one scribe in the same place and period, but now scattered across separate manuscript objects.[127] It is important to note that several textual units might have belonged to one and the same "original manuscript".

The 92 recovered Greek undertexts are treated as individual units because of the provisional character of the textual identifications. Thus, in developing the statistics I have not, for instance, considered whether textual units that are currently extant as *membra disiecta* in the same or in several manuscript(s) once belonged to one and the same original manuscript. However, already identified and established conjoins are listed in Appendix 4, with additional further details.

How were old parchment sheets handled and reused in order to assemble a new manuscript? Analysing the layout of the 92 Greek *inferiores* has shown that if the original manuscript was a codex, a typical means was to take an individual parchment folio of the original manuscript, rotate it through 90° or 270°, fold it in two, and then reuse it as a bifolio (attested 22 times). The second most common way was to reuse the unaltered bifolia in their original form (attested 19 times); other combinations are less frequent (**Figure 12**). A rather singular method was to cut the parchment sheets into smaller pieces and stitch these together with others from different manuscripts and in different languages: this is found only in manuscript Sin. ar. NF 8.[128] In 13 cases it is not possible to establish the precise process of reuse because of the fragmentary nature of the leaves or their poor legibility.

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126 To be clear, by "side" I mean each recto or verso. One folio has two sides: the recto and the verso.

127 Only in a few cases have multiple scribes been responsible for writing a single textual unit, but this is not common among the analysed Sinai palimpsests. It happens with texts of documentary nature, like the "Inventory of books" and the "List of vestments and liturgical objects" in Sin. ar. NF 8, which have been written by various minuscule hands and in mixed script.

128 On the codicological peculiarities of this "patchwork" codex see: G. Boudalis, Holding the Parts Together: The Codicology of the Sinai Codex Arabic NF 8 and G. Boudalis – G. Rossetto, Colour Mapping of Sin. ar. NF 8 + Sin. ar. NF 28. Both articles are forthcoming in the following volume: The Apollonius of Tyre Fragment in Arabic NF 8: Studies of a Latin Palimpsest at St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, ed. M. P. Brown – J. Lockhart.

Most of the textual units are made up of parchment leaves originating from codices (86). An exception is a case of six textual units coming from parchment scrolls. Scrolls were reused simply by cutting them into the shape of the new bifolio. Textual units originating from scrolls are found in: Sin. geo. 49 ("Liturgy of Saint James" and "Unidentified liturgical text"), Sin. gr. 446 ("Collection of liturgical hymns"), Sin. gr. 468 (two different "Collections of liturgical hymns"), and Sin. gr. 2053 ("Anthology of Psalms"). At least two of these textual units—namely the "Collection of liturgical hymns" in Sin. gr. 446 and in Sin. gr. 468—are *membra disiecta* from the same original parchment scroll.

Eight manuscripts were assembled by using parchment sheets which had already been palimpsested before (double palimpsests / *bis rescripti*). These are: Sin. ar. 514, Sin. ar. NF 8, Sin. geo. 49, Sin. geo. NF frg. 73a, Sin. geo. NF 19, Sin. gr. 962, Sin. gr. 966, and Sin. gr. NF MG 24. Within these manuscripts, we find 15 Greek textual units, which are extant as middle or lower layers of double palimpsests.

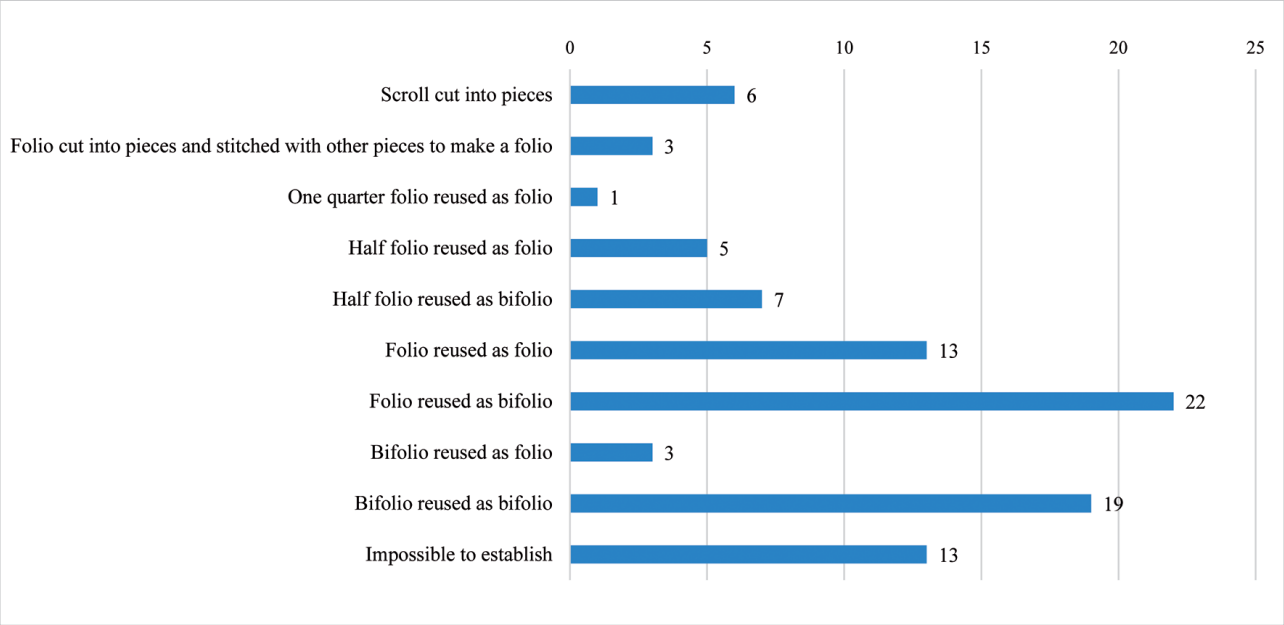


Figure 12 – Patterns of reuse for the 92 Greek textual units identified during the *Sinai Palimpsests Project*

Erased Script Styles

63 out of 92 textual units, and thus the majority, are written in majuscule and therefore constitute valuable new evidence for the study of the evolution of this kind of script. Furthermore, there are 19 textual units written in minuscule and six in mixed script,[129] and in four additional cases we find the mixed script attested together with early minuscules or with majuscules (**Figure 13**). This brings to ten the total number of witnesses of mixed script within the Sinai palimpsests. They are found in the following manuscripts:

- Sin. ar. 514, ff. 47^{r} and 52^{v} (*inferior*): "Excerpt from a funeral service".
- Sin. geo. 49, f. 42 (*inferior*): "Menaion".
- Sin. geo. NF 19, ff. 4–5, 8–9 (*inferior*): "Liturgical text with New Testament readings".

[129] On this style of writing see F. D'Aiuto, La 'scrittura mista' maiuscolo-minuscola d'area mediorientale, in: Griechisch-byzantinische Handschriftenforschung. Traditionen, Entwicklungen, neue Wege, ed. C. Brockmann – D. Deckers – D. Harlfinger – S. Valente. Berlin/Boston 2020, 145–169; F. D'Aiuto, Un antico inno per la resurrezione (con nuove testimonianze di "scrittura mista" di area orientale). *RSBN* n.s. 45 (2008) 3–135 (with XII plates); L. Perria, Γραφίς. Per una storia della scrittura greca libraria (secoli IV a.C. – XVI d.C.). Vatican City 2011, 66–68; L. Politis, Nouveaux manuscrits grecs découverts au Mont Sinai. [Rapport préliminaire]. *Script* 34/1 (1980) 5–17; L. Perria, Il Vat. gr. 2200. Note codicologiche e paleografiche. *RSBN* n.s. 20–21 (1983–1984) 25–68 (reprinted in L. Perria, Tra Oriente e Occidente. Scritture e libri greci fra le regioni orientali di Bisanzio e l'Italia. Rome 2003, 3–46); L. Perria, Scritture e codici di origine orientale (Palestina, Sinai) dal IX al XIII secolo. Rapporto preliminare. *RSBN* n.s. 36 (1999) 19–33; L. Perria, Repertorio dei manoscritti greci di area orientale, palestino-sinaitica. Messina 2000.

- Sin. gr. 699, ff. 73–80 (*inferior*): "Heirmologion".
- Sin. gr. NF MG 24, ff. 17–24 (*inferior*): "Psalter".
- Sin. gr. NF MG 24, f. 27 (*inferior*): "Psalter".
- Sin. ar. NF 8, ff. 4–5, 22–23, 28–29 (*inferior*): "Inventory of books" (early minuscule and mixed script).
- Sin. ar. NF 8, ff. 2–3, 6, 10, 119 (*inferior*): "List of vestments and liturgical objects" (early minuscule and mixed script).
- Sin. ar. NF 8, ff. 1, 11 (*inferior*): "Unidentified liturgical text" (upright pointed majuscule and mixed script).
- Sin. gr. 2053, ff. 1–16 (*inferior*): "Anthology of Psalms" (sloping pointed majuscule with inconsistent insertion of letters in mixed script).

Thanks to these new identifications, the instances of mixed script that we are aware of increases to 50.[130]

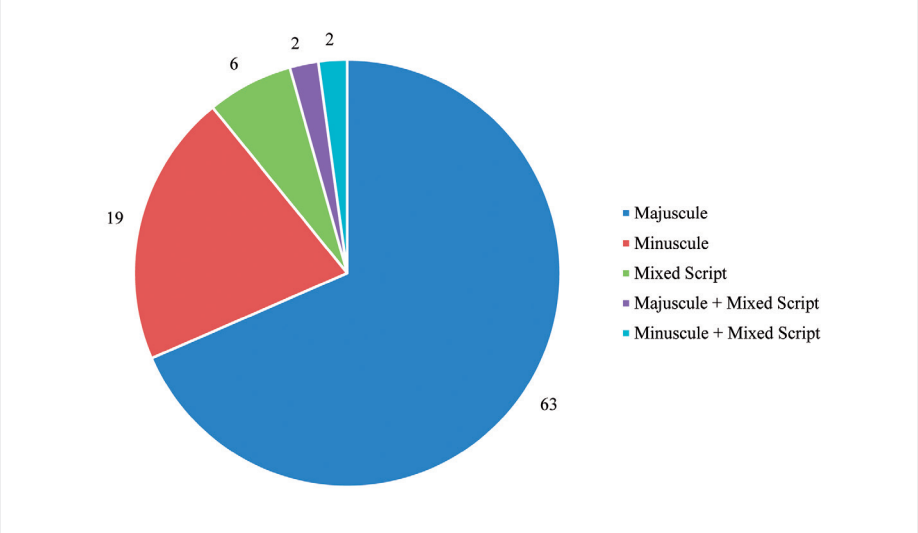


Figure 13 – Scripts of the 92 Greek textual units identified during the *Sinai Palimpsests Project*

As for the kinds of majuscules used (**Figure 14**), the most common are the biblical majuscule (41%) and the sloping pointed majuscule (40%). Much less so among the Sinai palimpsests are texts in Alexandrian majuscule (Sin. gr. NF MG 29—unimodular; Sin. geo. NF 19 and Sin. ar. NF 66—bimodular) or upright pointed majuscule (attested only in Sin. gr. 966 and Sin. gr. NF M 98).

As for the *scriptiones inferiores* in minuscule, several examples of early Greek minuscule are preserved: for instance, in Sin. ar. NF 8—"Inventory of books" and "List of vestments and liturgical objects"). Three texts written in a minuscule that recalls the "*Perlschrift*" can be observed in the lower layers of Sin. gr. 960, Sin. gr. 962, and Sin. gr. NF M 130. Not infrequent also are instances of informal minuscules, such as that visible in Sin. gr. NF M 48. A number of these are distinctive, and therefore attributable to specific geographical areas: for example, the minuscules of the "Typikon" in Sin. gr. 966 and the "Pentekostarion" in Sin. gr. 699 are Southern-Italian, while the "Divine Liturgy of Saint James" in Sin. geo. 49, and similarly the "Collection of liturgical hymns" in Sin. gr. 446 and 468, were written in the Sinaitic-Palestinian area. Also likely attributable to this area or to Syria are all textual units written in mixed script.

[130] Recently, F. D'Aiuto identified 41 manuscripts in mixed script (D'Aiuto, 'Scrittura mista' 148). He is already aware of the Menaion in mixed script extant in the *inferior* of Sin. geo. 49, f. 42^{rv} (D'Aiuto, 'Scrittura mista' 169).

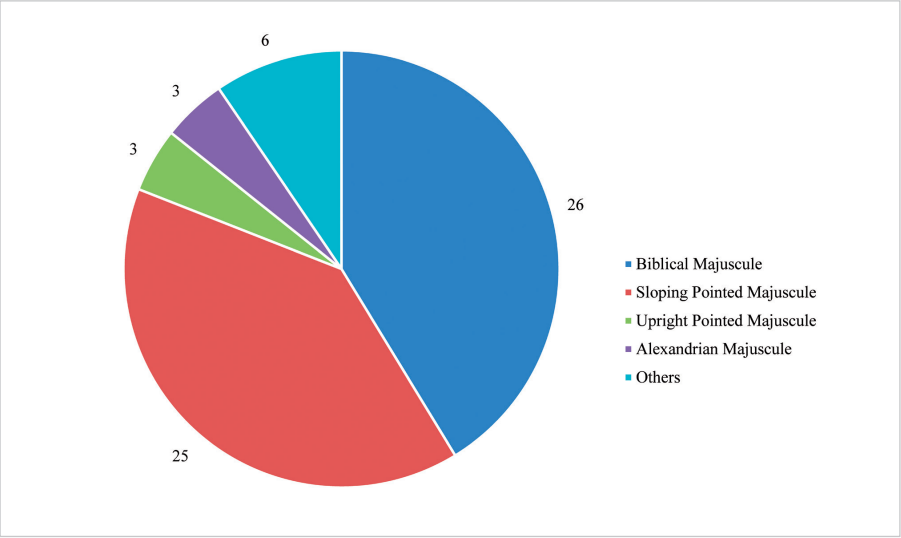


Figure 14 – Majuscules attested in the Greek textual units identified during the *Sinai Palimpsests Project*

This prompts the question of the origin of the Sinai palimpsests. In 32 out of 92 instances (35%) an attempt has been made to determine the origin of the erased texts. Since no colophons are extant, this is based on palaeographical peculiarities and the content of the *scriptiones inferiores*. In summary, the majority of the erased textual units are believed to have been written in the Sinaitic-Palestinian area (20), four in Egypt, one in Egypt or Palestine, one in Syria, five in Southern Italy, and one in Southern Italy or Cappadocia.

Date of Erased Scripts

The 92 textual units considered here range in date from the mid 5th to the late 12th century, and—as the histogram below makes clear—two main clusters stand out: the highest number of erased texts were in fact copied around the 6th century (first cluster) and around the 9th century (second cluster) (**Figure 15**).

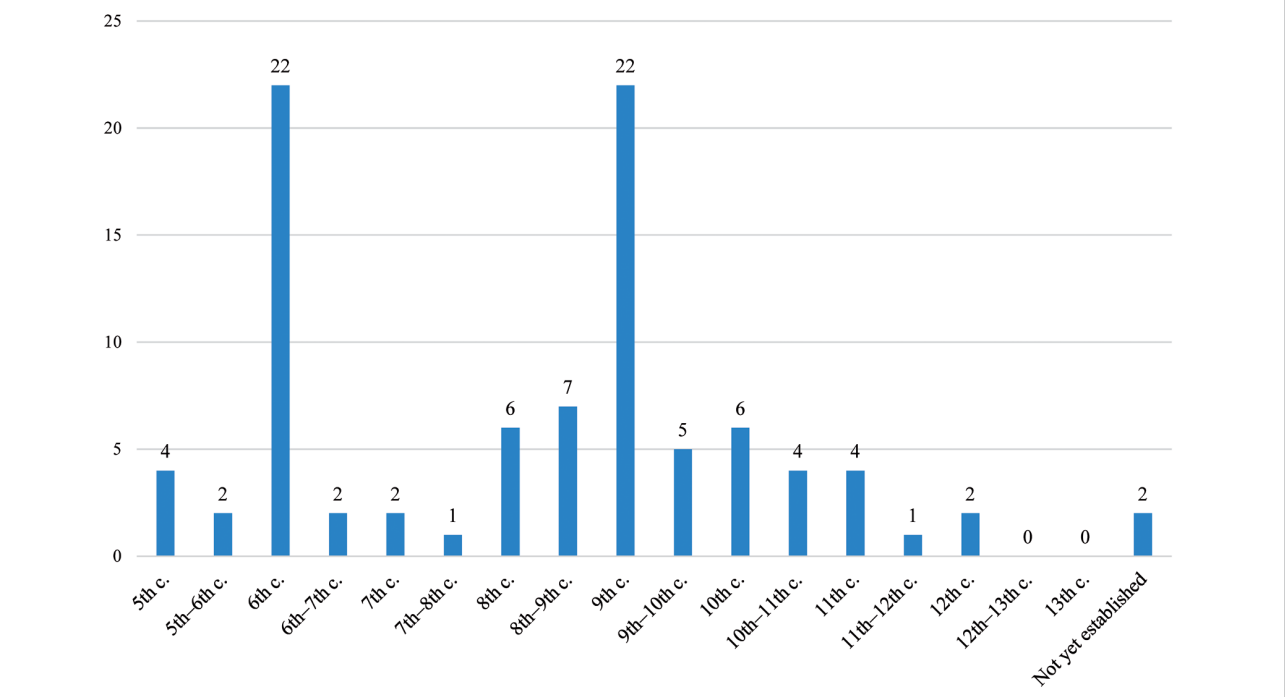


Figure 15 – Date of the 92 Greek textual units in the erased layer(s) identified during the *Sinai Palimpsests Project*

Content of Erased Texts

With regard to the *scriptiones superiores*, 22 manuscripts (69%) contain liturgical texts, five (16%) hagiographical, three (9%) biblical, and two (6%) theological (**Figure 16**). None preserves non-Christian religious texts.

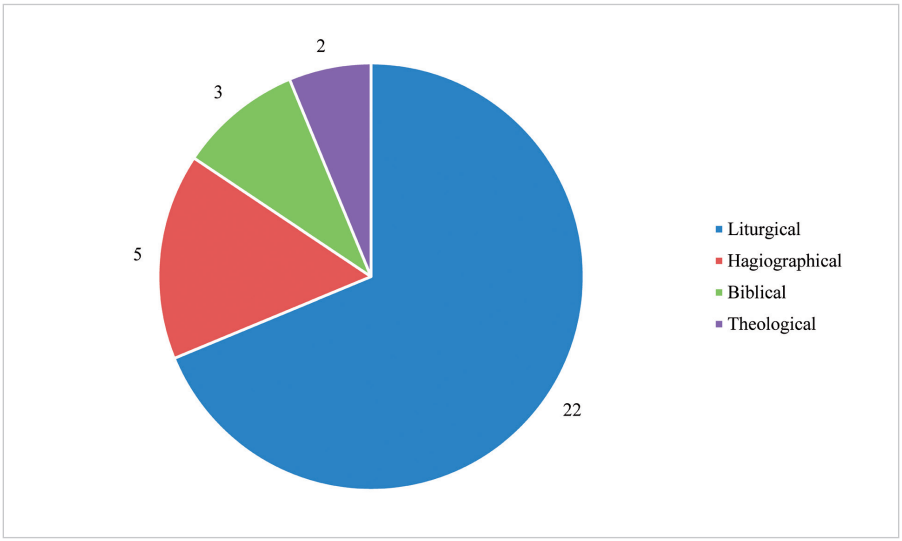


Figure 16 – Content of the *scriptiones superiores* of the 32 palimpsests studied during the *Sinai Palimpsests Project*

Turning to the 92 Greek textual units in the erased layers, we can see from the graph in **Figure 17** and from the detailed list in Appendix 3 that Christian religious works are hugely predominant (80), with a comparatively small percentage of classical literature (7) and a few still unidentified texts (5).

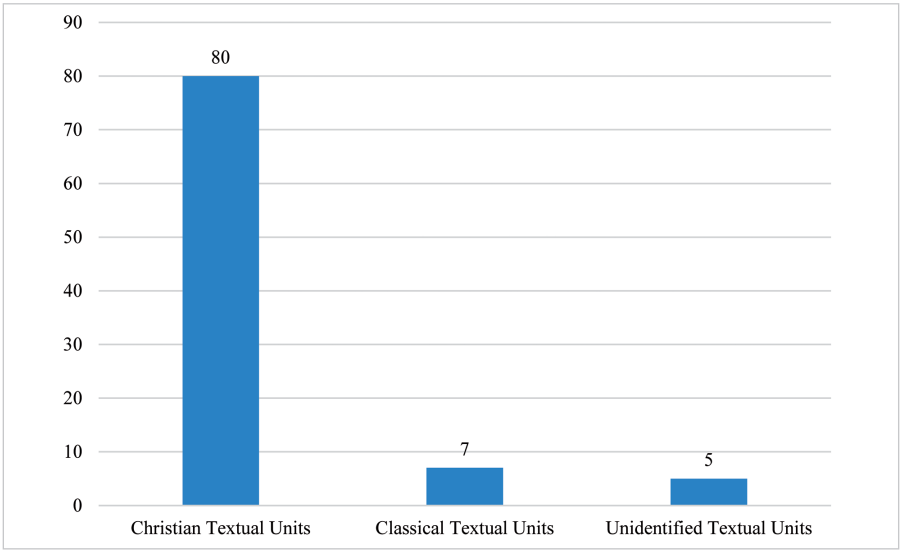


Figure 17 – Content of the 92 Greek textual units in the erased layer(s) studied during the *Sinai Palimpsests Project*

Leaving aside for now the five texts remaining unidentified (in Sin. ar. NF 8, Sin. ar. NF 66, Sin. geo. 34, Sin. gr. NF frg. 72a, and Sin. gr. NF MG 32), it is worth focusing on the kind of Christian and non-Christian texts that have been preserved.

Among the Christian works, fragments from liturgical and biblical books are most frequent (**Figure 18**). They are followed by homiletical texts attributed to Basil of Caesarea, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzus,

and Hesychius of Jerusalem, and also by theological works such as the *Ladder* of John Klimax,[131] Ephrem's *Sermo asceticus*,[132] and the *Pandects* by Antiochus of Palestine.[133]

Similarly noteworthy is the recovery of 58 folia of an "Unknown Christian poem", written in a 6th–7th century sloping pointed majuscule and now preserved below the lines of manuscripts Sin. geo. 49 and Sin. geo. NF frg. 73a.[134] Equally significant are various folia from the *Ecclesiastical History* by Socrates Scholasticus, copied in the second half of the 9th century in sloping pointed majuscule, probably in the Sinai area, and now preserved as one of the *scriptiones inferiores* of Sin. gr. NF MG 2.[135] And additionally worth mentioning are two texts of documentary nature, namely an "Inventory of books" and a "List of vestments and liturgical objects". They were both copied in the 9th century, and are now extant in manuscript Sin. ar. NF 8.

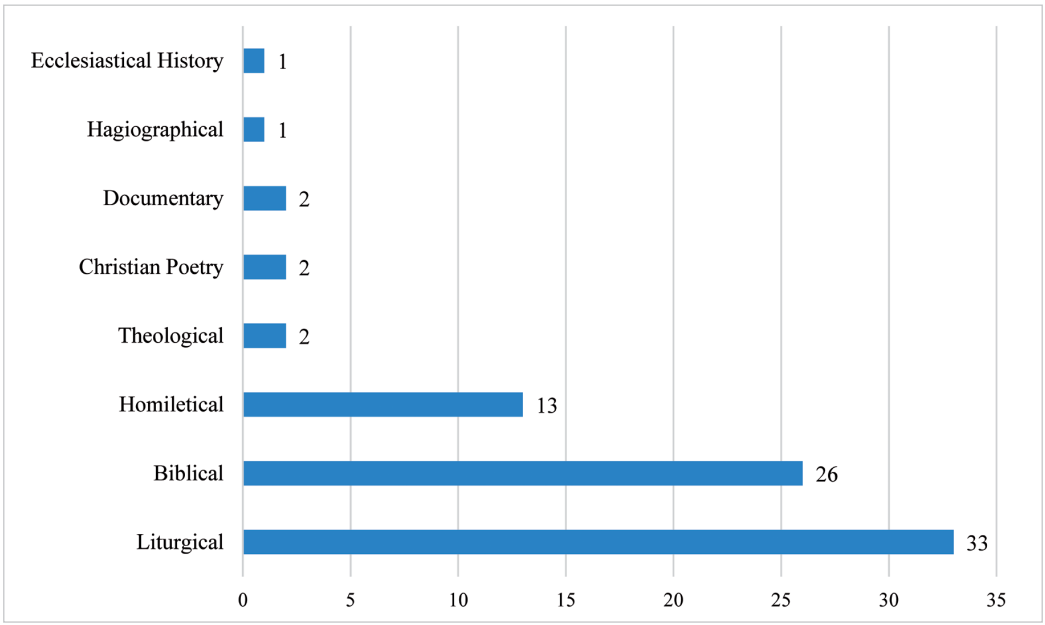


Figure 18 – Classification of Christian works preserved in the 80 erased Christian textual units identified during the *Sinai Palimpsests Project*

Comparing the content of the erased works (**Figure 18**) with that of the *scriptiones superiores* (**Figure 16**), it is evident, for instance, that liturgical texts occur much less frequently in the lower than the upper layers. Even if we combine erased liturgical and biblical texts (59 textual units), the percentage obtained (64%) still falls below the proportion of liturgical texts in the overtexts (69%). Also significant is the presence of homiletical texts in the undertexts, which we do not find at all as *scriptiones superiores*. Greek homiletical texts were copied between the 7th and the 11th century, and overwritten between the 8th and the 14th century. They were always replaced with liturgical texts, confirming a higher interest and need for the latter.

Classical works (medical, botanical and mythological) are also present (**Figure 19**), though in a much smaller percentage (8%).[136] They are written in the oldest surviving scripts at Saint Catherine's, namely those dating back to the 5th–6th centuries, and were all replaced with Arabic works between the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century.

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131 Sin. gr. NF M 130, 11th century, "*Perlschrift*", Southern Italy according to Orsini.

132 Sin. syr. 30, 7th century, sloping pointed majuscule.

133 Sin. gr NF MG 2, 9th century (2nd half), sloping pointed majuscule, Sinai area.

134 Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.

135 According to Orsini, the text in the Sinai folia differs considerably from the critical edition by G. Chr. Hansen (ed.), Sokrates, Kirchengeschichte. Berlin 1995.

136 For an overview of the classical texts in Greek, Latin, and Syriac in the Sinai palimpsests, see G. Rossetto, Classical Texts Among the Palimpsests of the Monastery of St. Catherine (Sinai): An Overview, in: New Light on Old Manuscripts: The Sinai Palimpsests and Other Advances in Palimpsest Studies, ed. C. Rapp – G. Rossetto – J. Grusková – G. Kessel. Forthcoming.

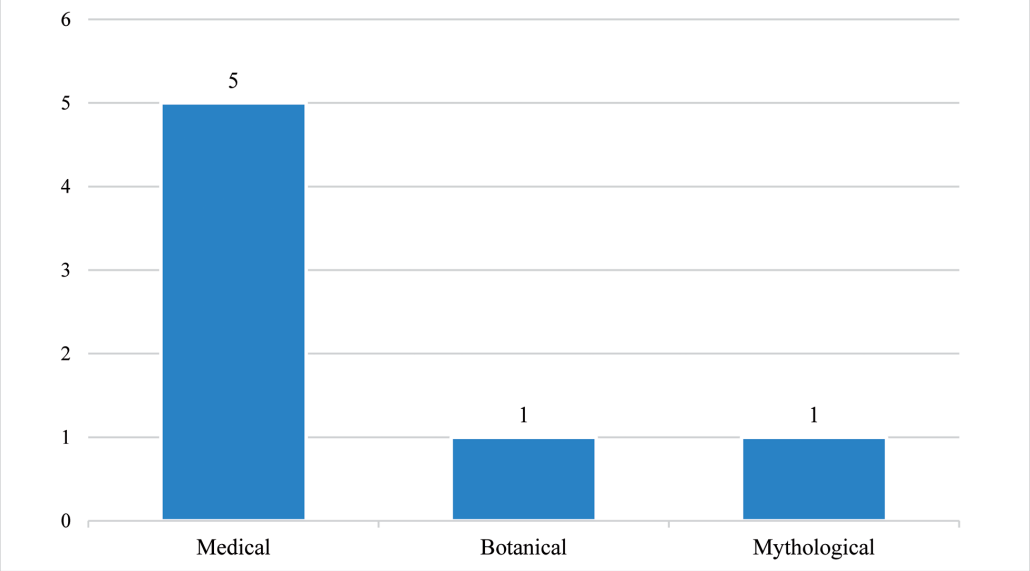


Figure 19 – Classification of classical works preserved in the 7 erased classical textual units identified during the *Sinai Palimpsests Project*

Six out of the seven works are preserved in the same manuscript, that is Sin. ar. NF 8. This is one of the most complex Sinai palimpsests, a real "patchwork". Its folia consist of up to five pieces of palimpsest parchment sewn together, and coming from a number of Greek, Arabic, Latin, and Syriac manuscripts. 24 textual units have been identified in this manuscript, and six of these originate from at least two 5th–6th centuries original Greek codices (or *codices antiquiores*) containing medical and botanical works.

To the first original (lost) codex belong five of the Greek textual units, all written in biblical majuscule. Three come from the *corpus Hippocraticum*: one from the seventh book of the *Epidemics*, another from the first book of the *Regimen*, and the third from the *Letters* (3–7, 9–10, 25).[137] The fourth textual unit is a previously unknown "Treatise on medical terms", which resembles the *Collection of Hippocratic Terms* by Erotianus. A number of entries are preserved that begin with the letters *alpha* and *kappa*—for example, ἀνήκεστος (incurable, f. 48r) and κραμβίον (decoction of cabbage, f. 49v). The fifth textual unit contains "Recipes for different diseases". Nigel Wilson has proposed that this be identified as a previously unknown text by the 2nd-century physician Antyllus. As already noted, the three Hippocratic works and the two further medical texts ("Antyllus?, *Recipes for different diseases*" and the "Treatise on medical terms") were part of large original manuscripts before being disassembled and erased, with 42–43 lines per page arranged in two columns.

Of the last classical text preserved in Sin. ar. NF 8, only one original folio is extant. This originates from a large codex containing a "Botanical collection with images of plants". The folio bears drawings of the plants *Adianton* and *Phileterion*, both accompanied by short captions written in a loose majuscule of small size. The wording does not correspond to Dioscorides *De materia medica*. According to Nigel Wilson, it is tempting to think that the text on this folio was composed by the physician Crateuas, since Crateuas was the author of the only illustrated herbal prior to Dioscorides.

Last but not least, underneath the Arabic writing of Sin. ar. NF 66, I have been able to identify a previously unknown "mythological poem in hexameters" mentioning—amongst others—Zeus, Persephone and Dionysus. This is written in a peculiar 5th–6th century bimodular Alexandrian majuscule, which shows the influence both of biblical majuscule in the forms of μ, π and ω, and of upright pointed majuscule in the forms of ε and ο.

[137] These Sinai palimpsest folia, even though fragmentary, predate the oldest attestations of these Hippocratic works by about four centuries. While sections from all three Hippocratic works are extant in papyri from the 3rd century BC onwards, the passages readable in the Sinai folia from the *Epidemiae* and the *Regimen* represent the first direct attestation for those sections; the same can be said for Letters 7, 9, 10, 25, while for Letters 3 to 6 we have older attestations on papyri from Oxyrhynchos (P. Oxy. IX 1184 = Brussels, Musées Royaux E 6010 Vo), and from the Arsinoite Nome (Berlin, Staatliche Museen P. 21137 + P. 6934) of the 1st and 2nd century CE.

This text originated from a large and luxurious codex, which can be attributed due to its format (300×250 mm) to Turner's Group 2.[138]

INSTRUCTIONS FOR READING APPENDICES 1–4

The three appendices below are the basis for the statistical analysis in the previous section. The codices are organized by language and according to their current shelfmark, and they are treated here individually, even if originally belonging together. The original belonging of different shelfmarks to one and the same original manuscript is indicated in a dedicated column (*disiecta membra*). The manuscripts of the Old Collection are featured first, then those belonging to the New Finds, and in addition—for the Syriac manuscripts—any that are relevant from the so called "Harris Appendix".[139]

Appendix 1 (Palimpsests with Greek *Scriptio Superior*) lists only the Sinai palimpsests whose overtext is written in Greek. It provides details about the kinds of work they contain, the date of their script and place of copying, selected bibliography and the languages of the erased texts they contain. The addition of the acronym SPP after the shelfmark indicates that the palimpsest was imaged and described during the *Sinai Palimpsests Project*.

Appendix 2 (Palimpsests with Greek *Scriptiones Inferiores* [All]) concerns Sinai palimpsest manuscripts with at least one textual unit in Greek. The overtext may be of any language. Information is provided about the overtext's content, date and origin, about the language(s) of the undertext(s), and whether the manuscript was investigated during the SPP. Any mistakes in the cataloguing record emerging from my own inspection of the Sinai palimpsests are also noted.

Appendix 3 (Identification of Greek *Scriptiones Inferiores*) contains those manuscripts listed in Appendix 2 which were imaged and studied during the course of the *Sinai Palimpsests Project* (32 manuscripts). It provides information about the content of each Greek textual unit, its date, origin, type of script, pattern of reuse, and any further noteworthy features.

Appendix 4 provides a list of *membra disiecta sinatica*.

In Appendix 1 and Appendix 3, after the work's title I indicate its classification in brackets. The following abbreviations are used:

Bibl. = Biblical
Bot. = Botanical
Chr. Poet. = Christian Poetry
Doc. = Documentary
Eccl. Hist. = Ecclesiastical History
Exeg. = Exegetical
Gr. = Grammatical
Hag. = Hagiographical
Hom. = Homiletical
Lit. = Liturgical
Med. = Medical
Myth. = Mythological
Theol. = Theological

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[138] Edition and commentary on these hexameters can be found in Rossetto, Fragments from the Orphic Rhapsodies? and G. Rossetto et al., A Revised Text of the Poem with Orphic Content in the Palimpsest Sin. ar. NF 66. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 222 (2022) 9–16.

[139] See Rendel Harris, Appendix and E. Velkovska, Sinai Chest I and the Collections of Sinai Fragments of James Rendell Harris. Preliminary Report. *BollGrott* 10 (3rd s.) (2013) 223–252. The manuscripts described in this "Appendix" are currently kept at Sinai, in the archive of Saint Catherine's Monastery.

APPENDIX 1: PALIMPSESTS WITH GREEK *SCRIPTIO SUPERIOR*

Scriptio superior						***Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)***
Shelfmark	***Disiecta membra* (relating to overtext)**	**Content**	**Script date**	**Place of copying**	**Catalogues and selected bibliography**	**Language(s)**
Sin. gr. 212 (Diktyon 58587) SPP		New Testament Lectionary (Lit.)	9th c.	Jerusalem	Aland l 846; Gardthausen, Catalogus 42; Kamil, Catalogue 70 (nr. 237); Weitzmann, Illustrated Manuscripts 9 pl. 1. - Galadza, Two Greek, Ninth-Century Sources 81–90. - Galadza, The Jerusalem Lectionary 185. - Harlfinger, Beispiele der Maiuscola ogivalis inclinata 470. - Welte, Griechische Palimpseste 50, n. 221.	Greek
Sin. gr. 264 (Diktyon 58639)		New Testament Lectionary (Lit.)	15th c.	---	Aland l 1471; Gardthausen, Catalogus 54; Kamil, Catalogue 72 (nr. 289).	Greek
Sin. gr. 383 (Diktyon 58758)		Patristic miscellany (Theol.)	10th c.	---	Benešević, Catalogus I 347–352 (nr. 513); Gardthausen, Catalogus 89–90; Kamil, Catalogue 79 (nr. 445). - Astruc et al., Les sources grecques 73–74. - D'Agostino, Un nouvel exemple de compendium logicum byzantin 82.	Greek
Sin. gr. 402 (Diktyon 58777)		Theodore of Stoudios, *Catecheses, Testament* (Theol.)	12th c.	Constantinople or Athos	Gardthausen, Catalogus 96; Kamil, Catalogue 87 (nr. 626). - Leroy et al., Études sur les Grandes Catéchèses 208–209.	Greek
Sin. gr. 429 (Diktyon 58804)		- John of Raithou, *Letter to John Klimax* - Daniel of Raithou, *Life of John Klimax* - John Klimax, *Letters, Ladder* (Theol.)	late 13th c.–early 14th c.	---	Gardthausen, Catalogus 103; Kamil, Catalogue 88 (nr. 653). - Venetskov, La redaction des pieces-annexes de l'*Échelle* de Jean du Sinai 224, n. 20, 229.	Greek
Sin. gr. 439 (Diktyon 58814)		- Antiochus of Palestine, *Letter to Eusthatius, Pandects, Exomologesis* (Theol.)	12th c.	---	Gardthausen, Catalogus 106–107; Kamil, Catalogue 88 (nr. 663).	Greek

Scriptio superior						*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*
Shelfmark	***Disiecta membra* (relating to overtext)**	**Content**	**Script date**	**Place of copying**	**Catalogues and selected bibliography**	**Language(s)**
Sin. gr. 446 (Diktyon 58821) SPP	Same hand as Sin. gr. 468, Sin. gr. NF M 77, Sin. gr. NF M 78	Asketikon (Theol.)	13th–14th c.	Levant	Gardthausen, Catalogus 108; Kamil, Catalogue 89 (nr. 670).	Greek
Sin. gr. 468 (Diktyon 58843) SPP	Same hand as Sin. gr. 446, Sin. gr. NF M 77, Sin. gr. NF M 78	Asketikon (Theol.)	13th–14th c.	Levant	Gardthausen, Catalogus 114–115; Kamil, Catalogue 89 (nr. 692). - Bucca, I libri innografico-musicali della Chiesa greca 366 n. 19, 374, 375. - Crisci, Esperienze grafiche sinaitico-palestinesi 59. - Harlfinger, Weitere Beispiele 155, pl. 7–10. - Harlfinger, Beispiele der Maiuscola ogivalis inclinata 471, pl. 14a. - Perria, Repertorio 16.	Greek Arabic
Sin. gr. 501 (Diktyon 58876)		Menologion (Hag.)	11th c.	---	Gardthausen, Catalogus 122; Kamil, Catalogue 90 (nr. 724).	Latin
Sin. gr. 516 (Diktyon 58891)		Menologion (Hag.)	11th–12th c.	---	Beneševič, Catalogus I 188–191 (nr. 348); Gardthausen, Catalogus 126; Kamil, Catalogue 91 (nr. 739).	Greek
Sin. gr. 699 (Diktyon 59074) SPP		Menaion (Lit.)	14th c.	---	Gardthausen, Catalogus 156; Kamil, Catalogue 99 (nr. 957).	Greek
Sin. gr. 925 (Diktyon 59300) SPP		Kontakarion (Lit.)	10th–11th c.	Levant	Gardthausen, Catalogus 197; Kamil, Catalogue 108 (nr. 1222). - D'Aiuto, 'Scrittura mista' 165. - Parenti – Velkovska, Two Leaves.	Greek
Sin. gr. 929 (Diktyon 59304) SPP	+ Petropol. gr. 372 [*olim* Granstrem 41, 532] (Diktyon 57444)	Heirmologion (Lit.)	1320	---	Balageorgos – Kritikou, Manuscrits de musique byzantine 17–20; Gardthausen, Catalogus 198; Kamil, Catalogue 108 (nr. 1226). - Husmann, Die datierten griechischen Sinai-Handschriften 155. - Papathanasiou, Ομαδοποίηση 532, 534, 537, 539–542, 544, 545.	Greek Arabic
Sin. gr. 930 (Diktyon 59305) SPP		Heirmologion (Lit.)	14th c.	---	Gardthausen, Catalogus 198; Kamil, Catalogue 108 (nr. 1227).	Arabic

Scriptio superior						*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*
Shelfmark	***Disiecta membra* (relating to overtext)**	**Content**	**Script date**	**Place of copying**	**Catalogues and selected bibliography**	**Language(s)**
Sin. gr. 960 (Diktyon 59335) SPP	+ Sin. gr. NF M 11 (Diktyon 60838) + Sin. gr. NF M 22 (Diktyon 60849) + Sin. gr. NF M 79 (Diktyon 60906)	Euchologion (Lit.)	2nd half 12th c.	Cyprus or Syria/ Palestine	Aland I 910; Dmitrievskij II 192–202; Gardthausen, Catalogus 205; Kamil, Catalogue 110 (nr. 1289). - Rossetto, Building the Euchologion 71. - Welte, Griechische Palimpseste 50.	Greek
Sin. gr. 962 (Diktyon 59337) SPP		Euchologion (Lit.)	2nd half 11th c. (ff. 182–187: 13th–14th c.)	Palestine?	Aland I 912; Dmitrievskij II 64–75; Gardthausen, Catalogus 206; Kamil, Catalogue 110 (nr. 1291). - Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 567. - Rossetto, Building the Euchologion 71–72. - Velkovska – Parenti 472.	Greek
Sin. gr. 966 (Diktyon 59341) SPP	+ Sin. gr. NF M 21 (Diktyon 60848) + Sin. gr. NF M 68, ff.1–8 (Diktyon 60895) + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 (Diktyon 76670)	Euchologion (Lit.)	2nd half 12th c.	Southern Italy (Salento)	Dmitrievskij II 202–219; Gardthausen, Catalogus 206; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1295). - Arnesano, Repertorio 61. - Arnesano, Libri inutiles 200. - Parenti, Un eucologio poco noto del Salento. - Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 571. - Polidori, La Liturgia Bizantina nel Salento 41–43. - Rossetto, Building the Euchologion 71–73.	Greek
Sin. gr. 1096 (Diktyon 59471)		Sabaite Typikon (Lit.)	12th c.	Mar Saba	Beneševič, Catalogus I 176–177; Gardthausen, Catalogus 222; Kamil, Catalogue 117 (nr. 1519). - Dmitrievskij, Opisanie III Τυπικά 20–65. - Galadza, Liturgy and Byzantinization 382.	Greek
Sin. gr. 1201 (Diktyon 59576)	+ Sin. gr. NF M 186 (Diktyon 61013) + Petropol. gr. 114 [*olim* Granstrem 462] (Diktyon 57185)	Etymologicum Gudianum (Gr.)	13th c.	Southern Italy (Salento)	Beneševič, Catalogus I 523; Gardthausen, Catalogus 247–248; Kamil, Catalogue 137 (nr. 2101). - Arnesano, Manoscritti greci di Terra d'Otranto 84–85. - Géhin – Frøyshov, Nouvelles découvertes 173.	Greek
Sin. gr. 1220 (Diktyon 59595)	+ Petropol. gr. 367 [*olim* Granstrem 88, 500] (Diktyon 57439)	Sticherarion (Lit.)	13th c.	---	Balageorgos – Kritikou, Manuscrits de musique byzantine 33–35; Beneševič, Catalogus I 622; Gardthausen, Catalogus 255; Kamil, Catalogue 127 (nr. 1786).	Greek

Scriptio superior						*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*
Shelfmark	***Disiecta membra* (relating to overtext)**	**Content**	**Script date**	**Place of copying**	**Catalogues and selected bibliography**	**Language(s)**
Sin. gr. 2053 (Diktyon 60428) SPP		Lectionary (Lit.)	13th–14th c.	---	Aland l 1770; Beneševič, Catalogus III.1 310; Kamil, Catalogue 74 (nr. 347).	Greek
Sin. gr. NF MG 2 (Diktyon 61040) SPP		Praxapostolos, bilingual Greek-Arabic	9th c.	Damascus?	Aland 278; Greek New Finds 141, pl. 1. - D'Aiuto, 'Scrittura mista' 166. - D'Aiuto – Bucca, Some Greek hymnographic fragments from Damascus 296. - Perria, Scritture e codici di origine orientale 24. - Perria, Repertorio 34, pl. IV. - Welte, Griechische Palimpseste 47.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF MG 8 (Diktyon 61046)		Lectionary (Lit.)	10th c.	Jerusalem?	Aland l 2212; Greek New Finds 142, pl. 51. - Galadza, Liturgy and Byzantinization 369–370. - Galadza, The Jerusalem Lectionary 185. - Welte, Griechische Palimpseste 52.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF MG 14 (Diktyon 61052) SPP		Saints' *Lives*, Enkomion on the Theotokos (Hag.)	10th c.	---	Greek New Finds 144, pl. 54. - Crisci, Esperienze grafiche sinaitico-palestinesi 50. - Orsini, Studies on Greek and Coptic Majuscule Scripts 78.	Greek CPA
Sin. gr. NF MG 15 (Diktyon 61053)		Stichera, Kathismata, Prayers (Lit.)	9th c.	Palestine	Greek New Finds 144, pl. 54. - Crisci, Esperienze grafiche sinaitico-palestinesi 49–50, 52. - D'Aiuto, 'Scrittura mista' 166–167. - Perria, Scritture e codici di origine orientale 27.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF MG 24 (Diktyon 61062) SPP		Kathismata, Hymns (Lit.)	9th–10th c.	Palestine	Greek New Finds 146, pl. 60. - Crisci, Esperienze grafiche sinaitico-palestinesi 50. - D'Aiuto, 'Scrittura mista' 167. - Géhin – Frøyshov, Nouvelles découvertes 171, 180. - Perria, Libri e scritture 179.	Greek CPA

Scriptio superior						*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*
Shelfmark	***Disiecta membra* (relating to overtext)**	**Content**	**Script date**	**Place of copying**	**Catalogues and selected bibliography**	**Language(s)**
Sin. gr. NF MG 29 (Diktyon 61067) SPP		Hymns from the Parakletike (Lit.)	9th c.	Palestine	Greek New Finds 146, pl. 62. - Crisci, Esperienze grafiche sinaitico-palestinesi 48, 50. - D'Aiuto, 'Scrittura mista' 167. - Perria, Scritture e codici di origine orientale 27.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF MG 32 (Diktyon 61070) SPP		Martyrologion (Hag.)	9th c.	---	Greek New Finds 147. - Géhin – Frøyshov, Nouvelles découvertes 171.	Greek CPA
Sin. gr. NF MG 48 (Diktyon 61086)	Sin. Chest I 55 (Diktyon 77931)	Ascetical narrations, including John Klimax, *Ladder* (gradus XXVIII, PG 88, 1129 B5–D1) (Theol.)	9th–10th c.	Palestine	Greek New Finds 149, pl. 71. - Crisci, Esperienze grafiche sinaitico-palestinesi 48, 50. - D'Aiuto, 'Scrittura mista' 167–168. - Géhin – Frøyshov, Nouvelles découvertes 174. - Perria, Scritture e codici di origine orientale 27.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF MG 53 [one fragmentary bifolio][140] (Diktyon 61091)		Euchologion (Lit.)	8th–9th c.	---	Greek New Finds 150, pl. 75. (Not listed as palimpsest by Nikolopoulos) - Kanavas, L'eucologio MG 53. - Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 563.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF MG 82 (Diktyon 61120)		Stichera (Lit.)	9th–10th c.	Sinai	Greek New Finds 154, pl. 95. (Not listed as palimpsest by Nikolopoulos) - Crisci, Esperienze grafiche sinaitico-palestinesi 48, 51. - D'Aiuto, 'Scrittura mista' 168.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF MG 99 (Diktyon 61137) SPP		Liturgical canons and troparia; funeral stichera (Lit.)	9th c.	Palestine	Greek New Finds 157, pl. 108. - Crisci, Esperienze grafiche sinaitico-palestinesi 48, 50. - D'Aiuto, 'Scrittura mista' 168–169. - Perria, Scritture e codici di origine orientale 27.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF M 3 (Diktyon 60830)		Menaion for January (Lit.)	1301–1302	---	Greek New Finds 161, pl. 119.	Greek

[140] The palimpsest bifolio is not part of the Euchologion. The bifolio contains Luke 18 – Jonah 4 and probably belonged to a Jerusalem Lectionary (see Kanavas, L'eucologio MG 53, 367 who indicates these two folia as "φύλλα ἀποκομένα 000α and 000β" and does not indicate that they do not belong to the Euchologion). Its writing is similar to that of Sin. gr. NF MG 8 (palimpsest, with a Jerusalem Lectionary as *scriptio superior*).

Scriptio superior						*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*
Shelfmark	***Disiecta membra* (relating to overtext)**	**Content**	**Script date**	**Place of copying**	**Catalogues and selected bibliography**	**Language(s)**
Sin. gr. NF M 5 (Diktyon 60832)		Euchologion (Lit.)	14th c.	---	Greek New Finds 162.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF M 9 (Diktyon 60836)		Euchologion, Schematologion (Lit.)	10th c.	---	Greek New Finds 162. (Not listed as palimpsest by Nikolopoulos)	Greek
Sin. gr. NF M 11 (Diktyon 60838)	+ Sin. gr. 960 (Diktyon 59335) + Sin. gr. NF M 22 (Diktyon 60849) + Sin. gr. NF M 79 (Diktyon 60906)	Lectionary section from an Euchologion (Lit.)	2nd half 12th c.	Cyprus or Syria/ Palestine?	Aland l 2231; Greek New Finds 162. - Rossetto, Building the Euchologion 71. - Welte, Griechische Palimpseste 52.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF M 21 (Diktyon 60848)	+ Sin. gr. 966 (Diktyon 59341) + Sin. gr. NF M 68, ff. 1–8 (Diktyon 60895) + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 (Diktyon 76670)	Lectionary section from an Euchologion (Lit.)	2nd half 12th c.	Southern Italy (Salento)	Aland l 2232; Greek New Finds 163. - Rossetto, Building the Euchologion 71–72. - Welte, Griechische Palimpseste 52	Greek
Sin. gr. NF M 22 (Diktyon 60849)	+ Sin. gr. 960 (Diktyon 59335) + Sin. gr. NF M 11 (Diktyon 60838) + Sin. gr. NF M 79 (Diktyon 60906)	Euchologion (Lit.)	2nd half 12th c.	Cyprus or Syria/ Palestine?	Greek New Finds 163. (Not listed as palimpsest by Nikolopoulos) - Rossetto, Building the Euchologion 71.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF M 25 (Diktyon 60852)		Liturgical supplicatory canons, prayers to the Virgin Mary (Lit.)	13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 164.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF M 29 (Diktyon 60856)		Praxapostolos (Lit.)	14th c.	---	Aland 2797; Greek New Finds 164. - Welte, Griechische Palimpseste 48	Greek
Sin. gr. NF M 30 (Diktyon 60857)		Prayers (Lit.)	13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 164. (Not listed as palimpsest by Nikolopoulos)	Greek
Sin. gr. NF M 38 (Diktyon 60865)		Patristic miscellany (Theol.)	13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 165.	Greek CPA
Sin. gr. NF M 39 (Diktyon 60866)	+ Sin. gr. NF M 112 (Diktyon 60939)	Liturgical canons, Akathistos Hymn (Lit.)	13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 165.	Greek

Scriptio superior						*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*
Shelfmark	***Disiecta membra* (relating to overtext)**	**Content**	**Script date**	**Place of copying**	**Catalogues and selected bibliography**	**Language(s)**
Sin. gr. NF M 48 (Diktyon 60875) SPP	Same hand as Sin. gr. NF M 90 (Diktyon 60917)	Prayers for Vespers and Matins (Lit.)	13th–14th c.	---	Greek New Finds 166.	Greek Latin
Sin. gr. NF M 64 (Diktyon 60891)		Services for Saint John the Baptist (Lit.)	13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 168.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF M 65 (Diktyon 60892)		Services for the prophet Moses, the Burning Bush, liturgical canons to the Virgin Mary (Lit.)	1257	---	Greek New Finds 169.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF M 68 [four unfoliated quires][141] (Diktyon 60895)		Schematologion (Lit.)	11th c.	---	Greek New Finds 169. (Not listed as palimpsest by Nikolopoulos)	Greek
Sin. gr. NF M 69 (Diktyon 60896)		Martyrologion, liturgical canons (Hag./Lit.)	11th c.	---	Aland l 2233; Greek New Finds 169.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF M 70 (Diktyon 60897)		Parakletike (Lit.)	12th–13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 169.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF M 74 (Diktyon 60901)		Schematologion (Lit.)	12th c.	---	Aland l 2234; Greek New Finds 170.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF M 77 (Diktyon 60904)	Same hand as Sin. gr. 446, Sin. gr. 468, Sin. gr. NF M 78	Psalms (Lit.)	13th–14th c.	Levant	Greek New Finds 170, pl. 129. - Harlfinger, Weitere Beispiele 155 n. 13.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF M 78 (Diktyon 60905)	Same hand as Sin. gr. 446, Sin. gr. 468, Sin. gr. NF M 77	Hymns, prayers (Lit.)	13th–14th c.	Levant	Greek New Finds 170.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF M 82 (Diktyon 60909)		Heirmoi (Lit.)	12th–13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 170.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF M 83 (Diktyon 60910)		Horologion (Lit.)	13th–14th c.	---	Greek New Finds 170.	Greek Slavonic
Sin. gr. NF M 84 (Diktyon 60911)		Horologion (Lit.)	13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 172.	Greek

[141] Four unfoliated quires of Sin. gr. NF M 68 are palimpsest. The fifth quire (foliated from 1 to 8) is not palimpsest. It was erroneously put in the same box and then acquired the same shelfmark as the other four quires but clearly has no similarities with them. It originally belonged to Sin. gr. 966.

Scriptio superior						*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*
Shelfmark	***Disiecta membra* (relating to overtext)**	**Content**	**Script date**	**Place of copying**	**Catalogues and selected bibliography**	**Language(s)**
Sin. gr. NF M 90 (Diktyon 60917) SPP	Same hand as Sin. gr. NF M 48 (Diktyon 60875)	Horologion (Lit.)	13th–14th c.	---	Greek New Finds 172.	Ethiopic
Sin. gr. NF M 94 (Diktyon 60921)		Stichera (Lit.)	13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 172.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF M 98 (Diktyon 60925) SPP		Liturgical canons of the Parakletike (Lit.)	1st half 13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 173.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF M 112 (Diktyon 60939)	+ Sin. gr. NF M 39 (Diktyon 60866)	Liturgical canons (Lit.)	13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 175.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF M 130 (Diktyon 60957) SPP		Troparia (Lit.)	12th–13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 177.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF M 167 (Diktyon 60994)		Liturgical canons (Lit.)	early 9th c.	Sinai	Greek New Finds 183, pl. 144. - Crisci, Esperienze grafiche sinaitico-palestinesi 60, 62. - De Gregorio, Minuscola greca 127, 149–150. - Mazzucchi, Minuscola libraria 41–42, pl. 1. - Perria, Scritture e codici di origine orientale 28.	CPA
Sin. gr. NF M 186 (Diktyon 61013)	+ Sin. gr. 1201 (Diktyon 59576) + Petropol. gr. 114 [*olim* Granstrem 462] (Diktyon 57185)	Etymologicum Gudianum (Gr.)	13th c.	Southern Italy (Salento)	Greek New Finds 186. - Arnesano, Manoscritti greci di Terra d'Otranto 85. - Géhin – Frøyshov, Nouvelles découvertes 173.	Greek
Sin. gr. NF M 211 (Diktyon 61038)		Heirmoi (Lit.)	9th c.	Sinai	Greek New Finds 190, pl. 153. - Crisci, Esperienze grafiche sinaitico-palestinesi 60, 62. - Géhin – Frøyshov, Nouvelles découvertes 171, 180, n. 56. - Harlfinger, Weitere Beispiele 154. - Politis, Nouveaux manuscrits 16.	CPA
Sin. gr. NF E 64 (Diktyon 60811)		Liturgy of the Presanctified (Lit.)	12th–13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 261.	Greek

APPENDIX 2: PALIMPSESTS WITH GREEK *SCRIPTIONES INFERIORES* (ALL)

Scriptio superior						***Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)***	
Shelfmark	***Disiecta membra* (relating to overtext)**	**Content**	**Script date**	**Place of copying**	**Catalogues**	**Language(s)**	**SPP (yes/ no)**
Sin. ar. 73		Paul, *Letters*	9th c.	---	Atiya, Arabic Manuscripts 4; Kamil, Catalogue 14 (nr. 66).	Greek	No
Sin. ar. 237		Prayers, troparia, psalms, theotokia	12th c.	---	Kamil, Catalogue 25 (nr. 296).	Greek	No
Sin. ar. 514 (Diktyon 58317)	+ Schøyen 579 + München, BSB, Cod. arab. 1066	Collection of homiletic and hagiographic works	early 10th c.	Sinai?	Atiya, Arabic Manuscripts 19; Kamil, Catalogue 42 (nr. 507).[142]	Greek, Arabic, Syriac	Yes
Sin. ar. 590		Canons of ecumenical and local councils	13th c.	---	Atiya, Arabic Manuscripts 24; Kamil, Catalogue 51 (nr. 587).	Greek	No
Sin. ar. NF 8 (Diktyon 58318)	+ Sin. ar. NF 27 (Diktyon 58319) + Sin. ar. NF 28 (Diktyon 58320)	Gospels	2nd half 9th c.	---	Meimaris, Κατάλογος 24.[143]	Greek, Arabic, Latin, Syriac	Yes
Sin. ar. NF 27 (Diktyon 58319)	+ Sin. ar. NF 8 (Diktyon 58318) + Sin. ar. NF 28 (Diktyon 58320)	Gospels	2nd half 9th c.	---	Meimaris, Κατάλογος 29.	Greek	No
Sin. ar. NF 28 (Diktyon 58320)	+ Sin. ar. NF 8 (Diktyon 58318) + Sin. ar. NF 27 (Diktyon 58319)	Gospels	2nd half 9th c.	---	Meimaris, Κατάλογος 29.[144]	Greek	Yes
Sin. ar. NF 40 (Diktyon 58321)		Apostolic Letters	---	---	Meimaris, Κατάλογος 31.	Greek	No
Sin. ar. NF 57 (Diktyon 58322)	+ Sin. gr. 1922 (Diktyon 60297)	Discourses	12th c.	---	Meimaris, Κατάλογος 34.	Greek	No

[142] See also G. Kessel, A Catacomb of Syriac Texts: Codex Arabicus (Sin. ar. 514) Revisited, in: New Light on Old Manuscripts: The Sinai Palimpsests and Other Advances in Palimpsest Studies, ed. C. Rapp – G. Rossetto – J. Grusková – G. Kessel. Forthcoming.

[143] See also H. Kachouh, Sinai Ar. N.F. Parchment 8 and 28: Its Contribution to Textual Criticism of the Gospel of Luke. *Novum Testamentum* 50 (2008) 28–57, and H. Kachouh, The Arabic Versions of the Gospels: The Manuscripts and their Families. Berlin – Boston 2011, 76.

[144] See also Kachouh, Sinai Ar. N.F. Parchment 8 and 28 and Kachouh, The Arabic Versions of the Gospels 76.

Scriptio superior						*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*	
Shelfmark	***Disiecta membra* (relating to overtext)**	**Content**	**Script date**	**Place of copying**	**Catalogues**	**Language(s)**	**SPP (yes/ no)**
Sin. ar. NF 66	+ Leipzig UB gr. 2 (Diktyon 38317) + Petropol. gr. 26 (Diktyon 57096) + Cantabr. Add. 1879.5 (Diktyon 77955)	- Leontius of Damascus, *Life of Saint Stephen of Mar Saba* - Ps.-Athanasius of Alexandria, *Life of Saints Stephen and Nikon*	901–925	Mar Saba	Meimaris, Κατάλογος 35.[145]	Greek, CPA	Yes
Sin. gr. 1922[146] (Diktyon 60297)	+ Sin. ar. NF 57	Arabic *scriptio superior*. Translation from John Klimax and John Chrysostom	12th c.	---	Beneševič, Catalogus III.1 245 (nr. 1870); Kamil, Catalogue 73 (nr. 335).	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF MG 87[147] (Diktyon 61125)		Arabic *scriptio superior*, unidentified	---	---	Greek New Finds 155 (refers to the Greek *scriptio inferior*)	Greek	No
Sin. geo. 34	+ Leipzig UB V 1096, ff. 4–7 + Petropol. syr. 16 + Petropol. gr. 6, ff. 1–3 (Diktyon 57073) + Petropol. gr. 7, ff. 1–8 (Diktyon 57074) + Petropol. gr. 41, ff. 1 and 3 (Diktyon 57111)	"Encyclopaedia" of Iovane Zosime	965–969	Mar Saba	Javaxišvili, Sinis mt'is k'art'ul xelnacert'a aġceriloba 54–59; Kamil, Catalogue 58 (nr. 35); Metreveli et al., K'art'ul xelnacert'a aġceriloba I 94–143.	Greek, Georgian	Yes
Sin. geo. 49	+ Sin. geo. NF 97 + Sin. geo. NF frg. 73a + Par. géorg. 30 + Vat. iber. 4 + HMML ms. frg. 32	Iadgari	10th c.	---	Kamil, Catalogue 58 (nr. 38); Metreveli et al., K'art'ul xelnacert'a aġceriloba I 156–162.	Greek, Arabic, Coptic+Latin, Georgian, Syriac	Yes

[145] See also A. Binggeli, Les trois David copistes arabes de Palestine aux 9e–10e s., in: Manuscripta graeca et orientalia. Mélanges monastiques et patristiques en l'honneur de Paul Géhin, ed. A. Binngeli, A. Boud'hors and M. Cassin. Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA, 2016, 79–117, here 101–104, and Rossetto, Fragments from the Orphic Rhapsodies?

[146] There is a mistake in the cataloguing, as this ms. has *scriptio superior* in Arabic. Alexander Treiger suggests that the Arabic hand dates to the 12th century, and awaits investigation (personal communication, September 2017). He further notes that f. 3r of the overtext has a table of contents listing nine items.

[147] This manuscript with *scriptio superior* in Arabic was catalogued by Nikolopoulos among the Greek New Finds as being written in majuscule script on parchment on account of the easily legible *scriptio inferior* in Greek majuscule.

Scriptio superior						*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*	
Shelfmark	***Disiecta membra* (relating to overtext)**	**Content**	**Script date**	**Place of copying**	**Catalogues**	**Language(s)**	**SPP (yes/ no)**
Sin. geo. NF 19		Iadgari	980	Sinai	Aleksidze et al., Catalogue of Georgian Manuscripts 391–393.	Greek, CPA	Yes
Sin. geo. NF 69 (Diktyon 58374)		Heirmologion	10th c. (988?)	---	Aleksidze et al., Catalogue of Georgian Manuscripts 423–424.	Greek	No
Sin. geo. NF 97 (Diktyon 58375)	+ Sin. geo. 49 + Sin. geo. NF frg. 73a + Par. géorg. 30 + Vat. iber. 4 + HMML ms. frg. 32	Iadgari	10th c.	---	Aleksidze et al., Catalogue of Georgian Manuscripts 437.	Greek	No
Sin. geo. NF frg. 72a		Euchologion	13th c.	---	Not catalogued.	Greek	Yes
Sin. geo. NF frg. 73a	+ Sin. geo. 49 + Sin. geo. NF 97 + Par. géorg. 30 + Vat. iber. 4 + HMML ms. frg. 32	Iadgari	10th c.	---	Not catalogued.	Greek, Arabic	Yes
Sin. gr. 212 (Diktyon 58587)		New Testament Lectionary	9th c.	Jerusalem	Gardthausen, Catalogus 42; Kamil, Catalogue 70 (nr. 237).	Greek	Yes
Sin. gr. 264 (Diktyon 58639)		New Testament Lectionary	15th c.	---	Gardthausen, Catalogus 54; Kamil, Catalogue 72 (nr. 289).	Greek	No
Sin. gr. 383 (Diktyon 58758)		Patristic miscellany	10th c.	---	Beneševič, Catalogus I 347–352 (nr. 513); Gardthausen, Catalogus 89–90; Kamil, Catalogue 79 (nr. 445).	Greek	No
Sin. gr. 402 (Diktyon 58777)		Theodore of Stoudios, *Catecheses, Testament*	12th c.	Constantinople or Athos	Gardthausen, Catalogus 96; Kamil, Catalogue 87 (nr. 626).	Greek	No
Sin. gr. 429 (Diktyon 58804)		- John of Raithou, *Letter to John Klimax* - Daniel of Raithou, *Life of John Klimax* - John Klimax, *Letters, Ladder*	late 13th c.–early 14th c.	---	Gardthausen, Catalogus 103; Kamil, Catalogue 88 (nr. 653).	Greek	No
Sin. gr. 439 (Diktyon 58814)		- Antiochus of Palestine, *Letter to Eustathius, Pandects, Exomologesis*	12th c.	---	Gardthausen, Catalogus 106–107; Kamil, Catalogue 88 (nr. 663).	Greek	No

Scriptio superior						*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*	
Shelfmark	***Disiecta membra* (relating to overtext)**	**Content**	**Script date**	**Place of copying**	**Catalogues**	**Language(s)**	**SPP (yes/ no)**
Sin. gr. 446 (Diktyon 58821)	Same hand as Sin. gr. 468, Sin. gr. NF M 77, Sin. gr. NF M 78	Asketikon	13th–14th c.	Levant	Gardthausen, Catalogus 108; Kamil, Catalogue 89 (nr. 670).	Greek	Yes
Sin. gr. 468 (Diktyon 58843)	Same hand as Sin. gr. 446, Sin. gr. NF M 77, Sin. gr. NF M 78	Asketikon	13th–14th c.	Levant	Gardthausen, Catalogus 114–115; Kamil, Catalogue 89 (nr. 692).	Greek, Arabic	Yes
Sin. gr. 516 (Diktyon 58891)		Menologion	11th–12th c.	---	Beneševič, Catalogus I 188–191 (nr. 348); Gardthausen, Catalogus 126; Kamil, Catalogue 91 (nr. 739).	Greek	No
Sin. gr. 699 (Diktyon 59074)		Menaion	14th c.	---	Gardthausen, Catalogus 156; Kamil, Catalogue 99 (nr. 957).	Greek	Yes
Sin. gr. 925 (Diktyon 59300)		Kontakarion	10th–11th c.	Levant	Gardthausen, Catalogus 197; Kamil, Catalogue 108 (nr. 1222).	Greek	Yes
Sin. gr. 929 (Diktyon 59304)	+ Petropol. gr. 372 [*olim* Granstrem 41, 532] (Diktyon 57444)	Heirmologion	1320	---	Gardthausen, Catalogus 198; Kamil, Catalogue 108 (nr. 1226).	Greek, Arabic	Yes
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)	Euchologion	2nd half 12th c.	Cyprus or Syria/ Palestine	Gardthausen, Catalogus 205; Kamil, Catalogue 110 (nr. 1289).	Greek	Yes
Sin. gr. 962 (Diktyon 59337)		Euchologion	2nd half 11th c. (ff. 182–187: 13th–14th c.)	Palestine?	Gardthausen, Catalogus 206; Kamil, Catalogue 110 (nr. 1291).	Greek	Yes
Sin. gr. 966 (Diktyon 59341)	+ Sin. gr. NF M 21 (Diktyon 60848) + Sin. gr. NF M 68, ff.1–8 (Diktyon 60895) + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 (Diktyon 76670)	Euchologion	2nd half 12th c.	Southern Italy (Salento)	Gardthausen, Catalogus 206; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1295).	Greek	Yes

Scriptio superior						*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*	
Shelfmark	***Disiecta membra* (relating to overtext)**	**Content**	**Script date**	**Place of copying**	**Catalogues**	**Language(s)**	**SPP (yes/no)**
Sin. gr. 1096 (Diktyon 59471)		Sabaite Typikon	12th c.	Mar Saba	Beneševič, Catalogus I 176–177; Gardthausen, Catalogus 222; Kamil, Catalogue 117 (nr. 1519).	Greek	Yes
Sin. gr. 1201 (Diktyon 59576)	+ Sin. gr. NF M 186 (Diktyon 61013) + Petropol. gr. 114 [*olim* Granstrem 462] (Diktyon 57185)	Etymologicum Gudianum	13th c.	Southern Italy (Salento)	Beneševič, Catalogus I 523; Gardthausen, Catalogus 247–248; Kamil, Catalogue 137 (nr. 2101).	Greek	No
Sin. gr. 1220 (Diktyon 59595)	+ Petropol. gr. 367 [*olim* Granstrem 88, 500] (Diktyon 57439)	Sticherarion	13th c.	---	Gardthausen, Catalogus 255; Kamil, Catalogue 127 (nr. 1786).[148]	Greek	No
Sin. gr. 2053 (Diktyon 60428)		Lectionary	13th–14th c.	---	Beneševič, Catalogus III.1 310; Kamil, Catalogue 74 (nr. 347).	Greek	Yes
Sin. gr. NF MG 2 (Diktyon 61040)		Praxapostolos, bilingual Greek-Arabic	9th c.	Jerusalem / Mar Saba	Greek New Finds 141, pl. 1.	Greek	Yes
Sin. gr. NF MG 8 (Diktyon 61046)		Lectionary	10th c.	Jerusalem?	Greek New Finds 142, pl. 51.	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF MG 14 (Diktyon 61052)		Saints' *Lives*, Enkomion on the Theotokos	10th c.	---	Greek New Finds 144, pl. 54.	Greek, CPA	Yes
Sin. gr. NF MG 15 (Diktyon 61053)		Stichera, Kathismata, Prayers	9th c.	Palestine	Greek New Finds 144, pl. 55.	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF MG 24 (Diktyon 61062)		Kathismata, Hymns	9th–10th c.	Palestine	Greek New Finds 146, pl. 60.	Greek, CPA	Yes
Sin. gr. NF MG 29 (Diktyon 61067)		Hymns from the Parakletike	9th c.	Palestine	Greek New Finds 146, pl. 62.	Greek	Yes
Sin. gr. NF MG 32 (Diktyon 61070)		Martyrologion	9th c.	---	Greek New Finds 147.	Greek, CPA	Yes

[148] For the identification of the *membra disiecta* see P. Géhin – S. Frøyshov, Nouvelles découvertes sinaïtiques: à propos de la parution de l'inventaire des manuscrits grecs. *REB* 58 (2000), 173, and D. Arnesano, Manoscritti greci di Terra d'Otranto. Recenti scoperte e attribuzioni (2005–2008), in: Toxotes: Studies for Stefano Parenti, ed. D. Galadza – N. Glibetic – G. Radle. Grottaferrata 2010, 84.

Scriptio superior						*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*	
Shelfmark	***Disiecta membra* (relating to overtext)**	**Content**	**Script date**	**Place of copying**	**Catalogues**	**Language(s)**	**SPP (yes/ no)**
Sin. gr. NF MG 48 (Diktyon 61086)	Sin. Chest I 55	Ascetical narrations, including John Klimax, *Ladder* (gradus XXVIII, PG 88, 1129 B5–D1)	9th–10th c.	Palestine	Greek New Finds 149, pl. 71.	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF MG 53 [one fragmentary bifolio][149] (Diktyon 61091)		Euchologion	8th–9th c.	---	Greek New Finds 150, pl. 75. (Not listed as palimpsest by Nikolopoulos)	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF MG 82 (Diktyon 61120)		Stichera	9th–10th c.	Sinai	Greek New Finds 154, pl. 95. (Not listed as palimpsest by Nikolopoulos)	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF MG 99 (Diktyon 61137)		Liturgical canons and troparia; funeral stichera	9th c.	Palestine	Greek New Finds 157, pl. 108.	Greek	Yes
Sin. gr. NF M 3 (Diktyon 60830)		Menaion for January	1301–1302	---	Greek New Finds 161, pl. 119.	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF M 5 (Diktyon 60832)		Euchologion	14th c.	---	Greek New Finds 162.	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF M 9 (Diktyon 60836)		Euchologion, Schematologion	10th c.	---	Greek New Finds 163. (Not listed as palimpsest by Nikolopoulos)	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF M 11 (Diktyon 60838)	+ Sin. gr. 960 (Diktyon 59335) + Sin. gr. NF M 22 (Diktyon 60849) + Sin. gr. NF M 79 (Diktyon 60906)	Lectionary section from an Euchologion	2nd half 12th c.	Cyprus or Syria/ Palestine?	Greek New Finds 162.	Greek	No

[149] The palimpsest bifolio is not part of the Euchologion. The bifolio contains Luke 18 – Jonah 4 and probably belonged to a Jerusalem Lectionary (see Kanavas, L'eucologio MG 53, 367 who indicates these two folia as "φύλλα ἀποκομένα 000α and 000β" and does not indicate that they do not belong to the Euchologion). Its writing is similar to that of Sin. gr. NF MG 8 (palimpsest, with a Jerusalem Lectionary as scriptio superior).

Scriptio superior						*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*	
Shelfmark	***Disiecta membra* (relating to overtext)**	**Content**	**Script date**	**Place of copying**	**Catalogues**	**Language(s)**	**SPP (yes/ no)**
Sin. gr. NF M 21 (Diktyon 60848)	+ Sin. gr. 966 (Diktyon 59341) + Sin. gr. NF M 68, ff. 1–8 (Diktyon 60895) + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 (Diktyon 76670)	Lectionary section from an Euchologion	2nd half 12th c.	Southern Italy (Salento)	Greek New Finds 163.	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF M 22 (Diktyon 60849)	+ Sin. gr. 960 (Diktyon 59335) + Sin. gr. NF M 11 (Diktyon 60838) + Sin. gr. NF M 79 (Diktyon 60906)	Euchologion	2nd half 12th c.	Cyprus or Syria/ Palestine?	Greek New Finds 163. (Not listed as palimpsest by Nikolopoulos)	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF M 25 (Diktyon 60852)		Liturgical canons, prayers to the Virgin Mary	13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 164.	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF M 29 (Diktyon 60856)		Praxapostolos	14th c.	---	Greek New Finds 164.	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF M 30 (Diktyon 60857)		Prayers	13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 164. (Not listed as palimpsest by Nikolopoulos)	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF M 38 (Diktyon 60865)		Patristic miscellany	13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 165.	Greek, CPA	No
Sin. gr. NF M 39 (Diktyon 60866)	+ Sin. gr. NF M 112 (Diktyon 60939)	Liturgical canons, Akathistos Hymn	13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 165.	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF M 48 (Diktyon 60875)	Same hand as Sin. gr. NF M 90	Prayers for Vespers and Matins	13th–14th c.	---	Greek New Finds 166.	Greek, Latin	Yes
Sin. gr. NF M 64 (Diktyon 60891)		Services for Saint John the Baptist	13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 168.	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF M 65 (Diktyon 60892)		Services for the prophet Moses, the Burning Bush, liturgical canons to the Virgin	1257	---	Greek New Finds 169.	Greek	No

Scriptio superior						*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*	
Shelfmark	***Disiecta membra* (relating to overtext)**	**Content**	**Script date**	**Place of copying**	**Catalogues**	**Language(s)**	**SPP (yes/ no)**
Sin. gr. NF M 68 [four unfoliated quires][150] (Diktyon 60895)		Schematologion	11th c.	---	Greek New Finds 169. (Not listed as palimpsest by Nikolopoulos)	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF M 69 (Diktyon 60896)		Martyrologion, liturgical canons	11th c.	---	Greek New Finds 169.	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF M 70 (Diktyon 60897)		Parakletike	12th–13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 169.	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF M 74 (Diktyon 60901)		Schematologion	12th c.	---	Greek New Finds 170.	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF M 77 (Diktyon 60904)	Same hand as Sin. gr. 446, Sin. gr. 468, Sin. gr. NF M 78	Psalms	13th–14th c.	Levant	Greek New Finds 170, pl. 129.	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF M 78 (Diktyon 60905)	Same hand as Sin. gr. 446, Sin. gr. 468, Sin. gr. NF M 77	Hymns, prayers	13th–14th c.	Levant	Greek New Finds 170–171.	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF M 82 (Diktyon 60909)		Heirmoi	12th–13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 170.	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF M 83 (Diktyon 60910)		Horologion	13th–14th c.	---	Greek New Finds 170.	Greek, Slavonic	No
Sin. gr. NF M 84 (Diktyon 60911)		Horologion	13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 172.	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF M 94 (Diktyon 60921)		Stichera	13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 172.	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF M 98 (Diktyon 60925)		Liturgical canons of the Parakletike	1st half 13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 173.	Greek	Yes
Sin. gr. NF M 112 (Diktyon 60939)	+ Sin. gr. NF M 39 (Diktyon 60866)	Liturgical canons	13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 175.	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF M 130 (Diktyon 60957)		Troparia	12th–13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 177.	Greek	Yes

[150] Four unfoliated quires of Sin. gr. NF M 68 are palimpsest. The fifth quire (foliated from 1 to 8) is not palimpsest. It was erroneously put in the same box and then acquired the same shelfmark as the other four quires but clearly has no similarities with them. It originally belonged to Sin. gr. 966.

Scriptio superior						*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*	
Shelfmark	***Disiecta membra* (relating to overtext)**	**Content**	**Script date**	**Place of copying**	**Catalogues**	**Language(s)**	**SPP (yes/ no)**
Sin. gr. NF M 186 (Diktyon 61013)	+ Sin. gr. 1201 (Diktyon 59576) + Petropol. gr. 114 [*olim* Granstrem 462] (Diktyon 57185)	Etymologicum Gudianum	13th c.	Southern Italy (Salento)	Greek New Finds 186.[151]	Greek	No
Sin. gr. NF E 64 (Diktyon 60811)		Liturgy of the Presanctified	12th–13th c.	---	Greek New Finds 261.	Greek	No
Sin. slav. 42		Psalter	15th c.	---	Kamil, Catalogue 147 (nr. 8).	Greek	No
Sin. slav. NF 17		Prayers and medical recipes	13th–14th c.	---	Tarnanidis, The Slavonic Manuscripts 143–144.	Greek	No
Sin. syr. 3A	+ Sin. syr. NF frg. 20 + Chabot 30 (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana) + ex-Schøyen 2530	Paul, *Letters*	5th–6th c.	---	Géhin, Les manuscrits syriaques 30–31; Kamil, Catalogue 152 (nr. 52); Lewis, Catalogue 2.	Greek	No
Sin. syr. 7	+ Sin. NF frgs. 55–57 + Lond. Or. 8609/II + Chabot 26–27 (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana) + Paris. syr. 382/I + Houghton syr. 171 (Harvard University) + Hiersemann 500/10 (lost)	Gospel Lectionary and other liturgical texts	11th c. (ff. 71–72: 13th c.)	Black Mountain?	Géhin, Les manuscrits syriaques 37–38; Kamil, Catalogue 154 (nr. 78); Lewis, Catalogue 3.	Greek, Armenian	Yes
Sin. syr. 27 (Diktyon 60741)	+ Lond. Or. 8610/II + Mingana syr. 659 + Hiersemann 500/48	Hymns for the fixed and moveable feasts	12th c.	Northern Syria	Géhin, Les manuscrits syriaques 73–74; Kamil, Catalogue 154 (nr. 73); Lewis, Catalogue 42.	Greek, Syriac	No
Sin. syr. 30 (Diktyon 60742)		Hagiographical collection	698	Mar Conon at Ma'arrat Misrin, Syria	Géhin, Les manuscrits syriaques 75–78; Kamil, Catalogue 154 (nr. 74); Lewis, Catalogue 43–47.	Greek, Syriac	Yes

[151] For the identification of the *membra disiecta* see Géhin – Frøyshov, Nouvelles découvertes 173, and Arnesano, Manoscritti greci di Terra d'Otranto 84.

Scriptio superior						*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*	
Shelfmark	***Disiecta membra* (relating to overtext)**	**Content**	**Script date**	**Place of copying**	**Catalogues**	**Language(s)**	**SPP (yes/ no)**
Sin. syr. 64	+ Vat. syr. 647, ff. 27–28, 43	Heirmologion	1255	Deir Rabba, Sinai	Géhin, Les manuscrits syriaques 111–113; Kamil, Catalogue 158 (nr. 190); Lewis, Catalogue 53.	Greek	No
Sin. syr. 88		Menaion	1253	---	Kamil, Catalogue 156 (nr. 131); Lewis, Catalogue 58	Greek	No
Harris App. 10[152] (Diktyon 58335) (Syriac)	+ Kiev, NBUV, Φ 301, 17 + Petropol. gr. 276	John Klimax, *Ladder*	---	---	Rendel Harris, Biblical Fragments XI–XII and 27–44; Rendel Harris, Appendix 106–109.[153]	Greek	No
Harris App. 19[154] (Diktyon 58344) (Syriac)		Saint's Lives	---	---	Rendel Harris, Appendix 111–112.	Greek	No
Harris App. 21[155] (Diktyon 58346) (Syriac)		Paul, *Letter to the Romans*	---	---	Rendel Harris, Biblical Fragments VII and 1; Rendel Harris, Appendix 112.	Greek	No
Sin. syr. NF M4	+ Sin. syr. NF M31 + Lond. Or. 5020 + Vat. sir. 647, ff. 3, 5–6	Oktoechos	1179	Church of Mar Nicholas, Sarba, Lebanon	Géhin, Les manuscrits syriaques 127–130; Philothée du Sinaï, Nouveaux Manuscrits Syriaques 277–279.	Greek, Syriac	No
Sin. syr. NF M21		Hymns for the great feasts, from Christmas to the Transfiguration	11th c.	---	Géhin, Les manuscrits syriaques 186; Philothée du Sinaï, Nouveaux Manuscrits Syriaques 343–345.	Greek, Georgian, Latin, Syriac	No
Sin. syr. NF M42 (CPA)		Gospel Lectionary	12th c.	---	Philothée du Sinaï, Nouveaux Manuscrits Syriaques 449–463.	Greek	Yes
Sin. syr. NF M60	+ Sin. syr. NF frg. 71	Horologion, Oktoechos	13th c.	---	Brock, Catalogue 68; Géhin, Les manuscrits syriaques 193; Philothée du Sinaï, Nouveaux Manuscrits Syriaques 549–550.	Greek, Syriac	No
Sin. syr. NF M64		Genesis	9th c.	---	Géhin, Les manuscrits syriaques 194; Philothée du Sinaï, Nouveaux Manuscrits Syriaques 559–560.	Greek, CPA	Yes

[152] On this see Velkovska, Sinai Chest I 229, 234 (Dumbarton Oaks, ICFA, Weitzmann, Photographical Archive, Box 49, 18). Currently kept at Sinai, in the archive of Saint Catherine's Monastery.

[153] For the identification of the Russian *membra disiecta* see K. Treu, Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments in der UdSSR. Eine systematische Auswertung der Texthandschriften in Leningrad, Moskau, Kiev, Odessa, Tbilisi und Erevan. Berlin 1966, 111–112. J. Snapp is responsible for recognising that Sin. syr. 7, ff. 71–72 (*inferior*) was originally part of this manuscript http://www.thetextofthegospels.com/2020/04/codex-064-more-pages-from-new-finds-at.html (19.09.2022).

[154] On this see Velkovska, Sinai Chest I 230 (Dumbarton Oaks, ICFA, Weitzmann, Photographical Archive, Box 49, 27). Currently kept at Sinai, in the archive of Saint Catherine's Monastery.

[155] On this see Velkovska, Sinai Chest I 230, 233 (Dumbarton Oaks, ICFA, Weitzmann, Photographical Archive, Box 49, 29). Currently kept at Sinai, in the archive of Saint Catherine's Monastery.

APPENDIX 3: IDENTIFICATION OF GREEK *SCRIPTIONES INFERIORES*

Scriptio superior			***Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)***				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. ar. 514 *Collection of homiletic and hagiographic works* (Hag./Hom.)	early 10th c.	175 ff.	Excerpt from a funeral service (Lit.)	47r, 52v	9th c.[157]	• Script: mixed script. • Origin: Sinaitic-Palestinian area. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as folio and trimmed. • Double palimpsest: middle layer. The lowest (oldest) layer in Syriac (Colossians, 6th c.), identification by Kessel; the middle layer bears Greek script on one side and Arabic on the other (unidentified text: ff. 47v, 52r).[158]	Tselikas
Sin. ar. NF 8 *Gospels* (Bibl.)	2nd half 9th c.	128 ff.	Genesis (Bibl.)	121r, 121v, 126r, 126v	6th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: bifolio reused as bifolio and trimmed. • Also belonging to the same original manuscript, the textual unit "Exodus" from this manuscript and the textual units "Genesis" and "Exodus" from Sin. ar. NF 28. • See also Boudalis – Rossetto, Colour Mapping of Sin. ar. NF 8.	Tselikas, Wilson, Rossetto
			Exodus (Bibl.)	120r, 120v, 122r, 122v, 123r, 123v, 124r, 124v, 125r, 125v, 127r, 127v	6th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: bifolio reused as bifolio and trimmed. • Also belonging to the same original manuscript, the textual unit "Genesis" from this same manuscript and the textual units "Genesis" and "Exodus" from Sin. ar. NF 28. • See also Boudalis – Rossetto, Colour Mapping of Sin. ar. NF 8.	

[156] Detailed indications on the content (e.g. folio by folio identification) can be found on the SPP website: http://sinaipalimpsests.org/ (19.09.2022).

[157] On the SPP website, Tselikas dates this script to the 10th c. However, the recent attribution of the Syriac *scriptio superior* to the turn of the 10th c. now suggests a date in the 9th century (or before).

[158] More on this in Kessel, A Catacomb of Syriac Texts.

Scriptio superior			*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. ar. NF 8 *Gospels* (Bibl.)	2nd half 9th c.	128 ff.	Ecclesiasticus (Bibl.)	14r (lower inner piece), 14v (lower inner piece), 19r (lower inner piece), 19v (lower inner piece)	6th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: impossible to establish because fragmentary (lower inner piece of four pieces stitched together). • Double palimpsest (14r and 19v): lowest (oldest) layer. Middle layer in Greek (Unidentified text, 9th c.?). • See also Boudalis – Rossetto, Colour Mapping of Sin. ar. NF 8.	Tselikas, Wilson, Rossetto
			Gospel of John (Bibl.)	56r, 56v, 63r, 63v, 66r? (narrow outer piece), 66v? (narrow outer piece), 68r? (narrow outer piece), 68v? (narrow outer piece), 71r? (narrow outer piece), 71v? (narrow outer piece), 72r, 72v, 73r, 73v, 74r (upper and lower pieces), 74v (upper and lower pieces), 75r, 75v, 76r (large outer piece and narrow inner piece), 76v (large outer piece and narrow inner piece), 77r (lower piece), 77v (lower piece), 78r, 78v, 79r, 79v, 80r, 80v, 82r, 82v, 90r? (lower outer piece), 90v? (lower outer piece), 92r? (upper and lower outer piece), 92v? (upper and lower outer piece), 94r? (upper and lower outer piece), 94v? (upper and lower outer piece), 95r? (upper and lower outer piece), 95v? (upper and lower outer piece), 96r, 96v, 97r, 97v, 100r (upper and lower pieces), 100v (upper and lower pieces), 102r, 102v, 103r, 103v, 104r, 104v, 105r (inner and outer pieces), 105v (inner and outer pieces), 106r (large upper piece), 106v (large upper piece), 109r (inner and outer pieces), 109v (inner and outer pieces), 110r, 110v, 111r (large lower	6th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as bifolio and trimmed. • Also belonging to the same original manuscript, the textual unit “Gospel of Matthew” from this same manuscript. The folio fragments indicated with a question mark are of uncertain content and could possibly contain passages from the “Gospel of Matthew”. • See also Boudalis – Rossetto, Colour Mapping of Sin. ar. NF 8.	

Scriptio superior			***Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)***				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. ar. NF 8 *Gospels* (Bibl.)	2nd half 9th c.	128 ff.		piece), 111v (large lower piece), 112r, 112v, 114r, 114v, 115r? (upper and lower inner pieces), 115v? (upper and lower inner pieces), 116r (upper and central pieces), 116v (upper and central pieces), 117r (large inner piece), 117v (large inner piece), 119r (large inner piece), 119v (large inner piece)			Tselikas, Wilson, Rossetto
			Gospel of Matthew (Bibl.)	57r, 57v, 62r, 62v, 65r, 65v, 70r (narrow inner piece), 70v (narrow inner piece), 77r (upper piece), 77v (upper piece), 90r (upper outer piece), 90v (upper outer piece), 98r, 98v, 101r, 101v, 107r, 107v, 108r, 108v	6th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as bifolio and trimmed. • Also belonging to the same original manuscript, the textual unit "Gospel of John" from this same manuscript.	
			Life of Saint George (Hag.)	21r (lower outer piece), 21v (lower outer piece)	6th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: impossible to establish because fragmentary (lower outer piece of three pieces stitched together). • See also Boudalis – Rossetto, Colour Mapping of Sin. ar. NF 8.	
			Crateuas?, *Botanical Collection with images of plants* (Bot.)	16r, 16v, 17r, 17v	5th–6th c.	• Script: loose majuscule of small size. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as bifolio and trimmed. • Text previously unknown. Attributed to Crateuas by Wilson. Preserves illustrations of plants *Adianton* and *Phileterion* with short captions. • See also: Kasotakis, Sinai Palimpsests Project; Rossetto, Classical Texts; Boudalis – Rossetto, Colour Mapping of Sin. ar. NF 8.	

Scriptio superior			***Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)***				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. ar. NF 8 *Gospels* (Bibl.)	2nd half 9th c.	128 ff.	Hippocrates, *Epidemics* VII 1,59.8 – 1,77.4 (Med.)	8^{r}? (central piece), 8^{v}? (central piece), 9^{r}? (central piece), 9^{v}? (central piece), 50^{r}, 50^{v}, 53^{r}, 53^{v}	6th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as bifolio and trimmed. • Copied by the same hand as the textual unit "Hippocrates, *Letters*" in this same manuscript. The folio fragments indicated with a question mark are of uncertain content and could possibly contain passages from "Hippocrates, *Letters*". • See also: Rossetto, Classical Texts; Boudalis – Rossetto, Colour Mapping of Sin. ar. NF 8.	Tselikas, Wilson, Rossetto
			Hippocrates, *Letters* 3–7, 9–10, 25 (Med.)	8^{r} (upper piece), 8^{v} (upper piece), 9^{r} (upper piece), 9^{v} (upper piece), 58^{r}, 58^{v}, 61^{r}, 61^{v}	6th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as bifolio and trimmed. Trimmed parts sewn together with other small fragments to form complete folia. • Copied by the same hand as the textual unit "Hippocrates, *Epidemics*" in this same manuscript. • See also: Rossetto, Classical Texts; See Boudalis – Rossetto, Colour Mapping of Sin. ar. NF 8.	
			Hippocrates, *Regimen* I 17,6 – 30,11 (Med.)	8^{r} (lower piece), 8^{v} (lower piece), 9^{r} (lower piece), 9^{v} (lower piece), 40^{r}, 40^{v}, 41^{r}, 41^{v}, 46^{r}, 46^{v}, 47^{r}, 47^{v}	6th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as bifolio and trimmed. Trimmed parts sewn together with other small fragments to form complete folia. • Copied by the same hand as the textual units "Antyllus?, *Recipes*" and "Treatise on medical terms" in this same manuscript. • See also: Rossetto, Classical Texts; Boudalis – Rossetto, Colour Mapping of Sin. ar. NF 8.	

Scriptio superior			***Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)***				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. ar. NF 8 *Gospels* (Bibl.)	2nd half 9th c.	128 ff.	Antyllus?, *Recipes for different diseases* (Med.)	7r, 7v, 42r, 42v, 43r (lower and central pieces), 43v (lower and central pieces), 44r (lower and central pieces), 44v (lower and central pieces), 45r, 45v, 59r (lower and central pieces), 59v (lower and central pieces), 60r (lower and central pieces), 60v (lower and central pieces), 99r, 99v	6th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as bifolio and trimmed. • Text previously unknown. Attributed to Antyllus by Wilson. • Copied by the same hand as the textual units "Hippocrates, *Regimen*" and "Treatise on medical terms" in this same manuscript. • See also: Rossetto, Classical Texts; Boudalis – Rossetto, Colour Mapping of Sin. ar. NF 8.	Tselikas, Wilson, Rossetto
			Treatise on medical terms (Med.)	48r, 48v, 49r, 49v, 51r (central piece), 51v (central piece), 52r (central piece), 52v (central piece), 54r, 54v, 55r, 55v	6th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as bifolio and trimmed. • Text previously unknown. Resembles the *Collection of Hippocratic Terms* by Erotianus. • Copied by the same hand as the textual units "Hippocrates, *Regimen*" and "Antyllus?, *Recipes*" in this same manuscript. • See also: Rossetto, Classical Texts; Boudalis – Rossetto, Colour Mapping of Sin. ar. NF 8.	
			Inventory of books (Doc.)	4r, 4v, 5r, 5v, 22r, 22v, 23r, 23v, 28r, 28v, 29r, 29v	8th–9th c.	• Script: early minuscule (various hands) and mixed script. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as bifolio and trimmed. • Text previously unknown. • See also Boudalis – Rossetto, Colour Mapping of Sin. ar. NF 8.	
			List of vestments and liturgical objects (Doc.)	2r, 2v, 3r, 3v, 6r, 6v, 10r, 10v, 119r (lower outer piece), 119v (lower outer piece)	8th–9th c.	• Script: mixed script[159] and early minuscule. • Origin: Sinaitic-Palestinian area. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as bifolio and trimmed. • Text previously unknown. • Also belonging to the same original manuscript, folia from Sin. ar. NF 27. • See also Boudalis – Rossetto, Colour Mapping of Sin. ar. NF 8.	

[159] On the SPP website, Tselikas identifies this writing as "sloping majuscule".

Scriptio superior			***Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)***				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. ar. NF 8 *Gospels* (Bibl.)	2nd half 9th c.	128 ff.	Unidentified liturgical text (Lit.)	1r, 1v, 11r, 11v	8th–9th c.	• Script: mixed script and upright pointed majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as bifolio and trimmed. • See also Boudalis – Rossetto, Colour Mapping of Sin. ar. NF 8.	Tselikas, Wilson, Rossetto
			Basil of Caesarea, *Homily on Thanksgiving* (CPG 5011) (Hom.)	21r? (upper outer piece), 21v? (upper outer piece), 64r, 64v, 70r (large outer piece), 70v (large outer piece), 71r (large inner piece), 71v (large inner piece), 83r, 83v, 84r, 84v, 85r, 85v, 86r, 86v, 86r? (gutter, lower piece), 86v? (gutter, lower piece), 88r, 88v, 89r, 89v, 90r (large inner piece), 90v (large inner piece), 91r, 91v, 92r (large inner piece), 92v (large inner piece), 93r, 93v, 94r (large inner piece), 94v (large inner piece), 95r (large inner piece), 95v (large inner piece), 113r, 113v, 115r (large outer piece), 115v (large outer piece), 116r? (lower piece), 116v? (lower piece), 118r (large inner piece), 118v (large inner piece)	late 8th – early 9th c.	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as bifolio and trimmed. Trimmed parts sewn together with other small fragments to form complete folia. • Also belonging to the same original manuscript, the textual unit "Basil of Caesarea, *Homily on the Martyr Julitta*" from this same manuscript. The folio fragments indicated with a question mark are of uncertain content and could possibly contain passages from "Basil of Caesarea, *Homily on the Martyr Julitta*". • See also Boudalis – Rossetto, Colour Mapping of Sin. ar. NF 8.	
			Basil of Caesarea, *Homily on the Martyr Julitta* (CPG 2849) (Hom.)	66r (large inner piece), 66v (large inner piece), 67r, 67v, 68r (large inner piece), 68v (large inner piece), 69r, 69v, 81r, 81v, 87r, 87v	late 8th – early 9th c.	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: half folio reused as bifolio and trimmed. • Also belonging to the same original manuscript, the textual unit "Basil of Caesarea, *Homily on Thanksgiving*" from this same manuscript. • See also Boudalis – Rossetto, Colour Mapping of Sin. ar. NF 8.	

Scriptio superior			***Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)***				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. ar. NF 8 *Gospels* (Bibl.)	2nd half 9th c.	128 ff.	Unidentified text	14r (lower inner piece), 19v (lower inner piece)	9th c.?	• Script: sloping majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: impossible to establish because fragmentary (lower inner piece of four pieces stitched together). • Double palimpsest: middle layer. Lowest layer in Greek (Ecclesiasticus, 6th c.) • See also Boudalis – Rossetto, Colour Mapping of Sin. ar. NF 8.	Tselikas, Wilson, Rossetto
Sin. ar. NF 28 *Gospels* (Bibl.)	2nd half 9th c.	16 ff.	Genesis (Bibl.)	131r, 131v, 132r, 132v, 138r, 138v, 140r, 140v, 141r, 141v, 142r, 142v	6th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: bifolio reused as bifolio and trimmed. • Also belonging to the same original manuscript, the textual unit “Exodus” from this same manuscript and the textual units “Genesis” and “Exodus” from Sin. ar. NF 8. • See also Boudalis – Rossetto, Colour Mapping of Sin. ar. NF 8.	Tselikas, Rossetto
			Exodus (Bibl.)	128r, 128v, 129r, 129v, 130r, 130v, 133r, 133v, 134r, 134v, 135r, 135v, 136r, 136v, 137r, 137v, 139r, 139v, 143r, 143v	6th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: bifolio reused as bifolio and trimmed. • Also belonging to the same original manuscript, the textual unit “Genesis” from this same manuscript and the textual units “Genesis” and “Exodus” from Sin. ar. NF 8. • See also Boudalis – Rossetto, Colour Mapping of Sin. ar. NF 8.	

Scriptio superior			*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. ar. NF 66 - Leontius of Damascus, *Life of Saint Stephen of Mar Saba* - Ps.-Athanasius of Alexandria, *Life of Saints Stephen and Nikon* (Hag.)	901–925	6 ff. and 3 frgs.	Mythological poem in hexameters (Myth.)	2^{r}, 2^{v}, 6^{r}, 6^{v}, frg. 7^{r}, frg. 7^{v}, frg. 8^{r}, frg. 8^{v}	5th–6th c.	• Script: bimodular Alexandrian majuscule. • Origin: Alexandria, Egypt? • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as folio and trimmed. • Text previously unknown, containing references to Persephone, Zeus, Dionysus, Hades, Hermes, Hera, the Charites, Amalkeides, the Giants. Possibly a fragment from the "Orphic Rhapsodies" in 24 books. • See also: Rossetto, Fragments from the Orphic Rhapsodies?; Rossetto, Classical Texts; Rossetto, "Library" and "Scriptorium"; Rossetto et al., A Revised Text.	Rossetto
			Unidentified text	frg. 9^{r}, frg. 9^{v}	7th–8th c.	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: impossible to establish because fragmentary. • Possibly the same grammatical or biblical text attested in the *membra disiecta* in Leipzig (UB gr. 2), Saint Petersburg (Petropol. gr. 26), and Cambridge (Cantabr. Add. 1879.5). • See also: Rossetto, Fragments from the Orphic Rhapsodies?; Rossetto, "Library" and "Scriptorium".	
Sin. geo. 34 *"Encyclopaedia" of Iovane Zosime* (Lit.)	965–969	210 ff.	Unidentified text	206^{r}, 206^{v}, 207^{r}, 207^{v}	---	• Script: majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: impossible to establish because of low legibility of the Greek text. • Text illegible throughout. • See also: Rossetto, "Library" and "Scriptorium".	Rossetto

Scriptio superior			*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. geo. 49 *Iadgari* (Lit.)	10th c.	119 ff.	Gospel of Mark (Bibl.)	25r, 25v, 26r, 26v, 28r, 28v, 29r, 29v, 30r, 30v	6th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: half folio reused as folio and trimmed (reuse of the Greek text by the Syriac scribe). Folio reused as folio and trimmed (reuse of the Syriac text by the Georgian scribe). • Double palimpsest: lowest (oldest) layer. The middle layer is in Syriac: identified by Kessel as "Unidentified text in Serto", copied during the 10th c. It is a Greek text written with Syriac letters. • Also belonging to the same original manuscript, the textual unit "Gospel of John" from this same manuscript. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	Orsini
			Gospel of John (Bibl.)	42r, 42v	6th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: impossible to establish because fragmentary. • Double palimpsest: lowest (oldest) layer. The middle layer is in Greek, 9th c. "Menaion" in mixed script. • Also belonging to the same original manuscript, the textual unit "Gospel of Mark" from this same manuscript. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	
			Unidentified Christian poem (Chr. Poet.)	57r, 57v, 58r, 58v, 59r, 59v, 60r, 60v, 61r, 61v, 62r, 62v, 64r, 64v, 65r, 65v, 66r, 66v, 67r, 67v, 68r, 68v, 69r, 69v, 70r, 70v, 71r, 71v, 72r, 72v, 73r, 73v, 78r, 78v, 79r, 79v, 80r, 80v, 81r, 81v, 82r, 82v, 83r, 83v, 84r, 84v, 85r, 85v, 86r, 86v, 87r, 87v, 88r, 88v, 89r, 89v, 90r, 90v, 91r, 91v, 92r, 92v, 93r, 93v, 94r, 94v, 95r, 95v, 112r, 112v, 113r, 113v, 114r, 114v, 115r, 115v, 116r, 116v, 117r, 117v, 118r, 118v, 119r, 119v	mid 6th–mid 7th c.	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: half folio reused as folio (Greek text reused by Arabic scribe). Folio reused as bifolio (Arabic text reused by Georgian scribe). • Double palimpsest: lowest (oldest) layer. The middle layer is in Arabic: identified by Treiger as "Unknown Christian Work" copied in the 10th c. • The text mentions Old Testament names. Also belonging to the same original manuscript, the Greek palimpsest folia of Sin. geo. NF frg. 73a (ff. 1r–4v). • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	

Scriptio superior			*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. geo. 49 *Iadgari* (Lit.)	10th c.	119 ff.	Liturgy of Saint James (Lit.)	50r, 50v, 51r, 51v, 52r, 52v, 56r, 56v, 63r, 63v, 74r, 74v, 75r, 75v, 76r, 76v, 77r, 77v, 96r, 96v, 97r, 97v, 98r, 98v, 99r, 99v, 100r, 100v, 101r, 101v, 102r, 102v, 103r, 103v, 105r, 105v, 106r, 106v, 109r, 109v, 110r, 110v	9th c.	• Script: upright minuscule. Rubrics: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: Sinaitic-Palestinian area. • Pattern of reuse: made from a reused parchment scroll (single column). • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	Orsini
			Menaion (Lit.)	42r, 42v	9th c.	• Script: mixed script. • Origin: Sinaitic-Palestinian area. • Pattern of reuse: impossible to establish because fragmentary. • Double palimpsest: middle layer. The lowest (oldest) layer is in Greek, 6th c. "Gospel of John" in biblical majuscule. • See also D'Aiuto, 'Scrittura mista' 169 and Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	
			Unidentified liturgical text I (Lit.)	49r, 49v, 50r, 50v, 53r, 53v, 54r, 54v, 55r, 55v, 104r, 104v, 107r, 107v, 108r, 108v, 111r, 111v	9th c.	• Script: upright round minuscule. Rubrics: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: Sinaitic-Palestinian area. • Pattern of reuse: made from a reused parchment scroll (single column). • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	
			Unidentified liturgical text II (Lit.)	63r, 63v	9th c.	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: impossible to establish because fragmentary. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	
Sin. geo. NF 19 *Iadgari* (Lit.)	980	161 ff.	Gospel of John (Bibl.)	54r, 54v	6th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: impossible to establish because fragmentary. • Also belonging to the same original manuscript, the textual units "Gospel of Matthew" and "Gospel of Luke" from this same manuscript. • See also: Rossetto, "Library" and "Scriptorium".	Tselikas

Scriptio superior			*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. geo. NF 19 *Iadgari* (Lit.)	980	161 ff.	Gospel of Matthew (Bibl.)	56^{r}, 56^{v}	6th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: impossible to establish because fragmentary. • Also belonging to the same original manuscript, the textual units "Gospel of John" and "Gospel of Luke" from this same manuscript. • See also: Rossetto, "Library" and "Scriptorium".	Tselikas
			Gospel of Luke (Bibl.)	57^{r}, 57^{v}	6th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: impossible to establish because fragmentary. • Also belonging to the same original manuscript, the textual units "Gospel of Matthew" and "Gospel of John" from this same manuscript. • See also: Rossetto, "Library" and "Scriptorium".	
			2 Kings (Bibl.)	53^{r}, 53^{v}	early 8th c.	• Script: bimodular Alexandrian majuscule.[160] • Origin: Alexandria, Egypt? • Pattern of reuse: impossible to establish because fragmentary. • See also: Rossetto, "Library" and "Scriptorium".	
			Liturgical text with New Testament readings (Lit.)	4^{r}, 4^{v}, 5^{r}, 5^{v}, 8^{r}, 8^{v}, 9^{r}, 9^{v}	9th–10th c.	• Script: mixed script.[161] • Origin: Sinaitic-Palestinian area. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as folio. • Double palimpsest: middle layer. The lowest (oldest) layer is in CPA: identified by Müller-Kessler as "Dormition of Mary", copied in the 6th–7th c.[162] • See also: Rossetto, "Library" and "Scriptorium".	
			Hymns (Lit.)	10^{r}, 10^{v}, 11^{r}, 11^{v}	10th c.	• Script: sloping majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as folio. • See also: Rossetto, "Library" and "Scriptorium".	

[160] On the SPP website, Tselikas identifies this writing as "Coptic majuscule".

[161] On the SPP website, Tselikas identifies this writing as "minuscule".

[162] For further details, see Ch. Müller-Kessler, Three Early Witnesses of the "Dormition of Mary" in Christian Palestinian Aramaic from the Cairo Genizah (Taylor-Schechter Collection) and the New Finds in St Catherine's Monastery. *Apocrypha* 29 (2018) 69–95, and Ch. Müller-Kessler, An Overlooked Christian Palestinian Aramaic Witness of the "Dormition of Mary" in Codex Climaci Rescriptus (CCR IV). *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 16 (2019) 81–98.

Scriptio superior			***Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)***				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. geo. NF frg. 72a *Euchologion* (Lit.)	13th c.	2 ff.	Unidentified text	1r, 1v, 2r, 2v	2nd half 10th c.	• Script: informal minuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: half folio reused as bifolio. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	Orsini
Sin. geo. NF frg. 73a *Iadgari* (Lit.)	10th c.	4 ff.	Unidentified Christian poem (Chr. Poet.)	1r, 1v, 2r, 2v, 3r, 3v, 4r, 4v	mid 6th– mid 7th c.	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: half folio reused as folio (Greek text reused by Arabic scribe). Folio reused as bifolio (Arabic text reused by Georgian scribe). • Double palimpsest: lowest (oldest) layer. The middle layer is in Arabic: identified by Treiger as "Unknown Christian Work" and "Months of the Zodiac" copied in the 10th c. • The text mentions Old Testament names. Also belonging to the same original manuscript, the Greek palimpsest folia of Sin. geo. 49 (ff. 57r–73v, 78r–95v, 112r–119v). • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	Orsini
Sin. gr. 212 *New Testament Lectionary* (Lit.)	9th c.	114 ff.	Psalter (Lit.)	1r, 1v, 2r, 2v, 3r, 3v, 4r, 4v, 5r, 5v, 6r, 6v, 7r, 7v, 8r, 8v, 9r, 9v, 10r, 10v, 11r, 11v, 12r, 12v, 13r, 13v, 14r, 14v, 15r, 15v, 16r, 16v, 17r, 17v, 18r, 18v, 19r, 19v, 20r, 20v, 21r, 21v, 22r, 22v, 23r, 23v, 24r, 24v, 25r, 25v, 26r, 26v, 27r, 27v, 28r, 28v, 29r, 29v, 30r, 30v, 31r, 31v, 32r, 32v, 33r, 33v, 34r, 34v, 35r, 35v, 36r, 36v, 37r, 37v, 38r, 38v, 39r, 39v, 40r, 40v, 41r, 41v, 42r, 42v, 43r, 43v, 44r, 44v, 45r, 45v, 46r, 46v, 47r, 47v, 48r, 48v, 49r, 49v, 50r, 50v, 51r, 51v, 52r, 52v, 53r, 53v, 54r, 54v, 55r, 55v, 56r, 56v, 57r, 57v, 58r, 58v, 59r, 59v, 60r, 60v, 61r, 61v, 62r, 62v, 63r, 63v, 64r, 64v, 65r, 65v, 66r, 66v, 67r, 67v, 68r, 68v, 69r, 69v, 70r, 70v, 71r, 71v, 72r, 72v, 73r, 73v, 74r, 74v, 75r, 75v, 76r, 76v, 77r, 77v, 78r, 78v, 79r, 79v, 80r, 80v, 81r, 81v, 82r, 82v, 83r, 83v,	8th c.	• Script: round majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: bifolio reused as bifolio and trimmed.	Tselikas, Rossetto

Scriptio superior			*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. gr. 212 *New Testament Lectionary* (Lit.)	9th c.	114 ff.		84r, 84v, 85r, 85v, 86r, 86v, 87r, 87v, 88r, 88v, 89r, 89v, 90r, 90v, 91r, 91v, 92r, 92v, 93r, 93v, 94r, 94v, 95r, 95v, 96r, 96v, 97r, 97v, 98r, 98v, 99r, 99v, 100r, 100v, 101r, 101v, 102r, 102v, 103r, 103v, 104r, 104v, 105r, 105v, 106r, 106v, 107r, 107v, 108r, 108v, 109r, 109v, 110r, 110v, 111r, 111v, 112r, 112v, 113r, 113v, 114r, 114v			Tselikas, Rossetto
Sin. gr. 446 *Asketikon* (Theol.)	13th–14th c.	204 ff.	Collection of liturgical hymns (Lit.)	68r, 68v, 69r, 69v, 70r, 70v, 71r, 71v, 72r, 72v, 73r, 73v, 74r, 74v, 75r, 75v, 76r, 76v, 77r, 77v, 78r, 78v, 79r, 79v, 80r, 80v, 81r, 81v, 82r, 82v, 83r, 83v, 84r, 84v, 85r, 85v, 86r, 86v, 87r, 87v, 88r, 88v, 89r, 89v, 90r, 90v, 91r, 91v, 92r, 92v, 93r, 93v, 94r, 94v, 95r, 95v, 96r, 96v, 97r, 97v, 98r, 98v, 99r, 99v, 100r, 100v, 101r, 101v, 102r, 102v, 103r, 103v, 104r, 104v, 105r, 105v, 106r, 106v, 107r, 107v, 108r, 108v, 109r, 109v, 110r, 110v, 111r, 111v, 112r, 112v, 113r, 113v, 114r, 114v, 115r, 115v, 116r, 116v, 117r, 117v, 118r, 118v, 119r, 119v, 120r, 120v, 121r, 121v, 122r, 122v, 123r, 123v, 124r, 124v, 125r, 125v, 126r, 126v, 127r, 127v, 128r, 128v, 129r, 129v, 130r, 130v, 131r, 131v, 132r, 132v, 133r, 133v, 134r, 134v, 135r, 135v, 140r, 140v, 141r, 141v, 142r, 142v, 143r, 143v, 144r, 144v, 145r, 145v, 146r, 146v, 147r, 147v, 148r, 148v, 149r, 149v, 150r, 150v, 151r, 151v, 152r, 152v, 153r, 153v, 154r, 154v, 155r, 155v, 156r, 156v, 157r, 157v, 158r, 158v, 159r, 159v, 160r, 160v, 161r, 161v, 162r, 162v, 163r, 163v, 164r, 164v, 165r, 165v, 166r, 166v,	9th c.	• Script: minuscule. • Origin: Sinaitic-Palestinian area. • Pattern of reuse: made from a reused parchment scroll (single column). • Also belonging to the same original manuscript, the textual unit “Collection of liturgical hymns 1” from Sin. gr. 468, and the palimpsest folia of Sin. gr. NF M 69 and Sin. gr. NF M 78. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	Orsini

Scriptio superior			*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. gr. 446 *Asketikon* (Theol.)	13th–14th c.	204 ff.		167r, 167v, 168r, 168v, 169r, 169v, 170r, 170v, 171v, 172r, 172v, 173r, 173v, 174r, 174v, 175r, 175v, 176r, 176v, 177r, 177v, 178r, 178v, 179r, 179v, 180r, 180v, 181r, 181v, 182r, 182v, 183r, 183v, 184r, 184v, 185r, 185v, 186r, 186v, 187r, 187v, 188r, 188v, 189r, 189v, 190r, 190v, 191r, 191v, 192r, 192v, 193r, 193v, 194r, 194v, 195r, 195v, 196r, 196v, 197r, 197v, 198r, 198v, 199r, 199v, 200r, 200v, 201r, 201v, 202r, 202v, 203r, 203v, 204r, 204v			Orsini
			Liturgical text (blessing of the water for Epiphany?) (Lit.)	21r, 21v, 22r, 22v, 23r, 23v, 24r, 24v, 25r, 25v, 26r, 26v, 27r, 27v, 28r, 28v, 29r, 29v, 30r, 30v, 31r, 31v, 32r, 32v, 33r, 33v, 34r, 34v, 35r, 35v, 36r, 36v, 37r, 37v, 38r, 38v, 39r, 39v, 40r, 40v, 41r, 41v, 42r, 42v, 43r, 43v, 44r, 44v, 45r, 45v, 46r, 46v, 47r, 47v, 48r, 48v, 49r, 49v, 50r, 50v, 51r, 51v, 52r, 52v, 53r, 53v, 54r, 54v, 55r, 55v, 56r, 56v, 57r, 57v, 58r, 58v, 60r, 60v, 61r, 61v, 62r, 62v, 63r, 63v, 64r, 64v, 65r, 65v, 66r, 66v, 67r, 67v, 136r, 136v, 137r, 137v, 138r, 138v, 139r, 139v	mid 9th–mid 10th c.	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as bifolio. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	
			John Chrysostom, *Homily 43–44 on Genesis* (Hom.)	1r, 1v, 2r, 2v, 3r, 3v, 4r, 4v, 5r, 5v, 6r, 6v, 7r, 7v, 8r, 8v, 9r, 9v, 10r, 10v, 11r, 11v, 12r, 12v, 13r, 13v, 14r, 14v, 15r, 15v, 16r, 16v, 17r, 17v, 18r, 18v, 19r, 19v, 20r, 20v		• Script: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: half folio reused as bifolio. • Also belonging to the same original manuscript, the textual unit "John Chrysostom, *Homily 43 on Genesis*" from Sin. gr. 468. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	

Scriptio superior			*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. gr. 468 *Asketikon* (Theol.)	13th–14th c.	134 ff.	Collection of liturgical hymns 1 (Lit.)	33r, 33v, 34r, 34v, 35r, 35v, 36r, 36v, 37r, 37v, 38r, 38v, 39r, 39v, 40r, 40v, 41r, 41v, 42r, 42v, 43r, 43v, 44r, 44v, 45r, 45v, 46r, 46v, 47r, 47v, 48r, 48v, 49r, 49v, 50r, 50v, 51r, 51v, 52r, 52v, 53r, 53v, 54r, 54v, 55r, 55v, 56r, 56v, 57r, 57v, 58r, 58v, 59r, 59v, 60r, 60v, 61r, 61v, 62r, 62v, 63r, 63v, 64r, 64v, 65r, 65v, 66r, 66v, 67r, 67v, 68r, 68v, 69r, 69v, 70r, 70v	9th c.[163]	• Script: minuscule. • Origin: Sinaitic-Palestinian area. • Pattern of reuse: made from a reused parchment scroll (single column). • Also belonging to the same original manuscript, the textual unit "Collection of liturgical hymns" from Sin. gr. 446 and the palimpsest folia of Sin. gr. NF M 69 and Sin. gr. NF M 78. The same hand might have copied Sin. gr. 591 (Diktyon 58966) too. See: Bucca, I libri innografico-musicali della Chiesa greca 374–375.	Katsaros
			Collection of liturgical hymns 2 (Lit.)	71r, 71v, 72r, 72v, 73r, 73v, 74r, 74v, 75r, 75v, 76r, 76v, 77r, 77v, 78r, 78v, 79r, 79v, 80r, 80v, 81r, 81v, 82r, 82v, 83r, 83v, 84r, 84v, 85r, 85v, 86r, 86v, 87r, 87v, 88r, 88v, 89r, 89v, 90r, 90v, 91r, 91v, 92r, 92v, 93r, 93v, 94r, 94v, 95r, 95v, 96r, 96v, 97r, 97v, 98r, 98v, 99r, 99v, 100r, 100v, 101r, 101v, 102r, 102v, 103r, 103v, 104r, 104v, 105r, 105v, 106r, 106v, 107r, 107v, 108r, 108v, 109r, 109v, 110r, 110v, 119r, 119v, 121r, 121v, 122r, 122v, 123r, 123v, 125r, 125v, 126r, 126v, 127r, 127v	mid 9th c.	• Script: sloping majuscule.[164] • Origin: Palestine? • Pattern of reuse: made from a reused parchment scroll (single column).	
			John Chrysostom, *Homily 43 on Genesis* (Hom.)	128r, 128v, 129r, 129v, 130r, 130v, 131r, 131v	mid 9th–mid 10th c.[165]	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: half folio reused as bifolio. • Also belonging to the same original manuscript, the textual unit "John Chrysostom, *Homily 43–44 on Genesis*" from Sin. gr. 446.	

[163] On the SPP website, Katsaros dates this text to the late 9th – early 10th c.

[164] On the SPP website, Katsaros identifies this writing as "sloping pointed majuscule".

[165] On the SPP website, Katsaros dates this text to the 11th–12th c.

Scriptio superior			*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. gr. 468 *Asketikon* (Theol.)	13th–14th c.	134 ff.	Hesychius of Jerusalem and Gregory of Nazianzus, *Fragments of homilies* (Hom.)	111r, 111v, 112r, 112v, 113r, 113v, 114r, 114v, 115r, 115v, 116r, 116v, 117r, 117v, 118r, 118v, 120r, 120v, 124r, 124v	10th c.	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as bifolio.	Katsaros
Sin. gr. 699 *Menaion* (Lit.)	14th c.	143 ff.	Tropologion (Lit.)[166]	57r, 57v, 58r, 58v, stub+59r, stub+59v, 59r, 59v, 60r, 60v, 61r, 61v, 62r, 62v, 63r, 63v, stub-63r, stub-63v, 64r, 64v, 65r, 65v, 66r, 66v, stub+67r, stub+67v, 67r, 67v, stub a-67r, stub a-67v, stub b-67r, stub b-67v, 68r, 68v, stub+69r, stub+69v, 69r, 69v, 70r, 70v, 71r, 71v, 72r, 72v	8th c.	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as folio and trimmed. • Arabic notes on some folia (e.g. f. 67v). • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	Orsini
			Heirmologion (Lit.)	73r, 73v, 74r, 74v, 75r, 75v, 76r, 76v, stub+77r, stub+77v, 77r, 77v, 78r, 78v, 79r, 79v, 80r, 80v, stub+81r, stub+81v	9th c.	• Script: mixed script. • Origin: Sinaitic-Palestinian area. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as bifolio and trimmed. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	
			Ps.-John Chrysostom, *Homily on the dormition of the Lord, on the Mother of God and on Symeon* (Hom.)	52r, 52v, 54r, 54v	9th c.	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as folio and trimmed. • Likely also belonging to the same original manuscript, the textual units "Homily on Lazarus" and "unidentified text" from this same manuscript. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	
			Ps.-John Chrysostom, *Homily on Lazarus (= Against the Anomoeans, Homily 9)* (Hom.)	50r, 50v, 56r, 56v	9th c.	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as folio and trimmed. • Likely also belonging to the same original manuscript, the textual units "Homily on the dormition of the Lord, on the Mother of God and on Symeon" and "unidentified text" from this same manuscript. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	

[166] On the SPP website, Orsini calls this text "Triodion".

Scriptio superior			*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. gr. 699 *Menaion* (Lit.)	14th c.	143 ff.	Unidentified text (probably by John Chrysostom) (Hom.)	51r, 51v, stub+53r, stub+53v, 53r, 53v, 55r, 55v	9th c.	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as folio and trimmed. • Likely also belonging to the same original manuscript, the textual units "Homily on the dormition of the Lord, on the Mother of God and on Symeon" and "Homily on Lazarus" from this same manuscript. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	Orsini
			Pentekostarion (Lit.)	81r, 81v	mid 10th–mid 11th c.	• Script: minuscule. • Origin: Southern Italy. • Pattern of reuse: bifolio reused as folio. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	
Sin. gr. 925 *Kontakarion* (Lit.)	10th–11th c.	118 ff.	Stichera from the Parakletike (Lit.)	80v, 81r, 81v, 82r, 82v, 83r, 83v, 84r, 84v, 85r, 85v, 86r, 86v, 87r, 87v	10th c.	• Script: minuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as folio and trimmed.	Harlfinger, Kotzabassi
Sin. gr. 929 *Heirmologion* (Lit.)	1320	165 ff.	Lectionary (Aland l 907)[167] (Lit.)	Pastedown v, 1r, 1v, 2r, 2v, 3r, 3v, 4r, 4v, 5r, 5v, 6r, 6v, 7r, 7v, 8r, 8v, 9r, 9v, 10r, 10v, 11r, 11v, 12r, 12v, 13r, 13v, 14r, 14v, 15r, 15v, 16r, 16v, 17r, 17v, 18r, 18v, 19r, 19v, 20r, 20v, 21r, 21v, 22r, 22v, 23r, 23v, 24r, 24v, 25r, 25v, 26r, 26v, 27r, 27v, 28r, 28v, 29r, 29v, 30r, 30v, -30r, -30v, 31r, 31v, 32r, 32v, 33r, 33v, 34r, 34v, 35r, 35v, 36r, 36v, 37r, 37v, 38r, 38v, 39r, 39v, 40r, 40v, 41r, 41v, 42r, 42v, 43r, 43v, 44r, 44v, 45r, 45v, 46r, 46v, 47r, 47v, 48r, 48v, 49r, 49v, 50r, 50v, 51r, 51v, 52r, 52v, 53r, 53v, 54r, 54v, 55r, 55v, 56r, 56v, 57r, 57v, 58r, 58v, 59r, 59v, 60r, 60v, 61r, 61v, 62r, 62v, 63r, 63v, 64r, 64v, 65r, 65v, 66r, 66v, 67r, 67v, 68r, 68v, 69r, 69v, 70r, 70v, 71r, 71v, 72r, 72v,	10th – early 11th c.	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as bifolio and trimmed.	Tselikas, Rossetto

[167] M. Welte, Die griechischen Palimpseste in den Ausgaben des Münsteraner Instituts, in: Palimpsestes et éditions de textes: les textes littéraires, ed. V. Somers. Louvain-La-Neuve 2009, 42; D. C. Parker, The Majuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament, in Manuscripts, Texts, Theology: Collected Papers 1977–2007. Berlin – New York 2009, 36; B. D. Ehrman – M. W. Holmes (ed.), The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis. Leiden 2013[2] (1995[1]), 44.

Scriptio superior			*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. gr. 929 *Heirmologion* (Lit.)	1320	165 ff.		73^{r}, 73^{v}, 74^{r}, 74^{v}, 75^{r}, 75^{v}, 76^{r}, 76^{v}, 77^{r}, 77^{v}, 78^{r}, 78^{v}, 79^{r}, 79^{v}, 80^{r}, 80^{v}, 81^{r}, 81^{v}, 82^{r}, 82^{v}, 83^{r}, 83^{v}, 84^{r}, 84^{v}, 85^{r}, 85^{v}, 86^{r}, 86^{v}, 87^{r}, 87^{v}, 88^{r}, 88^{v}, 89^{r}, 89^{v}, 90^{r}, 90^{v}, 91^{r}, 91^{v}, 92^{r}, 92^{v}, 93^{r}, 93^{v}, 94^{r}, 94^{v}, 95^{r}, 95^{v}, 96^{r}, 96^{v}, 97^{r}, 97^{v}, 98^{r}, 98^{v}, 99^{r}, 99^{v}, 100^{r}, 100^{v}, 101^{r}, 101^{v}, 102^{r}, 102^{v}, 103^{r}, 103^{v}, 104^{r}, 104^{v}, 105^{r}, 105^{v}, 106^{r}, 106^{v}, 107^{r}, 107^{v}, 108^{r}, 108^{v}, 109^{r}, 109^{v}, 110^{r}, 110^{v}, 111^{r}, 111^{v}, 112^{r}, 112^{v}, 113^{r}, 113^{v}, 114^{r}, 114^{v}, 115^{r}, 115^{v}, 116^{r}, 116^{v}, 117^{r}, 117^{v}, 118^{r}, 118^{v}, 119^{r}, 119^{v}, 120^{r}, 120^{v}, 121^{r}, 121^{v}, 122^{r}, 122^{v}, 123^{r}, 123^{v}, 124^{r}, 124^{v}, 125^{r}, 125^{v}, 126^{r}, 126^{v}, 127^{r}, 127^{v}, 128^{r}, 128^{v}, 129^{r}, 129^{v}, 130^{r}, 130^{v}, 131^{r}, 131^{v}, 132^{r}, 132^{v}, 133^{r}, 133^{v}, 134^{r}, 134^{v}, 135^{r}, 135^{v}, 136^{r}, 136^{v}, 137^{r}, 137^{v}, 138^{r}, 138^{v}, 139^{r}, 139^{v}, 140^{r}, 140^{v}, 141^{r}, 141^{v}, 142^{r}, 142^{v}, 143^{r}, 143^{v}, 144^{r}, 144^{v}, 145^{r}, 145^{v}, 146^{r}, 146^{v}, 147^{r}, 147^{v}, 148^{r}, 148^{v}, 149^{r}, 149^{v}, 150^{r}, 150^{v}, 151^{r}, 151^{v}, 152^{r}, 152^{v}, 153^{r}, 153^{v}, 154^{r}, 154^{v}, 155^{r}, 155^{v}, 156^{r}, 156^{v}, 157^{r}, 157^{v}, 158^{r}, 158^{v}, 159^{r}, 159^{v}, 160^{r}, 160^{v}, 161^{r}, 161^{v}, 162^{r}, 162^{v}, 163^{r}, 163^{v}, 164^{r}, 164^{v}, 165^{r}, 165^{v}			Tselikas, Rossetto

Scriptio superior			***Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)***				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. gr. 960 *Euchologion* (Lit.)	2nd half 12th c.	155 ff.	Sticherarion (Lit.)	9r, 9v, 10r, 10v, 11r, 11v, 12r, 12v, 13r, 13v, 14r, 14v, 15r, 15v, 16r, 16v, 17r, 17v, 18r, 18v, 19r, 19v, 20r, 20v, 21r, 21v, 22r, 22v, 23r, 23v, 24r, 24v, 25r, 25v, 26r, 26v, 27r, 27v, 28r, 28v, 29r, 29v, 30r, 30v, 31r, 31v, 32r, 32v, 33r, 33v, 34r, 34v, 35r, 35v, 36r, 36v, 37r, 37v, 38r, 38v, 39r, 39v, 40r, 40v, 41r, 41v, 42r, 42v, 43r, 43v, 44r, 44v, 45r, 45v, 46r, 46v, 47r, 47v, 48r, 48v, 49r, 49v, 50r, 50v, 51r, 51v, 51ar, 51av, 52r, 52v, 53r, 53v, 54r, 54v, 55r, 55v, 56r, 56v, 57r, 57v, 58r, 58v, 59r, 59v, 60r, 60v, 61r, 61v, 62r, 62v, 63r, 63v, 64r, 64v, 65r, 65v, 66r, 66v, 67r, 67v, 68r, 68v, 69r, 69v, 70r, 70v, 71r, 71v, 72r, 72v, 73r, 73v, 74r, 74v, 75r, 75v, 76r, 76v, 77r, 77v, 78r, 78v, 79r, 79v, 80r, 80v, 81r, 81v, 82r, 82v, 83r, 83v, 84r, 84v, 85r, 85v, 86r, 86v, 87r, 87v, 88r, 88v, 89r, 89v, 90r, 90v, 119r, 119v, 120r, 120v, 121r, 121v, 122r, 122v, 123r, 123v, 124r, 124v, 148r, 148v, 149r, 149v, 150r, 150v, 151r, 151v, 152r, 152v, 153r, 153v, 154r, 154v	2nd half 11th c.	• Script: minuscule reminiscent of the *"Perlschrift"*. • Origin: Palestine? • Pattern of reuse: bifolio reused as bifolio. • Also belonging to the same original manuscript, the palimpsest folia of Sin. gr. NF M 11 and Sin. gr. NF M 22.	Rossetto
			Liturgies of Saint Basil and of the Presanctified Gifts (Lit.)	141r, 141v, 142r, 142v, 145r, 145v, 146r, 146v	early 12th c.	• Script: minuscule *à με̃ν distendu.* • Origin: Cyprus or Palestine. • Pattern of reuse: bifolio reused as bifolio.	
Sin. gr. 962 *Euchologion* (Lit.)	2nd half 11th c. (ff. 182–187: 13th–14th c.)	202 ff.	Joseph the Hymnographer, *Kanon on Saints Peter, Andrew, Dionysius etc.* (Lit.)	183r, 183v, 186r, 186v	after mid 9th c.	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as bifolio. • Double palimpsest: lowest (oldest) layer. The middle layer in Greek, 12th c. "Kanon on Saint Nicholas".	Rossetto, Wilson

Scriptio superior			***Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)***				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. gr. 962 *Euchologion* (Lit.)	2nd half 11th c. (ff. 182–187: 13th–14th c.)	202 ff.	Troparia for Saint Macrina the Younger (Lit.)	184r, 184v, 185r, 185v	late 9th–early 10th c.	• Script: early upright minuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as bifolio.	Rosetto, Wilson
			Ps.-John Chrysostom, *Ecloga 21, De imperio, potestate et gloria* (Hom.)	182r, 182v, 187r, 187v	late 10th–early 11th c.	• Script: minuscule reminiscent of the "*Perlschrift*". • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: half folio reused as bifolio.	
			Kanon on Saint Nicholas (Lit.)	183r, 183v, 186r, 186v	12th c.	• Script: upright round calligraphic minuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as folio and trimmed. • Double palimpsest: middle layer. The lowest (oldest) layer in Greek: "Joseph the Hymnographer, *Kanon*", after mid 9th c.	
Sin. gr. 966 *Euchologion* (Lit.)	2nd half 12th c.	102 ff.	Clement the Hymnographer, *Kanon on Saint Eupraxia* (Lit.)	56r, 56v, 61r, 61v	after early 9th c.	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: Southern Italy? • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as bifolio. • Double palimpsest: lowest (oldest) layer. The middle layer in Greek: late 11th–early 12th c. "Typikon". • Also belonging to the same original manuscript, folia from Sin. gr. NF M 21.	Rossetto, Gamillscheg
			Makarismoi from a Parakletike (Lit.)	81r, 81v, 84r, 84v, 89r, 89v, 92r, 92v, 95r, 95v, 96r, 96v, 101r, 101v, 102r, 102v	10th c.	• Script: upright pointed majuscule. • Origin: Southern Italy? Cappadocia? • Pattern of reuse: bifolio reused as bifolio. • Double palimpsest: lowest (oldest) layer. The middle layer in Greek: late 11th–early 12th c. "Typikon".	
			Erotapokriseis (?) (Theol.)	80r, 80v, 85r, 85v	11th c.	• Script: minuscule. • Origin: Southern Italy? • Pattern of reuse: bifolio reused as bifolio and trimmed. • Double palimpsest: lowest (oldest) layer. The middle layer in Greek: late 11th–early 12th c. "Typikon".	

Scriptio superior			***Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)***				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. gr. 966 *Euchologion* (Lit.)	2nd half 12th c.	102 ff.	Liturgical Typikon (Lit.)	47r, 47v, 48r, 48v, 49r, 49v, 50r, 50v, 51r, 51v, 52r, 52v, 53r, 53v, 54r, 54v, 55r, 55v, 56r, 56v, 57r, 57v, 58r, 58v, 59r, 59v, 60r, 60v, 61r, 61v, 62r, 62v, 63r, 63v, 64r, 64v, 65r, 65v, 66r, 66v, 67r, 67v, 68r, 68v, 69r, 69v, 70r, 70v, 71r, 71v, 72r, 72v, 73r, 73v, 74r, 74v, 75r, 75v, 76r, 76v, 77r, 77v, 78r, 78v, 79r, 79v, 80r, 80v, 81r, 81v, 82r, 82v, 83r, 83v, 84r, 84v, 85r, 85v, 86r, 86v, 87r, 87v, 88r, 88v, 89r, 89v, 90r, 90v, 91r, 91v, 92r, 92v, 93r, 93v, 94r, 94v, 95r, 95v, 96r, 96v, 97r, 97v, 98r, 98v, 99r, 99v, 100r, 100v, 101r, 101v, 102r, 102v	late 11th–early 12th c.	• Script: minuscule. • Origin: Southern Italy (Salento) • Pattern of reuse: bifolio reused as bifolio and trimmed. • Double palimpsest (ff. 56, 61, 80, 81, 84, 85, 89, 92, 95, 96, 101, 102): middle layer. The lowest (oldest) layers in Greek: 1) "Clement the Hymnographer, *Kanon*", after early 9th c. 2) "Makarismoi from a Parakletike", 10th c. 3) "Erotapokriseis (?)", 11th c. • Also belonging to the same original manuscript, folia from Sin. gr. NF M 21.	Rossetto, Gamillscheg
Sin. gr. 2053 *Lectionary* (Lit.)	13th–14th c.	34 ff.	Anthology of Psalms (Lit.)	1r, 1v, 2r, 2v, 3r, 3v, 4r, 4v, 5r, 5v, 6r, 6v, 7r, 7v, 8r, 8v, 9r, 9v, 10r, 10v, 11r, 11v, 12r, 12v, 13r, 13v, 14r, 14v, 15r, 15v, 16r, 16v	9th c.	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule with inconsistent insertion of letters (α and μ) in mixed script. • Origin: Sinaitic area. • Pattern of reuse: made from a reused parchment scroll (single column). • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	Orsini
			Liturgical Hymns (Lit.)	25r, 25v, 26r, 26v, 27r, 27v, 28r, 28v	9th c.	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: Sinaitic area. • Pattern of reuse: bifolio reused as folio and trimmed. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	
			Synaxarion (Lit.)	17r, 17v, 18r, 18v, 19r, 19v, 20r, 20v, 21r, 21v, 22r, 22v, 23r, 23v, 24r, 24v	9th c.	• Script: minuscule. • Origin: Sinaitic area. • Pattern of reuse: half folio reused as bifolio. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	

Scriptio superior			*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. gr. NF MG 2 *Praxapostolos* (Lit.)	9th c.	115 ff.	Old Testament Passages from Ecclesiasticus, Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations, Jeremiah Letter, Ezekiel, Daniel (Bibl.)	32^{r}, 32^{v}, 33^{r}, 33^{v}, 34^{r}, 34^{v}, 35^{r}, 35^{v}, 36^{r}, 36^{v}, 37^{r}, 37^{v}, 42^{r}, 42^{v}, 43^{r}, 43^{v}, 47^{r}, 47^{v}, 50^{r}, 50^{v}, 51^{r}, 51^{v}, 52^{r}, 52^{v}, 53^{r}, 53^{v}, 54^{r}, 54^{v}, 55^{r}, 55^{v}, 56^{r}, 56^{v}, 57^{r}, 57^{v}, 58^{r}, 58^{v}, 59^{r}, 59^{v}, 60^{r}, 60^{v}, 61^{r}, 61^{v}, 62^{r}, 62^{v}, 63^{r}, 63^{v}, 64^{r}, 64^{v}, 65^{r}, 65^{v}, 66^{r}, 66^{v}, 67^{r}, 67^{v}, 71^{r}, 71^{v}, 74^{r}, 74^{v}, 96^{r}, 96^{v}, 97^{r}, 97^{v}, 102^{r}, 102^{v}, 104^{r}, 104^{v}, 105^{r}, 105^{v}, 106^{r}, 106^{v}, 110^{r}, 110^{v}, 111^{r}, 111^{v}, 112^{r}, 112^{v}, 113^{r}, 113^{v}, 114^{r}, 114^{v}	8th c.	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: bifolio reused as folio and trimmed. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	Orsini
			Socrates Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History* (Eccl. Hist.)	1^{r}, 1^{v}, 2^{r}, 2^{v}, 3^{r}, 3^{v}, 4^{r}, 4^{v}, 5^{r}, 5^{v}, 6^{r}, 6^{v}, 7^{r}, 7^{v}, 8^{r}, 8^{v}, 9^{r}, 9^{v}, 10^{r}, 10^{v}, 11^{r}, 11^{v}, 12^{r}, 12^{v}, 13^{r}, 13^{v}, 14^{r}, 14^{v}, 15^{r}, 15^{v}, 16^{r}, 16^{v}, 17^{r}, 17^{v}, 18^{r}, 18^{v}, 19^{r}, 19^{v}, 20^{r}, 20^{v}, 21^{r}, 21^{v}, 22^{r}, 22^{v}, 23^{r}, 23^{v}, 24^{r}, 24^{v}, 25^{r}, 25^{v}, 26^{r}, 26^{v}, 27^{r}, 27^{v}, 28^{r}, 28^{v}, 29^{r}, 29^{v}, 30^{r}, 30^{v}, 31^{r}, 31^{v}, 38^{r}, 38^{v}, 39^{r}, 39^{v}, 40^{r}, 40^{v}, 41^{r}, 41^{v}, 44^{r}, 44^{v}, 45^{r}, 45^{v}, 46^{r}, 46^{v}, 48^{r}, 48^{v}, 49^{r}, 49^{v}, 68^{r}, 68^{v}, 69^{r}, 69^{v}, 70^{r}, 70^{v}, 72^{r}, 72^{v}, 73^{r}, 73^{v}, 75^{r}, 75^{v}, 76^{r}, 76^{v}, 77^{r}, 77^{v}, 78^{r}, 78^{v}, 79^{r}, 79^{v}, 80^{r}, 80^{v}, 81^{r}, 81^{v}, 82^{r}, 82^{v}, 83^{r}, 83^{v}, 84^{r}, 84^{v}, 85^{r}, 85^{v}, 86^{r}, 86^{v}, 88^{r}, 88^{v}, 89^{r}, 89^{v}, 91^{r}, 91^{v}, 92^{r}, 92^{v}, 93^{r}, 93^{v}, 100^{r}, 100^{v}, 101^{r}, 101^{v}, 108^{r}, 108^{v}, 109^{r}, 109^{v}	2nd half 9th c.	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: Sinaitic area. • Pattern of reuse: bifolio reused as bifolio. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	
			Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandects* (Theol.)	87^{r}, 87^{v}, 90^{r}, 90^{v}, 94^{r}, 94^{v}, 95^{r}, 95^{v}, 98^{r}, 98^{v}, 99^{r}, 99^{v}, 103^{r}, 103^{v}, 107^{r}, 107^{v}	2nd half 9th c.	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: Sinaitic area. • Pattern of reuse: half folio reused as folio. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	
Sin. gr. NF MG 14 *Saints' Lives, Enkomion on the Theotokos* (Hag.)	10th c.	28 ff.	Numbers (Bibl.)	1^{r}, 1^{v}, 2^{r}, 2^{v}, 3^{r}, 3^{v}, 4^{r}, 4^{v}, 5^{r}, 5^{v}, 6^{r}, 6^{v}, 7^{r}, 7^{v}, 8^{r}, 8^{v}, 9^{r}, 9^{v}, 10^{r}, 10^{v}, 11^{r}, 11^{v}, 12^{r}, 12^{v}, 13^{r}, 13^{v}, 14^{r}, 14^{v}, 15^{r}, 15^{v}, 22^{r}, 22^{v}, 23^{r}, 23^{v}, 24^{r}, 24^{v}, 25^{r}, 25^{v}, 26^{r}, 26^{v}, 27^{r}, 27^{v}	8th–9th c.[168]	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as bifolio.	Tselikas, Rossetto

[168] Cf. *specimina* in P. Orsini, Manoscritti in maiuscola biblica. Materiali per un aggiornamento. Cassino 2005, 137–138. On the SPP website, Tselikas dates this script to the 6th c.

Scriptio superior			*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. gr. NF MG 24 *Kathismata, Hymns* (Lit.)	9th–10th c.	27 ff.	Psalter A (Lit.)	1r, 1v, 2r, 2v, 4r, 4v, 5r, 5v, 6r, 6v, 7r, 7v, 8r, 8v, 9r, 9v, 10r, 10v, 11r, 11v, 12r, 12v, 13r, 13v, 14r, 14v, 15r, 15v, 16r, 16v	8th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: bifolio reused as bifolio.	Tselikas
			Basil of Caesarea, *Homily 8 on the Hexaemeron* (CPG 2835) (Hom.)	25r, 25v, 26r, 26v	8th–9th c.	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule.[169] • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as bifolio.	
			Psalter B (Lit.)	17r, 17v, 18r, 18v, 19r, 19v, 20r, 20v, 21r, 21v, 22r, 22v, 23r, 23v, 24r, 24v	9th c.	• Script: mixed script.[170] • Origin: Sinaitic-Palestinian area. • Pattern of reuse: bifolio reused as bifolio.	
			Psalter C (Lit.)	27r, 27v	9th c.	• Script: mixed script.[171] • Origin: Sinaitic-Palestinian area. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as folio. • Double palimpsest: middle layer. The lowest (oldest) layer in CPA ("Acta Pilati", 6th–7th c.), identification by Müller-Kessler.	
Sin. gr. NF MG 29 *Hymns from the Parakletike* (Lit.)	9th c.	42 ff.	Gospel of Matthew (Aland 281)[172] (Bibl.)	3r, 3v, 4r, 4v, 5r, 5v, 6r, 6v, 7r, 7v, 8r, 8v, 9r, 9v, 10r, 10v, 11r, 11v, 12r, 12v, 13r, 13v, 14r, 14v, 15r, 15v, 16r, 16v, 17r, 17v, 18r, 18v, 19r, 19v, 20r, 20v, 21r, 21v, 22r, 22v, 23r, 23v, 24r, 24v, 25r, 25v, 26r, 26v, 27r, 27v, 28r, 28v, 29r, 29v, 30r, 30v, 31r, 31v, 32r, 32v, 33r, 33v, 34r, 34v, 35r, 35v, 36r, 36v, 37r, 37v, 38r, 38v, 39r, 39v, 40r, 40v, 41r, 41v, 42r, 42v, 43r, 43v, 44r, 44v, 45r, 45v, 46r, 46v, frg. 1r, frg. 1v, frg. 2r, frg. 2v, frg. 3r, frg. 3v, frg. 4r, frg. 4v, frg. 5r, frg. 5v, frg. 6r, frg. 6v, frg. 7r, frg. 7v, frg. 8r, frg. 8v, frg. 9r, frg. 9v, frg. 10r, frg. 10v, frg. 11r, frg. 11v,	2nd half 6th c.	• Script: unimodular Alexandrian majuscule. • Origin: Egypt. • Pattern of reuse: bifolio reused as bifolio. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	Orsini

169 On the SPP website, Tselikas identifies this writing as "sloping majuscule".
170 On the SPP website, Tselikas identifies this writing as "sloping majuscule".
171 On the SPP website, Tselikas identifies this writing as "sloping majuscule".
172 LDAB 10065; Welte, Griechische Palimpseste 38.

Scriptio superior			*Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)*				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. gr. NF MG 29 *Hymns from the Parakletike* (Lit.)	9th c.	42 ff.		frg. 12r, frg. 12v, frg. 13r, frg. 13v, frg. 14r, frg. 14v, frg. 15r, frg. 15v, frg. 16r, frg. 16v, frg. 17r, frg. 17v, frg. 18r, frg. 18v, frg. 19r, frg. 19v, frg. 20r, frg. 20v, frg. 21r, frg. 21v, frg. 22r, frg. 22v, frg. 23r, frg. 23v, frg. 24r, frg. 24v, frg. 25r, frg. 25v, frg. 26r, frg. 26v, frg. 27r, frg. 27v, frg. 28r, frg. 28v, frg. 29r, frg. 29v, frg. 30r, frg. 30v, frg. 31r, frg. 31v, frg. 32r, frg. 32v, frg. 33r, frg. 33v, frg. 34r, frg. 34v, frg. 35r, frg. 35v, frg. 41r, frg. 41v, frg. 42r, frg. 42v			Orsini
			Psalms (Bibl.)	1r, 1v, 2r, 2v	2nd half 8th c.	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: Egypt or Palestine. • Pattern of reuse: half folio reused as folio. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	
Sin. gr. NF MG 32 *Martyrologion* (Hag.)	9th c.	21 ff. and various frgs.	Unidentified text	20r, 20v	---[173]	• Script: minuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: impossible to establish because fragmentary.	---
Sin. gr. NF MG 99 *Liturgical canons and troparia; funeral stichera* (Lit.)	9th c.	6 ff. and various frgs.	Romans (Aland 289)[174] (Bibl.)	frg. 4r, frg. 4v	mid 5th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: impossible to establish because fragmentary.	Cavallo
			Colossians (Bibl.)	frg.1r, frg.1v	mid 5th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: impossible to establish because fragmentary.	
			Philippians (Bibl.)	frg. 2r, frg. 2v, frg. 3r, frg. 3v	mid 5th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: impossible to establish because fragmentary.	

[173] The undertext is almost illegible, only the language and type of script are recognisable.

[174] LDAB 7314; Welte, Griechische Palimpseste 39.

Scriptio superior			***Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)***				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. gr. NF MG 99 *Liturgical canons and troparia; funeral stichera* (Lit.)	9th c.	6 ff. and various frgs.	1 Corinthians (Aland 289)[175] (Bibl.)	1^{r}, 1^{v}, 2^{r}, 2^{v}, 3^{r}, 3^{v}, 4^{r}, 4^{v}, 5^{r}, 5^{v}, 6^{r}, 6^{v}	mid 5th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as bifolio.	Cavallo
Sin. gr. NF M 48 *Prayers for Vespers and Matins* (Lit.)	13th–14th c.	30 ff.	Typikon (Lit.)	22^{r}, 22^{v}, 23^{r}, 23^{v}, 24^{r}, 24^{v}, 25^{r}, 25^{v}, 26^{r}, 26^{v}, 27^{r}, 27^{v}	11th c.	• Script: informal minuscule. Rubrics in Alexandrian majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: bifolio reused as bifolio. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	Orsini
Sin. gr. NF M 98 *Liturgical canons of the Parakletike* (Lit.)	1st half 13th c.	2 ff.	Gospel of Luke (Aland 288)[176] (Bibl.)	1^{r}, 1^{v}, 2^{r}, 2^{v}	late 10th – early 11th c.	• Script: upright pointed majuscule. • Origin: Palestine? • Pattern of reuse: half folio reused as bifolio.	Cavallo
Sin. gr. NF M 130 *Troparia* (Lit.)	12th–13th c.	1 f.	John Klimax, *Ladder* (Theol.)	1^{r}, 1^{v}	11th c.	• Script: minuscule recalling the *"Perlschrift"*. • Origin: Southern Italy. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as folio. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	Orsini
Sin. syr. 7 *Gospel Lectionary and other liturgical texts* (Lit.)	11th c. (ff. 71–72: 13th c.)	73 ff.	Gospel of Matthew (Bibl.)	71^{r}, 71^{v}, 72^{r}, 72^{v}	6th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: bifolio reused as bifolio. • Folia belonging to the same original ms. are found in: Harris App. 10 + Kiev, NBUV, Ф 301, 17 + Petropol. gr. 276	Tselikas
Sin. syr. 30 *Hagiographical collection* (Hag.)	698	181 ff.	Gospel of John (Bibl.)	142^{r}, 142^{v}, 144^{r}, 144^{v}, 147^{r}, 147^{v}, 149^{r}, 149^{v}	6th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: Syria-Antioch. • Pattern of reuse: bifolio reused as bifolio. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	Orsini

[175] LDAB 7314; Welte, Griechische Palimpseste 39.

[176] Welte, Griechische Palimpseste 38. This ms. is erroneously referred to by Aland and the following bibliography as "Sin. gr. NF MG 98".

Scriptio superior			***Scriptio(nes) inferior(es)***				
Shelfmark	**Script date**	**Total number of folia**	**Content**[156]	**Palimpsest folia**	**Script date**	**Script name, place of copying, pattern of reuse, *disiecta membra* and further notes**	**First identified by**
Sin. syr. 30 *Hagiographical collection* (Hag.)	698	181 ff.	Ephrem the Syrian, *Sermo asceticus* (Hom.)	172^{v}, 173^{r}, 173^{v}, 174^{r}, 174^{v}, 175^{r}, 175^{v}, 178^{r}, 178^{v}, 179^{r}, 179^{v}, 180^{r}, 180^{v}	7th c.	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: bifolio reused as bifolio • ff. 171, 172, 176, 177, 181, 182 ("Ps.-Macarius/ Symeon, *Epistula magna*") and ff. 173, 174, 175, 178, 179, 180 ("Ephraem Syrus, *Sermo asceticus*") were copied by the same scribe and part of the same original codex. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	Orsini
			Ps.-Macarius / Symeon, *Epistula magna* (Hom.)	171^{r}, 171^{v}, 172^{r}, 176^{r}, 176^{v}, 177^{r}, 177^{v}, 181^{r}, 181^{v}, 182^{r}	7th c.	• Script: sloping pointed majuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: bifolio reused as bifolio • ff. 171, 172, 176, 177, 181, 182 ("Ps.-Macarius/ Symeon, *Epistula magna*") and ff. 173, 174, 175, 178, 179, 180 ("Ephraem Syrus, *Sermo asceticus*") were copied by the same scribe and part of the same original codex. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	
Sin. syr. NF M42 (CPA) *Gospel Lectionary* (Lit.)	12th c.	8 ff.	John Chrysostom, *Homily on Genesis* (Hom.)	1^{r}, 1^{v}, 2^{r}, 2^{v}, 3^{r}, 3^{v}, 4^{r}, 4^{v}, 5^{r}, 5^{v}, 6^{r}, 6^{v}, 7^{r}, 7^{v}, 8^{r}, 8^{v}	early 10th c.	• Script: upright round minuscule. • Origin: unknown. • Pattern of reuse: folio reused as folio. • See also: Orsini, Scritture, libri e testi greci.	Orsini
Sin. syr. NF M64 *Genesis* (Bibl.)	9th c.	4 ff.	Deuteronomy (Bibl.)	3^{r}, 3^{v}, 4^{r}, 4^{v}	late 6th c.	• Script: biblical majuscule. • Origin: Egypt. • Pattern of reuse: one quarter folio reused as folio.	Katsaros

APPENDIX 4: *MEMBRA DISIECTA SINAITICA*

This appendix lists the *membra disiecta sinaitica* mentioned in Appendices 1–3. *Membra disiecta* whose overtexts (*scriptiones superiores*) are related come first. These are followed by the *scriptiones inferiores* which originally belonged together.

The purpose is to provide a list of textual units that are *membra disiecta* of the same original manuscript. Some of these were already established, but my own identifications are indicated here with an asterisk (*).

Scriptiones Superiores

- Sin. ar. 514 + Schøyen 579 + München, BSB, Cod. arab. 1066: Collection of homiletic and hagiographic works.
- Sin. ar. NF 8 + Sin. ar. NF 27 + Sin. ar. NF 28: Gospels.
- Sin. ar. NF 57 + Sin. gr. 1922: Discourses.
- Sin. ar. NF 66 + Leipzig UB gr. 2 (Codex Tischendorf 2) + Petropol. gr. 26 + Cantabr. Add. 1879.5: Cyril of Scythopolis, *Lives of the Monks of Palestine*; Leontius of Damascus, *Life of Saint Stephen of Mar Saba*; Ps.-Athanasius of Alexandria, *Life of Saints Stephen and Nikon*.[177]
- Sin. geo. 34 + Leipzig UB V 1096, ff. 4–7 + Petropol. syr. 16 + Petropol. gr. 6, ff. 1–3 + Petropol. gr. 7, ff. 1–8 + Petropol. gr. 41, ff. 1 and 3: "Encyclopaedia" of Iovane Zosime.
- Sin. geo. 49 + Sin. geo. NF 97 + Sin. geo. NF frg. 73a + Par. géorg. 30 + Vat. iber. 4 + HMML ms. frg. 32: Iadgari.
- *Sin. gr. 446, Sin. gr. 468, Sin. gr. NF M 77, Sin. gr. NF M 78: Asketikon, psalms, hymns, prayers, copied by the same hand.
- Sin. gr. 929 + Petropol. gr. 372: Heirmologion.
- *Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 + Sin. gr. NF M 22 + Sin. gr. NF M 79: Euchologion.
- *Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 + Sin. gr. NF M 68, ff. 1–8 + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98: Euchologion.
- Sin. gr. 1201 + Sin. gr. NF M 186 + Petropol. gr. 114: Etymologicum Gudianum.
- *Sin. gr. 1220 + Petropol. gr. 367: Sticherarion.
- Sin. gr. NF MG 48 + Sin. Chest I 55: Ascetical narrations.
- *Sin. gr. NF M 39 + Sin. gr. NF M 112: Liturgical canons.
- *Sin. gr. NF M 48, Sin. gr. NF M 90: Horologion, copied by the same hand.
- Sin. syr. 3A + Sin. syr. NF frg. 20 + Chabot 30 + ex-Schøyen 2530: Paul, *Letters*.
- Sin. syr. 7 + Sin. NF frgs. 55–57 + Lond. Or. 8609/II + Chabot 26–27 + Paris. syr. 382/I + Houghton syr. 171 + Hiersemann 500/10 (lost): Gospel Lectionary and other liturgical texts.

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[177] The fact that these four shelfmarks originally belonged together was not clearly stated in the literature.

- Sin. syr. 27 + Lond. Or. 8610/II + Mingana syr. 659 + Hiersemann 500/48: Hymns for the fixed and moveable feasts
- Sin. syr. 64 + Vat. sir. 647, ff. 27–28, 43: Heirmologion.
- Harris. App. 10 + Kiev, NBUV, Φ 301, 17 + Petropol. gr. 276: John Klimax, *Ladder.*
- Sin. syr. NF M4 + Sin. syr. NF M31 + Lond. Or. 5020 + Vat. sir. 647, ff. 3, 5–6: Oktoechos.
- Sin. syr. NF M60 + Sin. syr. NF frg. 71: Horologion; Oktoechos.

Scriptiones Inferiores

- *Sin. ar. NF 8: Gospel of Matthew; Gospel of John.
- *Sin. ar. NF 8: Hippocrates, *Epidemics* VII, 1,59.8 – 1,77.4; Hippocrates, *Regimen* I 17,6 – 30,11; Hippocrates, *Letters* 3–7, 9–10, 25; Antyllus?, *Recipes for different diseases*; Treatise on medical terms.
- *Sin. ar. NF 8: Basil of Caesarea, *Homily on Thanksgiving*; Basil of Caesarea, *Homily on the Martyr Julitta*.
- *Sin. ar. NF 8 + Sin. ar. NF 27: List of vestments and liturgical objects.
- *Sin. ar. NF 8 + Sin. ar. NF 28: Genesis; Exodus.
- *Sin. ar. NF 57 + Sin. gr. 1922: John Klimax, *Ladder.*
- Sin. ar. NF 66 + Leipzig UB gr. 2 (Codex Tischendorf 2) + Petropol. gr. 26 + Cantabr. Add. 1879.5: unidentified text (grammatical or biblical).[178]
- Sin. geo. 49: Gospel of Mark, Gospel of John.
- Sin. geo. 49 + Sin. geo. NF frg. 73a: unidentified Christian poem.
- *Sin. geo. NF 19: Gospel of John, Gospel of Matthew; Gospel of Luke.
- *Sin. gr. 446 + Sin. gr. 468: John Chrysostom, *Homilies on Genesis.*
- *Sin. gr. 446 + Sin. gr. 468 + Sin. gr. NF M 69 + Sin. gr. NF M 78: collection of liturgical hymns from a scroll.
- Sin. gr. 699: Ps.-John Chrysostom, *Homily on the dormition of the Lord, on the Mother of God and on Symeon*; Ps.-John Chrysostom, *Homily on Lazarus*; unidentified text (probably John Chrysostom).
- *Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 + Sin. gr. NF M 22: Sticherarion.
- *Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21: Liturgical Typikon; Clement the Hymnographer, *Kanon on Saint Eupraxia*
- Sin. syr. 7 + Harris App. 10 + Kiev, NBUV, Φ 301, 17 + Petropol. gr. 276: Gospels.
- Sin. syr. 30: Ephrem the Syrian, *Sermo Asceticus*; Ps.-Macarius / Symeon, *Epistula magna*.

[178] The identification of the text in Sin. ar. NF 66 is my own.

THE GREEK EUCHOLOGIA OF SAINT CATHERINE'S MONASTERY

INTRODUCTION

The Greek word εὐχολόγιον (Euchologion; pl. Euchologia) literally means "book of prayers".[179] An Euchologion is formed of a collection of prayers reserved to the principal liturgical ministers (bishops, priests) and essential for the celebration of all the services of the Byzantine Rite.[180] The Byzantine prayer books contain, apart from the eucharistic liturgies by John Chrysostom and Basil the Great, the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts and other liturgies such as marriage, burial and baptism, and also a great number of occasional prayers. By "occasional prayers" I mean the various prayers for occasional use, representing situations in everyday life, such as the blessing of a house and the visiting of the sick, but also prayers against earthquakes, for a herd of cattle, or for a child's first day at school.

Euchologia are preserved in manuscripts from the late 8th century. The exact number of such manuscripts is currently unknown, but at the time of the Council of Florence (1438–1439) around 2000 of these prayer books were thought to be in use by Byzantine (Orthodox) Christians.[181] The earliest surviving Euchologion manuscripts are Barb. gr. 336, preserved in the Vatican library (Diktyon 64879),[182] and Sin. gr. NF MG 53, housed at the Monastery of Saint Catherine.[183] They both date back to the second half of the 8th century.

The first printed Euchologion appeared in Venice in 1545, yet it was only in the early 17th century (in the context of Counter-Reformation scholarship) that printed editions began to circulate. With the publication in Paris in 1647 of the *Euchologion sive rituale Graecorum* by Jacques Goar (1601–1653), the Euchologion became for the first time a book of study and an object of scientific interest.[184] In 1895, the Russian scholar Aleksej Dmitrievskij (1865–1929) took possession of Goar's inheritance, publishing his monumental *Opisanie*, where in the second volume he describes 172 Greek Euchologia preserved in the Athos monasteries, at Saint Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai, and in Russia, dating from the 8th century to 1822.[185] Both Goar's and Dmitrievskij's works remain today important reference points for the historical investigation of the Byzantine Liturgy.

After the Russian scholar, André Jacob was instrumental in exploring the typology of the Euchologion: on the basis of the text of the Chrysostom liturgy, he divided the Euchologion manuscripts into two *recensiones*, the ancient and the new, subdividing the former into two families, Constantinopolitan and Southern-Italian.[186] Miguel Arranz built upon this, in particular developing the idea of an old and new recension of the Constanti-

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179 See the entry *Euchologion* (by R. F. Taft) in ODB, II, p. 738, and E. Velkovska, The Liturgical Books of the Byzantine Rite: History and Culture, in: Liturgische Bücher in der Kulturgeschichte Europas, ed. H. P. Neuheuser. Wiesbaden 2018, 150–151.

180 H.-G. Beck, Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich. Munich 1959, 246–249.

181 V. Laurent (ed.), Les 'mémoires' du Grand Ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le Concile de Florence (1438–1439). Rome 1971, 476.

182 E. Velkovska – S. Parenti, Evchologij Barberini Gr. 336. Omsk 2011.

183 Ch. Kanavas, L'eucologio MG 53 (sec. IX) del monastero di S. Caterina del Sinai. Doctoral Thesis. Pontificio Istituto Orientale. Rome 2013.

184 The revised 1730 edition was printed in Venice and is now widely available as a 1960 reprint: J. Goar, Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale Graecorum complectens ritus et ordines Divinae Liturgiae, officiorum, sacramentorum, consecrationum, benedictionum, funerum, orationum … editio secunda expurgata et accuratior. Venice (Graz) 1730 (1960^2).

185 A. Dmitrievskij, Opisanie liturgičeskichă rukopisej, chranjaščichsja vă bibliotekachă Pravoslavnago Vostoka, II: Εὐχολόγια. Kiev (Hildesheim) 1901 (1965^2).

186 A. Jacob, Histoire du formulaire grec de la liturgie de Saint Jean Chrysostome. Upublished Doctoral Thesis. Université catholique de Louvain 1968; A. Jacob, La tradition manuscrite de la Liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome (VIIIe –XIIe siècle), in: Eucharisties d'Orient et d'Occident: Semaine liturgique de l'Institut Saint-Serge, II. Paris 1970, 109–138.

nopolitan material.[187] Robert Taft's publications largely do not enter this discussion, although his doctoral students prepared editions of Euchologia (as did some of Arranz's students).[188] In his doctoral dissertation written under Arranz, Stefano Parenti revisited his supervisor's typology.[189] Through focussing on regional typology, the study revealed nuances within the division of Constantinopolitan recensions. This typology is summarized in Parenti's article *Towards a Regional History of the Byzantine Euchology of the Sacraments*,[190] as well as in the Russian introduction to the third edition of the Euchologion Barberini (especially regarding the "pre-iconoclast" and "post-iconoclast" distinction).[191] Since October 2015, the *Vienna Euchologia Project*, led by Claudia Rapp, has directed attention at the occasional prayers preserved in Byzantine Euchologia. Used in conjunction with other normative and prescriptive texts, such as canon and imperial law, prayer books can be considered a rich source for the study of the Byzantines' daily life.[192]

THE SINAI PRAYER BOOKS COLLECTION

The Library of Saint Catherine's preserves the largest known collection of Byzantine prayer books in existence. There are approximately 80 Euchologia (either complete or fragmentary) at the monastery, 64 of these were copied before the first printed edition of Goar's Euchologion (1647). 23 of these 64 manuscripts are written on parchment.[193] Five are copied (completely or partially) on palimpsest parchment. In this and the following sections, and also in the Appendix to this chapter, I discuss the extant information on the history of this particular collection.[194]

What is it possible to infer from the manuscripts themselves? A very small number—i.e. only one of the 64 Euchologia held today at Saint Catherine's—was surely copied at the monastery. The rest came from abroad. For more than half, the origin is still unknown: in-depth studies will be necessary to fill the gap in the record.[195]

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187 M. Arranz, Les sacrements de l'ancien Euchologe constantinopolitain (1). Etude préliminaire des sources. *OCP* 48 (1982) 330–335; M. Arranz, L'eucologio costantinopolitano agli inizi del secolo XI. Hagiasmatarion & Archieratikon (Rituale & Pontificale) con l'aggiunta del Leiturgikon (Messale). Rome 1996.

188 Vat. Ott. gr. 434 [Diktyon 65677] (A. A. Thiermeyer, Das Euchologion Ottoboni gr. 434. Doctoral Thesis. Pontificio Istituto Orientale. Rome 1992); Mosq. RGB gr. 27 [Sevastianov 474] [Diktyon 44295] (S. J. Koster, Das Euchologion Sevastianov 474 (X. Jhdt.) der Staatsbibliothek in Moskau. Doctoral thesis. Pontificio Istituto Orientale. Rome 1996); Crypt. Γ.β. VII [Diktyon 17899] (G. Passarelli, L'eucologio Cryptense Γ.β. VII (sec. X). Thessaloniki 1982); Coisl. 213 [Diktyon 49354] (J. Duncan, Coislin 213. Euchologe de la Grande Eglise. Rome 1983; J. M. Maj, Coislin 213. Eucologio della Grande Chiesa. Manoscritto greco della Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi (ff. 101–211). Excerpta ex Dissertatione ad Doctoratum. Pontificio Istituto Orientale. Rome 1995.

189 S. Parenti, L'Eucologio manoscritto G.B IV (X sec.) della Biblioteca di Grottaferrata. Doctoral Thesis. Pontificio Istituto Orientale. Rome 1993.

190 S. Parenti, Towards a Regional History of the Byzantine Euchology of the Sacraments. *Ecclesia Orans* 27 (2010) 109–121.

191 Velkovska – Parenti 30–31.

192 On the *Vienna Euchologia Project* see: C. Rapp – Ei. Afentoulidou – D. Galadza – I. Nesseris – G. Rossetto – E. Schiffer, Byzantine Prayer Books as Sources for Social History and Daily Life. *JÖB* 67 (2017) 173–211; C. Rapp – E. Schiffer – Ei. Afentoulidou, Das Wiener Euchologien-Projekt: Anlassgebete als Quelle zur Sozial- und Alltagsgeschichte. Drei Fallbeispiele, in: 'Medialität und Praxis des Gebets vor der Moderne,' Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung 24/2, ed. M. Breitenstein – Ch. Schmidt. Berlin 2019, 337–369; https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/imafo/research/byzantine-research/communities-and-landscapes/euchologia-project (19.09.2022).

193 Gardthausen, Catalogus; Beneševič, Catalogus I; Beneševič, Catalogus III.1; Kamil, Catalogue; Greek New Finds. The number is approximate since it is very possible that fragmentary manuscripts identified as Euchologia in the Greek New Finds are actually missing sections from the Euchologion manuscripts in the Old Collection. One example is Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 + Sin. gr. NF M 22 + Sin. gr. NF M 79: the four shelfmarks belong to the same original manuscript, but Sin. gr. NF M 22 is identified in the Greek New Finds as an independent Euchologion, Sin. gr. NF M 11 as a Lectionary, and Sin. gr. NF M 79 as containing the "lections on our Lord's passion".

194 I consider here complete or fragmentary codices that are, or were, most likely originally part of Euchologia (i.e. manuscripts containing the text of liturgies, rites and occasional prayers for the use of a priest or other chief liturgical minister). The time frame of my investigation ends in 1647, the date of the first edition of Goar's Euchologion.

195 What I offer here is no more than an overview of the Sinai collection of Euchologia. I am currently engaged in a specific project on the collection in its entirety, aiming to shed more comprehensive light on the history of the Sinai collection of Euchologia and their copyists: FWF Project T 1192-G *Priests, Books and the Library at Saint Catherine's (Sinai)* (1.12.2020–30.11.2023). See also: https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/imafo/research/byzantine-research/communities-and-landscapes/euchologia-project/priests-books-and-the-library-at-saint-catherines-sinai (19.09.2022).

Fourteen of all the Euchologia housed at Sinai were probably written in Palestine or Syria (one of them perhaps in Cyprus or Syria/Palestine), five in Egypt, one in Crete or on Mount Athos. One Euchologion originates from Southern-Italy.

Saint Catherine's Euchologia date from between the 8th and the 17th centuries. Although they are well distributed across the period, two conspicuous chronological clusters can be identified. The first corresponds to the 11th–12th centuries, the second to the 14th–16th centuries (**Figure 20**).

Ten of these 64 manuscripts (15%) are dated by a scribe, and the majority belong to either the 15th or the 16th century. One of the dated Euchologia was copied at Saint Catherine's, one in Crete, one in Syria or Palestine, and another in Egypt. Six of the remaining dated manuscripts are of unknown origin.

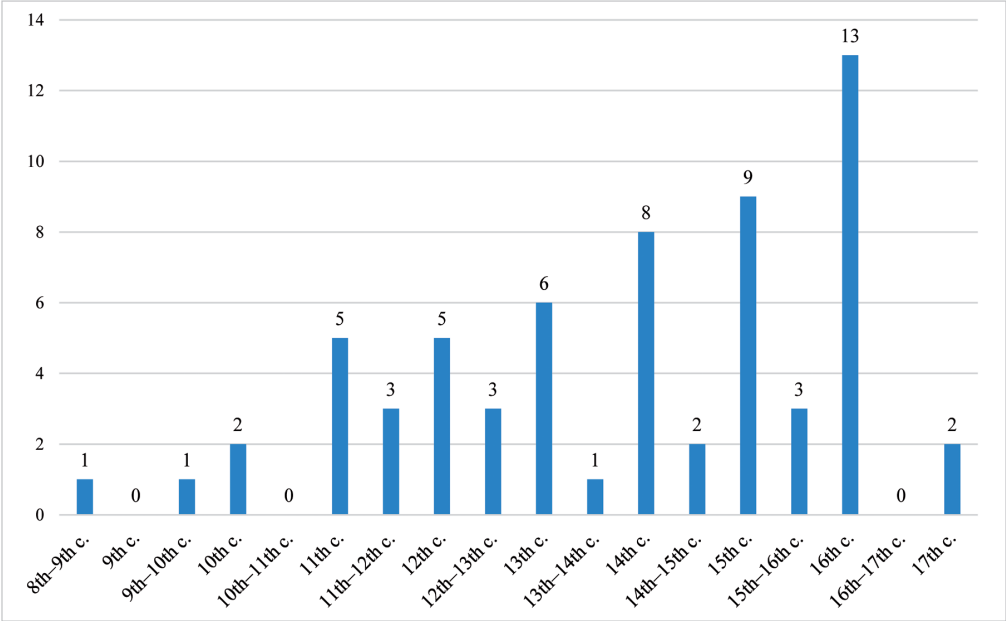


Figure 20 – Saint Catherine's Euchologia arranged by date

The manuscript that was surely written at Saint Catherine's is Sin. gr. 980 (partially copied in 1475). Sin. gr. 980 was copied by the scribe Dionysios Thytorhakendites from Corinth, who also wrote other liturgical manuscripts, such as Sin. gr. 712 (Diktyon 59087), completed in Damietta (Egypt) in 1482.

Ex-libris or marginal notes by later owners provide information about the period in which the manuscripts became part of the collection and to whom they belonged. Both Sin. gr. 2045 (1572) and Sin. gr. 992 (17th century) carry the *ex-libris* of a Sinai archbishop: the former, that of Archbishop Anastasius V (1583–1592), and the latter, Archbishop Ioannikios (1671–1702). This provides a *terminus ad quem* for the arrival of the manuscript in the collection.

Moreover, it was not unusual for Sinai monks to leave their personal notes in Euchologia, marking them as their own personal possession. It might be supposed that these "personal manuscripts" were kept in the monks' cells.[196] For instance, we know that Sin. gr. 977 (16th century) belonged in 1516 to hieromonachos Arsenios the Syrian, who lived at the monastery.

Other Euchologia preserve explicit notes concerning their origin and offer fuller detail about how they came to be part of the Sinai collection. Two cases in point are Sin. gr. 968 and Sin. gr. 984. The former was written in 1426 by Bartholomaios Rhosos for Moyses, the oikonomos of Saint Catherine's metochion in Chan-

[196] Proof of this lies in the colophon of Sin. gr. 639 (Diktyon 59014), a Menaion created in 1483 or 1484 by the monk Nicholas Litardes at the behest of monk and hierodiakonos Ephrem 'so that during his life he could have it in his cell for the office, and so that it would belong to the Monastery after his death, wherever it might be'. See H. Husmann, Die datierten griechischen Sinai-Handschriften des 9. bis 16. Jahrhunderts, Herkunft und Schreiber. Ostkirchliche Studien 27 (1978) 143–168, here 157. The scribal note can be read on f. 470v: Ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ ἵνα ἔχει αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κελλίῳ διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν, μετὰ δὲ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ὅπου ἂν εὑρεθῇ, νὰ στρέφεται τὸ βιβλίον ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ ἁγίου ὄρους Σινᾶ.

dax (Crete). The latter contains a note written in 1687 indicating that it belonged to Ananias Libisianos, hieromonachos, and that he donated it to the Monastery of the Forty Holy Martyrs in Wādī l-Arbacīn (i.e. one of Saint Catherine's metochia in the Sinai peninsula).

Euchologia manuscripts recount their own story: but were visitors to the monastery also eloquent about the Sinai prayer books in their accounts? Unfortunately, they give very little detail.

The first inventory of the Sinai Greek manuscripts was compiled in 1704.[197] Among the 166 manuscripts listed there, only one Euchologion is mentioned (nr. 91).[198] It is impossible to be sure which of the current Euchologia this is. In 1712 Michael Eneman, orientalist of the University of Uppsala, recounts that he witnessed in the basilica 'a liturgy in Greek letters written on ancient ruled parchment'.[199] This could well have been a Euchologion. Furthermore, when the Paduan Vitaliano Donati visited the library in 1761, he saw 'molti volumi lunghissimi per uso liturgico'.[200]

DIASPORA PRAYER BOOKS

Liturgical books were never of much interest for manuscript collectors, who greatly preferred codices containing classical or biblical texts. This offers a modicum of reassurance as to whether collections of prayer books such as that of Saint Catherine's may be considered to be largely intact.

In this particular case, the lack of interest in liturgical books goes back at least to 1674, when Jean-Baptiste Colbert wrote the following instruction to the French consul in Cairo, Brousson: 'Le sieur Brousson doit observer que parmi les livres des langues orientales, comme aussi des grecs, ceux qui ne contiennent que de simples prières ne sont d'aucune considération, et qu'il n'en faut point prendre, s'ils ne se rencontrent dans un marché d'autres manuscrits et qu'on ne puisse pas s'en empescher. Ceux qu'on estime icy davantage sont les livres d'histoire, de mathématiques et de médecine; les plus anciens en quelque langue que ce soit sont ordinairement les meilleurs, et ceux qui sont escrits sur du parchemin, particulièrement les grecs, sont plus considérables que ceux qui ne sont escrits que sur du papier. L'on peut trouver bon nombre de ces grecs au Mont Sinaî […]'.[201] His attitude clearly shows that even at this early date prayer books were not considered worth much attention.

There are nonetheless certainly examples of Sinai prayer books purloined and removed elsewhere, entailing whole manuscripts or—more often—a few folia.

Indeed, Euchologia, or fragments of Euchologia that were once part of the Sinai collection, are to be found in at least three places—Saint Petersburg, Krakow (previously in Berlin) and Bryn Mawr—but I do not exclude the possibility that there may be additional Sinai prayer books or fragments awaiting discovery in other libraries.

Loose folia are known to have been brought by Uspenskij to Saint Petersburg (National Library of Russia) as palaeographical *specimina*, and folia from the following Sinai Euchologia manuscripts are now in Russia:

- Sin. gr. 957 (two folia = Petropol. O. 151 [*olim* Granstrem 106]);
- Sin. gr. 968 (two folia = Petropol. gr. 323 + Petropol. gr. 348 [*olim* Granstrem 617]);
- Sin. gr. 973 (one folio = Petropol. gr. 418 [*olim* Granstrem 317]).

In 1850, moreover, Uspenskij brought an entire Sinai Euchologion to Russia, namely Petropol. gr. 226 [*olim* Granstrem 112] (also known as Euchologion Uspenskij: Diktyon 57298). This was a 10th-century Southern-Italian Euchologion, written in Northern Calabria by a certain Nicholas.[202] The first two quires are missing.[203]

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197 The first inventory of Saint Catherine's manuscripts was created during the episcopate of Kosmas (1702–1707), also called "Byzantios", later Patriarch of Constantinople. According to Beneševič, this inventory listed a total of 166 manuscripts. See: Beneševič, Manuscrits grecs 25–27.

198 Beneševič, Manuscrits grecs 26.

199 Beneševič, Manuscrits grecs 17.

200 Beneševič, Manuscrits grecs 21.

201 H. Omont, Missions archéologiques françaises en orient aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. I–II. Paris 1902, II, 1206.

202 F. 172r: γραφεν δηα χηρος Νηκολάου (*sic*).

203 Relevant bibliography on Petropol. gr. 226: Beneševič, Catalogus I 607; E. E. Granstrem, Katalog grečeskich rukopisej leningraadskich chranilišč, I. Rukopisi IV–IX vekov. *VV* 16, 216–243 (nr. 1–112). Moscow 1959, 243 (nr. 112); A. Jacob, L'Euchologe de Porphyre Uspenski Cod. Lenin. gr. 226 (Xe siècle). *Le Muséon* 78 (1965) 173–214; P. Koumarianos, Il Codice 226 della Biblioteca di San Pietroburgo. L'Eucologio Bizantino di Porfyrio Uspensky. Doctoral Thesis. Pontificio Istituto Orientale. Rome 1996; S. Lucà, Le diocesi di Gerace e Squillace: tra manoscritti e marginalia, in: Calabria bizantina. Civilità bizantina nei territori di

Another diasporic prayer book is Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska [*olim* Berol. graec. quart. 45 (347)] (Diktyon 9214).[204] This codex was taken from Sinai to Berlin by the German Egyptologist Heinrich Karl Brugsch in 1866, together with other Sinai manuscripts.[205] There is no mention in Brugsch's diary, however, of the removal of manuscripts from Saint Catherine's library: 'Während Tischendorf und andere so glücklich waren, aus dieser Fundgrube einige Manuscripte für die europäischen Bibliotheken so [*sic*] erwerben, so ist man jetzt auf dem Sinai, wie es scheint auf höheren Befehl, sehr vorsichtig mit der Veräußerung von Handschriften, selbst von einzelnen Blättern, und alle meine Bemühungen einzelnes zu erwerben, scheiterten vollkommen an der Entschiedenheit der Mönche irgend etwas zu überlassen'[206] and 'da wir zwei Ruhetage im Sinai-Kloster hielten, benutzte ich mit wahrer Gier die mir durch den Wekil[207] des Klosters angebotene Freiheit, in der Bibliothek nach Herzenslust zu arbeiten, und, wenn ich wünschte, Handschriften zu kopiren [*sic*]. Da er, oder ein Mönch in seiner Abwesenheit in stäter Nähe meiner Person blieb, so durfte ich die gebetene Erlaubnis billiger Weise nicht all-zulange mißbrauchen. Dennoch reichten die Stunden, die ich in der Bibliothek zubrachte, hin, um einen allgemeinen Ueberblick zu gewinnen und ich kann wohl behaupten, daß jedes einzelne Buch durch meine Hände gegangen und flüchtig geprüft worden ist'.[208] Following the Russian invasion of 1945, a number of manuscripts, and the Euchologion among them, were moved from Berlin to Poland.

Finally, in May 2020 I have identified one quire originally belonging to Sin. gr. 966 in the manuscript collection of Bryn Mawr College (USA). Its shelfmark is: Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98. Likely in the early 20th century, this was purloined from the Sinai and brought to the United States.[209]

STATUS QUAESTIONIS ON SINAI EUCHOLOGIA

The first scholar to devote his research to Sinai Euchologia was the Russian theologian Alekseij Dmitrievskij.[210] He paid a four-month visit to Saint Catherine's in 1888, and undertook descriptions of the liturgical manuscripts in the library, in particular Euchologia and Typika. In 1901 he published the second volume of his *Opisanie* in Kiev, describing the Euchologia preserved at Saint Catherine's, and also at Alexandria, Athens, Athos, Istanbul, Jerusalem, Paris, Patmos, Saint Petersburg, and Thessaloniki. He offered, in chronological order, detailed descriptions of 42 of the Sinai Euchologia, which for the most part have stood the test of time.

I am not aware of any other scholars dealing specifically with the Sinai Euchologia until the end of the 21st century, when—at the Pontificio Istituto Orientale (PIO) in Rome—the investigation of selected prayer books began to be assigned to PhD candidates. Thus Donato Diamante, supervised by Miguel Arranz, studied Sin. gr. 959 in his (unpublished) dissertation.[211] Petropol. gr. 226 (the so-called Euchologion Uspenskij), a former Si-

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Gerace e Stilo (Locri – Stilo – Gerace, 6–9 maggio 1993). Soveria Mannelli 1998, 245–343; P. Koumarianos, Η Θεία Λειτουργία του Μεγ. Βασιλείου κατά το Πορφυριανό Ευχολόγιο. *Θεολογία* 82.3 (2011) 93–121.

204 C. De Boor, Verzeichniss der Griechischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, II. Berlin 1897, 193–194 (nr. 347); Beneševič, Catalogus I 644.

205 For more on Brugsch: H. K. Brugsch, Mein Leben und mein Wandern. Berlin 1894; A. Erman, Nachruf an Heinrich Brugsch. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde* 32 (1894) 69–73; the encyclopaedia entry in NDB II 1955. Proof that the Sinai manuscripts entered the Berlin manuscript collection in 1866 is found in the introduction to the Berlin catalogue (De Boor, Verzeichniss): 'Erst in den letzten Jahrzehnten sind die sich bietenden Gelegenheiten in systematischerer Weise und mit reicheren Mitteln zur Vergrößerung der Sammlung benutzt worden. Was einzelne Reisende in entlegenen Klöstern, freilich meist in sehr fragmentarischem und verwahrlostem Zustand, aus dem Orient heimbrachten, was der Zufall aus Privatbesitz noch einmal auf den Markt brachte, ist die Verwaltung bemüht gewesen, der Berliner Bibliothek zu sichern. Hervorzuheben sind die größeren Erwerbungen der von Brugsch auf dem Sinai gesammelten, 1866 in die Bibliothek aufgenommen Handschriften […]'. Brugsch was again at the monastery in 1875, together with the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. The distinguished visitor was shown the famous "Gospel of the Emperor Theodosius" (Sin. gr. 204) and, at his request, also a pile of parchment and papyrus leaves (Father Justin Sinaites – N. Sarris, The Conservation and Photography of Codex Sinaiticus at Saint Catherine's Monastery: Not Quite Finished, in: Codex Sinaiticus. New Perspectives on the Ancient Biblical Manuscript, ed. S. McKendrick – D. Parker – A. Myshrall – C. O'Hogan. London 2015, 247).

206 H. K. Brugsch, Wanderungen nach den Türkis-Minen und der Sinai-Halbinsel. Leipzig 1866, 42–43.

207 In Arabic "wekil" means "archbishop".

208 Brugsch, Wanderungen 48.

209 More about this on p. 263.

210 On Dmitrievskij see Pravoslavnaja Enciklopedija XV 2007, 429–438 and M. Arranz, Les archives de Dmitrievsky dans la bibliothèque d'État de Léningrad. *OCP* 40 (1974) 61–83.

211 D. Diamante, L'Eucologio Sinai 959 (Doctoral dissertation, Rome, Pontificio Istituto Orientale). Venice 1995.

nai prayer book, was studied by Paulos Koumarianos in 1996, once more under Arranz's supervision.[212] More recently, Christos Kanavas wrote on Sin. gr. NF MG 53 (supervised by Gaetano Passarelli),[213] and devoted his subsequent research for the *"Programma di licenza"* at the *Pontificio Istituto Liturgico Sant'Anselmo* to Sin. gr. NF M 10.[214] Both of these projects remain unpublished. Articles on selected aspects of Sinai Euchologia have also been published by Gabriel Radle, Stefano Parenti, Elena Velkovska, Valerio Polidori.[215]

APPENDIX: GREEK EUCHOLOGIA AT SAINT CATHERINE'S

In this Appendix are listed 64 Greek Euchologia in codex format preserved in the Old and New Collections of Saint Catherine's library. I include only the Euchologia written before 1647, complete or fragmentary.[216] For this reason, not all manuscripts indicated in the catalogues as Euchologia will be found.

The manuscripts are arranged by shelfmark, with parchment ones (marked in italics) preceding paper. All the manuscripts in the Old Collection have been microfilmed and are currently accessible online, either on the Library of Congress website[217] (those microfilmed on the occasion of Clark's expedition in 1950),[218] or on that of the National Library of Israel[219] (the remainder). For each manuscript, I specify under "notes" where the digital version may be viewed. Microfilming of the Sinai manuscripts by the Israeli authorities took place when Sinai was part of Israel in the 1970s.[220] All digitized manuscripts have been checked to ensure that they qualify for inclusion.

The New Finds have not yet been digitized, and I have been able to examine *in loco* only a limited number. I have therefore mostly based my descriptions on the Greek New Finds catalogue, well aware that 'il faut utiliser l'index du contenu (pp. 271–277) avec précaution'.[221] 21 manuscripts are listed in this catalogue as Euchologia. Among them, Sin. gr. NF M 22 originally belonged together with Sin. gr. 960 (+ Sin. gr. NF M 11 + Sin. gr. NF M 79), and Sin. gr. NF M 68 with Sin. gr. 966 (+ Sin. gr. NF M 21 + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98). These identifications are my own, and I have additionally added to the list Sin. gr. NF MG 22 and Sin. gr. NF MG 67, which again once belonged together. This identification has been made possible thanks to Gabriel Radle's studies.[222] It is often the case that fragments catalogued in the Greek New Finds are part of complete manuscripts in the Old Collection, or simply belong with others in the New Collection. When this is the case (as with Sin. gr. NF MG 22 + Sin. gr. NF MG 67), they are listed and described together in the table.

Further information given in the Appendix concerns the date and place of copying,[223] a selected bibliography, and an indication whether parts of Sinai Euchologia are currently preserved in other libraries. The aim is to provide an overview of the Greek prayer books preserved at Saint Catherine's.

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212 Koumarianos, Il Codice 226 della Biblioteca di San Pietroburgo; Koumarianos, Η Θεία Λειτουργία.

213 Kanavas, L'eucologio MG 53.

214 Ch. Kanavas, L'eucologio M 10 (sec. XI) del monastero di S. Caterina del Sinai. Introduzione, commento e edizione del testo. Thesis. "Programma di licenza", Pontificio Istituto Liturgico Sant'Anselmo, Rome.

215 See the Appendix for a full bibliography.

216 As mentioned above, in 1647, Goar's first edition of the Euchologion was printed in Paris.

217 Library of Congress, Digital Collections, Manuscripts in Saint Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai: https://www.loc.gov/collections/manuscripts-in-st-catherines-monastery-mount-sinai/about-this-collection/ (19.09.2022).

218 On the mission, its aims and outcomes, see: Clark, Microfilming Manuscripts; Clark, Microfilming Projects; Clark, Checklist; Clark, Exploring the Manuscripts of Sinai and Jerusalem; Clark, Twenty-Five Years Ago.

219 The National Library of Israel, Manuscripts: http://aleph.nli.org.il/F?RN=782235945 (19.09.2022).

220 I thank Father Justin Sinaites for this information (e-mail 13.12.2017).

221 Géhin – Frøyshov, Nouvelles découvertes 176. Géhin's and Frøyshov's review of the Greek New Finds catalogue contains useful updates and amendments.

222 G. Radle, Sinai Greek NE / ΜΓ 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. *BollGrott* 8 (3rd s.) (2011) 169–221; G. Radle, The Nuptial Rites in Two Rediscovered First-Millennium Sinai Euchologies, in: Rites and Rituals of the Christian East. Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy (Lebanon, 10–15 July 2012), ed. B. Groen – D. Galadza – N. Glibetic – G. Radle. Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA 2014, 303–315.

223 The most reliable date according to the existing bibliography is given here. As a rule, in the absence of recent and trustworthy bibliography Dmitrievskij II is preferred to Gardthausen, Catalogus and Kamil, Catalogue. Only in the instances of the three manuscripts that are the object of this monograph (Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 + Sin. gr. NF M 22 + Sin. gr. NF M 79; Sin gr. 962; Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 + Sin. gr. NF M 68 + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98) have I personally revised the dating.

Shelfmark(s)	Related fragments in other libraries	Date	Place of copying	Notes	Catalogues and Selected Bibliography
Sin. gr. 957 (Diktyon 59332)	+ Petropol. O. 151 [*olim* Granstrem 106] (Diktyon 57941)	10th c.	Palestine	Library of Congress website.	Aland I 909; Dmitrievskij II 1–12 (nr. 1); Gardthausen, Catalogus 204; Kamil, Catalogue 110 (nr. 1286). - Fittipaldi, Das Euchologion Sinaiticus graecus 957. - Radle, The Development of Byzantine Marriage Rites. - Taft – Parenti, Il grande ingresso 703. - Velkovska – Parenti 470.
Sin. gr. 958 (Diktyon 59333)		11th c.	Syria / Palestine	Library of Congress website.	Dmitrievskij II 19–39 (nr. 3); Gardthausen, Catalogus 205; Kamil, Catalogue 110 (nr. 1287). - Jacob, Note sur la prière Κτίστα 147. - Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 274, 565. - Taft – Parenti, Il grande ingresso 705. - Velkovska – Parenti 470–471.
Sin. gr. 959 (Diktyon 59334)		11th c.	Palestine	Library of Congress website.	Dmitrievskij II 42–64 (nr. 5); Gardthausen, Catalogus 205; Kamil, Catalogue 110 (nr. 1288). - Bianchi, Scrittura e marginalia 23, 26. - Diamante, L'Eucologio Sinai 959. - Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 275, 565. - Taft – Parenti, Il grande ingresso 705. - Velkovska – Parenti 471.
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)		2nd half 12th c.	Cyprus or Syria / Palestine	Palimpsest. Sin gr. 960: Library of Congress website.	Sin. gr. 960: Aland I 910; Dmitrievskij II 192–202 (nr. 22); Gardthausen, Catalogus 205; Kamil, Catalogue 110 (nr. 1289). Sin. gr. NF M 11: Aland I 2231; Greek New Finds 162. Sin. gr. NF M 22: Greek New Finds 163. Sin. gr. NF M 79: Aland I 2224; Greek New Finds 170. - Rossetto, Building the Euchologion 71. - Welte, Griechische Palimpseste 50 (Sin. gr. 960) and 52 (Sin. gr. NF M 11).
Sin. gr. 961 (Diktyon 59336)		11th–12th c.	Palestine	Library of Congress website.	Aland I 911; Dmitrievskij II 75–83 (nr. 7); Gardthausen, Catalogus 205; Kamil, Catalogue 110 (nr. 1290). - Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 275, 566. - Rapp – Afentoulidou – Galadza – Nesseris – Rossetto – Schiffer, Byzantine Prayer Books 209. - Taft – Parenti, Il grande ingresso 706. - Velkovska – Parenti 471.

Shelfmark(s)	Related fragments in other libraries	Date	Place of copying	Notes	Catalogues and Selected Bibliography
Sin. gr. 962 (Diktyon 59337)		2nd half 11th c.	Palestine?	Palimpsest. Library of Congress website.	Aland l 912; Dmitrievskij II 64–75 (nr. 6); Gardthausen, Catalogus 206; Kamil, Catalogue 110 (nr. 1291). - Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 275, 567. - Rossetto, Building the Euchologion 71–72. - Taft – Parenti, Il grande ingresso 706. - Velkovska – Parenti 472.
Sin. gr. 963 (Diktyon 59338)		12th c.	Syria / Palestine	Library of Congress website.	Dmitrievskij II 135–139 (nr. 10); Gardthausen, Catalogus 206; Kamil, Catalogue 110 (nr. 1292). - Taft – Parenti, Il grande ingresso 709.
Sin. gr. 964 (Diktyon 59339)		13th – 14th c.	---	National Library of Israel website.	Dmitrievskij II 246–249 (nr. 27); Gardthausen, Catalogus 206; Kamil, Catalogue 110 (nr. 1293).
Sin. gr. 965 (Diktyon 59340)		14th c.	---	National Library of Israel website.	Aland l 913; Dmitrievskij II 320–323 (nr. 34); Gardthausen, Catalogus 206; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1294).
Sin. gr. 966 (Diktyon 59341) + *Sin. gr. NF M 21* (Diktyon 60848) + *Sin. gr. NF M 68* (Diktyon 60895)	+ Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 (Diktyon 76670)	2nd half 12th c.	Southern Italy (Salento)	Palimpsest. Library of Congress website.	Sin. gr. 966: Gardthausen, Catalogus 206; Dmitrievskij II 202–219 (nr. 23); Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1295). Sin. gr. NF M 21: Aland l 2232; Greek New Finds 163. Sin. gr. NF M 68: Greek New Finds 169. - Arnesano, Repertorio 61. - Arnesano, Libri inutiles 200. - Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 571. - Parenti, Un eucologio poco noto del Salento. - Polidori, La Liturgia Bizantina nel Salento 41–43. - Rossetto, Building the Euchologion 71–73. - Taft – Parenti, Il grande ingresso 709.
Sin. gr. 967 (Diktyon 59342)		13th c.	---	Library of Congress website.	Dmitrievskij II 219–232 (nr. 24); Gardthausen, Catalogus 207; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1296).

Shelfmark(s)	Related fragments in other libraries	Date	Place of copying	Notes	Catalogues and Selected Bibliography
Sin. gr. 968 (Diktyon 59343)	+ Petropol. gr. 323 (Diktyon 57395) + Petropol. gr. 348 (Diktyon 57420) [*olim* Granstrem 617]	15.8.1426	Crete	Copied by priest Bartholomaios Rhosos (PLP 24571) for the diakonos Moyses (PLP 19946), oikonomos of the Sinai metochion of Chandax (Crete). Subscription f. 483^{v}. Original binding. Library of Congress website.	Aland l 914; Beneševič, Catalogus I 123–126 (nr. 140), 616–617; Dmitrievskij II 393–415 (nr. 61); Gardthausen, Catalogus 207; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1297); VG 51. - Galavaris, Ornamentation 459. - Husmann, Die datierten griechischen Sinai-Handschriften 158. - Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 577. - Rapp – Afentoulidou – Galadza – Nesseris – Rossetto – Schiffer, Byzantine Prayer Books 203. - Sarris, Classification of Finishing Tools, III, 25. - Taft – Parenti, Il grande ingresso 716. - Zorzi, Da Creta a Venezia 330.
Sin. gr. 1037 (Diktyon 59412)		13th c.	Syria / Palestine	Monastic Euchologion. Library of Congress website.	Beneševič, Catalogus I 123 (nr. 132); Gardthausen, Catalogus 219; Kamil, Catalogue 113 (nr. 1380). - Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 571. - Taft, A Note 257–259. - Taft – Parenti, Il grande ingresso 710.
Sin. gr. 970 (Diktyon 59345)		17th c.	---	National Library of Israel website.	Gardthausen, Catalogus 207; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1299).
Sin. gr. 971 (Diktyon 59346)		13th c.	---	National Library of Israel website.	Dmitrievskij II 249–262 (nr. 28); Gardthausen, Catalogus 208; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1300). - Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 571. - Rapp – Afentoulidou – Galadza – Nesseris – Rossetto – Schiffer, Byzantine Prayer Books 206.
Sin. gr. 972 (Diktyon 59347)		14th c.	---	National Library of Israel website.	Aland l 915; Dmitrievskij II 574–578 (nr. 72); Gardthausen, Catalogus 208; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1301). - Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 575.

Shelfmark(s)	Related fragments in other libraries	Date	Place of copying	Notes	Catalogues and Selected Bibliography
Sin. gr. 973 (Diktyon 59348)	+ Petropol. gr. 418 [*olim* Granstrem 317] (Diktyon 57490)	1152/ 1153	Syria / Palestine	Copied by priest Auxentios. Subscription f. 162^{v}. Library of Congress website.	Aland I 916; Beneševič, Catalogus I 626; Dmitrievskij II 83–127 (nr. 8); Gardthausen, Catalogus 208–209; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1302); Specimina Sinaitica 48–49 (nr. 27); VG 47. - Géhin – Frøyshov, Nouvelles découvertes 176–177, n. 36 and 40. - Husmann, Die datierten griechischen Sinai-Handschriften 151. - Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 568. - Rapp – Afentoulidou – Galadza – Nesseris – Rossetto – Schiffer, Byzantine Prayer Books 208. - Taft – Parenti, Il grande ingresso 707. - Velkovska – Parenti 472.
Sin. gr. 974 (Diktyon 59349)		16th c. (date 19.9.1510 on f. 104^{r})	Egypt	Copied by several hands. Ff. 5^{r}–104^{r} by Stephanos Kalokyres, notary. Subscription f. 104^{r} ("ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ Καμάρι", in the year 1510). F. 118^{v}: rite for the blessing of the water of the Nile. F. 153^{v}: office of enthroning the Patriarch of Alexandria. National Library of Israel website.	Dmitrievskij II 668–705 (nr. 92); Gardthausen, Catalogus 209–210; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1303), VG 403. - Evangelidis, Οἱ πατριάρχαι 253.
Sin. gr. 975 (Diktyon 59350)		16th c.	---	National Library of Israel website.	Dmitrievskij II 856–858 (nr. 125); Gardthausen, Catalogus 210; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1304).
Sin. gr. 977 (Diktyon 59352)		16th c.	Egypt	Written in two columns, Greek and Arabic. Belonging in 1516 to Arsenios the Syrian, a hieromonachos living at Saint Catherine's (note on f. 477^{v}). National Library of Israel website.	Aland I 917; Dmitrievskij II 707–719 (nr. 94); Gardthausen, Catalogus 211–212; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1306). - Radle, The Byzantine Marriage Tradition in Calabria 227 n. 19, 232 n. 35, 233–234, 239 ff.
Sin. gr. 978 (Diktyon 59353)		16th c.	---	Copied by several hands. National Library of Israel website.	Dmitrievskij II 858–866 (nr. 126); Gardthausen, Catalogus 212; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1307).
Sin. gr. 979 (Diktyon 59354)		16th c.	---	National Library of Israel website.	Dmitrievskij II 866–868 (nr. 127); Gardthausen, Catalogus 212; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1308).

Shelfmark(s)	Related fragments in other libraries	Date	Place of copying	Notes	Catalogues and Selected Bibliography
Sin. gr. 980 (Diktyon 59355)		15th – 16th c. (date 7.4.1475 on f. 113v)	Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery	Composite, partially copied by Dionysios Rhakendytes Raidos (*sic*) Peloponnesios from the city of Corinth at Saint Catherine's (cryptogram with his name on f. 338v). The scribe adds the date 7.4.1475 (subscription f. 113v). Also by this scribe: - Sin. gr. 1106 (location unknown, 1478) - Sin. gr. 712 (Damietta, 19.3.1482) - Hierosol. Panaghiou Taphou 467 ("ἐν τῇ πόλει Γαζέων", 1487 = Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτική βιβλιοθήκη I, 433–434). Library of Congress website.	Dmitrievskij II 422–435 (nr. 60); Gardthausen, Catalogus 212–213; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1309), VG 109. - Husmann, Die datierten griechischen Sinai-Handschriften 158. - Sarris, Classification of Finishing Tools, I, 299–316.
Sin. gr. 981 (Diktyon 59356)		14th and 16th c.	---	Composite, several different hands. National Library of Israel website.	Aland l 918; Dmitrievskij II 333–344 (nr. 39); Gardthausen, Catalogus 213; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1310). - Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 581.
Sin. gr. 982 (Diktyon 59357)		12th – 13th c.	Syria / Palestine	Composite, partially copied by hieromonachos Makarios (see scribal invocation on f. 80v), using a Southern-Italian Euchologion (Velkovska – Parenti 472). National Library of Israel website.	Aland l 919; Dmitrievskij II 232–245 (nr. 25); Gardthausen, Catalogus 213; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1311). - Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 570. - Rapp – Afentoulidou – Galadza – Nesseris – Rossetto – Schiffer, Byzantine Prayer Books 206. - Taft – Parenti, Il grande ingresso 710. - Velkovska – Parenti 472.
Sin. gr. 983 (Diktyon 59358)		13th c.	---	National Library of Israel website.	Dmitrievskij II 327–328; Gardthausen, Catalogus 213; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1312). - Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 276, 571.

Shelfmark(s)	Related fragments in other libraries	Date	Place of copying	Notes	Catalogues and Selected Bibliography
Sin. gr. 984 (Diktyon 59359)		15th c.	---	Belonged to hieromonachos Ananias Libisianos in the year 1687 (see back flyleaf). It was donated by the same to the Forty Martyrs of the Sinai mountain or the Monastery of the Holy Forty. This corresponds to Saint Catherine's Monastery's metochion in the Wādī l-Arbacīn.[224] National Library of Israel website.	Dmitrievskij II 594–602 (nr. 74); Gardthausen, Catalogus 213; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1313).
Sin. gr. 985 (Diktyon 59360)		16th c.	---	National Library of Israel website.	Dmitrievskij II 868–887 (nr. 128); Gardthausen, Catalogus 214; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1314). - Taft – Parenti, Il grande ingresso 721.
Sin. gr. 986 (Diktyon 59361)		15th c.	Crete? Athos?	Copied by priest Georgios Galanos (PLP 3489; Detorakis, Ἄγνωστοι Κρῆτες κωδικογράφοι 198–199). Subscription on f. 50v. Also copied by this scribe (in Crete), the Euchologion Heraklion IMK 667 (Diktyon 72935), dated 1495 (subscription on f. 310r).[225] National Library of Israel website.	Aland l 920; Dmitrievskij II 602–616 (nr. 75); Gardthausen, Catalogus 214; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1315); VG 72. - Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 578. - Taft – Parenti, Il grande ingresso 718.
Sin. gr. 988 (Diktyon 59363)		15th c.	---	National Library of Israel website.	Dmitrievskij II 578–594 (nr. 73); Gardthausen, Catalogus 214; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1317).

[224] My thanks to Jannis Grossmann (Vienna) for helping me identifying the Monastery of the Holy Forty with Saint Catherine's metochion at Wādī l-Arbacīn. The site is located in Wadi El-Leja, south-west of Saint Catherine's Monastery. The site's dedication to the Forty Martyrs of Sinai is a tradition recorded as late as the 15th century. See I. Finkelstein – A. Ovadiah, Byzantine Monastic Remains in the Southern Sinai. *DOP* 39 (1985) 39–79 and U. Dahari, Monastic Settlements in South Sinai in the Byzantine Period. The Archaeological Remains. Jerusalem 2000, 66. On the martyrdom and its narration see A. S. Lewis, The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert and the Story of Eulogios from a Palestinian Syriac and Arabic Palimpsest. Cambridge 1912.

[225] I thank my colleague Ilias Nesseris for bringing this Cretan manuscript to my attention. The manuscript is catalogued in Th. E. Detorakis, Περιγραφικός κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν τῆς πόλεως Ἡρακλείου Κρήτης. *EEBS* 43 (1977–1978) 192–197.

Shelfmark(s)	Related fragments in other libraries	Date	Place of copying	Notes	Catalogues and Selected Bibliography
Sin. gr. 989 (Diktyon 59364)		16th c., before 1554		Copied by priest Thomas Patrologos (J. Bick, Die Schreiber der Wiener Griechischen Handschriften. Vienna – Prague – Leipzig 1920, 96 nr. 118). Subscription on f. τγ΄v. Later belonged to the hieromonachos and spiritual father Ioannikios, who donated it to the katholikon of the Sinai Monastery. He died on Sunday 24.9.1554, feast of Saint Thekla (note on f. τε'). Contains also the Synodikon of the Orthodox Church used in Cyprus ca. 1170–1180, pointing to connections – not necessarily direct – with Cyprus. Also by this scribe: - Sin. gr. 601 (1530) - Sin. gr. 945 (Crete, 1533) - Sin. gr. 854 (not dated) - Vind. Suppl. gr. 116 (Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery (?), not dated) National Library of Israel website.	Constantinides – Browning, Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus 34; Dmitrievskij II 887–897 (nr. 129); Gardthausen, Catalogus 215; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1318); VG 150.
Sin. gr. 990 (Diktyon 59365)		14th c.	---	National Library of Israel website.	Dmitrievskij II 326–327 (nr. 36); Gardthausen, Catalogus 215; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1319).
Sin. gr. 991 (Diktyon 59366)		14th c.	Egypt (Alexandria?)	Greek-Arabic Euchologion. The Patriarch Nicholas commemorated on f. 18v within the office of unction might be Nicholas III Patriarch of Alexandria (1389–1398). (Dmitrievskij II 328 n. 1). Mentions of Apostle Mark and Saint George also suggest an Alexandrian origin (Dmitrievskij II 331). National Library of Israel website.	Dmitrievskij II 328–333 (nr. 38); Gardthausen, Catalogus 215; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1320). - Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 576.

Shelfmark(s)	Related fragments in other libraries	Date	Place of copying	Notes	Catalogues and Selected Bibliography
Sin. gr. 992 (Diktyon 59367)		17th c.	---	At Saint Catherine's since 1671: monocondyle of Archbishop Ioannikios (1671–1702) on verso of first unnumbered flyleaf. National Library of Israel website.	Gardthausen, Catalogus 215; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1321).
Sin. gr. 993 (Diktyon 59368)		16th c.	---	National Library of Israel website.	Dmitrievskij II 898–902 (nr. 130); Gardthausen, Catalogus 215; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1322).
Sin. gr. 994 (Diktyon 59369)		14th c.	---	National Library of Israel website.	Dmitrievskij II 323–326 (nr. 35); Gardthausen, Catalogus 216; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1323).
Sin. gr. 995 (Diktyon 59370)		1481	---	Library of Congress website.	Dmitrievskij II 445–449 (nr. 62); Gardthausen, Catalogus 216; Kamil, Catalogue 112 (nr. 1324). - Husmann, Die datierten griechischen Sinai-Handschriften 158.
Sin. gr. 996 (Diktyon 59371)		12.3.1566	---	Composite, several hands. Partially copied by Charitos Euchariziotes. Subscription f. 89r. Library of Congress website.	Dmitrievskij II 794–797 (nr. 111); Gardthausen, Catalogus 216; Kamil, Catalogue 112 (nr. 1325). - Husmann, Die datierten griechischen Sinai-Handschriften 163.
Sin. gr. 1006 (Diktyon 59381)		15th – 16th c.	Syria / Palestine	National Library of Israel website	Dmitrievskij II 616–624 (nr. 76); Gardthausen, Catalogus 218; Kamil, Catalogue 112 (nr. 1335).
Sin. gr. 1036 (Diktyon 59411)		12th – 13th c.	Egypt?	Shows Alexandrian influence. Library of Congress website.	Dmitrievskij II 146–152 (nr. 12); Gardthausen, Catalogus 219; Kamil, Catalogue 113 (nr. 1379). - Bianchi, Scrittura e marginalia 23, 26. - Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 276, 570. - Radle, The Byzantine Marriage Tradition in Calabria 239, 243. - Taft – Parenti, Il grande ingresso 710.
Sin. gr. 2025 (Diktyon 60400)		4.6.1590	---	Copied by the Papas Peros, son of Silimpardes. Subscription f. 289v. Library of Congress website.	Beneševič, Catalogus III.1 301; Kamil, Catalogue 112 (nr. 1347). - Husmann, Die datierten griechischen Sinai-Handschriften 164.
Sin. gr. 2027 (Diktyon 60402)		16th c.	---	Library of Congress website.	Beneševič, Catalogus III.1 301; Kamil, Catalogue 112 (nr. 1348).

Shelfmark(s)	Related fragments in other libraries	Date	Place of copying	Notes	Catalogues and Selected Bibliography
Sin. gr. 2045 (Diktyon 60420)		8.2.1572	---	Copied by monk Neophytos. Subscription f. 34^{v}. Monocondyle of Archbishop Anastasios V (1583–1592) on f. 2^{v}. Library of Congress website.	Beneševič, Catalogus III.1 307; Kamil, Catalogue 112 (nr. 1352). - Husmann, Die datierten griechischen Sinai-Handschriften 164. - Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 582. - Taft – Parenti, Il grande ingresso 720.
Sin. gr. 2067 (Diktyon 60442)		15th c.	---	Library of Congress website.	Beneševič, Catalogus III.1 313–314; Kamil, Catalogue 112 (nr. 1354).
Sin. gr. NF MG 22 (Diktyon 61060) *+ Sin. gr. NF MG 67* (Diktyon 61105)		9th – 10th c.	Egypt	---	Greek New Finds 145, pl. 59 (Sin. gr. NF MG 22); 153, pl. 83 (Sin. gr. NF MG 67). - Géhin – Frøyshov, Nouvelles découvertes 177. - Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 563. - Radle, Sinai Greek NE / МГ 22. - Radle, The Nuptial Rites 310–315. - Taft – Parenti, Il grande ingresso 703.
Sin. gr. NF MG 53 (Diktyon 61091)		8th – 9th c.	Palestine		Greek New Finds 150, pl. 75. - Géhin – Frøyshov, Nouvelles découvertes 177. - Kanavas, L'eucologio MG 53. - Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 563. - Velkovska – Parenti 473.
Sin. gr. NF M 5 (Diktyon 60832)		14th c.	---	Palimpsest.	Greek New Finds 162.
Sin. gr. NF M 9 (Diktyon 60836)		10th c.	---	Palimpsest.	Greek New Finds 162.
Sin. gr. NF M 10 (Diktyon 60837)		11th – 12th c.	Syria / Palestine	---	Greek New Finds 162. - Kanavas, L'eucologio M 10. - Radle, The Liturgical Ties 622.
Sin. gr. NF M 42 (Diktyon 60869)		12th c.	---	---	Greek New Finds 165.
Sin. gr. NF M 57 (Diktyon 60884)		12.1061 or 12.1080	---	Date corrected by the scribe, deacon Theodosios.	Greek New Finds 168, pl. 127.
Sin. gr. NF M 61 (Diktyon 60888)		11th c.	Syria / Palestine	---	Greek New Finds 168.

Shelfmark(s)	Related fragments in other libraries	Date	Place of copying	Notes	Catalogues and Selected Bibliography
Sin. gr. NF M 62 (Diktyon 60889)		11th – 12th c.	---	---	Greek New Finds 168.
Sin. gr. NF M 86 (Diktyon 60913)		12th c.	---	---	Greek New Finds 172.
Sin. gr. NF X 2 (Diktyon 61192)		16th c.	---	---	Greek New Finds 191, pl. 154.
Sin. gr. NF X 34 (Diktyon 61224)		24.5.1299	---	Copied by priest Georgios, son of Theophanes.	Aland l 2243; Greek New Finds 196, pl. 165.
Sin. gr. NF X 54 (Diktyon 61244)		15th c.	---	---	Greek New Finds 199, pl. 170.
Sin. gr. NF X 64 (Diktyon 61254)		14th c.	---	---	Greek New Finds 201.
Sin. gr. NF X 83 (Diktyon 61273)		15th c.	---	---	Greek New Finds 203.
Sin. gr. NF X 90 (Diktyon 61280)		15th – 16th c.	---	Colophon in dodecasyllables by monk Simeon, hamartolos.	Greek New Finds 204, pl. 175. - Géhin – Frøyshov, Nouvelles découvertes 10.
Sin. gr. NF X 207 (Diktyon 61397)		12th – 13th c.	---	---	Greek New Finds 220.
Sin. gr. NF X 248 (Diktyon 61438)		14th – 15th c.	---	---	Greek New Finds 225.
Sin. gr. NF X 270 (Diktyon 61460)		14th – 15th c.	---	---	Greek New Finds 228.
Sin. gr. NF X 310 (Diktyon 61500)		15th – 16th c.	---	---	Greek New Finds 233.

SIN. GR. 960 + SIN. GR. NF M 11 [A] + SIN. GR. NF M 22 [B] + SIN. GR. NF M 79 [C]

Up to this point, manuscript Sin. gr. 960 has been known in the literature as an independent Euchologion. However, on the occasion of a research trip to Saint Catherine's Monastery (December 2018), I was able to locate a number of quires among the New Finds which had originally belonged to it. They carry the shelfmarks Sin. gr. NF M 11, Sin. gr. NF M 22, and Sin. gr. NF M 79. For greater clarity, the three *membra disiecta* from the New Finds will be referred to below as Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A], Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B], Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C]. Accordingly, their folia will be indicated to as follows: the letter A before a folio number will indicate a folio from Sin. gr. NF M 11 (e.g. f. A1), the letter B a folio from Sin. gr. NF M 22 (e.g. f. B1), the letter C a folio from Sin. gr. NF M 79 (e.g. f. C1).

Catalogues

- Sin. gr. 960 (Diktyon 59335): Aland l 910; Dmitrievskij II 192–202 (nr. 22); Gardthausen, Catalogus 205; Kamil, Catalogue 110 (nr. 1289).
- Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] (Diktyon 60838): Aland l 2231; Greek New Finds 162.
- Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] (Diktyon 60849): Greek New Finds 163.
- Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C] (Diktyon 60906): Aland l 2224; Greek New Finds 170.

In addition to the above catalogues, Sin. gr. 960 was described by Antonin Kapustin in his unpublished catalogue of 1870 (see **Figure 21** below), held in the monastery's archive. He characterizes the codex as lacking both a beginning and an end (inc.: τὴν ἀγαθότητα,[226] des.: ἐλθὼν ἐκεῖνος), and as written in a single column of 19–20 lines per page in a small and rounded script with light brown ink.[227]

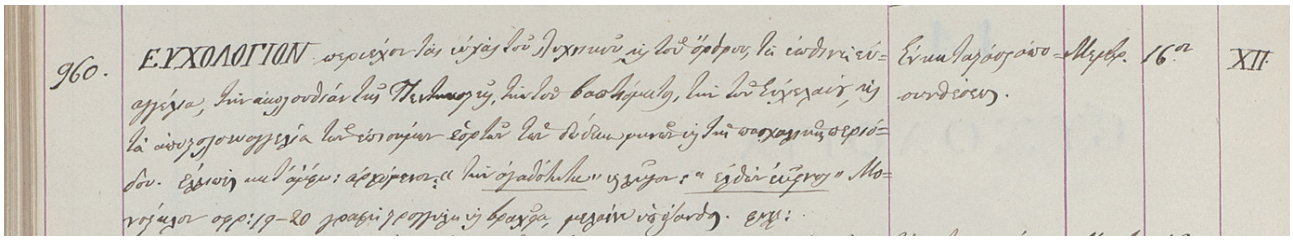

960. ΕΥΧΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ

Figure 21 – Antonin Kapustin's description of Sin. gr. 960 in his 1870 unpublished catalogue
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Bibliography

- Sin. gr. 960: Antoniades, Ακολουθίαι του εσπερινού; Arranz, Matines byzantines II 78; Arranz, Infermi 301; Baldanza, Matrimonio 317; Parenti, La preghiera della cattedra 160, 165; Rapp, Brother-Making 271, 288; Rossetto, Building the Euchologion 71; Welte, Griechische Palimpseste 50.

- Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A]: Rossetto, Building the Euchologion 71; Welte, Griechische Palimpseste 52.
- Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B]: Rossetto, Building the Euchologion 71.
- Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C]: Rossetto, Building the Euchologion 71.

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226 This corresponds to the *incipit* of the present folio 9^{r}.

227 The ink is in fact very dark, almost black.

Specimina: The digitized microfilm of Sin. gr. 960 is available online at the website of the Library of Congress.[228] High-quality photographs of all folia are additionally available at https://sinai.library.ucla.edu. I am grateful to Father Justin Sinaites for providing photographs of Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A], Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B], and Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C] (**Figures 22, 23, 24**).[229] *Specimina* of selected folia from these manuscripts are reproduced in this chapter.

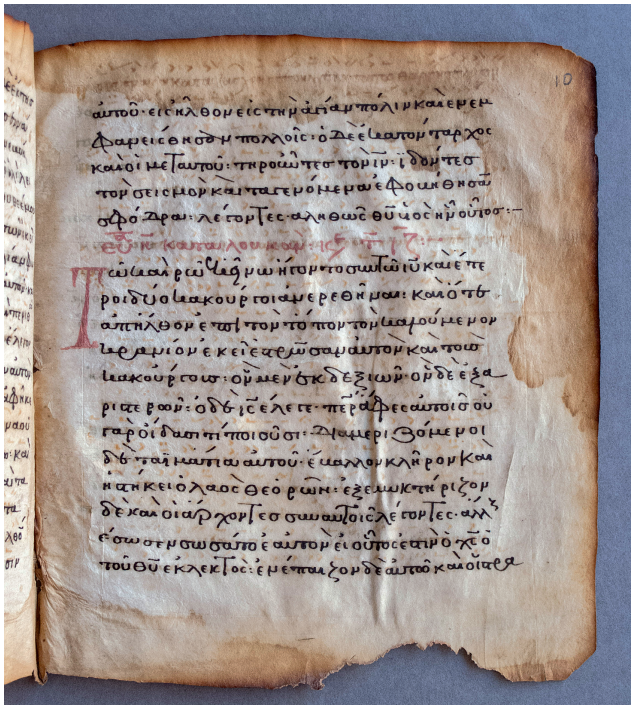


Figure 22 – f. A10^{r} (from Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A])
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

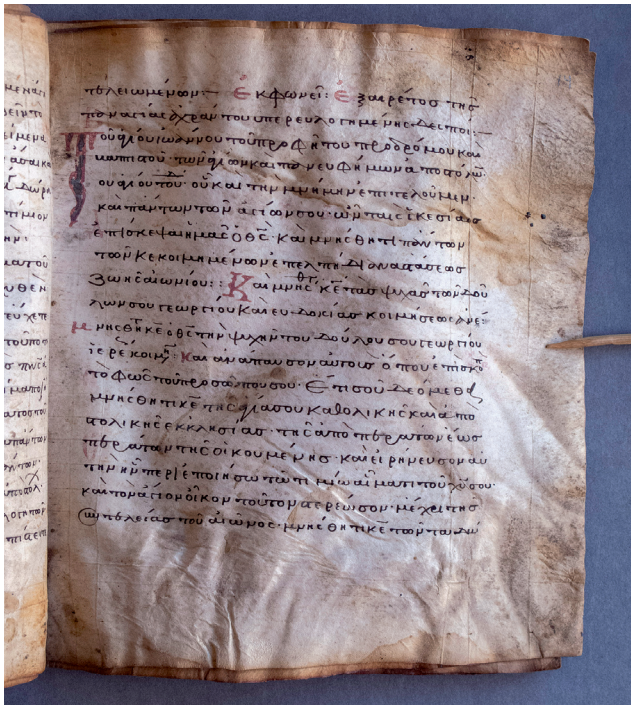


Figure 23 – f. B14^{r} (from Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B])
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

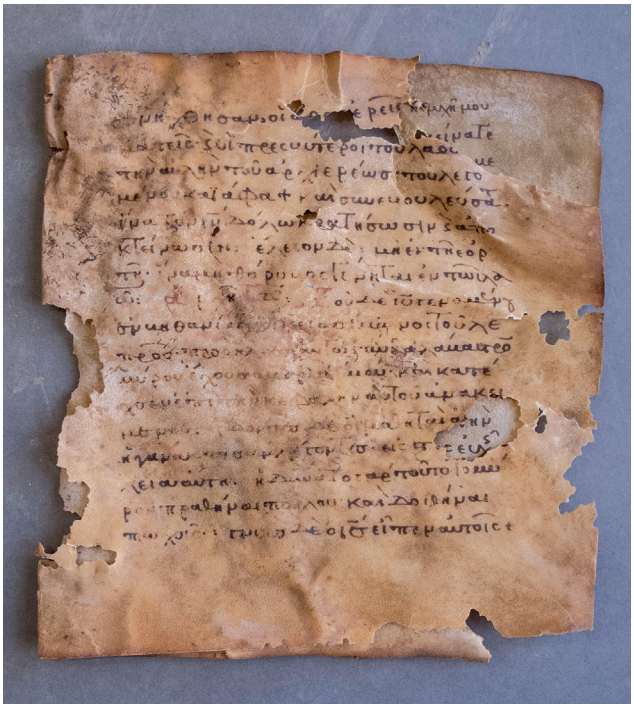


Figure 24 – f. C1^{r} (from Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C]) (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

[228] https://www.loc.gov/item/00271074840-ms/ (19.09.2022).
[229] In the Greek New Finds there are no plates relating to these three manuscripts.

SCRIPTIO SUPERIOR: EUCHOLOGION

ff. 1^{r}–154^{v}, ff. A1^{r}–A12^{v}, ff. B1^{r}–B35^{v}, ff. C1^{r}–C2^{v};[230] Cyprus or Syria/Palestine, second half of the 12th century: Euchologion.

Codicology

Sin. gr. 960 is made up of 155 parchment folia, Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] of 12, and Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] of 35; Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C] is a bifolio. Sin. gr. 960 is provided with a binding, which is broken, with several detached quires in the first third; the boards are missing, but a red fabric-cover protects the codex at the front, the back, and on the spine (**Figures 25 and 26**). Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A], Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B], and Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C] consist of loose quires or folia which were originally located at the beginning and the end of Sin. gr. 960. Although the recovery of Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A], Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B], and Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C] helps to recreate the original form of the Euchologion, the codex is still not complete and various folia and quires are missing.[231]

The parchment is of low quality: its colour is yellowish, and the difference between the flesh and hair sides is noticeable; follicles are clearly visible, and natural holes and imperfections in the parchment are recognizable on ff. 2, 5, 18, 49, 52, 58, 59, 89, 107, 117, 126, 142, 147, B6, B24, B33, C2. Moreover, the folia are visibly crinkled throughout. Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] are largely palimpsest, with the exception of ff. 1^{r}–8^{v}, 91^{r}–106^{v}, 111^{r}–118^{v}, 125^{r}–132^{v}, 143^{r}–144^{v}, 147^{rv}, B1^{r}–B9^{v}, B18^{r}–B35^{v}. The bifolio that constitutes Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C] is not palimpsest.

The Euchologion measures 155×145×60 mm, and the typical dimensions of a folio are 155×145 mm (f. 40, f. B18), making it almost square in shape. The writing is arranged in a single column with an average of 19 lines per folio.[232] The *Schriftspiegel* normally measures 115×95/105 mm (f. 13^{r}, f. A1^{r}, f. B10^{r}). The distance between the lines is 6 mm; letters are 2 mm high. The scribe employed folia (palimpsest or not) which were already ruled, and therefore there was no need to trace new ones. I will describe the shape of the prickings and the type of ruling in the section dealing with the *scriptiones inferiores* below.

Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A], Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B], and Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C] were foliated by Father Justin Sinaites in the upper outer corner of each *recto* in December 2018, while all 155 folia of Sin. gr. 960 already carried modern numbering in pencil on the lower outer corner of each *recto*.[233] This earlier sequence of numbering features an error: the number 51 was assigned to two consecutive folia (written as 51 and 51a). In the upper margin of folio 25, the manuscript's title in Greek is visible (Εὐχολόγιον) in pencil. A previous foliation, also in pencil, is extant at the beginning of the codex, now crossed through. A comparison of the two schemes of foliation appears in the table below.

Sin. gr. 960	
Old foliation (crossed out)	Current foliation
4	1
5	2
6	3
7	4
8	5
9	6
10	7
11	8

[230] The reconstructed original folio order is displayed below in the description of the quire structure**.**

[231] For a detailed reconstruction of the content and an indication of missing folia see below.

[232] Even so, it is not uncommon to find folia with 15 or 17 lines.

[233] The foliation was likely introduced after 1888. This is when Alekseij Dmitrievskij visited the monastery in order to study the Sinai Euchologia. His descriptions contain several mistakes in the folia numbering, indicating that the manuscripts were probably not yet foliated (see, for instance, the descriptions of Sinai Euchologia in Dmitrievskij II).

Sin. gr. 960	
- 40 (upper central margin) - 60 (upper inner margin, not crossed out)	9
2	10
12	11
13	12
14	13
15	14
3	15
-	16
-	17
-	18
-	19
-	20
-	21
-	22
-	23
-	24
-	25
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-	31
-	32
-	33
-	34
-	35
-	36
-	37
-	38
-	39
-	40
-	41
-	42
-	43
-	44
-	45
-	46
-	47
-	48
-	49
-	50
51A	51
51B	51a
-	52
Everything regular afterwards	

The older foliation does not reflect the order encountered by Dmitrievskij and then followed in his own description (and before him most likely by Kapustin as well): it appears that he found the first 12 folia of the codex in an order that was different from today (see table below). It is worth noting that Kapustin does not indicate the total number of folia in Sin. gr. 960,[234] while Dmitrievskij erroneously states at the very beginning of his description that it has 153.[235] On this basis, it would seem that neither Kapustin nor Dmitrievskij had seen Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A], Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B], or Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C]. This would confirm that by 1870 (the date of Kapustin's catalogue) Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] + Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C] were already no longer part of a single codex.[236]

Kapustin / Dmitrievskij II	**Old foliation**	**Current foliation**
1 (inc.: τὴν ἀγαθότητα)	40	9
2	2	10
3 (fragments of evening prayers)	Unidentified	Unidentified
4	4	1
5	5	2
6	6	3
7	7	4
8	8	5
9	9	6
10	10	7
11	11	8
12	12	11

The folia of Sin. gr. 960 are arranged in 21 quires: these comprise 12 quaterniones, one ternio, one binio, and six irregular quires; Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] is made up of two loose terniones; Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] consists of five loose quires: three quaterniones, one ternio, and one irregular quire; Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C] is a bifolio which originally belonged to Quire B4 of Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B]. There follows a breakdown of each manuscript's quire organisation, with a reconstruction of the original codex at the end.

Sin. gr. 960: Quires 1–3: 3×8 (24), Quire 4: 1×6+1 (31), Quires 5–7: 3×8 (54),[237] Quire 8: 1×6 (60), Quires 9–10: 2×8 (76), Quire 11: 1×6+1 (83), Quire 12: 1×6 (89), Quire 13: 1×8+1 (98), Quire 14: 1×8 (106), Quire 15: 1×4 (110), Quire 16: 1×8 (118), Quire 17: 1×4+1+1 (124), Quires 18–19: 2×8 (140), Quire 20: 1×4+1+1 (146), Singleton (147), Quire 21: 1×6+1 (154).

Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A]: Quires A1–A2: 2×6 (A12).

Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] + Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C]: Quire B1: 1×8+1 (B9), Quires B2–B3: 2×8 (B25), Quire B4: 1×6–2 (B26, C1, [missing bifolio], C2, B27), Quire B5: 1×8 (B35).

Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] + Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C]: Quire B1: 1×8+1 (B9), Quire B2: 1×8 (B17), [lacuna], Quire 1: 1×8 (8),[238] [lacuna], Quire B3: 1×8 (B25), Quires 2–3: 2×8 (24), Quire 4: 1×6+1 (31), Quires 5–7: 3×8 (54), Quire 8: 1×6 (60), Quires 9–10: 2×8 (76), Quire 11: 1×6+1 (83), Quire 12: 1×6 (89), Quire 13: 1×8+1 (98), Quire 14: 1×8 (106), Quire 15: 1×4 (110), Quire 16: 1×8 (118),

[234] See **Figure 21** above: the word φύλλα at the end of the last line precedes an empty space. Kapustin always provides the number of the folia in the case of other manuscripts (they are indicated in his descriptions of both Sin. gr. 962 and Sin. gr. 966, as is evident below).

[235] Dmitrievskij II 192.

[236] The loose quires were probably left in a room under the Chapel of Saint George on the monastery's northern wall in 1734, when complete codices were transferred to the Marthales Library.

[237] As already stated, 51 is assigned to two folia (as 51 and 51a).

[238] The positioning of this quire is merely hypothetical. See more on this below.

Quire 17: 1×4+1+1 (124), [lacuna], Quires 18–19: 2×8 (140), Quire 20: 1×4+1+1 (146), Singleton (147), Quire 21: 1×6+1 (154), [lacuna], Quires A1–A2: 2×6 (A12), Quire B4: 1×6–2 (B26, C1, [missing bifolio], C2, B27), Quire B5: 1×8 (B35), [lacuna].

Quire marks are not present: they have probably been trimmed away, but it is not possible to establish when this happened. Single folia 121+122 and 143+144 together form artificial bifolia.[239] The folia in the quires follow Gregory's rule, with a number of exceptions:

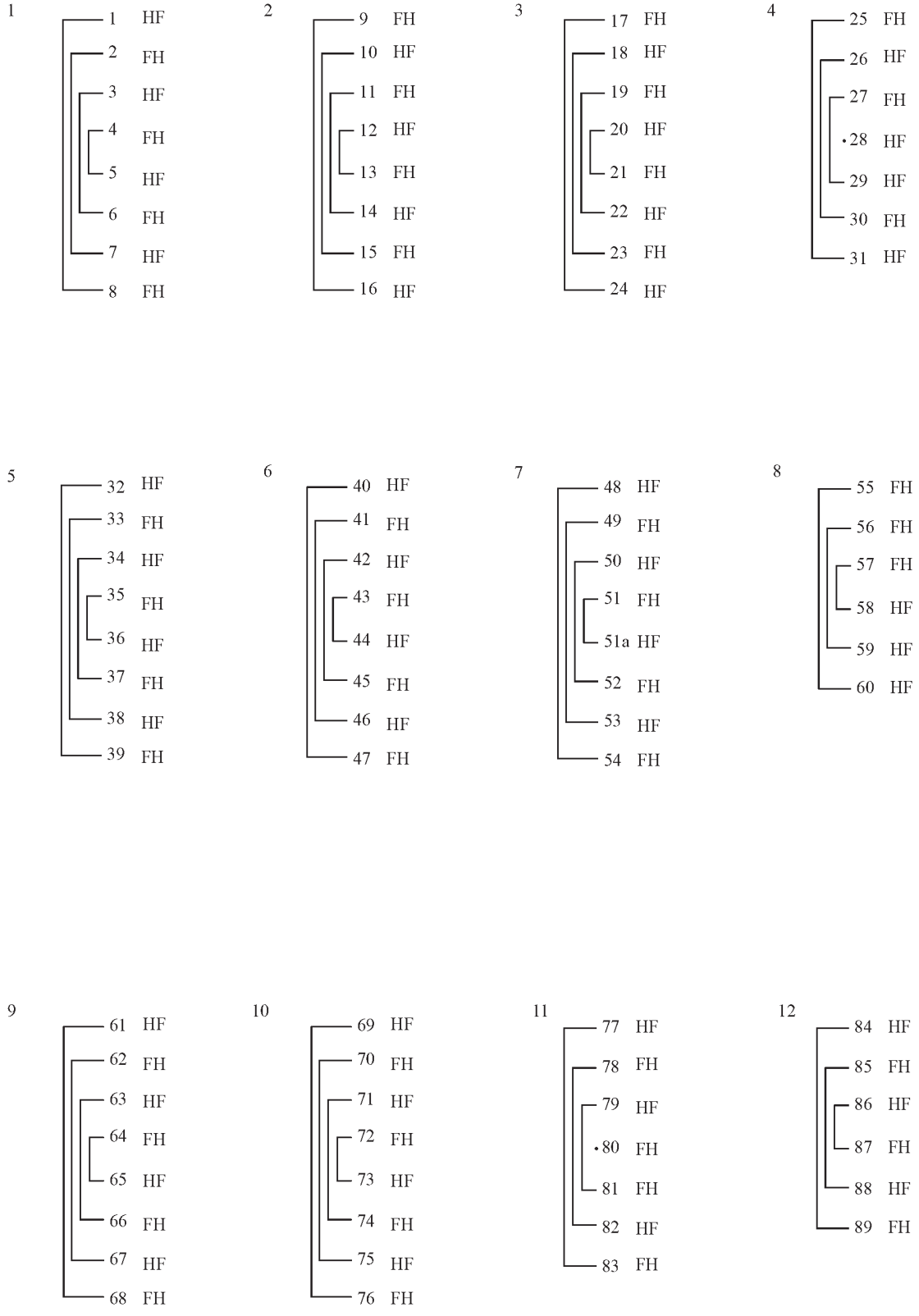
- between ff. 8 and 9 (content not consecutive);
- between ff. 28 and 29 (f. 28 is a single folio in the middle of Quire 4. No text missing);
- between ff. 31 and 32 (namely between the end of Quire 4 and the beginning of Quire 5. No text missing);
- between ff. 54 and 55 (namely between the end of Quire 7 and the beginning of Quire 8. No text missing);
- for the entire Quire 8 (f. 55 to f. 60) Gregory's rule is not followed. This is the last quire of section III;
- between ff. 60 and 61 (content not consecutive);
- between ff. 80 and 81 (f. 80 is a single folio in the middle of Quire 11. No text missing);
- between ff. 90 and 91 (f. 90 is a single folio at the end of Quire 12);
- between ff. 106 and 107 (namely between the end of Quire 14 and the beginning of Quire 15. No text missing);
- for the entire Quire 17 (f. 119 to f. 124) Gregory's rule is not followed. This is the last quire of section IV;
- between ff. 124 and 125 (content not consecutive);
- the first and the last two folia of Quire 19—namely ff. 133, 134, 139, 140—do not follow Gregory's rule. No text missing;
- for the entire Quires 20 and 21 (f. 141 to f. 154) Gregory's rule is not followed;
- between ff. A2–A3 and ff. A4–A5 (no text missing);
- for the entire Quire A2;
- between ff. B6 and B7 (f. B6 is a single folio in the middle of Quire B1. No text missing).



Figure 25 – Binding: spine protected with red fabric cover
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

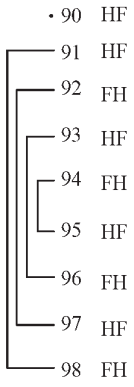
[239] Agati, Manuscript Book 145.

Quire structure of Sin. gr. 960[240]

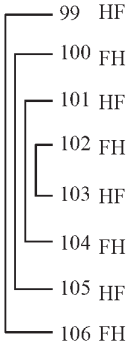


[240] The dots indicate single folia.

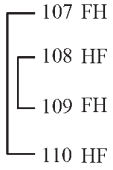
13



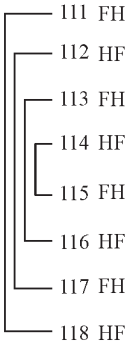
14



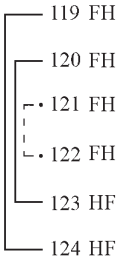
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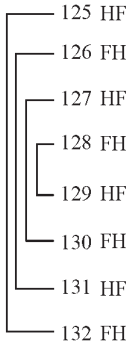
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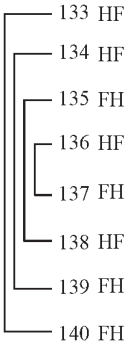
17



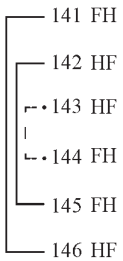
18



19

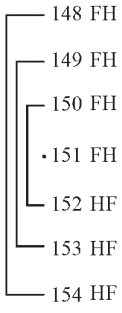


20

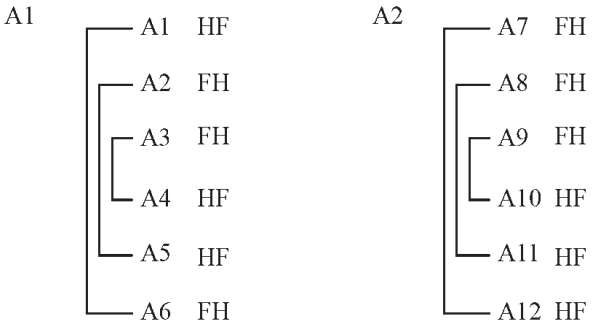


147 HF (Singleton)

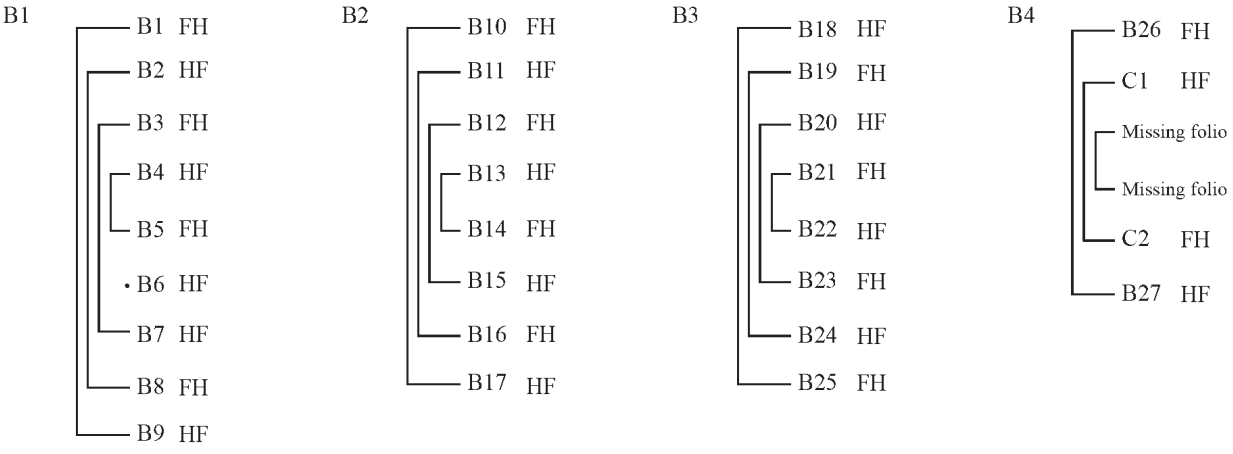
21

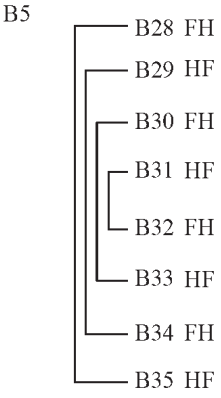


Quire structure of Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A]



Quire structure of Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B][241] + Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C]





[241] The dots indicate single folia.

As far as the overall state of preservation of the codex is concerned, folia 119 to 124—which form Quire 17—are damaged in the upper inner corner (**Figure 27**), with a loss of text corresponding to the first half of the first seven lines on ff. 119 and 120. The same kind of damage also appears on ff. A1 to A6, but with only a minor loss of text: on f. A1 the first letters of the first six lines, and on f. A2 the first letters of the first two lines. Moreover, on f. B35 there are four small holes, probably caused by a four-pronged object leaning on the manuscript and burning the parchment.

A number of repairs are visible. We find parchment repairs, such as those in the inner margin and gutter of f. 86^{r}, and in the outer margin of f. A2^{r} and f. A4^{v}, and tears in folia 98, 122, and 143 have been repaired with twine. The manuscript has been no more than moderately used, as signs of wear and tear are not abundant. They are:

- Discoloration in the margins due to handling, but also damage from liquid, probably water (see for instance ff. 8^{v}, 17^{r}, 21^{rv}, 22^{r}, 33^{r}, 151^{r}, 152^{r}, A5^{r}, A12^{r}, B13^{v}, B16^{r}, B17^{v}).

- Wax drops: ff. 2^{r}, 4^{r}, 5^{v}, 6^{r}, 12^{v}, 18^{v}, 32^{v}, 39^{r}, 45^{r}, 46^{r}, 46^{v}, 50^{v}, 51a^{r}, 51a^{v}, 52^{r}, 60^{v}, 64^{r}, 71^{v}, 96^{r}, 98^{r}, 99^{v}, 106^{r}, 112^{r}, 112^{v}, 113^{r}, 114^{v}, 119^{r}, B18^{v}, B23^{r}.

- Reading marks: ff. 19 (εὐχαὶ τῆς ἁγίας Πεντεκοστῆς), 24 (εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ σαραντῆσαι γυναῖκα and εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι κατηχούμενον), 35 (εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἀπολοῦσαι νεοφώτιστον and εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ κεῖραι τρίχας παιδίου), 71 (November 8th: ἡ σύναξις τῶν ἀγγέλων), 77 (December 6th: τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἀρχιεπισκόπου Νικολάου ἐπισκόπου Μύρων τῆς Λυκίας), 109 (June 8th: τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στρατηλάτου).



Figure 26 – Binding: tail edge
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

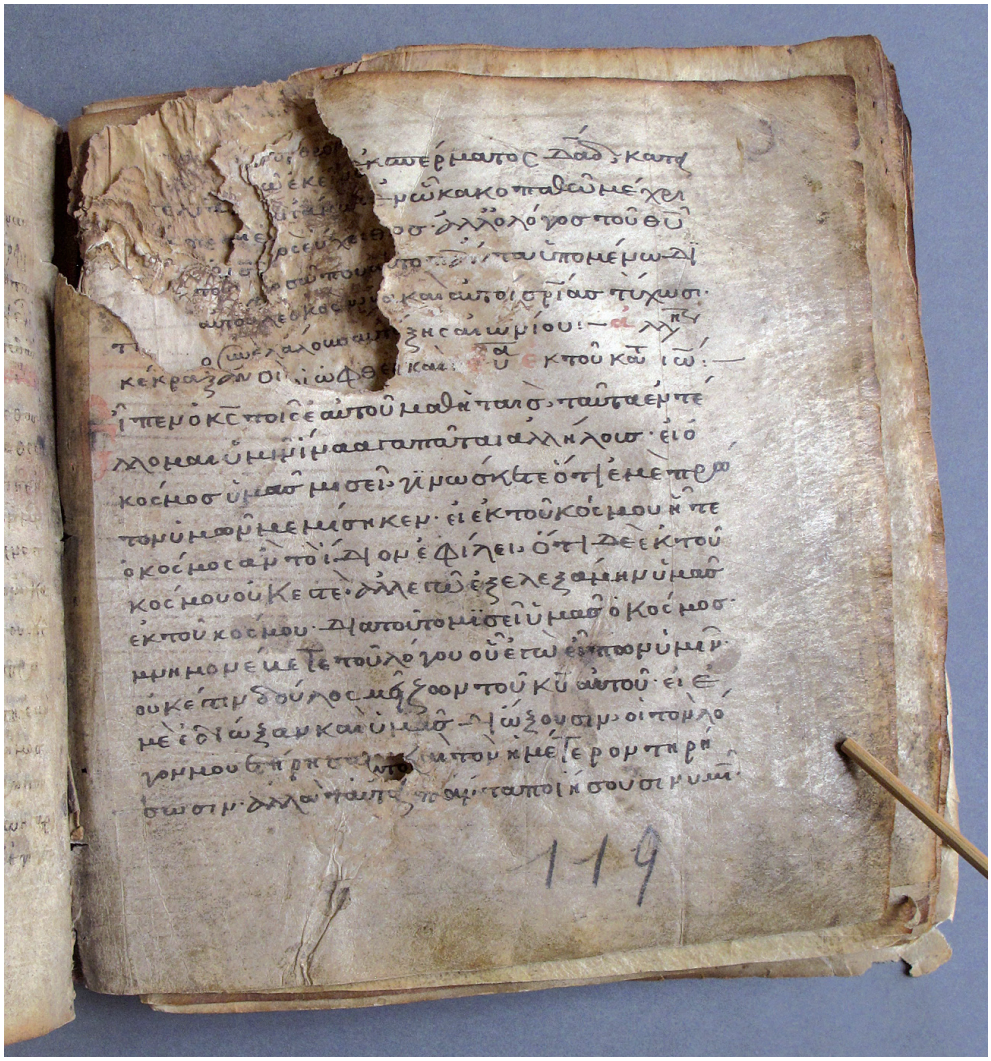


Figure 27 – f. 119r, damage in the upper inner corner
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Palaeography

The Euchologion is written in black ink by one hand in a round minuscule (**Figure 28**), which on some folia displays cursive features (**Figure 29**). The writing is upright and characterized by modular contrast. The writing's speed of execution changes frequently and the *mise en page* is irregular (the dimensions of the *Schiftspiegel* and the number of lines per folio vary depending on the presence or absence of pre-existing ruled lines). All letters are traced in both minuscule and majuscule forms within the words. Majuscule γ and τ are characterized by their high form and the wavy shape of their horizontal stroke; majuscule β is typical of the *Fettaugen-Mode*; minuscule γ has the lower extremity oriented to the left; majuscule θ occasionally appears *à ombilic*[242] (i.e. with a dot, a cross, or a vertical stroke decorating the horizontal stroke of the letter); similarly, the central horizontal stroke of majuscule ε is at times decorated with a vertical stroke; ν also occurs in the "modern" form (as the Latin *v*); σ has a characteristic lunar shape.

[242] This categorisation can be found in P. Canart – L. Perria, Les écritures livresques des XI et XII siècles, in: Paleografia e codicologia greca. Atti del II Colloquio internazionale (Berlino–Wolfenbüttel, 17–20 ottobre 1983), ed. D. Harlfinger – G. Prato. Alessandria 1991, 73.

Additionally remarkable is the pseudo-ligature of majuscule ε with κ, λ, ι, μ, ν, π, ρ, υ: the central stroke of ε is prolonged to connect with the centre of the following letter;[243] the ligatures with εν (μεν and γεν) are at times *distendu.* The scribe employs as a distinctive majuscule for titles and initials the *epigraphische Auszeichnungsmajuskel*.[244]

The existing literature variously dates the hand that wrote Sin. gr. 960 (+ Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] + Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C]) to the 13th, 14th or, less usually, 12th century.[245] On the basis of palaeographical comparisons, significant similarities can be found with 12th century manuscripts: Par. gr. 891[246] (dated 1136 – Diktyon 50479), Par. gr. 85[247] (12th century – Diktyon 49647), Vat. gr. 645[248] (12th century – Diktyon 67276). According to Canart and Perria, the large majuscule baroque β first appears at the end of the 12th century,[249] and the "modern" form of ν (as the Latin *v*) becomes widespread from the second half of the 12th century.[250] Moreover, some of the ligatures—such as that of ο and ρ—bring us closer to the 13th century. Further comparisons can be established with the second hand of ms. Par. gr. 633[251] (ff. 113r–235r, dated 1186 – Diktyon 50214) and the hand E of ms. Par. gr. 1189[252] (Cyprus, early 13th c. – Diktyon 50794). My suggestion, therefore, is that Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] + Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C] was written in the second half of the 12th century.[253] The use of black ink, the *theta à ombilic*, the pseudo-ligatures with majuscule ε and the ligatures with εν point to a provincial environment for the copying, most likely Cypriot or Syro-Palestinian.

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243 On the epsilon style, see in particular P. Canart, Les écritures livresques chypriotes du milieu du XIe siècle au milieu du XIIIe et le style palestino-chypriote «epsilon». *Scrittura e Civiltà* 5 (1981) 17–76 (reprinted in P. Canart, Études de paléographie et de codicologie. Reproduites avec la collaboration de Maria Luisa Agati et Marco D'Agostino. Vatican City 2008, I, 677–747) and Canart – Perria, Écritures livresques 98. For a complete bibliographical review, see R. S. Stefec, Aspekte griechischer Buchproduktion in der Schwarzmeerregion. *Scripta* 7 (2014) 205, n. 3. This style was widespread in Cypriot and Palestinian *milieux* between the 12th and the 14th century, and is characterized by the ligature connecting the central stroke of majuscule epsilon with the base of the following letter (hence the denomination *style epsilon à pseudo-ligatures basses*). In the case of Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] + Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C], the central stroke of epsilon is connected to the centre of the next letter. The manuscripts written in this style identified so far contain scriptural or liturgical works, so Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] + Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C] fits this tradition well.

244 On this distinctive majuscule, see in particular H. Hunger, Epigraphische Auszeichnungsmajuskel. Beitrag zu einem bisher kaum beachteten Kapitel der griechischen Paläographie. *JÖB* 26 (1977) 193–210. See also H. Hunger, Minuskel und Auszeichnungsschriften im 10.–12. Jahrhundert, in: La paléographie grecque et byzantine. Actes du colloque international (Paris, 21–25 octobre 1974), ed. J. Glénisson. Paris 1977, 201–220; G. Cavallo, Scritture librarie e scritture epigrafiche fra l'Italia e Bisanzio nell'alto Medioevo, in: Inschrift und Material. Inschrift und Buchschrift. Fachtagung für mittelalterliche und neuzeitliche Epigraphik (Ingolstadt 1997), ed. W. Koch – Chr. Steininger. Munich 1999, 127–136, and more recently P. Orsini, Scritture epigrafiche e scritture librarie a Bisanzio (secoli VI–X), in: Scrittura epigrafica e scrittura libraria: fra Oriente e Occidente, ed. M. Maniaci – P. Orsini. Cassino 2015, 1–14 and A. Rhoby, Epigraphica-Palaeographica: Weitere Überlegungen zur epigraphischen Auszeichnungsmajuskel in byzantinischen Handschriften, vor allem auf Basis der Analyse von Texten in Versform. *Scripta* 11 (2018) 75–91.

245 12th century: Kapustin 1870 (unpublished catalogue); 12th–13th century: G. Baldanza, Il rito del matrimonio nell'Eucologio Barberini 336: Analisi della sua visione teologica. *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 93 (1979) 317, S. Parenti, La preghiera della cattedra nell'eucologio Barberini gr. 336. *BollGrott* 8 (3rd s.) (2011) 165; 13th century: Dmitrievskij II 192, Aland l 910; 13th–14th century: Gardthausen, Catalogus 205; Kamil, Catalogue 110 (nr. 1289).

246 K. Lake – S. Lake, Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200. V. Boston 1936, 188, pl. 319, 321. The manuscript is available online: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10723118m.image (19.09.2022).

247 Canart, Écritures livresques chypriotes 64. The manuscript is available online: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10722049k (19.09.2022).

248 Canart – Perria, Écritures livresques 91, pl. 5a; G. Cavallo, Scritture informali, cambio grafico e pratiche librarie a Bisanzio tra i secoli XI e XII, in: I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito. Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia Greca (Cremona, 4–10 ottobre 1998), ed. G. Prato. Florence 2000, 233.

249 Canart – Perria, Écritures livresques 72.

250 Canart – Perria, Écritures livresques 73.

251 The manuscript is available online: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10724176j (19.09.2022).

252 The manuscript is available online: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105072201 (19.09.2022).

253 I thank Ernst Gamillscheg and Filippo Ronconi for their insights on matters of palaeography.



Figure 28 – f. 79^{r} (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

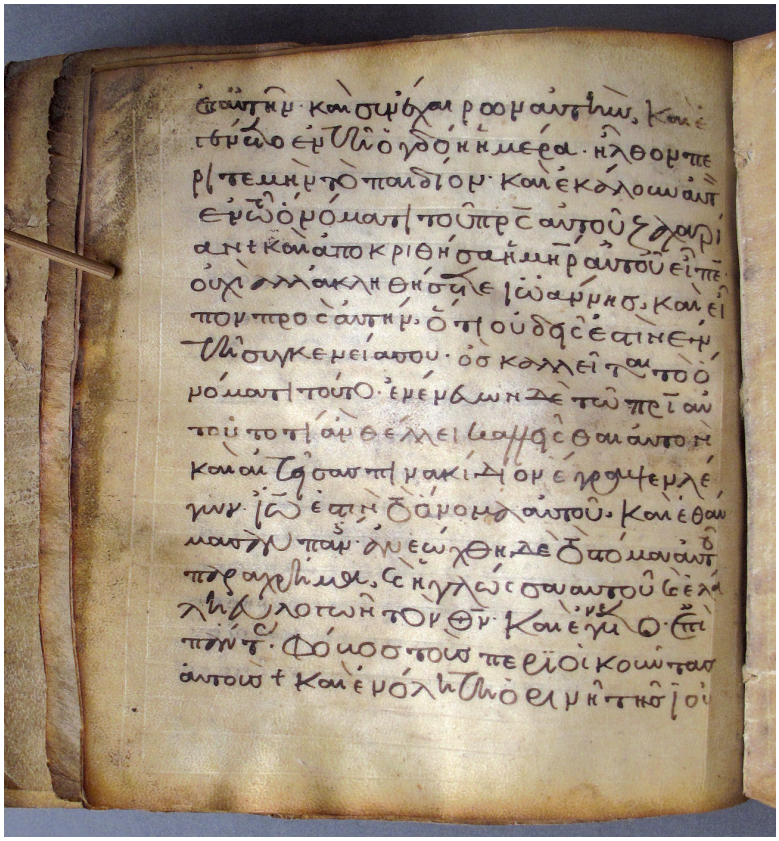


Figure 29 – f. 113^{v} (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Additions and corrections in black and red-pink inks are present on folia 2^{r}, 24^{r}, 45^{r}, 49^{r}, 50^{v}, 53^{r}, 80^{v}, 98^{v}, 104^{r}, 104^{v}, 109^{v}, 110^{v}, 111^{v}, 118^{v}, 124^{v}, 127^{v}, 128^{r}, 129^{v}, 131^{r}, 138^{v}, 146^{r}. In all cases except two—identified below—the hand of this "editor" seems to correspond to that of the copyist of the manuscript, who, after completing the copy of the codex, added rubrication and decoration, and at the same time revised it. This is suggested also by palaeographical features—for instance, by the exact match in shape between letters in the text and letters in the rubrics. As an example of this, compare the *tratteggio* of α on f. 11^{r} by the copyist (**Figure 30**) with that in pink-red ink on f. 110^{v} (**Figure 31**), this time by the hand that added the rubrication.

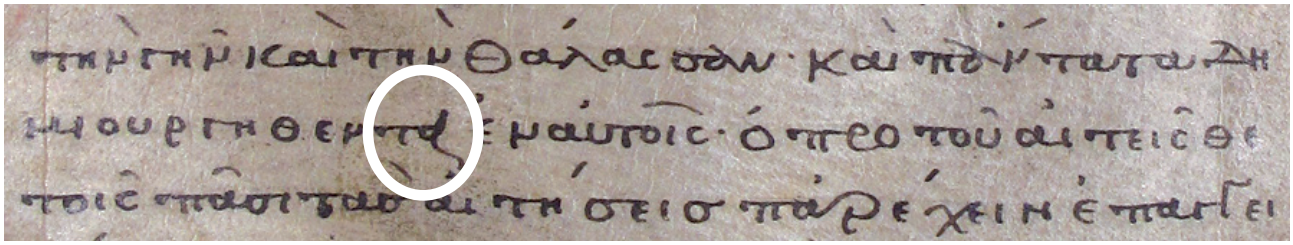


Figure 30 – f. 11^{r} (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

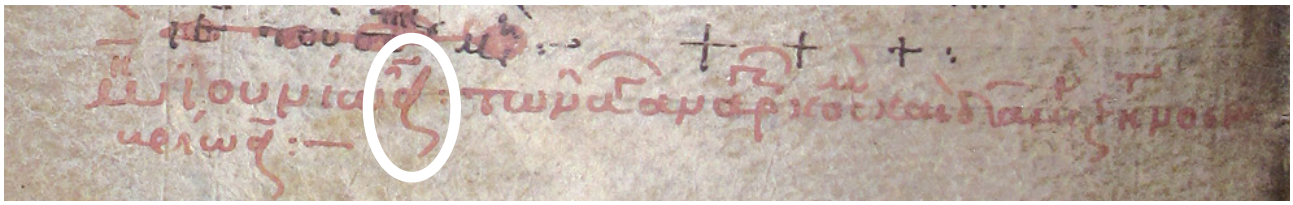


Figure 31 – f. 110^{v} (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

In the following, I indicate other examples representing the nature of these interventions. I will reserve for separate consideration in the next section the process of rubrication and decoration. Most frequently, the interventions are corrections to the text, with the "editor" characteristically crossing out or erasing mistaken or unnecessary words/sentences. See, for instance, f. 2^{r}, l. 4 (**Figure 32**), in which the words μαθητεύσαται [*lege* μαθητεύσατε] πάντα τὰ ἔθνη from the Gospel of Matthew were crossed out with red-pink ink and surrounded by dots in black ink. This technique is apparently employed in order to delete passages which had been erroneously interpolated into the text. A similar case can be observed on f. 131^{r}.

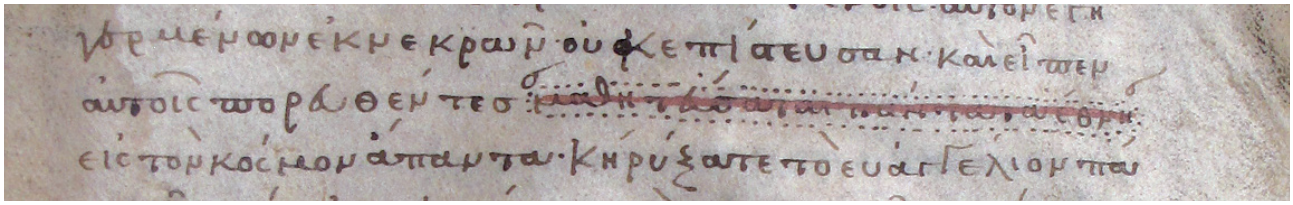


Figure 32 – f. 2^{r}: expunction (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

In other instances the "editor" makes use of a knife to scratch out the text. I have noticed that this is the case in instances of dittography. Good examples can be found on f. 50^{v}, l. 9 and f. 80^{v}, l. 5. In the first instance (**Figure 33**), the word πάντες (erroneously πἄντες in the folio)—visible at the end of the previous line—has been erased; in the second—again because of dittography—it is the word πλανόμενοι (**Figure 34**).

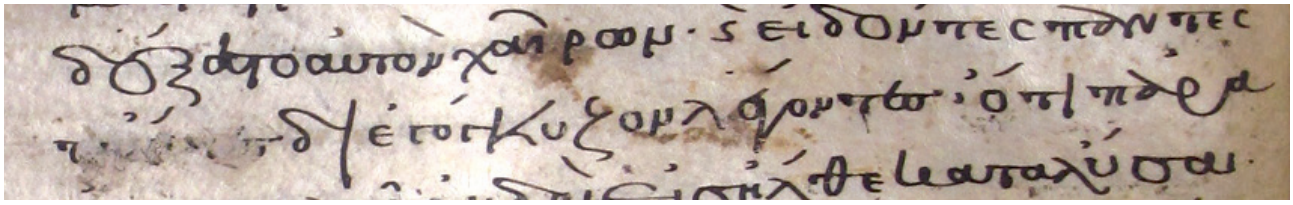


Figure 33 – f. 50^{v}: erasure of the word πἄντες (*sic*) (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

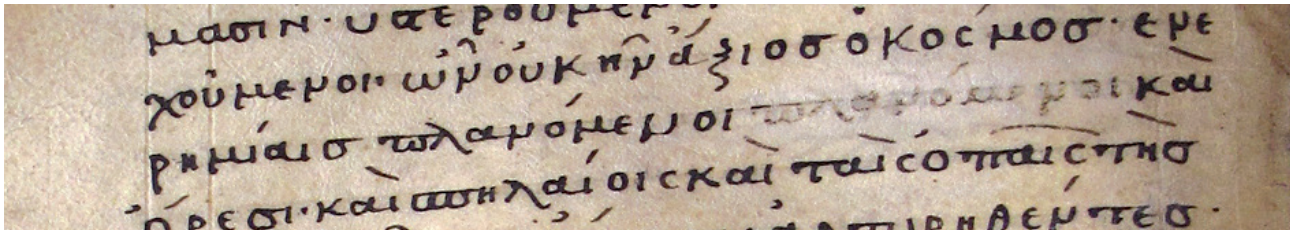


Figure 34 – f. 80ᵛ: erasure of the word πλανόμενοι (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

There are only two instances of marginal annotations, and they are likely not the work of the copyist. The first occurs on f. 24ʳ (**Figure 35**). The εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ σαραντῆσαι γυναῖκα begins on this folio, and readable in the margin of the following note in black ink is: +ὁ εἶ|πῶν | ἐκ σκό. This might be read as ὁ εἰπὼν ἐκ σκό(τους φῶς ἐκλάμψαι), with reference to 2 Corinthians 4:6,1.[254] At the same place as the note, a reading marker made of twine is visible on the outer edge of the folio.

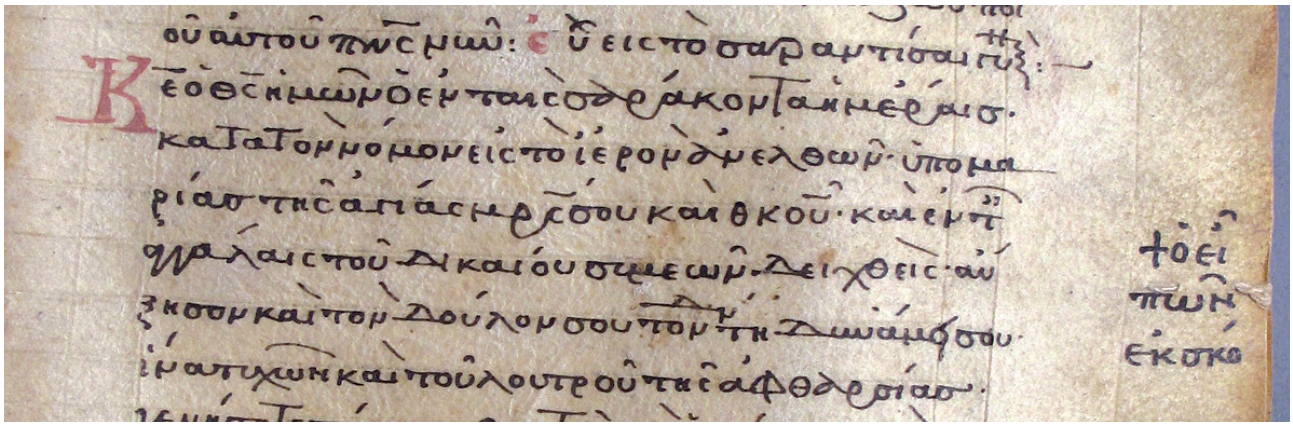


Figure 35 – f. 24ʳ: marginal note (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

A second interpolation is found on f.124ᵛ, where thirteen lines of text were added to the originally empty lower half of the folio (**Figure 36**). Here an untrained hand has filled the space with a number of liturgical indications that do not seem to relate to the text.

A final kind of intervention observed in this manuscript consists of retracings in black ink of sections of text which had either faded or been rubbed out, sometimes also with slight modifications to the text added. It is not clear who was responsible, since the hand that retraces the faded words imitates the original writing so well. Quires 13, 14, and 20 (f. 143) contain particularly clear examples. In the lower part of f. 104ᵛ (**Figure 37**), for example, the Gospel reading according to Matthew 20:1–16 has been erased and rewritten. The text continues without interruption on f. 105ʳ. A further example is found on f. 96ᵛ, where the faded text has simply been retraced (**Figure 38**).

[254] I thank Eirini Afentoulidou for this suggestion.

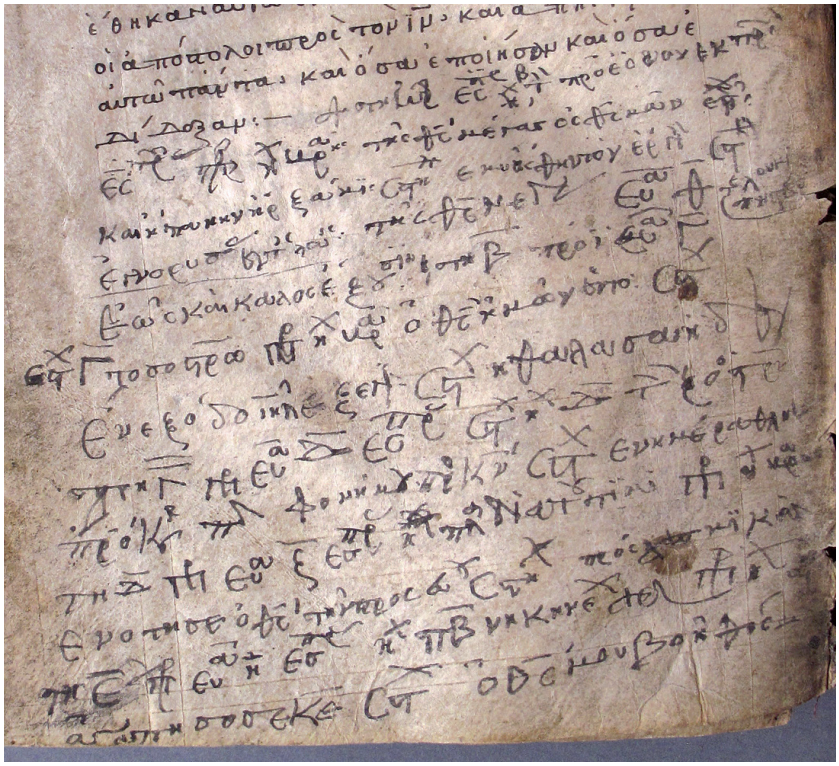


Figure 36 – f. 124^{v}, lower part (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)



Figure 37 – f. 104^{v} (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)



Figure 38 – f. 96^{v} (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Decoration

The Euchologion is decorated in a simple way, apparently by the copyist himself. While writing the main text in black ink, the scribe of Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] + Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C] outlined—likewise in black ink—some of the initials and the decorative bars and lines (see, for instance, ff. 21^{r} and 71^{r}), and in other cases left empty spaces, intended to be filled using a different kind of ink. Only once the manuscript had been written in its entirety in black, did the embellishment of the codex (rubrication and decoration) begin. An indication of this process can be observed, for example, on f. 108^{v} (**Figure 39**), where it is possible to see that the letters in pink-red ink have clearly been added after the main text was completed. In fact, just after the decorative half line, we read Μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ η΄ τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος **εοδώρου** τοῦ Στρατηλάτου: the small space left by the scribe for entering the Θ of Θεοδώρου has been overlooked during the process of rubrication/decoration.

The colours used for ornamentation are red-pink and grey-cyan. Only from folia 125^{r} to 126^{r} is the kind of red ink used more intense, resembling carmine. The following decorative elements are found in Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] + Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C]:

1) Headpieces: B1^{r}, beginning of the Euchologion; B18^{r}, beginning of the εὐχαὶ τοῦ λυχνικοῦ; 61^{r}, beginning of the Lectionary section of the Euchologion (**Figure 40**).

2) Bars (full line): 11^{r}, Εὐχαὶ τῆς ἁγίας Πεντηκοστῆς; 20^{r}, Ἀκολουθία εἰς μνῆστρα; 21^{r}, Ἀκολουθία τοῦ στεφανώματος; 36^{r}, Τάξις γινομένη, εἰ συμβῇ μιαρὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον προσφάτως ἐμπεσεῖν ἐν ἀγγείῳ οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου; 43^{v}, Ἀκολουθία εἰς ἀσθενοῦντας; 71^{r}, Μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ η΄: ἡ σύναξις τῶν ἀγγέλων; 105^{r}, Μηνὶ Μαρτίῳ κε΄: ὁ εὐαγγελισμὸς τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου; 107^{r}, Μηνὶ Μαΐῳ η΄: τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου (**Figures 41, 59**).

3) Decorated initials: B1^{r}, B1^{v}, B3^{r}, B5^{v}, B6^{r}, B12^{v}, B13^{v}, B14^{r}, 15^{r}, 39^{r}, 46^{r}, 57^{v}, 61^{r}, 61^{v}, 62^{r}, 63^{v}, 70^{v}, 71^{r}, 72^{r}, 73^{r}, 78^{v}, 79^{r}, 79^{v}, 80^{v}, 90^{v}, 111^{v}, 120^{v}, 121^{v}, 123^{r}, 131^{r}, 140^{v}, 142^{v} (**Figure 43**).

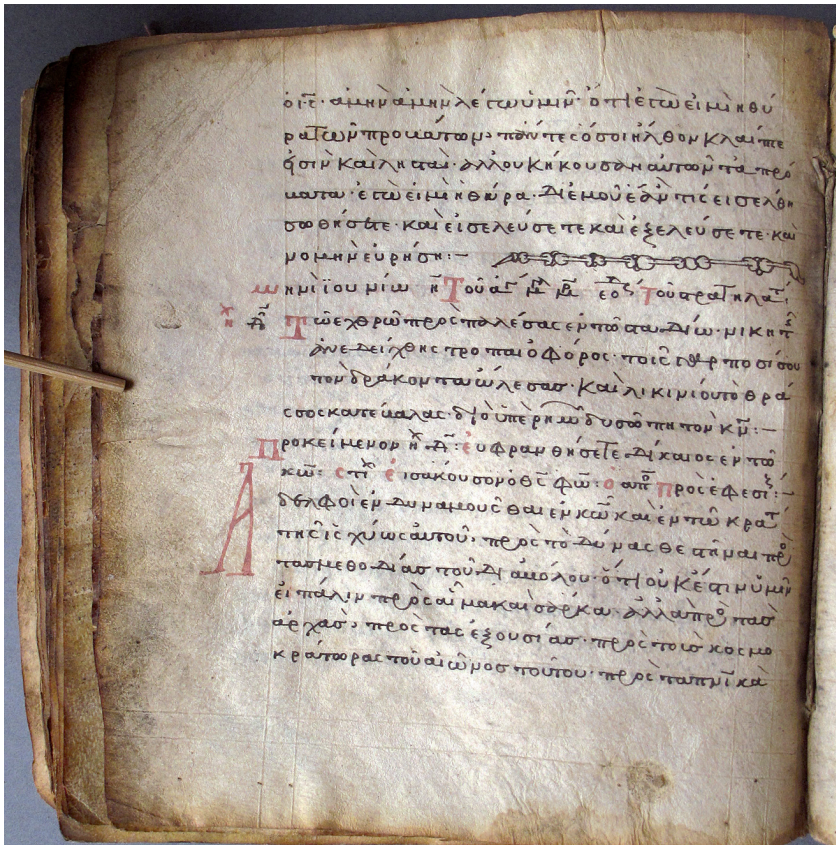


Figure 39 – f. 108^{v}, l. 7 from above: missing red-pink initial for the name Θεοδώρου
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)



Figure 40 – Headpieces on ff. B1^{r} (above) and B18^{r} (below)
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

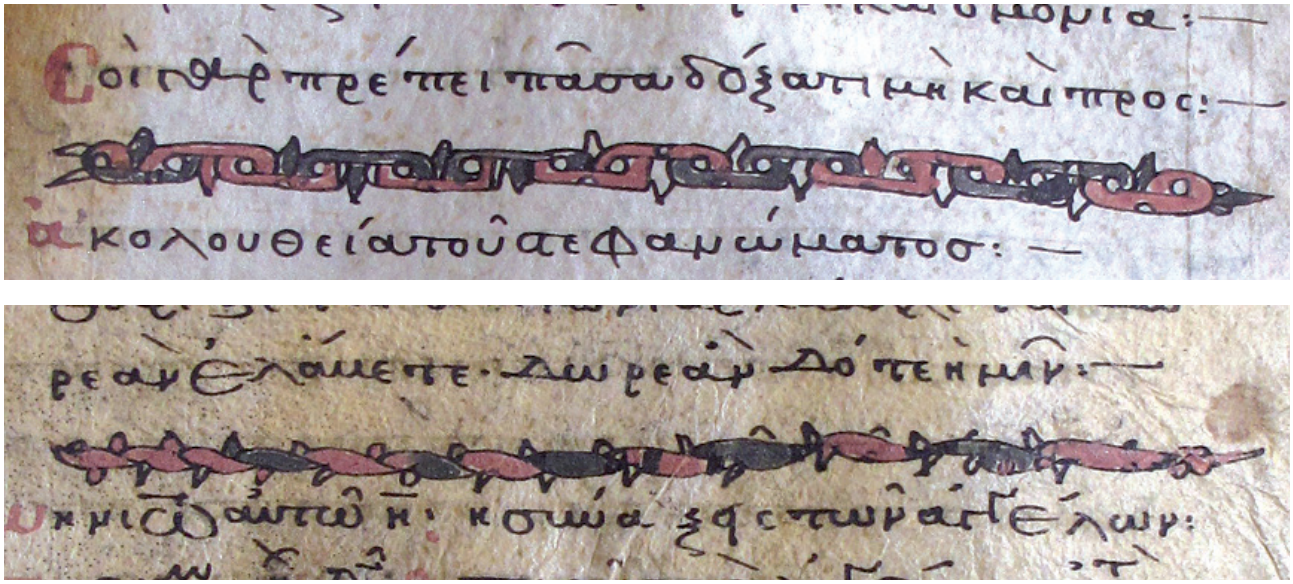


Figure 41 – Decorative bars on ff. 21r (above) and 71r (below) (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

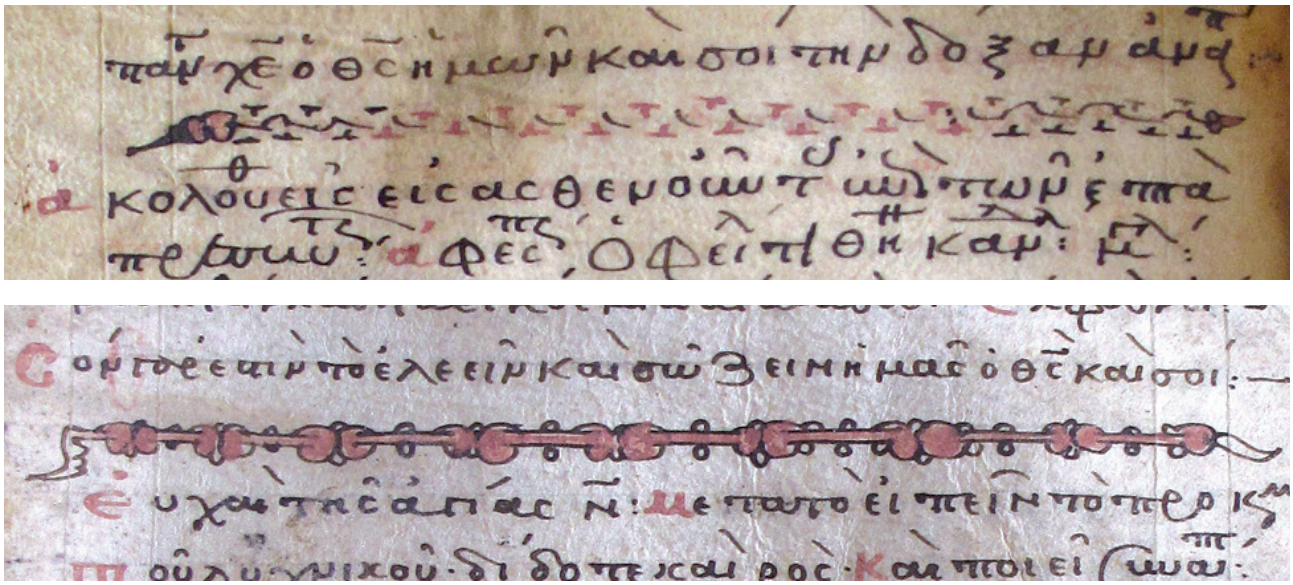


Figure 42 – Decorative bars on ff. 43v (above) and 11r (below) (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

The scribe uses models which were widespread first in Constantinople and subsequently used in the Levant and in the Byzantine regions (for instance in Epiros).

Specimina that may be used for comparison are:

- f. B1r (**Figure 40** above): Oxon. Christ Church 33, f. 3r (Diktyon 48555): Epiros, 1772 (CBM V.2, Abb. 370);
- f. B18r (**Figure 40** below): Oxon. Barocci 77, f. 17v (Diktyon 47364): Constantinople, mid 11th century (CBM I, Abb. 144) and Oxon. New College 74, f. 3r (Diktyon 48722): Constantinople, late 10th century (CBM V.2, Abb. 424);
- f. 21r (**Figure 41** above): Oxon. Roe 25, f. 200v (Diktyon 48406): unknown origin, late 11th century (CBM III.2, Abb. 111);
- f. 43v (**Figure 42** above): Oxon. Roe 25, f. 210r: unknown origin, late 11th century (CBM III.2, Abb. 110) and Oxon. Barocci 218, f. 57v (Diktyon 47506): Constantinople, 2nd half 11th century (CBM III.2, Abb. 188);
- f. 11r (**Figure 42** below): Oxon. New College 80, f. 279v (Diktyon 48728): unknown origin, late 10th century (CBM V.2, Abb. 418).

A compelling detail lies in the colours used by the rubricator/decorator, namely the red-pink and grey-cyan. According to Lidia Perria, their use seems typical of Levantine manuscripts.[255]

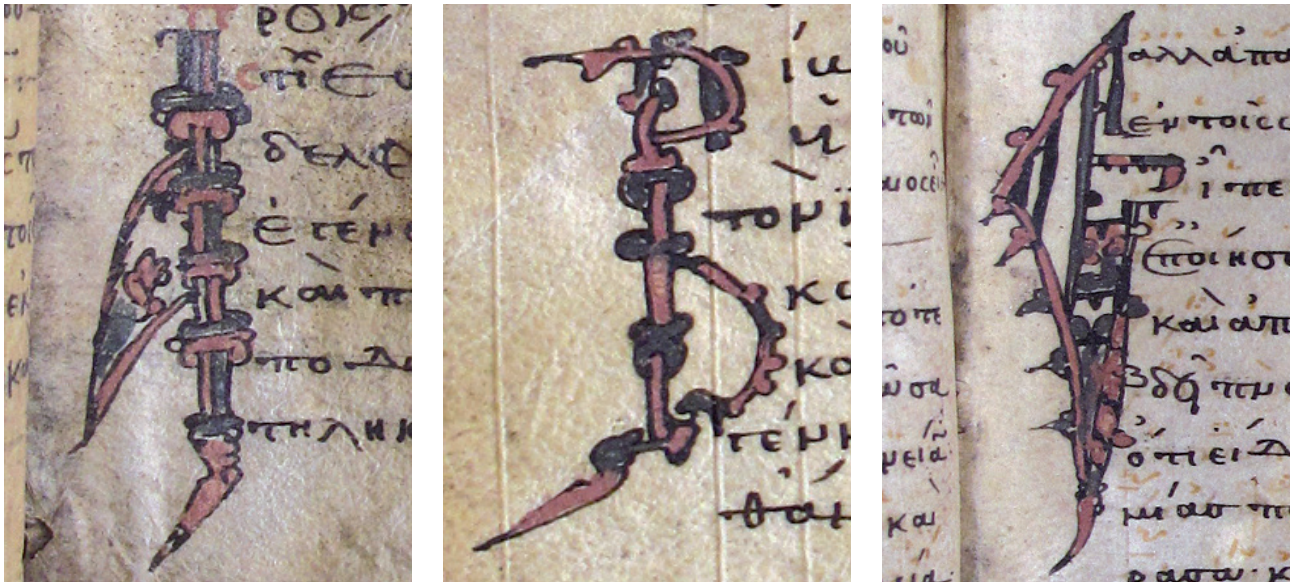


Figure 43 – Initials on ff. 71^{r}, 80^{v}, 79^{r} (from left to right) (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Content

Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] + Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C] contain an Euchologion. Even after the loose quires' correct repositioning the text is not always consecutive, so it is clear that a number of folia and quires have been lost. Unfortunately, the complete absence of any quire marks does not make establishing how much material is missing a straightforward task, yet it is possible to summarize the content of the manuscript in the following terms.

The first section, which corresponds to Quires B1 and B2 from Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B], contains the title of the Euchologion (Εὐχολόγιον σὺν Θεῷ) and the Liturgy of Saint Basil up to the kefaloklisia prayer (Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν). If we may suppose that the Euchologion also contained the Liturgies of Saint John Chrysostom and the Presanctified Gifts, then it is probable that several quires are missing.

The second section (namely Quire 1 of Sin. gr. 960) contains the eleven Resurrectional Gospels (Eothina) and the first prayer for the sick (εὐχὴ α΄ ἐπὶ ἀῤῥώστους). Its original position in the codex remains unclear.[256]

The third section (quire B3 from Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] and Quires 2–8 from Sin. gr. 960) preserves the prayers for Vespers and those for Matins. It then continues with the akolouthiai for engagement, wedding and baptism, and a number of occasional prayers. It concludes with an akolouthia for the sick (ἀκολουθία εἰς ἀσθενοῦντας). No text is missing between Quire B3 of Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] and Quire 2 of Sin. gr. 960.

The fourth and the fifth sections contain the Lectionary section of the Euchologion. The fourth section (Quires 9–17 of Sin. gr. 960) contains the readings for the entire liturgical year, from the beginning of September to the end of August, while the fifth section (Quires 18–21 of Sin. gr. 960, Quires A1–A2 of Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A], Quires B4–B5 of Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] + Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C]) has those for the movable cycle from

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255 Perria, Scritture e codici di origine orientale 30: «L'ornamentazione […] attinge a un repertorio di gusto provinciale, senza aspetti di particolare originalità se non alla tendenza a ingigantire, o viceversa miniaturizzare, talvolta, gli elementi decorativi, e soprattutto nella predilezione per una gamma cromatica alquanto diversa da quella usata in altre regioni provinciali, come l'Italia meridionale o l'Epiro. Si riscontra infatti l'uso di tonalità rosate o grigio-azzurro, accostate a quelle più tradizionali del carminio, del verde e del blu».

256 According to C. R. Gregory, Die Textkritik des Neuen Testaments. I. Leipzig 1900, 364, these Gospels are usually located in the Lectionary section of the Euchologion: at the end of the unmovable cycle (i.e. after f. 124 here) or at the end of the movable cycle (after f. B35 here). However, since there is no indication to prove this in the case of Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] + Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C], I prefer to describe the quire in its current position, namely at the very beginning of Sin. gr. 960.

the first Sunday of Lent until the Anastasis.[257] There are some missing folia (perhaps four) between the end of Quire 21 and the beginning of Quire A1. Moreover, Quire B4 in its current state is incomplete, comprising two bifolia (ff. B26–B27 and ff. C1–C2). The central bifolio of the quire—a ternio, judging from the missing text—has been lost. An unspecified number of folia are missing after Quire B5 also.

The reconstructed content of Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] + Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C] is provided in detail in the following table;[258] with any peculiarities listed in the footnotes. To help the reader distinguish between the four shelfmarks, the text of Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] has been indicated with a red background, that of Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] with blue, and that of Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C] with green. Moreover, the presence of clearly functional decorative lines in the third section is also identified. A discusson of the occasional prayers follows the table.

Section I (quires B1–B2)	
B1^{r}	Εὐχολόγιον σὺν Θεῷ[259]
B1^{r}–B17^{v}	- Εὐχὴ α΄ τοῦ θυμιάματος (f. B1^{r}): *Θυμίαμα προσφέρωμεν ἐνώπιόν σου Κύριε* (cf. Goar, p. 90, ll. 23–24; Polidori, p. 91 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 140^{v}) - Εὐχὴ τῆς προθέσεως τῶν τιμίων δώρων τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου (f. B1^{rv}): *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τὸν οὐράνιον ἄρτον* (Goar, p. 135; Arranz, p. 465) - Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου α΄ (ff. B1^{v}–B2^{r}): *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, οὗ τὸ κράτος ἀνείκαστον* (Goar, p. 135; Arranz, p. 467) - Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου β΄ (f. B2^{r}): *Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, σῶσον τὸν λαόν σου* (Goar, p. 136; Arranz, p. 467) - Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου γ΄ (f. B2^{rv}): *Ὁ τὰς κοινὰς ταύτας, καὶ συμφώνους* (Goar, p. 136; Arranz, p. 468) - Εὐχὴ τῆς εἰσόδου (ff. B2^{v}–B3^{r}): *Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ καταστήσας* (Goar, p. 136; Arranz, p. 468) - Εὐχὴ τοῦ τρισαγίου (ff. B3^{r}–B4^{r}): *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος* (Goar, p. 137; Arranz, p. 469) - Εὐχὴ τῆς ἐκτενῆς ἱκεσίας (f. B4^{rv}): *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν τὴν ἐκτενῆ ταύτην ἱκεσίαν* (Goar, p. 137; Arranz, p. 470) - Εὐχὴ κατηχουμένων πρὸ τῆς ἁγίας ἀναφορᾶς τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου (ff. B4^{v}–B5^{r}): *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν οὐρανοῖς κατοικῶν* (Goar, p. 138; Arranz, p. 471; Velkovska – Parenti 9) - Εὐχὴ πιστῶν α΄ (f. B5^{v}): *Σὺ Κύριε κατέδειξας ἡμῖν* (Goar, p. 138; Arranz, p. 472) - Εὐχὴ πιστῶν β΄ (ff. B5^{v}–B6^{r}): *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἐπισκεψάμενος* (Goar, p. 138; Arranz, p. 472) - ff. B6^{r}–B7^{v}: *Οὐδεὶς ἄξιος τῶν συνδεδεμένων* (Goar, p. 139; Arranz, p. 473) - Εὐχὴ προσκομιδῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου (ff. B7^{v}–B9^{r}): *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ κτίσας ἡμᾶς* (Goar, p. 140; Arranz, p. 475) - ff. B9^{r}–B10^{r}: *Ὁ ὢν Δέσποτα Κύριε Θεὲ Πάτερ* (Goar, p. 141; Arranz, p. 477) - ff. B10^{r}–B12^{r}: *Μετὰ τούτων τῶν μακαρίων* (Goar, p. 142; Arranz, p. 479) - ff. B12^{r}–B13^{r}: *Κατέλιπε δὲ ἡμῖν ὑπομνήματα* (Goar, p. 143; Arranz, p. 482) - f. B13^{r}: *Μεμνημένοι οὖν Δέσποτα καὶ ἡμεῖς* (Goar, p. 143; Arranz, p. 483) - ff. B13^{r}–B14^{r}: *Διὰ τοῦτο Δέσποτα πανάγιε* (Goar, p. 144; Arranz, p. 483) - ff. B14^{r}–B17^{r}: *Ἔτι σοῦ δεόμεθα* (Goar, p. 145; Arranz, p. 485)[260] - f. B17^{rv}: *Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ σώζειν σὺ ἡμᾶς* (Goar, p. 147; Arranz, p. 490) - f. B17^{v} (*des. mut.*): *Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν καὶ Θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως τοὺς ὑποκεκλικότας σοι τάς ἑαυ*|| (Goar, p. 148; Arranz, p. 492)
[Lacuna]	

257 The Lectionary section for the whole year has been checked against MR; for the identification of the Apostle and Gospel passages I have used Gregory, Textkritik I 343–386.

258 I supply titles that are missing in the manuscript in <angular brackets>.

259 The Euchologion begins with a title (Εὐχολόγιον σὺν Θεῷ). Immediately afterwards, there follows a prayer for censing (εὐχὴ α΄ τοῦ θυμιάματος) and the Liturgy of Saint Basil, starting with the prothesis prayer (εὐχὴ τῆς προθέσεως: f. B1^{r}, ll. 11–12). Only the first two quires containing this Liturgy are extant (B1 and B2): the text breaks off towards its conclusion, namely at the beginning of the kefaloklisia prayer (inc.: *Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν*). The fact that Saint Basil's Liturgy came first in the manuscript means that the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom—if present in the original—must have been second. This, in a manuscript of the second half of the 12th century, reinforces the hypothesis that the Euchologion was written in the Levant. See S. Parenti, La "vittoria" nella Chiesa di Costantinopoli della Liturgia di Crisostomo sulla Liturgia di Basilio, in: Acts of the International Congress Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Baumstark (1872–1948) (Rome, 25–29 September 1998), ed. R. F. SJ Taft – G. Winkler. Rome 2001, 907–928 (reprinted in S. Parenti, A Oriente e Occidente di Costantinopoli: Temi e problemi liturgici di ieri e di oggi. Vatican City 2010, 27–47, here 35): «Esistono comunque sacche conservative come le periferie medio-orientale e italo-greca, dove dal X al XIV secolo vengono ancora copiati formulari crisostomiani in posizione subordinata alla Liturgia di s. Basilio».

260 Beginning on f. 14^{r} are the diptychs for the dead, among which the souls of Georgios, Eudokia, and priest Georgios are commemorated (f. 14^{r}, ll. 9–12: Μνήσθητι Κύριε τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δούλων σου Γεωργίου καὶ Εὐδοκίας κοιμήσεως ἀνέ [*sic*]. Μνήσθητι Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου Γεωργίου ἱερέως κοιμήσεως [*sic*]). The commemorations for the living start on f. 16^{r}.

Section II (quire 1)	
1r–8v	Εὐαγγέλια ἑωθινὰ ἀναστάσιμα ἕνδεκα
8v	Εὐχαὶ ἐπὶ ἀῤῥώστους - Εὐχὴ α΄: *Πάτερ ἅγιε ἰατρὲ ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων ὁ πέμψας τὸν μονογενῆ σου Υἱὸν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν πᾶσαν νόσον ἰώμενον* (Goar, p. 678; Arranz, p. 377; Passarelli 189; Velkovska – Parenti 196) - Εὐχὴ β΄[261]
[Lacuna]	
Section III (quires B3; 2–8)	
B18r–B21v	- Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου α΄ τοῦ λυχνικοῦ (f. B18r): *Κύριε οἰκτίρμον, καὶ ἐλεῆμον* (Goar, p. 28; Arranz, p. 66)[262] - Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου β΄ τοῦ λυχνικοῦ (f. B18rv): *Κύριε, μὴ τῷ θυμῷ σου ἐλέγξῃς ἡμᾶς* (Goar, p. 28; Arranz, p. 66) - Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου γ΄ τοῦ λυχνικοῦ (ff. B18v–B19r): *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, μνήσθητι ἡμῶν* (Goar, p. 28; Arranz, p. 67) - Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου δ΄ τοῦ λυχνικοῦ (f. B19r): *Ὁ τοῖς ἀσιγήτοις ὕμνοις* (Goar, p. 29; Arranz, p. 67) - Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου ε΄ τοῦ λυχνικοῦ (f. B19rv): *Εὐλογητός εἶ Κύριε Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ* (Arranz, p. 68) - Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου ς΄ (f. B19v): *Κύριε Κύριε ὁ τῇ ἀχράντῳ σου δυνάμει* (Goar, p. 29 with the title εὐχὴ ε΄; Arranz, p. 68) - Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου ζ΄: πρὸ τοῦ Κύριε ἐκέκραξα (ff. B19v–B20r): *Ἑσπέρας καὶ πρωῒ καὶ μεσημβρίας* (Goar, p. 31 with the title εὐχὴ τῆς εἰσόδου; Arranz, p. 69 with the title εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου η΄: πρὸ τοῦ Κύριε ἐκέκραξα) - Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου η΄ τοῦ λυχνικοῦ (f. B20r): *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ θαυμαστός* (Goar, p. 29; Arranz, p. 69 with the title εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου ζ΄) - Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου θ΄ τοῦ λυχνικοῦ (ff. B20r–B21r): *Εὐλογητός εἶ Κύριε Δέσποτα παντοκράτορ* (Arranz, p. 70) - Εὐχὴ τῆς κεφαλοκλισίας (f. B21rv): *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ κλίνας οὐρανούς* (Goar, p. 32; Arranz, p. 76)
B21v	Decorative half line
B21v–B25v	- Εὐχὴ ἑωθινὴ α΄ (ff. B21v–B22r): *Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, τῷ ἐξαναστήσαντι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν κοιτῶν ἡμῶν* (Goar, p. 39; Arranz, p. 88)[263] - Εὐχὴ ἑωθινὴ <β΄> (f. B22rv): *Ἐκ νυκτὸς ὀρθρίζει τὸ πνεῦμα ἡμῶν πρός σε ὁ Θεὸς. διότι φῶς τὰ προστάγματά σου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἁγιασμὸν ἐπιτελεῖν ἐν φόβῳ σου* (Goar, p. 39; Arranz, p. 88) - Εὐχὴ ἑωθινὴ γ΄ (ff. B22v–B23r): *Ἐκ νυκτὸς ὀρθρίζει τὸ πνεῦμα ἡμῶν πρός σε ὁ Θεὸς. διότι φῶς τὰ προστάγματά σου. δίδαξον ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου, τὰς ἐντολάς σου* (Goar, p. 40; Arranz, p. 89) - Εὐχὴ ἑωθινὴ δ΄ (f. B23rv): *Δέσποτα ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος καὶ ἀκατάληπτος, ὁ εἰπὼν ἐκ σκότους φῶς λάμψαι* (Goar, p. 40; Arranz, p. 90) - Εὐχὴ ἑωθινὴ ε΄ (ff. B23v–B24r): *Ἀγαθῶν θησαυρὲ πηγῆς ἀεννάου* (Goar, p. 40; Arranz, p. 91) - Εὐχὴ ἑωθινὴ ς΄ (f. B24rv): *Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῶν σωτηριῶν ἡμῶν* (Goar, p. 40; Arranz, p. 91) - Εὐχὴ ἑωθινὴ ζ΄ (ff. B24v–B25v): *Ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν* (Goar, p. 41; Arranz, p. 92) - Εὐχὴ ἑωθινὴ η΄ (f. B25v): *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τὴν τοῦ ὕπνου ῥαθυμίαν [...] τῆς σῆς ἀφράστου δυνάμεως* || (Goar, p. 41; Arranz, p. 93)
9r–11r	- (f. 9r): | *τὴν ἀγαθότητα. Ὅτι εὐλόγηται* (Goar, p. 41; Arranz, p. 93)[264] - Εὐχὴ θ΄ τοῦ πεντηκοστοῦ ψαλμοῦ (f. 9r): *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τὴν διὰ μετανοίας ἄφεσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δωρησάμενος* (Goar, p. 42 with the title εὐχὴ ι΄; Arranz, p. 94 with the title εὐχὴ θ΄ ἤτοι τοῦ Ν΄) - Εὐχὴ τῆς εἰσόδου τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ ὄρθρου ι΄ (f. 9v): *Ἔλλαμψον δέσποτα ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν φιλάνθρωπε, τὸ τῆς σῆς θεογνωσίας* (Goar, p. 41 with the title εὐχὴ θ΄; Arranz, p. 94 with the title εὐχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ ὄρθρου) - Εὐχὴ ἑωθινὴ ια΄ - εἰς τοὺς αἴνους (f. 9v): *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ ὁ Σωτὴρ* (*sic*) *ἡμῶν, ὁ τὰς νοερὰς καὶ λογικὰς ὑποστησάμενος* (Goar, p. 42; Arranz, p. 95 with the title εὐχὴ ι΄ εἰς τοὺς αἴνους) - Εὐχὴ ιβ΄ ἤγουν τῆς ἀπολύσεως (f. 10r): *Αἰνοῦμεν καὶ ὑμνοῦμεν καὶ εὐλογοῦμεν* (Goar, p. 42; Arranz, p. 98 with the title εὐχὴ δ΄ ἢ τῆς ἀπολύσεως) - Εὐχὴ τὴς κεφαλοκλισίας (f. 10v): *Κύριε ἅγιε, ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν καὶ τῷ παντεφόρῳ σου ὄμματι ἐπιβλέπων ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσην* (Goar, p. 44; Arranz, p. 99)
11r	Decorative line

[261] Only the title of the second prayer for the sick is preserved, on the last line of the folio.

[262] Section III opens with the prayers for Vespers. According to the ordering established by Arranz, the prayers follow the sequence [1], [2], [3], [4], [V], [5], [8], [6], [IX], [9] (see M. Arranz, Les prières sacerdotales des vêpres byzantines. *OCP* 37 (1971) 87). None of the manuscripts studied by Arranz shows this same sequence of prayers.

[263] The Euchologion contains all 13 prayers for Matins. The order follows the numbering established in M. Arranz, Les prières presbytérales des matines byzantines. 1e partie: Les prières. *OCP* 37 (1971) 406–436: [1], [2], [3], [4], [5], [6], [7], [8], [10], [9], [11], [12], [13]. M. Arranz, Les prières presbytérales des matines byzantines. 2e partie: Les manuscrits. *OCP* 38 (1972) 78 did not know Sin. gr. NF M 22, and therefore only considers prayers [10], [9], [11], [12], [13] from Sin. gr. 960. He suggests that the sequence [10], [9], [11] is due to a mistake by the copyist, and classifies the manuscript as type Bb.

[264] The text of the εὐχὴ ἑωθινὴ η΄ on f. B25v continues without *lacunae* on f. 9r.

11r–20r	Εὐχαὶ τῆς ἁγίας Πεντηκοστῆς - f. 11r: *Ἄχραντε, ἀμίαντε, ἄναρχε* (Goar, pp. 597–598) - f. 12v: *Εὐλογητὸς εἶ κύριε δέσποτα παντοκράτορ* (Goar, p. 598) - f. 13v: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τὴν σὴν εἰρήνην* (Reminiscent of Goar, p. 599) - f. 15r: *Κύριε, Κύριε, ὁ ῥυσάμενος ἡμᾶς* (Goar, p. 600) - f. 16r: *Ἡ ἀεννάος βρύουσα ζωτική* (Goar, pp. 600–601) - f. 18r: *Σὸν γὰρ ἀληθῶς καὶ μέγα ὄντως* (Reminiscent of Goar, p. 601 inc.: *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ αἰώνιος*) - Εὐχὴ τὴς κεφαλοκλισίας (f. 19v): *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ κλίνας οὐρανοὺς καὶ καταβάς* (Goar, p. 603)
20r	Decorative line
20r–21r	Ἀκολουθία εἰς μνῆστρα (Goar, p. 311; Dmitrievskij II, p. 193)
21r	Decorative line
21r–23v	Ἀκολουθία τοῦ στεφανώματος (Goar, pp. 317–325; Dmitrievskij II, pp. 193–194)
23v	Decorative half line
23v–24r	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ κατασφραγίσαι παιδίον λαμβάνον ὄνομα τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν σοῦ δεόμεθα καὶ σὲ ἱκετεύομεν σημειωθήτω τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου* (Arranz, p. 169; Velkovska – Parenti 112; cf. also Goar, p. 264)
24r	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ σαραντίσαι γυναῖκα: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις κατὰ τὸν νόμον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνελθὼν ὑπὸ Μαρίας τῆς ἁγίας μητρός σου* (Velkovska – Parenti 113, with the title Εὐχὴ ὅτε εἰσέρχεται παιδίον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῇ μ' ἡμέρᾳ τῆς γεννήσεως αὐτοῦ)
24v–25r	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι κατηχούμενον: *Ἐπὶ τὸ ὀνόματί σου Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ* (Goar, pp. 274–275; Arranz, pp. 172–173; Velkovska – Parenti 114)
25r–26r	Ἀφορκισμός α΄: *Ἐπιτιμᾷ σοι Κύριος διάβολε ὁ παραγενόμενος* (Goar, pp. 275–276; Arranz, pp. 174–175)
26r–27v	Ἀφορκισμός β΄: *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος ὁ φοβερὸς καὶ ἔνδοξος* (Goar, p. 276; Arranz, pp. 175–176)
27v	Ἀφορκισμός γ΄: *Κύριε σαβαῶθ ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ* (Goar, p. 276; Arranz, p. 177)
27v–28r	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι κατηχούμενον πρὸς ὥραν βαπτιζόμενον: *Ὁ ὢν δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ ποιήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα σὴν καὶ ὁμοίωσιν καὶ δοὺς αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν ζωῆς ἀϊδίου εἶτα ἐκπεσόντα διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας μὴ παριδών* (Arranz, p. 178; Velkovska – Parenti: both with the title Εὐχὴ μετὰ τὸ ποιήσαι κατηχούμενον)
28rv	*Ἐξέλασον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, πᾶν πονηρὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα* (Goar, p. 277)
28v–35r	*Καὶ μετὰ τὸ Ἀμήν· ἀποδοθέντων καὶ ἀπολυθέντων τῶν βαπτιζομένων* (Arranz, p. 180; Dmitrievskij II, pp. 194–195)
35r–35v	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἀπολοῦσαι νεοφώτιστον: *Ὁ λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου σου βαπτίσματος τοῖς δούλοις σου χαριζόμενος* (Reminiscent of Velkovska – Parenti 126; Goar, pp. 303–304)
35v	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ κεῖραι τρίχας παιδίου: *Σὲ ἱκετεύομεν, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς κολυμβήθρας* (Velkovska – Parenti 208; cf. also Goar, p. 307)
35v–36r	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ σαραντίσαι γυναῖκα: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔπειδε ἐπὶ τὴν δούλην σου τὴν δεῖνα καὶ δώρησαι αὐτὴν καταφυγὴν τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ* (Reminiscent of Passarelli 70; cf. also Goar, p. 267)
36r	Decorative line
36r–37v	Τάξις γινομένη, εἰ συμβῇ μιαρὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον προσφάτως ἐμπεσεῖν (ms.: πρόσφατον ἐμπεσὴν) ἐν ἀγγείῳ οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου - Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ φρέατος μιανθέντος (f. 37r): *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ θαυμαστὸς ὁ ἀνεκδιηγήτῳ ἀγαθοσύνῃ καὶ πλουσίᾳ δωρεᾷ διοικῶν τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζωὴν* (Goar, p. 479; Arranz, p. 385)
37v	Decorative half line
37v–38r	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ θεμελίου ἐκκλησίας: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἀρεσθεὶς καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομηθῆναι σοι ναόν* (Arranz, p. 225; Velkovska – Parenti 149)
38r–38v	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ θεμελίου οἴκου: *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ποιήσας τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐν συνέσει καὶ θεμελιώσας τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν αὐτῆς ὁ κτίστης καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν ἁπάντων* (Velkovska – Parenti 232)
38v	Εὐχὴ εἰς εὐλογίαν οἴκου: *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν ὁ καταξιώσας ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν Ζακχαίου εἰσελθεῖν καὶ σωτηρίαν αὐτῷ τε καὶ παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος κατὰ τὴν σὴν ἄχραντον* (Goar, p. 484; Passarelli 265; Velkovska – Parenti 183)
38v	Decorative half line
39r	Εὐχὴ εἰς ἀδελφοποίησιν: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ πάντα πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἡμῖν χαρισάμενος ὁ καὶ ἐντειλάμενος ἡμῖν ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους* (Goar, p. 707. Cf. also Arranz, p. 355)[265]

[265] This is prayer B in Rapp's work, i.e. one of the most attested, 'the basic core of the *adelphopoiesis* rite' (C. Rapp, Brother-Making in Late

39^{r}–40^{r}	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἐπάραι παιδίον ἀπὸ ἐκκλησίας: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ διὰ τοῦ ἠγαπημένου παιδός σου, Κυρίου δὲ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τέκνα Θεοῦ καλέσας ἡμᾶς* (Reminiscent of Goar, p. 561)
40^{r}	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ πράσσαι (ms.: πρόσαι) πλοῖον: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἐντειλάμενος τῷ Νῶε κατασκευάσαι κιβωτὸν πρὸς σωτηρίαν τοῦ κόσμου* (Reminiscent of Goar, p. 559)
40^{r}–40^{v}	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἐξομολογουμένων*: Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τῇ πόρνῃ διὰ δακρύων ἄφεσιν πταισμάτων δωρησάμενος* (Goar, p. 537; Arranz, p. 367; Velkovska – Parenti 202)
40^{v}	Εὐχὴ εἰς τρύγην ἀμπέλου: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ εὐδοκήσας ἄμπελον κληθῆναι τὸν μονογενῆ σου υἱὸν καὶ Θεὸν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ καρπὸν ἀθανασίας ἡμῖν χαρισάμενος* (Goar, p. 552 = Velkovska – Parenti 177, both with the title Εὐχὴ γινομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατριάρχου ὅτε πρὸς συνήθειαν ἐπιτελεῖ τὴν τρύγην ὁ Βασιλεὺς τῇ ιε΄. Αὐγούστου ἐν Βλαχέρναις, inc.: *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν ὁ εὐδοκήσας ἄμπελον*)
41^{r}	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ κολύβων ἁγίων: *Ὁ πάντα τελεσφορήσας τῷ λόγῳ σου Κύριε καὶ κελεύσας τὴν γῆν παντοδαποὺς καρποὺς ἐκφυεῖν εἰς εὐφροσύνην καὶ τροφὴν ἡμετέραν· ὁ τοῖς σπέρμασι τοὺς παῖδας ἐν Βαβυλῶνι λαμπροτέρους ἀποφήνας* (Reminiscent of Arranz, p. 317)
41^{v}	Εὐχὴ ἄλλη εἰς κόλυβα ἁγίων: *Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα ἐν αὐτοῖς* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 35 inc.: *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ποιήσας*)[266]
41^{v}–42^{r}	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἀποδημούντων: *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ συνοδεύσας τῷ θεράποντί σου Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ξενιτεύσας τὸν δοῦλόν σου Ἰωσήφ* (Passarelli 199; Velkovska – Parenti 192)
42^{r}–42^{v}	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ μιαροφαγησάντων: *Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν καὶ τὰ ταπεινὰ ἐφορῶν* (Goar, p. 534; Velkovska – Parenti 194)
42^{v}	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ προπετῶς ὀμνυόντων: *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος· ὁ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως τὸ εὐάλωτον ἐπιστάμενος* (Reminiscent of Goar, p. 534 inc.: *Ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν*; Arranz, p. 368 and Velkovska – Parenti 203 inc.: *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως*)
42^{v}–43^{r}	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ψυχῆς κρινομένης: *Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ πάντας ἀνθρώπους θέλων σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν ὁ μὴ βουλόμενος τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ* (Goar, p. 587; Velkovska – Parenti 214)
43^{r}–43^{v}	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ σπόρου: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ κτίστης καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν ἁπάντων· ὁ ποιήσας γῆν καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἐπ᾽ αὐτήν· ὁ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰπών· Ἐξαγαγέτω τὸν γῆ χόρτον σπόριμον· σπεῖρον σπέρμα κατὰ γένος καὶ καθ᾽ ὁμοιότητα* (Reminiscent of the prayer for the beginning of sowing in Arranz, p. 319 inc.: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ποιήσας γῆν καὶ ἄνθρωπον*; Goar, p. 557 inc.: *Ὁ ὢν Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ παντοκράτωρ καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου*; Velkovska – Parenti 216 and Passarelli 219 inc.: *Ὁ ὢν Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ παντοκράτωρ*)
43^{v}	Decorative line
43^{v}–60^{v}	Ἀκολουθία εἰς ἀσθενοῦντας (Dmitrievskij II, pp. 197–202)[267]
Section IV (quires 9–17)	
61^{r}–68^{r}	Μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίῳ - α΄: ἀρχὴ τῆς Ἰνδίκτου· καὶ τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Συμεὼν τοῦ Στυλίτου (ff. 61^{r}–62^{r}) - η΄: ἡ γέννησις τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου (ff. 62^{r}–63^{r}) - ιδ΄: ἡ ὕψωσις τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ (ff. 63^{r}–65^{v}) - κγ΄: ἡ σύλληψις τοῦ τιμίου προφήτου προδρόμου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου (ff. 65^{v}–67^{r}) - κς΄: ἡ μετάστασις τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου (ff. 67^{r}–68^{r})
68^{r}–69^{v}	Μηνὶ Ὀκτοβρίῳ - α΄: τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Ἀνανία (f. 68^{r}) - ς΄: τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Θωμᾶ (ff. 68^{r}–68^{v}) - ιη΄: τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Λουκᾶ (f. 68^{v}) - κς΄: τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Δημητρίου (ff. 68^{v}–69^{v})

Antiquity and Byzantium. Oxford 2016, 78, 266). By her account, this prayer appears for the first time in the 9th century (Sin. gr. 957).

266 Text almost identical to Sin. gr. 958 (Syria/Palestine), which Dmitrievskij transcribes in its entirety, and to Sin. gr. 962 (Palestine?).

267 According to Parenti, La preghiera della cattedra 165, the prayer for the sick that begins on f. 48^{v} within the Ἀκολουθία εἰς ἀσθενοῦντας (namely the εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου β΄: *ὁ πλούσιος ἐν ἐλέει καὶ πολλὺς ἐν ἀγαθότητι*: O3:1 in M. Arranz, Le preghiere degli infermi nella tradizione bizantina. *OCP* 62 (1996) 295–352) is attested in the Levantine Euchologia Sin. gr. NF MG 53 (ff. 86^{v}–87^{r}), Sin. gr. 959 (f. 101^{rv}), Sin. gr. 973 (f. 79^{r}), and also in the 10th–11th century Southern-Italian Euchologia Crypt. Γ.β. VII, f. 181^{v}, Crypt. Γ.β. X, f. 109^{rv} (Diktyon 17902), and Vat. gr. 1554, ff. 135^{v}–136^{r} (Diktyon 68185). According to Arranz, Infermi 328, a complex rite for the unction of the sick (like a taxis or an akolouthia), first appears in the 11th century.

70r–76r	Μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ - α΄: τῶν ἁγίων ἀναργύρων Κοσμᾶ καὶ Δαμιανοῦ (ff. 70r–71r) - η΄: ἡ σύναξις τῶν ἀγγέλων (ff. 71r–72v) - ια΄: τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Μηνᾶ (ff. 72v–73r) - ιγ΄: τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου (ff. 73r–74r) - ιδ΄: τοῦ ἁγιου ἀποστόλου Φιλίππου (f. 74r) - ιε΄: τῶν ἁγίων ὁμολογητῶν Γουρία, Σαμωνᾶ καὶ Ἀβίβου (f. 74r) - ις΄: τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ματθαίου (ff. 74r–74v) - ιζ΄: τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ θαυματουργοῦ (ff. 74r–75r) - κα΄: ἡ εἴσοδος τῆς ἁγίας δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου (ff. 75r–76r) - λ΄: τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Ἀνδρέα (f. 76r)
76r–90v	Μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ - δ΄: τῆς ἁγίας μεγαλομάρτυρος Βαρβάρας (ff. 76r–77r) - ς΄: τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἀρχιεπισκόπου Νικολάου ἐπισκόπου Μύρων τῆς Λυκίας (ff. 77r–78v) - κυριακῇ α΄ τῶν ἁγίων προπατόρων (ff. 78v–79v) - κυριακῇ πρὸ τῆς Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως τῶν ἁγίων προπατόρων (ff. 79v–82v) - κβ΄: τῆς ἁγίας μάρτυρος Ἀναστασίας (f. 82v) - κδ΄: εἰς τὴν παραμονὴν τῆς ἁγίας Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως (ff. 82v–85v) - <κε΄: εἰς τὴν μνήμην τῆς ἁγίας Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως> (ff. 85v–87r) - κς΄: ἡ σύναξις τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου (ff. 87r–88r) - κζ΄: τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου πρωτομάρτυρος καὶ ἀρχιδιακόνου Στεφάνου (ff. 88r–90v) - σαββάτῳ μετὰ τὴν Χριστοῦ γέννησιν (f. 90v) - κυριακῇ μετὰ τὴν Χριστοῦ γέννησιν (f. 90v)
91r–102v	Μηνὶ Ἰανουαρίῳ - α΄: εἰς τὴν περιτομὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν μνήμην τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου (ff. 91r–92v) - κυριακῇ πρὸ τῶν φώτων (ff. 92v–93r) - ε΄: ἡ παραμονὴ τῶν ἁγίων θεοφανίων (ff. 93v–99r) - <ς΄>: εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον τῶν ἁγίων θεοφανίων (ff. 99r–101r) - η΄: ἡ σύναξις τοῦ προδρόμου (ff. 101r–101v) - σαββάτῳ μετὰ τὰ φώτα (f. 101v) - κυριακῇ μετὰ τὰ φώτα (ff. 101v–102r) - ι΄: τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου ἐπισκόπου Νύσσης (f. 102r) - ις΄: τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Πέτρου ἡ προσκύνησις τῆς τιμίας ἁλύσεως (f. 102r) - ιζ΄: τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀντωνίου (f. 102r) - ιη΄: τῶν ἁγίων πατρῶν ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου καὶ Κυρίλλου (f. 102r) - κβ΄: τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Τιμοθέου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Ἀναστασίου (f. 102r) - κζ΄: ἡ ἀνακομιδὴ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου (f. 102v)
102v–104r	Μηνὶ Φεβρουαρίῳ - β΄: εἰς τὴν ὑπαπαντὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (ff. 102v–104r) - κδ΄: ἡ εὕρεσις τῆς τιμίας κεφαλῆς τοῦ προδρόμου (f. 104r)
104r–106v	Μηνὶ Μαρτίῳ - θ΄: τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων μ΄ (ff. 104r–105r) - κε΄: ὁ εὐαγγελισμὸς τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου (ff. 105r–106v)
106v	Μηνὶ Ἀπριλλίῳ - κγ΄: τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου
107r–108v	Μηνὶ Μαίῳ - η΄: τοῦ ἁγιου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου (f. 107r) - κα΄: τῶν ἁγίων θεοστέπτων μεγάλων βασιλέων Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Ἑλένης (ff. 107r–108v)
108v–116r	Μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ - η΄: τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στρατηλάτου (ff. 108v–109v) - ἀκολουθία εἰς τὴν η΄ τοῦ Μαίου μηνός: τοῦ ἁγιου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου (ff. 109v–110v) - Μηνὶ Αὐγούστῳ α΄: τῶν ἁγίων Μακκαβαίων καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν Σολομονῆς[268] (f. 110v) - κδ΄: ἡ γέννησις τοῦ προφήτου προδρόμου καί βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου (ff. 111r–114r) - κθ΄: τῶν κορυφαίων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου (ff. 114v–116r) - λ΄: εἰς ἀποστόλους (f. 116r)

[268] This has been crossed out and replaced with the following in pink-red ink: Μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ α΄: τῶν ἁγίων ἀναργύρων Κοσμᾶ καὶ

116^{r}–119^{v}	Μηνὶ Ἰουλλίῳ (*sic*) - α΄: τῶν ἁγίων ἀναργύρων (f. 116^{r}) - ιε΄: τῶν ἁγίων μεγαλομαρτύρων Κηρύκου καὶ Ἰουλίττας (ff. 116^{r}–117^{r}) - κ΄: τοῦ ἁγίου προφήτου Ἠλίου (ff. 117^{r}–118^{v}) - κζ΄: τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Παντελεήμονος (ff. 118^{v}–119^{v})
119^{v}–124^{v}	Μηνὶ Αὐγούστῳ - ς΄: ἡ μεταμόρφωσις τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (ff. 119^{v}–122^{r}) - ιε΄: ἡ κοίμησις τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου (f. 122^{r}) - κθ΄: ἡ ἀποτομὴ τῆς τιμίας κεφαλῆς τοῦ προδρόμου (ff. 122^{r}–124^{v})
[Lacuna][269]	
Section V (quires 18–21; A1–A2; B4–B5)	
125^{r}	<Κυριακῇ α΄ τῶν νηστειῶν> - John 1:47–52 (inc.: *Ναθαναὴλ ἐρχόμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ λέγει.*)
125^{r}–126^{r}	Σαββάτῳ β΄ τῶν νηστειῶν - Hebrews 3:12–16 (ff. 125^{r}–125^{v}) - Mark 1:35–44 (ff. 125^{v}–126^{r})
126^{r}–127^{r}	Κυριακῇ β΄ τῶν νηστειῶν - Hebrews 11:24–40[270] (ff. 126^{r}–126^{v}) - Mark 8:34 – 9:1[271] (ff. 126^{v}–127^{r})
127^{v}–128^{r}	Σαββάτῳ γ΄ τῶν νηστειῶν[272] - Hebrews 6:9–12[273] (f. 127^{v}) - Mark 7:31–37[274] (ff. 127^{v}–128^{r})
128^{r}–129^{v}	Κυριακῇ δ΄ τῶν νηστειῶν[275] - Hebrews 6:13–20 (ff. 128^{r}–128^{v}) - Mark 9:17–31 (ff. 128^{v}–129^{v})
129^{v}–130^{v}	<Σαββάτῳ> ε΄ τῶν νηστειῶν[276] - Hebrews 9:24–28 (ff. 129^{v}–130^{r}) - Mark 2:14–17[277] (ff. 130^{r}–130^{v})
130^{v}–132^{r}	Κυριακῇ ε΄ τῶν νηστειῶν - Hebrews 9:11–14 (f. 130^{v}) - Mark 10:32–45 (ff. 131^{r}–132^{r})
132^{r}–136^{r}	Σαββάτῳ τοῦ δικαίου Λαζάρου - Hebrews 12:28 – 13:8 (ff. 132^{r}–132^{v}) - John 11:1–45 (ff. 133^{r}–136^{r})
136^{r}–138^{r}	<Κυριακῇ> τῶν βαΐων - Matthew 21:1–11, 15–17[278] (ff. 136^{r}–137^{r}) - John 12:1–18 (ff. 137^{r}–138^{r})

Δαμιανοῦ. This is incorrect, since the anargyroi are celebrated on July 1st and not on June 1st.

269 It is not possible to establish with certainty how much text has been lost between Quire 17 and 18, i.e. between section IV and V, but in all probability it occupied at least one quire. We may suppose that this contained the Gospel readings for the first week of Lent (Monday–Friday), that for the first Saturday of Lent, and also the initial section for the first Sunday of Lent (cf. Gregory, Textkritik I 361).

270 Erroneously identified as coming from Corinthians in the manuscript. The customary reading for this day would be Hebrews 1:10 – 2:3 (Gregory, Textkritik I 361).

271 The customary reading for this day would be Mark 2:1–12 (Gregory, Textkritik I 361).

272 γ΄ has been added in pink-red ink. Yet there is a mistake here, since the Apostle and Gospel readings which follow are those for the fourth Saturday of Lent.

273 The customary reading for this day would be Hebrews 10:32–38 (Gregory, Textkritik I 362), while Hebrews 6:9–12 is usually read on the fourth Saturday of Lent.

274 The customary reading for this day would be Mark 2:14–17 (Gregory, Textkritik I 362), while Mark 7:31–37 is usually read on the fourth Saturday of Lent.

275 δ΄ has been erroneously replaced with γ΄ in pink-red ink.

276 Erroneously replaced with κυριακῇ δ΄ in pink-red ink.

277 The customary reading for this day would be Mark 8:27–31 (Gregory, Textkritik I 362), while Mark 2:14–17 is usually read on the third Saturday of Lent.

278 Erroneously identified as coming from John in the manuscript.

138^{r}–142^{v}	Τῇ ἁγίᾳ μεγάλῃ β΄ - Matthew 21:18–43 (ff. 138^{v}–140^{v}) - Matthew 24:3–35[279] (ff. 140^{v}–142^{v})
142^{v}–147^{v}	Τῇ γ΄ - Matthew 22:15–24 – 24:2
147^{v}–150^{r}	Τῇ δ΄ - John 12:17–50
150^{r}	Τῇ ἁγίᾳ μεγάλῃ ε΄ - John 13:12–17
150^{r}–154^{v}	Εὐαγγέλια τοῦ πάθους τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ[280] - Εὐαγγέλιον α΄ (ff. 150^{r}–154^{v}, *des. mut.*): John 13:31 – 16:8,[281] des.: πέμψω αὐτὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. καὶ ἐλθών ἐκε‖) Missing folia[282]
A1^{r}–A12^{v}	- Εὐαγγέλιον β΄ (ff. A1^{r}–A2^{v}):[283] John 18:1–28 - Εὐαγγέλιον γ΄ (ff. A2^{v}–A3^{v}): Matthew 26:57–75 - Εὐαγγέλιον δ΄ (ff. A4^{r}–A6^{r}): John 18:28–19, 16 - Εὐαγγέλιον ε΄ (ff. A6^{r}–A7^{v}): Matthew 27:3–32 - Εὐαγγέλιον ς΄ (ff. A7^{v}–A8^{v}): Mark 15:16–32 - Εὐαγγέλιον ζ΄ (ff. A8^{v}–A10^{r}): Matthew 27:33–54 - Εὐαγγέλιον η΄ (ff. A10^{r}–A11^{r}): Luke 23:32–49 - Εὐαγγέλιον θ΄ (ff. A11^{r}–A12^{r}): John 19:25–37 - Εὐαγγέλιον ι΄ (f. A12^{r}): Matthew 15:43–47 - Εὐαγγέλιον ια΄ (f. A12^{v}): John 19:38–42 - Εὐαγγέλιον ιβ΄ (f. A12^{v}): Matthew 27:62–66 (as far as σφραγίσαντες τὸν λίθον μετὰ τῆς κου‖)
B26^{r}	|στωδίας: + + (Matthew 27:66)[284]
B26^{rv}	Τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ ε΄ εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν - Corinthians 11:23–32 (f. B26^{rv}) - Matthew 26:2–3 (f. B26^{v}, *des.*: παραδίδοται εἰς τὸ σταυρωθῆναι. Τότε ‖
C1^{rv}	- Matthew 26:3–17 (f. C1^{r}, *inc.*: |συνήχθησαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς; f. C1^{v}, *des.:* προσῆλθον οἱ μαθηταὶ τῷ Ἰησοῦ‖) Missing bifolio[285]
C2^{rv}	- Matthew 26:38–45 (f. C2^{r}, *inc.*: <αὐτ>|οῖς, περίλυπός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχή μου); f. C1^{v}, *des.*: τότε ἔρχεται πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς ‖)
B27^{r}–B30^{r}	- Matthew 26:45 – 27:2 (*inc.*: | αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς καθεύδετε τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθε)
B30^{r}–B32^{v}	Τῇ ἁγίῳ καὶ μεγάλῳ σάββατῳ εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν - Romans 6:3–11 (ff. B30^{r}–B31^{r}) - Matthew 28:1–20 (ff. B31^{r}–B32^{v})
B32^{v}–B34^{r}	Ἀκολουθία τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μεγάλης κυριακῆς τοῦ Πάσχα - Acts 1:1–8 (ff. B33^{v}–B34^{r})
B34^{r}–B35^{v}	Τέλος Πάσχα. Ἀρχή τῆς Ἀναστάσεως - John 1:1–17 (ff. B34^{v}–B35^{r})
[Lacuna]	

279 Erroneously identified as coming from Luke in the manuscript.

280 Title in pink-red ink.

281 The first Passion Gospel begins with John 13:31 and runs as far as 18:1, stopping on f. 154^{v} at John 16:8, which means that the folia containing John 16:8 to 18:1 have been lost. On f. A1^{r} the manuscript continues with the second Passion Gospel.

282 The gap between f. 154^{v} and f. A1^{r} was probably of four folia, demonstrated as follows: one folio (*recto* + *verso*) of Sin. gr. 960 corresponds to 33–34 TLG lines of the Gospel of Luke. John 16:8 to 18:1, namely the section missing from Sin. gr. 960, corresponds to 115 TLG lines. Hence approximately four folia (more precisely: three and a half folia) are absent, but we need to factor in the irregularity of the *mise en page*. The copyist did not always write an identical or regular number of lines on each page).

283 Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] preserves the Passion Gospels 2–12. The twelfth continues on f. B26^{r} of Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B].

284 This correponds to the end of the twelfth Passion Gospel.

285 One bifolio is missing here. It contained Matthew 26:18–37.

Occasional Prayers

In Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] + Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C] the occasional prayers are not listed under a specific heading. However, as already pointed out, this 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. 36^{r} and f. 43^{v}, all of which in my view may be considered occasional prayers (**Figure 44**). It is interesting to observe, moreover, 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. 37^{v}–38^{v}, separated from their counterparts by an ornamental half-line (**Figure 45**).



Figure 44 – f. 36^{r}, decorative line marking the beginning of the occasional prayers
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Such prayers occupy seven and half folia, or 15 individual pages of the manuscript (f. 36^{r} to f. 43^{v}). They are located between the baptismal rite and the ἀκολουθία εἰς ἀσθενοῦντας, and deal with a number of different themes, such as adoption, travel, agriculture, and purification issues.

No unknown or unedited prayer occurs in Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] + Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C], yet it is worth underlining the collection's specific idiosyncrasies. The two prayers for agriculture (the εὐχὴ εἰς τρύγην ἀμπέλου on f. 40^{v} and the εὐχὴ ἐπὶ σπόρου on ff. 43^{r}–43^{v}) are not found as such in the reference editions. The εὐχὴ εἰς τρύγην ἀμπέλου corresponds to the prayer said by the emperor when he took part in the grape harvest (εὐχὴ γινομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατριάρχου ὅτε πρὸς συνήθη ἐπιτελεῖ τὴν τρύγην ὁ

Βασιλεύς) in Vat. Barb. gr. 336 (Velkovska – Parenti 177 = Goar, p. 552). The incipits are different, but otherwise the texts are identical. Moreover, the εὐχὴ ἐπὶ σπόρου on ff. 43^{r}–43^{v} recalls the prayer for the beginning of sowing (εὐχὴ εἰς ἀρχὴν σπορίμων) in Coisl. 213 (Arranz, p. 319 inc.: Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ποιήσας γῆν καὶ ἄνθρωπον), Vat. Barb. gr. 336, and Crypt. Γ.β. VII (respectively Velkovska – Parenti 216 and Passarelli 219, each beginning with Ὁ ὢν Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ παντοκράτωρ). In this case too, title and incipits are different, but the prayer text is the same.

A similar pattern emerges with the prayer for those who issue a precipitous oath (εὐχὴ ἐπὶ προπετῶς ὀμνυόντων) on f. 42^{v}. The same text is found with an identical title but a different incipit in Goar, p. 534 (inc.: Ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν), and Coisl. 213, and Vat. Barb. gr. 336 (Arranz, p. 368 and Velkovska – Parenti 203, inc.: Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως).

Lastly, Dmitrievskij observes that the second prayer (εὐχὴ ἄλλη) for the kolyba of the saints is preserved in a Syro-Palestinian manuscript of the 11th century, namely Sin. gr. 958, and also in Sin. gr. 962, whose origin may likewise be Palestinian.

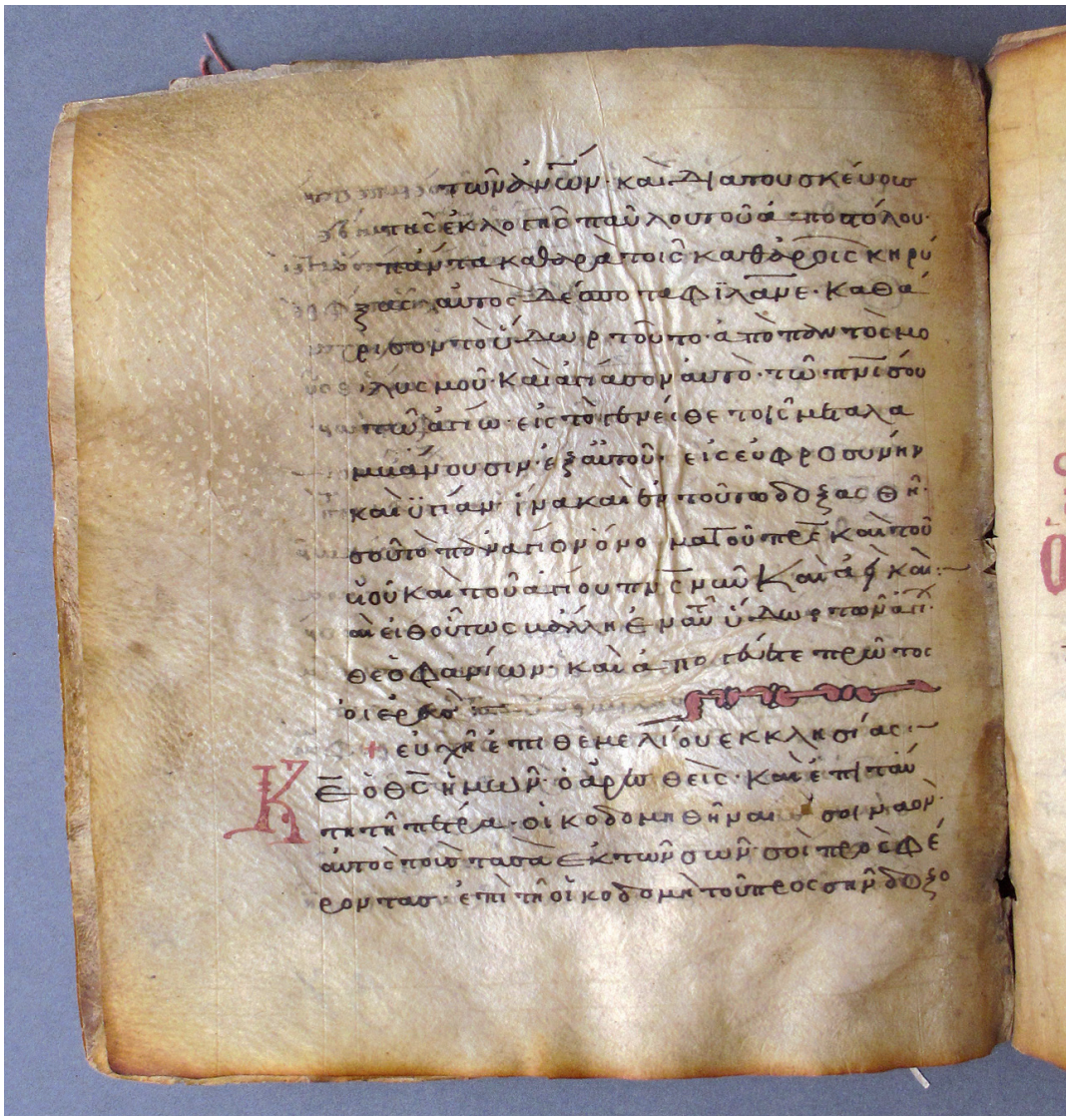


Figure 45 – f. 37^{v}, decorative half-line before the εὐχὴ ἐπὶ θεμελίου ἐκκλησίας
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

SCRIPTIONES INFERIORES

This is the first time that the *scriptiones inferiores* of Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] have been identified and analysed. As previously indicated, Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C] does not contain palimpsest folia.

As far as previous studies are concerned, it is worth recalling that Gardthausen observed in his catalogue that Sin. gr. 960 is a palimpsest;[286] similarly, Dmitrievskij and Aland (on whom Welte depends) noted the presence of rewritten folia in Sin. gr. 960, but gave no further details.[287]

The presence of palimpsest folia in Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] is recorded by Nikolopoulos in the catalogue of the Greek New Finds,[288] as well as by Aland and Welte.[289] However, as with Sin. gr. 960, no identification or description of the undertext is provided. A final point: the fact that one quire of Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] is palimpsest has been entirely overlooked to date.[290]

In total, 124 folia of Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] are palimpsest: 104 out of the 155 folia of Sin. gr. 960 are clearly *rescripti*; of the remaining 51 folia, 42 (ff. 1^{r}–8^{v}, 91^{r}–106^{v}, 111^{r}–118^{v}, 125^{r}–132^{v}, 143^{r}–144^{v}, 147^{rv})[291] were discarded and used as material for recycling, most likely because the ruling had been poorly executed (see **Figure 46**).[292] It is possible that a number of these 42 folia were not only ruled in an inappropriate way but also contained undertext. Today, however, no trace of writing is visible—even with spectral imaging. This leaves the eight folia of Quire 19 (f. 133^{r} to f. 140^{v}) and f. 147^{rv} as neither ruled nor palimpsest. All 12 folia of Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A], as well as ff. B10^{r}–B17^{v} of Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B], are palimpsest.

The 124 palimpsest folia of Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] are found in Quires 2–13, 15, 17, 20–21, A1–A2, B2. To assemble the manuscript, folia from two different original manuscripts were used: **1.** (Sticherarion) ff. 9^{r}–90^{v}, 107^{r}–110^{v}, 119^{r}–124^{v}, 148^{r}–154^{v}, A1^{r}–A12^{v}, B10^{r}–B17^{v}; **2.** (Liturgies of Saint Basil and of the Presanctified) ff. 141^{rv}, 142^{rv}, 145^{rv}, 146^{rv}.

Unless otherwise indicated, the images of Sin. gr. 960's erased folia displayed below were processed by myself during a month's research at the Center for Imaging Science of the Rochester Institute of Technology, New York (RIT), April/May 2016. Under Roger L. Easton's supervision, I undertook statistical image processing of a number of folia from Sin. gr. 960. This was preceded by a year's online training (2015–2016) in image processing from David Kelbe, at the time a doctoral student in Imaging Science at the RIT.[293]

The statistical image processing employed ENVI® software from Harris Geospatial. The techniques predominantly used were principal component analysis (PCA), independent component analysis (ICA), and minimum noise fraction (MNF). I combined the best grayscale images obtained from the application of the statistics into a pseudocolour image using Adobe Photoshop.

46 sides were chosen for processing.[294] In 27 instances[295] the results were more legible than anything obtained previously through automated batch processing. This made it possible to identify the *scriptiones inferiores* and detect the presence of rubrics, likely written originally in red ink and not visible in the images produced by automated processing.[296]

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286 Gardthausen, Catalogus 205: 'membranae plerumque rescriptae sunt'.

287 Dmitrievskij II 192; Aland l 910; Welte, Griechische Palimpseste 50.

288 Greek New Finds 162.

289 Aland l 2231; Welte, Griechische Palimpseste 52.

290 In Greek New Finds 163, there is no mention of palimpsest folia.

291 These correspond to Quires 1, 13 (except f. 90), 14, 16, 18, and ff. 143–144 (conjoins) of Quire 20.

292 RGB and processed pictures (after multispectral imaging) of the entire manuscript (Sin. gr. 960) are available online at https://sinai.library.ucla.edu. (19.09.2022).

293 David Kelbe is currently principal scientist at the Centre for Space Science Technology (CSST) in Alexandra, New Zealand.

294 The chosen folia were: 9^{r}, 9^{v}, 10^{r}, 10^{v}, 11^{r}, 11^{v}, 13^{r}, 14^{v}, 15^{r}, 15^{v}, 16^{r}, 16^{v}, 19^{r}, 19^{v}, 21^{r}, 26^{r}, 26^{v}, 27^{r}, 29^{r}, 29^{v}, 33^{r}, 39^{v}, 41^{r}, 41^{v}, 49^{r}, 49^{v}, 50^{r}, 50^{v}, 53^{r}, 53^{v}, 59^{r}, 59^{v}, 72^{v}, 78^{r}, 78^{v}, 79^{r}, 79^{v}, 91^{r}, 104^{v}, 124^{v}, 142^{r}, 145^{v}, 146^{r}, 146^{v}, 154^{r}, 154^{v}.

295 Namely: ff. 10^{v}, 11^{r}, 13^{r}, 14^{v}, 15^{r}, 16^{v}, 19^{r}, 19^{v}, 21^{r}, 26^{v}, 27^{r}, 29^{v}, 39^{v}, 41^{r}, 41^{v}, 49^{r}, 49^{v}, 53^{v}, 59^{v}, 78^{r}, 79^{v}, 104^{v}, 124^{v}, 142^{r}, 146^{r}, 146^{v}, 154^{r}.

296 The fact that in over half the cases the result was better than with previous images is significant. These positive results may well be due to the fact that—as a textual scholar and not an imaging scientist—I knew from the beginning what I wanted to achieve with the processing, and which areas of the folio would repay enhancing.

At the time of writing, there are no processed images available for Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] or Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] since these two manuscripts were not included in the *Sinai Palimpsests Project*. The work on their erased texts is therefore provisional, and was carried out onsite with the help of an ultraviolet flashlight. It is undoubtedly the case that if multispectral imaging is applied to these quires in the future, it will be possible to identify further text.

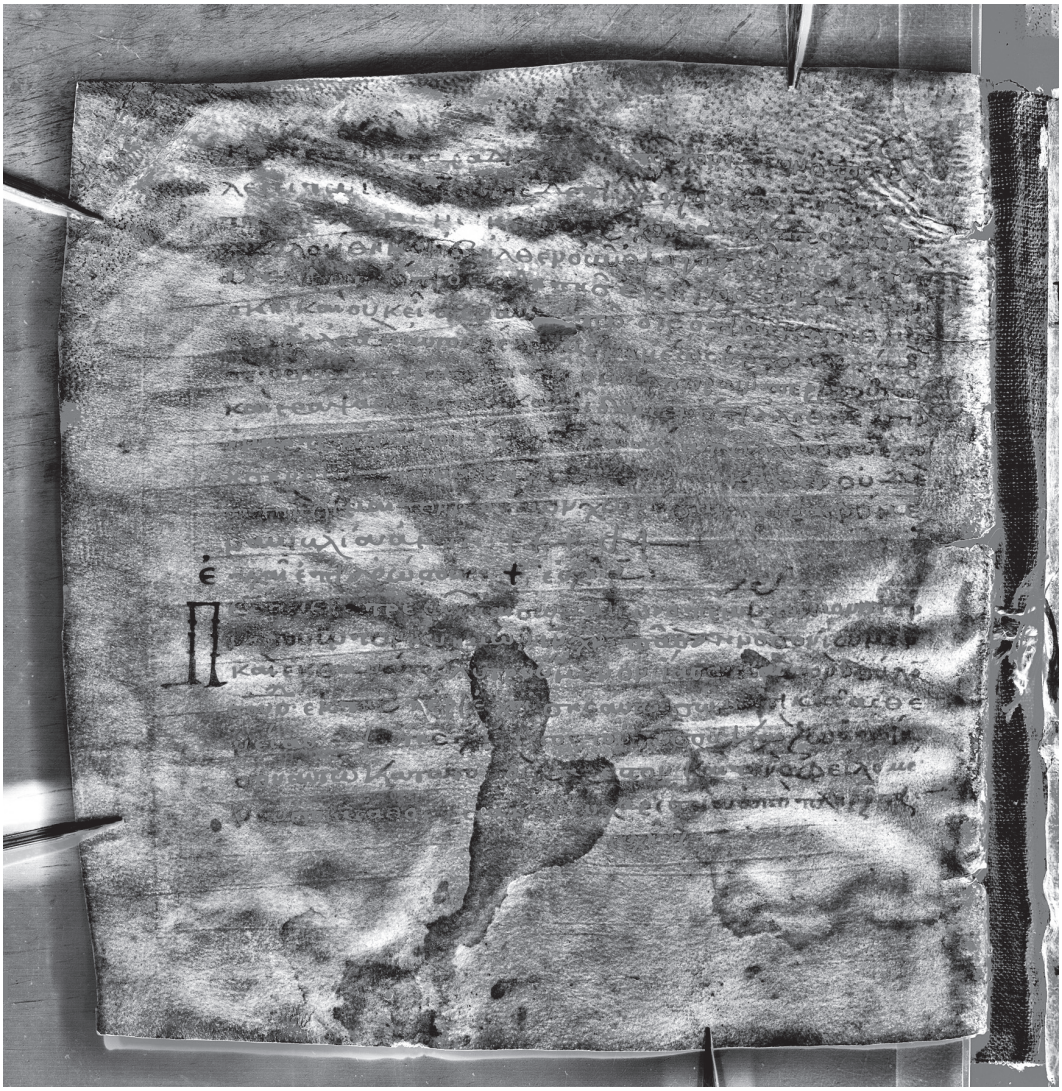


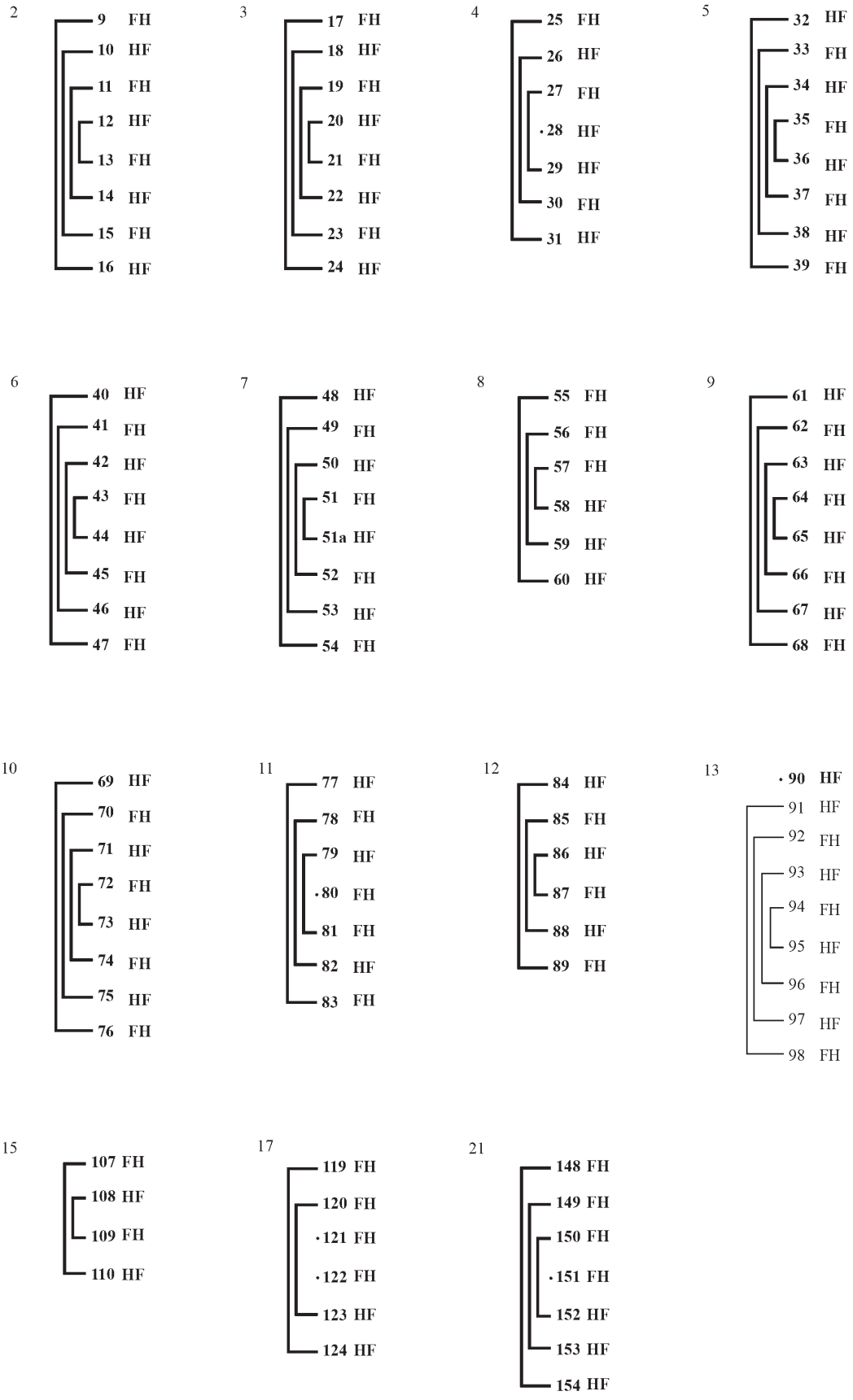
Figure 46 – f. 8^{v}: discarded because of poor ruling. Processed image by Keith Knox: KTK_sharpie_WBUVG58-MB700IR
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

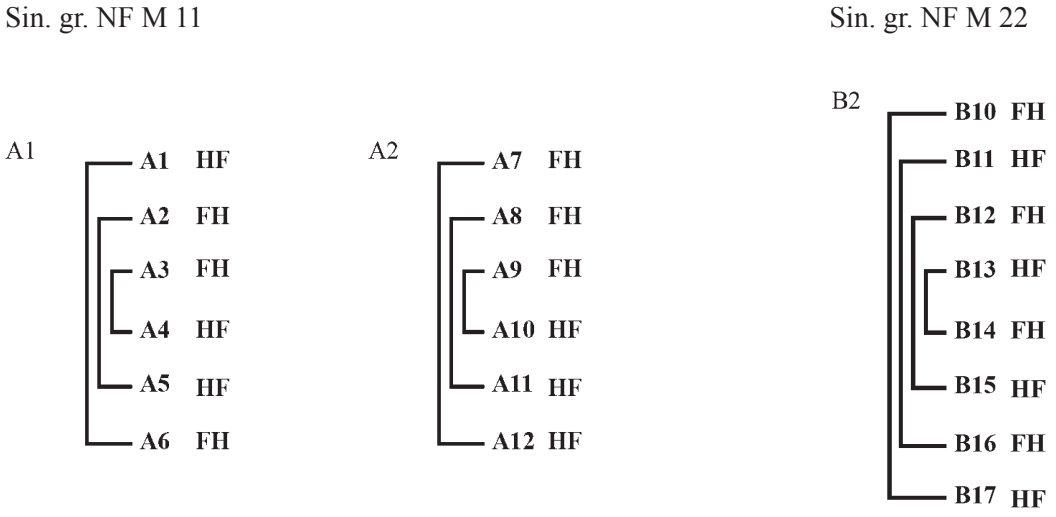
STICHERARION

1. ff. 9^{r}–90^{v}, 107^{r}–110^{v}, 119^{r}–124^{v}, 148^{r}–154^{v}, A1^{r}–A12^{v}, B10^{r}–B17^{v};[297] 2nd half of the 11th century: Sticherarion (fragments)
Bibliography: —
Specimina: **Figures 47 – 51**

[297] The palimpsest folia are indicated in bold in the schemes.

Sin. gr. 960 (the dots indicate single folia)





A total of 120 folia of Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] come from the same liturgical manuscript. 100 of these belong to Sin. gr. 960, 12 to Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A], and 8 to Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B].

The undertext runs parallel to the overtext. A single folio of Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] corresponds to a single folio of the original manuscript, and thus the original manuscript was in all likelihood of similar dimensions: approximately 160×150 mm. Each side preserves 19–20 lines of text (the distance between the lines is 6 mm), which are arranged in one column. The *Schriftspiegel* is approximately 130×85 mm. The outer margin measures 35 mm and the lower, 30 mm (f. 21^{r}). Prickings are still visible in the margins where there is little trimming (e.g. f. 13 and 109), their shape elongated rather than round and probably made with a penknife. Ruled lines tally with Sautel-Leroy type 22C1b.[298] The *Repertoire* indicates that this type is also attested in the 11th-century Marc. gr. V. 12 [Diktyon 70500] (measuring 212×165 mm and containing medical texts), and also in the 12th-century Meteora, Mone Metamorphoseos 253 [Diktyon 41663] (measuring 182×120 mm and containing the Bible). As will become clear shortly, the undertext of Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] was also copied at a point between the 11th and the 12th century.

The text itself is written in a small and elegant upright minuscule, conforming with the "*Perlschrift*" style. The writing runs across the ruled lines. The first letter of each sticheron is written in epigraphic majuscule and located outside the *Schriftspiegel*. Initials and rubrics were written in red—still visible to the naked eye on folia 27^{r} and 30^{v}, but more often invisible in both RGB and processed images. The only additional ornament is a decorative line at the bottom of f. 72^{v}. The margins are sometimes used by the scribe to add musical and liturgical information, such as the indication of echos (e.g. f. 29^{v}, 150^{r}).

The folia contain fragments from a Sticherarion.[299] The text is accompanied by Palaeo-Byzantine musical notation of the Coislin type,[300] though text and music were probably written in two slightly different kinds of ink, likely by the same scribe[301] (**Figure 47**). Since the *scriptio superior* runs so precisely over the *scriptio*

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298 J.-H. Sautel (à l'aide du fichier J. Leroy), Répertoire de réglures dans les manuscrits grecs sur parchemin. Turnhout 1995, 47, 143.

299 See the entry "Sticherarion" in Grove Music Online and in the Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology; S. V. Lazarevic, Sticherarion: an Early Byzantine Hymn Collection with Music. *BSI* 29 (1968), 290–318; A. Doneda, I manoscritti liturgico-musicali bizantini: tipologie e organizzazione, in: El palimpsesto grecolatino como fenómeno librario y textual, ed. A. Escobar. Zaragoza 2006, 94–98; N.-M. Wanek, Sticheraria in spät- und postbyzantinischer Zeit: Untersuchungen anhand der Stichera für August. Vienna 2013.

300 On this kind of musical notation see, for instance, the entry "Palaeo-Byzantine notation" in Grove Music Online; Chr. Troelsgård, Byzantine Neumes. Copenhagen 2011, 27–30; O. Strunk (ed.), Specimina notationum antiquiorum. VII. Copenhagen 1965; C. Floros, Universale Neumenkunde. I–III. Kassel 1970; J. Raasted – Chr. Troelsgård (ed.), Palaeobyzantine Notations: A Reconsideration of the Source Material. Hernen 1995; and more recently D. Bucca, Una nuova, e più precoce, testimonianza datata (an. 1021/1022) di notazione musicale paleobizantina nel Mosquens. Synod. gr. 438 (299 Vlad.). *Νέα Ῥώμη* 13 (2016) 79–132, pl. 1–12.

301 This is also the case with Vind. theol. gr. 136, where text, rubrics, and neumes were written by the same scribe: Kyrillos (G. Wolfram, Sticherarium antiquum Vindobonense: Codex theol. gr. 136 Bibliothecae Nationalis Austriacae phototypice depictus. Pars principalis & Pars suppletoria. Vienna 1987, *Suppletoria* 14).

inferior, and since the latter has been well erased, the lower layer is particularly hard to recover and pick out. Only sporadically have a few lines been left exposed (for instance, the last two lines of f. 153^{v}). Much more visible are the neumes, which are located between the lines, and sometimes the initials, which—as previously indicated—are located outside the *Schriftspiegel*. I have so far been able to identify the text on 22 folia: namely ff. 10, 15, 16, 19, 22, 26, 29, 39, 49, 78, 79, 81, 82, 84, 89, 149, 150, 151, 153, 154, B11, B16.[302]

The reconstructed order of the identified folia runs as follows: 151, 79, 81, 26, 19, 22, 78, 82, 16, 10, 15, B11, 29, B16, 39, 154, 49, 84, 89, 149, 153, 150(?). Their content is summarized below:

1) Stichera for the fixed year: **151** (1.11: Cosmas and Damian), **79** (11.11: Menas and Companions; 12.11; John the Merciful; 13.11: John Chrysostom), **81** (13.11: John Chrysostom), **26** (17.11: Gregory the Wonderworker; 18.11: Platon; 21.11: Presentation of the Theotokos), **19** (6.12: Nicholas), **22** (13.12: Eustratius and Companions), **78** (Sunday before Christmas, i.e. Sunday of the Holy Forefathers), **82** (Preortia of Christmas), **16** (25.12: Christmas), **10** (27.12: Stephen), **15** (1.1: Basil the Great), **B11** (6.1: Epiphany), **29** (7.1: John the Baptist), **B16** (14.1: Holy Abbots; 15.1: John the Calybite; 16.1: Chains of Peter), **39** (24.2: Head of John the Baptist), **154** (24.6: John the Baptist).

2) Stichera for the movable paschal cycle: **49**, **84**, **89** (stichera for Holy Thursday).

3) Octotonal hymnody of the Sunday Vigil service: **149** (stichera anastasima anatolika echos pl. α΄), **153** (stichera anabathmoi, echos α΄), **150**[303] (stichera eothina anastasima and exaposteilaria 8, 9, 10).

It is not possible to reconstruct entire quires of the original Sticherarion manuscript, but—on the basis of codicological features and through comparsion with codex Vind. theol. gr. 136 (Diktyon 71803)—we can establish that:
a) the conjoined folia 79 and 81 constituted the central bifolio of a quire, since their text is contiguous;
b) between the conjoined folia 19 and 22, one missing bifolio (8 stichera);
c) between the conjoined folia 78 and 82, one missing bifolio (10 stichera);
d) between the conjoined folia 10 and 15, two missing bifolia (18 stichera);
e) the conjoined folia 27–29 and B11–B16 belonged to the same quire. 27 and 29 constituted the central bifolio of the quire. Their original order was: B11, 29, 27, B16.
f) the conjoined folia 84 and 89 constituted the central bifolio of a quire, since their text is contiguous.

In almost all instances the bifolia were kept in their original configuration and not reversed.[304]

A (normalised) transcription of the identified text is set out below. Orthographic mistakes, including iotacism and confusion between o and ω, are commonly present.

f. 151^{r}: |[5] Ἀγάλλεται ὁ χορὸς τῶν ἁγίων… (SAV 180) |[9] Πόθῳ θείῳ καὶ ἔρωτι τῶν μελλόντων… (SAV 176; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 42^{r}, l. 6) |[18] Μεγάλων ἀξιωθέντες δωρεῶν… (SAV 177; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 42^{r}, l. 15) ||

f. 151^{v}: |[4] Ἰατροὶ τῶν ἀσθενούντων… (SAV 178) |[9] Ἡ πηγὴ τῶν ἰαμάτων… (SAV 179; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 42^{v}, l. 4) |[14] Πηγὴν ἰαμάτων ἔχοντες… (SAV 181; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 42^{v}, l. 13) ||

f. 79^{r}: |[6] Δεῦτε πιστοὶ τιμήσωμεν ἀθλοφόρον… (SAV 209; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 49^{r}, l. 5) |[12] Δεῦτε φίλαθλοι τὴν τρισαυγῆ… (SAV 210; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 49^{r}, l. 11) ||

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302 In relation to the stichera of the fixed year, the text has been checked against ms. Vind. Theol. gr. 136 (edition by Wolfram, Sticherarium antiquum Vindobonense) and also SAV (Chr. Troelsgård, A List of Sticheron Call-Numbers of the Standard Abridged Version of the Sticherarion. Part I (The Cycle of the Twelve Months). *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin* 74 (2003) 3–20). For the movable cycle and the octotonal hymnody of the Sunday Vigil service, TR and PaR have been consulted respectively.

303 F. 150 indubitably belongs to this section, although the exact position remains uncertain. I have placed it at the end since in the Rome edition of the Parakletike (PaR) these hymns are included as a final appendix.

304 Arnesano, Libri inutiles 198. An exception is bifolio 27–29.

f. 79^{v}: |^{2} Πάλιν ἡμῖν ἡ ἐτήσιος… (SAV 211; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 49^{v}, l. 2) |^{9} ἦχ(ος) β΄ Ἡ τοῦ ἐλέους πηγή…[305] (SAV 212; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 49^{v}, l. 8) |^{19} Φωστὴρ Ἰωάννη στόμα… (SAV 213; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 49^{v}, l. 16) ||

f. 81^{r}: |^{8} Σὲ τὸν μέγαν ἀρχιερέα καὶ ποιμένα… (SAV 214; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 50^{r}, l. 6) |^{13} Χρυσέοις λόγοις σου ἡ ἐκκλησία… (SAV 215; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 50^{r}, l. 10) ||

f. 81^{v}: |^{5} ἦχ(ος) β΄ Εἵληφας τὴν ἀνωτάτω φιλοσοφίαν…[306] (SAV 216; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 50^{v}, l. 2) |^{11} Ἔπρεπεν τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων… (SAV 217; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 50^{v}, l. 14) |^{19} Γέγονας Χρυσόστομε θεόπνευστον ὄργανον… (SAV 218; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 50^{v}, l. 7) ||

f. 26^{r}: |^{4} Τὸν περιβόητον ἐν θαύμασιν… (SAV 236; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 54^{v}, l. 13) |^{12} Φοβερὰ καὶ παράδοξα τὰ τροπαία… (SAV 237; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 55^{r}, l. 3) ||

f. 26^{v}: |^{5} Ἀγαλλιάσθω σήμερον ὁ οὐρανός… (SAV 238; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 55^{r}, l. 14) ||

f. 19^{r}: |^{8} Ἱεραρχῶν τὴν καλλονήν… (SAV 278; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 64^{r}, l. 11) ||

f. 22^{r}: ||^{1} Τὴν πεντάριθμον χορείαν… (SAV 287; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 66^{r}, l. 13) |^{11} Ῥητορικοῖς ἔπεσιν… (SAV 288; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 66^{v}, l. 4) ||

f. 78^{r}: ||^{1} … ἦχ(ος) βαρ(ύς) |^{2} Δεῦτε ἅπαντες, πιστῶς πανηγυρίσωμεν… (SAV 307; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 71^{r}, l. 16) |^{13} Βολίδες ἀστράπτοντες θεηγορίαις… (SAV 308; Vind. Theol. gr. 136, f. 71^{v}, l. 10) |^{18} … ἦχ(ος) β΄ |^{19} Χαίρετε προφῆται τίμιοι οἱ τὸν νόμον… (SAV 309; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 71^{v}, l. 15) || (**Figure 48**)

f. 78^{v}: |^{7} Δανιὴλ ἀνὴρ ἐπιθυμιῶν, λίθον ἄνευ χειρός… (SAV 310; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 72^{r}, l. 4) |^{12} Τῶν νομικῶν διδαγμάτων ὁ σύλλογος… (SAV 311; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 72^{r}, l. 8) ||

f. 82^{r}: |^{8} Ἡσαΐα χόρευε λόγον Θεοῦ ὑπόδεξαι… (SAV 322; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 74^{r}, l. 11) |^{17} Μὴ στύγναζε Ἰωσήφ… (SAV 323; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 74^{v}, l. 1) ||

f. 82^{v}: |^{5} ἦχ(ος) πλ. β΄ Σπήλαιον εὐτρεπίζου· ἡ Ἀμνὰς γὰρ ἥκει…[307] (SAV 324; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 74^{v}, l. 7) |^{17} Σιὼν πανηγύριζε Ἱερουσαλήμ… (SAV 325; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 74^{v}, l. 17) ||

f. 16^{v}: |^{6} Χορεύουσιν ἄγγελοι πάντες… (SAV 364; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 85^{r}, l. 5) |^{12} Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς… (SAV 365; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 85^{r}, l. 10) |^{19} Ὅτε καιρὸς τῆς ἐπὶ γῆς… (SAV 366; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 85^{r}, l. 15) ||

f. 10^{r}: |^{5} Ἀθλοφορικὸν στέφανον τῷ πρωτάθλῳ… (SAV 372; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 159^{r}, l. 6) ||

f. 10^{v}: |^{3} Ἁγιωσύνην ἐνεδύσω… (SAV 374; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 86^{v}, l. 16 and f. 159^{r}, l. 10) |^{8} Πρῶτος ἐν διακόνοις… (SAV 375; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 159^{r}, l. 14) |^{14} Τὸν πρωτομάρτυρα καὶ γενναίον… (SAV 376; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 159^{v}, l. 2) |^{19} Στέφανε ἔνδοξε οὐρανοπολῖτα… (SAV 377; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 159^{v}, l. 13) ||

f. 15^{r}: ||^{1} τῆς ζωῆς ἱεροφάντα βασίλειε… (SAV 395; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 89^{v}, l. 17) |^{8} Μύρον ἐκκενωθὲν ἐπὶ σε… (SAV 396; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 89^{v}, l. 1) |^{17} Τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολήν… (SAV 397; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 89^{v}, l. 7) || (**Figure 47**)

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[305] ἦχ(ος) β΄ is written in the margin.
[306] ἦχ(ος) β΄ is written in the margin; Εἵληφας ἱεράρχα τὴν ἀνωτάτω φιλοσοφίαν (SAV and Vind. theol. gr. 136).
[307] ἦχ(ος) πλ. β΄ is written in the margin.

f. 15^{v}: |^{9} Ἐξεχύθη ἡ χάρις ἐν χείλεσι σου… (SAV 398; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 90^{r}, l. 5) |^{14} Ὁ τὴν χάριν τῶν θαυμάτων… (SAV 399; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 90^{r}, l. 9) ||

f. B11^{r}: |^{3} Βαπτίζεται Χριστός… (SAV 442; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 102^{r}, l. 6) |^{11} … ἔτρεμεν ἡ χεὶρ τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ (SAV 439; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 99^{v}, l. 17) ||

f. B11^{v}: ||^{1} Τὸν ἐκ Παρθένου Ἥλιον βλέπων… (SAV 446; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 101^{r}, l. 2) |^{6} Ἀνυμνήσωμεν οἱ πιστοὶ τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς… (SAV 447; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 100^{v}, l. 4) ||

f. 29^{v}: ἀνατεί]||^{1}λαντα εἰς μερόπων ἀνάπλασιν… (SAV 451; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 102^{v}, ll. 5–6) |^{6} … ἦχ(ος) πλ. β΄ |^{7} Ἔνσαρκε Λύχνε Πρόδρομε τοῦ σωτῆρος… (SAV 452; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 102^{v}, l. 10) |^{13} ἦχ(ος) πλ. β΄ Ἄγγελος ἐκ στειρωτικῶν ὠδίνων…[308] (SAV 453; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 102^{v}, l. 15) || (**Figure 49**)

f. B16^{r}: |^{5} Μακάριοι ἐστέ Ὅσιοι… (SAV 463; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 105^{r}, l. 8) |^{10} Μηνί τῷ αὐτῷ ιε΄: |^{11} τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰω(άννου) διὰ Χριστόν πτωχοῦ |^{12} Ἀρνησάμενος κόσμον… (SAV 464; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 105^{v}, l. 2) |^{19} Μηνί τῷ αὐτῷ ισ΄: τῆς τιμίας ἁλύσεως ||

f. B16^{v}: ||^{1} Ἀξίως εἴληφας ἐκ Θεοῦ… (SAV 465; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 105^{v}, l. 9) |^{8} Σήμερον ἡμῖν ἡ κρηπίς… (SAV 466; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 105^{v}, l. 14) ||

f. 39^{v}: |^{18} … σωτῆ|^{19}ρι τῶν ὅλων πρεσβεύουσα ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν |^{20} ἡμῶν (SAV 535; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 121^{v}, l. 10) ||

f. 154^{r}: |^{10} Λύει τοῦ Ζαχαρίου τὴν σιωπήν… (SAV 601; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 137^{v}, l. 10) |^{17} Σήμερον ἡ φωνή τοῦ λόγου… (SAV 602; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 137^{v}, l. 17) || (**Figure 51**)

f. 154^{v}: |^{4} Θεοῦ λόγου μέλλοντος ἐκ Παρθένου… (SAV 603; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 138^{r}, l. 6) |^{11} Ἐπέφανεν σήμερον ὁ μέγας Πρόδρομος… (SAV 604; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 138^{r}, l. 12) ||

f. 49^{v}: |^{19} Συντρέχει λοιπὸν τὸ συνέδριον τῶν Ἰουδαίων |^{20} τὸν δημιουργόν, καὶ κτίστην τῶν ἁπάντων… (TR 656; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 209^{v}, ll. 16–17) || (**Figure 50**)

f. 84^{r}: |^{14} Γρηγορεῖτε καὶ προσεύχεσθε… (TR 667; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 213^{v}, l. 21) |^{19} Ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ τοὺς μαθητὰς διατρέφων… (TR 667; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 214^{r}, l. 3) ||

f. 84^{v}: ||^{1} ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἰούδαν διήλεγξας, ἀδιόρθωτον… (TR 667; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 214^{r}, ll. 4–5) |^{8} Σήμερον ὁ Ἰούδας καταλιμπάνει… (TR 667; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 214^{r}, l. 11) |^{17} Τὴν φιλαδελφίαν κτησώμεθα… (TR 668; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 214^{r}, l. 19) ||

f. 89^{r}: |^{3} Ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ διδασκάλου… (TR 668; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 214^{v}, l. 4) |^{18} … [χορ]||^{19}τάσαν τὰ πλήθη σήμερον ὁ ἄνομος ἀρ|^{20}νεῖται τὸν διδάσκαλον μαθητὴς γενόμ||[ενος (TR 668; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 214^{v}, ll. 18–19)

f. 89^{v}: |^{17}… [κα]||^{18} θεύδει ἀλλὰ σπουδάζει προδοῦναι με … |^{19} … ἐγείρεσθε προσεύξασθε μή τις με |^{20} ἀρνήσεται βλέπων με ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ μακρό||[θυμε (TR 668–669; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 215^{r}, ll. 10–13)

f. 149^{r}: |^{4} … στίχ(ηρα) ἀναστ(άσιμα) τῷ σα(ββάτῳ) ἑσπ(έρας) ἦχ(ος) πλ. α΄ |^{5} Ἑσπερινὴν προσκύνησιν… (PaR 363; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 260^{r}, l. 6) |^{11} Τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας… (PaR 363; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 260^{r}, l. 12) |^{16} Οἱ τῆς κουστωδίας ἐνηχοῦντο… (PaR 363; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 260^{r}, l. 12) ||

[308] ἦχ(ος) πλ. β΄ is written in the margin.

f. 149^{v}: |^{7} Κύριε ὁ τὸν Ἅδην σκυλεύσας… (PaR 363; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 260^{v}, l. 4) |^{10} Κύριε ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων… (PaR 378; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 260^{v}, l. 7) |^{14} Κύριε τὰ ὑπερλάμποντα… (PaR 378; Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 260^{v}, l. 11) ||

f. 153^{r}: |^{3} Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις. (PaR 10) |^{6} Ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρηκόσι μοι… (PaR 10) |^{11} Ἐπὶ οἶκον Δαυΐδ… (PaR 10) |^{17} Ἁγίῳ πνεύματι τιμὴν προσκύνησιν… (PaR 10) ||

f. 153^{v}: |^{17} Δεξιᾷ σου χειρὶ λαβών… (PaR 10) ||

f. 150^{r}: ||^{1} σοι Χριστὲ ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως κῆρυξ πέμπεται τοῖς σοῖς (PaR 711, ll. 2–3) |^{5} Δύο ἀγγέλους βλέψασα ἔνδοθεν… (PaR 710) |^{11} Ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτων τῶν χρόνων… (PaR 711) ||

f. 150^{v}: ||^{1} … ἐξαποστειλά(ριον) θ΄ |^{2} Συγκεκλεισμένον δέσποτα τῶν θυρῶν… (PaR 711) |^{9} Μετὰ τὴν εἰς Ἅδου κάθοδον… (PaR 712) ||

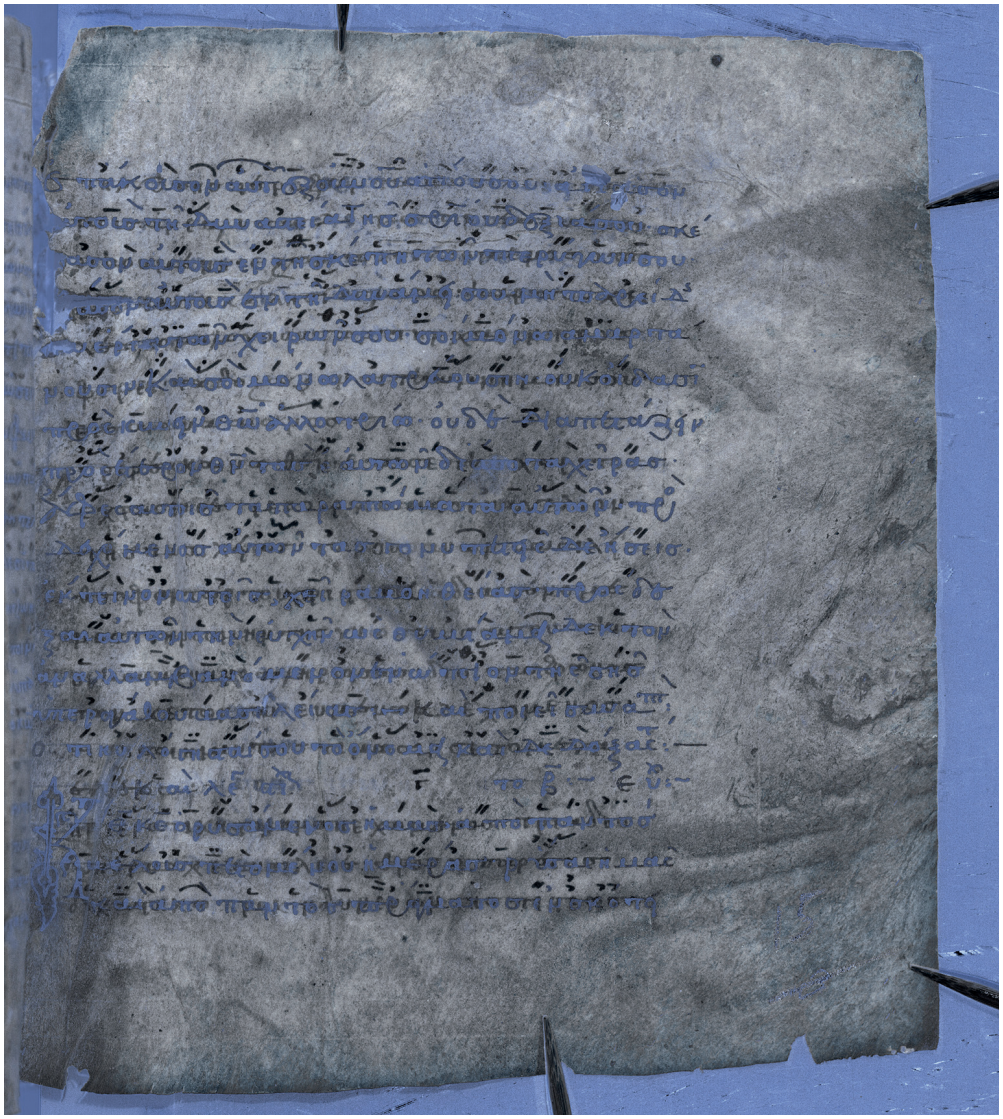


Figure 47 – f. 15^{r}: *scriptio superior* in violet; *scriptio inferior* in grey (text) and black (neumes). Pseudocolour processed image by Giulia Rossetto (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

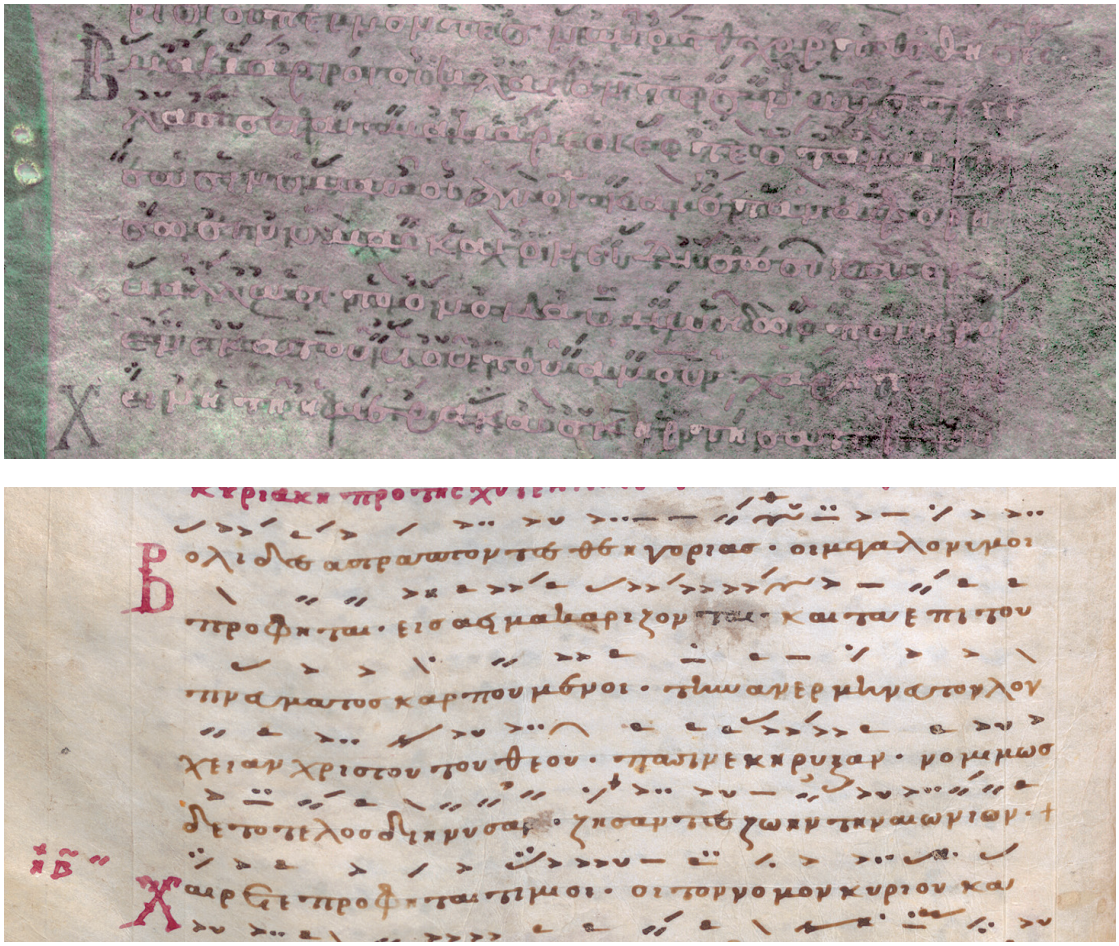


Figure 48 – Above, stichera for the Sunday of the Holy Forefathers with Coislin notation: Sin. gr. 960, f. 78^{r}. Pseudocolour processed image by Giulia Rossetto (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt); below: Vind. theol. gr. 136, f. 71^{v} (© Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)

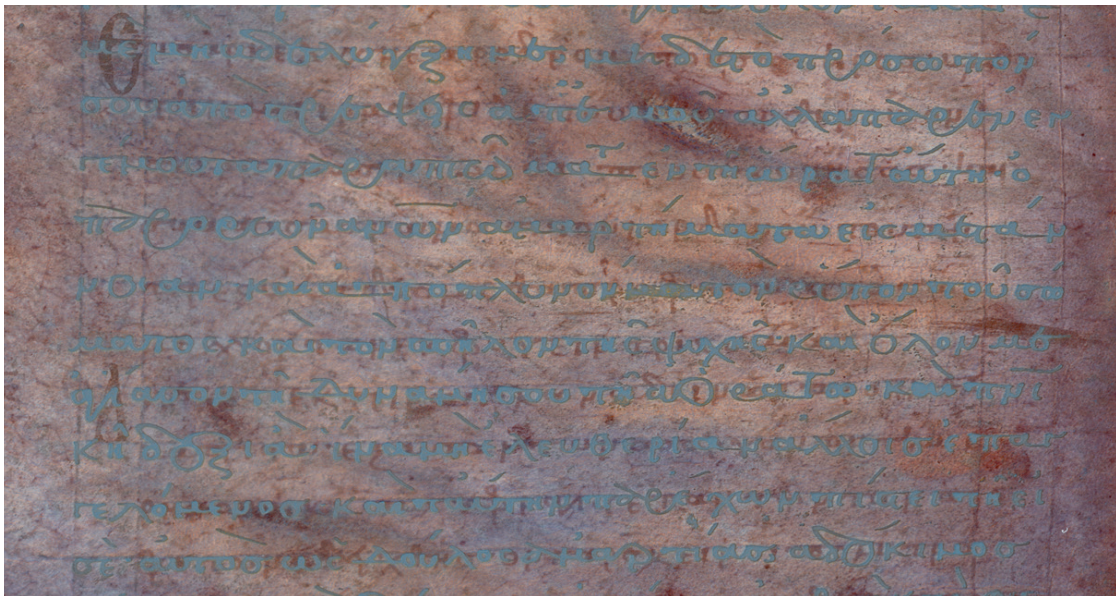


Figure 49 – f. 29^{v}: initials E and A are visible, respectively on lines 7 and 13. Pseudocolour processed image by Giulia Rossetto (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)



Figure 50 – f. 49^{v}: lines 19 and 20 are visible without overtext. Pseudocolour processed image by Giulia Rossetto (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

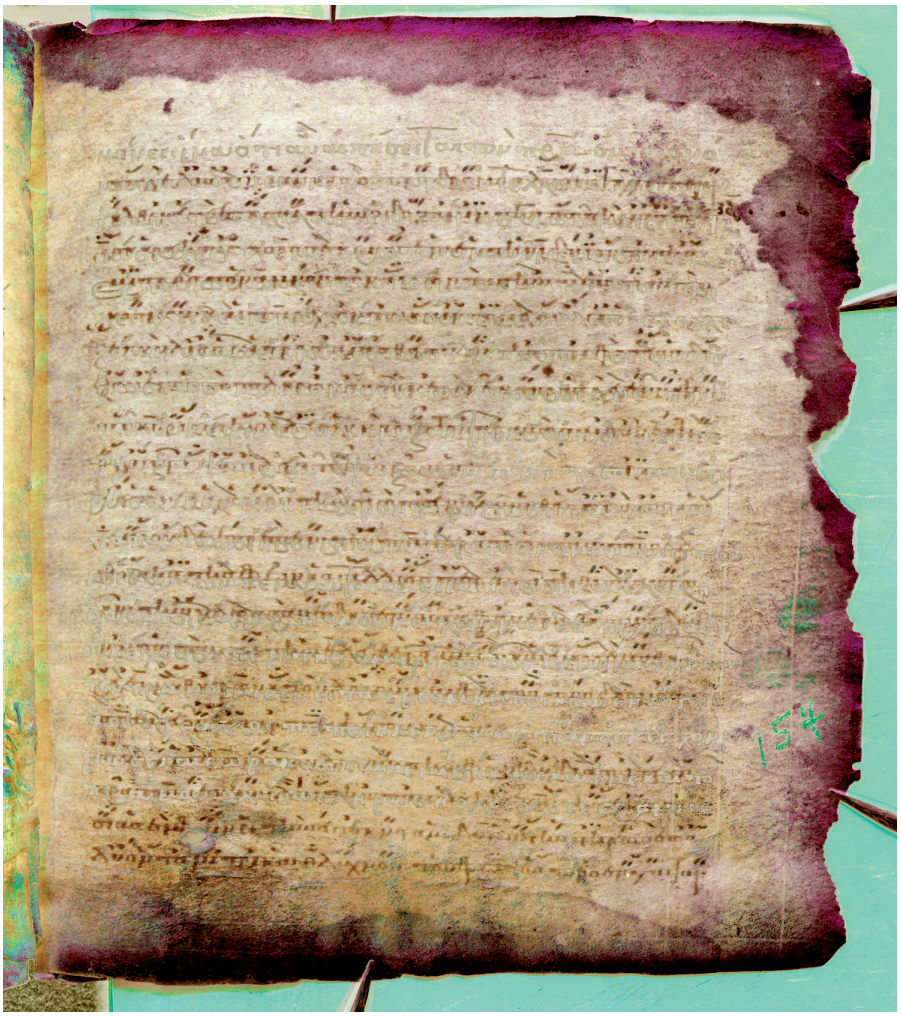


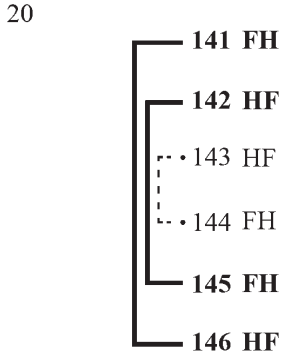
Figure 51 – f. 154^{r}. Pseudocolour processed image by Giulia Rossetto (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Such a comprehensive inclusion of stichera for the fixed year, for the movable paschal cycle, and for the octotonal hymnody of the Sunday Vigil service (namely the material that a typical Sticherarion contains)[309] would seem to suggest that the *codex antiquior* contained the complete repertoire of a Sticherarion and thus consisted of perhaps 300 folia in total.[310]

Comparison with Vind. theol. gr. 136[311]—a Sticherarion of the 12th century, whose neumes are assigned to stage V of the Coislin type of musical notation (classification according to Floros)[312]—allows us to place the notation of the erased Sticherarion in Sin. gr. 960 and its *disiecta membra* between Coislin IV and Coislin V,[313] and consequently suggests that it may have been written in the second half of the 11th century (**Figure 48**). In fact, in comparison with the Vienna codex, Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] has fewer melodic ornaments in the cadences (for instance the thematismoi), and neumes are combined almost always by loose junctures rather than fixed ligatures. An exception is the kouphisma. In Vind. theol. gr. 136, the following development is recognizable: the highest or lowest tone in the sound space of the echos is marked by hypseles or chamele. Yet this is missing in the identified chants of the Sinai manuscript. In addition, the Vienna Codex has intermediate signatures, signatures indicating a mode change, but these are not discernible in Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B].[314]

Liturgies of Saint Basil and of the Presanctified Gifts

2. ff. 141rv, 142rv, 145rv, 146rv;[315] early 12th century: liturgies of Saint Basil and of the Presanctified Gifts (fragments)
Bibliography: —
Specimina: **Figures 52 – 55**



The lower writing runs parallel to the *scriptio superior*. One folio of Sin. gr. 960 corresponds to a single folio of the original manuscript (**Figure 53**), the likely size of the original being 180×140 mm (though doubtless with some trimming off the height).

Each side preserves 22–23 lines of text arranged in a single column and spaced 6 mm apart. The *Schriftspiegel* is approximately 125×95 mm. The outer margin measures 30 mm, the lower 24 mm, and the upper

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309 The standard abridged version (SAV) of the Sticherarion encompasses nearly 1400 distinct stichera, afforded the following sections: 1. idiomela of the fixed year; 2. idiomela (and some prosomoia) of the movable (paschal) cycle; 3. octotonal hymnody of the Sunday Vigil service: stichera anastasima (resurrectional), anatolika, anabathmoi, 24 alphabetical stichera, dogmatika.

310 Manuscript Vind. theol. gr. 136, which is used here for comparison, has 264 folia, but it is incomplete; a complete sticherarion, such as e.g. Vind. theol. gr. 181 (Diktyon 71848), more likely boasts around 294 folia.

311 The manuscript is edited by Wolfram, Sticherarium antiquum Vindobonense.

312 Floros, Neumenkunde.

313 Floros, Neumenkunde, I, 318–323.

314 I thank Peter Jeffrey and Gerda Wolfram for their advice on the identification and dating of this erased text.

315 The palimpsest folia are indicated in bold in the scheme.

14 mm (f. 141^{r}). The activity of palimpsestation has damaged the parchment surface, and the ruling is therefore not very visble and its scheme difficult to define in more detail.

The text is written in a round and upright calligraphic minuscule *à μεν distendu*:[316] a variant of the epsilon style characterized by thick vertical strokes, triangular α, θ in the shape of biblical majuscule, and featuring the ligature *distendu* of μεν and γεν (**Figure 52**). Initials and titles are written in *epigraphische Auszeichnungsmajuskel* (**Figures 54, 55**).[317]

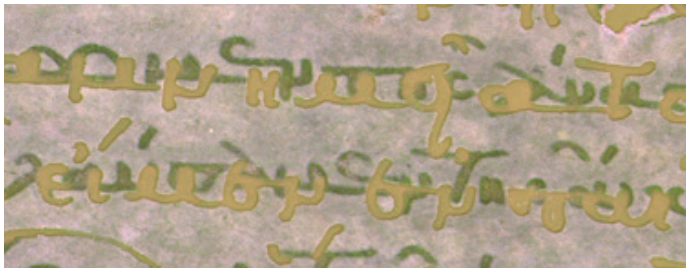


Figure 52 – f. 146^{v}: ligature *à μεν distendu*. Pseudocolour processed image by Giulia Rossetto (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

The script of Sin. gr. 960 closely recalls that of the Euchologion fragment in codex Vat. gr. 1840, ff. 1–48 (Diktyon 68469).[318] Other similarities can be observed in codex Par. gr. 1215, dated 1080 and recently attributed to Cyprus (Diktyon 50820).[319] Since manuscripts written in this style are attested in both Cyprus and Palestine, it cannot be excluded that this undertext could originate from one of these two locations, just like the *scriptio superior*.

The folia contain fragments from the Liturgy of Saint Basil and from the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts. The reconstructed order of the folia is: 141^{r}, 141^{v}, 142^{r}, 142^{v}, 145^{r}, 145^{v}, 146^{r}, 146^{v}. All of these folia come from the same quire, likely belonging to a Euchologion manuscript.

The text has been checked against Goar and Arranz. A summary of its content follows, with the orthography (generally correct in the manuscript) normalised. Textual variants from Goar and Arranz are indicated in bold.

f. 141^{r}: ||^{1} βοῶμεν καὶ λέγομεν· Ἅγιος εἶ, ὡς ἀληθῶς καί (Goar, p. 142, ll. 8–9; Arranz, p. 479, 2–3) |^{22} … διὰ σπλά|^{23}χνα ἐλέους σου προφήτας ἐξαπέστειλας (Goar, p. 142, ll. 25–26; Arranz, p. 480, 22–23) ||

f. 141^{v}: ||^{1} ἐποίησας δυνάμεις διὰ τῶν ἁγίων σου τῶν (Goar, p. 142, ll. 26–27; Arranz, p. 480, 24–25) |^{23} ὁ θάνατος εὐδόκησεν ὁ μονογενής σου (Goar, p. 142, l. 42; Arranz, p. 480, 44–45) ||

f. 142^{r}: ||^{1} υἱὸς ὁ ὢν ἐν τοῖς κόλποις σοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρός γε|^{2}νόμενος… (Goar, p. 142, ll. 42–43; Arranz, p. 480, 45–47) |^{22} κεκοιμημένων πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν (Goar, p. 143, ll. 1–2; Arranz, p. 481, 70–71) ||

f. 142^{v}: ||^{1} ἵνα ᾖ αὐτὸς τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πρωτεύων καὶ ἀν|^{2}ελθών… (Goar, p. 143, ll. 2–3; Arranz, p. 481, 72–73) |^{3} …κα|^{4}τέλιπε δὲ ἡμῖν ὑπομνήματα τοῦ σωτηρίου αὐτοῦ πά|^{5}θους… (Goar, p. 143, ll. 5–6; Arranz, p. 482, 1) | ^{22} Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν ὁσάκις (Goar, p. 143, ll. 36–37; Arranz, p. 482, 23–24) ||

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316 On this variant of the epsilon style see: Canart, Écritures livresques chypriotes 65–67; Canart – Perria, Écritures livresques 99; Perria, Γραφίς 144; R. S. Stefec, Anmerkungen zu einigen zypriotisch-palästinensischen Handschriften des Athosklosters Vatopedi. *Νέα Ῥώμη* 10 (2013) 135–136. And more recently, Francesco D'Aiuto's paper: *Tra Rodi, Cipro e Cilicia: sullo stile 'à men distendu'* at the "Giornata di studio in ricordo di Mons. Paul Canart", Città del Vaticano, 21st September 2018.

317 On this distincive majuscule, see in particular Hunger, Epigraphische Auszeichnungsmajuskel. Also: Hunger, Minuskel und Auszeichnungsschriften; Cavallo, Scritture librarie e scritture epigrafiche, and more recently Orsini, Scritture epigrafiche e scritture librarie and Rhoby, Epigraphica-Palaeographica.

318 Canart, Écritures livresques chypriotes 66. Canart dates this manuscript to the 13th century. It is available online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1840 (19.09.2022).

319 This manuscript is accessible online: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10721760p/f13.item (19.09.2022).

f. 145r: ||1 ἐπουρανίων μυστηρίων μηδὲ ἀσθενῇ ψυχῇ (Goar, p. 147, ll. 51–52; Arranz, p. 491, 15–16) |12 Τὴν ἡμέραν πᾶσαν. Ἄγγελον εἰρήνης. Συγγνώ|13μην… (Goar, p. 148, ll. 4–6) |18 Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν καὶ Θεὸς πά|19σης παρακλήσεως… (Goar, p. 148, ll. 20–21; Arranz, p. 492, 1–3) |21 …ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου |22 πονηροῦ **ἐξάρπασον ἐν**320 παντὶ δὲ ἔργῳ (Goar, p. 148, ll. 23–24; Arranz, p. 492, 6–7) ||

f. 145v: ||1 ἀγαθῷ σύναψον καὶ καταξίωσον ἀκατακρί|2τως… (Goar, p. 148, ll. 24–25; Arranz, p. 492, 7–8) |6 Πρόσχες Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐξ ἁγίου κατοικη|7τηρίου… (Goar, p. 148, ll. 32–33; Arranz, p. 493, 1–2) |20 Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῇ μεταλήψει τῶν |21 ἁγίων. (Goar, p. 148, ll. 44–45; Arranz, p. 494, 1–3) |22 σου μυστηρίων ἃ ἔδωκας ἡμῖν ἐπ’ (Goar, p. 148, l. 46; Arranz, p. 494, 3–4) ||

f. 146r: ||1 εὐεργεσίᾳ καὶ ἁγιασμῷ, καὶ ἰάσει τῶν ψυχῶν (Goar, p. 148, ll. 46–47; Arranz, p. 494, 4–5) |13 Εὐχὴ ὀπισθάμβωνος |14 Ὁ εὐλογῶν τοῦς εὐλογοῦντάς σε Κύριε, καὶ ἁγιάζων (Goar, p. 149, ll. 18–19) |21 σέ εἰρήνην τῷ κόσμῳ σου δώρησαι ταῖς ἐκ||[κλησίαις] (Goar, p. 149, l. 24)

f. 146v: [ἐκ]||1κλησίαις σου τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἡμῶν (Goar, p. 149, l. 25) |7 … εὐχὴ λεγομένη ἐν τῷ σκευοφυλακίῳ |8 Ἄνυσθαι καὶ τετέλεσθαι ὅσον εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν (Goar, p. 149, l. 33 with title εὐχὴ ἐν τῷ συστεῖλαι τὰ ἅγια; Arranz, p. 495, 1–2) |17 καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν (Goar, p. 149, ll. 42–43; Arranz, p. 496, 14) |19 Ἡ θεία λειτουργία τῶν προηγι|20ασμένων: εὐχὴ τῆς προθέσεως |21 Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ὑποδείξας ἡμῖν τὸ μέγα τοῦτο |22 τῆς σωτηρίας μυστηρίον σὺ ἱκάνωσον ἡμᾶς ||

The preserved sections from the Liturgy of Saint Basil come from the anaphora and the dismissal rite.321 In particular, we find:
- the *post sanctus* (*incipit* missing): [Μετὰ τούτων τῶν μακαρίων δυνάμεων δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ] βοῶμεν καὶ λέγομεν· Ἅγιος εἶ, ὡς ἀληθῶς (ff. 141r, l. 1 – 142v, l. 3);
- the institution narrative: Κατέλιπε δὲ ἡμῖν ὑπομνήματα τοῦ σωτηρίου αὐτοῦ πάθους (f. 142v, ll. 3–22). This is not distinguished in the manuscript by a new line or with a capital letter;
- the prayer before the *Pater Noster* (with *incipit* Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ σώζειν σὺ ἡμᾶς322 missing): ἐπουρανίων μυστηρίων μηδὲ ἀσθενῇ ψυχῇ (f. 145r, ll. 1–17);
- the kefaloklisia prayer: Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν καὶ Θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως (ff. 145r, l. 18 – 145v, l. 5);
- the prayer before communion: Πρόσχες Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐξ ἁγίου κατοικητηρίου (f. 145v, ll. 6–19);
- the prayer after communion: Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῇ μεταλήψει τῶν ἁγίων (ff. 145v, l. 20 – 146r, l. 12);
- the opisthambonos prayer (title: Εὐχὴ ὀπισθάμβωνος): Ὁ εὐλογῶν τοῦς εὐλογοῦντάς σε Κύριε, καὶ ἁγιάζων (ff. 146r, l. 13 – 146v, l. 7)
- the prayer to be said in the skeuophylakion (title: εὐχὴ λεγομένη ἐν τῷ σκευοφυλακίῳ): Ἄνυσθαι καὶ τετέλεσθαι ὅσον εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν (f. 146v, ll. 7–17).

320 ἀπόστησον in Goar and Arranz.
321 On this liturgy see, for instance, H. Engberding, Das eucharistische Hochgebet der Basileiosliturgie: textgeschichtliche Untersuchungen und kritische Ausgabe. Münster 1931, and J. R. K. Fenwick, The Anaphoras of Saint Basil and Saint James: an Investigation into their Common Origin. Rome 1992.
322 Goar, p. 147, l. 38; Arranz, p. 490, 1.



Figure 53 – f. 146^{r}: *scriptio inferior* in dark brown, running parallel to the *scriptio superior* in light blue. Pseudocolour processed image by Giulia Rossetto (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

A notable gap occurs between f. 142^{v} and f. 145^{r}: among other items, the epiclesis and intercessions for the living and the dead (diptychs) are missing. How many folia did the lost text occupy? A comparison with the text of the Liturgy of Saint Basil presented in Arranz is a helpful indicator. In fact, one folio of Sin. gr. 960 corresponds to approximately 100 lines in Arranz. By this calculation 200 such lines are missing here, and it may therefore be supposed that at least two folia (i.e. one bifolio) have been lost. I stress that this is a minimal estimate because the missing section included the diptychs for the dead and the living, whose length could vary. However, if there was only one missing bifolio, it must therefore have formed the centre of its quire.

The beginning of the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts is found on l. 19 of f. 146^{v}, its title preceded by a decorative line. The title (ἡ θεία λειτουργία τῶν προηγιασμένων) is the most commonly found, and it is mainly attested in 12th century manuscripts.[323] Next to it are written the first two lines of the prothesis prayer (εὐχὴ τῆς προθέσεως): Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ὑποδείξας ἡμῖν τὸ μέγα τοῦτο τῆς σωτηρίας μυστηρίον σὺ ἱκάνωσον ἡμᾶς, which is absent from both Goar and Arranz. According to Alexopoulos, the earliest manuscript containing a prothesis ritual for the Liturgy of the Presanctified is the 11th-century Crypt. Γ.β. XX (Diktyon 17912).[324] This ritual could take place at various moments of the liturgy; here in the *scriptio inferior* of Sin. gr. 960, it occurs—as it does in the majority of sources—before the beginning of the liturgy.[325] The prayer

[323] S. Alexopoulos, The Presanctified Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite: A Comparative Analysis of its Origin, Evolution, and Structural Components. Leuven 2009, 55–58.

[324] Alexopoulos, Presanctified Liturgy 158.

[325] Alexopoulos, Presanctified Liturgy 158–159. Alexopoulos maintains that this is the ancient place of the prothesis in the Byzantine

in Sin. gr. 960 is very similar to that edited by Alexopoulos: Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν.[326] Only the *incipit* differs.

Finally, it is worth noting that the Liturgy of the Presanctified is directly preceded by that of Basil. This means that Chrysostom's Liturgy—if it was present in the original manuscript—must have been first in order. Therefore, wherever the original codex was written, the Liturgy of Chrysostom had already prevailed over that of Saint Basil.[327] This agrees with the proposed dating of the folia to the early 12th century.

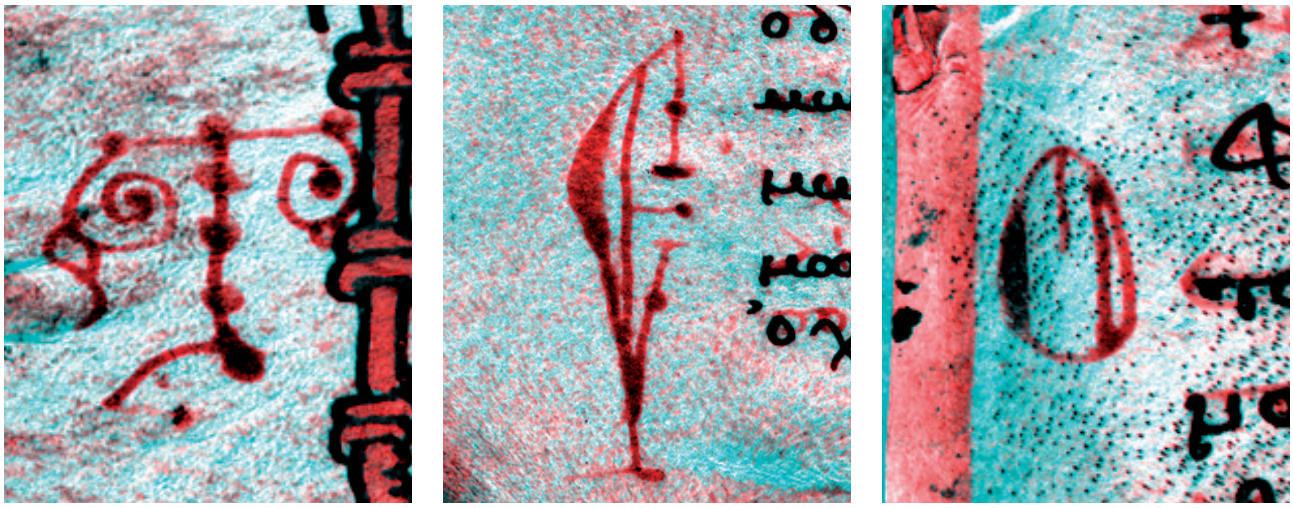


Figure 54 – Initial letters (from left to right) on ff. 142v, 145v, 146r. Pseudocolour processed images by Keith Knox (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

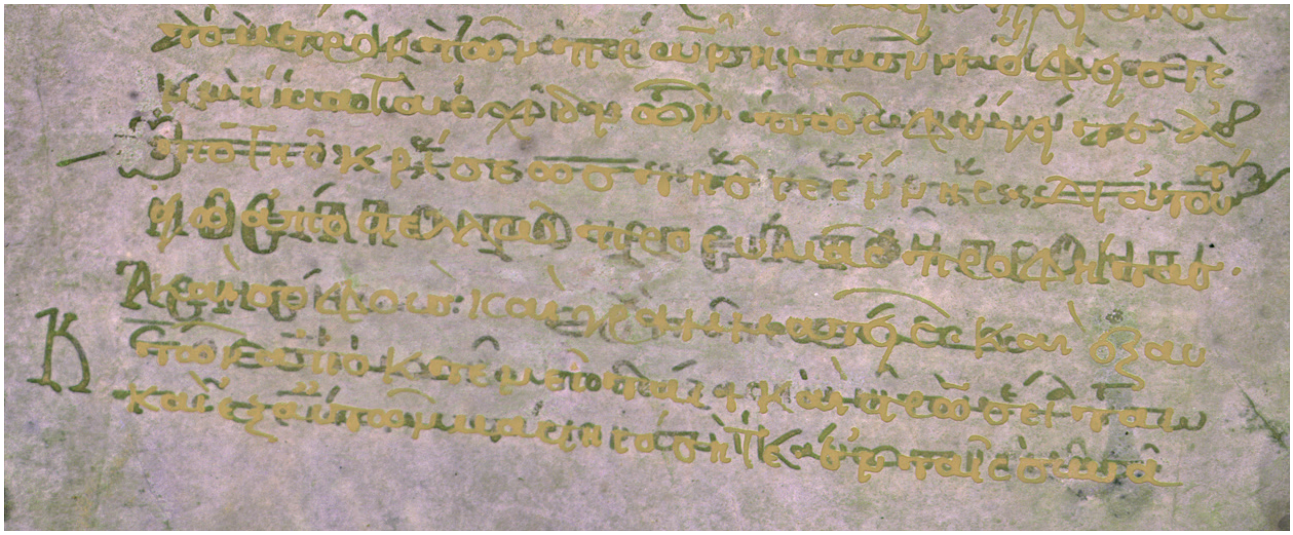


Figure 55 – f. 146v: beginning of the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts (*scriptio inferior* in dark brown, *scriptio superior* in ochre). Pseudocolour processed images by Giulia Rossetto (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

liturgical formularies. Gifts were prepared in the skeuophylakion, which was originally a separate structure apart from the church. In current practice, the prothesis ritual takes place during kathisma 18 at the prothesis niche within the church itself.

326 Alexopoulos, Presanctified Liturgy 161–162 (first prayer).

327 Parenti, La "vittoria"; S. Alexopoulos, The influence of Iconoclasm on Liturgy: A Case Study, in: Worship Traditions in Armenia and the Neighboring Christian East. An International Symposium in Honor of the 40th Anniversary of Saint Nersess Armenian Seminary, ed. R. R. Ervine. Crestwood, New York 2006, 127–137.

SUMMARY

As palaeographical peculiarities and comparisons with dated codices suggest, the five extant sections of the Euchologion Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] + Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C] were all written by the same hand in the second half of the 12th century in the Levant (possibly in Cyprus or in Syria/Palestine).[328] This is confirmed by a series of pertinent clues: the employment of a very dark ink, the use of a minuscule that shows evident similarities with the epsilon style,[329] the recourse to the unusual colours of red-pink and grey-cyan in the decorative elements, and some specific peculiarities of content. Telling in this last respect is the presence of the Liturgy of Saint Basil at the beginning of the manuscript, and the second prayer (ἄλλη) for the kolyba of the saints.

Seven and half folia of the prayer book contain occasional prayers: they deal with adoption, travel, agriculture and purification issues, and are located between the baptismal rite and the ἀκολουθία εἰς ἀσθενοῦντας. This section does not have a proper title, but can however be considered an integral subgroup because separated by decorative elements from what comes before and what follows.

Once the writing was complete, the copyist of Sin. gr. 960 turned to its rubrication and decoration. He also intervened in the text with sporadic corrections (hence my categorisation of "editor"). It is impossible to know how much time passed between the writing of the codex and the correcting. Whatever the case, since one and the same person was responsible for writing, decorating and correcting the manuscript, my overall impression is that the scribe who created it did so for his own private use. This could also explain why this codex does not show heavy traces of use: only two annotations by later users are present (on f. 24r and f. 124v).

The scribe accomplished his work in a not so very wealthy *milieu*. In favour of this hypothesis is the fact that in order to realize the Euchologion the copyist had recourse to recycled, badly-shaped, and badly-worked parchment. 124 folia of Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] + Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C] are palimpsests and originate from two different liturgical manuscripts. The recycled sheets were reused in their original state; they were only slightly trimmed at the edges.

The older one is a Sticherarion, a monastic study and reference book of small size. 120 of its folia are found as *scriptio inferior* of Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B]. The liturgical text—of which about one third is extant—is accompanied by Paleo-Byzantine musical notation of the Coislin type (at a stage between Coislin IV and V), dating back to the second half of the 11th century. This neumatic notation of Palestinian origin was no longer in use after the mid 12th century, by which time the Middle-Byzantine notation—precise in its description of intervals (diastematic notation)—had prevailed. While this explains why the Sticherarion was chosen for erasure, it also sets a possible *terminus post quem* for the *scriptio superior* after the middle of the 12th century. Moreover, the Palestinian origin of the musical notation allows for the cautious supposition that the Sticherarion was written in a Palestinian *milieu*: this would mean that these folia were written, erased, and re-written in the same region (Palestine), or otherwise one that was closeby (e. g. Sinai).

The four more recent palimpsest folia (141, 142, 145, 145) contain fragments from the end of the Liturgy of Saint Basil and the beginning of the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts, written in a minuscule *à μεν distendu*. It is likely that the folia originally belonged to a Euchologion manuscript, probably datable to the early 12th century. Worth noting are the following observations: 1) the chronological distance between the writing of the *scriptio inferior* and the *scriptio superior* is not large, namely a maximum of 50 years; 2) surprisingly, the Euchologion in the *scriptio inferior* seems to be more "innovative" in its content than that in the *scriptio superior*. In fact, while the order of the liturgies in the *scriptio inferior* would have been Chrysostom, Basil, Presanctified, in the *scriptio superior* it would have been Basil, Chrysostom, Presanctified. This may mean that the erased folia from the Euchologion originate from a place where the formulary of Chrysostom had already triumphed over that of Basil, whereas the *scriptio superior* was written in a more conservative environment. Yet the place of the copying of these four palimpsest folia cannot be pinpointed with any certainty, since manuscripts written in the style *à μεν distendu* are attested in various locations, including Cyprus and Palestine.

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328 So far, the manuscript has been variously dated to the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries.

329 This style was mostly employed for writing scriptural and liturgical works, and this also accords with Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B].

We do not know when Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 22 [B] + Sin. gr. NF M 79 [C] entered Saint Catherine's manuscript collection, or in what condition. What is certain is that at some point in its history—at the latest in 1734 when the Marthales Library was built—the main bulk of the Euchologion was brought to the newly constructed library and assigned the shelfmark Sin. gr. 960, while a number of loose quires (nowadays catalogued with the shelfmarks Sin. gr. NF M 11, Sin. gr. NF M 22, and Sin. gr. NF M 79) were left behind in a room under the Chapel of Saint George along the monastery's northern wall, namely the place where the New Finds were discovered in 1975. In addition, an unspecified number of quires went lost. The possibility that some further missing quires from the same manuscript may yet come to light among the Sinai New Finds should not be discounted.

SIN. GR. 962

Catalogues: Aland l 912; Dmitrievskij II 64–75 (nr. 6); Gardthausen, Catalogus 206; Kamil, Catalogue 110 (nr. 1291).

In addition to the above catalogues, Sin. gr. 962 (Diktyon 59337) was described by Antonin Kapustin in his unpublished 1870 catalogue (see **Figure 56** below), held in the monastery's archive. He describes the codex as a bound Euchologion of 202 folia containing the three liturgies and prayers for various occasions, written in a very neat, easily legible, rounded hand in brown ink.

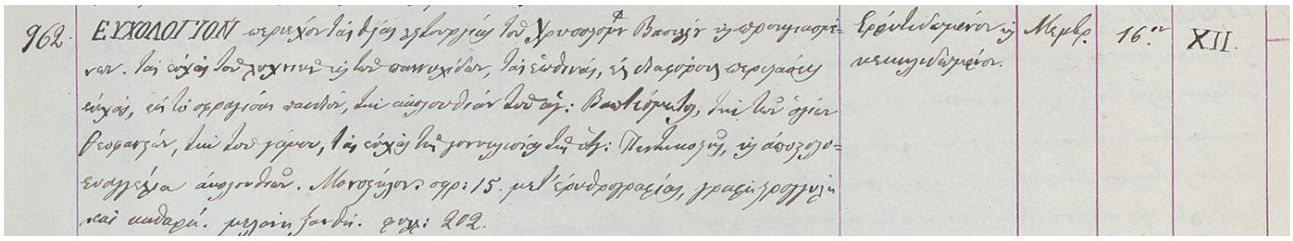


Figure 56 – Antonin Kapustin's description of Sin. gr. 962 in his 1870 unpublished catalogue
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Bibliography: Alexopoulos, Presanctified Liturgy 55, 136, 199, n. 218; Antoniades, Ακολουθίαι του εσπερινού; Arranz, Vêpres byzantines 112; Arranz, Matines byzantines II 94–95; Arranz, Petites Heures 61–63, 74; Arranz, Infermi 301; Baldanza, Matrimonio 317; Bornert, Commentaires 162 n. 1; Géhin – Frøyshov, Nouvelles découvertes 177, n. 36 and 38; Jacob, Une version géorgienne inédite; Jacob, Histoire du formulaire grec 229–232; Janeras, La partie vespérale; Moraitis, La messe des présanctifiés 225; Parenti, La "vittoria" 37;[330] Parenti, La preghiera della cattedra 160 n. 51; Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 198, 263, 265, 271, 275, 279, 293, 294, 295, 311, 312, 313, 314, 319, 323, 382, 395, 413, 418, 431, 504, 505, 507, 567; Radle, Sinai Greek NE / ΜΓ 22 185 n. 67; Rapp, Brother-Making 266, 284; Rossetto, Building the Euchologion 71–72; Taft, The Diptychs 101, 140; Taft, Precommunion Rites 104–105, 165, 203, 390, 529; Taft, The Communion 175, 180, 492, 614, 616, 639, 652–695, 739, 750; Taft – Parenti, Il grande ingresso 260, 263, 270, 275, 288, 298, 539, 568, 587, 610, 612, 706; Velkovska – Parenti 472.

Specimina: The digitized microfilm of this manuscript is available online at the website of the Library of Congress.[331] High-quality photographs of folia 182^{r}–187^{v} are available online at https://sinai.library.ucla.edu. *Specimina* of selected folia feature in this chapter.

[330] The third ambo-prayer of the Liturgy of Saint Basil is on ff. 33^{v}–34^{r}, not on f. 21^{r} as indicated by Parenti.
[331] https://www.loc.gov/item/00271074827-ms/ (19.09.2022).

SCRIPTIO SUPERIOR: EUCHOLOGION

ff. 1[r]–202[v]; Palestine?, second half of the 11th century: Euchologion.

Codicology

Sin. gr. 962 is a bound codex. Its binding is leather on wood, with a visible fabric layer and remnants of a tie-on back. It could be described as a "desert binding", constructed in the genuine Greek style but rather crude and simple, and showing signs of economy in the making—for example in its piecemeal cover contrived from two pieces of leather overlapping around the centre of the binding. This was surely not the product of a sophisticated and perhaps wealthy *milieu* with access to high quality materials, and not likely, therefore, to have come from Constantinople or Crete, where very different levels of finish were the norm. The absence of any tooled decoration serves only to reinforce this conclusion (**Figures 57, 58, 59**). Further, this kind of binding was in use for a long time, from the 9th to the 17th century.[332]



Figure 57 – Binding: spine (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)



Figure 58 – Binding: tail edge (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

[332] I am grateful to Nicholas Pickwoad and Georgios Boudalis for fruitful conversations and advice regarding this binding.



Figure 59 – Binding: back cover
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

The codex is made up of 202 parchment folia and is incomplete at both beginning and end. Indisputably missing are the first folio of the first quire—originally conjoined with f. 7; the last folio of Quire 9—originally conjoined with f. 61; and the last folio of the last quire—originally conjoined with f. 196. The quality of the parchment is low: its colour is yellowish and the difference between flesh and hair side is noticeable; follicles are clearly visible and natural holes are present (ff. 90, 129, 130, 140, 145 153, 170, 172, 177, 180, 189, 190). Folia 182 to 187 are palimpsest. These all belong to Quire 23, which was added at a later stage (13th century) in substitution for the original quire. The parchment of this quire is stiffer than that of the rest of the manuscript.

The manuscript (including binding) measures 150×100×80 mm, while the typical folio dimensions are 140×100 mm. The writing is arranged in a single column with 15 lines per folio and letters 2mm high. The *Schriftspiegel* is 95×60 mm (f. 84r). Circular prickings are visible on those folia which have not been trimmed, probably made with with an awl or the arm of a compass. The ruled lines were drawn with a drypoint, 6mm apart and tally with Sautel-Leroy type 10A1m. According to the *Repertoire*, this type is also attested in the 10th century manuscripts Messin. S. Salv. 116 [Diktyon 40777] (measuring 201×140 mm and containing the *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* and *On Heresy* by John of Damascus) and Par. Suppl. gr. 1248, f. 163 [Diktyon 53912] (measuring 230×175 mm and containing a fragment from the *Preparation for the Gospel* by Eusebius of Caesarea).[333]

All 202 folia carry modern numbering (in pencil) in the upper-outer corner of each *recto*.[334] On the first extant folio of the codex, a large number three and the indication of the manuscript's title in Greek (Εὐχολόγιον) are visible in the upper margin, both in pencil (**Figure 60**). Numbers 68 and 100 are repeated twice, one in the upper outer corner, one in the middle of the upper margin. There is no trace of older foliations.

[333] J.-H. Sautel (à l'aide du fichier J. Leroy), Répertoire de réglures dans les manuscrits grecs sur parchemin. Turnhout 1995, 95.

[334] The foliation was probably applied after 1888. This was when Alekseij Dmitrievskij visited the monastery in order to study the Sinai Euchologia. His descriptions contain several mistakes in folia numbering, indicating that the manuscripts were probably not then foliated (see, for instance, the descriptions of Sinai Euchologia in Dmitrievskij II).



Figure 60 – f. 1r, upper margin (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

The folia are arranged in 25 quires: these comprise 18 quaterniones and one ternio (see schemes below). Quire 23 (namely the ternio) was added at a later stage, and clearly replaces an original quire, now lost. Single folia 175+180 together form an artificial bifolio.[335]

The quire structure is as follows: Quire 1: 1×8–1 (7), Quires 2–4: 3×8 (31), Quire 5: 1×6 (37), Quire 6: 1×6+1 (44), Quires 7–8: 2×8 (60), Quire 9: 1×12–1 (71), Quire 10: 1×14 (85), Quires 11–22: 12×8 (181), Quire 23: 1×6 (187), Quire 24: 1×8 (195), Quire 25: 1×8–1 (202).

The folia in the quires follow Gregory's rule with two exceptions: one is f. 41 (a single, unconjoined folio, located in Quire 6), and the second between Quires 9 and 10 (ff. 71–72).[336]

Quire marks are visible in the centre of the upper margin of the first folio of almost every quire.[337] Two kinds of quire signatures are extant, both in Greek: the oldest was written with red ink (the same that is used in the rubrics) by the scribe who wrote the Euchologion, and is preceded by a cross;[338] the more recent, by the copyist who added Quire 23 (**Figure 61**). This is clear on palaeographical grounds and from the kind of ink used.

The following table shows the existing distribution of quire marks across the manuscript.

Folio number	Old quire marks	New quire marks
1r	---	---
8r	---	β´
16r	---	γ´
24r	---	δ´
32r	---	ε´
38r	---	σ´
45r	---	---
53r	---	η´
61r	---	θ´
72r	---	ι´
86r	---	ια´
94r	+ ιβ´	ιβ´
102r	+ ιγ´	ιγ´
110r	---	ιδ´
118r	+ ιε´	ιε´
126r	+ ις´	ις´
134r	+ ιζ´	ιζ´

335 Agati, Manuscript Book 145.

336 As indicated above, there is a missing folio between ff. 71 and 72, i.e. the last of Quire 9.

337 Occasionally quire signatures are not visible because they have been cut away.

338 The inclusion of crosses before the quire marks seems typical in codices of Cypriot and Palestinian origin. See B. Mondrain, Les signatures des cahiers dans les manuscrits grecs, in: Recherches de codicologie comparée: la composition du codex au Moyen Âge, en Orient et en Occident, ed. Ph. Hoffmann. Paris 1998, 39, and Stefec, Anmerkungen 126, n. 38.

Folio number	Old quire marks	New quire marks
142[r]	---	ιη΄
150[r]	+ ιθ΄	ιθ΄
158[r]	+ κ΄	κ΄
166[r]	---	κα΄
174[r]	---	κβ΄
182[r]	---	κγ΄
188[r]	+ κδ΄	κδ΄
196[r]	+ κε΄	κε΄

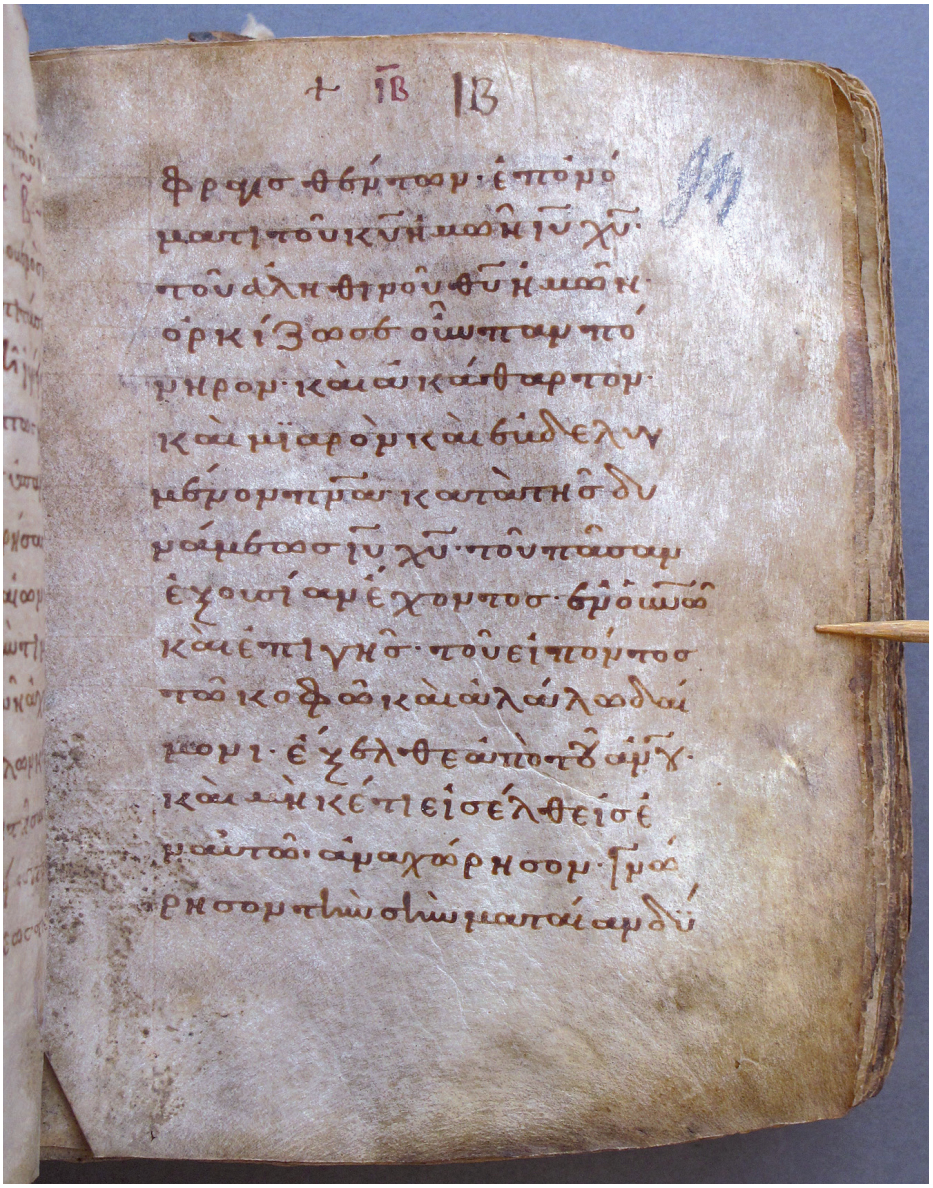
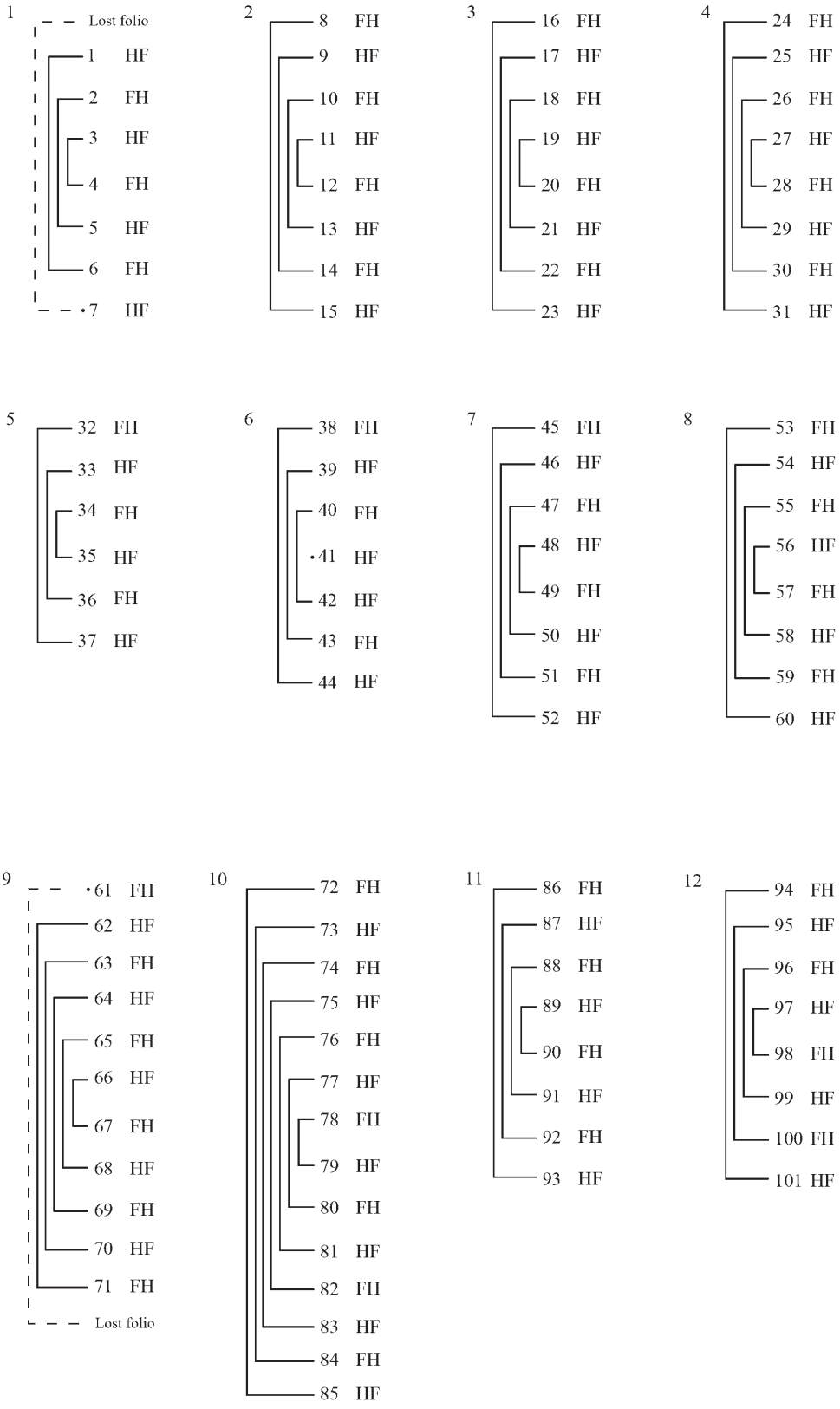
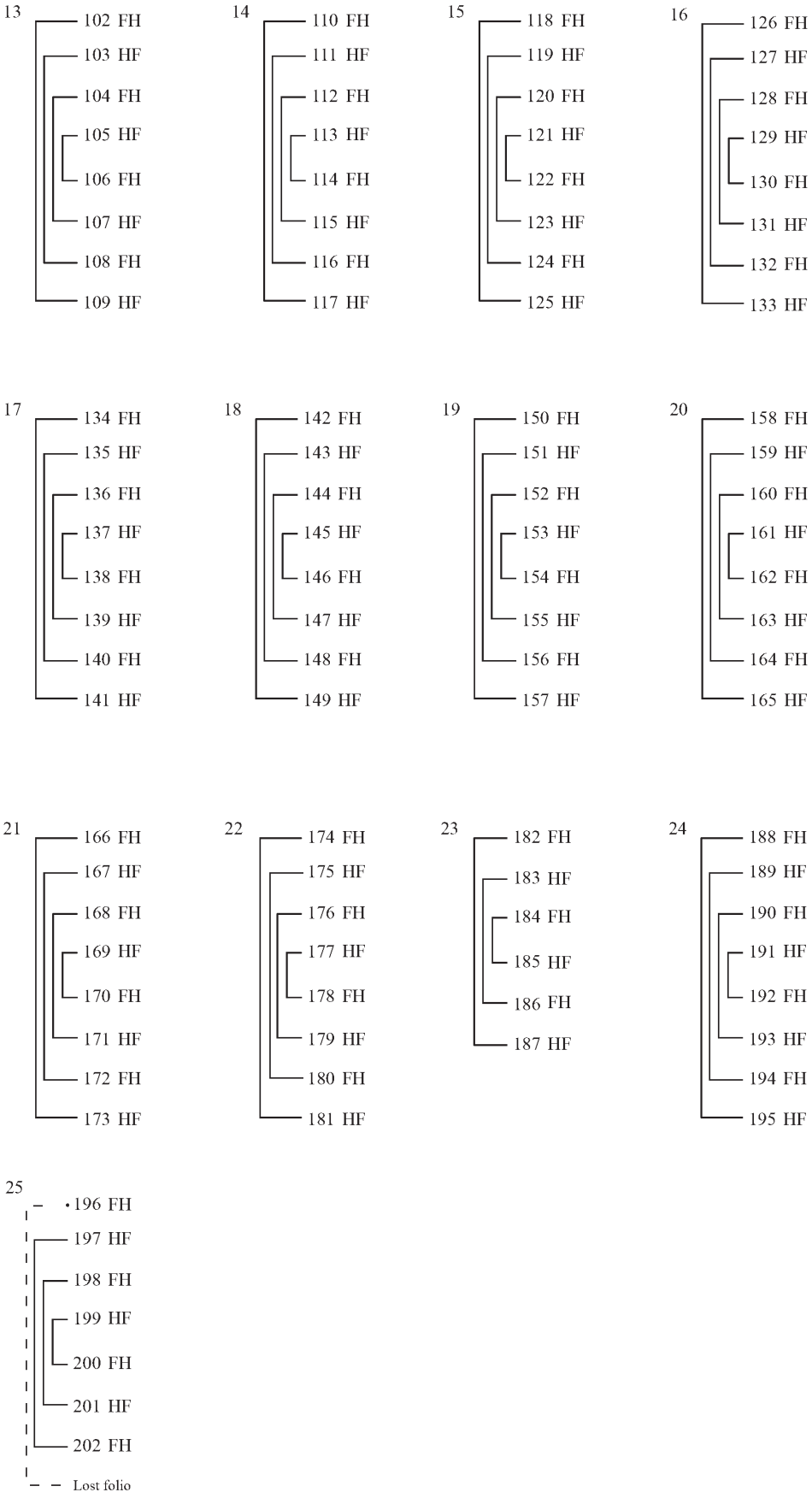


Figure 61 – f. 94[r], double quire mark ιβ΄ (oldest on the left, more recent on the right)
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Quire structure of Sin. gr. 962[339]



[339] The dots indicate single folia.


13
102 FH
103 HF
104 FH
105 HF
106 FH
107 HF
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199 HF
200 FH
201 HF
202 FH
Lost folio

As is clear from the presence of reinforcement binding strips, the double quire signatures, and the addition of a quire at a later stage (Quire 23), the book-block has been re-sewn at least once, and thus the present binding is not the original. It is not possible to establish with certainty when the re-binding of the codex took place, but the reinforcement strips and the palimpsest quire at least provide a clue which would point to the 13th century.

The reinforcement binding strips are made of paper and provide an outside "wrapping" for almost every quire (with the exception of Quires 10, 11, 12, 14, 20, 23, and 24). Moreover, in Quire 1 an additional strip is located in the middle of the quire, between f. 3 and f. 4, and the same happens for Quire 5. An interesting detail is the Arabic and Latin writing on a number of these paper strips, namely those which are located close to Quires 2, 3, 4 (Arabic) and Quires 15, 18, 19, 25 (Latin). The Latin writing is an ancient Gothic script that can be dated to the 11th–12th centuries,[340] thereby offering a *terminus post quem* for the date of the rebinding (**Figure 62**). Furthermore, Quire 23 was added quite probably in the 13th century, indicating a *terminus ad quem* also.

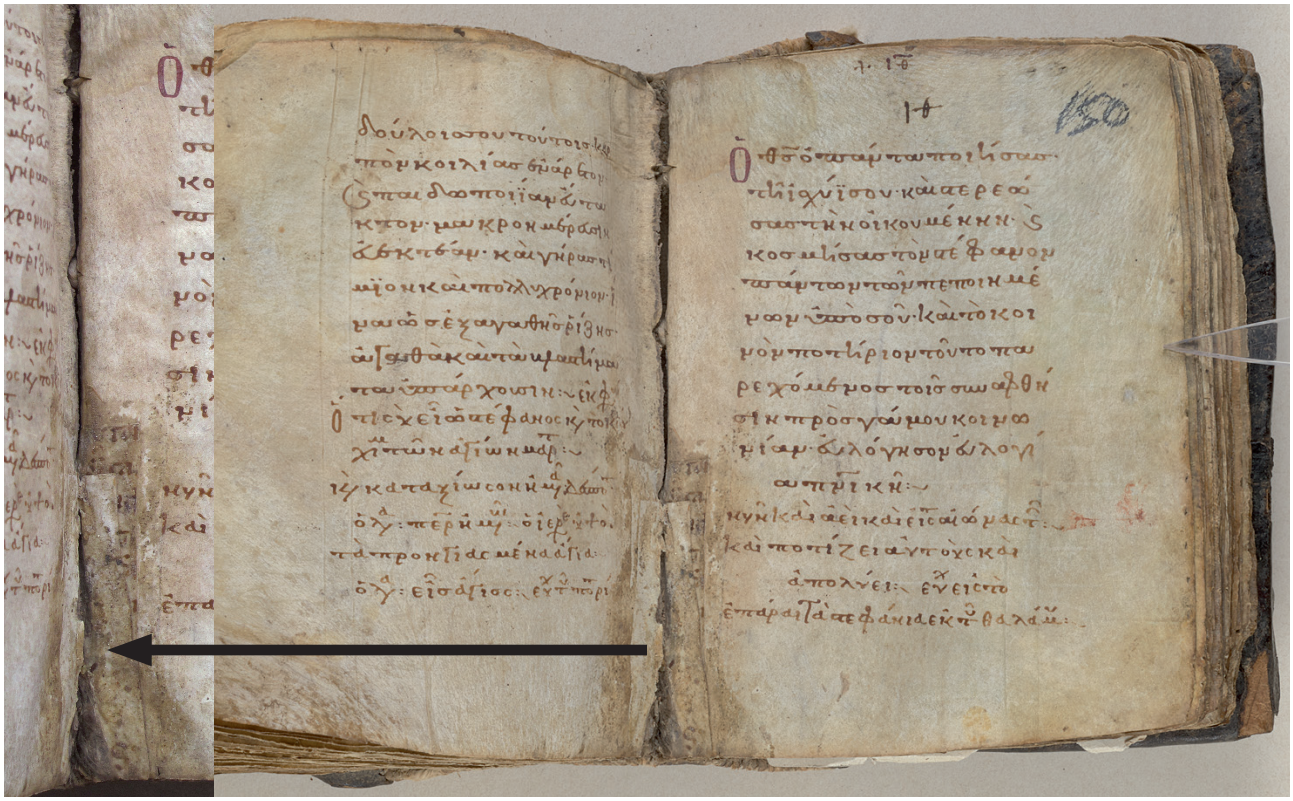


Figure 62 – Paper reinforcement strip with Latin writing between Quires 18 and 19
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

That the manuscript was reworked and repaired is also evident in a number of paper repairs applied in the upper outer corner of ff. 53r, 57r, 193v, 194v, and 195v (**Figure 63**). Ff. 115 and 156 were also repaired with twine (**Figure 64**).

[340] Latin communities were present in the Levant at the time of the crusades. I am thankful to David Ganz for his palaeographical feedback. See also A. Derolez, The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century. Cambridge 2003.



Figure 63 – f. 57r: paper repair
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

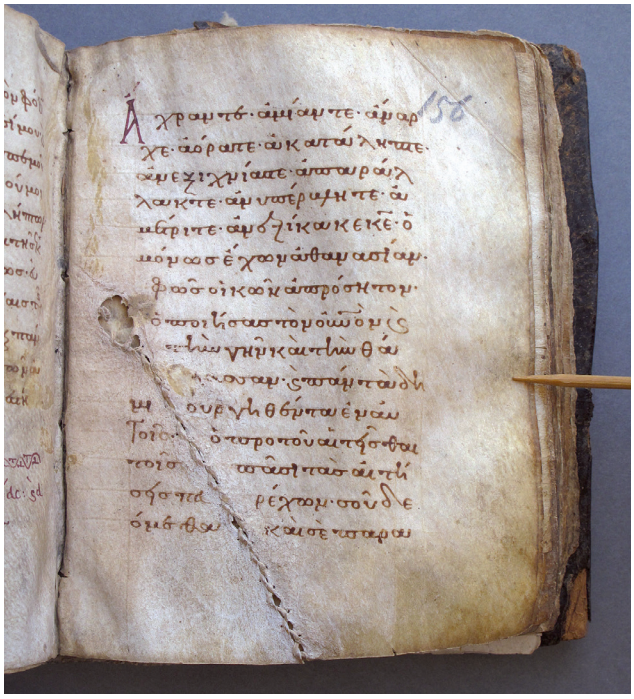


Figure 64 – f. 156r: twine repair
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

The codex has been subject to frequent use, as a number of physical traces make clear.

- Wax drops: ff. 5v, 6r, 9r, 10r, 11r, 14r, 16v, 29r, 29v, 30r, 33r, 34r, 34v, 35r, 35v, 36r, 36v, 37r, 38r, 39r, 40r, 41r, 41v, 42r, 42v, 43r, 44r, 44v, 45r, 47r, 47v, 48r, 48v, 49r, 49v, 50r, 50v, 51r, 53r, 53v, 54r, 55r, 55v, 56r, 56v, 57r, 58r, 58v, 59r, 67r, 67v, 68r, 69r, 69v, 70r, 71r, 72r, 75r, 88r, 88v, 96v, 97v, 98r, 99r, 101r, 101v, 102r, 107r, 108r, 109r, 109v, 112r, 115v, 116r, 129r, 137r, 138r, 151r, 155r, 155v, 156r, 160r, 163r, 163v, 167r, 168v, 169r, 173r, 176r, 177v, 178r, 179r, 180v, 188r, 190r, 192r, 193r, 193v, 194v, 196v.

- Faded text in the margins: ff. 2v, 4r, 5v, 6v, 7r, 7v, 8r, 17v, 18r, 20r, 21v, 22r, 23v, 24r, 37v, 38r, 39v, 43r, 44r, 74r, 118r, 121v, 122r, 150v, 151r, 152v, 153r.

- Washing-out of marginalia written by hands 2 and 4: ff. 3r (?), 42r, 42v, 43r, 43v, 44r, 44v, 45r, 45v, 46r, 46v, 47r, 47v, 150v, 151r, 151v, 152r, 152v, 153r, 153v, 154r, 154v, 167r, 167v, 168r, 168v, 169r, 169v, 170v, 172r, 172v, 173r, 173v, 174r, 174v, 187v.

Palaeography

With the exception of Quire 23, the codex is written in a formal upright minuscule in brownish ink, which recalls the "*Perlschrift*" (see above, **Figure 61**). The hand of the copyist is disciplined: the *ductus* is slow and the form rounded. The breathings are angular. The writing is almost always pendent from the ruled line. Letters β, γ, δ, ε, η, ν, κ, τ, φ, where they occur within words, appear in both majuscule and minuscule form. Majuscule γ and τ are characterized by their high form. Φ sometimes has a cross as a a tail decoration (f. 139v). Abbreviations for *nomina sacra* are regular. Other abbreviations are sporadically used, especially those for αι, ην, ης, καί, ον, ων. Also notable are the ligatures for θα (f. 50v), εν (51v), σσ (55v), κε (57v). Moreover, the rubrics are written in red in a distinctive majuscule, a stylisation of the Alexandrian majuscule. Palaeographical comparisons suggest a date in the second half of the 11th century.[341] Significant similarities exist especially with

[341] In the catalogues it is dated respectively 11th–12th century (Gardthausen, Catalogus 206; Dmitrievskij II 64; Kamil, Catalogue

manuscripts Par. Suppl. gr. 905[342] (dated 1055 – Diktyon 53591), Vind. theol. gr. 63[343] (dated 1061 – Diktyon 71730), and Laur. Plut. 4.16[344] (dated 1062 – Diktyon 15932).

Marginal notes, interlinear additions, and corrections made by five different later hands also feature in Sin. gr. 962. They are characterized by their inelegance and inaccuracy: the writer seems barely to have been literate in Greek. This has made dating them difficult, but I would suggest a period around the 13th–14th centuries.

Hand 1 wrote Quire 23 (ff. 182–187) in a 13th-century script which seems to be attempting to imitate the 11th-century "*Perlschrift*" of the original copyist. This same hand also introduced the more recent numeration to the quires, wrote ιωκ αχ (Ἰωακείμ μοναχός) in the outer margin of f. 181v, and also other notes in the margins of ff. 121v–122r and 126v–127r, which form comments, corrections, and supplements to prayers (**Figure 65**).

Hand 2 belongs to an Arabic speaker with some knowledge of Greek. He annotated Sin. gr. 962 in both Greek and Arabic.[345] The Arabic is sound (though some spellings are rather vulgar), while the Greek is very inaccurate. According to Alexander Treiger, his notes may have been written at any time between the 12th and the 15th centuries.[346]

The majority of the notes are found in the section of the manuscript concerning baptism. In particular, those in Greek appear on ff. 14r, 15r, 16r, 18r, 22r, 24v, 29r, 33r, 34v, 49v, 50v, 62v, 71v, 72v, 73v, 82r, 100v, 103rv, 104r, 106r, 108v, 113v, 136v, and 139v. Those in Arabic—for the most part Arabic translations of the Greek rubrics, often abridged—occur on ff. 27r, 86r, 87r, 89v, 97r, 98r, 99r, 99v, 100r, 102v, 103r, 106v, 109r, 110v, 111r, 111v, 111r, 113v, 114r, and 187v.

There are only two instances of non-liturgical information in the manuscript, and these are in Arabic. The first—an ownership mark—is on f. 27r (**Figure 66**), reading: "[belongs] to priest Luke" (it is unclear whether this is the same priest Luke who wrote the rest of the Arabic annotations, or the owner of the manuscript at another time). The second is found on f. 187v—a note almost completely washed away, which states that Sin. gr. 962 belonged to the church of Saint Elijah. This may likely be identified with the chapel of the same name which is the last station for pilgrims before the ascent to Mount Sinai, and at the present time a ruin.[347] F. 187 is the last folio of the quire that was added by Hand 1. This would suggest, therefore, that Hand 2, which we can observe in the lower margin of f. 187v, is surely more recent than Hand 1.

Hand 3 wrote two short marginal comments on ff. 113v and 147r in a very dark ink. It seems to be marginally more trained than Hand 2 (**Figure 67**).

Hand 4 added a note on f. 114v between the Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἀπολοῦσαι παιδίον and the Ἀκολουθία τῶν ἁγίων Θεοφανίων. The folio has been exposed to water damage (hence the halos), and the green colour which characterizes the writing may be due to an element of copper in the ink. Copper is known to emit green compounds when it comes into contact with organic matter[348] (**Figure 68**).

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110 [nr. 1291]), and 12th century (Kapustin's 1870 unpublished catalogue; Aland l 912; Archim. Eu. Antoniades, Περί των εν ταις ιεραίς ημών ακολουθίαις του εσπερινού και του όρθρου ευχών. *DChAE* 4 Περίοδος Γ' (1938) 33–68). The remaining bibliography follows the dates indicated in the catalogues, except R. Bornert, Les commentaires byzantins de la divine liturgie du VIIe au XVe siècle. Paris 1966, 162 n. 1, who erroneously writes that the codex is dated 9th–10th century (he used Dmitrievskij as his source, but clearly made a mistake in the reading).

342 Lake – Lake, Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts IV (1935) 163, pl. 277–279. The manuscript is available online: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b110048490?rk=321890;0 (19.09.2022).

343 Lake – Lake, Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts V (1936), 205, pl. 353–354.

344 Lake – Lake, Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts X (1939), 371, pl. 701, 702, 707. The manuscript is available online: http://mss.bmlonline.it/?search=Plut.4.16 (19.09.2022).

345 A general discussion of the bilingual Greek–Arabic manuscripts of Saint Catherine's does not as yet exist. Greek and Arabic were not always written by the same hand, but in a number of cases—as with Sin. gr. 962—this does occur. A further bilingual manuscript in which both languages were written by the same hand, and most certainly at the monastery itself, is Sin. ar. 116, a Greek–Arabic Lectionary dated 995–996 and the work of scribe John, son of Victor of Damietta and priest at Mount Sinai (G. Garitte, Un évangéliaire grec-arabe du Xe siècle (cod. Sin. ar. 116), in: Studia Codicologica. Texte und Untersuchungen 124, ed. K. Treu. Berlin 1977, 207–225).

346 Personal communication (29.03.2017).

347 Finkelstein – Ovadiah, Byzantine Monastic Remains 40, 44; Dahari, Monastic Settlements 38–40.

348 I thank Véronique Rouchon of the Centre de recherche sur la conservation des collections – CRCC (Paris, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle), expert on iron-gall inks, for her opinion (24.10.2016).

Hand 5 was responsible for a number of scribbles and *essais de plume* on ff. 7^{v}, 8^{r}, 16^{v}, 42^{r}, 44^{v}, 51^{v}, and 52^{r} (**Figure 69**).

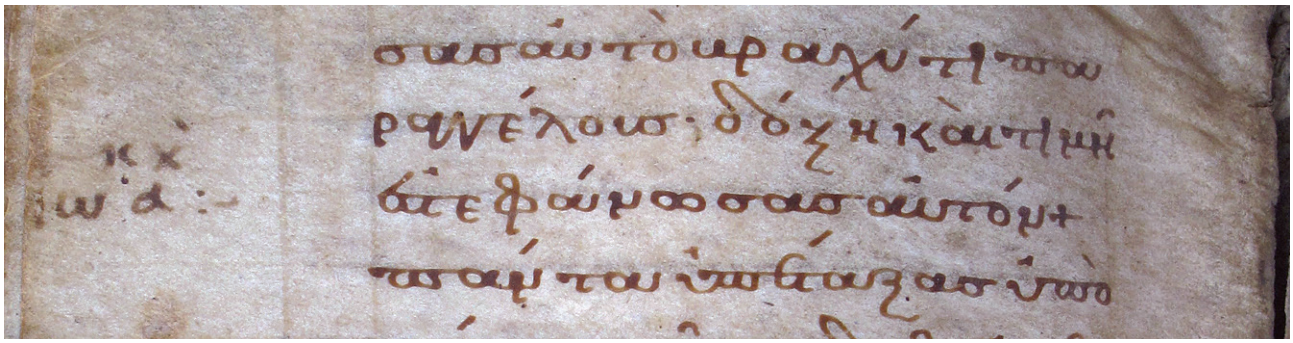


Figure 65 – Hand 1, outer margin (f. 181^{v})
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

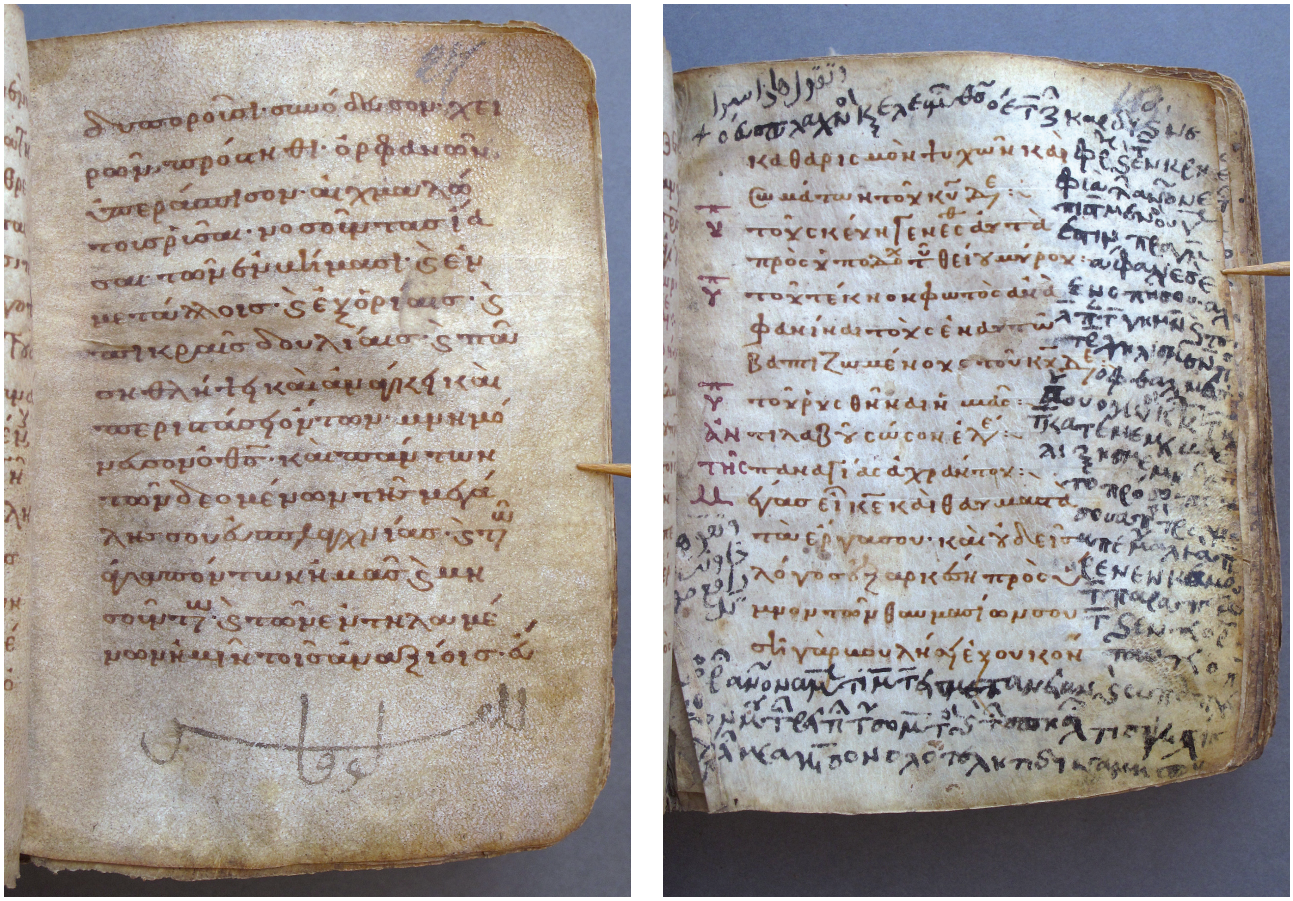


Figure 66 – Hand 2, Arabic and Greek (ff. 27^{r}, left, and 103^{r}, right)
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

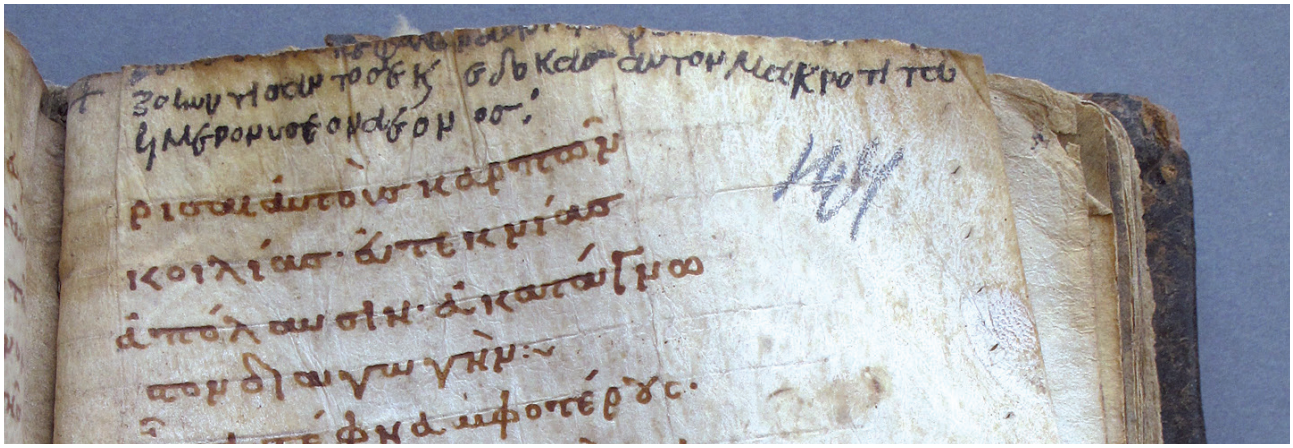


Figure 67 – Hand 3, upper margin (f. 147r)
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

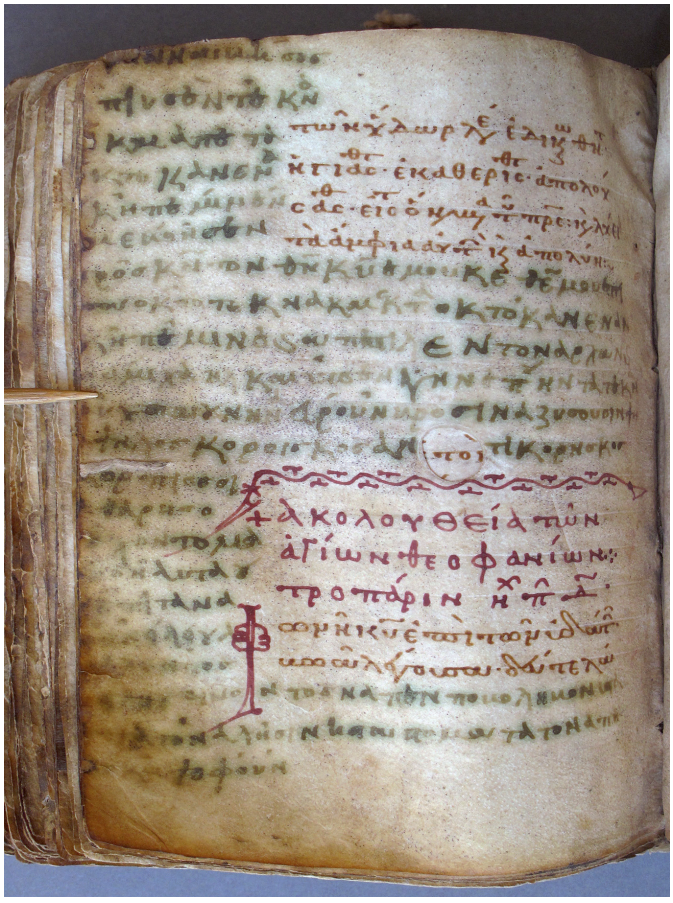


Figure 68 – Hand 4 (f. 114v)
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

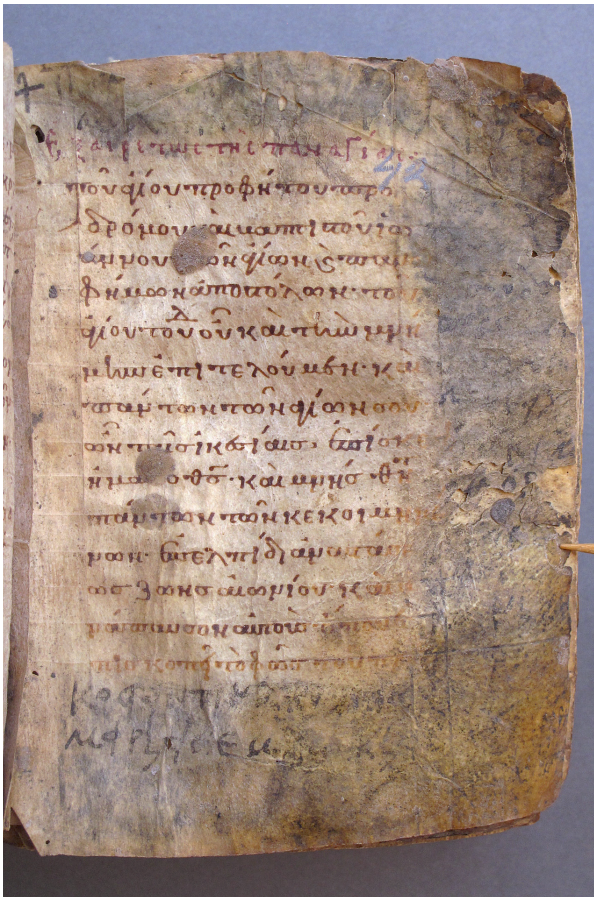


Figure 69 – Hand 5 (f. 42r)
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Decoration

The manuscript was decorated in a simple and basic way by the same copyist who wrote the text. A clue to this process is visible on ff. 124^{v} and 125^{r}, where—in the external margin, which very fortunately has not been trimmed—the scribe has written ευ^{χ} | κ (f. 124^{v}) and ευ^{χ} | ο (f. 125^{r}) in order to make a note of the initials which would be rubricated after the main text was complete (**Figure 70**).

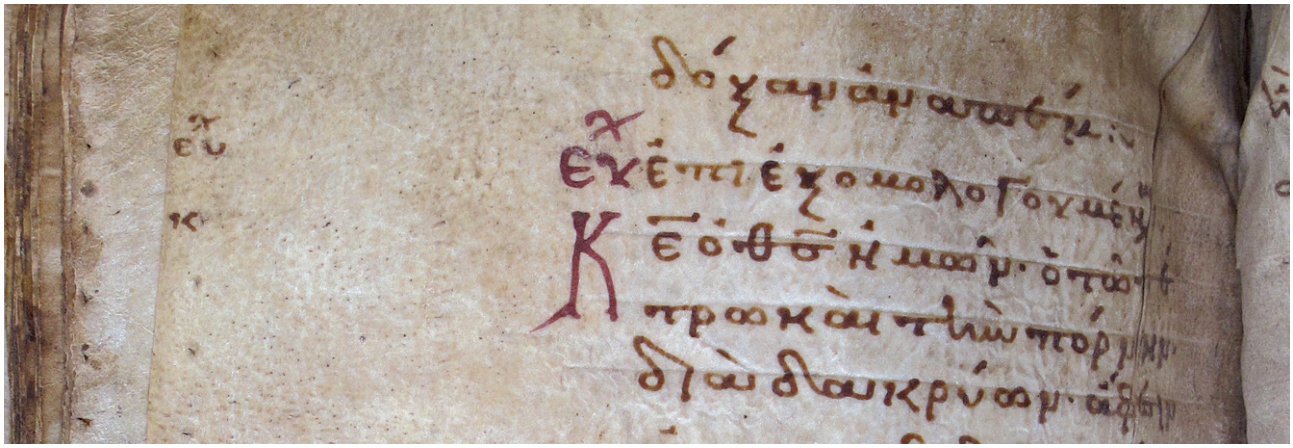


Figure 70 – f. 124^{v}: ευχ and κ in the external margin (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

The colours used for the decoration are limited to red (the same as for the rubrics) and brownish (that used for the text). The following decorative elements are found:

1) Headpieces: 3^{v}, beginning of the Liturgy of Saint Basil; 34^{v}, beginning of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom; 48^{r}, beginning of the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts (**Figure 71**).

2) Bars: 58^{r}, Εὐχαὶ τοῦ λυχνικοῦ; 63^{r}, Εὐχαὶ τῶν παννυχίδων; 66^{v}, Εὐχαὶ ἐωθιναί; 74^{r}, Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἀναδῆσαι γυναῖκα; 75^{v}, Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν; 76^{r}, Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ; 77^{r}, Εὐχὴ τοῦ νιπτῆρος τῆς ἁγίας πέμπτης; 80^{r}, Εὐχὴ εἰς νοσοῦντας; 86^{r}, Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ κατασφραγίσαι παιδίον λαμβάνον ὄνομα τῇ η΄ ἡμέρᾳ; 114^{v}, Ἀκολουθία τῶν ἁγίων Θεοφανίων; 144^{r}, Διακονικὰ εἰς μνῆστρα; 155^{v}, Εὐχὴ τῆς γονυκλισίας καὶ ἁγίας Πεντηκοστῆς; 172^{r}, Apostle and Gospel readings for different celebrations and saints (**Figure 72**).

3) Initials in red, sometimes embellished with strokes, asterisks and crosses: 3^{v}, 23^{v}, 48^{r}, 97^{r}, 106^{v}, 114^{v}, 126^{v}, 134^{v}, 180^{v} (**Figure 73**).

4) Asterisks in the form of small flowers used to mark selected passages: 12^{v}, 69^{r}, 71^{v}, 75^{v}, 76^{r}, 77^{r}, 78^{r}, 79^{r}, 80^{r}, 80^{v}, 81^{r}, 81^{v}, 82^{v}, 83^{r}, 83^{v}, 84^{r}, 84^{v}, 85^{r}, 102^{v}, 111^{r}, 115^{v}, 120^{v}, 123^{v}, 126^{r}, 126^{v}, 127^{r}, 133^{r}, 136^{r} (later hand), 138^{r}, 139^{v} (later hand), 141^{v}, 142^{v}, 148^{v}, 155^{v}, 172^{v}, 177^{r}, 191^{r}, 192^{v}, 195^{r} (**Figure 74**).

The decoration is unfortunately not idiosyncratic enough to allow for the origin of the manuscript to be established. The scribe uses models which were widespread in Constantinople and the Levant, and which were subsequently disseminated elsewhere too (for instance Athos, Greece and Nicaea). One of the most peculiar decorative elements is the headpiece on f. 3^{v} (**Figure 71**), which is comparable to the following *specimina*: Oxon. Auct. B. subt. 5, f. 256^{r} (Diktyon 46967): Constantinople?, 11th century (CBM III.2, Abb. 96), Oxon. Laud. gr. 80, f. 24^{r} (Diktyon 48302): unknown origin, mid 11th century (CBM III.2, Abb. 123), Oxon. Barocci 223, f. 323^{v} (Diktyon 47511): unknown origin, late 11th century (CBM III.2, Abb. 180), Oxon. Clarke 47, f. 45^{r} (Diktyon 47784): unknown origin, 12th century (CBM III.2, Abb. 251).

The mediocre quality of the decoration permits the conclusion that the origin is surely provincial.



Figure 71 – Headpiece (f. 3^{v}) (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

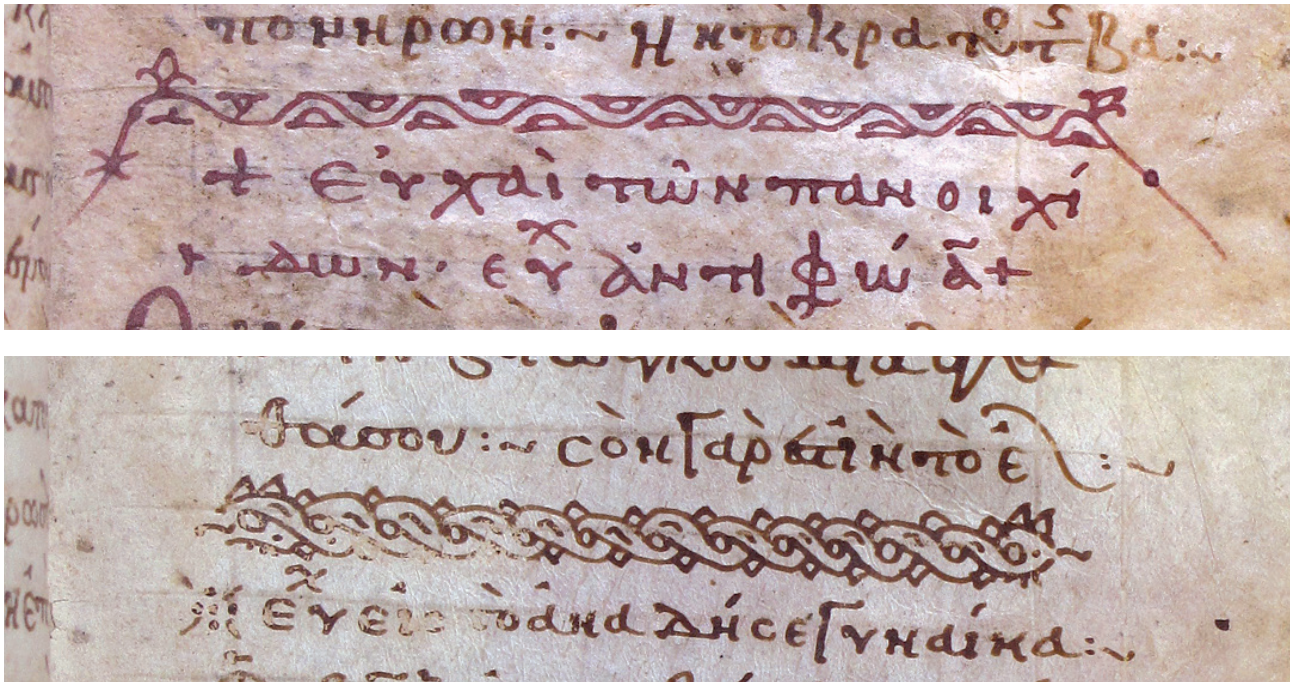


Figure 72 – Decorative bars on f. 63^{r} (above) and f. 74^{r} (below) (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

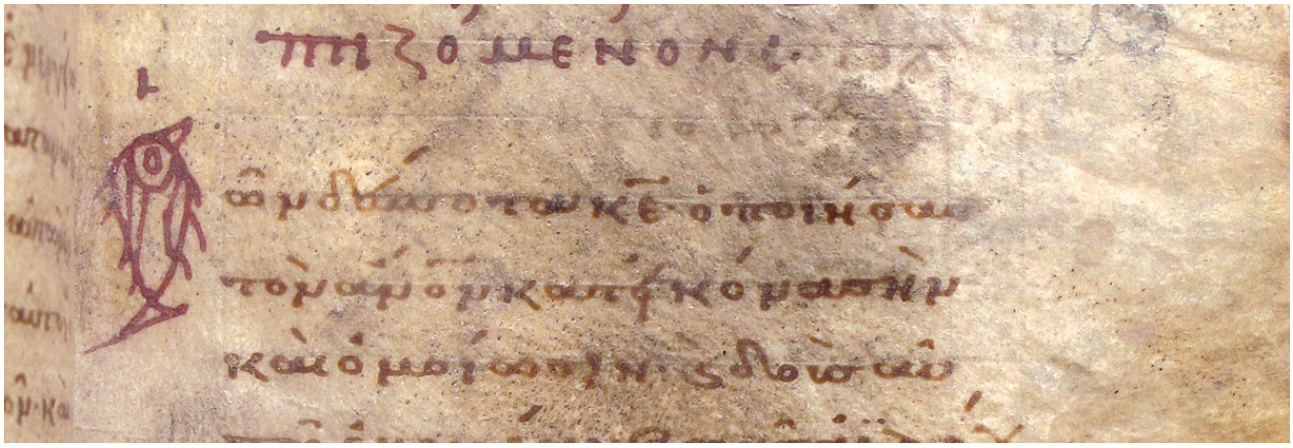


Figure 73 – Zoomorphic initial in the form of a fish (f. 97^{r}) (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

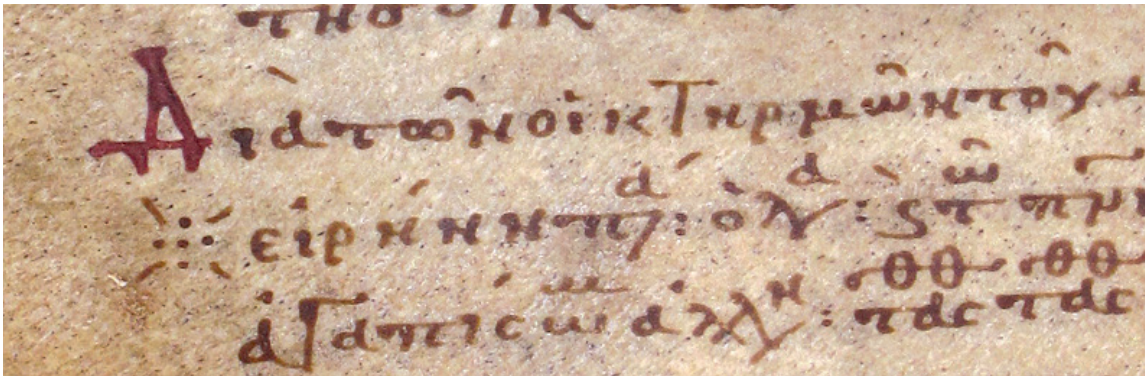


Figure 74 – Asterisk (f. 12ᵛ) (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Content

This codex contains a prayer book (ff. 3ᵛ–172ʳ) which calls itself a Euchologion on f. 3ᵛ (Εὐχολόγιον σὺν Θεῷ). The content is for the most part dedicated to prayers for various occasions. Because of the way it is arranged, Arranz—on the basis of Jacob's studies—has classified it as belonging to group D of the "early Constantinopolitan recension".[349] Taft and Parenti prefer to speak of a "pre-iconoclast recension" rather than an "early Constantinopolitan recension".[350]

The prayer book is preceded by Ps.-Basil of Caesarea's *Sermon for the Instruction of Priests* (ff. 1ʳ–3ʳ) and followed by a Lectionary section (Aland l 912), namely Apostle and Gospel readings for different celebrations and saints (ff. 172ʳ–202ᵛ).[351] It is worth noting that in a number of instances the reference to the scriptural passage is incorrect. For instance, on f. 182ʳ the scribe writes ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην, but what actually follows is not the Gospel of John, but Luke 10:16–21. The change of content does not correspond to a change of quire.

The detailed content of Sin. gr. 962 is listed in the following table,[352] with any peculiarities discussed in the footnotes. Reflections on both the additions and corrections by later hands and the occasional prayers follow on from this.

1ʳ–3ʳ	[Ps.-Basil of Caesarea, *Sermon for the Instruction of Priests* (CPG 2933)][353]: *]πόν τινος, ἀλλ'ὅρα τὸν προκείμενον βασιλέα* (PG 31, 1688, l. 8)

[349] Jacob, Histoire du formulaire grec 229–232; M. Arranz, Les prières presbytérales des Petites Heures dans l'ancien Euchologe byzantine. *OCP* 39 (1973) 74. To the same group also belongs manuscript Sin. gr. 961. See in addition, R. F. Taft, A History of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom V: The Precommunion Rites. Rome 2000, 104.

[350] R. F. Taft – S. Parenti, Storia della liturgia di S. Giovanni Crisostomo. Volume II. Il Grande Ingresso. Grottaferrata 2014, 70, 270.

[351] For the identifications I have used Gregory, Textkritik I 343–386.

[352] Inside <angular brackets> I supply titles or sections of text that are missing from the manuscript.

[353] The *Sermon* by Ps.-Basil of Caesarea is acephalous in the manuscript and lacks a title. With minor differences, the text follows the *recensio brevior* of the *Sermon for the Instruction of Priests* as published in PG 31, 1685–1688 (the *recensio fusior* of this same work is edited by P. P. Joannou, Discipline générale antique (IIe–IXe s.), II: Les canons des Pères grecs. Fonti. Fascicolo IX. Grottaferrata 1963, 187–191). The text of PG corresponds to that published in A. Mai, Nova Patrum Bibliotheca. VI. Rome 1853, 584, namely the text of manuscript Vat. gr. 2137 (Diktyon 68767), f. 2ᵛ (the codex has not yet been described in a catalogue, but is quoted in S. Lilla, I manoscritti vaticani greci. Lineamenti di una storia del fondo. Vatican City 2004, 82). Since one side of Sin. gr. 962 (about 15 lines) corresponds to seven lines of the PG, and since the missing part of the text (namely the beginning of the *Sermon*) corresponds to 14 lines of the PG, we may reasonably deduce that—as the codicological description has already suggested—one folio is missing at the beginning of the manuscript: namely the first folio of the first quire. We might suppose in addition that other folia or quires have been lost at the beginning of the manuscript. Against this, however, is the fact that in a number of manuscripts this same short work features at the very beginning. The Pinakes database registers 44 manuscripts containing this *Sermon*: nine follow the *recensio brevior*, and eleven date to the 11th–12th centuries. They are: Laur. Plut. 5.22 (Diktyon 15970); Athon. Vatopediou 555 (Diktyon 18699); Hierosol. Panaghiou Taphou 39 (Diktyon 35276); Lond. Add. 34060 (Diktyon 39106); Ambr. G 8 sup. (Diktyon 42796); Mosq. GIM Sinod. gr. 397 [Vlad. 316] (Diktyon 44022); Oxon. Barocci 86 (Diktyon 47373); Oxon. Cromwell 15 (Diktyon 47805); Neapol. BN II C 7 (Diktyon 46053); Princeton, Garrett 2 (Diktyon 55609); Vat. Ross. 736 (Diktyon 66433). In almost all instances, Basil's pseudo-epigraphic writing is inserted in miscellaneous manuscripts of theological-liturgical content,

3^{v}–34^{v}	Εὐχολόγιον σὺν Θεῷ ἀρχόμενον τὴν θείαν λειτουργίαν τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου:[354] *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τὸν οὐράνιον ἄρτον* (Goar, p. 135; Arranz, p. 465, both with the title εὐχὴ τῆς προθέσεως)
34^{v}–47^{v}	Ἡ θεία λειτουργία τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου[355] Εὐχὴ κατηχουμένων (f. 34^{v}): *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν, καὶ τὰ ταπεινὰ ἐφορῶν* (Goar, p. 56)
48^{r}–57^{r}	Ἀκολουθία τῶν προηγιασμένων:[356] *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, τὴν ἐκτενῆ ταύτην* (Alexopoulos, Presanctified Liturgy 306)[357]
58^{r}–63^{r}[358]	Εὐχαὶ τοῦ λυχνικοῦ[359] - Εὐχὴ α΄ (f. 58^{r}): *Κύριε οἰκτίρμων καὶ ἐλεήμων μακρόθυμε καὶ πολυέλεε, ἐνώτισαι τὴν προσευχὴν ἡμῶν* (Goar, p. 28; Arranz, p. 66) - Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου β΄ (f. 58^{v}): *Κύριε, μὴ τῷ θυμῷ σου ἐλέγξῃς ἡμᾶς, μηδὲ τῇ ὀργῇ σου παιδεύσῃς ἡμᾶς* (Goar, p. 28; Arranz, p. 67) - Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου γ΄ (f. 59^{v}): *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, μνήσθητι ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ ἀχρείων δούλων σου* (Goar, pp. 28–29; Arranz, p. 67) - Εὐχὴ εἰς τὴν Κὺριε ἐκέκραξα (f. 60^{r}): *Ἑσπέρας καὶ πρωὶ καὶ μεσημβρίας αἰνοῦμεν εὐλογοῦμεν εὐχαριστοῦμεν* (Goar, p. 31 with the title εὐχὴ τῆς εἰσόδου; Arranz, p. 69 with the title εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου η΄: πρὸ τοῦ Κύριε ἐκέκραξα) - Εὐχὴ τῆς ἀπολύσεως (f. 60^{v}): *Ὁ Θεός ὁ μέγας καὶ ὕψιστος ὁ μόνος ἔχων ἀθανασίαν* (Goar, pp. 29–30 with the title εὐχὴ ζ΄; Arranz, p. 74 with the title εὐχὴ γ΄ ἡ τῆς ἀπολύσεως) - Εὐχὴ τῆς κεφαλοκλισίας (f. 62^{r}): *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ κλίνας οὐρανοὺς καὶ καταβὰς ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων* (Goar, p. 32; Arranz, p. 76)
63^{r}–66^{v}	Εὐχαὶ τῶν παννυχίδων - Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου α΄ (f. 63^{r}): *Οἱ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἡμέρας τῇ θεωρίᾳ τῆς ἐν τῇ κτίσει* (Dmitrievskij II, pp. 13–14; Arranz, p. 81) - Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου β΄ (f. 64^{r}): *Σὲ τὸν ἀΐδιον καὶ ἀνέσπερον φῶς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 14; Arranz, p. 82) - Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου γ΄ (f. 65^{r}): *Ὁ τὴν ἄϋπνον καὶ ἀκατάπαυστον δοξολογίαν* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 14; Arranz, p. 82)

together with sermons, homilies, and treatises on the ecclesiastical canon. Only in four later codices does the work accompany a Euchologion or a collection of prayers. These are: Athen. gr. 1910 (Diktyon 3943: 15th century, Euchologion); Istanbul, Patriarchike Bibliotheke, Panaghia 142 (Diktyon 33787: dated 1551, Euchologion; Basil's work follows the Liturgies of Saint John Chrysostom, Saint Basil and the Presanctified Gifts); Par. Suppl. gr. 1272 (Diktyon 53936: 15th century, liturgical collection with prayers; Basil's work follows the prayers and precedes the *varia liturgica* (triodion and akolouthiai)); Sofia D. gr. 237 (Diktyon 62491: 16th century, Euchologion; the *Sermon* opens the codex. This manuscript is the most similar, in structure, to Sin. gr. 962).

354 It is worth mentioning that in this late 11th century manuscript the Liturgy of Saint Basil is preceded by the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom. The Liturgy of Saint Basil begins directly with the prayers, while the prothesis, the great litany, and the dismissal prayer are missing. The text seems therefore to reflect a 9th–10th century stage, when its later structure was not yet established. Since the peripheries generally tend to be conservative, this might point to a peripheral origin (Levantine) for the manuscript. See more on this in Parenti, La "vittoria" and Taft – Parenti, Il grande ingresso 270.

355 A. Jacob, Une version géorgienne inédite de la liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome. *Le Muséon* 77 (1964) 76 characterizes the Liturgy of Chrysostom preserved in this manuscript as having a *formulaire incomplet* and as being similar to that contained in the following manuscripts: Mosq. RGB gr. 27 [Sevastianov 474]; Sin. gr. 958; Sin. gr. 959; Sin. gr. 961; Sin. gr. 1036; Vat. gr. 1970 (Diktyon 68599); Vat. Ott. gr. 434; Par. gr. 234 (Diktyon 49806); Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska [*olim* Berol. graec. quart. 45 (347)].

356 The title ἀκολουθία for the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts (f. 48^{r}) is, according to Radle, Sinai Greek NE / ΜΓ 22 185 n. 67, typical of the earliest Palestinian Euchologia (11th–13th centuries); see also Alexopoulos, Presanctified Liturgy 55. The same title is present in manuscripts Sin. gr. 958, f. 22^{v}; Sin. gr. 959, f. 36^{v}; Sin. gr. 1036, f. 43^{r}; Sin. gr. 1097, f. 15^{v} (Diktyon 59472: Typikon manuscript); and Sin. gr. 1101, f. 14^{r} (Diktyon 59476: Typikon manuscript).

357 The Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts begins with the prayer of the ektene, while the ektene are only mentioned in the rubric on f. 48^{r} (μετὰ τὸ κατευθυνθήτω λέγεται ἐκτενῆ καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ ταύτη). This is typical of the earlier manuscripts: Alexopoulos, Presanctified Liturgy 199 and n. 218.

358 According to Géhin – Frøyshov, Nouvelles découvertes 177, n. 36, Sin. gr. 962 contains the Hagiopolite prayers of the hours on ff. 58^{r}–74^{r} and 80^{v}–83^{r}. However no supporting explanation is offered. On these prayers in general, see Arranz, Petites Heures; M. Arranz, La liturgie des heures selon l'ancien Euchologe byzantin, in: Eulogia: Miscellanea liturgica in onore di P. Burkhard Neunheuser. Rome 1979, 1–19; R. F. Taft, The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West. Collegeville 1986 (1993^{2}), 273–291. On the prayers for the minor hours and their development in Syria/Palestine, see C. Lutzka, Die kleinen Horen des byzantinischen Stundengebetes und ihre geschichtliche Entwicklung. Berlin 2010, 23–25, 29–31, 41–52.

359 On the prayers for Vespers on ff. 58^{r}–63^{r}, see Arranz, Vêpres byzantines, where he classifies Sin. gr. 962 as type K. The prayers that it contains follow the order he in fact established: [1], [2], [3], [8]+[7], [9] (see Arranz, Vêpres byzantines 112). Sin. gr. 962 seems to be one of the oldest manuscripts preserving this order. The only older version—according to Arranz—is codex Vat. gr. 1883 (Diktyon 68512: 10th century), which was written in Southern Italy (Campania).

66^{v}–74^{r}	Εὐχαὶ ἐωθιναί[360] - Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου α΄ (f. 66^{v}): *Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, τῷ ἐξαναστήσαντι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν κοιτῶν ἡμῶν* (Goar, p. 39; Arranz, p. 88) - Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου β΄ (f. 67^{v}): *Ἐκ νυκτὸς ὀρθρίζει τὸ πνεῦμα ἡμῶν πρός σε ὁ Θεὸς διότι φῶς τὰ προστάγματά σου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἁγιασμὸν ἐπιτελεῖν ἐν φόβῳ σου* (Goar, p. 39; Arranz, p. 88) - Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου γ΄ (f. 68^{r}): *Ἐκ νυκτὸς ὀρθρίζει τὸ πνεῦμα ἡμῶν πρός σε ὁ Θεὸς διότι φῶς τὰ προστάγματά σου δίδαξον ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου, τὰς ἐντολάς σου* (Goar, p. 40; Arranz, p. 89) - Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου δ΄ (f. 69^{r}): *Δέσποτα ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος καὶ ἀκατάληπτος, ὁ εἰπὼν ἐκ σκότους φῶς λάμψαι* (Goar, p. 40; Arranz, p. 90) - Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου ε΄ (f. 70^{v}): *Ἀγαθῶν θησαυρὲ πηγῆς ἀεννάου* (Goar, p. 40; Arranz, p. 91) - Εὐχὴ τοῦ Πεντηκοστοῦ (f. 71^{v}): *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τὴν διὰ μετανοίας ἄφεσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δωρησάμενος δέσποτα πολλοῖς* || (Goar, p. 42 with the title εὐχὴ ι΄; Arranz, p. 94 with the title εὐχὴ θ΄ ἤτοι τοῦ Ν΄) Missing folio[361] - *<Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τὰς νοε>||ρὰς καὶ λογικὰς ὑποστησάμενος* (f. 72^{r}) (Goar, p. 42 with the title εὐχὴ ια΄; Arranz, p. 95 with the title εὐχὴ ι΄ εἰς τοὺς αἴνους) - Εὐχὴ τῆς ἀπολύσεως (f. 72^{v}): *Αἰνοῦμεν καὶ ὑμνοῦμεν καὶ εὐλογοῦμεν καὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν* (Goar, p. 42 with the title εὐχὴ ιβ΄; Arranz, p. 98 with the title εὐχὴ δ΄ ἢ τῆς ἀπολύσεως) - Εὐχὴ τῆς κεφαλοκλισίας (f. 73^{v}): *Κύριε ἅγιε, ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν καὶ τῷ παντεφόρῳ σου ὄμματι ἐπιβλέπων ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσην* (Goar, p. 44; Arranz, p. 99)
74^{r}–75^{v}	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἀναδῆσαι γυναῖκα: *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἐν προφήταις λαλήσας* (Velkovska – Parenti 272; cf. also Arranz, p. 375; Goar, p. 309)
75^{v}–76^{r}	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν: *Δέσποτα Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ πηγάσας ἁμαρτωλοῖς σωτηρίαν τῷ πάθει σου* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 66)
76^{r}–77^{r}	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ: *Δέσποτα Κύριε οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ πάσης κτίσεως ὁρατῆς τε καὶ ἀοράτου* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 66)
77^{r}–78^{r}	Εὐχὴ τοῦ νιπτῆρος τῆς ἁγίας πέμπτης: *Κύριε ὑπεράγαθε ὁ ἀπρόσιτος τῇ θεότητι* (Goar, p. 592)
78^{r}–79^{r}	Εὐχὴ τῆς ἀπολύσεως: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ κατὰ τὸ πολὺ ἔλεός σου κενώσας ἑαυτόν* (Goar, p. 594)
79^{r}–80^{r}	Εὐχὴ τῆς κεφαλοκλισίας: *Δέσποτα, Κύριε τῆς δόξης, ὁ ὑποδείξας ἡμῖν μέτρα ταπεινώσεως* (Goar, p. 592)
80^{r}–80^{v}	Εὐχὴ εἰς νοσοῦντας: *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ μόνος ἔχων ἐξουσιαν ἁμαρτίας ἀφιέναι καὶ ψυχὰς σώζειν* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 45[362])
80^{v}–83^{v}	Εὐχαὶ ὀπισθάμβωνοι τῶν ὡρῶν[363] - Εὐχὴ τῆς α΄ὥρας (f. 80^{v}): *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐλθεῖν* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 66) - Εὐχὴ τῆς γ΄ὥρας (f. 81^{r}): *Τρισάγιε Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τὸ παράκλητον καὶ ἅγιον σου πνεῦμα* (Dmitrievskij II, pp. 66–67) - Εὐχὴ τῆς ς΄ὥρας (f. 81^{v}): *Δέσποτα Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ὥραν ἐν τῷ τιμίῳ σου* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 67) - Εὐχὴ τῆς θ΄ὥρας (f. 82^{r}): *Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τῇ ὑποδείξει τῶν ἁγίων σου ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Ἰωάννου ἐκδιδάξας ἡμᾶς* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 67) - Εὐχὴ τοῦ τε λυχνικοῦ καὶ ἑωθινοῦ καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν σύναξιν ἐπιτηδεία (f. 82^{v}): *Δέσποτα Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ μόνος ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 67) - Εὐχὴ ὀπισθάμβωνος εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν (f. 83^{r}): *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς στῆναι ἐνώπιον τῆς ἀχράντου σου δόξης* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 67)
83^{v}–84^{r}	Εὐχὴ εἰς μνήμην τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ διὰ τῶν ἁγίων σου ἀποστόλων γνωρίσας ἡμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου* (Dmitrievskij II, pp. 67–68)
84^{r}–84^{v}	Εὐχὴ εἰς διαφόρους ἁγίους: *Ὁ ἐνδοξαζόμενος ἐν ταῖς βουλαῖς τῶν ἁγίων σου, Κύριε* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 68)

[360] In their studies on the prayers for Matins, both Antoniades, Ακολουθίαι του εσπερινού 49 and Arranz, Matines byzantines II 94 indicate erroneously that Sin. gr. 962 preserves eight prayers for orthros, while there are actually nine (plus an additional one that is no longer extant because of a missing folio). This mistake is due to the fact that both scholars based their descriptions on Dmitrievskij II 65. According to the numbering established by Arranz, Matines byzantines I, the the order of the prayers is: [1], [2], [3], [4], [5], [10], [lost prayer], [11], [12], [13]. Arranz assigns the manuscript to type D5a.

[361] As the codicological description has already suggested, there is a missing folio between f. 71 and f. 72, i.e. the last folio of Quire 9. This contained the final part of the Εὐχή τοῦ Πεντηκοστοῦ (beginning on f. 71^{v}), a missing unidentifiable prayer, and the *incipit* of the eleventh prayer for orthros that continues on f. 72^{r}.

[362] The same text as in Sin. gr. 959 (Palestine), which Dmitrievskij transcribes in its entirety.

[363] Arranz, Petites Heures 61–63; R. F. Taft, A History of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom. VI: The Communion, Thanksgiving, and Concluding Rites. Rome 2008, 614, 616, 639, 652–695 *passim*.

84^{v}–85^{r}	Εὐχὴ εἰς μνήμην μαρτύρων: *Ἅγιε ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος ὕψιστε ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν ὁ τὰ ταπεινὰ ἐφορῶν* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 68)
85^{r}–85^{v}	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ μνήμην ἁγίων: *Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι Δέσποτα Θεὲ παντοκράτορ ὁτι κατηξιώσας ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ παθόντος ἐπιτελέσαι* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 68)
86^{r}–86^{v}	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ κατασφραγίσαι παιδίον λαμβάνον ὄνομα τῇ η΄ ἡμέρᾳ: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν σοῦ δεόμεθα καὶ σὲ ἱκετεύομεν σημειωθήτω τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου* (Arranz, p. 169; Velkovska – Parenti 112; cf. also Goar, p. 264)
87^{r}–87^{v}	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ σαραντίσαι παιδίον: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις τοῦ νόμου εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνελθὼν ὑπὸ Μαρίας τῆς ἁγίας μητρός σου* (Passarelli 178)
87^{v}–88^{r}	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἐκκλησιάσαι γυναῖκα, ἤγουν μετὰ τὸ σαραντίσαι: *Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ πᾶσαν φύσιν λογικὴν διὰ τοῦ λόγου σου δημιουργήσας* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 69; cf. also Goar, p. 267)
88^{v}–89^{r}	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ κουρεῦσαι παιδίον: *Σὲ ἱκετεύομεν, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς κολυμβήθρας* (similar to Goar, p. 307; Velkovska – Parenti 208)
89^{r}–90^{v}	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ποιήσαι κατηχούμενον: *Ἐπὶ τὸ ὀνόματί σου Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ* (Goar, p. 275; Arranz, pp. 172–173; Velkovska – Parenti 114)
91^{r}–93^{v}	Ἀφορκισμός πρῶτος: *Ἐπιτιμᾷ σοι Κύριος, διάβολε, ὁ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον* (Goar, pp. 275–276; Arranz, pp. 174–175)
93^{v}–96^{r}	Ἀφορκισμός β΄: *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ φοβερὸς καὶ ἔνδοξος* (Goar, p. 276; Arranz, pp. 175–176)
96^{r}–96^{v}	Ἀφορκισμός γ΄: *Κύριε Σαβαώθ, ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ* (Goar, p. 276; Arranz, p. 177)
97^{r}–98^{r}	Ἀφορκισμός μετὰ τὸν πρὸς ὥραν βαπτιζομένον: *Ὁ ὢν Δέσποτα Κύριε, ὁ ποιήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον* (Goar, p. 276)
98^{r}–99^{r}	*Ἐξέλασον ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, πᾶν πονηρὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα* (Goar, p. 277)
99^{r}–100^{r}	*Χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς, καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ* (Goar, p. 277)
100^{r}–100^{v}	*Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν προσκάλεσαι τὸν δοῦλόν σου* (Goar, p. 278)
100^{v}–102^{v}	*Ὁ εὔσπλαγχνος καὶ ἐλεήμων Θεός, ὁ ἐτάζων καρδίας καὶ νεφρούς* (Goar, p. 288)
102^{v}–111^{r}	Διακονικὰ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον ὕδωρ - f. 103^{r}: *Μέγας εἶ Κύριε, καὶ θαυμαστὰ τὰ ἔργα σου* (Goar, pp. 288–289) - f. 106^{v}: *Συντριβήτωσαν ὑπὸ τὴν σημείωσιν τοῦ τύπου τοῦ σταυροῦ σου* (Goar, p. 289) - f. 109^{r}: *Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν* (Goar, pp. 289–290) - f. 110^{v}: *Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὁ φωτίζων, καὶ ἁγιάζων πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον* (Goar, p. 290)
111^{r}–113^{v}	Εὐχὴ τοῦ μύρου: *Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ἡ πηγὴ τῶν ἁγαθῶν* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 70; Goar, p. 290)
113^{v}–114^{v}	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἀπολοῦσαι παιδίον: *Ὁ λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου σου βαπτίσματος τοῖς δούλοις σου χαρισάμενος.* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 70; cf. also Goar, pp. 303–304; Arranz, p. 194)
114^{v}–120^{v}	Ἀκολουθία τῶν ἁγίων Θεοφανίων (Dmitrievskij II, p. 70)
120^{v}–121^{v}	Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα εἰς τὸ ἅγιον ὕδωρ. Τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ εἰς ἁγιασμὸν διακονίας: *Ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τὸ πικρὸν ὕδωρ ἐπὶ Μωϋσέως* (Goar, p. 363; Velkovska – Parenti 133)
121^{v}–144^{r}	Εὐχαὶ διάφοραι[364]
144^{v}–145^{r}	Διακονικὰ εἰς μνῆστρα (Goar, p. 311)
145^{v}–150^{r}	Ἀκολουθία εἰς γάμους καὶ εἰς στεφάνωμα (Goar, p. 317)
150^{r}–151^{r}	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἐπάραι τὰ στεφάνια ἐκ τοῦ θαλάμου: *Κύριε ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν, ὁ παραγενόμενος ἐν Κανᾷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας* (Goar, p. 322)
151^{r}–152^{r}	Εὐχὴ εἰς ἀσθενοῦντας καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἑπτὰ παίδων τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ: *Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Δέσποτα Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν, ὁ ποιῶν μεγάλα καὶ θαυμάσια* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 74)
152^{r}–153^{r}	Εὐχὴ λεγομένη ὅταν ἐνυπνιάζεταί τις ὑπὸ πονηρῶν φαντασμάτων: *Πολυέλεε εὔσπλαχνε Κύριε ἀκήρατε ἀμόλυντε ἀναμάρτητε κάθαρον τὸν δοῦλόν σου τὸν δεῖνα ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος* (Goar, p. 529; Velkovska – Parenti 237)
153^{r}–155^{v}	Εὐχὴ τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου πρὸ τῆς ἁγίας κοινωνίας λεγομένη καὶ εἰς τὸν κοσμικὸν ἐὰν πάσας ἡμέρας μὴ κοινωνήσῃ: *Κύριε οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος οὔτε ἱκανὸς* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 75)

[364] The occasional prayers are listed and discussed below.

155^{v}–172^{r}	- Ευχὴ τῆς γονυκλισίας καὶ ἁγίας Πεντηκοστῆς (ff. 155^{v}–159^{v}): *Ἄχραντε, ἀμίαντε, ἄναρχε, ἀόρατε* (Goar, p. 597) - Ευχὴ (ff. 159^{v}–161^{r}): *Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε δέσποτα* (Goar, p. 598) - Ευχὴ β΄ (ff. 161^{r}–166^{v}): *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τὴν σὴν εἰρήνην* (Goar, p. 599) - Ευχὴ γ΄ (ff. 166^{v}–172^{r}): *Ἡ ἀεννάος βρύουσα ζωτική* (Goar, p. 600)
172^{r}–173^{v}	Ἀκολουθία εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον - Philippians, 2:5–11 (ff. 172^{r}–172^{v}) - Luke, 10:38–42, 11:27–28 (ff. 172^{v}–173^{v})
173^{v}–175^{r}	Ἕτερος Ἀπόστολος εἰς τὴν Θεοτόκον καὶ τῶν ἁγίων Ἰωακεὶμ καὶ Ἄννης - Hebrews 9:1–7
175^{r}–175^{v}	Εὐαγγέλιον τῆς Θεοτόκου - Luke, 8:16–21
176^{r}–177^{r}	Ἕτερος Ἀπόστολος εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον καὶ εἰς τὸν εὐαγγελισμὸν καὶ εἰς τὰ Χριστούγεννα ἐπὶ τὴν αὔριον - Hebrews, 2:11–18
177^{r}–179^{r}	Εὐαγγέλιον εἰς τὸν εὐαγγελισμόν - Luke 1:24–38
179^{r}–180^{v}	Ἕτερον Εὐαγγέλιον τῆς Θεοτόκου ἀναγινωσκώμενον εἰς παννυχίδας καὶ εἰς ὄρθρον - Luke 1:39–56
180^{v}–182^{r}	Ἀπόστολος εἰς Ἀσωμάτους - Hebrews 2:2–10
182^{r}–183^{r}	- Luke, 10:16–21[365]
183^{r}–186^{r}	Ἀκολουθία εἰς μάρτυρας - 2 Timothy, 2:1–10 (ff. 183^{v}–184^{v}) - John 15:17–27 – 16:1–2 (ff. 184^{v}–186^{r})
186^{r}–187^{r}	Ἀκολουθία εἰς ἱεράρχας - Hebrews 8:1–6
187^{r}–190^{r}	Ἀκολουθία εἰς Ἀναργύρους καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Νικολάου - Hebrews, 13:17–20 (ff. 187^{r}–187^{v}) - Luke 6:17–23 (ff. 188^{r}–189^{v}) - Matthew, 11:27–30 (ff. 189^{v}–190^{r})
190^{r}–191^{v}	Ἀκολουθία εἰς Θαυματουργοὺς καὶ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀναργύρων - 1 Corinthians 12:8–11 (ff. 190^{r}–190^{v}) - Matthew, 10:1 and 10:5–8 (ff. 191^{r}–191^{v})
191^{v}–194^{r}	Ἀκολουθία εἰς μάρτυρας γυναῖκας καὶ εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Βάρβαραν - Galatians 3:23–29 (ff. 191^{v}–192^{v}) - Mark, 5:26–34 (ff. 192^{v}–194^{r})
194^{r}–196^{r}	Ἀκολουθία εἰς ἱερομάρτυρας. τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ εἰς σχῆμα μοναχοῦ - Galatians, 5:22–26 – 6:1–2 (ff. 194^{r}–194^{v})[366] - Mark, 8:34 – 9:1 (ff. 195^{r}–196^{r})
196^{r}–199^{r}	Ἀκολουθία εἰς ἀσθενοῦντας καὶ ἐπιμετανοοῦντας καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου ἐλαίου - James, 5:10–16 (ff. 196^{r}–197^{v}) - Luke, 19:1–11 (ff. 197^{v}–199^{r})
199^{r}–199^{v}	Ἀπόστολος - Hebrews 3:1–4
199^{v}–200^{v}	Εὐαγγέλιον εἰς ἐγκαίνια - John, 10:22–28
200^{v}–201^{r}	Ἀπόστολος εἰς κοιμηθέντας - 1 Thessalonians, 4:13–17
201^{v}–202^{v}	Εὐαγγέλιον εἰς κοιμηθέντας - John, 5:24–30
202^{v}	Ἕτερα ἀκολουθία εἰς κοιμηθέντας - Romans, 14:6[367]

[365] The Gospel reading is erroneously attributed to John.
[366] The reading is erroneously identified as coming from the Ephesians.
[367] The reading is erroneously identified as coming from the Corinthians.

Occasional Prayers

The occasional prayers in this codex are grouped under a precise name, εὐχαὶ διάφοραι, but the beginning of this section of the Euchologion is marked neither by the presence of a decorative line, nor by the formation of a new codicological unit. The title is written in brown ink, the same used by the scribe to write the text of the prayers (**Figure 75**). Its very presence is worth mentioning, since it is not often found in manuscripts. Similar expressions encountered to date are: εὐχαὶ διάφοραι εἰς πάντα ὄφελα (e.g. in Crypt. Γ.β. XI, f. 5[r] [Diktyon 17903]) and εὐχαὶ διάφοραι ἀναγκαῖαι (e.g. in Vat. gr. 2032, f. 197[r] [Diktyon 68661]).[368] The occasional prayers are listed below, with each assigned a number.

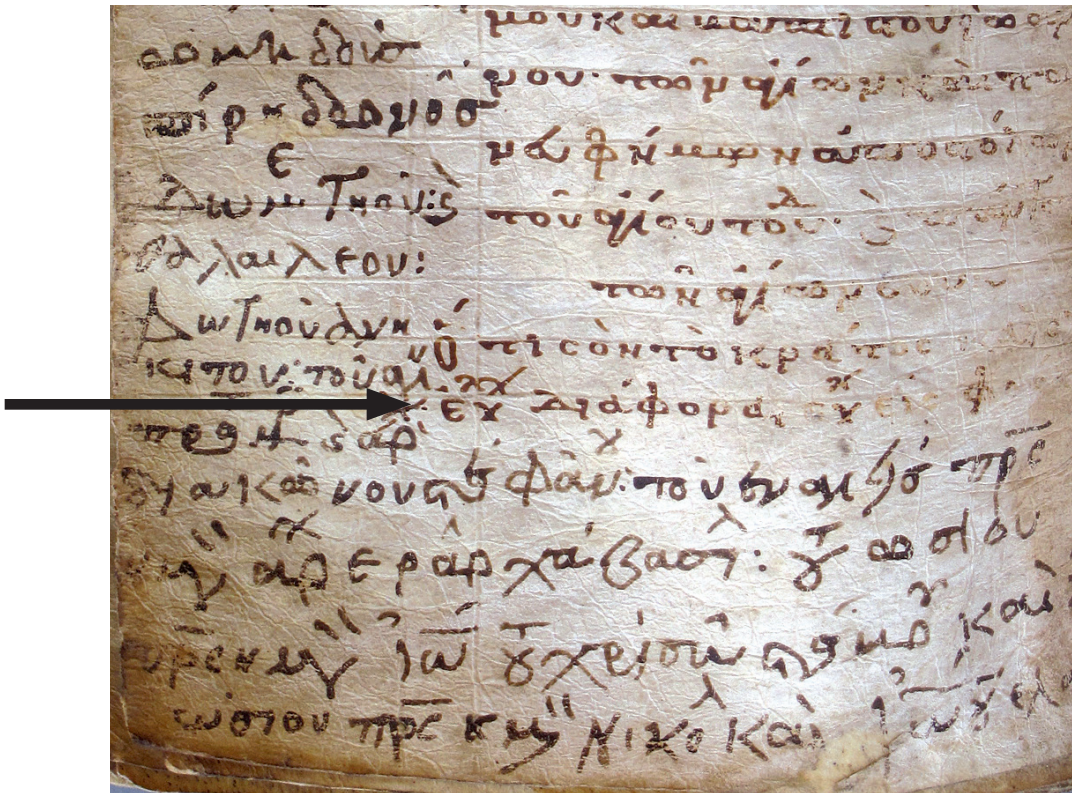


Figure 75 – Title εὐχ(αὶ) διάφοραι, on the last line of f. 121[v] (main text)
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

121[v]	**Εὐχαὶ διάφοραι**
121[v]–123[v]	1) Εὐχὴ εἰς φρέαρ μιανθέν: *Κύριε παντοκράτωρ, ἐπουράνιε, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστος.* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 48)
123[v]–124[v]	2) Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ μετανοούντων: *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, ὁ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου σου Νάθαν μετανοήσαντι τῷ Δαβίδ.* (Goar, p. 536; Arranz, p. 366; Passarelli 184; Velkovska – Parenti 201)
124[v]–125[r]	3) Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἐξομολογουμένων: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τῇ πόρνῃ διὰ δακρύων ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν δωρησάμενος.* (Goar, p. 537; Arranz, p. 367; Velkovska – Parenti 202)
125[r]–126[r]	4) Εὐχὴ εἰς εὐλογίαν οἴκου: *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν ὁ καταξιώσας ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Ζακχαίου εἰσελθεῖν.* (Goar, p. 484; Passarelli 265; Velkovska – Parenti 183)
126[r]–126[v]	5) Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἐλαίου ἀρρώστου: *Κύριε ὁ Θεός ὁ ἐν τῷ ἐλέει καὶ τοῖς οἰκτιρμοῖς σου ἰώμενος τὰ συντρίμματα τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν.* (Goar, p. 335; Arranz, p. 379)
126[v]–127[r]	6) Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἀρρώστου: *Πάτερ ἅγιε ἰατρὲ ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων ὁ πέμψας τὸν μονογενῆ σου Υἱὸν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν πᾶσαν νόσον ἰώμενον.* (Arranz, p. 377; Passarelli 189; Velkovska – Parenti 196)

[368] See Rapp – Afentoulidou – Galadza – Nesseris – Rossetto – Schiffer, Byzantine Prayer Books 175 n. 3.

127r–128r	7) Εὐχὴ εἰς ἀδελφοποίησιν: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ πάντα πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἡμῖν χαρισάμενος ὁ καὶ ἐντειλάμενος ἡμᾶς ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους.* (Goar, p. 707. Cf. also Arranz, p. 355)[369]
128r–129r	8) Εὐχὴ εἰς κόλυβα μνήμης ἁγίων: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα ἐν αὐτοῖς.* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 35)[370]
129r–130r	9) Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ μιαροφαγησάντων: *Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν καὶ τὰ ταπεινὰ ἐφορῶν.* (Goar, p. 534; Velkovska – Parenti 194)
130r–131r	10) Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν βρώμασι σκανδαλισθέντων: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τῷ κορυφαίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρῳ δι' ὀπτασίας καὶ φωνῆς νομοθετήσας.* (Goar, p. 535; Arranz, p. 369; Velkovska – Parenti 204)
131r–133r	11) Τάξις γινομένη, εἰ συμβῇ μιαρὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον προσφάτως ἐμπεσὸν ἐν ὑπoληνίῳ ἢ εἰς ἕτερον εἶδος: *Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῇ ἐνσάρκῳ σου οἰκονομίᾳ διεντειλάμενος μὴ τὰ εἰσπορευόμενα κοινοῦν τὸν ἄνθρωπον.* (Goar, p. 48; Dmitrievskij II, p. 71)
133r–134r	12) Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ χειμαζομένων ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων: *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος ὁ λυτρωσάμενος ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τοῦ διαβόλου τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων.* (Velkovska – Parenti 206)
134r–135r	13) Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἀνομβρίας: *Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ διὰ τὸν πρὸς σὲ ζῆλον ἐπακούσας Ἠλία τοῦ προφήτου καὶ τὸν κατὰ καιρὸν τῇ γῇ πεμπόμενον ὑετὸν ἐπισχεθῆναι κελεύσας.* (Velkovska – Parenti 194)
135r–135v	14) Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἀποδημούντων: *Ὁ Θεός ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ συνοδεύσας τῷ θεράποντί σου Ἰακὼβ καὶ συνξενιτεύσας τῷ δούλῳ σου Ἰωσήφ.* (Passarelli 199; Velkovska – Parenti 192)
136r–136v	15) Εὐχὴ προπετῶς ὀμνυόντων: *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως τὸ εὐάλωτον καὶ ἀσθενὲς ἐπιστάμενος.* (Arranz, p. 368; Velkovska – Parenti 203)
136v–138v	16) Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ μαγαρισάντων: *Κύριε Κύριε ὁ τῶν ἁπάντων ποιητὴς καὶ δεσπότης ἡ πηγὴ τῆς ἀγαθότητος ὁ σωτὴρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων.* (Arranz, p. 288; cf. also Goar, p. 690)[371]
138v–139v	17) Εὐχὴ εἰς ἀρχὴν σπορίμων: *Ὁ ὢν Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεός ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ κτίστης καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν ἁπάντων.* (Passarelli 219; cf. also Goar, p. 557; Velkovska – Parenti 216)
139v–140v	18) Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ πλεόντων: *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ φιλάνθρωπος, ὁ ὑπάρχων πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων, ὁ πρὸ ἑωσφόρου γεννηθεὶς τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐκ φωτός.* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 72)
140v–141v	19) Εὐχὴ λεγομένη εἰς τὸ κτίσαι καράβιν. Τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ εἰς οἶκον: *Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ οἰκοδομῆσαι σκάφος αὐτούς.* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 72. Cf. Arranz, p. 225)
141v–142r	20) Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι δίκτυα: *Ὁ πλούσιος καὶ ἄφθονος Θεός, ὁ μέγας καί μεγαλόδωρος.* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 72)
142v–143r	21) Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τρυγῆς ἀμπέλου: *Ὁ προσκυνητὸς καὶ Σωτὴρ τῶν ἁπάντων Θεὸς ὁ τῆς ἀμπέλου φυτείαν τῷ δικαίῳ Νῶε ὑποδείξας.* (Dmitrievskij II, pp. 72–73. Cf. Arranz, p. 321)
143r–144r	22) Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ θέρους: *Ἀγαγὼν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον διὰ τὴν σὴν ἀγαθότητα, ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 73. Cf. Goar, p. 524; Velkovska – Parenti 219)

The occasional prayers occupy 23 and half folia, or rather 47 pages of the manuscript (f. 121v to f. 144r). They are located between the akolouthia for Theophany and that for engagement and marriage. The prayers deal with a number of different themes, some attracting more than one prayer. Seemingly the most popular topics were:
- purification issues (five prayers: 1, 9, 10, 11, 12);
- agriculture (four prayers: 14, 17, 21, 22);
- travelling, especially by sea or river (four prayers: 14, 18, 19, 20).

No unknown or hitherto unedited prayer occurs in Sin. gr. 962. However, it is worth underlining that while most are common and also feature in Goar, Arranz (Coisl. 213, dated 1027), Velkovska – Parenti (Vat. Barb. gr. 336, late 8th century), and Passarelli (Crypt. Γ.β. VII, 10th century), some pertaining to agriculture and travelling are less ordinary. I refer to prayers 18, 19, 20, connected to marine activities, and prayers 21 and 22, for

[369] This is prayer B in Rapp's work, i.e. one of the most attested, 'the basic core of the *adelphopoiesis* rite' (C. Rapp, Brother-Making in Late Antiquity and Byzantium. Oxford 2016, 78, 266). She maintains that the prayer appears for the first time in the 9th century (Sin. gr. 957). It is found in all the manuscripts that she considers from the 11th century, namely in Coisl. 213, Crypt. Γ.β. II (Diktyon 17894), Sin. gr. 959, Sin. gr. 961.

[370] The same text as in Sin. gr. 958 (Syria/Palestine), which Dmitrievskij transcribes in its entirety, and Sin. gr. 960 (Cyprus or Syria/Palestine).

[371] There is more on this prayer in E. Schiffer's contribution in Rapp – Afentoulidou – Galadza – Nesseris – Rossetto – Schiffer, Byzantine Prayer Books 196–200. Its earliest appearance is found in codex Crypt. Γ.β. IV (Diktyon 17896), of the late 10th century. It usually appears as part of Methodios' Diataxis (for instance in manuscript Coisl. 213 = Arranz, p. 301), but it is also transmitted as a single prayer for reconversion (as in this case) in manuscripts that do not contain the entire diataxis.

agriculture. Dmitrievskij transcribes them *in toto* for the first time. But to what extent are they innovative, and to what degree?

I will begin with those for agriculture (21, 22). Looking in closer detail at the prayer texts, it should be noted that—even if Dmitrievskij indicates that they are unattested in other sources—their content is not completely new. Prayer 21 for the grape harvest (εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τρυγῆς ἀμπέλου) is a remake of the prayer for the same topic found in Coisl. 213 (Arranz, p. 321). Prayer 22 for the summer fruits (εὐχὴ ἐπὶ θέρους) is in turn a reworking of Goar, p. 524 and Vat. Barb. gr. 336 (Velkovska – Parenti 219), intended for the same purpose.

Comparison with the material collected by the *Vienna Euchologia Project* has allowed for the identification of the "Sinaitic version" of prayer 21 in a number of other manuscripts, all preserved at Patmos. They are: Patm. 703, f. 190^{r} (12th century – Diktyon 54942), Patm. 690, f. 89^{v} (late 15th century – Diktyon 54929), and Patm. 689, f. 113^{r} (15th–16th century – Diktyon 54928). None of these Patmian manuscripts has a known place of origin. Significant, however, is the presence of the identical prayer in Patm. 703, which was written at roughly the same time as Sin. gr. 962.

As for the prayers dealing with travelling (18, 19, 20), none of the three has parallels in the editions which are taken into account here. Among the material collected by the *Vienna Euchologia Project*, I have encountered no other manuscript whose text matches either prayer 18 for those who sail (εὐχὴ ἐπὶ πλεόντων), or prayer 19 for the construction of a boat (εὐχὴ λεγομένη εἰς τὸ κτὶσαι καράβιν). Nonetheless, this last prayer is prefaced by a telling remark following the title: τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ εἰς οἶκον (the same for a house). Recycling prayers was common practice,[372] but it is rare to find an indication in a manuscript signalling that the same prayer could be used for different purposes. In this case we have it explicitly spelled out: the scribe evidently wanted to make it clear that the same prayer could be used for the construction of either a boat or a house. What is more, from the words αὐτὸς τοὺς τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοι onwards, the prayer text is similar to that in manuscript Coisl. 213 (Arranz, p. 225) for the construction of a church (εὐχὴ ἐπὶ θεμελίου ἐκκλησίας). The central core of the prayer was therefore demonstrably adapted to serve different construction purposes (whether boat, house, or church).

Finally, an almost identical attestation of prayer 20 for the blessing of fishing nets (εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι δίκτυα) can be found in Par. gr. 324, f. 199^{v} (14th–15th century – *Dikyon* 49896). Its origin is unfortunately unknown. In this connection, it is perhaps interesting to note that the version of the prayer for the kolyba for the saints (εὐχὴ εἰς κόλυβα μνήμης ἁγίων, ff. 128^{r}–129^{r}) is attested in manuscripts of Palestinian origin such as Sin. gr. 958, and of possible Palestinian origin such as Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 + Sin. gr. NF M 22 + Sin. gr. NF M 79.

Additions by Later Users

The palaeographical features which characterize the hands of the five users who introduced additions and corrections in the margins and between the lines of Sin. gr. 962 have been discussed above. I will turn here to the nature of these interventions.

Hand 1 is responsible for the integration of Quire 23 (ff. 182–187), the more recent numeration of the quires, the insertion of the name ιω^{κ} α^{χ} (Ἰωακείμ μοναχός) in the outer margin of f. 181^{v}, and the notes in the margins of folia 121^{v}–122^{r} and 126^{v}–127^{r}.

- ff. 121^{v}–122^{r}: the annotations cover the entirety of the margins. The two folia contain the end of the εὐχὴ ἑτέρα εἰς τὸ ἅγιον ὕδωρ (f. 121^{v}) and the beginning of the occasional prayers' section, with the εὐχὴ εἰς φρέαρ μιανθέν (ff. 121^{v}–122^{r}). The marginalia relate to the first of the two prayers. The prayer for the holy water ends with an ekphonesis for intercessions from the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, the Apostles and all the Saints. This is absent from the edited versions (Goar, p. 363; Velkovska – Parenti 133). The text added by Hand 1, which is a continuation of the ekphonesis, is transcribed below diplomatically in order to illustrate the scribe's level of literacy; the normalized transcription follows the diplomatic one.

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[372] See for instance the case described by I. Nesseris in Rapp – Afentoulidou – Galadza – Nesseris – Rossetto – Schiffer, Byzantine Prayer Books 210: prayers for a child who starts walking, or for hair cutting, or καμπανισμός, or for the naming of a child on the eighth day, were appropriated or re-appropriated, and used for the blessing of the pupil's first day at school.

121ᵛ: τὸν αγιον και ενδωξον μαρτυρων | Ευστάθυοὺ. Θεσπαῖσοϊου: | καὶ Ανάτῶλϊου | τὸν ἀγιόν και εν|δόξον θαῦμα|τουῤγον ἀναρ|γυρον: Κωσ|μα καὶ Δάμι|ὰνου: κυρου | καὶ Ιω(αννου) Πανταλαι|ημὼνὸς καὶ Ερ|μῶλαου: Δι|ωμηδοὺς | Σπίρηδωνος | Δωμετηου : καὶ | Θαλαιλεου: | Φωτηου Ανη|κιτου: του αγιου | προτομαρτυρος καὶ αρχ(ι)|διακῶνου Στεφανου: του εν αγιεις πατρος | ημ(ον) αρχιεραρχα Βασιλ(ειου): του ωσιου | πατρος ημ(ον) Ιω(αννου) του Χρισῶστομου καὶ του | ωσιου πατρος ημ(ον) Νικολ(αου) καὶ Ιω(αννου) του Ελαημων ||

Normalized text: τῶν ἁγίων ἐνδόξων μαρτύρων | Εὐσταθίου, Θεσπεσίου | καὶ Ἀνατολίου | τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἐνδόξων θαυματουργῶν ἀναργύρων Κοσ|μᾶ καὶ Δαμιανοῦ, Κύρου | καὶ Ἰωάννου Παντελε|ήμονος καὶ Ἑρμολάου, Δι|ομήδους, Σπυρίδωνος, | Δομετίου καὶ Θαλελαίου, | Φωτίου, Ἀνι|κήτου, τοῦ ἁγίου | πρωτομάρτυρος καὶ ἀρχι|διακόνου Στεφάνου, τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς | ἡμῶν ἱεράρχου Βασιλείου, τοῦ ὁσίου | πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου καὶ τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νικολάου καὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἐλεήμονος ||

122ʳ: τὸν αγι(ον) βασιλ(ειου) Κων(σταντινου) και Ελαιν(ης) | και παντων τον αγιον σου: ων τες πρεσβειαις | φυλαττον τους | πηστους βασιλη: | χαρϊσαι αυτ(οις) κα[ι] | παντα ψυχης | ται και σωματ(ος) | μνυσθητη | κ(υρι)ε του πατρος | [περι]εστώτος λαοῦ | και απαιγδ[εχο]|μενους τω π[αρά] | σου πλουσιον ελεος | και τον διευλογους ετι[ας] | απολιψαντ αδιλφ[ων] | ημον ελεησον επι[σκε]|ψον και ιασαι πα[ντας] | ημας κατα τω | μαιγα σου ελαιος | οτ(ι) συ ει ω αγιαζον τα | συνπα(ν)τ(α) χριστε ο θεος η[μων] | + ||

Normalized text: τῶν ἁγίων βασιλέων Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Ἑλένης | καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου, ὧν ταῖς πρεσβείαις | φύλαττε <Κύριε τοὺς δούλους σου> τοὺς | πιστοὺς βασιλέας <ἡμῶν>, | χάρισαι αὐτοῖς καὶ | πάντα ψυχῆς | τε καὶ σώματος <τὴν ὑγείαν>. | Μνήσθητι | Κύριε τοῦ πατρὸς, | περιεστῶτος τοῦ λαοῦ | καὶ ἀπεκδεχομένου τὸ παρὰ | σοῦ πλούσιον ἔλεος | καὶ τὸν δι’ εὐλόγους αἰτίας | ἀπολειφθέντων ἀδελφ[ῶν] | ἡμῶν ἐλέησον ἐπί[σκε]ψον (lege ἐπίσκεψαι) καὶ ἴασαι πά[ντας] | ἡμᾶς κατὰ τὸ | μέγα σου ἔλεος | Ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ ἁγιάζων τὰ | σύμπαντα Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν | + ||

The annotator adds the request for intercession from a number of saints and martyrs, almost all physicians and thaumaturges (Anargyroi saints). They are, in order of appearance in the text: Eustathius, Thespesius and Anatolius, Cosmas and Damian, Cyrus of Alexandria and John, Panteleimon and Hermolaus, Diomedes, Spyridon, Dometius of Persia, Thallelaeus, Photius and Anicetus, and finally Nicholas.

Neither in Goar nor in Velkovska – Parenti does the εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον ὕδωρ continue with the invocation of the physician saints and martyrs. However, in the small water blessing (ἀκολουθία τοῦ μικροῦ ἁγιασμοῦ) published in Goar, p. 361, a prayer can be found (Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ μέγας τῇ βουλῇ καὶ θαυμαστὸς τοῖς ἔργοις) whose ekphonesis mentions some of the physician saints and martyrs. Those who do not find mention in Goar are Eustathius, Thespesius, Anatolius, Photius, and Stephen protomartyr. Moreover, in Goar Anicetus is mentioned together with Mocius, while Anicetus and Photius are commemorated together only during the sacrament of extreme Unction (‘in extremae Unctionis officio, non Mocius, sed Photius Aniceto jungitur’[373]).

- ff. 126ᵛ–127ʳ: the annotations in these folia are corrections and additions to the prayer for the sick (εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἀῤῥώστου),[374] whose text I provide here (normalized); variants with Goar, Arranz, Passarelli and Velkovska – Parenti are indicated in the footnotes.

Πάτερ ἅγιε, ἰατρὲ ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων, ὁ πέμψας τὸν μονογενῆ σου Υἱὸν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν πᾶσαν νόσον ἰώμενος[375] καὶ ἐκ θανάτου ῥυόμενον[376]· ἴασαι καὶ[377] τὸν δοῦλόν σου τόνδε ἐκ τῆς περιεχούσης[378] αὐτὸν **σωματικῆς**[379] | **ἀσθενείας** (ἀῤῥωστίας: ms. after correction) διὰ τῆς χάριτος[380] τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ ζωοποίησον αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ σοὶ **εὐάρεστον τὴν ὀφειλομένην σοι** εὐχαριστίαν[381] **ἐν ἀγαθοεργίᾳ ἀποπληροῦντα**, ὅτι σὸν τὸ κράτος καὶ σοῦ.

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373 Goar, p. 366 n. 8.
374 Goar, p. 678; Arranz, p. 377; Passarelli 189; Velkovska – Parenti 196.
375 ἰώμενος : ἰώμενον Goar, p. 678; Arranz, p. 377; Passarelli 189; Velkovska – Parenti 196.
376 ῥυόμενον : λυτρούμενον Goar, p. 678; Arranz, p. 377; Passarelli 189; Velkovska – Parenti 196.
377 ἴασαι καὶ Arranz, p. 377; Passarelli 189; Velkovska – Parenti 196 : ἴασαι Goar, p. 678.
378 περιεχούσης Goar, p. 678; Passarelli 189; Velkovska – Parenti 196 : συνεχούσης Arranz, p. 377.
379 σωματικῆς Arranz, p. 377; Passarelli 189; Velkovska – Parenti 196 : σωματικῆς καὶ ψυχικῆς Goar, p. 678.
380 διὰ τῆς χάριτος Goar, p. 678; Arranz, p. 377; Velkovska – Parenti 196 : διὰ χάριτος Passarelli 189.
381 εὐχαριστίαν Arranz, p. 377; Passarelli 189; Velkovska – Parenti 196 : εὐχαριστίαν καὶ προσκύνησιν Goar, p. 678.

Hand 1 changes the prayer text as follows:

- addition of καὶ ψυχικῆς after σωματικῆς;
- substitution of the word ἀσθενείας with the word ἀρρωστίας;
- substitution of εὐάρεστον, τὴν ὀφειλομένην with εὐάρεστον, ἵνα καὶ τὴν ὀφειλομένην;
- substitution of ἐν ἀγαθοεργίᾳ ἀποπληροῦντα with ἐν ἀγαθοεργίᾳ ἀποπληροῖ;
- addition after ἐν ἀγαθοεργίᾳ ἀποπληροῖ of πρεσβείαις τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου. τῶν ἁγίων ἀναργύρων Κοσμᾶ καὶ Δαμιανοῦ. τοῦ ἁγίου Παντελεήμωνος καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου. Ὅτι Θεὸς ἐλέους, οἰκτιρμῶν καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ὑπάρχεις, καὶ σοὶ τὴν.

The text that emerges after these interventions by Hand 1 resembles—especially on account of the presence of the intercessory ekphonesis to saints Cosmas, Damian and Panteleimon—the prayer text of Goar, p. 338, which is located in the context of the sacrament of extreme Unction. This user of the manuscript seems to be particularly interested in the worship of physician saints and thaumaturges. I will call him User 1: "the restorer".

Hand 2 belongs to an Arabic speaker with some knowledge of Greek. The majority of his annotations are found in the section of the Euchologion containing the baptismal rite. The interventions in Greek are followed by those in Arabic.

- f. 14^{r}, Liturgy of Saint Basil: addition, at the beginning of the Anaphora, of ἀπερίγραπτε.[382]
- f. 18^{r}, Liturgy of Saint Basil: addition of τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας.[383]
- f. 22^{r}, Liturgy of Saint Basil: addition of καὶ αἵματος.
- f. 24^{v}, Liturgy of Saint Basil: addition of καὶ ἐπουρανίοις.
- f. 62^{v}, Vespers, εὐχὴ τῆς κεφαλοκλισίας:[384] addition in the upper outer margin of practical instructions for celebrants: ὁ δι(άκονος) | ὁ ἱ(ερευς): ειρηνη π(ασι) | ὁ δι(άκονος): τας κ(ε)|φαλ(ας) | εκφω(νησις) | στο κρ|ατος.
- f. 71^{v}, εὐχή τοῦ Πεντηκοστοῦ:[385] addition of the alternative title εὐχή ῆς το ελεησο (*sic*), likely functioning as a reminder of the prayer's content, the forgiveness of sins through Christ's compassion.
- f. 72^{v}, Matins, end of the εὐχὴ τῆς ἀπολύσεως:[386] addition of a rubric and a very concise supplication (συναπτή). Only keywords—never entire sentences—are written and may be intended to help the priest recall what he has to utter (for instance: τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων instead of the full formula ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ θεοφυλάκτων βασιλέων). The presence of a συναπτή after this prayer is attested in Goar, but that added by Hand 2 does not correspond to the text which he published. It reads:

μετα το πελεροσε τ(ην) ευχ(ην) ο της ε..ους | πληροσομ(εν) | τ(ην) δεισην ιμ(ον) | τ(ων) ευσεβεσ(εστατων) | [] | πουσ(ην) πολ^{ε} | τ(ης) πολεος | ευκρασιας | πλεοντ(ον) | του ρ(ησ)θηνε | αντηλαβ(ου) | ημεραν | αγγελον | συγνομ(ον) | τα καλα | τον υπο | χρηστηαν|α ||

Normalized text: μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι τὴν εὐχὴν ὁ τῆς ε..ους | πληρώσωμεν | τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν | <ὑπὲρ> τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων <καὶ θεοφυλάκτων βασιλέων> | [] | πουσ(ην) πολ^{ε} | <ὑπὲρ> τ(ῆς) πόλεως | <ὑπὲρ> εὐκρασίας | <ὑπὲρ> πλεόντων | <ὑπὲρ> τοῦ ῥυσθῆναι | ἀντιλαβοῦ | <τὴν> ἡμέραν | ἄγγελον | συγγνώμην | τὰ καλὰ | τὸν ὑπόλ<οιπον χρόνον> | χριστιαν|ά ||

- f. 73^{v}: addition of further petitions to be declaimed by the deacon and the priest during the συναπτή at the end of the aforementioned εὐχὴ τῆς ἀπολύσεως. They are also not present in Goar in the same form. The last line of the marginal note corresponds to the *incipit* of the εὐχὴ τῆς κεφαλοκλισίας, which begins in the middle of f. 73^{v}. The text reads:

ο δ(ιακονος). ειπομεν. χ(ριστ)ε παντοκρατ(ο)ρ | εξοδ(ης) ψυχ(ης) | [.]μι[..]λο | τ(ου) αγιου υκου | τ(ου) αρχηεπ(ισκοπου) | τον ευσεβεστα(των) | τ(ου) σηνπο(λεμησαι) | τ(ου) ρ(ησ)θηνε | ελεησ(ον) | ο ι(ερευς). υρην(η) πα(σι) | ο δ(ιακονος). τας κ(ε)φ(α)λ(ας) | ευχη κ(υρι)ε αγι(ε) ||

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382 Cf. Velkovska – Parenti 14.9.
383 Cf. Velkovska – Parenti 15.
384 Goar, p. 32; Velkovska – Parenti 64.1–3.
385 Goar, p. 42.
386 Goar, p. 42; Velkovska – Parenti 83.1.

Normalized text: ὁ διάκονος. εἴπομεν. Χριστὲ παντοκράτωρ | ἐξόδου ψυχῆς | [.]μι[..]λο. | <ὑπὲρ> τοῦ ἁγίου οἴκου <τούτου> | <ὑπὲρ> τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου <ἡμῶν> | <ὑπὲρ> τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων <καὶ θεοφυλάκτων βασιλέων> | <ὑπὲρ> τοῦ συμπολεμῆσαι <καὶ ὑποτάξαι> | <ὑπὲρ> τοῦ ῥυσθῆναι | ἐλέησ(ον) | ὁ ἱερεύς. εἰρήνη πᾶσι | ὁ δ(ιάκονος). τὰς κεφαλάς | εὐχὴ Κύριε ἅγιε ||

- f. 100^{v}: on this folio is found the ending of the τάξις πρὸ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος and the beginning of the baptismal rite proper, with the prayer ὁ εὔσπλαγχνος καὶ ἐλεήμων Θεός.[387] Hand 2 adds in the margins a passage to be uttered by a deacon, dedicated to those preparing to be baptized. This is very similar to Velkovska – Parenti 145.1 (rite of renunciation/adhesion) and Goar, p. 281 (*oratio ad facendum cathecumenum*). The text reads:

ηρϊνη π(α)σι | ο δ(ιακονος) | τ(ας) κ(αι)φ(α)λ(ας) | ο θ(εο)ς ο σοτιρ ειμ(ων) | ο π(αν)τ(ας) αν(θρωπ)ους | <θε>λ(ων) σοθηνεθε | <και> ης επειγνο|σιν αληθη(ας) ελ|θιν λαμψ(ων) φος | γνοσεος εος εν τες | καρδιες ιμ(ων) και | τ(ους) προς το αγιων | φοτισμα ευτρε|πειζομεν(ους) και | αξηωσον αυτ(ους) | τις αθ(α)ν(α)τ(ου) σου δο|ρε(ας) και ενοσ(ων) αυτους τη | αγι(α) σ(ου) κ(α)θοληκη | καὶ αποστοληκη εκλησια. σον γ(αρ) εστην τ(ου) ελε<ειν> | και σωζην χ(ριστ)ε ο θ(εο)ς ιμον και σε | την δοξαν αναπεμ|πομεν ||

Normalized text: εἰρήνη πᾶσι | ὁ διάκονος | τὰς κεφαλάς | ὁ Θεὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν | ὁ πάντας ἀνθρώπους | θέλων σωθῆναι | καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνω|σιν ἀληθείας ἐλ|θεῖν λάμψον φῶς | γνώσεως ἐν ταῖς | καρδίαις ἡμῶν καὶ | τῶν πρὸς τὸ ἅγιον | φώτισμα εὐτρε|πιζομένων καὶ | ἀξίωσον αὐτοὺς | τῆς ἀθανάτου σου δω|ρεᾶς καὶ ἕνωσον αὐτοὺς τῇ | ἁγίᾳ σου καθολικῇ | καὶ ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Σὸν γάρ ἐστιν τὸ ἐλεεῖν | καὶ σῴζειν, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ σοὶ | τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμ|πομεν ||

- ff. 103^{r}–104^{r}: addition in the margins of the baptismal prayer ὁ εὔσπλαγχνος καὶ ἐλεήμων Θεός.[388] After comparison with the prayer with the same *incipit* found on ff. 100^{v}–102^{v}, it became clear that the prayer added by Hand 2 is copied without rubric as far as the ekphonesis; in all other respects they are virtually identical, the differences being only stylistic. For instance:

- substitution of ὁ μόνος ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος with τ(ῶν) ἀπάντων in the sentence μὴ Δέσποτα, ὁ μόνος ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, μὴ ἀποστραφείην τεταπεινωμένος (cf. Goar, p. 288, ll. 16–17);
- absence of μοι in the sentence ἀλλ'ἐξαπόστειλόν μοι δύναμιν ἐξ ὕψους καὶ ἐνίσχυσόν με πρὸς τὴν διακονίαν (cf. Goar, p. 288, ll. 18–19);
- addition of τούτου καί between τοῦ μεγάλου and ἐπουρανίου in the sentence τοῦ προκειμένου σου μυστηρίου, τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἐπουρανίου (cf. Goar, p. 288, l. 20).

On top of this, as is typical of Hand 2, the orthography of this marginal note is very erratic. This leads to suppose that this annotator was not copying the prayer from ff. 100^{v}–102^{v}, but wrote it under dictation or—perhaps most likely—knew the text by heart (or was in the process of learning it), and put it into writing in the margins of ff. 103^{r}–104^{r} as a form of exercise. This manuscript's user also wrote a short note in Arabic before the beginning of the prayer text, instructing: "and you say this secretly".[389] This is clearly a hint as to the way the prayer should be performed, and which—by the way—is missing from the Greek rubric on f. 100^{v}.

- f. 108^{v}, baptismal rite. Addition in the left margin of the words: ηρυνη π(α)σι[390] | και το πνευμ(α)τη σου[391] | ο δ(ιακονος) τ(ας) κ(αι)φ(α)λ(ας) ιμ(ων)[392] ||. These instructions—otherwise missing from Sin. gr. 962[393]—were uttered by the deacon before the priest blew on the water and blessed it three times making the sign of the cross, namely before the rubric on f. 108^{v}.[394]

Hand 2 is also responsible for minor corrections in the margins or between the lines of ff. 15^{r}, 16^{r}, 18^{r}, 22^{r}, 24^{v}, 29^{r}, 33^{r}, 34^{v}, 82^{r}, 139^{v}. For instance, on f. 139^{v} the main copyist forgot to include the word εὐχή in the title εὐχὴ ἐπὶ πλεόντων—probably intending to write this later in red—and left instead an empty space. Hand 2 filled the gap with "εὐ^{χ}".

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387 Goar, p. 288 and Velkovska – Parenti 121.3.
388 Cf. ff. 100^{v}–102^{v} and Goar, p. 288.
389 This likely corresponds to the Greek μυστικῶς, which can also be translated as "silently".
390 εἰρήνη πᾶσι (this was said by a priest).
391 καὶ τῷ πνεύματι σου.
392 ὁ διάκονος τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν/ἡμῶν [τῷ Κυρίῳ κλίνατε/κλίνωμεν].
393 But present, though not identical, in Velkovska – Parenti 123.1–2; Goar, p. 289–290.
394 Cf. Velkovska – Parenti 123.3; Goar, p. 289.

This same annotator added crosses in the margins of ff. 49^{v} and 50^{v} (in both cases corresponding to the word "catechumen" in the context of the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts), f. 106^{r} (baptismal rite, before the formula καὶ ἐμφυσῶν τῷ ὕδατι, σφραγίζει γ΄. καὶ λέγει), f. 113^{v} (corresponding to the εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἀπολοῦσαι παιδίον), f. 136^{v} (corresponding to the εὐχὴ ἐπὶ μαγαρισάντων, namely the prayer for apostates from Christianity to Islam).

As indicated above, Hand 2's first language was Arabic, and annotations in Arabic are in fact present throughout the manuscript.[395] In particular, they are found on the following folia, in proximity to the Greek passages listed:

- f. 27^{r}, lower margin: Greek text with the Liturgy of Saint Basil.
- f. 86^{r}, Greek rubric near the Arabic text, which reads: Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ κατασφραγίσαι παιδίον λαμβάνον ὄνομα τῇ η΄ ἡμέρᾳ (prayer for marking with the sign of the cross a child receiving their name on the 8th day after birth).
- f. 87^{r}, Greek rubric near the Arabic text, which reads: Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ σαραντίσαι παιδίον (prayer for a child that on the 40th day after birth enters the church).
- f. 89^{v}, Greek rubric on the previous folio 89^{r}, which reads: Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι κατηχούμενον (prayer for making a catechumen).
- f. 97^{r}, Arabic text above the Greek rubric, which reads: Ἀφορκισμὸς μετὰ τὸν πρὸς ὥραν βαπτιζόμενον (exorcism to be pronounced after the catechumenate, close to the baptism).
- f. 98^{r}, Greek rubric near the Arabic text, which reads: καὶ ἐμφυσῆ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ σφραγίζει τὸ μέτωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ στόμα καὶ τὸ στῆθος καὶ λέγει (and blows on his face and traces the sign of the cross over forehead, lips and heart and says).
- f. 99^{r}, Greek rubric near the Arabic text, which reads: καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀμήν, ἀποδυομένου καὶ ὑπολυομένου τοῦ βαπτιζομένου, στρέφει αὐτὸν ὁ ἱερεύς ἐπὶ δυσμὰς ἄνω τὰς χεῖρας ἔχοντα καὶ λέγοντα (after the amen, once the candidate is undressed and has removed his shoes, the celebrant makes him turn to the west with arms raised saying).
- f. 99^{v}, baptismal formulas.
- f. 100^{r}, baptismal formulas.
- f. 102^{v}, before the διακονικὰ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον ὕδωρ.
- f. 103^{r}, baptismal formulas.
- f. 106^{v}, Arabic text under the Greek rubric: καὶ ἐμφυσῶν τῷ ὕδατι, σφραγίζει γ΄. καὶ λέγει (baptismal formulas).
- f. 109^{r}, on f. 108^{v} there is this rubric: καὶ λαμβάνει ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸ τρυβλίον τοῦ ἐλαίου καὶ δίδει αὐτὸ τὸν διάκο(νον), καὶ κλίνει ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν τῷ τρυβλίῳ καὶ φυσᾶ γ΄ καὶ σφραγίζει τῷ δακτύλῳ καὶ εὔχεται τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην (baptismal formulas).
- f. 110^{v}, end of the baptismal rite.
- f. 111^{r}, end of the baptismal rite.
- f. 111^{v}, bottom of f. 111^{r}: Εὐχὴ τοῦ μύρου (prayer of the myron).
- f. 113^{r}, regarding baptism again: the priest anoints the person who is going to be baptized with the oil of chrism.
- f. 113^{v}, Greek rubric near the Arabic text, which says: Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἀπολοῦσαι παιδίον (prayer for the ablution of a child).
- f. 114^{r}, baptismal rite.
- f. 187^{v}, lower margin: end of Hebrews, 13:17–20, which was read during the Ἀκολουθία εἰς Ἀναργύρους καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Νικολάου (Lectionary section of the manuscript).

For the most part, the Arabic rubrics are translations of the Greek (occasionally with additional specifications). For example, that on f. 86^{r} reads: "Prayer [in which the priest] names the child on the eighth day after birth." That on f. 87^{r} states: "Prayer at the time when it is permitted for the newborn [to enter] the church after fourty days; [the priest] makes the sign of the cross over his head, his chest, and his mouth." That on f. 99^{r} says: "And you turn their faces towards the west." That on f. 102^{v} specifies: "You make incense and say to the deacons." Equally relevant, the non-liturgical information found on ff. 27^{r} and on f. 187^{v} has been discussed

[395] I thank Alexander Treiger and Grigory Kessel their help on these Arabic *marginalia*.

above. It should be noted that similar notes in Arabic are present in Syriac manuscripts also, dating to the 12th–13th centuries, but these have never been studied as a body.[396]

As already indicated, the majority of Hand 2's annotations occur in the section of the Euchologion concerning the baptismal rite, the catechumenate, and apostasy from Christianity to Islam. It seems very probable that this user was a priest or deacon, having possession of the manuscript for a indeterminate period of time. He made use of it for his own study and work purposes, and added in what reflects his needs (Arabic translations of titles and rubrics, corrections to the main text, additions of sections to be declaimed by the celebrants, highlighting—flagging up relevant passages with crosses—relevant passages). I will call him User 2, "the bilingual possessor".

Hand 3 intervenes with the following insertions:

- f. 113v, addition of a marginal note written close to the prayer for the ablution of a child on the eighth day after birth (Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἀπολοῦσαι παιδίον[397]), which reads: εις λυσε τὸ ξανα του παιδι. The annotator probably wanted to write λοῦσαι, but wrote instead λυσε; ξανά is an adverb meaning "again", which is a late medieval vernacular word. It would seem that the scribe of this small note meant "prayer to wash again the child", without understanding what ἀπολοῦσαι actually means, namely "to rinse off" and not "to wash again".[398]

- f. 147r, Ἀκολουθία εἰς γάμους καὶ εἰς στεφάνωμα.[399] Addition of a note in the upper margin, with missing first line due to trimming. The note begins with a cross. Only the following was legible: [± 10] κεφαλην αυτ[± 5]φ[± 15] | ζοην υτισαντο σε κ(αι) εδοκας αυτον μακροτιτα | ημερον υς εονα εονος : || This is clearly a quote from Psalm 20,4–5: [ὅτι προέφθασας αὐτὸν ἐν εὐλογίαις χρηστότητος,] / ἔθηκας ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ στέφανον ἐκ λίθου τιμίου. / ζωὴν ἠτήσατό σε, καὶ ἔδωκας αὐτῷ, / μακρότητα ἡμερῶν εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος.[400] Psalm 20 is also called the coronation psalm; it is a thanksgiving psalm focused on the image of the king as an example of a kingdom's morality. According to Velkovska – Parenti, this psalm is mentioned twice in the Euchologion Vat. Barb. gr. 336: the first time on the occasion of the prayer for the emperor's designation (Velkovska – Parenti 171), and the second in the context of marriage (Velkovska – Parenti 189[401]).

Hand 4 adds an additional note on f. 114v **(Figure 68)**, between the εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἀπολοῦσαι παιδίον and the ἀκολουθία τῶν ἁγίων θεοφανίων. It is inserted into an empty five-line space, which is followed by a decorative line and the title of the new akoluthia. The text of the note is hard to decipher and its content is no quite clear, but it surely mentions the Archangel Michael.

Hand 5 is responsible for a number of scribbles and *essais de plume* on ff. 7v, 8r, 16v, 42r, 44v, 51v, 52r.

The interventions of Hands 3, 4, 5 are not particularly specific. For this reason, I do not feel confident about attributing a clearly defined "role" or "function" to these hands.

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396 I thank Grigory Kessel for this information.

397 Cf. Goar, p. 303; Sin. gr. 966, f. 66v and Sin. gr. 1036, f. 106r.

398 This refers to the first bath after baptism, which took place eight days after baptism, usually in the house. I thank Eirini Afentoulidou for the suggestion.

399 Cf. Goar, p. 317–318; Velkovska – Parenti 186.10–11.

400 A. Rahlfs – R. Hanhart, Septuaginta: id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes; duo volumina in uno. Stuttgart 2006, II, 18–19. Translation: "Because you anticipated him with blessings of kindness, / you set on his head a crown of precious stone. / Life he asked of you, and you gave it to him, / length of days forever and ever" (NETS translation).

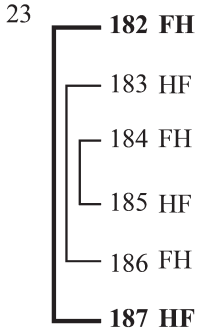
401 In Vat. Barb. gr. 336 only the words μακρότητα ἡμερῶν are quoted from the psalm.

SCRIPTIONES INFERIORES

Six folia of Sin. gr. 962, namely f. 182^{r} to f. 187^{v}, are palimpsest.[402] They all belong to Quire 23, which—as already indicated—was inserted in the manuscript in the 13th century by User 1 "the restorer" as a substitute for the original 11th-century quire. Two of the six rewritten folia—namely f. 183 and f. 186—are double palimpsests (*bis rescripti*). In assembling Quire 23, folia from three different original manuscripts (one of them *bis rescriptus*) were employed: **1.** (Ps.-John Chrysostom, *Ecloga 21*) ff. 182^{rv}, 187^{rv}; **2.** (Kanon on Saint Nicholas) ff. 183^{rv}, 186^{rv}; **2a.** (Joseph the Hymnographer, *Kanon on Saint Peter, Andrew, Dionysius etc.*) ff. 183^{rv}, 186^{rv} (*inferior*); **3.** (Troparia for Saint Macrina the Younger) ff. 184^{rv}, 185^{rv}.[403] None of the existing catalogues indicates the presence of palimpsest folia, which was first noticed during the *Sinai Palimpsests Project*.

Ps.-John Chrysostom, Ecloga 21

1. ff. 182^{rv}, 187^{rv};[404] late 10th – early 11th century: Ps.-John Chrysostom, *Ecloga 21, De imperio, potestate et gloria* (fragments), with marginal annotations[405]
Bibliography: —
Specimina: **Figures 76 – 78**



The lower writing runs parallel to the *scriptio superior*, rotated through 180° (**Figure 76**). A single folio of Sin. gr. 962 corresponds to a quarter of a folio of the original manuscript, and one bifolio exactly corresponds to the lower half of a complete original folio: what is missing, therefore, is the upper half. It is possible to reconstruct the original as a text arranged in one column with around 36 lines to a folio,[406] with 6 mm between. The *Schriftspiegel* was approximately 200×150 mm, and the margins large: in fact, the preserved margins on f. 182^{r} measure 45 mm on each side and 40 mm on the lower edge. Since no folio is extant in its entirety, it is impossible to identify the ruling-scheme. The original manuscript was certainly large, measuring approximately 300×200 mm.

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[402] RGB and processed pictures (after multispectral imaging) of ff. 182^{r}–187^{v} are available online at https://sinai.library.ucla.edu (19.09.2022).

[403] A preliminary identification of the erased texts was provided for the *Sinai Palimpsests Project* by Nigel Wilson. See https://sinai.library.ucla.edu (19.09.2022).

[404] The palimpsest folia are indicated in bold in the scheme.

[405] Nigel Wilson did not identify the pseudo-Chrysostomic text but rather focused on the marginal annotations, which he identifies as a commentary on the Psalms dating to the 12th century.

[406] Each side of the preserved half-folia carries 18 lines of text: they correspond to 25 lines of text in PG. Since there are 25 lines of PG text missing between one half-side and the other, this would indicate that the missing lines amount to 18: 18 + 18 = 36, and therefore that each side of the complete original folio featured 36 lines of text.

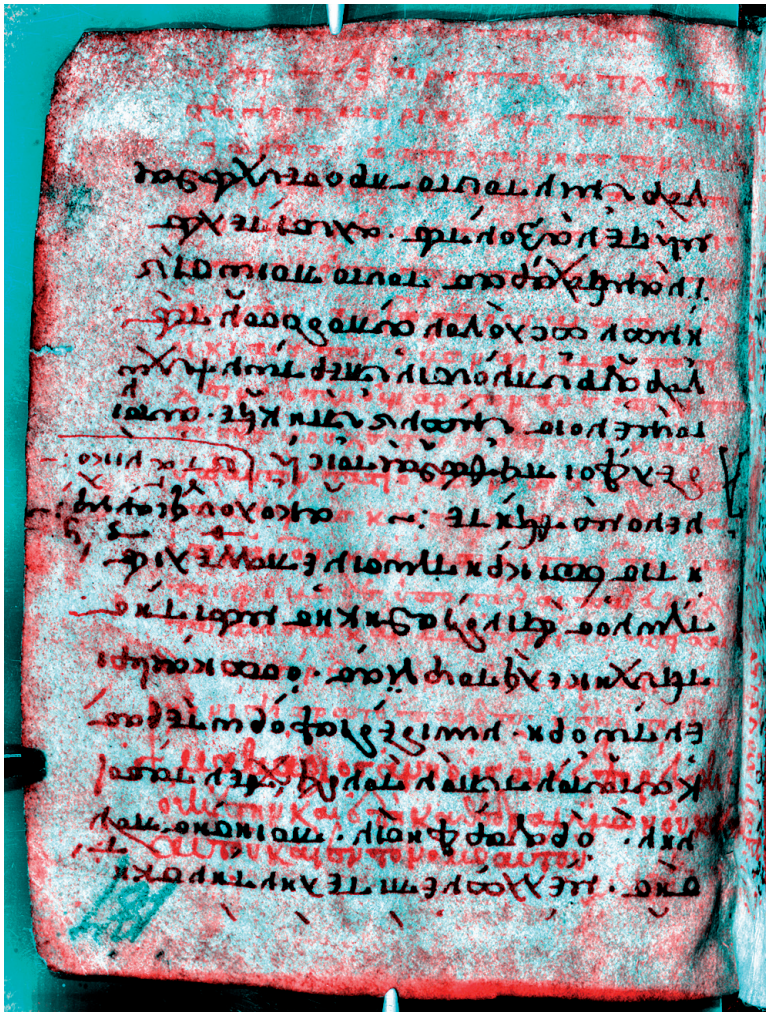


Figure 76 – f. 187[r]: *scriptio inferior* in red, parallel to the overtext in black. Processed image by Keith Knox: KTK_pseudo_WBUVB47-MB780IR (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

The text is written in an elegant, tiny upright minuscule, which resembles the earliest examples of "*Perlschrift*". The writing is pendent from the ruled lines and can be attributed to the late 10[th] – early 11[th] century (**Figure 77**).[407] The folia contain fragments from the pseudo-Chrysostomic *Ecloga 21: De imperio, potestate et gloria* (CPG 4684.21 / Aldama 270), with the text corresponds to that printed in PG 63, 695–702, here 696–697.

The reconstructed folio order is: 187[r]+182[v], 182[r]+187[v].[408] The content can be summarized as follows.

- f. 187[r]+182[v]: ||[1] ἀπαιτήσει παρακούσαντα… (PG 63, 696, l. 42) |[18] …στρατόπεδα, κἂν ὁτιοῦν ἐργάσηται, οὐκ εὐκόλως (PG 63, 697, l. 9) ||

- f. 182[r]+187[v]: ||[1] ἰδὼν, καὶ τούτου τῷ φόβῳ… (PG 63, 697, l. 35) |[18] … Τί οὖν; βασιλέα ποιῆσαι (PG 63, 697, l. 59) ||

[407] The writing recalls that of the Menologion of Basil II (Vat. gr. 1613 [Diktyon 68244], written in the last quarter of the 10[th] century). See *specimen* in E. Follieri, Codices graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae selecti temporum locorumque ordine digesti commentariis et transcriptionibus instructi. Vatican City 1969, pl. 20. It is worth remembering that a significant number of dated manuscripts written in "*Perlschrift*" contain works of John Chrysostom and are of large size (M. D'Agostino – P. Degni, La Perlschrift dopo Hunger: prime considerazioni per una indagine. *Scripta* 7 (2014) 77–93, here 91): a further comparison can in fact be made with the Chrysostomic manuscripts Athon. Lavra D 76 (Diktyon 27387) and Athon. Lavra D 75 (Diktyon 27386), dated to the year 986 and written by the Athonite monk John (*specimen* in Lake – Lake, Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts III [1935], 91, pl. 160–161).

[408] The text on f. 187[r] continues on f. 182[v], and that on f. 182[r] on f. 187[v].

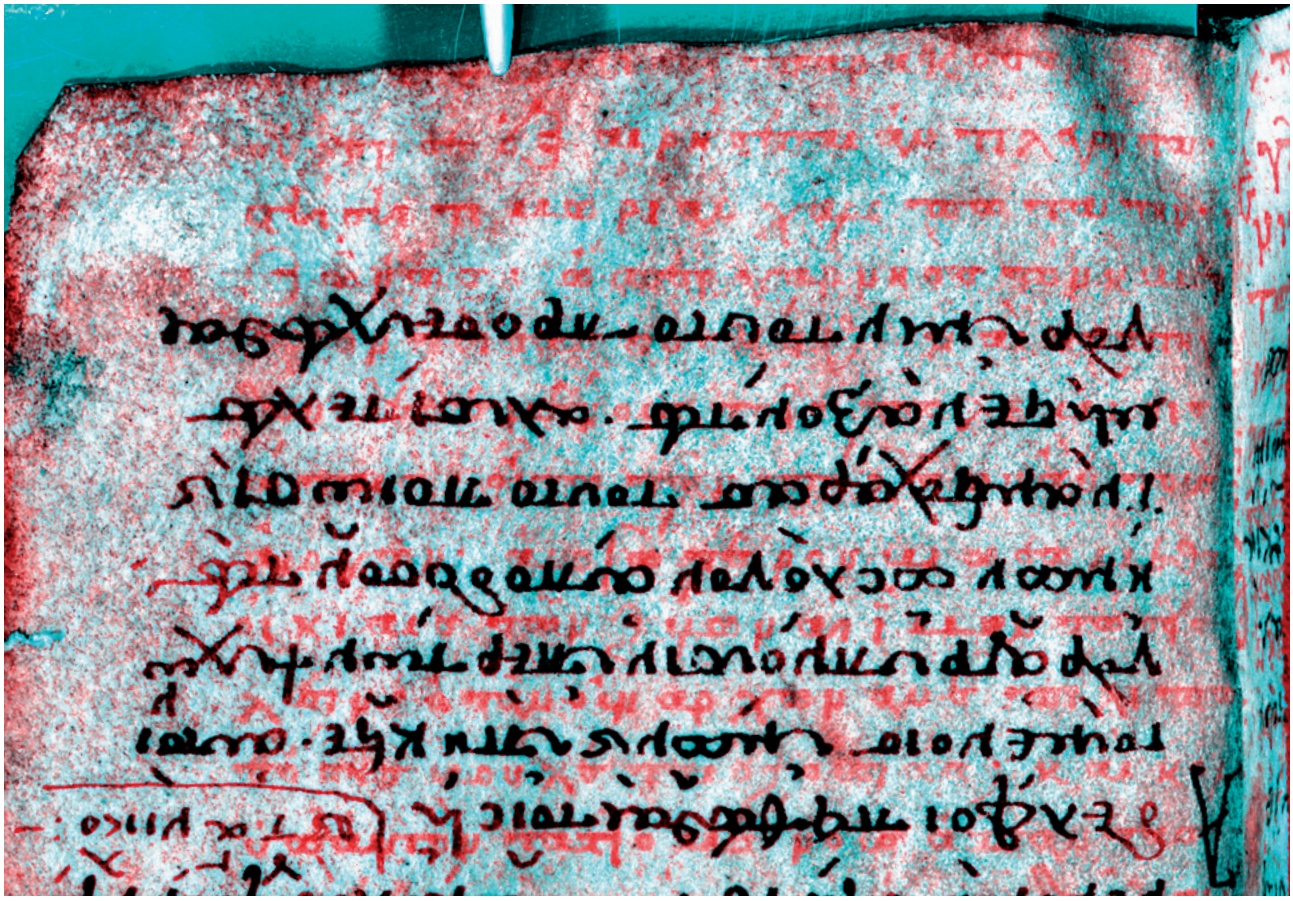


Figure 77 – f. 187^{r} (upper half, ll. 1–9): l. 2: οὐδὲν σε ἐξαιρήσεται… – l. 9: οἰκίαις τῶν ξύλων αἱ ἰμαντώσεις (PG 63, 696, ll. 43–51). Processed image by Keith Knox: KTK_pseudo_WBUVB47-MB780IR (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Another scribe added a number of annotations in the margins of the original folio, all beginning with a cross (**Figure 78**). The ink used is clearly different from that of the pseudo-Chrysostomic text. The script is an upright round minuscule with cursive tendencies, especially due to the consistent presence of ligatures, such as those for επ, εξ, θεδ, θη, τα. A possible dating to the 12th century, as proposed by Wilson, seems reasonable.[409]

On the lower part of ff. 187^{r}+182^{v} the same hand writes the first verses of the first Psalm:[410] (f. 187^{r}, l.1) + Μακάριος ἀνήρ, ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη | (f. 182^{v}, l. 1) ἐν βουλῇ ἀσεβῶν καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ ἁμαρτωλῶν | (f. 187^{r}, l. 2) οὐκ ἔστη καὶ ἐπὶ καθέδραν λοιμῶν οὐκ | (f. 182^{v}, l. 2) ἐκάθισεν, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κυρίου τὸ θέλημα | (f. 187^{r}, l. 3) αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ ||[411]

On the lower part of ff. 182^{r}+187^{v}, we find in the outer margin the words τὴν ταπειν(…). Finally, in the lower margin of ff. 182^{r}+187^{v} this same hand adds five lines, again featuring recognizable elements from the first psalm (Psalm 1:1–3, from Μακάριος ἀνήρ to ὃ τὸν καρπόν. This quotation begins on l. 2 of f. 187^{v}). What comes before seems to be a short commentary on the quoted verses.

A direct connection between the preserved passage of the pseudo-Chrysostomic *Ecloga* and the verses from the Psalms is not self-evident.

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409 Notable is the presence of the ligature τα with lower loop, visible in the lower part of ff. 182^{r}, here **Figure 78**. According to Canart – Perria, Écritures livresques 73, the first dated examples of this kind of ligature are found in manuscripts Vat. gr. 504 (Diktyon 67135) dated 1105 (Lake – Lake, Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts VIII [1937], 304, pl. 557) and Vat. gr. 586 (Diktyon 67217) dated 1124 (Lake – Lake, Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts VIII [1937], 310, pl. 568).

410 In this and the next transcription, the orthography is normalized.

411 Psalm 1:1–2. Cf. A. Rahlfs – R. Hanhart, Septuaginta: id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes; duo volumina in uno. Stuttgart 2006, II, 1.

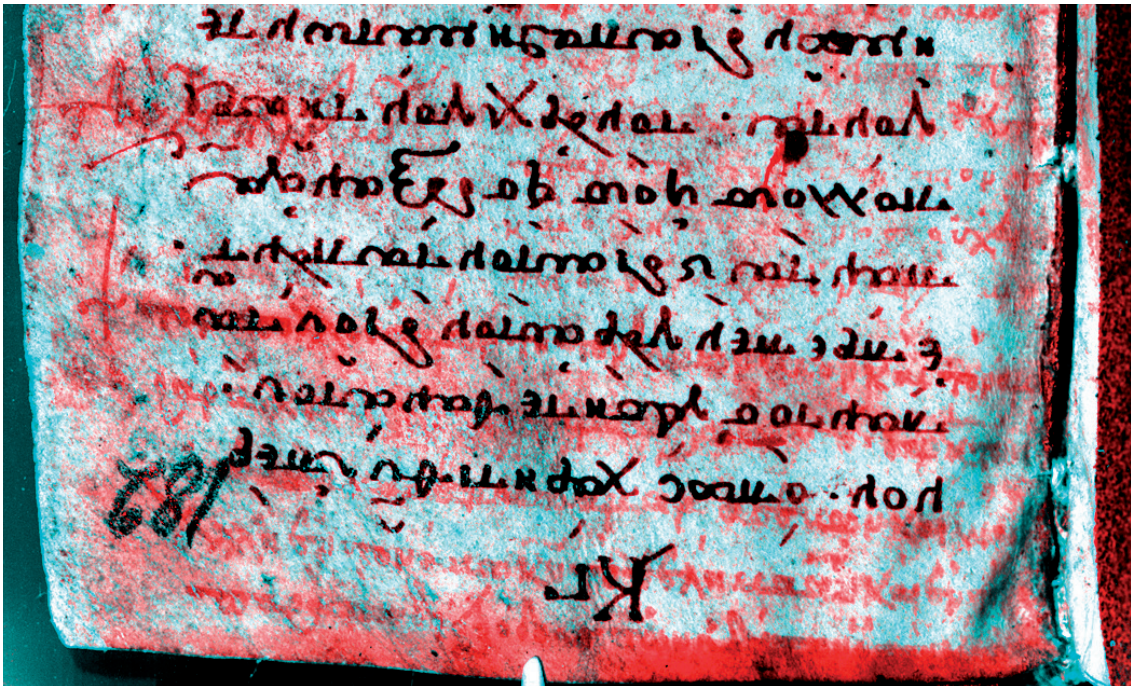
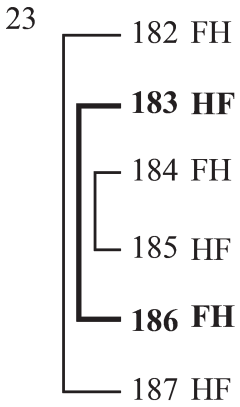


Figure 78 – f. 182r, annotations in the outer and lower margins. The last three lines from the bottom are from Psalm 1:1–3. Processed image by Keith Knox: KTK_pseudo_WBUVG61-MB780IR (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Kanon on Saint Nicholas

2. ff. 183rv, 186rv (*superior*);[412] 12th century: Kanon on Saint Nicholas (fragments)[413]
Bibliography: —
Specimina: **Figures 79 – 81**



The youngest undertext of this double-palimpsest bifolio runs parallel to the overtext, rotated through 180°. A single folio of Sin. gr. 962 corresponds to a single folio of the original manuscript, and hence the original manuscript was probably of similar dimensions: 150×100 mm. Each side of the bifolio preserves 18 to 20 lines of text, 6 mm apart and arranged in one column, which are arranged in one column. The *Schriftspiegel* is approximately 110×70 mm, with an outer margin of 25 mm and a lower of 20 mm (f. 186r). The repeated activity of palimpsestation has damaged the parchment surface (see **Figure 79**), with the result that the ruling is not very visible and the ruling-scheme impossible to determine.

[412] The palimpsest folia are indicated in bold in the scheme.
[413] Nigel Wilson identifies it more generally as a hymn on Saint Nicholas and dates it to the 11th century.

The text is written in an upright, round, calligraphic minuscule with thick, pronounced strokes, datable to the 12th century.[414] The writing is pendent from the ruled lines (**Figure 80**). The orthography of the copyist is very erratic. Each ode begins with an initial in *epigraphische Auszeichnungsmajuskel*.[415] At the end of f. 183r a simple decorative line likely marks the end of a section.



Figure 79 – f. 186r: surface of the folio after exposure to raking light source. Processed image by Keith Knox: KTK_raking_RE870IR–RS870IR (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

[414] The script is very similar to that of the palimpsest manuscript Vat. gr. 1853 (Diktyon 68482), written in 1173 by the scribe Theodor. It belongs, according to RGK III, 222 to the 'Zeit des Kanonverfalls'. *Specimina* in Lake – Lake, Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts VIII (1937), 322, pl. 589, 590b; Follieri, Codices graeci, pl. 38; RGK III, 222.

[415] On this distincive majuscule, see in particular Hunger, Epigraphische Auszeichnungsmajuskel. See also Hunger, Minuskel und Auszeichnungsschriften; Cavallo, Scritture librarie e scritture epigrafiche, and more recently Orsini, Scritture epigrafiche e scritture librarie and Rhoby, Epigraphica-Palaeographica.

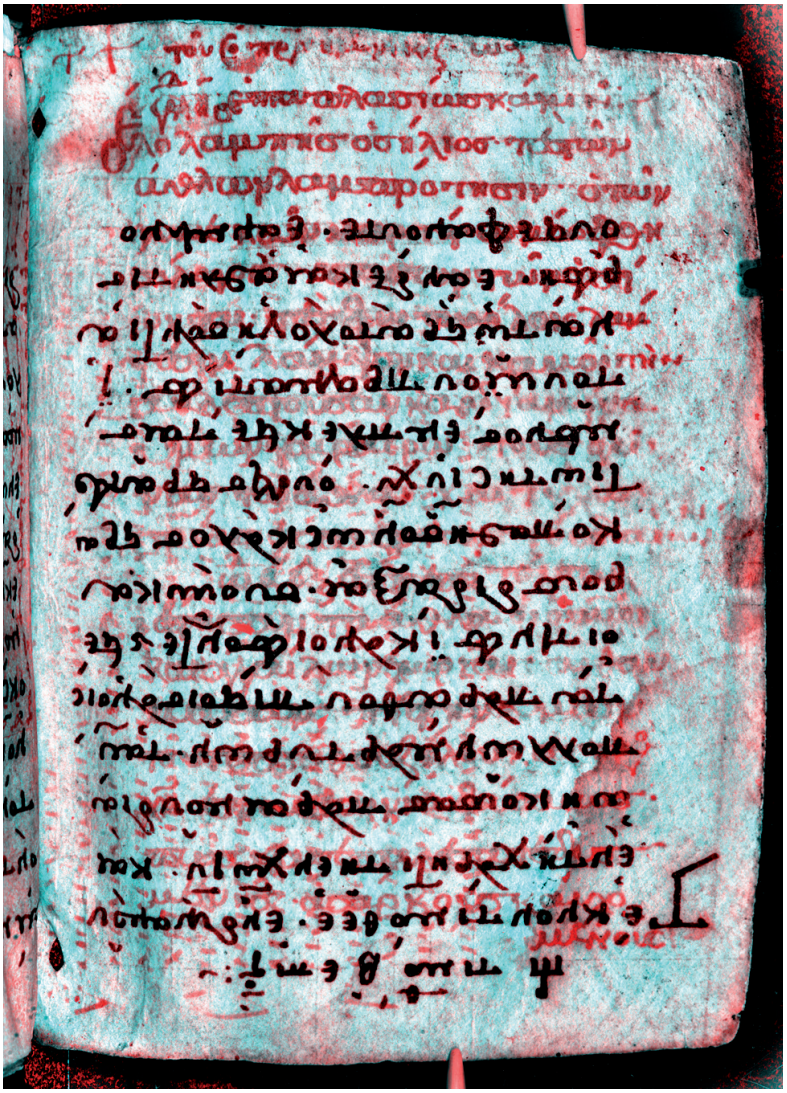


Figure 80 – f. 183ᵛ: *scriptio inferior* in red, parallel to the overtext in black ink. Processed image by Keith Knox: KTK_pseudo_WBUVR25-MB780IR (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

The folia feature a fragment of an unknown kanon on Saint Nicholas, seemingly unedited.[416] It has been possible to decipher the following lines (diplomatic transcription):

f. 186ᵛ: ||[1] κ(ατα) τοῦ οσίου π(ατ)ρ(ο)ς ημῶν Νικο(λαου)· ωδ(η) α΄ ασανα |[2] Ἔγλης (*lege*: Αἴγλης) απορρῆτου εμτρυφῶν |[3] Νικόλαε μακάριε· ὡς ὑπερέ|[4]της· Χ(ριστο)ῦ· καὶ λαμπιδόνος θίας· (resembles MR II 398) |[7] ω(δη) γ΄ τον φόβον σου |[8] Ο νους σου εσκότισται· πονηροι· |[9] … τῶν πράξεων καί· ||

[416] The text in the manuscript has been checked against Follieri, AHG, and a number of other publications such as S. Tessari, Il corpus innografico attribuito a Fozio: edizione critica e analisi musicale. Alessandria 2014. The kanon makes no appearance even in the repertoria of inedita by E. Papaeliopoulou-Photopoulou, Ταμείον ανεκδότων βυζαντινών κανόνων. Athens 1996; D. Getov, Incipitarium for the Apparently Unedited Liturgical Canons, as Contained in the Greek Manuscripts, kept in Bulgarian Libraries. *BollGrott* 1 (3rd s.) (2004) 93–114; D. Getov, The Unedited Byzantine Liturgical Canons in the Library of Congress Microfilms of the Greek Manuscripts in Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai. *BollGrott* 6 (3rd s.) (2009) 67–118; E. I. Tomadakes, Κανόνες τῆς Παρακλητικῆς. *EEBS* 39–40 (1972–1973) 253–274; E. I. Tomadakes, Ἄσματα τοῦ Τριῳδίου ἐρανισθέντα ἐκ κωδίκων τῆς κάτω Ἰταλίας, Α΄. Athens 2000; E. I. Tomadakes, Ἄσματα τοῦ Τριῳδίου ἐρανισθέντα ἐκ κωδίκων τῆς κάτω Ἰταλίας, Β΄. Athens 2004.

f. 186r: ||[1] καλιπάρθαινε· (*lege*: καλὴ παρθένε) … |[2] μάρτυς· … |[3] χορίες ἱκετεύον· ὁπως οἱ |[6] ω(δη) [δ΄] και ιλασθ[ητι] … |[7] Τῶν… ||

f. 183v: ||[1] + + τοῦ οσ(ιου) π(α)τ(ρο)ς ημ(ων) Νικ(ολαου)· ωδ(η) α΄ [.] |[2] ~~Εγλη~~ ωδ(η) η΄· ἐπταπλασίως κάμινο(ν) |[3] Ολολαμπῆς ὁς *(lege* ὡς) ἥλιος· τες (*lege* ταῖς) τῶν |[4] ἄθλων λαμπρότησιν· ὁ τῶν (resembles AHG IV 204) |[12] ωδ(η) θ΄· εξ… τούτω |[13] … τὰ ἀθλά … | [20] … ἀσάρκους καυχομένους ||

f. 183r: |[1] Εξαίρετοι αἰμοὶ (*lege* ἐμοὶ?) καὶ ὑπερα|[2]σπισταὶ· Θεόδώρον δυὰς ει (*lege* ἡ) |[3] τρισόλβιος· οὺς εξετῶ (*lege* ἐξαιτῶ)· πάν|[4] τῶν ὡς μαρτύρων τε..φα |[5] νης· καὶ σε φαιδραι (*lege* φαιδρὲ) Γαιώρ|[6]γιε· συν τῶ Αρτεμιω τε |[7] τοῖς κλινοῖς (*lege* κλεινοῖς)· Ευσταθιον τε α|[8]μα Διμιτριον… |[10] Βαρβαραν την αγιαν ̣τερ… |[11] … παρθένον καὶ μάρτυ… |[12] ὡς νύμφην Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐκ … |[13] … τοῦ Ἰησοῦ … |[15] … ὡς χάριν |[18] … παντοτε: - - - ||

F. 186 preserves odes α΄, γ΄ and probably δ΄, while f. 183 most likely contains odes η΄ and θ΄ of a kanon dedicated to Saint Nicholas.[417] The title on f. 186v (Κατὰ τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νικολάου) shows this attribution to be correct (**Figure 81**). The same title is repeated on f. 183v, yet probably erroneously (**Figure 80**). In fact, this folio begins in the same way as f. 186v: the title of the kanon is followed by the beginning of the ὠδὴ α΄, with the word Έγλη[ς .] (*lege*: Αΐγλης). At this point, however, the scribe clearly changed his mind and started again: he replaced Έγλη[ς .] with ὠδὴ η΄· ἐπταπλασίως κάμινον.

The two folia (183 and 186) do not contain continuous text, and it is therefore evident that the bifolio they form together was not the central one of the quire. It is impossible to achieve a completely secure reconstruction of the undertext's folio order. However, since f. 186 contains the odes α΄, γ΄, and δ΄, and f. 183 likely preserves odes η΄ and θ΄, it may well be supposed that the odes belonged to the same kanon, and that folio 186 came before folio 183. Furthermore, as it is clear that the text on f. 186v continues on 186r, and also that on f. 183v continues on 183r, the reconstructed order of folia would be 186v, 186r, 183v, 183r, with at least one missing bifolio in-between.

The first lines of the text preserved on f. 186v bear a strong resemblance to a part of the second anonymous kanon on Saint Nicholas edited in MR II 394–405 (inc.: Ἀπόρῳ γλώττῃ καὶ χείλεσιν), here 398. In fact, while the Sinaitic folio reads |[2] Αΐγλης ἀπορρήτου ἐντρυφῶν |[3] Νικόλαε μακάριε ὡς ὑπηρέ|[4]της Χριστοῦ καὶ λαμπηδόνος θείας, MR II 398 reads καὶ τῆς **ἀπορρήτου** καὶ θείας **αΐγλης /** ταῖς ἀνωτάταις / **ἐντρυφῶν λαμπηδόσι** / σκέπασόν με τῇ προστασίᾳ σου / Ὅσιε **θεράπον / Χριστοῦ** πανσεβάσμιε. Many of the words in the first version occur in the second, while others are synonyms or close in meaning (μακάριε-πανσεβάσμιε, ὑπηρέτης-θεράπων).

Similarly, the beginning of the text on f. 183v—namely |[3] Ολολαμπῆς ος *(lege* ὡς) ἥλιος, τες (*lege* ταῖς) των |[4] αθλων λαμπροτησιν—recalls *Kanon XV on Saint Nicholas* by Joseph the Hymnographer (inc.: Ταῖς ἱεραῖς ὡς ἱερεύς, Νικόλαε), edited in AHG IV 196–207 (here 204), which reads: **Ὁλολαμπὴς ὡς ἥλιος** / ἀρετῶν **ταῖς λαμπρότησι** / καὶ ταῖς τῶν θαυμάτων σελασφόροις λάμψεσι. F. 183v and the text published in AHG IV 204, in addition to having the same *incipit*, belong to the same ode (η΄), and were sung according to the same model melody (heirmos): ἐπταπλασίως κάμινον.

Although there is no element to indicate that the kanon ends on f. 183v, it does not seem that the text on f. 183r (inc.: Ἐξαίρετοι ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑπερασπισταί) is its continuation. It seems more likely to be a prayer invoking a number of saints: the two Theodores, George, Artemius, Eustathius, Demetrius (all military saints), and Barbara are mentioned. A similar *incipit*, ἐξαιρέτως, followed by a list of saints is found in the diptychs (commemorations of the living and the dead within the eucharistic liturgies).

Since liturgical indications are not extant in this bifolio, it is not clear whether it belonged to a Menaion, an Oktoechos, or a manuscript intended for private devotion.[418]

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[417] On Saint Nicholas in Byzantine hymnography, see P. Psachos, Saint Nicolas dans l'hymnographie byzantine. *Theologia* 57 (1986) 397–442.

[418] Such as, for instance, Vat. Pal. gr. 138 (Diktyon 65870), which is a collection of hymns of various genres put together for private worship (see F. D'Aiuto, Un manoscritto innografico del secolo XIV: il Vaticano Palatino greco 138. *RSBN* n.s. 28 (1991) 149–171).

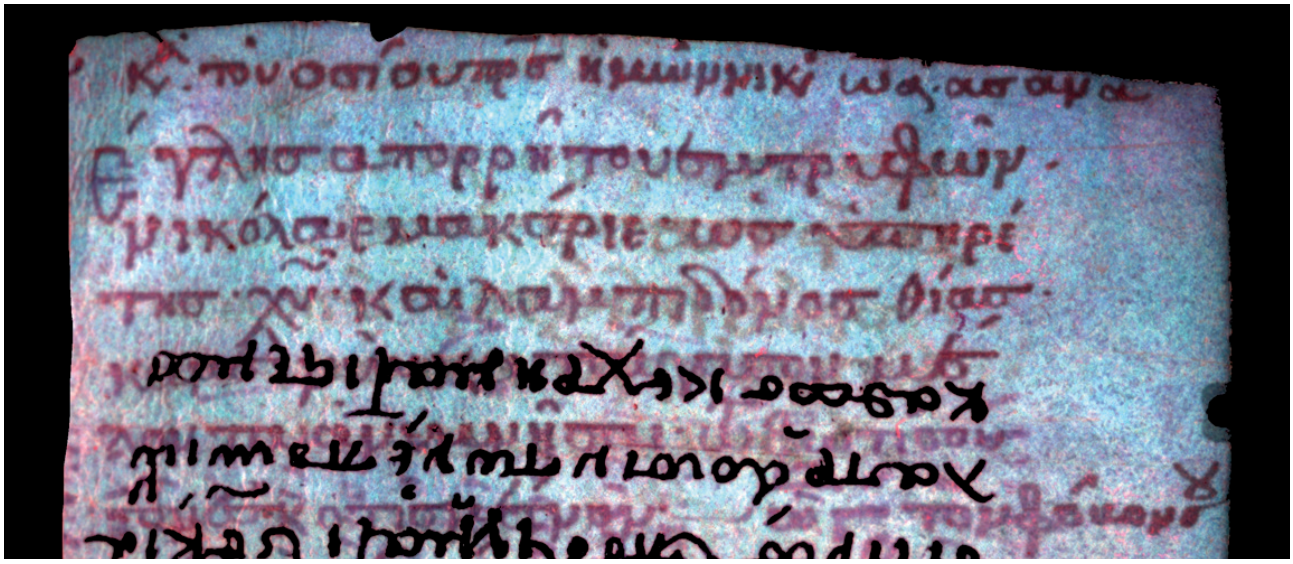
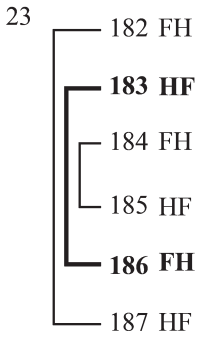


Figure 81 – f. 186^{v} (upper half, ll. 1–7). Title [Κ(ατὰ) τοῦ ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Νικο(λάου)], beginning of ode α΄ (l. 1) and γ΄ (l. 7). Processed image by Roger Easton: WCB_REFLU_2-18-21-RGB (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Joseph the Hymnographer, Kanon on Saints Peter, Andrew, Dionysius, etc.

2a. ff. 183^{rv}, 186^{rv} (*inferior*);[419] *post* mid 9th century: Joseph the Hymnographer, Kanon on the Saints and Martyrs Peter, Andrew, Dionysius, Paul, Christina, Heraclius, Paulinus, Benedimus (fragments)[420]
Bibliography: —
Specimina: **Figures 79, 82, 83**



The oldest undertext of this double-palimpsest bifolio runs perpendicular to the overtext and the earlier *scriptio inferior* (**Figure 82**). A single folio of Sin. gr. 962 corresponds to half a folio of the original manuscript, and one bifolio to a complete original folio. Each (reconstructed) folio had 28–30 lines of text, with 6 mm between and arranged in one column. The *Schriftspiegel* is approximately 170×120 mm, with an upper margin of 20 mm (f. 186^{r}), an outer of 30 mm (f. 183^{v}), and a lower of 45 mm (f. 183^{v}). The original manuscript measured approximately 200×150 mm. The repeated activity of palimpsestation has damaged the parchment surface (**Figure 79**), making the ruling scarcely visible.

[419] The palimpsest folia are indicated in bold in the scheme.
[420] Nigel Wilson identifies the text as Menaion for May and dates the script to the 8th–9th centuries.

The text is written on ruled lines in a sloping pointed majuscule (average angle of slope, based on ten measurings: 105,4°).[421] Simple initials introduce each troparion and are located outside the text block. The small letter θ which is sometimes visible in the left margin is an abbreviation for θ(εοτοκίον);[422] heirmoi are written on a new line in a tiny, upright pointed majuscule in a different ink, probably red. (**Figure 83**). Majuscules are hard to date, but if the attribution of the kanon to Joseph the Hymnographer can be trusted—as seems to be the case—this majuscule is securely datable to after the mid 9th century, since Joseph the Hymnographer lived between 816 and 886.[423] The kanon is listed by Tomadakes among the genuine kanones of the author: the initial letters of each stanza form an acrostic, which represents Joseph's signature.[424]



Figure 82 – f. 183r: *scriptio inferior* in red, perpendicular to the overtext in black. Processed image by Keith Knox: KTK_pseudo_WBUVG61-VIS (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

The oldest layer of this *bis rescriptus* bifolio contains fragments from a known kanon for the Saints and Martyrs Peter, Andrew, Dionysius, Paul, Christina, Heraclius, Paulinus, and Benedimus, written by Joseph the Hymnographer. The text is edited in MR V 118–122 (*inc.*: Πίστεως Ὑπέρμαχοι, τοὺς ἐν πίστει, and to be sung on 18th May. Preserved are ode ε΄ (from the fifth verse), ode ς΄, ode ζ΄, and two troparia of ode η΄. The text corresponds, with minor divergencies (excepting the third troparion of ode ς΄, which seems completely different, but unfortunately largely illegible), to that published in MR V 120–121. The kanon is acrostic (the complete acrostic would read πιστῶς ἀνυμνῶ τοὺς πόνους τῶν μαρτύρων. Ἰωσήφ), and some of the letters are still discernible in the palimpsest: in particular, πον.υς .ων μ..τυρ..[425] The folio probably belonged to a Menaion manuscript. The reconstructed folio order is: 186r+183v, 186v+183r,[426] and the content can be content can be summarized as follows:

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421 An up-to-date overview of the sloping pointed majuscule can be found in P. Orsini, La maiuscola ogivale inclinata. Contributo preliminare. *Scripta* 9 (2016) 89–116, and Orsini, Studies on Greek and Coptic Majuscule Scripts 133–164. Orsini has convincingly demonstrated that—in contrast to what was formerly believed (in the wake of G. Cavallo, Funzione e strutture della maiuscola greca tra i secoli VIII–XI, in: La Paléographie grecque et byzantine. Colloque international du CNRS (Paris, 21–25 octobre 1974). Paris 1977, 99–102)—a varying letter angle is not a reliable indicator of manuscript origin.

422 For instance, on f. 186r (over l. 10) and f. 183r (near l. 3).

423 On Joseph the Hymnographer (816–886), see PmbZ 23510.

424 E. I. Tomadakes, Ἰωσὴφ ὁ Ὑμνογράφος. Βίος καὶ ἔργον. Athens 1971, 164.

425 Tomadakes, Ἰωσὴφ ὁ Ὑμνογράφος 164, 303.

426 The text on f. 186r continues on 183v, and that on f. 186v continues on 183r.

f. 186r: ||[1] σθένει θεϊκῷ… (MR V 120, l. 13) |[2] Παρθενικαῖς ἐκλάμπουσα… (MR V 120, l. 15) |[6] Οἱ μανικῶς ἐρώμενοι… (MR V 120, l. 18) |[10] Θ(εοτοκίον): Νύμφη Χριστοῦ ἀνύμφευτε… (MR V 120, l. 21) |[14] ᾠ(δὴ) [ς΄]… (MR V 120, l. 24) ||

f. 183v: ||[1] [συν]αγάλλεται (MR V 120, l. 27) |[2] Ὑμνήσωμεν… (MR V 120, l. 28) |[6] Στρεβ… (resembles MR V 120, l. 31) |[10] Τὸν δείξαντα … προσκυνήσωμεν (MR V 120, l. 34) ||

f. 186v: ||[1] Ὡς ἄρρυρα… (MR V 120, l. 37) |[5] ᾠ(δὴ) [ζ΄]… (MR V 121, l. 16) |[6] Νέους ζηλοῦντες πιστῶς… (MR V 121, l. 17) |[9] Μὴ προσκυνῆσαι γλυπτοῖς… (MR V 121, l. 20) |[15] καθεῖλον οἱ Μάρτυρες· ἀναβοῶντες πισ|[16]τῶς (MR V 121, l. 24) ||

f. 183r: |[2] ποιήσαντι· Ὁ τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν (MR V 121, l. 27) |[3] Θ(εοτοκίον): Τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ… (MR V 121, l. 30) |[7] ᾠ(δὴ) [η΄]… (MR V 121, l. 33) |[8] Ὑφαντὸν ἐκ τῆς ἄνωθεν… (MR V 121, l. 34) |[12] Ῥαντισμῷ θείου αἵματος, Μάρτυρες … ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ (MR V 121, l. 37) ||

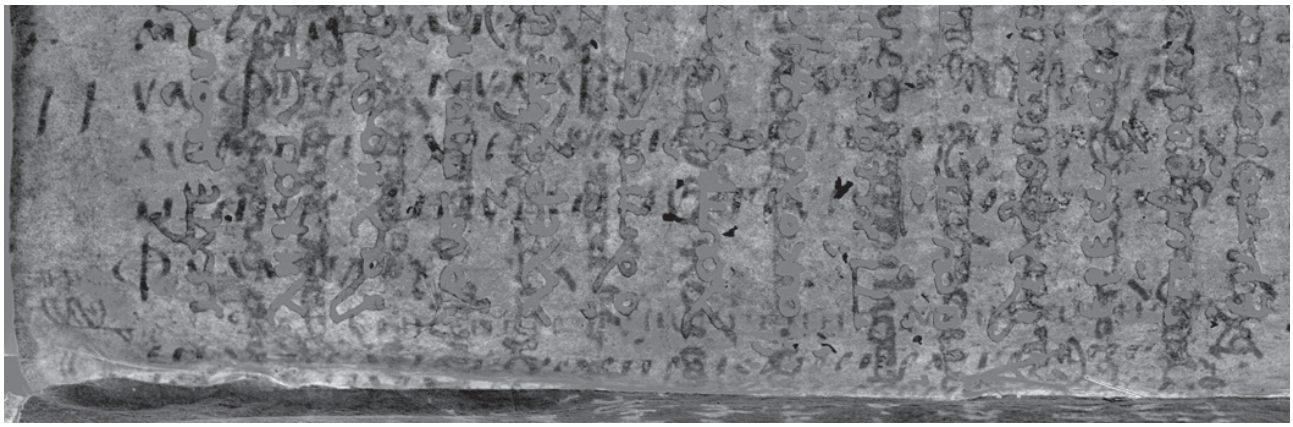
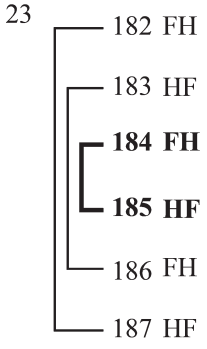


Figure 83 – f. 186r (lower-left segment, ll. 9–14 of the folio): θ (for θεοτοκίον) in the outer margin, over the initial N; l. 14, title ᾠ(δὴ) [ς΄]. Processed image by Keith Knox: KTK_sharpie_WBUVB47-MB780IR (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Troparia for Saint Macrina the Younger

3. ff. 184rv, 185rv;[427] late 9th – early 10th century: Troparia for Saint Macrina the Younger (fragments)[428]
Bibliography: —
Specimina: **Figures 84 – 85**



[427] The palimpsest folia are indicated in bold in the scheme.
[428] Nigel Wilson identifies it as Menaion for July and dates it to the late 10th–11th century.

The lower writing is perpendicular to the *scriptio superior*, rotated through 90° or 270°. A single folio of Sin. gr. 962 corresponds to half a folio of the original manuscript, and one bifolio to a complete original folio. Each (reconstructed) folio has 25–26 lines of text, 7mm apart and arranged in one column. The *Schriftspiegel* is approximately 155×90 mm, with large margins: the upper measures 35 mm (f. 185^{v}), the outer 55 mm (f. 185^{v}), and the lower 40 mm (f. 184^{r}). The original manuscript measured approximately 200×150 mm. Prickings are still visible in the outer margin. They are elongated rather than round, probably made with a penknife. The ruled lines tally with Sautel-Leroy type 00A1.[429]

The text is written in a small and elegant, upright early minuscule. The writing runs across the ruled lines and could date back to the late 9th – early 10th century. Simple initials introduce each troparion and are located outside the text block. Titles are written in Alexandrian majuscule in the same ink as the rest of the text, at least in the case of that preserved on f. 185^{v}. Simple decorative elements (crosses and lines) are also visible (**Figure 84**).

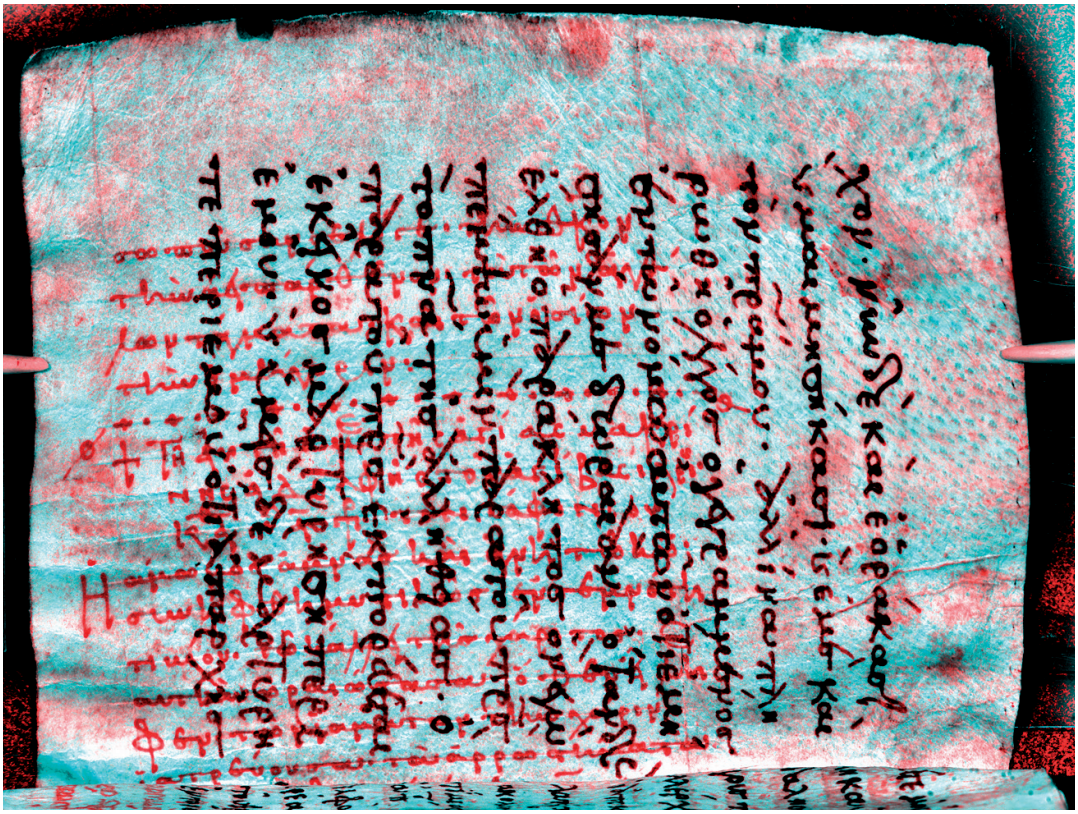


Figure 84 – f. 185^{v}: *scriptio inferior* in red, perpendicular to the overtext in black. Processed image by Keith Knox: KTK_pseudo_WBUVR25-MB780IR (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Folia 184 and 185 contain troparia (one kathisma and four stichera) to be performed on the feast of Saint Macrina the Younger, sister of Saint Basil the Great and Gregory of Nyssa, on 19th July. They begin on f. 185^{v} and are introduced by a decorative bar (l. 5) and a title (ll. 6–8). Lines 1–4 of the same folio contain the end of a known kanon for Saint Dius of Antioch, who is celebrated on the same day.

The troparia for Saint Macrina the Younger are edited in MR VI 159–168. With the few divergencies reported in the transcription, the text corresponds to that published in MR VI 159 and 162. Only the last troparion on f. 184^{v} (inc.: Εὐσεβείας διδάσκαλος · ἡγουμένη) seems to be unedited (**Figure 85**).[430]

The kanon for Saint Dius of Antioch is also edited in MR VI 159–168. The text in this palimpsest folio comes from the theotokion of the last ode (θ΄) and is found in MR VI 168.

[429] Sautel, Répertoire de réglures 39, 69–70.

[430] The text in the manuscript has been checked against Follieri and AHG.

The reconstructed folio order is: 185^{v}+184^{r}, 185^{r}+184^{v}.[431] The folio probably belonged to a Menaion manuscript, and its content can be summarized as follows.

f. 185^{v}: δυ]||[1]σωποῦσάν σε, Λόγε… (MR VI 168, l. 19) |[4] τὴν ὁμήγυριν (MR VI 168, l. 21) |[5] decorative bar |[6] + τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέ(ρᾳ) τῆς ἁγίας Μακρί|[7]νης ἀδελφῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου |[8] κάθ(ισμα) ἦχ(ος) α΄ πρ(ὸς) τὸν τάφον σου |[9] Ἡ ἄμωμος ἀμνάς… (MR VI 162, l. 13) | … τὰ ἀῤῥωστήματα (MR VI 162, l. 16) ||

f. 184^{r}: ||[1] Στιχ(ηρὰ) ἦχ(ος) δ΄ […] |[2] Ἄφθορον ἐτήρησας… (MR VI 159, l. 21) |[10] θεοφόρε πανεύφημε (καὶ Σωτὴρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν in MR VI 159, l. 25) |[11] Ἐμφιλοσοφώτατα… (MR VI 159, l. 16) ||

f. 185^{r}: ||[1] αὐτοκίνητον καὶ ἀθάνατον… (MR VI 159, l. 16) |[10] Αἴγλῃ κατελάμπετο… (MR VI 159, l. 25) |[14] … ὡς ἐλεήμονα φαιδρὰν, ὡς συμ||[παθῆ (MR VI 159, l. 27)

f. 184^{v}: ||[1] ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πεπολίτευσαι… (MR VI 159, l. 28) |[4] ἄλλο ἦχ(ος) … πρ(ὸς) ὡς γενναῖον ἐ[ν Μάρτυσιν] |[5] Εὐσεβείας διδάσ̣κ̣α̣λος · ἡγουμένη |[6] θεόλεκτος παρθενίας γέγονας |[7] καλλιπάρθενε· τὴν γὰρ ψυχὴν |[8] καθαρίσασα· φροντίδων συγ|[9]χύσεως· καὶ παθῶν σωματικῶν· |[10] ἀκηλίδωτην ἔσ̣ο̣π̣τ̣ρον· ἀναπέ|[11]φηνας· τὰς τῶν θείων ἐμφάσεις·||

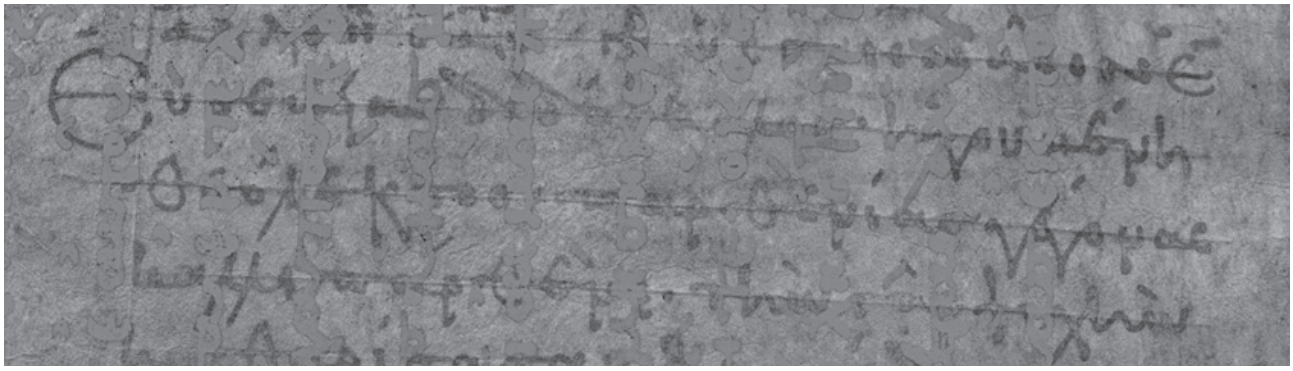


Figure 85 – f. 184^{v} (lower part, ll. 4–8): unedited troparion (inc.: Εὐσεβείας διδάσ̣κ̣α̣λος · ἡγουμένη…). Processed image by Keith Knox: KTK_sharpie_WBUVG61-VIS (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

SUMMARY

The manuscript Euchologion Sin. gr. 962 was written—as palaeographical peculiarities and comparisons with dated codices suggest—in the second half of the 11th century. This dating is more precise than that previously proposed, namely the 11th–12th century. It seems to have been written, moreover, in a provincial environment, likely the Levant and, more particularly, Palestine.

There are a number of clues that point to this hypothesis, including the mediocre quality of the decoration, the addition of crosses before the quire marks,[432] and some peculiarities of content. Cases in point are the presence of the title ἀκολουθία in the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts (f. 48^{r}), typical of the earliest Palestinian Euchologia (11th–13th century);[433] the presence of prayer texts which are found in identical forms in manuscripts probably written in Palestine;[434] the fact that the Liturgy of Basil is preceded by the Liturgy of Chrysostom and seems to reflect a 9th–10th-century stage. Since peripheries tend to harbour conservative modes, this suggests a peripheral and Levantine context for the manuscript's origin.[435]

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[431] The text on f. 185^{v} continues on 184^{r}, and that on f. 185^{r} on 184^{v}.

[432] This seems typical in codices of Cypriot and Palestinian origin according to Mondrain, Les signatures des cahiers 39 and Stefec, Anmerkungen 126, n. 38.

[433] Alexopoulos, Presanctified Liturgy 55; Radle, Sinai Greek NE / ΜΓ 22 185 n. 67.

[434] Εὐχὴ εἰς νοσοῦντας (ff. 80^{r}–80^{v}): same text as Sin. gr. 959 (Palestine); Εὐχὴ εἰς κόλυβα μνήμης ἁγίων (ff. 128^{r}–129^{r}): same text as in Sin. gr. 958 (Syria/Palestine) and Sin. gr. 960 (Cyprus or Syria/Palestine?).

[435] See about this Parenti, La "vittoria" and Alexopoulos, The influence of Iconoclasm on Liturgy.

The prayer book contains a distinct section dedicated to prayers for various occasions, introduced by the title εὐχαὶ διάφοραι. For a number of selected topics, there is more than one prayer. Themes apparently of greatest interest were purification (five prayers), agriculture (four), and travelling, especially via sea or river (four). Two prayers (18: εὐχὴ ἐπὶ πλεόντων and 19: εὐχὴ λεγομένη εἰς τὸ κτίσαι καράβιν, which was also used for the construction of a house) are attested only in this manuscript under this title.

Sin. gr. 962 was used for at least two centuries after it was written. Its margins show interventions by at least five users across the 13th and 14th centuries. The most active of these were the annotators I refer to as User 1, "the restorer", and User 2, "the bilingual possessor".

User 1 "the restorer"—it is unclear whether the name Ἰωακείμ μοναχός added into the outer margin of f. 181v was his own name—wrote a number of marginal annotations referring to the veneration of physicians saints. He is more certainly responsible for rebinding the manuscript at a point in the 13th century, but without access to materials of quality: the modest binding is itself a testimony to this. Despite the difficult conditions, he carefully restored the manuscript, gave new numbers to the quires and—since he seems to have been concerned about the integrity of the manuscript—replaced the lost or damaged Quire 23, employing palimpsest and double palimpsest parchment and using a kind of script in imitation of the "*Perlschrift*" deployed by the original scribe. In order to create the ternio needed, he made use of folia from three different original manuscripts, one of which was already palimpsest (original manuscript 2). The recycled sheets were put to reuse in three different ways:

1) dividing one bifolio in two in order to obtain two individual folia, and then cutting one of these in half horizontally and rotating it through 180° (original manuscript 1);
2) rotating one bifolio through 180° (original manuscript 2);
3) dividing one bifolio in two in order to obtain two individual folia, then rotating one of these through 90°/270° (original manuscript 3).

All of the palimpsest folia come from religious manuscripts: homiletical in one case, hymnographical in three cases. "The restorer" used half a folio of a pseudo-Chrysostomic manuscript (late 10th–early 11th century) to produce the external bifolio of Quire 23 (ff. 182–187); he then employed a bifolio containing a kanon for Saint Nicholas (12th century) to make up the central bifolio (ff. 183–186), and finally another folio from a Menaion with troparia for Saint Macrina the Younger (late 9th–early 10th century) to create the inner bifolio of the ternio (ff. 184–185).

As we can readily observe, the distance in time between the *scriptio superior* of Quire 23 and the *scriptiones inferiores* ranges from one to two hundred years. Moreover, the central bifolio of Quire 23 (ff. 183–186) is made up of double palimpsest parchment: in fact, the kanon on Saint Nicholas was itself written on top of a kanon by Joseph the Hymnographer from a Menaion manuscript which was approximately two hundred years older (*post* mid 9th century).

Worth mentioning in regard to the *scriptiones inferiores* is that the preserved section of the Kanon on Saint Nicholas is unedited, as well as the last sticheron for Saint Macrina the Younger from a Menaion manuscript; the kanon by Joseph the Hymnographer in sloping pointed majuscule serves as an important *terminus post quem* for dating the majuscule script to after the middle of the 9th century.

User 2, "the bilingual possessor", was an Arabic speaker with some knowledge of Greek who annotated Sin. gr. 962 in both Greek and Arabic after the 13th century—that is, after the manuscript was rebound. He was a simple and relatively uneducated person, probably a priest, as an ownership mark on f. 27r ("[belongs] to priest Luke") may indicate.[436] He used the manuscript for study and work purposes and added what was necessary to him (Arabic translations of titles and rubrics, corrections to the main text, additions of sections to be declaimed by the celebrants, highlighting—through the use of crosses—of relevant passages). The majority of his annotations are found close to sections of the Euchologion which concern the baptismal rite, the catechumenate, and the readmission of apostates.

Finally, an Arabic notice on f. 187v—probably also written by User 2—states that Sin. gr. 962 belonged to the church of Saint Elijah, which was the last station for pilgrims before the ascent to Mount Sinai. If it is true that the Arabic annotations date back to the 13th or 14th century, this would mean that Sin. gr. 962 was already circulating in the Sinaitic area in this period.

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[436] It is however not completely clear whether the Arabic hand who wrote this possesion note is the same who wrote the other marginal annotations in Arabic.

SIN. GR. 966 + SIN. GR. NF M 21 [A] + SIN. GR. NF M 68 [B] + BRYN MAWR 2012.11.98 [C]

Manuscript Sin. gr. 966 is identified in the literature as an incomplete Euchologion, and this is how I approached it when I began my study in 2015. On the occasion of a research trip to Saint Catherine's Monastery (December 2018), I was able to identify among the New Finds two quires which originally belonged to Sin. gr. 966. One carries the shelfmark Sin. gr. NF M 21; the second is one of the five loose quires that form Sin. gr. NF M 68—it was erroneously put in the same box and acquired the same shelfmark as the other four quires, but clearly has no similarities with them. Furthermore, I have identified one further quire originating from Sin. gr. 966 in Bryn Mawr College Library (single leaf manuscript collection), which carries the shelfmark Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98.[437]

In the interest of clarity, the three *membra disiecta* will here be referred to as Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A], Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B], and Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C]. Accordingly, I will refer to individual folia using the following system of identification: the letter A before a folio number will indicate that the folio comes from Sin. gr. NF M 21 (e.g. f. A1), the letter B that it comes from Sin. gr. NF M 68 (e.g. f. B1), the letter C that it comes from Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 (e.g. f. C1).

Catalogues

- Sin. gr. 966 (Diktyon 59341): Dmitrievskij II 202–219 (nr. 23); Gardthausen, Catalogus 206; Kamil, Catalogue 111 (nr. 1295).
- Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] (Diktyon 60848): Aland l 2232; Greek New Finds 163.
- Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] (Diktyon 60895): Greek New Finds 169.
- Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C] (Diktyon 76670): —

In addition to the publications listed above, Sin. gr. 966 was described by Antonin Kapustin in his unpublished 1870 catalogue (**Figure 86**), kept in the monastery's archive. He characterizes the codex as an incomplete palimpsest manuscript (in many places, double palimpsest) of 102 folia (*des*.: εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων), written in one column of 19–20 lines per folio in light brown ink with an angular script.

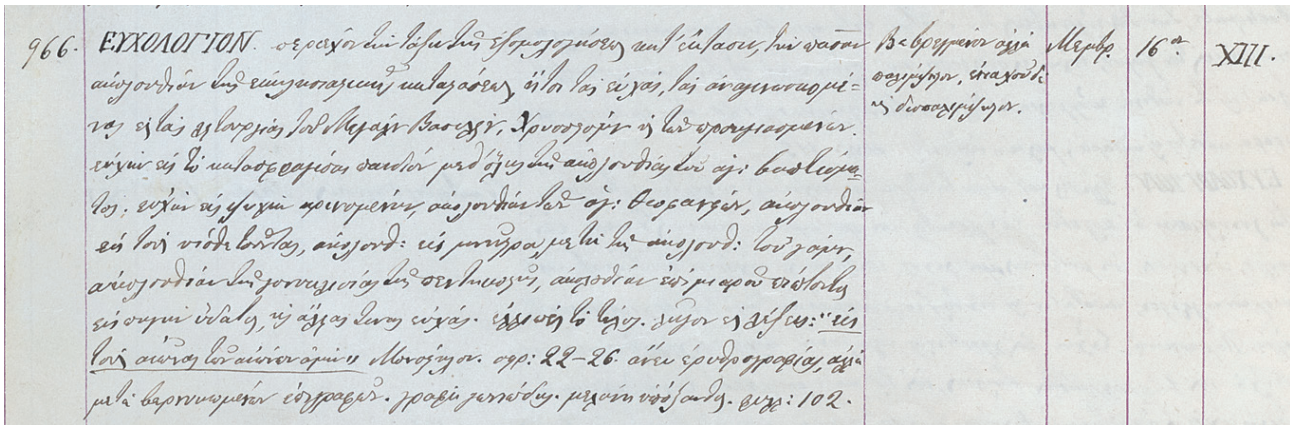


Figure 86 – Antonin Kapustin's description of Sin. gr. 966 in his 1870 unpublished catalogue
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

[437] I thank Georgi Parpulov and Eirini Afentoulidou for bringing my attention to folia from an Euchologion in the Bryn Mawr manuscript collection. These folia have not been investigated before. I had access to this manuscript only digitally.

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- Sin. gr. 966: Alexopoulos, Presanctified Liturgy 56, 134, 327, 337; Arnesano, Repertorio 61; Arnesano, Libri inutiles 200; Arranz, Vêpres byzantines 113; Arranz, Confession III 363–366; Arranz, Penitenziali bizantini 138 ff.; Arranz, Infermi; Baldanza, Matrimonio 317; Bornert, Commentaires 167; Jacob, Une prière du skeuophylakion 68; Jacob, Histoire du formulaire grec 372–373; Jacob, Le rite du καμπανισμός 230; Jacob, Fragments peu connus; Jacob, Les prières de l'ambon; Jacob, Tra Basilicata e Salento 25 n. 11; Jacob, Le cahier préliminaire 307 n. 12; Moraitis, La messe des présanctifiés 225; Nasrallah, La liturgie 164 n. 42; Pallas, Ἀρχαιολογικὰ - Λειτουργικὰ 210; Parenti, La frazione 180, 187; Parenti, Il vino 462; Parenti, L'Ευχολόγιον τὸ μικρόν 288; Parenti, The Liturgical Tradition 72; Parenti, La commemorazione del Papa 242; Parenti, La tradizione liturgica 132; Parenti, Un eucologio poco noto del Salento; Parenti, Tipologie 60 n. 101, 99 n. 347; Parenti, Due *membra disiecta* 517 n. 39; Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 311, 312, 315, 321, 322, 325, 382, 383, 425, 428, 432, 460, 571; Petta, Ufficiatura; Polidori, La Liturgia Bizantina nel Salento 41–43; Polidori, L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto 35–37; Radle, The Rite of Marriage in the Archimedes Euchology 190 n. 12; Radle, The Liturgical Ties 629 n. 69; Raes, Les formulaires grecs 366; Rapp, Brother-Making 67, 271, 288; Rossetto, Building the Euchologion 71–73; Taft, The Diptychs 102, 112 140; Taft, Precommunion Rites 78, 160, 165, 231, 334, 388, 531; Taft, Avoiding Closure 220 n. 22; Taft, The Communion 175, 469, 482, 485, 493, 571, 592, 744, 765, 771, 777–778; Taft – Parenti, Il grande ingresso 258, 293, 326, 330, 333, 371, 414, 423, 461, 494, 502, 505, 534, 620, 649, 709; Velkovska, Lezionari bizantini 269.

- Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A]: Arnesano, Repertorio. Integrazione (2011–2021) nr. 65; Rossetto, Building the Euchologion 71–72; Welte, Griechische Palimpseste 52.
- Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B]: Arnesano, Repertorio. Integrazione (2011–2021) nr. 66; Rossetto, Building the Euchologion 72.
- Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C]: Arnesano, Repertorio. Integrazione (2011–2021) nr. 2.

Specimina: The digitized microfilm of Sin. gr. 966 is available online at the website of the Library of Congress.[438] High-quality photographs of all folia are also available at https://sinai.library.ucla.edu. Photographs of both Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] and Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] were taken for my private use by Father Justin Sinaites (see below, **Figures 88 and 89**).[439] Manuscript Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C] is also available online (**Figure 87**).[440] *Specimina* of selected folia of the four manuscripts are included in this chapter.

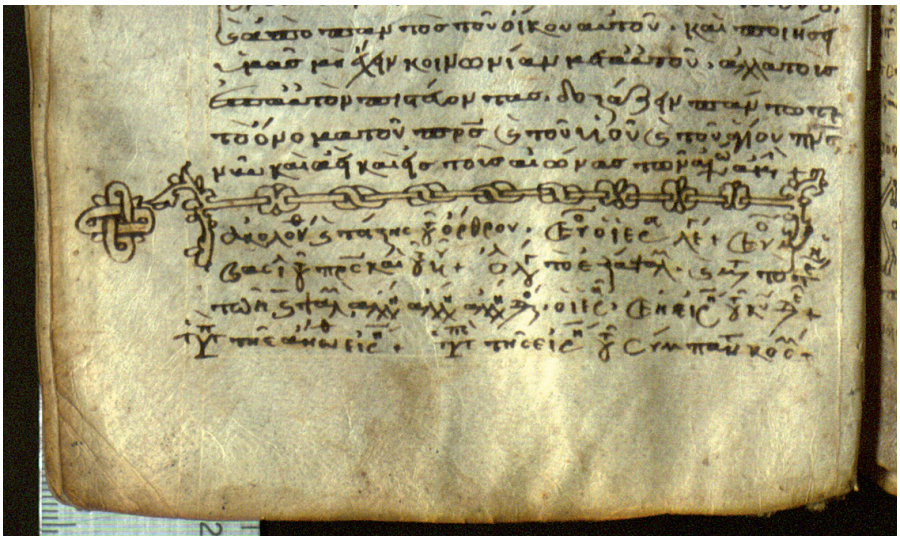


Figure 87 – f. C6^{v} (from Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C]), lower part
(© Bryn Mawr College Special Collections, Single Leaf Manuscripts Collection, 2012.11.98 [Prayer book excerpt])

[438] https://www.loc.gov/item/00271074803-ms/ (19.09.2022).
[439] The Greek New Finds includes no images of these two manuscripts.
[440] The digitized folia are found at https://digitalcollections.tricolib.brynmawr.edu/object/bmc57996 (19.09.2022).

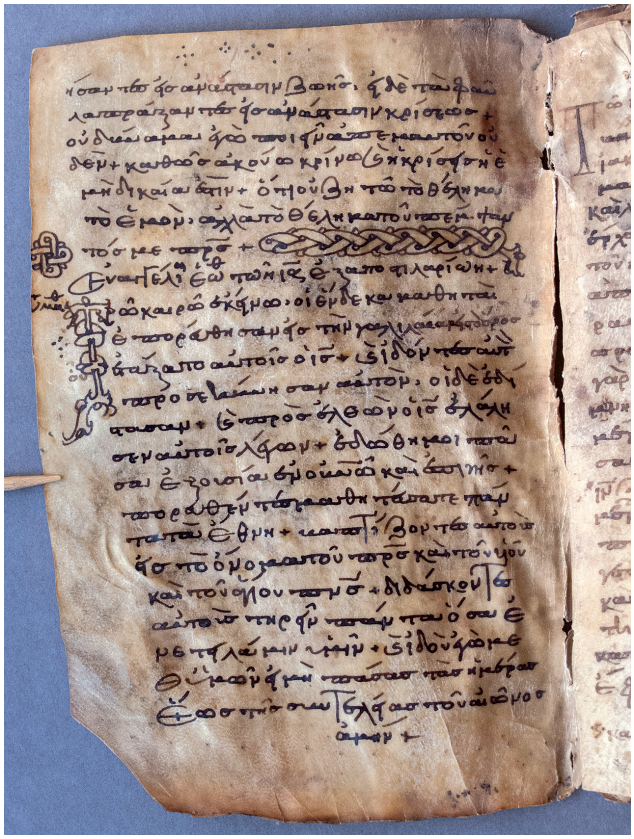


Figure 88 – f. A1^{v} (from Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A])
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)



Figure 89 – f. B3^{v} (from Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B])
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

SCRIPTIO SUPERIOR: EUCHOLOGION

ff. 1^{r}–102^{v}, ff. A1^{r}–A8^{v}, ff. B1^{r}–B6^{v}, ff. C1^{r}–C8^{v};[441] Southern Italy (Salento), 2nd half 12th century: Euchologion.

Codicology

Sin. gr. 966 is made up of 102 parchment folia, Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] and Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C] of eight folia each, while the quire of Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] that originally belonged to Sin. gr. 966 comprises six (this was originally a quaternio).[442] Sin. gr. 966 does not have a binding; several quires are detached at the beginning and end of the manuscript (Quires 1–3 and 11–13), while Quires 4–10 retain their stitching (**Figure 90**); on the spine it is still possible to observe the remnants of a label written in black ink, on which the shelfmark and the content of the manuscript were recorded. Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A], Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B], and Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C] are three loose quires that were originally located towards the end of the codex. Although the recovery of Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A], Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B], and Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C] improves the scope for reconstructing the original form of the Euchologion, the codex is still incomplete, with various folia and quires missing at the end.[443]

The parchment is of low quality and crinkled throughout. It is very stiff and its thickness varies considerably; the colour is yellowish brown, and the difference between flesh and hair sides noticeable; follicles are clearly visible, and natural holes and imperfections in the parchment are recognizable on ff. 5, 11, 13, 18, 21,

[441] The original reconstructed folio order is set out below in the description of the quire structure.

[442] As already mentioned, the box with shelfmark Sin. gr. NF M 68 contains five loose quires. Four of these originate from the same manuscript, while the fifth—which when I opened the box was located in between the other four—ended up in its present location erroneously. It originally belonged to Sin. gr. 966, and it is the only quire which carries foliation (see above **Figure 89**).

[443] For a detailed reconstruction of the content and indication of missing folia see below.

22, 27, 29, 31, 33, 34, 40, 41, 45, 49, 82, 88, 98. For the most part, the folia are palimpsest or double palimpsest, with the exception of ff. 1ʳ–46ᵛ of Sin. gr. 966, the quire that comes from Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B], and (as far as I can gather from the digital images) the eight folia of Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C].

The typical folio dimensions of this Euchologion are 175×120 mm (f. 17): it is thus "oblong in height", with a variation of approximately 60 mm between height and width.[444] The folia of Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] and Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] in their present form appear smaller (A1 measures, for instance, 165×110 mm, and B1 is 150×115 mm) because their margins are very damaged. The writing is arranged in a single column and the number of lines per folio varies between 19 and 25.[445] The *Schriftspiegel* measures 130/135×90/95 mm (f. 17ʳ, f. A1ʳ, f. B1ʳ). The distance between lines is 5 mm, and the letters are 2 mm high. The scribe employs folia (palimpsest or not) which were already ruled, and therefore did not need to create new ones.

All 102 folia of Sin. gr. 966 already carried modern numbering (in pencil) on the lower outer corner or in the middle of each *recto*.[446] On folio 17ʳ, in the lower inner margin, the shelfmark of the manuscript (966) has been annotated in pencil. A trace of previous foliation, in black ink, is extant only at the very beginning of the codex, namely on the upper margin of f. 1, reading "7". This has been crossed out in pencil, most likely by the hand responsible for the most recent foliation. Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] and Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] were foliated by Father Justin Sinaites in December 2018 on the upper outer corner of each *recto*, whereas Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C] is not foliated.



Figure 90 – Spine lacking binding
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

444 The definition "oblong in height" (originally *oblong en hauteur*) is taken from A. Jacob, La mise en forme de l'euchologe dans l'Italie méridionale. Quelques observations. *Estudios bizantinos* 3 (2015) 37–38, which investigates Southern-Italian Euchologia from a codicological point of view (although Sin. gr. 966 is not taken into account). Euchologia described as *oblong en hauteur* are manuscripts «où la hauteur l'emporte largement sur la largeur». Jacob points out that oblong codices were primarily written in Terra d'Otranto in the 12th and the 13th centuries. The most ancient and representative Salentine codices in this format are Vat. Ott. gr. 344 (225×150 mm, dated 1177 [Diktyon 65587]) and Vat. Barb. gr. 443 (228×144 mm, late 12th – early 13th century [Diktyon 64986]). In Rapp – Afentoulidou – Galadza – Nesseris – Rossetto – Schiffer, Byzantine Prayer Books 183–191, I have identified additional manuscripts in this shape and format (not necessarily written in Southern Italy), currently preserved in Patmos (Monastery of Saint John the Theologian) and Grottaferrata (Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale).

445 This is due to the fact that the scribe employs folia which were already ruled and therefore adjusts his text according to the appearance of the parchment in front of him.

446 The foliation was probably applied after 1888. This is when Alekseij Dmitrievskij visited the monastery in order to study the Sinai Euchologia. His descriptions contain several mistakes in the folio numbering, suggesting that the manuscripts were not yet foliated (see, for instance, the descriptions of Sinai Euchologia in Dmitrievskij II).

It seems that neither Kapustin nor Dmitrievskij saw Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A], Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B], or Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C]. This would confirm that by 1870 (the date of Kapustin's catalogue) they were already no longer part of a single codex.[447]

The folia of Sin. gr. 966 are arranged in 13 quires: among these are eleven quaterniones, one binio, and one irregular quire. The first three quires are out of place. Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] is a loose quaternio, as is Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C], while the quire of Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] considered here is a loose ternio. The quire structure is presented manuscript by manuscript, and then as a reconstruction of the whole original codex.

Sin. gr. 966: Quires 1–3: 3×8 (24), Quire 4: 1×8+1+1 (34), Quire 5: 1×8 (42), Quire 6: 1×4 (46), Quires 7–13: 7×8 (102).

Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A]: Quire A1: 1×8 (A8).

Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B]: Quire B1: 1×8–2 (B6).

Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C]: 1×8 (C8).

Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C]: Quires 1–3: 3×8 (24),[448] [lacuna], Quire 4: 1×8+1+1 (34), Quire 5: 1×8 (42), Quire 6: 1×4 (46), Quires 7–13: 7×8 (102), Quire C1: 1×8 (C8), [lacuna], Quire B1: 1×8–2 (B6), [lacuna], Quire A1: 1×8 (A8), [lacuna].

37+40, 43+46, 47+54, 96+101, A2+A7, A3+A6, and A4+A5 are all artificial bifolia.[449] The folia in the quires conform to Gregory's rule with a number of exceptions that do not correspond to any loss of text:
- between ff. 32 and 33 (f. 33 is a single folio in the irregular Quire 4);
- between ff. 34 and 35 (namely between the irregular Quire 4 and Quire 5; f. 34 is a single folio);
- between ff. 36–37 and 40–41 (the bifolio 37+40 is an artificial bifolio in Quire 5);
- between ff. A3–A4 and A5–A6 (the bifolia A3+A6 and A4+A5 are artificial bifolia in Quire A1).

Only Sin. gr. 966 carries quire signatures (**Figure 91**). Starting on f. 43^{r}, quire marks in Greek majuscule letters, written in black ink are visible on the first folio of almost every quire in the upper outer margin. The ink is lighter than that used for the text, and it thus remains unclear whether the copyist himself or somebody else after him added them. They are currently extant on the following folia: f. 43^{r} (β΄), f. 47^{r} (γ΄), f. 63^{r} (ε΄), f. 71^{r} (ϛ΄), f. 79^{r} (ζ΄), f. 87^{r} (η΄: written on top of quire signature ε΄ from the scriptio inferior), f. 95^{r} (θ΄). The quire signatures that are missing (namely one [α΄] and four [δ΄]) were in all probability located respectively on f. 35^{r} and f. 55^{r}, and are no longer visible because they were cut away.

The quire numbering does not begin on the first folio, which requires further comment. The following table offers a comparison of the quire marks as they are preserved in the manuscript in relation to the current quire structure.

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447 The loose quires were probably left behind together with other fragmented manuscripts in a room under the Chapel of Saint George situated along the monastery's northern wall on the occasion of the moving of complete codices from chapels to the Marthales Library in 1734.

448 This is almost certainly not the original position of these quires: they were likely placed towards the end of the codex. However, it is not possible to ascertain their original position definitively.

449 Agati, Manuscript Book 145.

Sin. gr. 966		
Folio number	**Quire number according to current quire structure**	**Quire marks in the manuscript**
1^{r} (Confession rite by John Nesteutes)	1	---
9^{r}	2	---
17^{r}	3	---
25^{r} (Beginning of the Euchologion: title and Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom)	4	---
35^{r} (Beginning of the Liturgy of Saint Basil)	5	(currently missing, probably Α΄)
43^{r}	6	Β΄
47^{r}	7	Γ΄
55^{r}	8	(currently missing, probably Δ΄)
63^{r}	9	Ε΄
71^{r}	10	Ϛ΄
79^{r}	11	Ζ΄
87^{r}	12	Η΄
95^{r}	13	Θ΄

If the quire marks were added when the manuscript was first bound, we may suppose that the codex originally began on f. 35^{r} (namely with the Liturgy of Saint Basil), and that what is currently quire number four—bearing on f. 25^{r} the Euchologion's title (Εὐχολόγιον σὺν Θεῷ περιέχον τὴν πάσαν ἀκολουθίαν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς καταστάσεως) followed by the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom—once formed an independent unit that was only subsequently incorporated. However, we should remember that all quires seem to have been written by the same hand. We might also suppose—as would seem more logical—that the Euchologion began on f. 25^{r}, although, if so, the first quire did not carry a quire mark. In any case, what does seem secure is that Quires 1–3 are currently out of sequence.

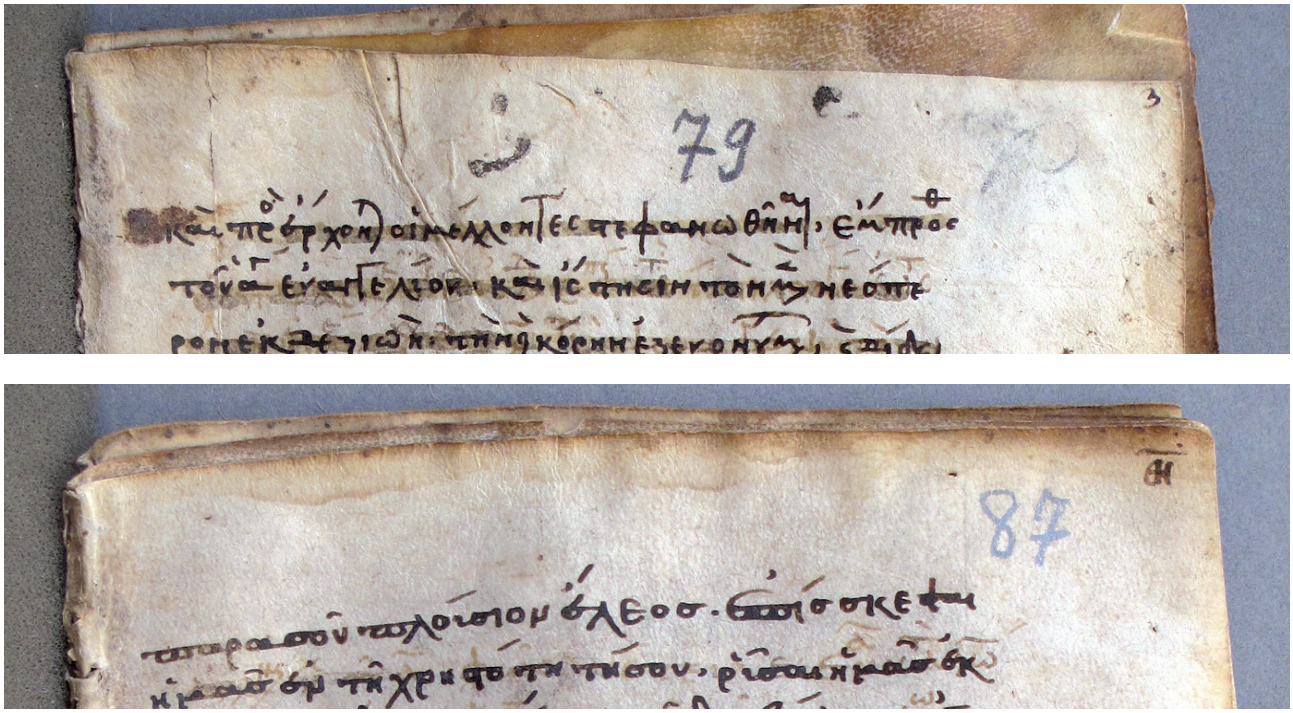
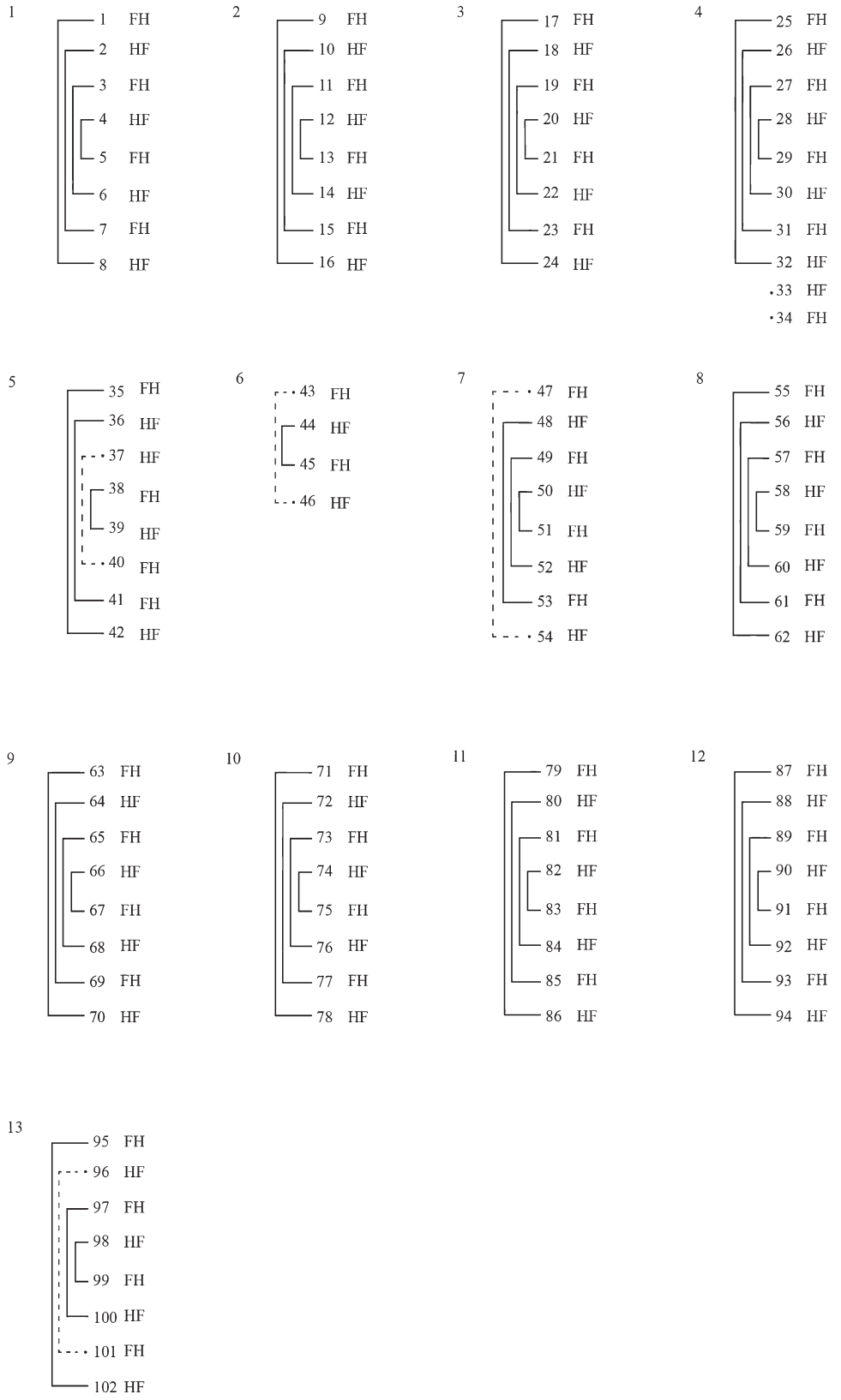


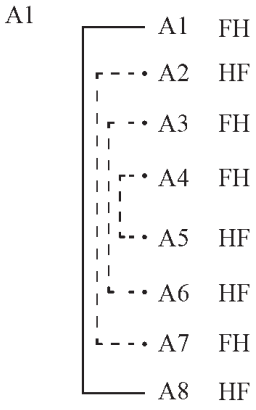
Figure 91 – Quire marks on ff. 79^{r} (Ζ΄) and 87^{r} (Η΄) (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Quire structure of Sin. gr. 966[450]

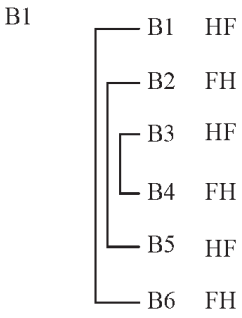


[450] The dots indicate single folia.

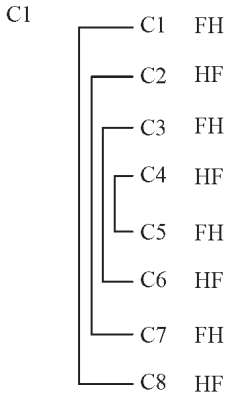
Quire structure of Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A][451]



Quire structure of Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B]



Quire structure of Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C]



The condition of this Euchologion as preserved is not particularly good, and this is especially so of the quires of Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] and Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B]. In fact, all folia of Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] are damaged in the outer margins: the parchment appears to have been nibbled and exposed to fire (see above, **Figure 89**, and below, **Figure 92**). My supposition is that f. 1 of Sin. gr. 966 (today almost illegible) was at some point also exposed to fire, since its parchment is darkened and particularly stiff. Folia A4 and A5 of Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] have additionally suffered damage in the inner margins with a loss of text (**Figure 93**).

A very limited number of repairs are visible, namely tears in the parchment caused by the ruling but later fixed with twine (f. 66), and a reinforcing paper strip in the gutter of f. 100. Signs of use are ubiquitous, and we find in particular:

- Discoloration in the margins due to use, but also the effect of invasive liquid, probably water (see for instance ff. 2^{v}, 5^{r}, 11^{r}, 44^{r}, 61^{r}, 81^{r}, 92^{r}, 102^{v}, $A4^{v}$, $A5^{r}$, $A6^{r}$).

- Wax drops: ff. 40^{v}, 54^{v}, 62^{v}, 63^{r}, 71^{r}, 83^{r}, $A6^{r}$.

- Reading marks (twine): f. 51^{r}.

[451] The dots indicate single folia.



Figure 92 – f. B1^{r}, fire damage in the margins (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)



Figure 93 – f. A5^{r}, damage in the inner margin (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Palaeography

This Euchologion is written in dark brown ink in an upright minuscule by a Salentine scribe (**Figure 94**).[452] The writing shows the influence of the *style rectangulaire aplati ou écrasé*, especially in the forms of the minuscule α and υ, and for the geometric form of μ, π and ω; majuscule γ and τ are characterized by their height. This style was identified by André Jacob as typical of Salentine manuscripts written between the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th centuries,[453] but Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C] represents a later and looser stage of the script.[454]

The existing bibliography dates the hand of Sin. gr. 966 to the 13th or the 14th century,[455] with the exception of Taft – Parenti who date it to the 12th – 13th centuries.[456] Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] is dated by Nikolopulos to the 12th–13th centuries,[457] but Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] to the 11th century.[458]

On the basis of palaeographical comparisons, significant similarities can be observed with late 12th-century Salentine manuscripts Mutin. gr. 244 [α.W.9.12.] (Diktyon 43548) (**Figure 95**),[459] Marc. gr. Z. 410 (Diktyon 69881),[460] and Taur. C III 17 (Diktyon 63870).[461] Relevant affinities with dated or datable *specimina*, and the fact that the writing represents a late phase of the *style rectangulaire aplati ou écrasé*, but is not yet a *minuscola barocca* (in use from the early 13th century), leads me to suppose that the manuscript was copied towards the end of the 12th century.

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452 Sin. gr. 966 was first attributed to Salento by Jacob, Histoire du formulaire grec 373, on the basis of its content. A discussion of the palaeographical peculiarities of this Euchologion has not yet been ventured, although the bibliography on the palaeography of Salentine manuscripts is very rich. I confine myself here to indicating a number of selected contributions of a general nature: P. Canart – S. Lucà, Codici greci dell'Italia meridionale. Rome 2000; A. Jacob, Les écritures de Terre d'Otrante, in: La Paléographie grecque et byzantine. Colloque international du CNRS (Paris, 21–25 octobre 1974). Paris 1977, 269–281; A. Jacob, Culture grecque et manuscrits en Terre d'Otrante, in: Atti del III Congresso Internazionale di Studi Salentini e del I° Congresso Storico di Terra d'Otranto (Lecce, 22–25 ottobre 1976), ed. P. F. Palumbo. Lecce 1980, 53–77; A. Jacob, I più antichi codici greci di Puglia: ovvero un viaggio della paleografia nel paese che non c'è. *Studi medievali e moderni* 2 (2002) 5–42; S. Lucà, Scritture e libri in Terra d'Otranto fra XI e XII secolo, in: Bizantini, Longobardi e Arabi in Puglia nell'alto medioevo. Atti del XX Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo (Savelletri di Fasano, 3–6 novembre 2011). Spoleto 2012, 487–548. Lists of codices written in Terra d'Otranto were compiled by O. Mazzotta, Monaci e libri greci nel Salento medievale. Novoli 1989; D. Arnesano, Il repertorio dei codici greci salentini di Oronzo Mazzotta. Aggiornamenti e integrazioni, in: Tracce di storia. Studi in onore di mons. Oronzo Mazzotta, ed. M. Spedicato. Galatina 2005, 25–80 (Sin. gr. 966 is included here at p. 61); D. Arnesano, Libri inutiles in Terra d'Otranto. Modalità di piegatura dei bifogli nella realizzazione del Laur. 87.21, in: Libri palinsesti greci: conservazione, restauro digitale, studio. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Villa Mondragone – Monte Porzio Catone – Università di Roma «Tor Vergata» – Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale di Grottaferrata, 21–24 aprile 2004), ed. S. Lucà. Rome 2008, 191–200; D. Arnesano, Manoscritti greci di Terra d'Otranto. Recenti scoperte e attribuzioni (2005–2008), in: Toxotes: Studies for Stefano Parenti, ed. D. Galadza – N. Glibetic – G. Radle. Grottaferrata 2010, 63–101; D. Arnesano, Il repertorio dei manoscritti greci di Terra d'Otranto. Integrazione (2011–2021). *BollGrott* 19 (3rd s.) (2022).

453 Jacob, Les écritures. On the genesis of this style see Lucà, Scritture e libri in Terra d'Otranto.

454 According to Jacob, Les écritures 269, and G. Cavallo, La cultura italo greca nella produzione libraria, in: I Bizantini in Italia, ed. G. Cavallo – V. Von Falkenhausen – R. Farioli Campanati – M. Gigante – V. Pace – F. Panvini Rosati. Milan 1982, 495–612, the Salentine writings of the late 12th – early 13th centuries are not very distinctive. From the beginning of the 13th century, in the wake of the *Fettaugenmode*, a new kind of writing, namely the *minuscola barocca* (D. Arnesano, La minuscola «barocca». Scritture e libri in Terra d'Otranto nei secoli XIII e XIV. Galatina 2008), takes root in Salento. However, the Euchologion Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 + Sin. gr. NF M 68 + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 is clearly older.

455 13th century: Arnesano, Repertorio 61; Dmitrievskij II 202; A. Jacob, Un opuscule didactique otrantais sur la liturgie eucharistique: L'adaptation en vers, faussement attribuée à Psellos, de la Protheoria de Nicolas d'Andida. *RSBN* n.s. 14–16 (1977–1979) 177, n. 4; Kapustin 1870 (unpublished catalogue). 13th–14th century: Gardthausen, Catalogus 206; Kamil, Catalogue 111.

456 Taft – Parenti, Il grande ingresso 709.

457 Greek New Finds 163.

458 Greek New Finds 169. It is my understanding that Nikolopoulos' 11th-century attribution is the date of the other four quires housed in the box with shelfmark Sin. gr. NF M 68, and not that of the quire that is subject to consideration here as part of Sin. gr. 966.

459 Terra d'Otranto, 2nd half of the 12th century. See reproduction 43 in Canart – Lucà, Codici greci 107. I have noticed that this manuscript is in part palimpsest, not indicated in Arnesano's list of Salentine palimpsests (Arnesano, Libri inutiles). The manuscript is accessible online: https://n2t.net/ark:/65666/v1/10963 (19.09.2022).

460 Terra d'Otranto, mid 12th century. See reproduction 45 in Canart – Lucà, Codici greci 110.

461 Terra d'Otranto, 1173. See reproduction 41 in Canart – Lucà, Codici greci 104.

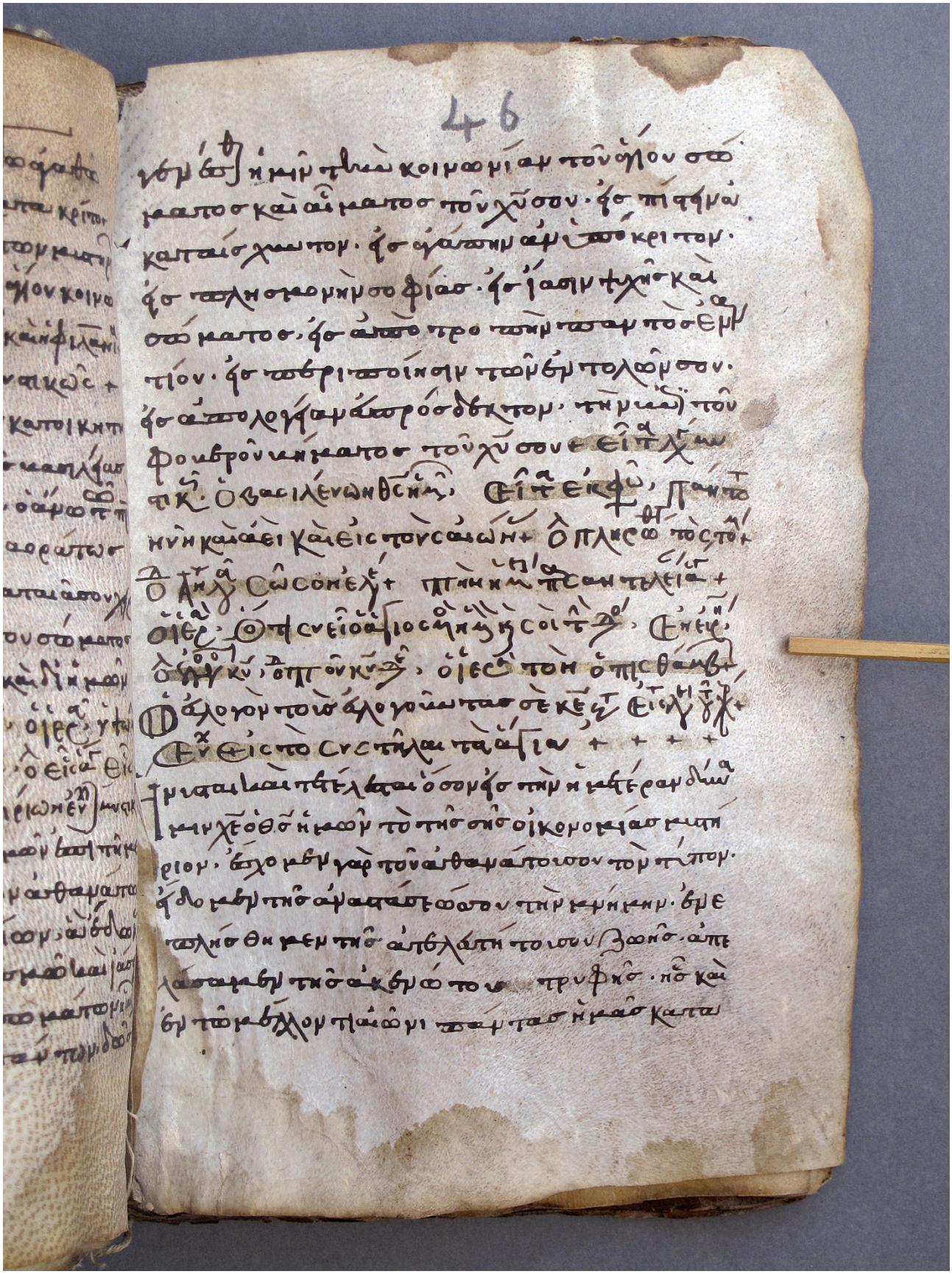


Figure 94 – f. 46r
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

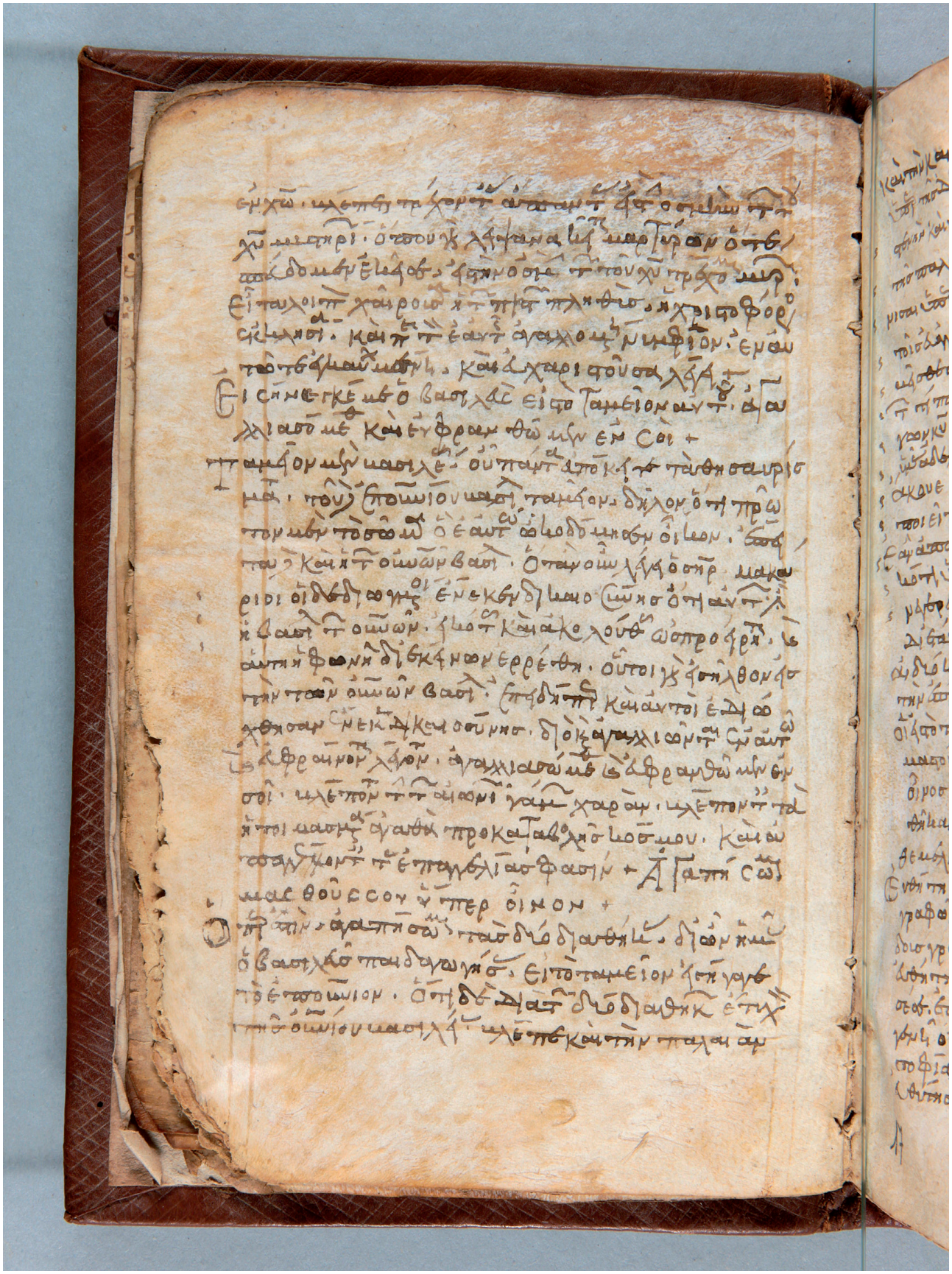


Figure 95 – Mutin. gr. 244 (α.W.9.12.), f. 16^{v}
(su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e per il Turismo. Gallerie Estensi, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria)

In support of this palaeographical evidence pointing to Southern Italy, there is a further hint in the textual content. On f. 32^{r}, close to the end of the Liturgy of John Chrysostom, the dead are commemorated. Among the litanies, it is possible to read the word ῥήξ in the genitive form (ῥηγός), and also two proper nouns. The first is Ῥογίρος, i.e. Roger, while the second is Γουλλιέλμος, i.e. William (**Figure 96**). They are likely to refer to the Norman kings Roger II (died 1154) and his son William I (died 1166), who ruled over Sicily, Calabria, Basilicata, and Apulia. The complete sentence on f. 32^{r} reads: Μνήσθητι Κύριε τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν δούλων σοῦ Ῥογί(ρου) ῥιγὸς καὶ Γουλλιέλμου ριγὸς. The reference to the Norman kings (ῥῆγες) is present also in other sections of the manuscript, but without the mention of their proper names. For instance: f. 27^{v} (litany after the trisagion in the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom: Ἔτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ θεοφυλάκτου ἡμῶν ρηγὸς); f. 61^{r} (baptism. Among the litanies we find: Ὑπερ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ θεοφυλάκτου ἡμῶν ρυγὸς [sic], παντὸς τοῦ παλατίου); f. 73^{v} (beginning of the ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις τῶν ἁγίων Θεοφανίων. In the latter case, we read among the litanies: Ὑπερ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ θεοφυλάκτου ἡμῶν ρηγὸς). It is interesting to note that in the diptychs of the Liturgy of Saint Basil there is no reference to ῥῆγες, but rather the usual Constantinopolitan formula Μνήσθητι Κύριε τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ πιστοτάτων ἡμῶν βασιλέων, and it is the same with the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts. This might seem to indicate that the Euchologion text underwent updates and adaptations according to local practice only in sections that were frequently used, among which were the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom and the baptismal rite.

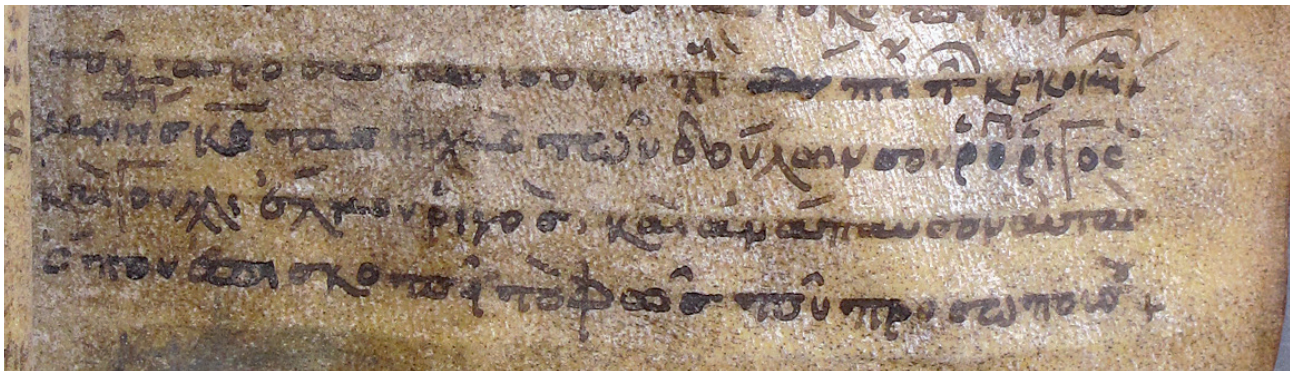


Figure 96 – f. 32^{r}: commemorations of Roger II and William I in the diptychs of the Liturgy of Saint Basil (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

The reading Ῥογίρος (in the past confused with Ῥοπέρτος)[462] is confirmed by the identical ligature for *gamma-iota* employed by Petros, the scribe of manuscript Vat. gr. 1811 (Diktyon 68440)[463] (**Figures 97, 98**). This manuscript was written in Sicily (perhaps in Messina), is dated 1147 and commemorates—in the Liturgy of John Chrysostom and among the living—King Roger II (f. 73^{r}). This is without doubt Roger II, since in 1147 he was indeed the living Norman ruler. Santo Lucà has shown that the use in Euchologia of the term ῥήξ instead of βασιλεύς was exclusively reserved to the Norman kings and is attested in manuscripts from Calabria, Basilicata and Apulia in the second half of the 12th century.[464] We may conclude that Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr.

[462] Dmitrievskij II 202; Jacob, Histoire du formulaire grec 373.

[463] The manuscript is available online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1811 (19.09.2022).

[464] S. Lucà, Frammenti dell'"Ad Theodorum lapsum" di Giovanni Crisostomo in un palinsesto di Grottaferrata: Crypt. Γ.β.XX, ora Gr. 145, in: Storie di cultura scritta. Studi per Francesco Magistrale, ed. P. Fioretti. Spoleto 2012, II, 524, n. 22; Lucà, Scritture e libri in Terra d'Otranto 492 n. 12, with further bibliography. Moreover, S. Lucà, Γεώργιος Ταυρόζης copista e protopapa di Tropea nel sec. XIV. *BollGrott* n.s. 53 (1999) 308–309, lists by way of example a number of Euchologia which preserve names of Norman kings in the diptychs: Vat. gr. 1863 ([Diktyon 68492], written in Oppido at the end of the 12th century); Vat. gr. 2005 ([Diktyon 68634], written at the Monastery of Carbone in Lucania in 1194–1195. Here Roger II, William I, and Tancredi are commemorated among the dead); Vat. Barb. gr. 443 (written in Salento between the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century); Vat. Ott. gr. 344 (written in Otranto in 1177). To these manuscripts can now be added at least our Sin. gr. 966 and Vat. gr. 1811, which represents an exemplary case, since there—in the diptychs of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom, on f. 73^{r}—the term βασιλεύς is replaced by the term ῥήξ. With reference to Vat. Barb. gr. 443, it should be noted that there is an error in A. Jacob, Tra Basilicata e Salento.

NF M 21 + Sin. gr. NF M 68 + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 was written in Salento, probably in Otranto or nearby, between 1166 (that is to say, after the death of William I) and 1200.

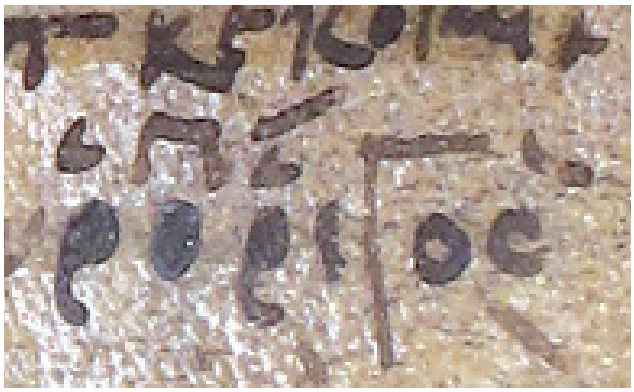


Figure 97 – f. 32r: Ῥογί(ρου) ῥιγὸς commemorated among the dead (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

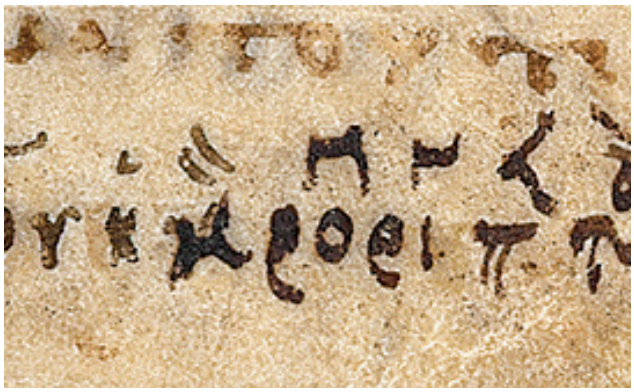


Figure 98 – Vat. gr. 1811 (a. 1147), f. 73r: Ῥογί(ρου) ῥιγ(ὸς) commemorated among the living (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

As far as the accuracy of the text is concerned, there are several spelling mistakes relating to iotacism. Moreover, at the phonological level, the scribe frequently employs double consonants where not etymologically justified. For instance, we find τὰς νόσσους instead of τὰς νόσους (f. 72r), or μεταλαμβάννοντες / μεταλαμβάννουσιν (ff. 76r, 76v) instead of μεταλαμβάνοντες / μεταλαμβάνουσιν. The retention of double consonants seems characteristic of peripheral dialects of Greek such as, though not exclusively, the Southern-Italian dialects.[465] This is due to the influence of stress accent, to foreign borrowing, or to a phenomenon common among Romance Southern-Italian dialects known as *raddoppiamento sintattico*.[466]

There are occasional corrections and additions. They were all executed by later, untrained hands, and do not seem connected with the Euchologion text. They occur in both Greek and Arabic, and in inks of different shades.

In Greek:

- f. 17r: lower margin, black ink: ακγιος οτι υς χς (*lege*: ὅτι ἅγιος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός).
- f. 25r: retracing in black ink of the faded beginning of the Euchologion.
- f. 46v: letters ΟΘ in the outer margin.
- f. 47r: five lines of text washed out and therefore illegible in the upper margin.
- f. 70v: one line in black ink in the upper margin, κε υσου χε ο θς υνον ελευσον υμας ᾳμῃν (*lege*: Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς ἀμήν).
- f. 77v: cross in black ink in the outer margin corresponding to the service for adoption (ἀκολουθία εἰς υἱοθετοῦντας).
- f. 85r: two lines in black ink in the outer margin, κύ(ριος) καὶ τ(ῶν) | πράξε(ων).

In Arabic:[467]

- f. 71v: *essais de plume* in the lower margin, incomprehensible.

Precisazioni necessarie sui Menei del Monastero di Carbone. *ASCL* 68 (2001) 24–25. His description of content relates to Sin. gr. 966, and not to Vat. Barb. gr. 443. In fact, codex Vat. Barb. gr. 443 contains no reference to kings Roger or William, but only a more general ἔτι ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ θεοφηλεστάτου (*sic*) ἡμῶν ῥηγός on f. 5v, corresponding to the ektene of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom.

465 Similar phenomena are also characteristic of Dodecanesian and Cypriot dialects (H. Seiler, Die sogenannten Geminaten in den neugriechischen Dialekten. *Glotta* 36 (1957) 209–234).

466 On this phenomenon see I. Manolessou, Τα διπλά σύμφωνα στις νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους: συγχρονική και διαχρονική προσέγγιση, in: Selected Papers of the 10th International Conference of Greek Linguistics, ed. Z. Gavriilidou – A. Efthymiou – E. Thomadaki – P. Kambakis-Vougiouklis. Komotini 2012, 956, and I. Manolessou, The Greek Dialects of Southern Italy: an Overview. *Κάμπος: Cambridge Papers in Modern Greek* 13 (2005) 115–116, with further bibliography indicated.

467 I am grateful to Alexander Treiger for reading and identifying these Arabic notes.

- f. 72r: *essais de plume* in the lower margin. This could be read in different ways: as a single letter "h" (numerical value 5), or as two letters "kw" (numerical value 26), or "lw" (numerical value 36), or as a word "kaff" (which could mean 'palm of the hand' or 'abstention'), or "laff" (meaning 'wrapping').

- f. 100v: reinforcing paper strip with Arabic letters. Three upside-down words are partially visible. Two are from the same root, "ktb", which means "to write". The second line may read: "the book is complete". (**Figure 99**)

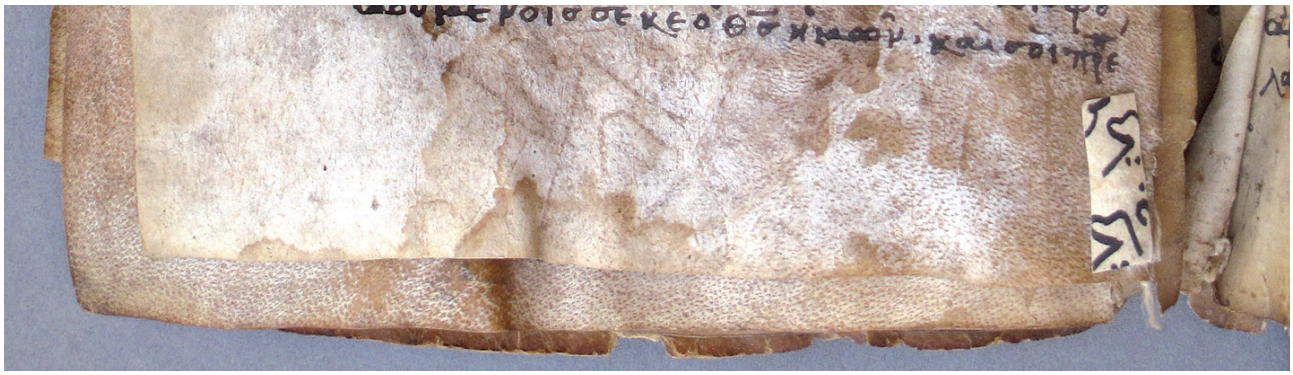


Figure 99 – f. 100v: reinforcement paper strip with Arabic writing (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Decoration

The Euchologion is simply decorated, apparently by the copyist himself. It displays features attributable to Southern Italy, and even more specifically to Terra d'Otranto. In fact, while the yellow wash used for highlighting titles and rubrics was applied almost everywhere in Southern Italy, the pseudo-decorative, essentially functional, side bands (**Figure 100**) that the scribe employs to mark, for instance, the beginning of a prayer, are only found in such poor quality in Salento. They resemble stylized branches or vegetal motifs. Calabria, Campania and, later, Sicily cultivated a book-culture that was technically and aesthetically superior (even very "poor" books such as those written on recycled parchment were of better quality).[468] The use of asterisks at the beginning of new pieces, in combination with vegetal side bands is also characteristically Salentine,[469] as well as the omicron *en rondelle* (e.g. above, **Figure 94**) and the initials with a double outline.[470]

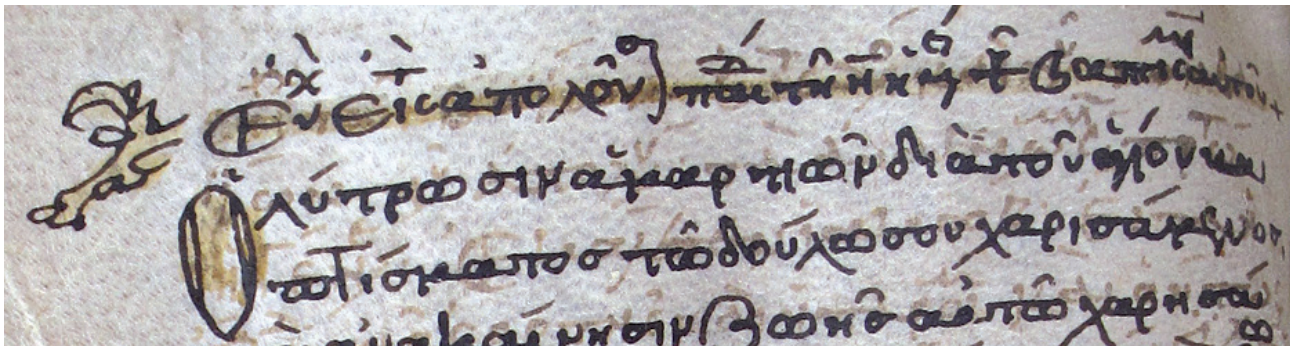


Figure 100 – f. 66v: yellow wash and decorative side band located at the beginning of the prayer for a child on the eighth day after baptism (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

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468 I thank Irmgard Hutter for her valuable guidance. On this see Jacob, Tra Basilicata e Salento 48–49; Jacob, La mise en forme 42. On the decoration of Salentine codices, see Canart – Lucà, Codici greci; Arnesano, Minuscola barocca 12–13; R. Durante, La decorazione dei codici salentini: l'esempio del Vallicelliano C 7. *Νέα Ρώμη* 5 (2008) 277–301. For the point about the decoration of Southern-Italian manuscripts, see I. Hutter, La décoration et la mise en page des manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale. Quelques observations, in: Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine: acquis et nouvelles recherches, ed. A. Jacob – J.-M. Martin – G. Noyé. Rome 2006, 69–93.

469 Jacob, Tra Basilicata e Salento 47–48; Jacob, La mise en forme 42.

470 Lucà, Frammenti dell'"Ad Theodorum lapsum" 526.

The colours used for the ornamentation are black and yellow. Interestingly, the vermillion red typically found in Salentine codices is completely absent from Sin. gr. 966 and its *disiecta membra*. The following decorative elements feature:

1) Headpieces: 25^{r}, beginning of the Euchologion and the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom; 35^{r}, beginning of the Liturgy of Saint Basil; 46^{v}, beginning of the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts (**Figure 101**).

2) Bars and lines (full and half): 1^{r}, beginning of the confession rite; 52^{v}, beginning of prayers connected with baptism (full bar); 61^{r}, beginning of the akolouthia for baptism (full line); 67^{r}, end of the Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἀπολοῦσαι παιδίον τῇ η΄ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ βαπτίσματος αὐτοῦ (half bar); 68^{r}, beginning of the Εὐχαὶ εἰς ἀῤῥώστους (half line); 84^{v}, end of the Ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις εἰς ἀδελφοποίησιν (full bar); 85^{r}, beginning of the Ἀκολουθία τῆς γονυκλισίας τῆς ἁγίας Πεντηκοστῆς (full line); 95^{v}, beginning of the Ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις, γινομένη ἐπὶ μιαροῦ, πίπτοντος εἰς πηγὴν ὕδατος (full line); C6^{v}, end of occasional prayers and beginning of the Ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις τοῦ ὄρθρου (full line); B3^{v}, end of Matins and beginning of Vespers (full line); B6^{v}, beginning of the akolouthia for various saints and martyrs (full bar); A1^{v}, end of the akolouthia for various saints and martyrs (half bar) (**Figures 104, 105, 118, 122**).

3) Bands and crosses: 22^{r}, Τάξις γινομένη εἰς ἐξομολόγησιν ἑτέραν (band and cross); 35^{r}, beginning of the Litugy of Saint Basil (cross); 46^{v}, beginning of the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gift (cross); 52^{v}, beginning of the Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ κατασφραγίσαι παιδίον, λαμβάνον ὄνομα τῇ η΄ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς γεννήσεως αὐτοῦ (cross); 61^{r}, beginning of the akolouthia for baptism (cross); 66^{v}, beginning of the Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἀπολοῦσαι παιδίον τῇ η΄ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ βαπτισμάτου αὐτοῦ (band); 67^{r}, beginning of the Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ τριχοκουρεῦσαι παιδίον (cross); 73^{v}, beginning of the Ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις τῶν ἁγίων Θεοφανίων (band); 78^{v}, beginning of the Ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις εἰς μνῆστρα (band and cross); 82^{v}, beginning of the Ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις εἰς ἀδελφοποίησιν (band and cross); 95^{v}, beginning of the Ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις, γινομένη ἐπὶ μιαροῦ, πίπτοντος εἰς πηγὴν ὕδατος (cross); 97^{v}, beginning of the Τάξις γινομένη εἰ συμβῇ μιαρὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον προσφάτως ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς ἀγγεῖον οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου (band); 99^{r}, beginning of the Εὐχὴ εἰς ἀγγεῖον μιανθέν (band); 99^{r}, beginning of the occasional prayers, with the Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ θεμέλιον οἰκίας (band and cross); C1^{v}, beginning of the Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ χειμαζομένους ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων; B3^{v}, beginning of the prayers for Vespers (band and cross) (**Figures 105, 116, 123**).

4) Asterisks: 48^{v}, Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts; 68^{r}, beginning of the Εὐχαὶ εἰς ἀῤῥώστους; 77^{r}, beginning of the Ἀκολουθία εἰς υἱοθετοῦντας; 79^{v}, beginning of the Ἀκολουθία εἰς γάμους; C6^{v}, beginning of the Ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις τοῦ ὄρθρου; A1^{v}, beginning of the Εὐαγγέλια ἑωθινὰ (**Figures 105, 119**).

5) Decorated initials (selection): 45^{v}, 52^{v}, 55^{r}, 62^{v}, 63^{v}, C1^{v}, A1^{v} (**Figures 104, 120**).





Figure 101 – Headpieces on ff. 25^{r} (previous page) and 35^{r} (above)
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

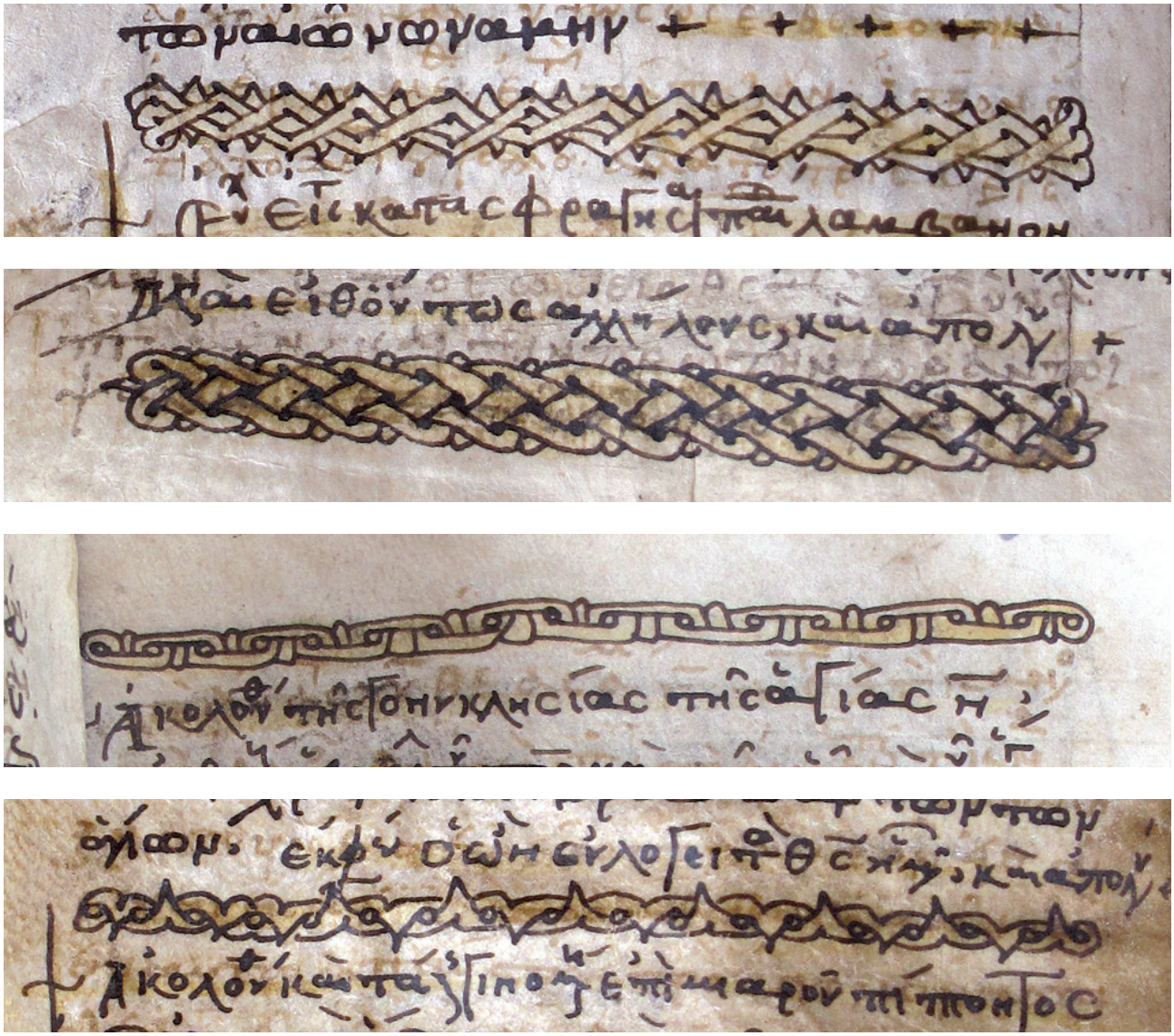


Figure 102 – Decorative bars: ff. 52^{v}, 84^{v}, 85^{r}, 95^{v}
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

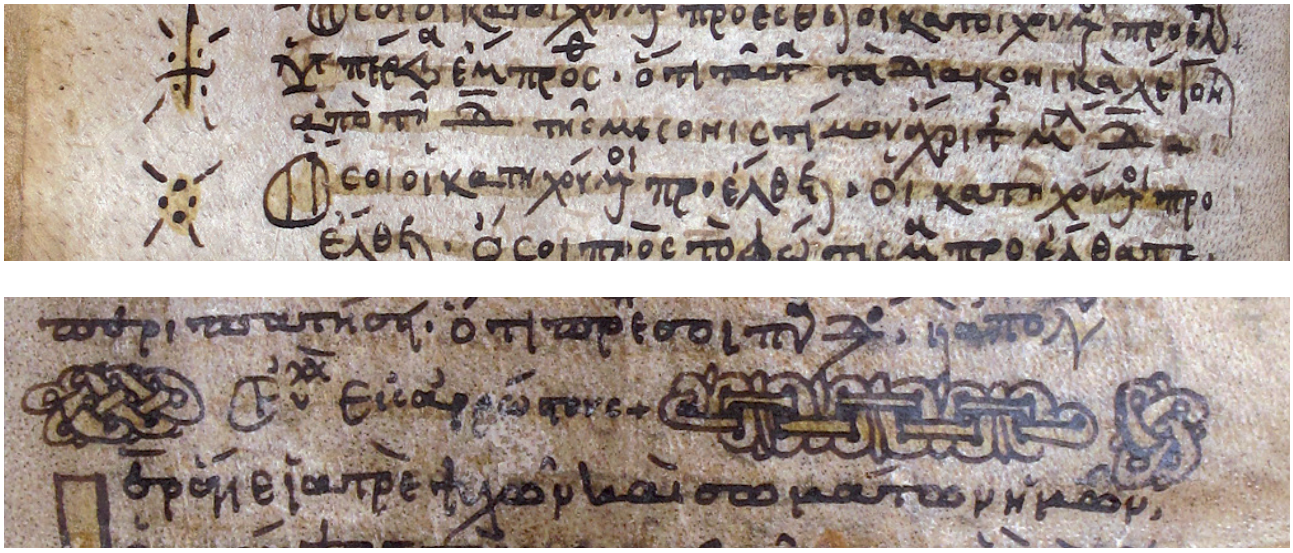


Figure 103 – Asterisk on f. 68^{r} and on f. 48^{v} (above, right side of the image, knot-shaped)
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)



Figure 104 – Initials on ff. 52^{v}, 55^{r}, 62^{v}, 63^{v} (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

As is typical of Southern-Italian Euchologia, headpieces were used to mark the beginning of important sections such as liturgies, bars and lines indicate the beginning of long taxeis and akolouthiai, while bands separate smaller units such as shorter akolouthiai and groups of prayers.[471]

Specimina of Salentine manuscripts that may be used for comparison:

- f. 48^{v}, asterisk (**Figure 103**, above): Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 179^{r}: Otranto, 1177.[472]
- f. 62^{v}, initial *my* (**Figure 104**): Laur. Plut. 72.22, f. 27^{r} (Diktyon 16651); Terra d'Otranto, late 13th – early 14th centuries (Arnesano, Minuscola barocca pl. XXXIV).
- f. 68^{r}, asterisk (**Figure 103**, below): Crypt. Z.α. II, f. 63^{v} (Diktyon 17959): Terra d'Otranto (Maglie), late 12th century (Canart – Lucà, Codici greci 124, pl. 54).
- f. 84^{v}, decorative bar (**Figure 102**): Crypt. Δ.γ. V, f. 133^{r} (Diktyon 17793): Terra d'Otranto, 12th–13th centuries (Canart – Lucà, Codici greci 123, pl. 53).
- f. 99^{r}, side band (**Figure 106**): Vat. Ott. gr. 344, ff. 113^{v}, 209^{r}, 229^{r}: Otranto, 1177; Crypt. Γ.β. XX, f. 3^{v}: Terra d'Otranto, late 12th – early 13th centuries (Lucà, Frammenti dell'"Ad Theodorum lapsum", pl. 1).
- f. B3^{v}, decorative full line (**Figure 89**): Sin. gr. 193, f. 322^{v}: Terra d'Otranto, 1124.

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471 Jacob, La mise en forme 41–42.
472 http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Ott.gr.344 (19.09.2022).

Content

Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C] together contain an Euchologion. Even after correctly repositioning the loose quires of Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A], Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] and Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C], the text is not always consecutive, and it is certainly clear that a number of folia and quires have been lost.[473] A summary of the manuscript content is nonetheless proposed in what follows.

The first section, corresponding to Quires 1–3 of Sin. gr. 966, preserves two confession rites. The three quires are out of sequence, and their original position in the codex cannot be firmly established due to the lack of quire marks. Comparisons with similar manuscripts would suggest a location towards the end of the manuscript. Quire 3 ends before the middle of the second confession rite, which means that at least one quire is missing at this point.

The second section (quires 4–13 of Sin. gr. 966)—representing the core of the prayer book—contains the title of the Euchologion (Εὐχολόγιον σὺν Θεῷ περιέχον τὴν πᾶσαν ἀκολουθίαν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς καταστάσεως), the three eucharistic liturgies (in order: Chrysostom, Basil, Presanctified), various rites, and a number of occasional prayers. The last is connected to Easter (blessing of Palms).

The third section (Quire C1 from Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C]) was originally located immediately after the last quire of Sin. gr. 966 (quire 13). It begins with occasional prayers (the first three are connected to Easter), and continues with the akolouthia and taxis for Matins (prayers one to five).

The fourth section (quire B1 from Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B]) contains further prayers for Matins (end of prayer seven up to prayer thirteen), and also for Vespers (five prayers). It concludes, on the last, very damaged, verso, with the beginning of an akolouthia (?) with Apostle and Gospel readings for various saints and martyrs. The absence of almost two full prayers for Matins between section three and four indicates that one folio is missing between the two sections. This allows us to establish that Quire B1, which currently is a ternio, was originally a quaternio, like all the regular quires of this manuscript. Its external bifolio is currently missing.

Between sections IV and V, one or at most two quires are absent. In fact, the fifth section (Quire A1 from Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A]) contains the Apostle and Gospel readings for the dead.[474] These belonged with the akolouthia that begins on f. B6^{v} of section III (**Figure 105**).[475] This section concludes towards the end of the tenth Resurrectional Gospel (Eothina). The end of the tenth and eleventh Gospels were preserved in a missing quire coming after section IV. It is impossible to know the exact number of quires that have been lost here, or what precisely they contained.

The reconstructed content of Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C] is detailed in the following table,[476] with peculiarities listed in the footnotes. To clearly differentiate between the three shelfmarks, the text of Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] has been distinguished with a red background, Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] with blue, and Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C] green.

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[473] Comparison with other Salentine Euchologia such as the *Galàtone Euchologion* (Duke ms. gr. 19 + 20 [Diktyon 13634+13635]) helped me to establish the most likely original sequence for the content of Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A], Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] and Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C].

[474] The Lectionary section for the whole year has been checked against MR; for the identification of the Apostle and Gospel passages I have used Gregory, Textkritik I 343–386.

[475] This can be established through comparison with similar manuscripts.

[476] Inside <angular brackets> I have supplied titles that are missing in the manuscript.

Section I (quires 1–3)[477]	
1r–24v	- Ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις ἐπὶ ἐξομολογουμένων (ff. 1r–10v): *[...] Ὁ Θεὸς, εἰς τὴν βοήθειάν μου πρόσχες* (PG 1889, l. 9; Polidori, p. 159 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 73r)[478] - Κανονάριον ἐκτεθὲν παρὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ (ff. 10v–20v): *Τέκνον τί ἰσχύεις φυλάξαι;* (PG 1901, l. 45; Polidori, p. 166 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 86r) - Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν ἐπιτιμίοις ὄντων καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ὅρκῳ δεσμούντων (f. 21r): *Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ μονογενὴς Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ πάντα δεσμὸν ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν τῷ σῷ πάθει διαρρήξας καὶ ἐμφυσήσας εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν σῶν Ἀποστόλων καὶ εἰπών* (Goar, p. 528) - Εὐχὴ τοῦ ὑπὸ δεσμοῦ ὑπὸ ἱερέως λυομένου (f. 21v): *Εὔσπλαγχνε ἀγαθὲ καὶ φιλάνθρωπε ὁ διὰ τοὺς σοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς ἐξαποστείλας τὸν μονογενῆ σου Υἱὸν εἰς τὸν κόσμον* (PG 1917; Polidori, p. 175 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 99v; Arranz, p. 360; Goar, p. 531) - Εὐχὴ εἰς ἐνυπνιαζόμενον ἀδελφόν (ff. 21v–22r): *Πολυεύσπλαγχνε Κύριε ἀκήρατε ἀμόλυντε μόνε ἀναμάρτητε κάθαρον τὸν δοῦλόν σου τὸν δεῖνα ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος* (Polidori, p. 175 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 100r; Velkovska – Parenti 237; Goar, p. 529) - Τάξις γινομένη εἰς ἐξομολόγησιν ἑτέραν (ff. 22r–24v *des. mut.*): *Εἰσέρχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἀλλάσσει* (Arranz, Confession III 363–366)
[Lacuna][479]	
Section II (quires 4–13)	
25r	Εὐχολόγιον σὺν Θεῷ περιέχον τὴν πᾶσαν ἀκολουθίαν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς καταστάσεως[480]

[477] Section I contains two confession rites that were in use in Otranto. The first (ff. 1r–22r) is attributed to John IV Patriarch of Constantinople (also known as John Nesteutes or John the Faster), and was edited by J. Morin (J. Morin, Commentarius historicus de disciplina in administratione sacramenti poenitentiae. Paris 1651, 77–90, reprinted in PG 88, 1889–1918). The text has been extensively studied by Miguel Arranz (M. Arranz, Les formulaires de confession dans la tradition byzantine (III). *OCP* 58 (1983) 357–366; M. Arranz, I penitenziali bizantini: il Protokanonarion o Kanonarion Primitivo di Giovanni Monaco e Diacono e il Deuterokanonarion o "Secondo Kanonarion" di Basilio Monaco. Rome 1993, 131 ff.), who compared the text of the codices Vat. Ott. gr. 344 and Vat. Barb. gr. 443 with Sin. gr. 966 and classified the formulary as type C in his taxonomic system. Folia 22r–24v preserve a second rite of confession, partially transcribed in Dmitrievskij II 203–205, and later in Arranz, Confession III 363–366. The text does not finish on f. 24v, but continued on a now lost quire. According to Arranz, Confession III 369, a similar text is to be found in the early 13th-century Salentine manuscript Crypt. Γ.β. XIV (Diktyon 17906), ff. 35v–41r. In addition, an almost identical text is attested in the *Galàtone Euchologion* (Duke ms. gr. 19 + 20), ff. 150r–176r. The length of the rite in the two comparison manuscripts clearly shows that the greatest part of the rite has been lost in Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 + Sin. gr. NF M 68 + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98. The three quires that constitute this first section of the Euchologion are detached and lack quire numbers (see the observations on the quire marks above). It is therefore questionable whether their present position at the beginning of the prayer book corresponds to their original location: it is much more probable that the codex began with the current f. 25r, which contains the title of the Euchologion and the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom. For this reason, I agree with Arranz, Confession III 357, in the supposition that the three quires are out of place. However, I disagree with Arranz' suggestion that they represented an independent small codex that was later added to Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 + Sin. gr. NF M 68 + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98. My own view is that they occupied another position, in all probability towards the end of the Euchologion (as is common in other Euchologia). Since the location of the rite at the very beginning of the manuscript is questionable, I suggest that Valerio Polidori's assertion 'l'importanza che questi testi [*scil.* those connected to confession] avevano nell'area salentina è testimoniata principalmente dalla posizione che tali riti assumono nell'eucologio' (V. Polidori, L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto: Cod. Ottoboni gr. 344 (AD 1177). Wrocklaw 2018, 62) should be partially revised. Such texts were certainly important, but their position in the Euchologion cannot be taken as secure evidence. In fact, in all other 12th–13th century Salentine prayer books considered by Polidori in his monograph on Vat. Ott. gr. 344 (namely Escorial. X.IV.13 [Diktyon 15024], Vat. gr. 2383 [Diktyon 69014], Vat. gr. 1273 [Diktyon 67904] + Vat. gr. 1912 [Diktyon 68541], Vallic. C 97 II [Diktyon 56299], Vat. Barb. gr. 443, *Galàtone Euchologion* = Duke ms. gr. 19 + 20) the office is placed in the second half of the manuscript, not at the beginning. This would support the view that the first three quires of Sin. gr. 966 are out of place.

[478] The title is almost illegible: Ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις ἐπὶ ἐξομολογουμένων can be read with some certainty, but no more.

[479] At least one quire containing the end of the second confessional rite is missing.

[480] Section II, probably corresponding to the original beginning of the Euchologion, starts with a title (Εὐχολόγιον σὺν Θεῷ περιέχον τὴν πᾶσαν ἀκολουθίαν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς καταστάσεως). Immediately after this, there follows a prayer, typically Salentine, for vesting a priest with the priestly robe (εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἀμφιέννεσθαι τὸν ἱερέα τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολήν). It is worth recalling that the *incipit* of this prayer is depicted in the apse of the church of Santo Stefano di Soleto on the scroll held by Saint Basil. Cf. M. Berger, Les peintures de l'abside de S. Stefano à Soleto. Une illustration de l'anaphore en Terre d'Otrante à la fin du XIVe siècle. *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen-Age, Temps modernes* 94.1 (1982) 136, and Polidori, L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto 16–17, n. 67, 68). The prayer for vesting the priest is followed by a prayer for incense (εὐχὴ τοῦ θυμιαμάτος). Finally, the prothesis prayer, followed by the title of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom (Ἀρχὴ τῆς θείας λειτουργίας τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου), is visible on f. 25v.

25r–34v	- Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἀμφιέννεσθαι τὸν ἱερέα τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολήν (f. 25r): *Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἔπιδε ἐπ'ἐμὲ τὸν ἁμαρτωλὸν* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 205) - Εὐχὴ τοῦ θυμιάματος (f. 25r): *Θυμίαμα σοι προσφέρομεν* (Goar, p. 50) - Εὐχὴ τῆς προθέσεως (f. 25v): *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τὸν οὐράνιον ἄρτον* (Polidori, p. 92 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 140v; Goar, p. 51) - Ἀρχὴ τῆς θείας λειτουργίας τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου (f. 25v): *ὁ διάκονος· Εὐλόγησον δέσποτα. Ὁ ἱερεύς· Εὐλόγησον ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ πατρός* (Polidori, p. 92 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 142r)[481]
35r–46v	Ἡ θεία λειτουργία τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου· Εὐχὴ τῶν κατηχουμένων <καὶ εὐχὴ> α΄ <τῶν> πιστῶν μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν τῆς ἐκτενῆς: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν οὐρανοῖς κατοικῶν* (Arranz, p. 471; Velkovska – Parenti 9; Goar, p. 138)[482]
46v–52v	Ἡ θεία λειτουργία τῶν προηγιασμένων: *Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία* (Alexopoulos, Presanctified Liturgy 134, 297)[483]
52v–53r	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ κατασφραγίσαι παιδίον, λαμβάνον ὄνομα τῇ η΄ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς γεννήσεως αὐτοῦ: *Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν σοῦ δεόμεθα καὶ σὲ ἱκετεύομεν σημειωθήτω τὸ φῶς* (Polidori, p. 132 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 28v; Arranz, p. 169; Velkovska – Parenti 112; Goar, p. 264)
53rv	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἐκκλησιάσαι γυναῖκα καὶ παιδίον τῇ μ΄ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς γεννήσεως αὐτοῦ: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· σοῦ δεόμεθα καὶ σὲ παρακαλοῦμεν, καὶ σὲ ἱκετεύομεν* (Polidori, p. 132 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 29r)
54r	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὴν μαίαν καὶ εἰς ἑτέρας γυναῖκας, λαγχάνοντας εἰς λοχήν: *Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων* (Polidori, p. 133 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 29v)
54r–55r	- Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἐκκλησιάσαι παιδίον μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ τῇ μ΄ ἡμέρᾳ (f. 54rv): *Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν· ὁ ἐν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις κατὰ τὸν νόμον* (Polidori, p. 133 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 30r) - ff. 54v–55r: *Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις ὡς βρέφος προσαχθεὶς τῷ νομικῷ ναῷ* (Polidori, p. 133 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 30v)[484]

[481] The Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom in Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 + Sin. gr. NF M 68 + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 manifests peculiar Otrantan characteristics. Among these are the rubric with reference to Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite before the washing of hands at the beginning of the Great Entrance on f. 30r (on this see Jacob, Histoire du formulaire grec 373; Taft – Parenti, Il grande ingresso 330; Polidori, L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto 17–18. The text is published in Dmitrievskij II 205), and also the presence at the end of the Liturgy (f. 34v) of three skeuophylakion prayers: 1. *Τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ νόμου* 2. *Ἐκ δυνάμεως εἰς δύναμιν* 3. *Πληρώσαντες* (Jacob, Histoire du formulaire grec 373; Polidori, L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto 19. The text of the second prayer is published in A. Jacob, Une prière du skeuophylakion de la Liturgie de saint Jacques et ses parallèles byzantines. *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 37 (1966) 68). Polidori, L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto 16–20, collects and analyses the peculiarities of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom as extant in the Salentine Euchologia. For a detailed discussion of specific passages of this Liturgy in Sin. gr. 966, see R. F. Taft, A History of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom IV: The Diptychs. Rome 1991, 102, 112 140; R. F. Taft, A History of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom V: The Precommunion Rites. Rome 2000, 78, 160, 165, 231, 334, 388, 531; R. F. Taft, Avoiding Closure: The Multiple Conclusions of the Byzantine Eucharistic Liturgies. *BollGrott* 4 (3rd s.) (2007) 220 n. 22; R. F. Taft, A History of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom. VI: The Communion, Thanksgiving, and Concluding Rites. Rome 2008, 175, 469, 482, 485, 493, 571, 592, 744, 765, 771, 777–778; Taft – Parenti, Il grande ingresso 258, 293, 326, 330, 333, 371, 414, 423, 461, 494, 502, 505, 534, 620, 649, 709; Parenti, L'anafora di Crisostomo 311, 312, 315, 321, 322, 325, 382, 383, 425, 428, 432, 460.

[482] It is wrongly stated in Dmitrievskij II 205, that the Liturgy of Saint Basil starts on f. 46r. As in the *Galàtone Euchologion* (Duke ms. gr. 19 + 20), f. 46v, and in Vat. Barb. gr. 443, f. 15v, the liturgy begins with the prayer for the catechumens.

[483] In the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts, on f. 52r, we find the *formula di immistione* of the Constantinopolitan type. This same formula is also present in manuscripts Vat. Barb. gr. 443, f. 35r, and Escorial. X.IV.13, f. 7r, while other Salentine Euchologia such as Vat. Ott. gr. 344 preserve the Palestinian version: Ἕνωσις πνεύματος ἁγίου (S. Parenti, Un eucologio poco noto del Salento. El Escorial X.IV.13. *Studi sull'Oriente cristiano* 15 (2011) 160). The Palestinian formula was adopted in reaction to a letter sent by a Patriarch of Constantinople in response to Bishop Paolo of Gallipoli in 1174 (the text of the letter is published in V. Polidori, La lettera patriarcale a Paolo di Gallipoli. *BollGrott* 9 (3rd s.) (2012) 191–220). In his letter, Paolo of Gallipoli asks for clarification on several issues—amongst others, the ways of celebrating the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts. The letter has been preserved along with others in the Euchologion Vat. Ott. gr. 344, which is dated 1177 and contains the various ammendments indicated by the Patriarch. This offers another hint for dating Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 + Sin. gr. NF M 68 + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 in the 12th century, and specifically before 1174. Polidori, however, believes the letter to be a forgery created in Rossano (Polidori, L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto 54 ff. The author plans to publish a monograph on the topic). Finally, with regard to the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts, it is also worth mentioning that ff. 46v–48r feature the prayers for Vespers [1], [2] and [8], according to the numbering system established by Arranz (Arranz, Vêpres byzantines 87 and 113). These same prayers—identically sequenced within the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts—also feature in Vat. Ott. gr. 344 and Vat. Barb. gr. 443.

[484] The Salentine Euchologia display two almost identical prayers (with two different functions) for the presentation of a child in church on the 40th day after birth. The first belongs to the pre-iconoclastic recension, and the second to the new 11th-century recension (Parenti, Un eucologio poco noto del Salento 163 n. 27, with further bibliography; Polidori, L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto 25–27). See also L. Safran, The Medieval Salento: Art and Identity in Southern Italy. Philadelphia 2014, 125–127.

55^{r}–56^{r}	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι κατηχούμενον: *Ἐπὶ τὸ ὀνόματί σου Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ* (Polidori, p. 134 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 31^{v}; Arranz, pp. 172–173; Velkovska – Parenti 114; Goar, p. 275)
56^{r}–57^{r}	*Ἐπιτιμᾷ σοι Κύριος, διάβολε, ὁ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον* (Polidori, p. 135 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 32^{v} with the title ἀφορκισμὸς α΄; Goar, pp. 275–276; Arranz, pp. 174–175)
57^{r}–58^{v}	*Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ φοβερὸς καὶ ἔνδοξος* (Polidori, p. 135 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 33^{v} with the title ἀφορκισμός β΄; Goar, p. 276; Arranz, pp. 175–176)
58^{v}–59^{r}	*Κύριε Σαβαώθ, ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ* (Polidori, p. 136 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 35^{r}; Goar, p. 276; Arranz, p. 177)
59^{rv}	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι κατηχούμενον τὸν πρὸς ὥραν βαπτιζόμενον: *Ὁ ὢν Δέσποτα Κύριε, ὁ ποιήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον* (Polidori, p. 137 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 35^{v}; Goar, p. 276)
59^{v}–60^{r}	*Ἐξέλασον ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πᾶν πονηρὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα* (Polidori, p. 137 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 36^{r}; Goar, p. 277)
60^{rv}	*Καὶ μετὰ τὸ Ἀμήν ἀποδυομένου καὶ ἀπολυομένου τοῦ μέλλοντος βαπτιζομένου* (Polidori, p. 137 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 37^{r})
60^{v}	*Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν προσκάλεσαι τὸν δοῦλόν σου* (Polidori, p. 138 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 37^{v}; Goar, p. 278)
61^{r}–66^{r}	Ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις τῶν βαπτισμάτων: *Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία* (Dmitrievskij II, pp. 208–209; Polidori, p. 138 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 38^{r} ff.)[485]
66^{v}–67^{r}	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἀπολοῦσαι παιδίον τῇ η΄ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ βαπτίσματος αὐτοῦ: *Ὁ λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου σου βαπτίσματος τοῖς δούλοις σου χαρισάμενος* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 70; Polidori, p. 143 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 46^{r}; cf. also Goar, pp. 303–304; Arranz, p. 194)
67^{r}–68^{r}	- Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ τριχοκουρεῦσαι παιδίον (f. 67^{rv}): *Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τῇ σῇ εἰκόνι τιμήσας* (Polidori, p. 222 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 196^{r}; Arranz, p. 196; Goar, p. 306) - ff. 67^{v}–68^{r}: *Σὲ ἱκετεύομεν, Κύριε* ὁ *Θεὸς τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς κολυμβήθρας* (Polidori, p. 223 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 196^{v}; Velkovska – Parenti 208; cf. also Goar, p. 307)
68^{r}–72^{r}	Εὐχαὶ εἰς ἀῤῥώστους[486] - f. 68^{rv}: *Πάτερ ἅγιε, ἰατρὲ ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων* (Polidori, p. 175 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 100^{v}; Velkovska – Parenti 196; Arranz, p. 377; Goar, p. 678) - β΄ (f. 68^{v}): *Ἀγαθὲ καὶ φιλάνθρωπε εὔσπλαγχνε πολυέλεε Κύριε* (Polidori, p. 175 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 101^{r}; Passarelli 190) - γ΄ (ff. 68^{v}–69^{r}): *Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκὸς* (Polidori, p. 176 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 101^{r}; Arranz, p. 309; Goar, p. 433) - δ΄ (f. 69^{r}): *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τὰ χρόνια πάθη λόγῳ θεραπεύσας ὁ τὴν πενθερὰν Πέτρου* (Polidori, p. 176 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 101^{v}; Arranz, Infermi 303) - ε΄ (f. 69^{rv}): *Κύριε παντοκράτορ ἅγιε βασιλεῦ* (Polidori, p. 176 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 102^{r}; Arranz, Infermi 321) - ς΄ (ff. 69^{v}–70^{r}): *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ῥυσάμενος* (Polidori, p. 176 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 102^{v}; Dmitrievskij II, p. 210) - <ζ΄> (f. 70^{rv}): *Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ μόνος δυνατὸς καὶ ἐλεήμων ὁ πάντα οἰκονομῶν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ γένους* (Reminiscent of Velkovska – Parenti 197 and Goar, p. 679) - η΄ (ff. 70^{v}–71^{r}): *Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὁ καλὸς ἰατρὸς* (Polidori, p. 177 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 103^{r}; Dmitrievskij II, pp. 210–211) - Εὐχὴ παρακλητικὴ εἰς ἀῤῥώστους εἰς ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον (Polidori, p. 179 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 106^{v} [with θ΄ as title]; Dmitrievskij II, pp. 211–212)
72^{rv}	Εὐχὴ εἰς ψυχὴν κρινομένην: *Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ πάντας ἀνθρώπους θέλων σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας* (Polidori, p. 180 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 107^{v}; Velkovska – Parenti 214; Goar, p. 587)
72^{v}–73^{r}	Εὐχὴ ἐν κοιμήσει ἱερέως: *Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὅτι σοῦ μόνου τὸ ζῆν ἀθάνατον* (Arranz, p. 311; Goar, p. 452)

485 Within the baptismal rite, on f. 66^{r}, we find instructions for the priest to give the white robe and candle to the neophyte: λάβε στολὴν λαμπρὰν καὶ ἄμωμον […] λάβε ταύτην τὴν λαμπάδα […] (the text is published in Dmitrievskij II 209). This corresponds to the Latin: *accipe vestem candidam et immaculatam […] accipe hanc lampadam* (A. Strittmatter, Liturgical Latinisms in a Twelfth-Century Greek Euchology (Ott. gr. 344), in: Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati III: Letteratura e storia bizantina. Vatican City 1946, 57–58). According to Parenti, Un eucologio poco noto del Salento 158, this formula of clearly western origin entered the Salentine Euchologia at the end of the 12th century. It is also attested in Vat. Ott. gr. 344 (see Polidori, L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto 66), Vat. Barb. gr. 443, Vat. gr. 2324 (Diktyon 68955), and Florence, Ricc. 82 (Diktyon 17081). In manuscript Escorial. X.IV.13, the instructions are added in the upper margins of ff. 46^{v} and 47^{r} by a later hand and, according to Parenti, this attests that it is older than the other Euchologia, which have the formula inserted in the main text. See also Safran, The Medieval Salento 123–125.

486 On these prayers in general see Arranz, Infermi.

73^{r}	Εὐχὴ ἐν κοιμήσει νηπίου: *Ὁ φυλάσσων τὰ νήπια Κύριε* (Polidori, p. 181 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 109^{v}; Arranz, p. 313; Goar, p. 478)
73^{r}	Εὐχὴ ἐν κοιμήσει διακόνου[487]
73^{v}–77^{r}	Ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις τῶν ἁγίων Θεοφανίων: *Μετὰ τὸ ἀπολῦσαι τῆς θείας λειτουργίας* (Dmitrievskij II, pp. 212–213; cf. Polidori, pp. 156–159 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, ff. 67^{r}–72^{v})
77^{r}–78^{v}	Ἀκολουθία εἰς υἱοθετοῦντας: *Προσκαλεῖται ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸν μέλλοντα υἱοθετῆσαι* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 213; Polidori, pp. 213–215 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, ff. 175^{v}–177^{v}; Goar, p. 561)
78^{v}–79^{v}	Ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις εἰς μνῆστρα: *Δεῖ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἐὰν ἐστίν εὐλόγημα καὶ στεφάνωμα* (Dmitrievskij II, pp. 213–214; Polidori, pp. 215–216 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, ff. 177^{v}–179^{r})[488]
79^{v}–81^{v}	Ἀκολουθία εἰς γάμους: *Προσέρχονται οἱ μέλλοντες στεφανωθῆναι τῷ ἱερεῖ* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 214; Polidori, pp. 216–218 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, ff. 179^{r}–190^{r})[489]
81^{v}–82^{r}	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ αἴρειν τὰ στέφανια: *Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς εὐλογίᾳ σου* (Polidori, p. 218 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 189^{v} with the title Εὐχὴ λεγομένη εἰς τὸν νυμφῶνα; Goar, p. 326)
82^{rv}	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ διγάμων: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ φίλον καλέσας* (Polidori, p. 218 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 190^{r}; Arranz, p. 332)
82^{v}–84^{v}	Ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις εἰς ἀδελφοποίησιν: *Προσέρχονται οἱ μέλλοντες ἀδελφοὶ γενέσθαι τῷ ἱερεῖ* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 215; Goar, p. 708)[490] - f. 83^{rv}: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα σὴν* (Velkovska – Parenti 211; Goar, p. 708) - f. 83^{v}: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ πάντα πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἡμῖν χαρισάμενος καὶ ἐντειλάμενος ἡμῖν ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλοις* (Goar, p. 707. Cf. also Arranz, p. 355) - f. 84^{r}: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ διὰ τῆς ἀφάτου* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 215) - f. 84^{rv}: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἐνδοξαζόμενος ἐν βουλῇ ἁγίων* (Passarelli 207 Dmitrievskij II, p. 215) - f. 84^{v}: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν καὶ τὰ ταπεινὰ ἐφορῶν* (Goar, p. 708)
85^{r}–95^{v}	Ἀκολουθία τῆς γονυκλισίας τῆς ἁγίας Πεντηκοστῆς: *Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία* (Dmitrievskij II, pp. 216–217; Polidori, p. 147 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 52^{r} ff.; Goar, p. 597 ff.)[491]

[487] Only the title of this prayer is present at the end of f. 73^{r}. No text follows and there is no empty space.

[488] The betrothal and the nuptial rites in use at Otranto have peculiar characteristics: see in general G. Passarelli, Stato della ricerca sul formulario dei riti matrimoniali, in: Studi bizantini e neogreci. Atti del IV Congresso nazionale di studi (Lecce, 21–23 aprile 1980; Calimera, 24 aprile 1980). Galatina 1983, 241–248; M. Petta, Ufficiatura del fidanzamento e del matrimonio in alcuni eucologi otrantini, in Familiare '82. Studi offerti per le nozze d'argento a R. Jurlano e N. Ditonno. Brindisi 1982, 95–104 (this provides an Italian translation of the akolouthia on the basis of manuscript Sin. gr. 966); G. Radle, The History of Nuptial Rites in the Byzantine Periphery. Doctoral Thesis. Pontificio Istituto Orientale. Rome 2012. For a useful summary, see Polidori, L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto 22–24. In Sin. gr. 966 the initial rubrics of the betrothal rite display all the typical Salentine features, with, for example, on f. 78^{v} the preparation of the sideboard (σελλίν) with a cloth (ματσιπίδιον) for the placement of the Gospel, and the placing of the rings and a gift (τὰ μνῆστρα) from the groom to the bride on the Gospel (and not on the altar as in Constantinople). See also Safran, The Medieval Salento 128–132.

[489] Peculiar to the Salentine nuptial rite and also to Sin. gr. 966 is the fact that the groom wears a sword during the ceremony (f. 80^{r}: εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνὴρ λαϊκός ζώννει αὐτῷ σπαθήν. Cf. also G. Radle, The Rite of Marriage in the Archimedes Euchology & Sinai gr. 973 (a. 1152/3). *Scripta & e-Scripta* 12 (2013) 190 n. 12) and that, as in the Calabrian rite, the coronation of the couple takes place after the Constantinopolitan prayers (namely *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος ὁ πλάσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον* and *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῇ σωτηριώδει*), making use of a Calabrian formula of Alexandrian origin (f. 81^{r}: Ὁ πατὴρ στεφανοῖ, ὁ υἱὸς εὐλογεῖ, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἁγιάζει), which is also found in Escorial. X.IV.13, f. 41^{r} (on this cf. also Polidori, L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto 36 n. 76).

[490] The structure of the adelphopoiesis rite and its rubrics are typically Salentine. Identical rubrics can be found in Escorial. X.IV.13, ff. 48^{v}–50^{v} (Parenti, Un eucologio poco noto del Salento 163; Polidori, L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto 30, 36). The akolouthia contains prayers A, B, K, C and I, according to Rapp's classification (Rapp, Brother-Making 67, 288). While prayers A and B are very common, prayers K, C and I are attested almost exclusively in Southern-Italian Euchologia. In particular, beyond Sin. gr. 966, prayer C can only be found in the 10th-century manuscript Crypt. Γ.β. VII, and prayer K occurs elsewhere only in the 12th-century Escorial. X.IV.13. Moreover, the εἰρήνη ὑμῖν before the second prayer (f. 83^{v}) is reminiscent of the Latin *pax vobis*. The pattern is the same in Escorial. X.IV.13 (Parenti, Un eucologio poco noto del Salento 169).

[491] In the Vespers of the Gonyklisia of Pentecost, the concluding formula of eastern origin (Parenti, Un eucologio poco noto del Salento 162 n. 25) Ἔλεον, εἰρήνην καὶ ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν (on f. 95^{v} of Sin. gr. 966, with the corrupted form εἰρήνης later corrected in εἰρήνην) is typical of that found in Salentine Euchologia (Polidori, L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto 24). Moreover, as with other Salentine liturgical books (i.e. the Tetraevangelion of the second half of the 12th century, Vat. Barb. gr. 520 [Diktyon 65063]), a special Gospel reading for the Vespers of Gonyklisia was prescribed, namely John 20:19–36 (*inc.*: Οὔσης ὀψίας). In the case of Sin. gr. 966, this is found on f. 85^{r}. On this see E. Velkovska, Lo studio dei lezionari bizantini. *Ecclesia Orans* (1996)

95^{v}–97^{v}	Ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις, γινομένη ἐπὶ μιαροῦ, πίπτοντος εἰς πηγὴν ὕδατος: *Χρὴ πρῶτον ἀντλῆσαι κάδους ιε΄ καὶ ἐκχέεσθαι* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 217; Polidori, pp. 144–146 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, ff. 47^{v}–49^{v}; Goar, p. 480)
97^{v}–99^{r}	Τάξις γινομένη εἰ συμβῇ μιαρὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον προσφάτως ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς ἀγγεῖον οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου: *Χρὴ ἐπαίρειν αὐτὸ τὸ ἐμπεσὸν ἀκάθαρτον* (Dmitrievskij II, pp. 217–218; Polidori, pp. 146–147 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, ff. 50^{r}–51^{v})
99^{r}	Εὐχὴ εἰς ἀγγεῖον μιανθέν: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τῷ Πέτρῳ εἰπών· τὰ ἐν τῇ ὀθόνῃ ὄντα μιαρὰ καὶ ἀκάθαρτα πάντα καθαρὰ εἶναι* (cf. Dmitrievskij II, p. 117 = Sin. gr. 973, f. 103^{v})
99^{r}	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ θεμέλιον οἰκίας: *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος, ὁ εὐλογήσας τὴν σκηνὴν Ἀβραὰμ* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 218; Polidori, p. 202 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 131^{v})[492]
99^{rv}	Εὐχὴ ἐν εἰσόδῳ οἴκου νέου: *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν ὁ καταξιώσας ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν Ζακχαίου* (Polidori, p. 203 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 132^{r}; Passarelli 265; Velkovska – Parenti 183; Goar, p. 484)
99^{v}–100^{r}	Εὐχὴ εἰς ἀπαρχὴν σπόρου: *Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ Πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε τὸν σπόρον* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 218; Polidori, p. 203 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 132^{r})
100^{r}	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ θέρους: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ διὰ πολλήν σου εὐσπλαχνίαν ἀγαγὼν ἡμᾶς* (Polidori, p. 203 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 132^{v}; Velkovska – Parenti 219; Goar, p. 524)
100^{v}–101^{r}	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἀμπέλου φυτευομένης: *Σὺ εἶ, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἡ ἄμπελος ἡ ἀληθινὴ καὶ ὁ Πατήρ σου ὁ γεωργός ἐστιν* (Polidori, p. 200 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 128^{r}; cf. also Arranz, p. 392 and Passarelli 220)
101^{r}	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τρύγης: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἡ ζωηφόρος ἄμπελος* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 219)
101^{rv}	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι σταφύλην: *Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ εὐδοκήσας ἄμπελον κληθῆναι* (Velkovska – Parenti 177 with the title Εὐχὴ γινομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου ὅτε πρὸς συνήθη ἐπιτελεῖ τὴν τρύγην ὁ βασιλεύς)
101^{v}	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι οἶνον νέον: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, σοῦ δεόμεθα καὶ σὲ παρακαλοῦμεν* (Dmitrievskij II, p. 219; Polidori, p. 201 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 129^{r})[493]
101^{v}–102^{r}	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τῶν προσφερόντων ἀπαρχὰς καρπῶν νέων: *Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι Κύριε ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπαρχῇ καρπῶν νέων τῶν προσφερόντων* (Reminiscent of Polidori, p. 201 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 129^{r}; Velkovska – Parenti 235; Goar, p. 522)
102^{r}	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ καρποφορούντων καὶ καμπανισμάτων: *Πηγὴ τῶν ἀγαθῶν Δέσποτα βασιλεῦ καὶ εὐεργέτα τῶν σῶν ποιημάτων* (Polidori, p. 201 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 129^{v}; Velkovska – Parenti 218; Goar, p. 523)[494]
102^{rv}	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι βάια: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ Χερουβὶμ ὁ ἐξεγείρας τὴν δυναστείαν σου* (Goar, p. 589)[495]
Section III (quire C1)	
C1^{r}	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι τυρὸν καὶ ὠά: *Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ κτίστης* (Polidori, p. 202 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 131^{r})
C1^{r}	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι κρέας: *Ἐπίσκεψαι Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν εἰς ταῦτα τὰ ἐδέσματα τῶν κρεῶν καὶ ἁγίασον αὐτὰ καθὼς ἁγιάσαι κατηξίωσας τὸν ἀρνὸν ὄνπερ Ἄβελ* (Polidori, p. 202 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 131^{rv})
C1^{rv}	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι τὸν ἀμνὸν τοῦ Πάσχα: *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος ὁ διὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου σου Μωσέως ἐντειλάμενος τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ ἐν αἵματι ψυχῆς μὴ ἐσθίειν πᾶν ζῷον, ὅτι παντὸς κτή|νους ἡ ψυχὴ σὺν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐξέρχεται. Αὐτὸς οὖν Δέσποτα τῶν ἁπάντων· εὐλόγησον διὰ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν ἀμνὸν ὃν ἐδωρήσω τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν αἵματος· καὶ ἀκατακρίτως ἡμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ εὐδόκησον, ἐν τῇ σωτηρίῳ ἐγέρσει τοῦ μονογενοῦς Υἱοῦ, Κυρίου δὲ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· δοξάζοντας τὸ πανάγιον ὄνομά σου τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ*[496]

268–270; S. Parenti, Tipologie dei libri liturgici greci del Salento. *Rudiae. Ricerche sul mondo classico* n.s. 3 (2017) 60 n. 101; Polidori, L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto 36 n. 75.

492 This same prayer is also extant in the Salentine Euchologion Escorial. X.IV.13, on f. 85^{r}.

493 This is a Salentine prayer. Cf. Polidori, L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto 37, and S. Parenti, Il vino nella liturgia bizantina, in: La civiltà del vino. Fonti, temi e produzioni vitivinicole dal Medioevo al Novecento. Atti del convegno (Monticelli Brusati, Antica Fratta, 5–6 ottobre 2001), ed. G. Archetti. Brescia 2003, 462.

494 The Euchologia written in Salento contain a peculiar version of the kampanismos prayer (or weighing prayer), that in addition to Sin. gr. 966 is attested—for instance—in Vat. Barb. gr. 336, Petropol. gr. 226 [*olim* Granstrem 112], Vat. Ott. gr. 344, and the *Galàtone Euchologion* (Duke ms. gr. 19 + 20). On this, see A. 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, 230; Polidori, L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto 25.

495 According to Parenti, Tipologie 99 n. 347, this prayer comes from Jerusalem (it is found on f. 102^{v}, the last folio of the manuscript).

496 This hitherto unedited prayer is also extant in manuscript Vat. Barb. gr. 443, ff. 71^{v}–72^{r}. It is not attested in printed Euchologia, nor mentioned in D. Galadza, Prayers and Blessings for Holy Week in the 'Occasional Prayers' of the Byzantine Euchologion. *Studia Patristica* 108 (2021) 33–54.

C1^{v}–C6^{v}	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ χειμαζομένους ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου καὶ πνευματοδιώκτου: *Ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἀκάθαρτα τὰ πνεύματα τὰ πονηρὰ τὸ γένος τὸ ἀναιδὲς τὸ ἀναίσχυντον ἡ ῥίζα τῆς πλάνης* (Polidori, p. 197 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, ff. 121^{r}–128^{r})
C6^{v}–C8^{v}	Ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις τοῦ ὄρθρου[497] - Εὐχὴ α΄ (f. C7^{r}): *Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν τῷ ἐξαναστήσαντι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν κοιτῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐμβαλόντι εἰς τὸ στόμα ἡμῶν λόγον αἰνέσεως* (Arranz, p. 88; Goar, p. 39) - Εὐχὴ τοῦ Ν΄ (f. C7^{r}): *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τὴν τοῦ ὕπνου ῥαθυμίαν διασκεδάσας ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν διὰ μετανοίας ἄφεσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δωρησάμενος* (reminescent of Arranz, p. 94; Polidori, p. 190 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 182^{v}) - f. C7^{v}: *Ἐκ νυκτὸς ὀρθρίζει τὸ πνεῦμα ἡμῶν πρὸς σὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν διότι φῶς τὰ προστάγματά σου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἁγιασμὸν ἐπιτελεῖν ἐν τῷ φόβῳ σου συνέτισον ἡμᾶς* (Goar, p. 39; Arranz, p. 88 with the title εὐχὴ β΄) - Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου γ΄ (f. C8^{r}): *Ἐκ νυκτὸς ὀρθρίζει τὸ πνεῦμα ἡμῶν πρὸς σὲ ὁ Θεὸς διότι φῶς τὰ σὰ προστάγματα ... τὰς ἐντολάς σου. δίδαξον ἡμᾶς τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου* (Goar, p. 40; Arranz, p. 89 with the title εὐχὴ γ΄) - Εὐχὴ ἑωθινὴ δ΄ (f. C8^{v}): *Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἀκατάληπτος ὁ εἰπὼν ἐκ σκότους φῶς λάμψαι· ὁ ἀναπαύσας ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ τῆς νυκτὸς ὕπνῳ καὶ διαναστήσας πρὸς δοξολογίαν καὶ ἱκεσίαν τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος* (Arranz, p. 90)
[Lacuna][498]	
Section IV (quire B1)	
B1^{r}–B3^{v}	- f. B1^{r}, *inc. mut.*: | *συγχώρησον ἐὰν γὰρ ἀνομίας* (Arranz, p. 92; Goar, p. 41)[499] - Εὐχὴ ἑωθινὴ η΄ (f. B1^{r}): *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τὴν τοῦ ὕπνου ῥαθυμίαν* (Arranz, p. 93; Goar, p. 41) - Unknown prayer (f. B1^{v} *inc. mut.*): | *]αστεια τοῦ τ[ ]τοὺς δουλεύοντάς[*± 10*]ορας ἐξ ἧ με... εἰς τὸ εὐαγγελίζεσθαι τὸ σωτήριόν σου· καὶ εὐαρέστω σοι πολιτεύεσθαι Κύριε Κύριε ὁ τῶν ταπεινῶν βοηθὸς· καὶ τῶν ἀσθενούντων ἀντιλήπτωρ· ὁ τῶν ἀπεγνωσμένων σκεπαστής* (Judith 9:11)*· καὶ τῶν ἀπελπισμένων σωτήρ· σὺ εἶ ὁ πτωχοὺς πλουτίζων· καὶ πένητας ἀνυψῶν· συντετριμμένους ἰώμενος· πεπλανημένους ἐπιστρέφων· καὶ κοιμωμένους ἁμαρτίας καθαρίζων· καὶ σοῦ δεόμεθα· ἁγιάσοντας ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος· εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι ἀξίους τοῦ ἐπικαλεῖσθαί σε· καὶ πάντα τὸν λαόν σου κραταίωσον· εἰς τὸ ἀντιστῆναι ταῖς μεθοδείαις τοῦ πονηροῦ· ἔνθες εἰς τὰς καρδίας τὸν φόβον τῶν προσταγμάτων σου π..θον δικαιοσύνης σου ἐλπίδας [ ]* (f. B2^{r} *inc. mut.*): | *]εργω[ ]ως σου πάντες κ[*± 5*]νο[*± 5*]τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐσ[μ]ὲν· σὺ γὰρ μόνος Θεός[*± 4*]ον καταιγίδας πειρασμὸν· καὶ πᾶσιν χαρίσμασιν κατὰ κοσμῶν ἡμᾶς + ἐκφώνησις· ὅτι Θεὸς ἐλέους οἰκτιρμῶν* - Εὐχὴ ἑωθινὴ ια΄ εἰς τοὺς αἴνους (f. B2^{r}): *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τὰς νοερὰς καὶ λογικὰς ὑποστησάμενος* (Goar, p. 42; Arranz, p. 95 with the title εὐχὴ ι΄ εἰς τοὺς αἴνους) - f. B2^{v}, *inc. mut.*: *<Αἰνοῦμεν καὶ ὑμνοῦμεν καὶ εὐλογοῦμεν> [...] <ἱλάσ>θητι ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν* (Arranz, p. 98 with the title εὐχὴ δ΄ ἢ τῆς ἀπολύσεως; Goar, p. 42) - f. B3^{r}: *Κύριε ἅγιε, ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν καὶ τῷ παντεφόρῳ σου ὄμματι ἐπιβλέπων ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν* (Arranz, p. 99; Goar, p. 44) - f. B3^{v}: *Ὄρθρον εἰρηνικὸν καὶ ἡμέραν ἀναμάρτητον* (Polidori, p. 194 = Vat. Ott. gr. 344, f. 117^{v})[500]
B3^{v}–B6^{v}	Εὐχαὶ καὶ διάταξις τοῦ ἑσπερινοῦ[501] - f. B3^{v}: *Κύριε οἰκτίρμον, καὶ ἐλεῆμον* (Arranz, p. 66; Goar, p. 28) - Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου β΄ (f. B4^{r}): *Κύριε, μὴ τῷ θυμῷ σου ἐλέγξῃς ἡμᾶς* (Arranz, p. 66; Goar, p. 28) - f. B4^{v}: *Ἑσπέρας καὶ πρωὶ καὶ μεσημβρίας αἰνοῦμεν εὐλογοῦμεν εὐχαριστοῦμεν* (Arranz, p. 69 with the title εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου η΄: πρὸ τοῦ Κύριε ἐκέκραξα; Goar, p. 31 with the title εὐχὴ τῆς εἰσόδου) - f. B5^{r}: *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ ὕψιστος ὁ μόνος ἔχων ἀθανασίαν* (Arranz, p. 74 with the title εὐχὴ γ΄ ἡ τῆς ἀπολύσεως; Goar, pp. 29–30 with the title εὐχὴ ζ΄) - f. B6^{v}: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ κλίνας οὐρανούς* (Arranz, p. 76; Goar, p. 32)

497 The folia C6^{v}–C8^{v} contain five prayers for Matins. With reference to Arranz's numerical ordering, the sequence is [1], [10], [2], [3], [4]. Arranz, Matines byzantines I 27.

498 There is a folio missing before the beginning of section IV. This probably contained prayers [5], [6], and the beginning of prayer [7] for Matins (Arranz, Matines byzantines I 27) and originally belonged to Sin. gr. NF M 68. In fact, it seems clear that the ternio that nowadays constitutes Sin. gr. NF M 68 was originally a quaternio, like all the other regular quires of the Euchologion Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 + Sin. gr. NF M 68 + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98.

499 Sin. gr. NF M 68 contains six prayers for Matins, one of which, to the best of my knowledge, is unknown. It is transcribed here for the first time. The sequence according to Arranz's numerical ordering is [7, *inc. mut.*], [8], [unknown prayer], [11], [12], [13]. Arranz, Matines byzantines I 27.

500 This concluding prayer of the Matins is typically Salentine. It is also attested, for instance, in the Salentine manuscripts Vat. Barb. gr. 443, f. 110^{r}, and Escorial. X.IV.1367, f. 54^{v}. Cf. Parenti, Un eucologio poco noto del Salento 162; V. Polidori, La Liturgia Bizantina nel Salento del XII secolo (Excerpta ex Dissertatione ad Doctoratum). Pontificio Istituto Orientale. Rome 2013, 25.

501 According to Arranz's numbering, the prayers for Vespers are sequenced [1], [2], [8], [7], [9] (Arranz, Vêpres byzantines 87 and 113). This corresponds to type L (*trois antiphones*), to which other Otrantan manuscripts such as Vat. Ott. gr. 344, Vat. Barb. gr. 443, and the *Galàtone Euchologion* (Duke ms. gr. 19 + 20) also belong. Arranz was not aware of Sin. gr. NF M 68 and of the prayers for

B6^{v}	[…] εἰς διαφόρους ἁγίους καὶ μάρτυρας[502]
[Lacuna]	
Section V (quire A1)	
A1^{rv}	- 1 Thessalonians, 4:16–17 (*inc. mut.*: <*ἐν φων*>*ῇ ἀρχαγγέλου καὶ ἐν σάλπιγγι Θεοῦ*)[503] - John 5:24–30
A1^{v}–A8^{v}	Εὐαγγέλια ἑωθινὰ τῶν ια΄ ἐξαποστειλαρίων (*des. mut.* at John 21:8): *οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι μαθηταὶ τῷ πλοιαρίῳ ἦλθον, οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν* ‖[504]
[Lacuna]	

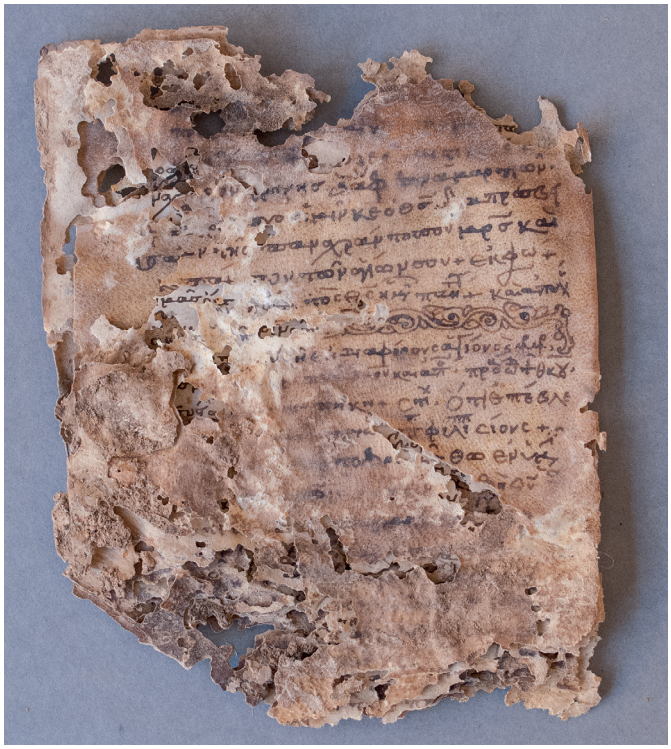


Figure 105 – f. B6^{v}: beginning of the akolouthia (?) with Apostle and Gospel readings for various saints and martyrs (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Vespers it contained, but he included Sin. gr. 966 in his study and designated it type L because of the presence of prayers [1], [2] and [8] in the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts. The same prayers occur in this same order within the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts likewise in Vat. Ott. gr. 344 and Vat. Barb. gr. 443.

502 The lower part of the folio is too damaged to be legible (see above **Figure 105**). It likely contained the beginning of an akolouthia with Apostle and Gospel readings for various saints and martyrs finishing on f. A1^{v}, which can be compared with the Lectionary section of Sin. gr. 962 (ff. 172^{r}–202^{v}), and with a very similar section of the Salentine *Galàtone Euchologion* (Duke ms. gr. 19 + 20) beginning ἀκολουθεία (*sic*) τῶν ἁγίων (f. 214^{r}), and also with Vat. Ott. gr. 344 beginning on f. 197^{v} ἀπόστολοι καὶ εὐαγγέλια ἀναγινωσκόμενα εἰς τὰς μνήμας τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου, τῶν ἀσωμάτων, εἰς προφήτας, εἰς ἀποστόλους, καὶ εἰς λοιποὺς ἁγίους, ἔτι μὴν καὶ εἰς ἀσθενοῦντας καὶ ἀναπαύσιμα (Polidori, L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto 224). It is probable that one quire (or a maximum of two), plus the last folio of quire B1 are missing after f. B6.

503 According to Gregory, Textkritik I 385, the readings 1 Thessalonians 4:13–17 and John 5:24–30 are respectively Apostle and Gospel readings for the dead (εἰς κοιμηθέντας). Sin. gr. 962 contains at its very end (ff. 200^{v}–202^{v}, in the Lectionary part of the codex) these same two readings. They carry the title ἀπόστολος εἰς κοιμηθέντας and εὐαγγέλιον εἰς κοιμηθέντας. Vat. Ott. gr. 344 and the *Galàtone Euchologion* (Duke ms. gr. 19 + 20) contain these same readings (entitled εἰς κοιμηθέντας)—the first on ff. 208^{r}–209^{r} (cf. Polidori, L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto 230–231), and the second on ff. 233^{r}–234^{v}. They are located at the end of the Apostle and Gospel readings for various occasions. As in Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 + Sin. gr. NF M 68 + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98, and likewise in Vat. Ott. gr. 344 and in the *Galàtone Euchologion*, after the Apostle and Gospel readings for the dead there follow the eleven Resurrectional Gospels.

504 Quire A1 preserves ten of the eleven Resurrectional Gospels Exaposteilaria. The quire ends in the middle of the tenth Gospel (which ought to be John 21:1–14), at John 21:8.

Occasional Prayers

In Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C] the occasional prayers are not listed under a specific title. However, a closer look at the folia reveals that the title of the prayer for the foundation of a house (Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ θεμέλιον οἰκίας) on f. 99^{r} of Sin. gr. 966 is preceded by a cross and followed by a decoration in the margin (**Figure 106**). These two peculiarities (cross and decoration) are not repeated for the occasional prayers that follow. It seems to me distinctly plausible, therefore, that the section of the occasional prayers begins at this point and continues on until the end of Sin. gr. 966 (f. 102^{v}), and then picks up again on f. C1^{rv} of Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C]. There is no decorative line or bar at the end of the occasional prayers, but the non-occasional prayer that follows on f. C1^{v} (Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ χειμαζομένους ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου καὶ πνευματοδιώκτου) is accompanied by a decoration in the margin (**Figure 107**) that could be intended to mark a new section.

The surviving section of occasional prayers occupies five folia, or ten pages of the manuscript (ff. 99^{r}–102^{v} of Sin. gr. 966, and f. C1^{rv} of Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C]), and includes a total of fourteen prayers. They are located after the *ordo* for the purification of oil and wine (Τάξις γινομένη εἰ συμβῇ μιαρὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον προσφάτως ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς ἀγγεῖον οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου), and before an exorcism prayer against impure spirits (Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ χειμαζομένους ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων). Most of these prayers deal with agriculture or are connected to Easter.

Only one prayer is not attested in the printed editions of Euchologia and was therefore transcribed in the table above. This is the prayer for blessing the Easter lamb (Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι τὸν ἀμνὸν τοῦ Πάσχα). Moreover, it is worth underlining a couple of peculiarities. Ten of the fourteen prayers also appear with an identical text in the Salentine manuscript Vat. Ott. gr. 344.[505] 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 Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C].

Occasional prayers in + Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C]	**Position in Sin. gr. 966 + *membra disiecta***	**Position in Vat. Ott. gr. 344[506]**
Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ θεμέλιον οἰκίας: *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος, ὁ εὐλογήσας τὴν σκηνὴν Ἀβραὰμ*	1 (99^{r})	10 (f. 131^{v})
Εὐχὴ ἐν εἰσόδῳ οἴκου νέου: *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν ὁ καταξιώσας ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν Ζακχαίου*	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 παρακαλοῦμέν σε τὸν σπόρον*	3 (99^{v}–100^{r})	12 (f. 132^{rv})
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, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἡ ἄμπελος ἡ ἀληθινὴ καὶ ὁ Πατήρ σου ὁ γεωργός ἐστιν*	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 εὐδοκήσας ἄμπελον κληθῆναι* (Velkovska – Parenti 177 with the title Εὐχὴ γινομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου ὅτε πρὸς συνήθη ἐπιτελεῖ τὴν τρύγην ὁ βασιλεύς)	7 (101^{rv})	Missing in this version
Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι 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 Θεός 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})

[505] Edition by Polidori, L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto.
[506] Cf. Polidori, L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto 52.

Occasional prayers in + Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C]	**Position in Sin. gr. 966 + *membra disiecta***	**Position in Vat. Ott. gr. 344[506]**
Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι βάια: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ Χερουβὶμ ὁ ἐξεγείρας τὴν δυναστείαν σου* (Goar, p. 589)	11 (102^{rv})	Missing in this version
Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι τυρὸν καὶ ὠά: *Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ κτίστης*	12 (C1^{r})	8 (f. 131^{r})
Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι κρέας: *Ἐπίσκεψαι Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν εἰς ταῦτα τὰ ἐδέσματα τῶν κρεῶν καὶ ἁγίασον αὐτὰ καθὼς ἁγιάσαι κατηξίωσας τὸν ἀρνὸν ὅνπερ Ἄβελ*	13 (C1^{r})	9 (f. 131^{rv})
Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι τὸν ἀμνὸν τοῦ Πάσχα: *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος ὁ διὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου σου Μωσέως ἐντειλάμενος*	14 (C1^{rv})	Missing in this version

As the table above 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. Ott. gr. 344. The same is true for the next prayers for agriculture (numbers 5–10 in Sin. gr. 966, i.e. for wine, for new fruit, and for καμπανισμός): they feature in the Ottobonianus in the same order, but at the beginning of the occasional prayers section (numbers 1–5). It is noteworthy that prayers 6 and 7 of the Sinaiticus (for gathering grapes, and for blessing the same) are missing from the Vatican codex. Instead, 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 Coisl. 213 (Arranz, p. 393). 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,[507] the two prayers for the blessing of palms in Vat. Ott. gr. 344 (ff. 164^{v}–165^{v}) are Greek versions of Latin prayers.[508] Further occasional prayers connected to Easter are extant in Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C], f. C1^{rv}. Numbers 12–13 (for blessing cheese and eggs, as well as for blessing meat) also appear in the Ottobonianus in the same order and in a similar position (numbers 8–9). The fourth prayer connected to Easter featuring in Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C], namely a prayer for blessing the Easter lamb, is not present in the Vatican manuscript or in any Euchologia edition.

Beyond being preserved in a similar order in other Salentine manuscripts, a number of prayers also display peculiarly Salentine characteristics. For instance, Stefano Parenti has pointed out that the prayer for blessing new wine represents a specific Salentine redaction (Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ εὐλογῆσαι οἶνον νέον: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, σοῦ δεόμεθα καὶ σὲ παρακαλοῦμεν*).[509] Moreoever, the kampanismos prayer reflects the Salentine version and purpose of the rite.[510] 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).[511]

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[507] Parenti, Tipologie 99 n. 347.

[508] Polidori, L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto 65; Strittmatter, Liturgical Latinisms 45–54.

[509] Cf. Parenti, Il vino 462, and Polidori, L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto 37.

[510] In addition to Sin. gr. 966 this prayer is attested—for instance—in the Salentine codices Vat. Barb. gr. 443, Vat. Ott. gr. 344, and the *Galàtone Euchologion* (Duke ms. gr. 19 + 20).

[511] On this rite see Jacob, Le rite du καμπανισμός 230; Safran, The Medieval Salento 148–150; Polidori, L'Eucologio della Grande Chiesa di Otranto 25.



Figure 106 – f. 99r, marginal decoration and cross marking the beginning of the occasional prayers' section
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

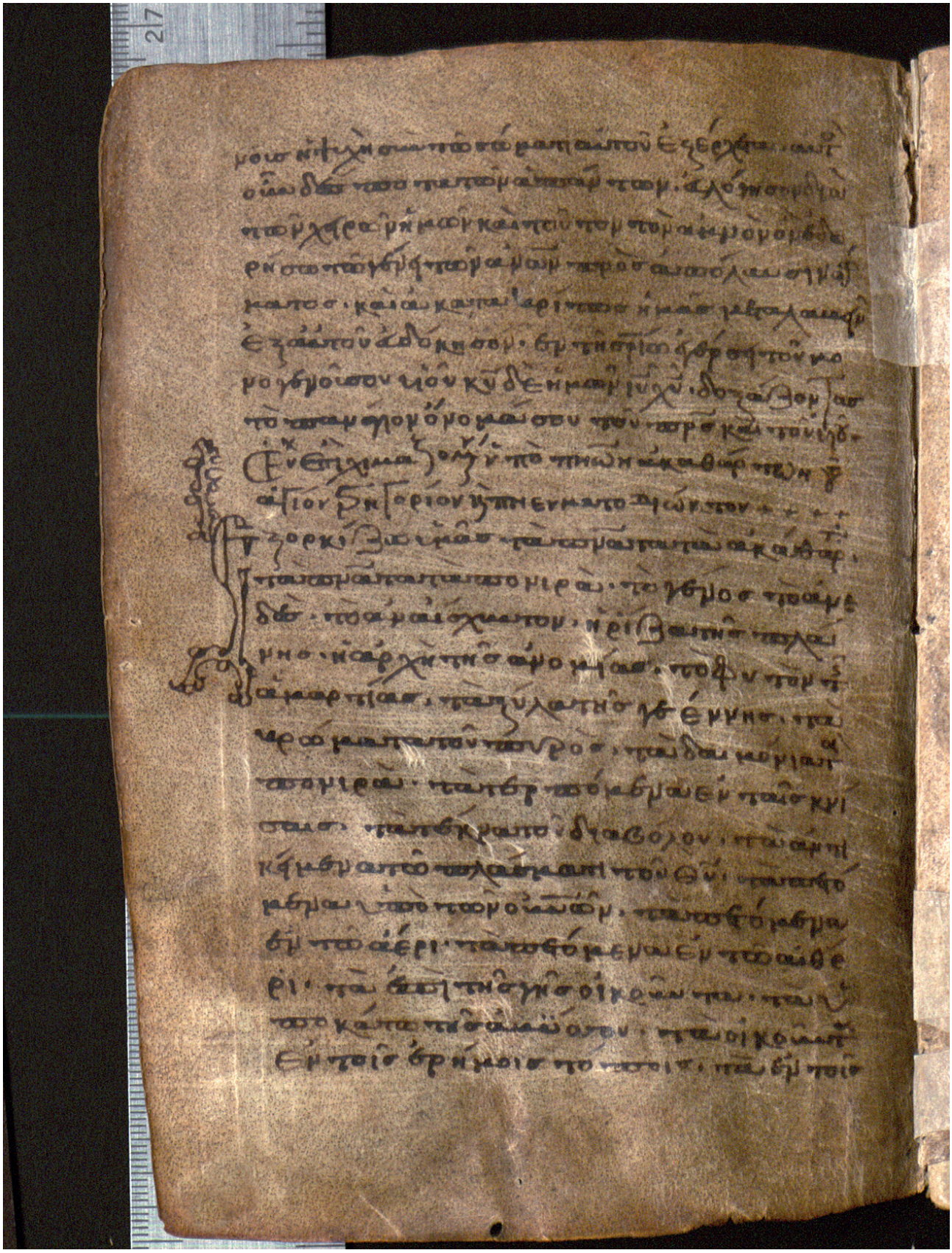


Figure 107 – f. C1ᵛ, marginal decoration at the beginning of the Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ χειμαζομένους ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου καὶ πνευματοδιώκτου, after the end of the section of occasional prayers
(© Bryn Mawr College Special Collections, Single Leaf Manuscripts Collection, 2012.11.98 [Prayer book excerpt])

SCRIPTIONES INFERIORES

The presence of palimpsest folia in Sin. gr. 966 was recorded for the first time by Kapustin in his unpublished 1870 catalogue (see above **Figure 86**), while Gardthausen made no such observation.[512] Dmitrievskij noted the presence of rewritten folia in Sin. gr. 966, but gave no further details.[513] More recently, Arnesano recorded the Euchologion in his list of Salentine palimpsests, but again without giving any information about the content of the lower layers.[514]

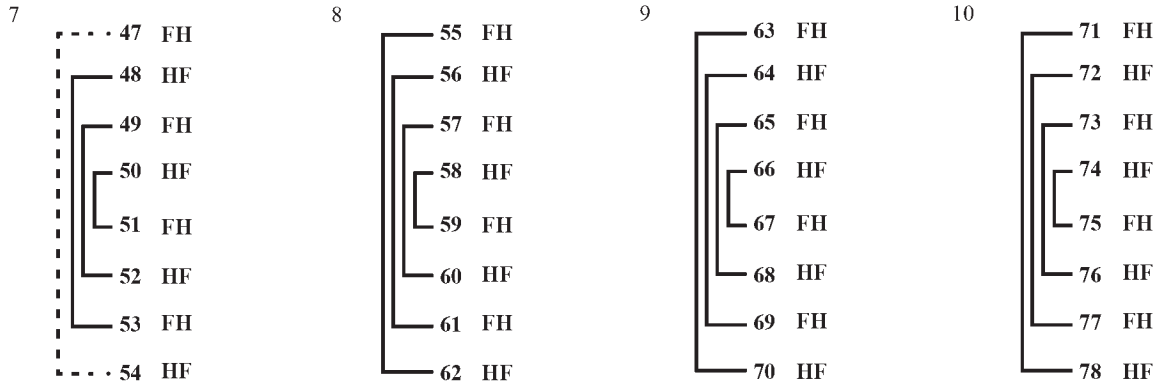
That Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] contains palimpsest folia was recorded by Nikolopoulos.[515] For the time being no processed images are available for these folia, since the manuscript was not included in the *Sinai Palimpsests Project*. The work on its erased texts is therefore provisional, having been carried out onsite with the help of an ultraviolet flashlight. If multispectral imaging is applied to these quires in the future, it will be possible to identify more text.

In total, 64 folia of Sin. gr. 966 and its *disiecta membra* are palimpsest: 56 folia of Sin. gr. 966—namely ff. 47^{r}–102^{v} (corresponding to Quires 7–13)[516]—and all eight folia of Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A]. Twelve of the 56 rewritten folia of Sin. gr. 966—namely ff. 56, 61, 80, 81, 84, 85, 89, 92, 95, 96, 101, 102—are double palimpsest (*bis rescripti*), as well as f. A7 of Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A]. The Euchologion quire of Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] and Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C] do not contain palimpsest folia.

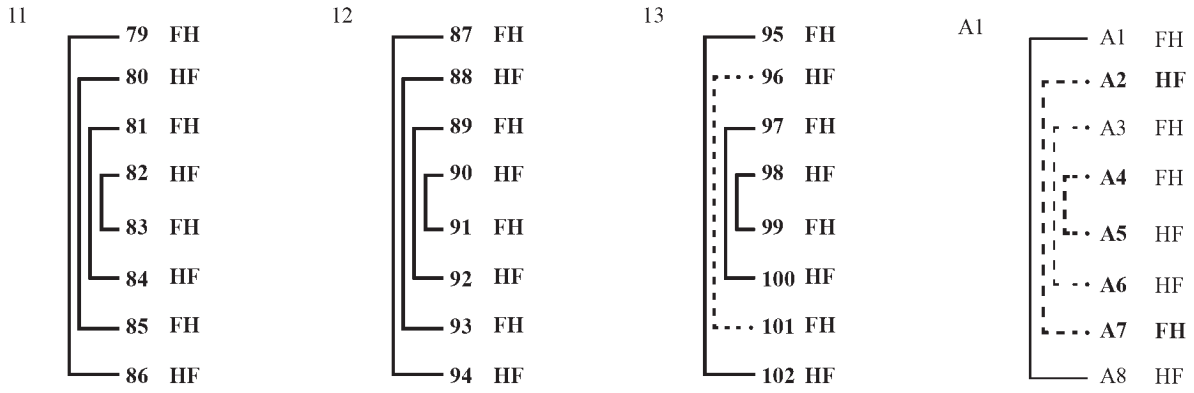
In assembling the Euchologion, folia from three original manuscripts (one of them *bis rescriptus*) were used: **1.** (Liturgical Typikon) ff. 47^{r}–102^{v}, A2^{rv}, A4^{r}–A7^{v}; **1a.** (Makarismoi from a Parakletike) ff. 81^{rv}, 84^{rv}, 89^{rv}, 92^{rv}, 95^{rv}, 96^{rv}, 101^{rv}, 102^{rv} (*inferior*); **1b.** (Clement the Hymnographer, *Kanon on Saint Eupraxia*) ff. 56^{rv}, 61^{rv}, A7^{rv} (*inferior*); **1c.** (Erotapokriseis?) ff. 80^{rv}, 85^{rv} (*inferior*); **2.** (Gospel readings) ff. A1^{rv}, A8^{rv}; **3.** (Ecclesiastical canons) f. A3^{rv}.[517]

Liturgical Typikon

1. ff. 47^{r}–102^{v}, A2^{rv}, A4^{r}–A7^{v};[518] Southern Italy (Salento), late 11th–early 12th century: Liturgical Typikon
Bibliography: —
Specimina: **Figures 108 – 114**



[512] Gardthausen, Catalogus 206.
[513] Dmitrievskij II 202.
[514] Arnesano, Libri inutiles 200.
[515] Greek New Finds 163. Nikolopoulos writes that the lower script is in Greek majuscule, but this is true only of ff. A1 and A8.
[516] RGB and processed pictures (after multispectral imaging) of the folia 47^{r}–102^{v} are available online at https://sinai.library.ucla.edu (19.09.2022).
[517] A preliminary identification of the erased texts was provided for the *Sinai Palimpsests Project* by Ernst Gamillscheg. See https://sinai.library.ucla.edu (19.09.2022).
[518] The palimpsest folia are indicated in bold in the quire representations.



A total of 61 folia of Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C] come from the same manuscript: a liturgical Typikon. They are distributed as follows: 56 belong to Sin. gr. 966 and five to Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A]. This Typikon manuscript was itself also written on reused parchment (twelve of its folia are written over three older texts).

The undertext runs parallel to the overtext. A single folio of Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C] corresponds to a single folio of the original manuscript, which would suggest that the original manuscript was of similar dimensions: approximately 175×120 mm (oblong in height). Each side preserves between 19 and 26 lines of text, 6 mm apart and arranged in a single column.[519] The *Schriftspiegel* is approximately 135×90 mm, with margins measuring 20 mm (outer), 15 mm (internal), 30 mm (lower) and 20 mm (upper) (f. 71^{r}). Prickings are still visible in the margins (e.g. f. 95), elongated in shape and likely made with a penknife. The scheme of ruled lines which support the writing can be classified as Leroy's index X, and this means that only one in every two lines was traced.[520] This kind of ruling is often found in manuscripts written in Terra d'Otranto.[521] In the upper outer margin of ff. 53^{r}, 79^{r}, 83^{r}, 87^{r} and 95^{r}, five original quire marks are preserved, specifically those for Quires 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7 (**Figure 108**).

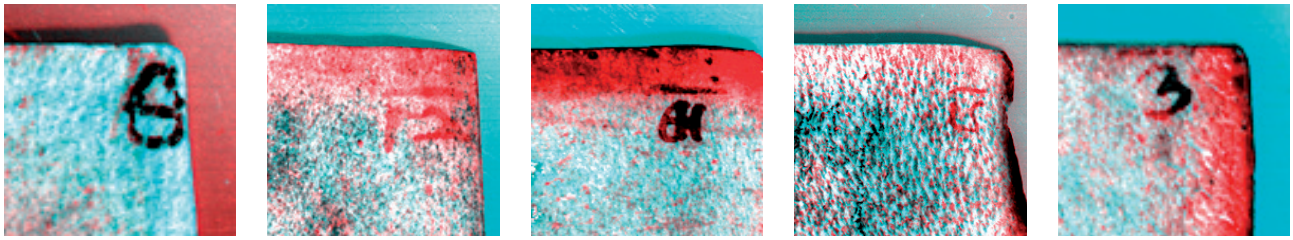


Figure 108 – Original quire marks. From left to right: f. 95^{r} (B´: visible behind the quire mark Θ´ that refers to the *scriptio superior*), f. 53^{r} (Γ´ corrected to Δ´), f. 87^{r} (E´: visible behind the quire mark H´ that refers to the *scriptio superior*), f. 83^{r} (Ϛ´), f. 79^{r} (Z´: same quire mark for both *scriptio inferior* and *scriptio superior*) (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Since the *scriptio superior* very often runs on top of the *scriptio inferior*—and since in many places the latter has been thoroughly erased—the lower layer is hard to recover or decipher. However, it is possible to discern that the script is a minuscule written by a not very well-trained hand: characteristic are the forms of minuscule α, κ and μ (**Figure 109**); majuscule γ at times high; a number of letters (e.g.: η, ν, δ) are traced in both minuscule and majuscule form. The decorative motifs are more illuminating, and are in part similar to those

519 As the table below shows, Quires 1 to 5 have on average 24–25 lines of text per folio-side, while Quires 6 and 7 have 19–20 lines per side. An exception is the beginning of Quire 6: folia 83^{r}, 83^{v}, and 60^{r} each have 24 written lines.

520 J. Leroy, Les types de réglure des manuscrits grecs. Paris 1976, XXIV.

521 Lucà, Scritture e libri in Terra d'Otranto 494, n. 18. Four Salentine manuscripts with this ruling scheme are mentioned, all datable to the 12th century: Vat. Barb. gr. 517 (X 20C1) [Diktyon 65060]; Vat. gr. 2026 (X 20D1 or Xb 20D1) [Diktyon 68655]; Vat. Barb. gr. 520 (X 12E2); Vat. gr. 1287 [Diktyon 67918].

described for the *scriptio superior*: we find the typical Southern-Italian yellow wash used for highlighting titles and rubrics (e.g. on f. 53^{r}), but also typical Salentine features like side bands that resemble vegetal motifs (e.g. ff. 55^{r}, 81^{v}, 93^{r} – **Figure 110**),[522] the omicron *en rondelle*, initials with double outline (**Figure 111**),[523] and an asterisk whose four points are replaced by patterns similar to arrowheads (**Figure 112**).[524] All these peculiarities show that this erased text was in all probability written in Salento. This is also suggested by the similarities with the decoration of the Salentine Euchologion preserved as *scriptio superior*. The date can be narrowed down by reference to the minuscule text on ff. 80^{rv}, 85^{rv} (*inferior*), which seems to date to the 11th century (see below: 1c, Erotapokriseis?). This leads me to suggest that the Typikon is likely to have been copied in the late 11th or early 12th century.

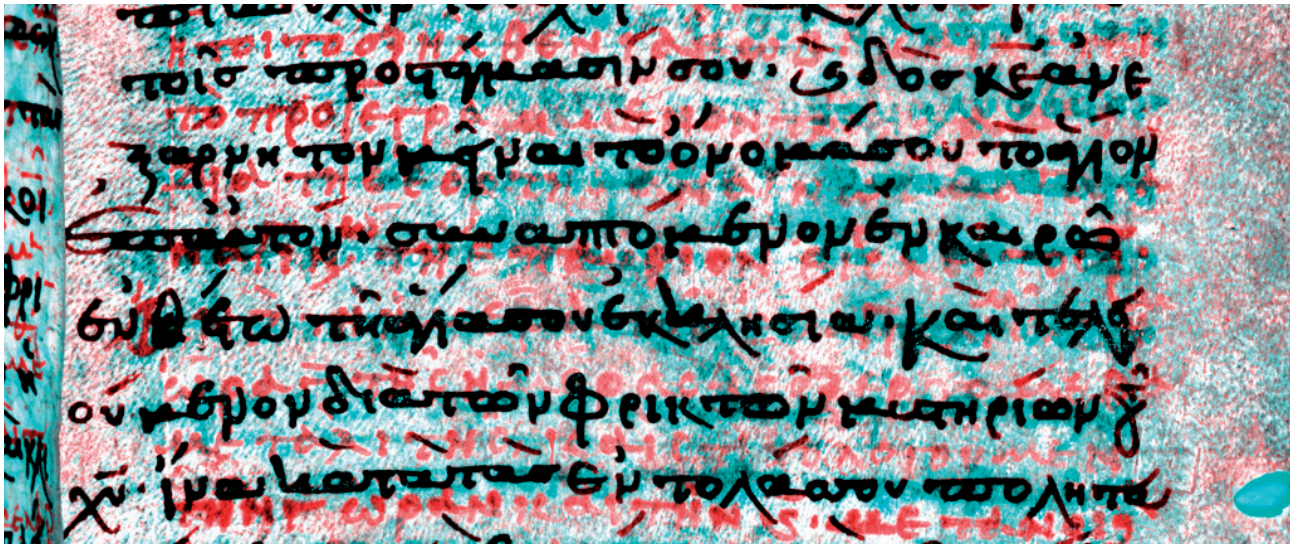


Figure 109 – f. 53^{r}: *scriptio inferior* in red. Processed image by Keith Knox: KTK_pseudo_WBUVB47-MB780IR (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

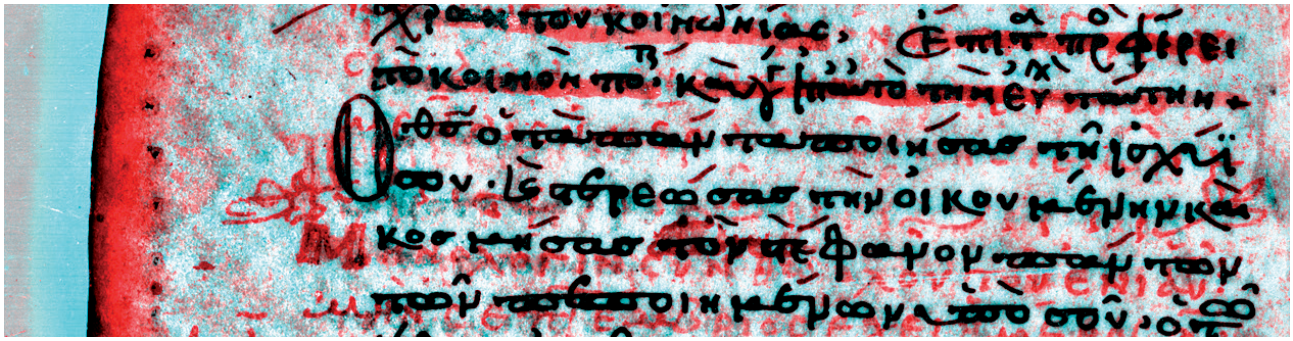


Figure 110 – f. 81^{v}: decorative line with side band and initial M with double outline. Processed image by Keith Knox: KTK_pseudo_WBUVB47-MB780IR (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

522 Jacob, Tra Basilicata e Salento 47–48; Jacob, La mise en forme 42.

523 Lucà, Frammenti dell'"Ad Theodorum lapsum" 526.

524 Jacob, Tra Basilicata e Salento 47–48. Jacob provides a useful list of manuscripts written in Terra d'Otranto which contain this peculiar kind of asterisk. One example is Sin. gr. 193 (Specimina Sinaitica, pl. 110). According to Jacob, this asterisk is to be found in Calabrian codices as well, though more sporadically (Jacob, Tra Basilicata e Salento 47 n. 118).

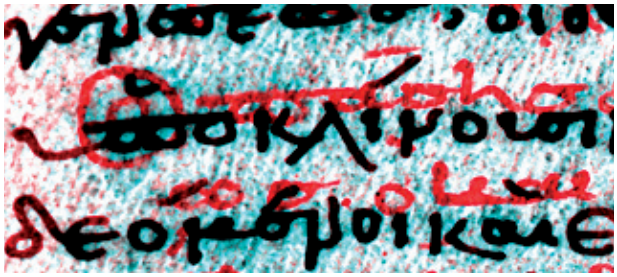


Figure 111 – f. 78r: omicron *en rondelle*. Processed image by Keith Knox: KTK_pseudo_WBUVB47-MB780IR (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

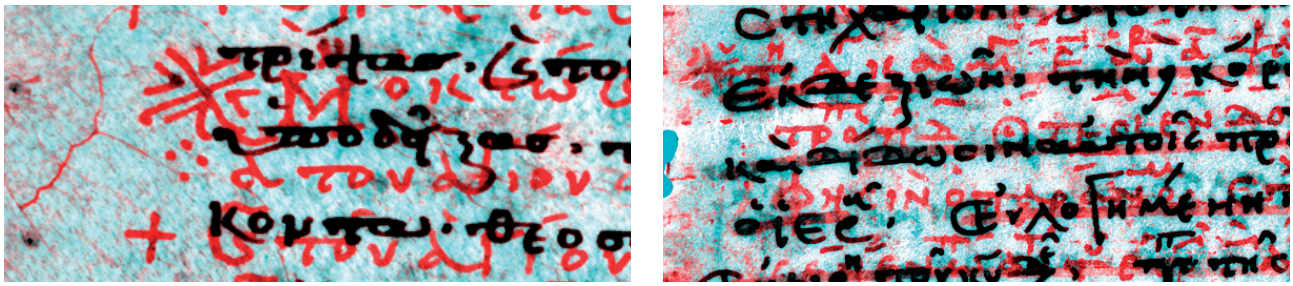


Figure 112 – Asterisk with arrowheads on f. 90v (left) and f. 80r (right). Processed image by Keith Knox: KTK_pseudo_WBUVB47-MB780IR (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

The 61 folia originate from a liturgical Typikon.[525] Its first folio corresponds to the current f. 71r (**Figure 113**). It reads: Τυπικὸν περιέχον διάταξιν ὅλου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὁμοῦ κ(υριακάς) ε΄ τ(ῆς) ἁγίας μ΄ ἄχρι τῶν ἁγίων πάντων. Manuscripts that call themselves "Typika" are first attested in the 11th century.[526]

Though some folia are missing and the text of two bifolia remains unidentified (ff. 58–59 and A2, A3–A7), it is clear that what is extant in the remaining 54 folia belonged to the first seven quires of the manuscript. The fact that five original quire marks (Quires 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7) are still visible has greatly facilitated the reconstruction presented below. Quires 1 to 6 were regular quaterniones, while Quire 7 was a quinio. They adhere to Gregory's rule.

The text falls broadly into three parts:[527]

1) general rules on how to celebrate services. These include, for instance, the diataxis of Vespers, of Matins, of the first hour, as well as the diataxis τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν περὶ βρώσεως καὶ πόσεως. This section occupies the first seven folia of Quire 1;
2) synaxarion, listing a selection of fixed daily celebrations, from the beginning of the liturgical year on September 1st until August 31st (from the second half of Quire 1 to the third to last folio of Quire 5);
3) triodion, with the movable cycle, running from the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee to Easter Monday (the last two folia of Quire 5 until the end of Quire 7).

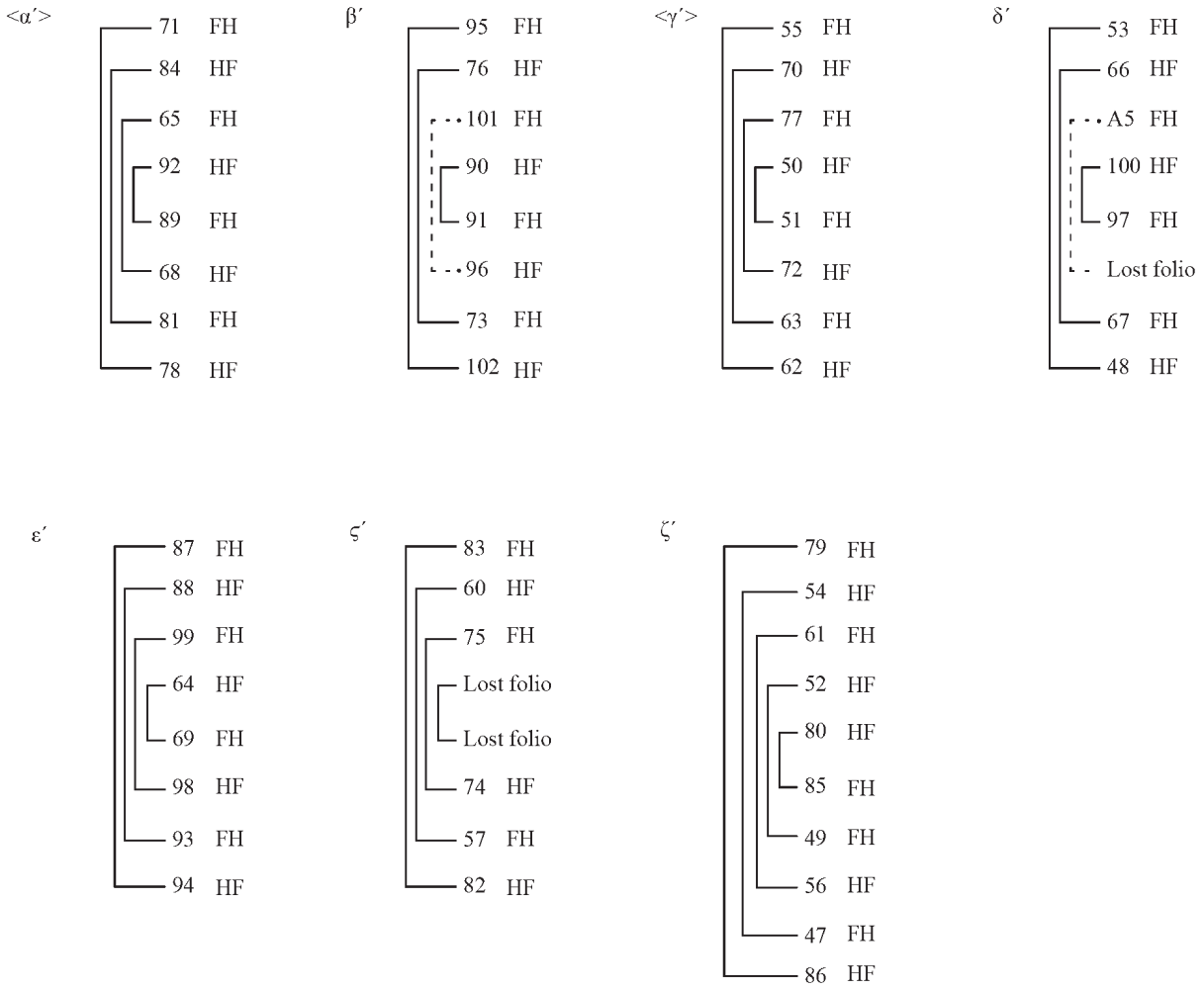
The final part of the manuscript—from Easter Monday to All Saints' Sunday (the first Sunday after Pentecost)—is missing. I have calculated that approximately two quires are now lost. All in all, this means that the Typikon originally consisted of approximately 70 folia.

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525 On liturgical Typika in general see ODB III, p. 2132, and Velkovska, The Liturgical Books of the Byzantine Rite 139, 153.

526 ODB III, p. 2132.

527 For the terminology (i.e. general rules, synaxarion section, triodion section), see J. Getcha, Le typikon décrypté: manuel de liturgie byzantine. Paris 2009, 43–44.



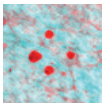
Here are transcribed *exempli gratia* a number of selected folia.[528] They are: ff. 71^{r}, 68^{r}, 68^{v}, 81^{r}, 81^{v}, 78^{r}, and 78^{v}. In these transcriptions, accents, breathing marks, the iota mutum subscript, and capital letters in proper names have been been introduced to facilitate the reading. The reconstructed order and content of the identified folia is summarized in the table following the transcriptions.[529]

The text is structured with symbols that guide the reader to specific sections. In both the transcriptions and the table, I adopt symbols aimed at reproducing those found in the text, as follows:[530]

[528] A complete transcription of the text is highly desirable. The remit here is more limited, but a full edition and comprehensive treatment would certainly require this.

[529] I have compared the text with reference to the following Typika: Typikon Stoudion, Typikon Saba, Typikon Messina, Typikon Kasoulon, Typikon Nikon. Where possible, I have indicated within my transcription possible parallels.

[530] Where my symbol is accompanied by a Greek term, it means that is described as such in the erased Sinai Typikon.

	※	Asterisk (f. 90^{v}, l. 14) Introduces important elements, like a diataxis or the beginning of a month in the synaxarion section of the Typikon.
	∴	Κεντήματα τέσσαρα[531] (f. 81^{r}, l. 16) - Separates (not consistently) rules in the section of general rules. - Indicates feasts of minor importance in the synaxarion section.
	+	Σταυρόν μόνον[532] (f. 81^{r}, l. 13) Indicates feasts of medium importance in the synaxarion section.
	⊕	Σταυρόν καὶ κύκλοθεν κύκλον[533] (f. 81^{r}, l. 10) Indicates feasts of great importance in the synaxarion section.

71^{r}: |^{1} ※ Τυπικὸν περιέχον διάταξιν |^{2} ὅλου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὁμοῦ κ(υριακάς) ε΄ τ(ῆς) |^{3} ἁγίας μ΄ ἄχρι τῶν ἁγίων πάντων:– |^{4} Διάταξις τοῦ ἑσπερινοῦ ὅτε ἑορτάζομεν ∴ |^{5} χρὴ τὸν ἱερέα πρὸ τοῦ σημᾶναι τὸ ἑσ|^{6}περινὸν ἀναλαβεῖν μετὰ χεῖρας τὸ |^{7} τυπικὸν τοῦ χρόνου καὶ εἰ μὲν εὕρῃ |^{8} τὸν ἐνορδίνως λαγχάνοντ(α) ἅγιον ἔ|^{9}χοντα Θ(εὸ)ς Κ(ύριο)ς ὀφείλῃ σημᾶγαι ἑορ|^{10}τάτικα (*sic*) καὶ ποιῆσαι τὴν ἀκολουθίαν |^{11} ταύτην ∴ μετὰ τὸ σημᾶναι τὸ ἑσπε|^{12}ρινόν: συναχθέντος τοῦ λαοῦ ἐν τῇ |^{13} ἐκκλησίᾳ εὐλογεῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ἄρχεται ὁ λαός ∴ |^{14} Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμ(εν) καὶ προσπέσω|^{15}μεν αὐτῷ Χ(ριστ)ῷ τῷ Βασιλεῖ καὶ Θ(ε)ῷ ἡμῶν |^{16} Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμ(εν) καὶ προσπέσωμ(εν) |^{17} αὐτῷ Χ(ριστ)ῷ [± 2] καὶ Βασιλ(εῖ) ∴ εἶτα ἄρχετ(αι) |^{18} μετὰ μέλους ἦχ(ος) π(λάγιος) δ΄ καὶ αὖθις δεῦ|^{19}τε προσκυνήσωμ(εν) καὶ πλεῖον οὐδὲν |^{20} Εἶτα εὐλόγει ἡ ψυχή μου τὸν Κ(υρίο)ν |^{21} Ὅτε δὲ φθάσῃ τὸ ἀνοιξαντός |^{22} σου τὴν χεῖρα ∴ υψοι … |^{23} μετὰ δὲ π[± 3]ος τοῦ ψαλμοῦ (cf. Typikon Saba 53–54) ||

f. 68^{r}: |^{2} ※ Διάταξις τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ὅλου |^{3} τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ περὶ βρώσεως καὶ πόσεως |^{4} ἀκριβεστάτη:– χρὴ εἰδέναι ὅτι |^{5} ὅλον τὸν χρόνον εἰς τὰς λιτὰς ἡμέρας |^{6} ὅτε οὐκ ἔστιν ἑορτή· ἡ παλαιστίνη· ὥ|^{7}ρα ε΄ σημ(αίνει) τὴν λειτουργ(ίαν) καὶ ἀπολύοντες· |^{8} εἰσερχόμεθα εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν· |^{9} ἐσθίομεν δὲ δύο διακονίας· μίαν μα|^{10}γειρείαν καὶ τὸ ἕτερον ἐκζεστὸν |^{11} εἴτε λάχαν(ον) εἴτε ὄσπρεον. Τὰς δὲ |^{12} νηστίμους ἡμέρας ἤγουν τετράδα καὶ |^{13} παρασκευὴν ὅλου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ξη|^{14}ροφαγοῦμ(εν)· κατὰ τὴν τῶν θείων |^{15} πατέρων παράδ(οσιν):– Ἐὰν δὲ λάχῃ ἐν αὐταῖς |^{16} ἑορτή … |^{17} [± 2] ὡς κατὰ … |^{19} καταλύωσι τὰς νηστείας· εἰς ἱερ(ὰς) |^{20} λαύρας· ὡσαύτως καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀ|^{21}ναχ … |^{24} Ἰστέον ὅτι τῶν μεγάλ(ων) ἑορτῶν |^{25} δεσποτικῶν τὰ ὀκταήμερα καὶ τῆς ||

f. 68^{v}: |^{1} ὑπεραγίας Θ(εοτό)κου τῆς γεννήσε|^{2}ως καὶ τῆς κοιμήσεως· τὰς … |^{3} δο παρασκευὰς αὐτῶν οὐ νηστέ|^{4}υομεν· α[± 3]ας δὲ αὐτὰς … :– (cf. Typikon Kasoulon, pp. 6, 7, 13 [κεφ. ι΄, ια΄]) |^{5} ※ Περὶ τοῦ ποσάκις τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν (*sic*) ψά|^{6}λλεται ἡ τοῦ μ(ε)γ(άλου) Βασιλείου λειτουργ(ία): |^{7} Χρὴ εἰδέναι· ὅτι ἡ θεία λειτουργ(ία) τοῦ |^{8} μεγάλου Βασιλείου· λειτουργεῖται |^{9} τὸν ὅλον χρόνον δέκα κ(υριακάς) |^{10} Εἰς τὴν παραμονὴν τῶν Χ<ριστουγέννων> |^{11} … ὁμοίως καὶ εἰς τὴν |^{12} παραμονὴν τῶν φώτων καὶ εἰς (τὴν) |^{13} μνήμην αὐτοῦ· ὡς αὔτως καὶ τῇ μεγ(άλῃ) ε΄ :– |^{14} καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ σαββάτῳ· καὶ τ(ὰς) |^{15} πέντε κυριακὰς τῆς μεγ(άλης) μ΄ … |^{16} τῇ γὰρ κυριακῇ τῆς βαϊοφόρου ὁ Χρυ|^{17}σόστομος λειτουργεῖται |^{18} ※ Περὶ διαφορᾶς τῶν ἑορτῶν: |^{19} Χρὴ εἰδέναι· ὅτι εἰς τρεῖς κεῖνται |^{20} ἐνταῦθα αἱ ἑορταί: εἰς μεγάλας· εἰς μεσαίας· καὶ εἰς μικράς: οὐ|^{21}κ ἀμάρτυρον δὲ τοῦτο, ἀλλ’ἀπὸ τῶν |^{22} θείων γραφῶν· ὅσαι γὰρ περιεκ|^{23}τικὰς συν(άξεις) ἔχουσι τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ |^{24} ἀναγνώσματα ἀφ’ἑσπέρας· |^{25} καὶ … ταχὺ πᾶσα πνοὴ καὶ εὐαγγέλι(ον) (cf. Typikon Nikon, p. 122) ||

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[531] I.e.: symbol in the shape of four points.
[532] I.e.: symbol in the shape of a cross.
[533] I.e.: symbol in the shape of a cross surrounded by a circle.

f. 81r: |1 εἰς τάξιν τῶν δεσποτικῶν ἑορ|2τῶν κεῖνται τῶν μεγάλων τὴν δὲ |3 μεσαίαν τάξιν καὶ μικρὰν διδασ|4κόμεθα ἐκ τῶν τυπικῶν τοῦ Στουδίτου καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους πῶς |5 ἐκεῖ διαφορὰς ἔχει εἵς τε τὰς ὥ|6ρας καὶ τὰς μετανοίας καὶ τοῦ καμάτου:– |7 Αἱ μὲν οὖν δεσποτικαὶ ἑορταὶ καὶ |8 τοῦ Προδρόμου ἡ γέννησις καὶ ἡ ἀποτομή· |9 καὶ ἡ μνήμη τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου |10 ἔχουσι σημ(άδιν) τοιοῦτον· στ(αυ)ρὸν καὶ κύκλο|11θεν κύκλον ὅπερ δηλοῖ ὁλόλυτ(ον) εἶ|12ναι τὴν ἡμέραν:– |13 Αἱ δὲ μεσαῖαι· ἔχουσιν σημ(άδιν) στ(αυ)ρὸν μόνον· |14 ὅπερ δηλοῖ μὴ γίνεσθαι νηστείαν ἀγν(ὰς) |15 … Αἱ … μικραί· ἔχου|16σιν σημ(άδιν) κεντήματα τέσσαρα· ὅπερ |17 δηλοῖ . τὸ κοπ[± 2] τῶν γονυκλισιῶν μό|18νον νηστείαν δὲ γίνεσθαι ἰδίως δὲ |19 εἰς τὸ κελλίον αὐτοῦ ὡς βούλεταί τις |20 ποιεῖ· ἐν τ(αῖς) μεσαίαις ἑορταῖς καὶ ἐν |21 ταῖς μικραῖς:– Τὰς δὲ μεγάλας ὅλ(ως) |22 γονυκλισίαι οὐ γίνονται οὔτε νηστεῖαι· |23 οὔτε ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· οὔτε ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ ἰδίως (cf. Typikon Nikon, pp. 122–124) ||

f. 81v: |6 Μηνολόγι(ο)ν σὺν Θεῷ ὅλου τοῦ ἐνιαυτ(οῦ) |7 Μὴν σεπτέμβριος ἔχει ἡμέρας λ΄: |8 + α΄ Τοῦ ὁσίου Συμεὼν τοῦ Στυλίτου |9 καὶ ἀρχ(ὴ) τῆς ἰνδ(ίκτου): τῇ παραμονῇ ἑσπ(έρας) |10 εἰς τὸ λυχνικὸν εἰς τὸ Κ(ύρι)ε ἐκέκρα(ξα) ψάλλομ(εν) |11 στιχ(ηρὰ) γ΄ τῆς ἰνδ(ίκτου) ἦχ(ος) α΄ πρὸς τῶν οὐρανίων |12 εἰς τὸ δ̣ό̣(ξα) ἰδ(ιόμελα) π(λάγιος) β΄ Ὁ πν(εύματι) ἁγίῳ: εἰς τὸ κιν .... |13 θ(εοτο)κίον: εἶτα γίνεται εἴσοδ(ος) τὸ φῶς ἱλαρ(όν) |14 προκείμενον τῆς ἡμέρας: εἰς τὸ στίχ … του |15 ὅσ(ιε) πά(τερ): εἰς τὸ δ̣ό̣(ξα) π(λάγιος) δ΄ ἀρρή|16τῳ σοφία: εἰς καὶ ν(ῦν) θ(εοτο)κίον: ν(ῦν) ἀπο|17λυτ(ίκιον) τὸ τρισάγ(ιον) παναγ(ία): π(άτ)ερ ἡμῶν |18 [± 4]ἡ βασιλ[± 3] τὰ ἀναγνώσ(ματα) ||

f. 78r: |5 εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον μετὰ τὸν ἑξάψαλμον συ|6ναπτή· μετὰ δὲ τὴν συναπτὴν |7 Θεὲ Κύριε ἦχ(ος) β΄ καὶ εὐθ(ὺς) τροπ(άριον) ἦχ(ος) β΄ (cf. MR I 8) |8 Ὁ πάσης δημιουργὸς τῆς κτίσε|9ως ὁ καιροὺς καὶ χρόνους ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ |10 ἐξουσίᾳ θέμενος εὐλόγησον τὸν |11 στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς χρηστότη|12τός σου Κ(ύρι)ε φυλάττων ἐν εἰρήνῃ |13 τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τὸν λαόν σου πρ|14εσβείαις τῆς Θεοτόκου κατὰ τὸ μέγα σου ἔλε(ος) |15 Εἶτα ἄρχονται κανόν(ες) β΄· τῆς ἰνδ(ίκτου) καὶ |16 τοῦ ἁγίου· λέγετ(αι) καὶ καταβασία: |17 Σταυρὸν χαράξας Μωσῆς (MR I 11): εἰς τοὺς αἴν(ο)υ(ς) |18 στιχ(ηρὰ) προσόμοια: εἰς τὸ δ̣ό̣(ξα) στιχ(ηρὰ) ἰδ(ιόμελα) ἦ(χος) α΄ |19 Ἐπέστη ἡ εἴσοδος (MR I 7) καὶ … |20 Δοξολογ(ία) μεγ(άλη) καὶ ἐὰν τύχῃ καὶ προη|21γοῦνται τὰ ἀναστάσιμ(α): εἰδοῦν |22 ἡ ὀκτάηχ(ος) οὐ ψάλλετ(αι): εἰς τ(ὴν) λειτουργ(ίαν) |23 ψάλλομ(εν) τυπικὰ ἐκ τοῦ κανόν(ος) τῆς |24 ἑορτῆς· ᾠδ(ή) γ΄ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου ᾠδ(ή) ς΄· ||

f. 78v: |1 β΄ ∴ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Μάμαντος: |2 γ΄ ∴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνθίμου: |3 ε΄ ∴ τοῦ προφήτου Ζαχαρίου: |4 ς΄ ∴ τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαήλ: |5 ζ΄∴ προεόρτια τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου: |6 ⊕ ζ΄ Γέννησις τῆς πανυμνήτου Θεοτόκου: ἐσ|7πέρας στιχολογοῦμεν τὸ πρῶτ(ον) |8 ἀντίφ(ωνον) τοῦ … τὸ μακάριο(ς) |9 ἀνήρ καὶ εὐθ(ὺς) μετὰ τὴν συναπτὴν |10 καὶ τὴν ἐκφώ(νησιν) τὸ Κ(ύρι)ε ἐκέ(κραξα) στιχ(ηρά) ἰδ(ιόμελα). |11 ἦ(χος) π(λάγιος) β΄· δό(ξα) καὶ νῦ(ν) ἦ(χος) δ΄: … προκείμ(ενον) |12 τῆς ἡμέρας· εἰς τὸν στίχ(ον) στιχ(ηρά) … |13 ἀπολυ(τίκιον) … Παναγία τριάς· π(άτ)ερ |14 ἡμῶν … |15 τὰ ἀναγνώσ(ματα)· καὶ εὐθέως τρο(πάριον) ἦχ(ος) α΄ |16 Ἡ γέννησίς σου Θεοτόκε (MR I 88) ||

Quire and folio numbers	Content	Number of lines	Double palimpsest?
<α΄>			
71r	※ τυπικὸν περιέχον διάταξιν ὅλου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὁμοῦ κ(υριακάς) ε΄ τ(ῆς) ἁγίας μ΄ ἄχρι τῶν ἁγίων πάντων (ll. 1–3) Διάταξις τοῦ ἑσπερινοῦ ὅτε ἑορτάζομεν (l. 4) Diataxis for the celebration of Vespers on festive days (when the Θεός Κύριος is sung)	23	No
71v	※ Διάταξις τοῦ ὄρθρου ὅτε ἑορτάζομεν […] καὶ εἶθ’οὕτως τὸ Θεὸς Κύριος (l. 13) Diataxis for the celebration of Vespers and, from l. 13, of Matins on festive days (when the Θεός Κύριος is sung)	24	No
84r	Diataxis for the celebration of Matins on festive days (when the Θεὸς Κύριος is sung)	22	Yes: Makarismoi from a Parakletike

Quire and folio numbers	Content	Number of lines	Double palimpsest?
84^{v}	Diataxis for the celebration of Matins on festive days (when the Θεὸς Κύριος is sung)	25	Yes: Makarismoi from a Parakletike
65^{r}	※ Διάταξις τοῦ ἑσπερινοῦ ὅτε οὐκ ἑορτάζομεν (l. 3) Diataxis for the celebration of Vespers on non-festive days	23	No
65^{v}	Diataxis for the celebration of Vespers on non-festive days	25	No
92^{r}	Diataxis for the celebration of Vespers on non-festive days	24	Yes: Makarismoi from a Parakletike
92^{v}	※ Διάταξις τοῦ ὄρθρου ὅτε οὔτε ἑορτάζομεν (l. 3) Diataxis for the celebration of Matins on non-festive days	25	Yes: Makarismoi from a Parakletike
89^{r}	※ Διάταξις τῆς πρώτης ὥρας (l. 15). Diataxis for the first hour	25	Yes: Makarismoi from a Parakletike
89^{v}	∴ Περὶ τῶν ἀποδειπνίων (l. 16) Instructions for Compline	25	Yes: Makarismoi from a Parakletike
68^{r}	※ Διάταξις τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ὅλου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ περὶ βρώσεως καὶ πόσεως ἀκριβεστάτη (l. 2) Diataxis for eating and drinking according to the practice of Jerusalem	25	No
68^{v}	※ Περὶ τοῦ ποσάκις τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν (*sic*) ψάλλεται ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου λειτουργία (l. 5) ※ Περὶ διαφορᾶς τῶν ἑορτῶν (l. 18) On how to celebrate the Liturgy of Saint Basil and on various feasts	26	No
81^{r}	On various feasts	24	Yes: Makarismoi from a Parakletike
81^{v}	On various feasts Synaxarion (decorative line on l. 5; title on l. 6: Μηνολόγιον σὺν Θεῷ ὅλου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ) September (title on l. 7) + 1: Symeon Stylites (l. 8 ff.: continues on f. 78^{r})	23	Yes: Makarismoi from a Parakletike
78^{r}	Symeon Stylites	24	No
78^{v}	∴ 2: Mamas (l. 1) ∴ 3: Anthimos (l. 2) ∴ 5: Prophet Zachariah (l. 3) ∴ 6: Archangel Michael (l. 4) ∴ 7: Forefeast of the Nativity of the Theotokos (l. 5) ⊕ 8: Nativity of the Theotokos (l. 6 ff.: continues on f. 95^{r})	25	No
β´			
95^{r}	Nativity of the Theotokos	24	Yes: Makarismoi from a Parakletike
95^{v}	∴ 9: Joachim and Anna (l. 2) ∴ 13: Forefeast of the Exaltation of the Cross (l. 3 ff.: continues on f. 76^{r})	24	Yes: Makarismoi from a Parakletike
76^{r}	⊕ 14: Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (l. 14 ff.: continues on f. 76^{v})	26	No
76^{v}	Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (continued from f. 76^{r})	26	No

Quire and folio numbers	Content	Number of lines	Double palimpsest?
101^{r}	Unidentified	25	Yes: Makarismoi from a Parakletike
101^{v}	Unidentified	25	Yes: Makarismoi from a Parakletike
90^{r}	Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross	24	No
90^{v}	∴ 15: Nicetas (l. 8) ∴ 16: Euphemia (l. 9) ∴ 20: Eustathius (l. 10) ∴ 23: Conception of John the Baptist (l. 11) ∴ 24: Thekla (l. 12) + 26: Repose of John the Theologian (l. 13) October (title on l. 14) ∴ 1: Ananias (l. 15) + 6: Thomas (l. 16) ∴ 7: Sergius and Bacchus (l. 17) + 9: James, son of Alphaeus (l. 18) + 18: Luke (l. 19) ∴ 21: Hilarion (l. 20) + 23: Apostle James the brother of Christ (l. 21) ∴ 24: Arethas (l. 22) + 26: Demetrius (l. 23) November (title on l. 24) ∴ 1: Cosmas and Damian (l. 25)	25	No
91^{r}	∴ 6: Paul (l. 1) + 8: Synaxis of the Holy Archangels (l. 2) ∴ 12: John the Merciful (l. 3) + 13: John Chrysostom (l. 4) + 14: Philip (l. 5) + 16: Matthew (l. 6) ⊕ 21: Presentation of the Theotokos (l. 7 ff.: continues on f. 91^{v})	26	No
91^{v}	∴ 25: Catherine (l. 6) + 30: Andrew (ll. 7–15) December (title on l. 16) ∴ 4: Barbara (l. 17) ∴ 5: Sabas (l. 18) + 6: Nicholas (ll. 19–21) + 9: Conception of the Theotokos by Saint Anna (l. 22) ∴ 13: Eustratius (l. 23) ∴ 17: Three Holy Youths and Daniel (l. 24)	24	No
96^{r}	+ 20: Ignatius (l. 15 ff.: continues on f. 96^{v})	23	Yes: Makarismoi from a Parakletike
96^{v}	24: Eve of the Nativity of Christ (l. 7 ff.: continues on f. 73^{r})[534]	23	Yes: Makarismoi from a Parakletike
73^{r}	Eve of the Nativity of Christ (continues on f. 73^{v})	25	No
73^{v}	⊕ 25: Nativity of Christ (l. 18 ff.: continues on f. 102^{r})	23	No
102^{r}	Nativity of Christ (continues on f. 102^{v})	25	Yes: Makarismoi from a Parakletike
102^{v}	26, 27, 29[535]	23	Yes: Makarismoi from a Parakletike

[534] The symbol that precedes the number is missing.
[535] Only the three mentioned numbers are visible; text and symbols are illegible.

Quire and folio numbers	Content	Number of lines	Double palimpsest?
<γ´>			
55^{r}	31: Afterfeast of the Nativity of Christ (l. 1)[536] January (title on l. 5) 1: Circumcision of Christ, Saint Basil (l. 6 ff.: continues on f. 55^{v})[537]	25	No
55^{v}	2: Sylvester and forefeast of the Theophany of Christ (l. 13)[538] 5: Eve of the Theophany of Christ (l. 20)[539]	25	No
70^{r}	5–6?	25	No
70^{v}	5–6?	25	No
77^{r}	5–6?	25	No
77^{v}	7: Synaxis of John the Baptist[540]	25	No
50^{r}	∴ 10: Gregory of Nyssa (l. 14) ∴ 11: Theodosios Koinobiarches (l. 15) + 13: Afterfeast of the Theophany of Christ (l. 16)	25	No
50^{v}	∴ 14: Holy Fathers of Sinai (l. 1) + 16: Peter (ll. 2–3) ∴ 17: Anthony (l. 4) ∴ 18: Athanasius and Cyril (ll. 5–6) ∴ 20: Euthymius (l. 7) + 22: Timothy and Anastasius the Persian (ll. 8–9) + 25: Gregory the Theologian (l. 10) + 27: John Chrysostom (l. 11) ∴ 28: Ephraim the Syrian (l. 12) February (title on l. 13) ∴ 1: Tryphon (l. 14) ⊕ 2: Hypapante (l. 15 ff.: continues on f. 51^{r})	25	No
51^{r}	Hypapante (continues on f. 51^{v})	25	No
51^{v}	+ 3: Righteous Symeon the God-Receiver (ll. 14–15) + 11: Blasius (l. 16 ff.: continues on f. 72^{r})	25	No
72^{r}	Blasius (continues on f. 72^{v})	25	No
72^{v}	+ 24: Head of John the Baptist (l. 15 ff.)	25	No
63^{r}	March (title on l. 10) + 9: Forty Martyrs (l. 10 ff.: continues on f. 63^{v})	25	No
63^{v}	23: Forefeast of the Annunciation of the Theotokos (l. 14–21)[541] 24: Eve of the Annunciation of the Theotokos (l. 22 ff.: continues on f. 62^{r})[542]	25	No
62^{r}	Eve of the Annunciation of the Theotokos (continues on f. 62^{v})	25	No
62^{v}	⊕ 25: Annunciation of the Theotokos (l. 18 ff.: continues in the next quire up to f. 48^{r})	25	No
δ´			
53^{r}	Annunciation of the Theotokos (third hour and eighth hour)	25	No
53^{v}	Annunciation of the Theotokos (if the Annunciation falls on the Saturday of Lazarus)	26	No

[536] The symbol that precedes the number is illegible.
[537] The symbol that precedes the number is illegible.
[538] The symbol that precedes the number is missing.
[539] The symbol that precedes the number is missing.
[540] The number (and symbol) are missing, but on l. 19 I read: Πρόδρομε, προφῆτα καὶ τῆς ἐρήμου πολῖτα (Follieri III 353), which clearly refers to John the Baptist and suggests that this folio bears instructions on how to celebrate January 7th.
[541] The symbol that precedes the number is missing.
[542] The symbol that precedes the number is missing.

Quire and folio numbers	Content	Number of lines	Double palimpsest?
66^{r}	Annunciation of the Theotokos (if the Annunciation falls on the Saturday of Lazarus, ll. 1–17; if the Annunciation falls on Palm Sunday, ll. 18–25)	25	No
66^{v}	Annunciation of the Theotokos (if the Annunciation falls on Palm Sunday)	25	No
Lost folio	*<Annunciation of the Theotokos (if the Annunciation falls on Holy Monday)>*	---	---
100^{r}	Annunciation of the Theotokos (if the Annunciation falls on Holy Tuesday, ll. 2–6; if the Annunciation falls on Holy Wednesday, ll. 7 ff.)	25	No
100^{v}	Annunciation of the Theotokos (if the Annunciation falls on Holy Wednesday, ll. 1–11; if the Annunciation falls on Holy Thursday, ll. 12–25)	25	No
97^{r}	Annunciation of the Theotokos (if the Annunciation falls on Holy Thursday), fifth hour and beginning of the Liturgy of Saint Basil	25	No
97^{v}	Annunciation of the Theotokos (if the Annunciation falls on Holy Thursday)	25	No
Lost folio	*<Annunciation of the Theotokos (if the Annunciation falls on Holy Friday; (if the Annunciation falls on Holy Saturday)>*		
67^{r}	Annunciation of the Theotokos (if the Annunciation falls on Holy Saturday, ll. 1–20; if the Annunciation falls on Easter Sunday, ll. 21–25)	25	No
67^{v}	Annunciation of the Theotokos (if the Annunciation falls on Easter Sunday)	25	No
48^{r}	Annunciation of the Theotokos (if the Annunciation falls on Easter Sunday, ll. 1–12; if the Annunciation falls on Easter Monday, ll. 13–25)	25	No
48^{v}	April (title on l. 2) ∴ 1: Mary of Egypt (l. 3) ∴ 16: Irene (l. 5) + 23: George (l. 6 ff.: continues on f. 87^{r})	24	No
ε′			
87^{r}	+ 25: Mark (l. 4) + 30: Apostle James, brother of Saint John the Theologian (ll. 5–6) May (title on l. 7) ∴ 1: Prophet Jeremiah (l. 8) ∴ 2: Athanasius (l. 9) + 8: John the Theologian and Arsenius (l. 10 ff.: continues on f. 87^{v})	24	No
87^{v}	+ 10: Simon the Zealot (l. 6) ∴ 15: Pachomios (l. 7) ∴ 16: Prophet Zacharias (l. 8) ∴ 21: Constantine and Helena (ll. 9–24)	24	No
88^{r}	∴ 24: Symeon Stylites (l. 1) June (title on l. 2) ∴ 8: Translation of the relics of Theodore Stratelates (ll. 3–4) + 11: Apostles Bartholomew and Barnabas (ll. 5–6) ∴ 14: Prophet Elisha (l. 7) + 19: Apostle Jude, brother of Christ (l. 8) ⊕ 24: Nativity of Saint John the Baptist (l. 9 ff.: continues on f. 88^{v})	24	No

Quire and folio numbers	Content	Number of lines	Double palimpsest?
88^{v}	⊕ 29: Peter and Paul (ll. 8 ff.: continues on f. 99^{r})	25	No
99^{r}	+ 30: Synaxis of the Twelve Apostles (ll. 11–23) July (title on l. 25)	25	No
99^{v}	1: Cosmas and Damian (ll. 1–2)[543] ∴ 2: Placing of the honorable robe of the Theotokos at Blachernae (ll. 3–9) + 8: Procopius of Caesarea (ll. 10–23) ∴ 11: Euphemia (l. 24) ∴ 15: Cyricus and Julitta (l. 25)	25	No
64^{r}	∴ 16: 630 Fathers of Chalcedon and 318 Fathers of Nicaea (ll. 1–3) + 20: Prophet Elijah (l. 4) ∴ 25: Repose of Anna, mother of the Theotokos (ll. 5–15) + 26: Panteleimon (l. 16) August (title on l. 18) ∴ 1: Holy Maccabees (l. 19) ∴ 2: Translation of the relics of Saint Stephen from Jerusalem to Constantinople (ll. 20–21) ∴ 5: Forefeast of the Transfiguration of Jesus (ll. 22–25: continues on f. 64^{v})	25	No
64^{v}	⊕ 6: Transfiguration of Jesus (ll. 9 ff.: continues on f. 69^{r})	24	No
69^{r}	Transfiguration of Jesus (continues on f. 69^{v})	25	No
69^{v}	+ 9: Apostle Matthias (ll. 4–5) ∴ 14: Forefeast of the Dormition of Mary (ll. 6–23) ⊕ 15: Dormition of Mary (ll. 24 ff.: continues on f. 98^{r})	25	No
98^{r}	Dormition of the Theotokos (continues on f. 98^{v})	23	No
98^{v}	∴ 25: Translation of the relics of Saints Bartholomew and Titus (ll. 8–9) ⊕ 29: Beheading of John the Baptist (ll. 10–19) ∴ 31: Placing of the honourable cinture of the Theotokos (ll. 20–24)	24	No
93^{r}	Triodion (decorative bar on l. 1; title on l. 2: ※ Ἀκολουθία τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μεγάλης τεσσαρακοστῆς) - Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee (ll. 3–15) - Sunday of the Prodigal Son (ll. 16–21) - <Meatfare Sunday?> (ll. 22–24)	24	No
93^{v}	<Meatfare Sunday?>	24	No
94^{r}	Unidentified	24	No
94^{v}	Wednesday before Cheesefare Sunday	24	No
ς΄			
83^{r}	- Wednesday before Cheesefare Sunday (ll. 1–19) - Thursday before Cheesefare Sunday (ll. 20–23) - Friday before Cheesefare Sunday (l. 24)	24	No
83^{v}	- Friday before Cheesefare Sunday (ll. 1–19) - Cheesefare Sunday (ll. 20–24)	24	No
60^{r}	- Cheesefare Sunday (ll. 1–12) - Monday of the first week of Lent (ll. 13–24)	24	No
60^{v}	Monday of the first week of Lent	20	No
75^{r}	Monday of the first week of Lent?, first hour	19	No
75^{v}	Unidentified	19	No

543 The symbol that precedes the number is missing.

Quire and folio numbers	Content	Number of lines	Double palimpsest?
Lost folio	---	---	---
Lost folio	---	---	---
74^{r}	- <…> of the first week (l. 1) - <first> Friday of Lent? - Saturday of Holy Theodore	20	No
74^{v}	First Sunday of Lent	19	No
57^{r}	Monday of the second week of Lent (l. 11)	20	No
57^{v}	Sunday of the third week of Lent (l. 18 ff.)	20	No
82^{r}	Sunday of the third week of Lent	19	No
82^{v}	- fourth Sunday of Lent? (l. 3) - Mention of Saturday of the fifth week of Lent and Akolouthia of the Akathistos	20	No
ζ΄			
79^{r}	- Friday of the sixth week of Lent (ll. 1–7) - Lazarus Saturday (ll. 8–19) - Palm Sunday (ll. 19–20)	20	No
79^{v}	Palm Sunday	20	No
54^{r}	- Palm Sunday (ll. 1–8) - Holy Monday (l. 9 ff.)	20	No
54^{v}	- Holy Monday, third hour - Holy Tuesday?	20	No
61^{r}	Holy Wednesday (l. 2 ff.)	20	Yes: Kanon on Saint Eupraxia
61^{v}	Holy Thursday (l. 3 ff.)	20	Yes: Kanon on Saint Eupraxia
52^{r}	Holy Thursday	20	No
52^{v}	Holy Thursday	22	No
80^{r}	- Holy Thursday (ll. 1–8) - Holy Friday: first hour (l. 9 ff.)	22	Yes: Erotapokriseis
80^{v}	Holy Friday: second hour (l. 1), third hour (l. 11); sixth hour (l. 16)	21	Yes: Erotapokriseis
85^{r}	Unidentified	21	Yes: Erotapokriseis
85^{v}	Unidentified	22	Yes: Erotapokriseis
49^{r}	Holy Friday?	20	No
49^{v}	Holy Saturday, orthros (l. 15 ff.)	22	No
56^{r}	Holy Saturday, lychnikon (l. 8 ff.)	20	Yes: Kanon on Saint Eupraxia
56^{v}	Unidentified	21	Yes: Kanon on Saint Eupraxia
47^{r}	Unidentified	20	No
47^{v}	Unidentified	20	No
86^{r}	Easter Sunday?	19	No
86^{v}	Easter Monday (l. 13 ff.)	20	No
I was not able to locate the next bifolio, which has to do with the time of Lent (the Tessarakoste is mentioned at the end of f. 59^{v})			
58^{r}	Mention of 3rd hour	20	No
58^{v}	Mention of 6th hour and 9th hour	20	No
59^{r}	Unidentified	20	No
59^{v}	Unidentified	20	No

The Typikon beneath the lines of Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C] appears to be very condensed compared with other liturgical Typika. In fact, it occupies approximately 70 folia as opposed to the usual around 200.[544]

[544] By way of a sample, the Messina Typikon (Messin. S. Salv. 115 [Diktyon 40776]) has 268 folia, the Kasoulon Typikon (Taur. C III

A comparison with the Salentine Typikon of Kasoulon (Casole), which is preserved in four codices,[545] shows that—though most likely Salentine—our palimpsest Typikon is not related. The Monastery of Saint Nicholas of Kasoulon near Otranto was founded by the Greek monk Joseph in 1098/1099, and was considered alongside its dependencies the reference point for Salentine monasticism from the 12th to the 15th century.[546]

The fact that the recovered palimpsest folia do not belong to the tradition of Kasoulon suggests one of two conclusions:

a) it was written before Kasoulon's foundation (i.e. before 1098/1099);

b) if written after Kasoulon's foundation, it was connected to another monastic centre.[547]

Further research might help to confirm or disprove either of these ideas. But what may now be said with certainty is that it is unlikely that this Typikon predates the beginning of the 11th century, since as already noted Typika only enter the record at this point.[548]

The Possible Eastern Origin of the Palimpsest Typikon

To offer some context for the Typikon's content, there follow some observations regarding the above transcriptions and a preliminary comparison with edited Typika (of both Stoudite and Sabaite families). It will emerge that the Typikon leans towards the Sabaite tradition.[549] It is known that Southern-Italian Typika were influenced principally by Stoudite Typika.[550] My intention here is to show that in this palimpsest Typikon the Sabaite elements conspicuously dominate the Stoudite ones.[551]

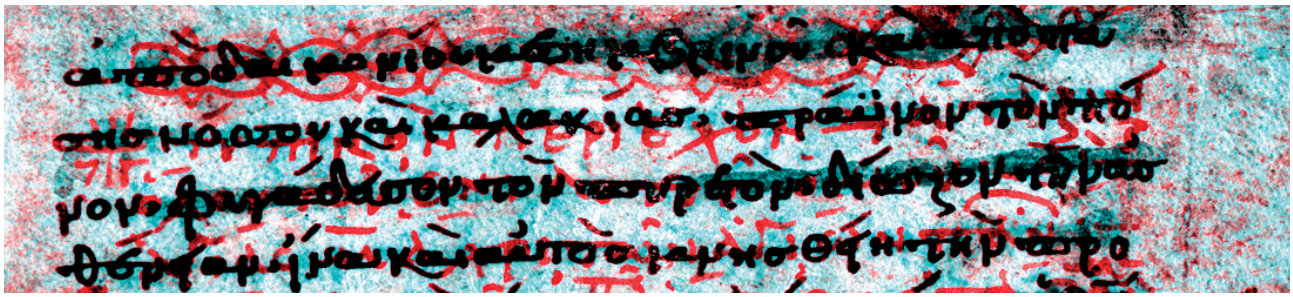


Figure 113 – f. 71r: title of the Typikon. ※ τυπικὸν περιέχον διάταξιν |2 ὅλου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὁμοῦ κ(υριακάς) ε΄ τ(ῆς) |3 ἁγίας μ΄ ἄχρι τῶν ἁγίων πάντων:–. Processed image by Keith Knox: KTK_pseudo_WBUVB47-MB780IR
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

17) 182. and the Sabaite Typikon Sin. gr. 1096 193.

545 They are Taur. C III 17 + Taur. B IV 34, f. 172 (Diktyon 63734) + Verona Biblioteca Capitolare 133, f. 5 (Diktyon 70778), completed by the hegoumenos Nicholas on September 1st 1173; Vat. Barb. gr. 350 (Diktyon 64893), completed by the monk of Kasoulon Ierotheos on January 29th 1205; Vallic. D 61 (Diktyon 56317) + Vat. gr. 2325 ff. 1–6 + 5a (Diktyon 68956) of the second half of the 13th century or beginning of the 14th; Vat. Barb. gr. 383 (Diktyon 64926), copied in 1583 by the priest Stefano Ripa di Soleto. Cf. Parenti, Tipologie 48–50.

546 T. Miller, Kasoulon: Rule of Nicholas for the Monastery of Saint Nicholas of Kasoulon near Otranto, in: Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents. A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments, IV, ed. J. Thomas – A. Constantinides Hero – G. Constable. Washington 2000, 1319–1320. The text of the Kasoulon Typikon was edited by A. Apostolidis in his unpublished doctoral thesis (A. Apostolidis, Il Typikon di S. Nicola di Casole secondo il codice Taur. C III 17. Introduzione, testo critico, indici. Doctoral Thesis. Pontificia Università S. Tommaso D'Aquino in Roma – Facoltà di Teologia – Sezione ecumenico-patristica greco-bizantina "S. Nicola". Bari 1983).

547 On the monasteries in Terra d'Otranto between the 11th and 13th centuries see E. Tomai-Pitinca, Monasteri bizantini e benedettini in Terra d'Otranto nei secoli XI–XIII (aspetti politico-istituzionali), in: S. Benedetto e l'Oriente cristiano. Atti del Simposio tenuto all'abbazia della Novalesa (19–23 maggio 1989), ed. P. Tamburrino. Novalesa 1981, 229–255.

548 The oldest extant Typikon codex is that of Alexios the Stoudite (1025–1043). It is preserved exclusively in Old Church Slavonic. Cf. Parenti, Tipologie 50, and the edition by Pentkovskij (Typikon Stoudion).

549 The differences between Stoudite and Sabaite Typika are clearly explained in Getcha, Typikon décrypté 47–52 and ODB III, p. 1823, and p. 1961. The Typika used for comparison are listed before the transcriptions above.

550 See, for instance, Getcha, Typikon décrypté 47.

551 On the influence of Sabaitic monasticism on Byzantine monastic Typika, see J. Thomas, The Imprint of Sabaitic Monasticism on Byzantine Monastic Typika, in: The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present, ed. J. Patrich. Leuven 2001, 73–83.

In so far as I have been able to reconstruct, after the Typikon title on f. 71^{r} (**Figure 113**) come nine main chapters: six begin with the term διάταξις and three with περί. They contain a selection of rules, covering, in the manuscript's own order, the following topics:

1) diataxis for the celebration of Vespers on festive days (when the Θεός Κύριος is sung);[552]
2) diataxis for the celebration of Matins on festive days (when the Θεός Κύριος is sung);
3) diataxis for the celebration of Vespers on non-festive days (when the Alleluia is sung);
4) diataxis for the celebration of Matins on non-festive days (when the Alleluia is sung);
5) diataxis for the first hour;
6) instructions for Compline;
7) diataxis for eating and drinking according to the practice of Jerusalem;
8) instructions on how to celebrate the Liturgy of Saint Basil;
9) instuctions on various feasts.

Regarding the first of these (f. 71^{r}), corresponding passages are found in the Sabaite Typikon 53–54. Unlike the Stoudite Typikon, which begins with the description of the Easter Vigil, the Sabaite Typikon opens with the description of the Agrypnia or monastic Vigil. Though the term Agrypnia is not mentioned, the fact that our Typikon begins with the Great Vespers, and not with Easter, seems to place it closer to the Sabaite tradition.

In this connection, the presence of the 'diataxis for eating and drinking according to the practice of Jerusalem' (7) on f. 68^{rv} is significant: διάταξις τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ὅλου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ περὶ βρώσεως καὶ πόσεως ἀκριβεστάτη. It is surely noteworthy that the first three listed rules resemble rules 18, 19, and 20 in the Kasoulon Typikon. The table below offers a comparison of the two texts: words in bold (palimpsest Typikon) and underlined (Kasoulon Typikon) indicate the differences.

Palimpsest Typikon, f. 68^{r}	**Typikon Kasoulon**
Διάταξις τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ὅλου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ περὶ βρώσεως καὶ πόσεως ἀκριβεστάτη (f. 68^{r}, ll. 2–4)	Κεφάλαιον ι΄: περὶ τῆς εἰσόδου τῆς τραπέζης (Typikon Kasoulon, p. 6)
Χρὴ εἰδέναι ὅτι ὅλον τὸν χρόνον εἰς τὰς λιτὰς ἡμέρας ὅτε οὐκ ἔστιν ἑορτή· ἡ παλαιστίνη· ὥρα ε΄ σημ(αίνει) τὴν λειτουργ(ίαν) καὶ ἀπολύοντες· εἰσερχόμεθα εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν· ἐσθίομεν δὲ δύο διακονίας· μίαν μαγειρείαν καὶ τὸ ἕτερον ἐκζεστὸν εἴτε λάχαν(ον) εἴτε ὄσπρεον (f. 68^{r}, ll. 4–11)	Δεῖ εἰδέναι ὅτι ὅλον τὸν χρόνον εἰς τὰς λιτὰς ἡμέρας ὅτε οὐκ ἔστιν ἑορτή, ἀρχομένης τῆς τετάρτης ὥρα ε΄ σημαίνει τὴν λειτουργίαν καὶ ἀπολύοντες, κρούει τὸ ξύλον τρὶς ὁ κελλαρίτης. Καὶ εἰσερχόμενοι εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν προηγουμένου τοῦ ἱερέως, τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν λειτουργήσαντος, λέγομεν τὸν συνήθη ψαλμόν, τὸ ὑψώσω σε ὁ Θεός μου. Ἐσθίομεν δὲ μίαν διακονίαν. (R-18: Typikon Kasoulon, p. 6)
---	Κεφάλαιον ια΄: περὶ τῶν νηστίμων ἡμέρων καὶ ἑορτῶν (Typikon Kasoulon, p. 6)
Τὰς δὲ νηστίμους ἡμέρας ἤγουν τετράδα καὶ παρασκευὴν ὅλου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ξηροφαγοῦμ(εν)· κατὰ τὴν τῶν θείων πατέρων παράδ(οσιν):– (f. 68^{r}, ll. 11–15)	Τὰς δὲ νηστίμους ἡμέρας ἤγουν τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν ξηροφαγοῦμεν. Δίχως ἀρρωστίας, κατὰ τὴν τῶν θείων πατέρων παράδ(οσιν). (R-19: Typikon Kasoulon, p. 6)
Ἐὰν δὲ λάχῃ ἐν αὐταῖς ἑορτή … ὡς κατὰ … καταλύωσι τὰς νηστείας· εἰς ἱερ(ὰς) λαύρας· ὡς αὕτως καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀναχ… (f. 68^{r}, ll. 16–21)	Ἐὰν δὲ λάχῃ ἐν αὐταῖς ἑορτὴ ἑνός τῶν ιβ΄ Ἀποστόλων, ἢ τῶν ἀσωμάτων, ἢ τὸ γενέθλιον τοῦ προδρόμου, ἢ ἡ ἀποτομὴ αὐτοῦ, ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἑορτῶν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου, ἢ τῶν δεσποτικῶν ἑορτῶν καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ὀκταήμερα, ἢ ἀσθένεια σωματική τινι συμβῇ, καταλύομεν τὴν νηστείαν· ἀγνὰς δὲ αὐτὰς τηροῦμεν. (R-20: Typikon Kasoulon, pp. 6–7)

Although the rules are written in a more succint way in the palimpsest Typikon, and the mention of the Jerusalemites and of Palestine is missing from the Kasoulon Typikon (**Figure 114**), their similarities seem to indicate that the rules in each case might come from a common source.

[552] The Θεὸς Κύριος corresponds to Psalm 117:27.6 and is used on festive days only. On other days the Alleluia was sung. Cf. Getcha, Typikon décrypté 86.

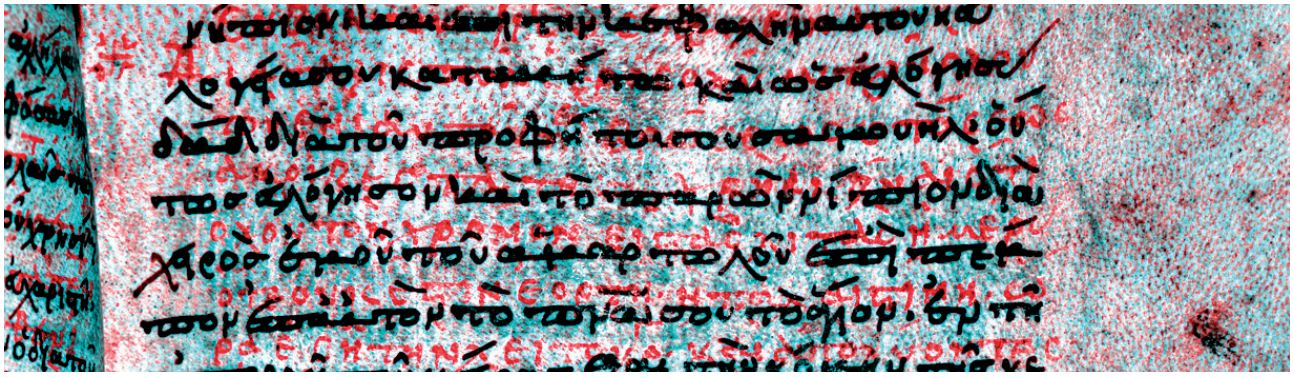


Figure 114 – f. 68r, ll. 2–7: mention of the diatxis of the Jerusalemites (l. 2), and of Palestine (l. 6). Processed image by Keith Knox: KTK_pseudo_WBUVB47-MB780IR (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Final remarks on the general rules concern the last chapter (9), namely that 'On various feasts', which is found on ff. 68v and 81r. The text of this chapter corresponds almost *verbatim* to the chapter περὶ τῶν ἑορτῶν, ἐν οἷς ψάλλεται τὸ Θεὸς Κύριος found towards the conclusion of Logos 1 in the *Taktikon* by Nikon of the Black Mountain. Logos 1 coincides with the Typikon that Nikon prepared, in all probability at the end of the 11th or in the early 12th century,[553] for a monastery on the Black Mountain near Antioch. This monastery was never in fact founded. As before, the texts of the two Typika are compared here schematically.[554] In Nikon's text, passages not found in the palimpsest text are underlined.

Palimpsest Typikon (ff. 68v, 81r)	**Typikon Nikon (Chapter 91)**[555]	**English Translation (Typikon Nikon)**[556]
Περὶ διαφορᾶς τῶν ἑορτῶν	Περὶ τῶν ἑορτῶν, ἐν οἷς ψάλλεται τὸ Θεὸς Κύριος	Concerning the feasts at which "God is the Lord" is chanted
Χρὴ εἰδέναι· ὅτι εἰς τρεῖς κεῖνται ἐνταῦθα αἱ ἑορταί: εἰς μεγάλας· εἰς μεσαίας· καὶ εἰς μικράς: οὐκ ἀμάρτυρον δὲ τοῦτο, ἀλλ'ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν·	Εἰδέναι χρή, ὅτι εἰς τρεῖς τάξεις κεῖντεν αἱ ἐνταῦθα ἑορταί· εἰς μεγάλας, εἰς μεσαίας καὶ εἰς μικράς, καθὼς καὶ ὄπισθεν εἰς τὰ περὶ βρώσεως καὶ πόσεως καὶ λειτουργίας ἐμνημονεύσαμεν. οὐκ ἀμάρτυρον δὲ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν·	It should be known that the feasts herein comprise three orders: major, medium and minor. This is not without witness, but comes from the divine scriptures, just as we also noted above in the sections concerning food and drink and liturgy.
ὅσαι γὰρ περιεκτικὰς συν(άξεις) ἔχουσι τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἀναγνώσματα ἀφ'ἑσπέρας· καὶ … ταχὺ πᾶσα πνοὴ καὶ εὐαγγέλι(ον) εἰς τάξιν τῶν δεσποτικῶν ἑορτῶν κεῖνται τῶν μεγάλων τὴν δὲ μεσαίαν τάξιν καὶ μικρὰν **διδασκόμεθα ἐκ τῶν τυπικῶν τοῦ Στουδίτου καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους** πῶς ἐκεῖ διαφορᾶς ἔχει εἵς τε τὰς ὥρας καὶ τὰς μετανοίας καὶ τοῦ καμάτου:–	ὅσαι γὰρ περιεκτικὰς συνάξεις ἔχουσι τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἀναγνώσματα ἀφ'ἑσπέρας, καὶ πάλαι ταχὺ «Πᾶσα πνοὴ» καὶ εὐαγγέλιον, εἰς τάξιν τῶν δεσποτικῶν κεῖνται ἑορτῶν τῶν μεγάλων. τὴν δὲ μεσαίαν τάξιν καὶ μικρὰν **διδασκόμεθα ἐκ τὸ τυπικὸν τῶν Στουδίου καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους**, πῶς ἐκεῖ διαφορὰς ἔχει εἵς τε τὰς ὥρας καὶ τὰς μετανοίας καὶ τοῦ καμάτου. ὁ δὲ τὸ κρεῖττον μετὰ Θεὸν γινώσκων σκοπείτω.	For those which have general assemblies of the people and evening lections, and again in the morning the hymn "Let everything that has breath [praise the Lord]" and a Gospel reading, are classified as great feasts of the Lord. Regarding the medium and minor orders, **we are taught from the typikon of the monks of Stoudios and the Holy Mountain** how they differ concerning the celebration of the hours and the prostrations and labour. Whoever knows better with the help of God, let him consider it.

553 Typikon Nikon LV.

554 The most recent edition of the Typikon is found in Typikon Nikon 48–134; the text of the chapter considered here is on pp. 122–132. For a historical contextualisation and English translation, see R. Allison, Black Mountain: Regulations of Nikon of the Black Mountain, in: Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents. A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments, ed. J. Thomas – A. Constantinides Hero – G. Constable, Washington 2000, 1, 377–424.

555 Typikon Nikon 122–124.

556 Allison, Black Mountain 411–412 (slightly modified).

Palimpsest Typikon (ff. 68^{v}, 81^{r})	Typikon Nikon (Chapter 91)[555]	English Translation (Typikon Nikon)[556]
Αἱ μὲν οὖν δεσποτικαὶ ἑορταὶ καὶ τοῦ Προδρόμου ἡ γέννησις καὶ ἡ ἀποτομή· καὶ ἡ μνήμη τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου ἔχουσι σημ(άδιν) τοιοῦτον· **στ(αυ)ρὸν καὶ κύκλοθεν κύκλον** ὅπερ δηλοῖ ὁλόλυτ(ον) εἶναι τὴν ἡμέραν:–	τέως ὧδε λέγομεν, ὅτι **αἱ μὲν μεγάλαι** τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς Θεοτόκου καὶ τοῦ Προδρόμου αἱ δύο, ἤγουν ἡ γέννησις καὶ ἡ ἀποτομή, καὶ τῶν δύο ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου ἔχουσι σημάδιν **σταυρὸν καὶ κύκλοθεν φέγγος**,	We say here at least that **the great feasts** of Christ and the Mother of God, and the two of Saint John the Forerunner, that is, the birth and the beheading, and that of the two holy and illustrious apostles Peter and Paul, **are marked by the sign of the cross surrounded by a halo**;
Αἱ δὲ μεσαῖαι· ἔχουσιν σημ(άδιν) **στ(αυ)ρὸν μόνον**· ὅπερ δηλοῖ μὴ γίνεσθαι νηστείαν αγν(ας) …	**αἱ δὲ μεσαίαις σταυρὸν μόνον** σημάδιν,	the **medium feasts** only with the **sign of the cross**;
Αἱ … μικραί· ἔχουσιν σημ(άδιν) **κεντήματα τέσσαρα**· ὅπερ δηλοῖ . τὸ κοπ.. τῶν γονυκλισιῶν μόνον νηστείαν δὲ γίνεσθαι ἰδίως δὲ εἰς τὸ κελλίον αὐτοῦ ὡς βούλεταί τις ποιεῖ· ἐν τ(αῖς) μεσαίαις ἑορταῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς μικραῖς:– Τὰς δὲ μεγάλας ὅλ(ως) γονυκλισίαι οὐ γίνονται οὔτε νηστεῖαι· οὔτε ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· οὔτε ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ ἰδίως …	**αἱ δὲ** πάλιν **μικραὶ** ἔχουν **κεντήματα** μόνον σημάδια. καὶ εἰς μὲν τὰς μικρὰς ἑορτὰς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· μὲν γονυκλισίαι οὐ γίνονται οὔτε ἐπιμέσεως νηστεῖαι, ἰδίως δὲ γίνονται τὰ ἀμφότερα. εἰς δὲ τὰς μεσαίας ἑορτὰς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μὲν ὅλως οὐ γίνονται, ἰδίως δὲ ὡς καὶ ἐνδέχεται· ἔστιν γὰρ τοῦτο συγκαταβατικώτερον καὶ εἰς γονυκλισίας καὶ εἰς νηστείας. τὰς δὲ μεγάλας ὅλως γονυκλισίαι οὐ γίνονται οὔτε νηστεῖαι, οὔτε ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οὔτε ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ ὅλως. ὁμοίως οὔτε ἐν τῇ πεντηκοστῇ ὅλῃ γονυκλισίαι ὅλως οὐ γίνονται οὔτε ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οὔτε ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ ἰδίως κατὰ τὸν τύπον, ὃν ἔχουσιν. αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ κυριακαὶ τοῦ χρόνου, καθὼς οἱ θεῖοι κανόνες διαγορεύουσι.	and again **the minor ones have points as signs**.[557] On the minor feasts there are no genuflections in church nor any common feasts, but both may be done privately. On the medium feasts they may not be done in the church at all, but privately when it is approved; for this is more accommodating with respect to both genuflections and to fasting. But on the great feasts there are no genuflections nor fasting at all, neither in the church nor in the cell at all. Likewise, there are no genuflections in the entirety of Pentecost at all, neither in the church nor in the cell privately, according to the rule which they keep. The rest of the Sundays of the year are observed as the sacred canons decree.

The texts from the palimpsest Typikon and from Nikon's Typikon are almost identical. It seems to me that their service to Nikon was to personalise the text and adapt it to his requirements. The insertion of a sentence that refers to a previous section of the Typikon makes this clear: 'This is not without witness, but comes from the divine scriptures, just as we also noted above in the sections concerning food and drink and liturgy'. Another example is the added sentence 'whoever knows better with the help of God, let him consider it', which sounds like an intervention within an already established text. On the other hand, the chapter in the palimpsest Typikon seems much more dry and lacking in attempts at customization.

Furthermore, it seems to be of specific significance that both texts mention the Typika of Stoudios and Mount Athos as models: 'we are taught from the typikon of the monks of Stoudios and the Holy Mountain how they differ concerning the celebration of the hours and the prostrations and labour'.

Finally, they both introduce the synaxarion section with an explanation as to which symbols are used in order to mark major, regular, and minor feasts: namely a cross surrounded by a circle (or a halo in Nikon), a simple cross, and four points (or, rather more generally, "points" in Nikon).[558]

In both Nikon's Typikon and the palimpsest one, the synaxarion section is selective. Not all days are listed, but only the festive ones, namely when the Θεὸς Κύριος is chanted. This is not self-evident in the palimpsest Typikon, since—as already mentioned—chapter 9, which precedes the synaxarion, has the simple title 'On various feasts'. However, the comparison with Nikon's chapter is illuminating, since its more precise labelling reads 'Concerning the feasts at which "God is the Lord" [i.e. Θεὸς Κύριος] is chanted'.

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[557] Allison translates "triple-point signs", but this is not what the text says. His translation is probably based on how the symbol is graphically displayed in the manuscripts, i.e. with three points: see for instance Sin. gr. 441, f. 36^{r} ff. (Diktyon 58816). The symbol is represented with three points in the edition also (cf. Typikon Nikon 124 ff.).

[558] On these symbols see Getcha, Typikon décrypté 86.

There are several differences between the synaxarion sections in Nikon's Typikon and the palimpsest. For instance, not all feasts are credited with the same importance (for example, the day dedicated to the Apostle Thomas, i.e. October 6th, is a minor feast in Nikon, but considered regular in the palimpsest), and some are completely different (e.g. on November 25th Nikon commemorates Clement Pope of Rome and Peter Archbishop of Alexandria [minor feast], while the palimpsest Typikon has Saint Catherine [minor feast]).

In the following, I will confine myself to a small number of peculiarities in the palimpsest:

- As is common in Sabaite Typika, Saint Catherine is commemorated on November 25th (minor feast), while in the Typikon of Stoudion this day is dedicated to Clement Pope of Rome and Peter Archbishop of Alexandria.

- Saint Saba is venerated on December 5th (minor feast), while none of the Stoudite saints is commemorated on this day; November 11th, the date of the veneration of Theodore of Stoudios, receives no mention in the palimpsest Typikon.

- Saint Blasius is extensively celebrated (ff. 51v, 72r, 72v) on February 11th (medium feast). This might provide an indication that the Salentine monastery to which this Typikon belonged had a particular veneration for this Saint.[559] This feast is present, for instance, in the Saba Typikon and in the Southern-Italian Kasoulon Typikon and Messina Typikon (albeit in much shorter form), while it is missing from Nikon's Typikon as well as the Stoudion one.

- Prophet Zacharia is commemorated on May 16th (minor feast). The Stoudion Typikon, Nikon, and Kasoulon have no entry for this day, while the Saba Typikon and Messina feature other saints: Theodore, the disciple of Saint Pachomios the Great, and George Bishop of Mytilene.[560]

- July 16th is devoted to the memory of the 630 Fathers of Chalcedon and the 318 Fathers of Nicaea (minor feast). I found reference to this specific commemoration on this day only in the Saba Typikon.[561]

- Saint Panteleimon is venerated on July 26th (medium feast), while in all other liturgical calendars his commemoration is July 27th.

All these elements would seem to place the palimpsest Typikon closer to a Sabaite Typikon than to Stoudion. If correct, this would confirm that the Palestinian liturgical rule of Saint Saba was already circulating in Terra d'Otranto in the late 11th–early 12th century. This is of some significance, since evidence for the diffusion of the Sabaite Typikon in Salento during this period is scarce: other than being mentioned as one of the sources of the Kasoulon Typikon, there are only two additional attestations—namely manuscript Laur. Plut. 10.15 (Diktyon 16137), copied by Giovanni Stavaleri di Siracusa in 1335/1336, and the 13th-century Salentine Praxapostolos Par. gr. 175 (Diktyon 49744). They both contain a number of liturgical rubrics copied from a Typikon that has Sabaite elements. The Sabaite Typikon as an entire text spread into Southern Italy much later, during the 15th century with the flow of Albanian migrants.[562]

A further comment on the relationship between the palimpsest Typikon and Nikon's Typikon: if the palimpsest Typikon dates from the late 11th–early 12th century, this means that it was written at the same time as Nikon's *Taktikon*, as it is dated by Hannick. This might well suggest a common source, later adapted by both Nikon and the author of the palimpsest Typikon. Monks and books were always on the move in the Middle Ages and it is eminently likely that someone travelled from Southern Italy to the Holy Land and Syria, bringing back a book, or that someone made the journey in the opposite direction. There are several possibilities

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559 Together with Saints Anne, Barsaphanius, Januarius, John the Theologian, Leucius, Marina, Michael, Nicholas and Sabinus, Saint Blasius is one of the saints to whom—according to the visual record—Salentine churches and altars were dedicated (Safran, The Medieval Salento 162). The oldest source attesting the cult of Saint Blasius in Salento is a wall-painting dated between 1055 and 1077 in the Crypt of Saint Cristina in Carpignano Salentino, not far from Otranto (S. Cortese, L'iconografia di san Biagio nel Salento, in: I Bizantini del XXI secolo. Atti dei convegni di Studi nel Salento meridionale (Tiggiano, 20 gennaio – Corsano, 1 febbraio – Taurisano, 20 aprile – Ruffano, 23 aprile 2013), ed. S. Tanisi. Ugento 2013, 42). Moreover, several places in Terra d'Otranto claim to preserve relics of the saint. They include Carosino and Avetrana (Taranto); Ruvo di Puglia and Ostuni (Brindisi); Masseria di San Lasi, Corsano, and Calimera (Lecce).

560 For the celebration of Prophet Zacharias on this day, see H. Delehaye, Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae: e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi adiectis synaxariis selectis. Brussels 1902, 689.

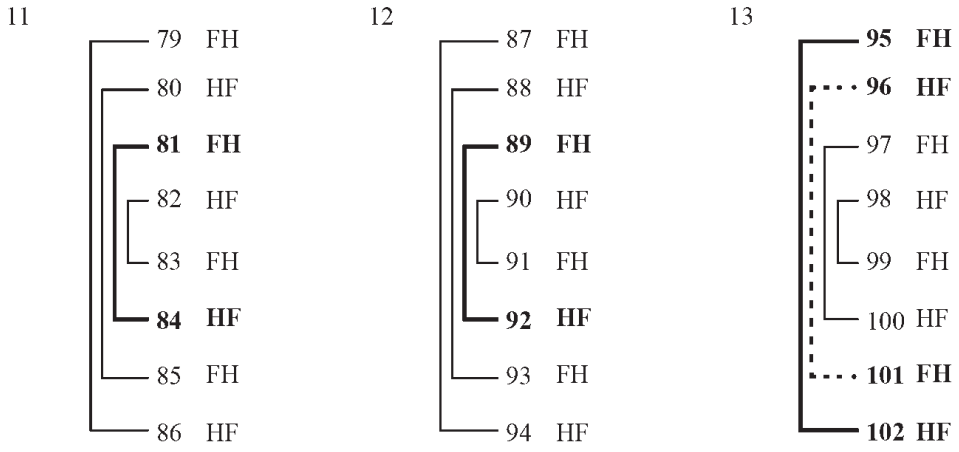
561 Typikon Saba 282. See also Delehaye, Synaxarium 826.

562 Parenti, Tipologie 52–55. See also A. Jacob, Le cahier préliminaire du Codex Ettenheim-Münster 6 de la Badische Landesbibliothek de Karlsruhe, in: ΣΥΝΑΞΙΣ ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ. Beiträge zu Gottesdienst *und Geschichte der fünf altkirchlichen Patriarchate für Heinzgerd Brakmann zum 70. Geburstag*, ed. D. Atanassova – T. Chronz. Berlin 2014, I, 315–316

for potential connections between these regions: it must not be forgotten that the late 11th–early 12th century is exactly the time when the Crusades began. Antioch was captured by the Normans and became the capital of a Norman principality lasting 150 years. Also, a Greek from Antioch, George, was the admiral of Roger II of Sicily. Finally, it has been established that Nikon's work was certainly known at the beginning of the 13th century in Southern Italy, and more specifically in Calabria and Terra d'Otranto.[563]

Makarismoi from a Parakletike

1a. ff. 81rv, 84rv, 89rv, 92rv, 95rv, 96rv, 101rv, 102rv (*inferior*);[564] 10th century: Makarismoi from a Parakletike (fragments)
Bibliography: —
Specimina: **Figures 115 – 117**



The oldest undertext of these double-palimpsest folia runs parallel to the overtext (**Figure 115**). Only f. 96 is inverted, rotated through 180°. A single folio of Sin. gr. 966 corresponds to a single folio of the original manuscript, though the margins (especially the upper) were trimmed.[565] The text is arranged in a single column with 30 or 31 lines per page and a distance between lines of 5 mm. The *Schriftspiegel* is approximately 175×90 mm. What remains of the upper margin measures 6 mm, while the outer margin measures 30 mm and the lower 20 mm (f. 101r). The original manuscript measured approximately 190×130 mm. The repeated activity of palimpsestation has damaged the surface of the parchment, so the ruling is not very visible and the ruling-scheme cannot be defined. However, round prickings are still visible in the outer margin of all folia. They were probably made with an awl or the arm of a compass.

The text rests on the ruled lines in a tiny upright pointed majuscule, with letters 3 mm high. It is characterized by an almost negligible variation between thick and thin strokes and a tendency to soften angularities (**Figure 116**),[566] resulting in a fluid and less artificial *ductus*. Ornamental strokes and thickenings at the extremities of the letters are relatively frequent. Among the script's peculiarities, the following are worth noting: the vertical stroke of letters ρ, τ, φ, ψ is slightly curved; the right stroke of υ is almost vertical; the ring of φ is rounded; the two bumps of ω are curved. Simple initials introduce each troparion, remaining outside the text block. They were written in red, and are still visible, for instance, on ff. 81r and 84v (**Figure 117**). Abbreviations

563 Cf. S. Delle Donne, Il codice greco Corpus Christi College 486 di Cambridge: contenuto, organizzazione testuale e legami con l'Italia meridionale. *Revue d'histoire des textes* n.s. IX (2014) 382, 389–391.

564 The palimpsest folia are indicated in bold in the scheme.

565 On ff. 81, 84 89, 92 the first three lines of text are missing because of the trimming of the upper margin.

566 For an overview of the upright pointed majuscule see Cavallo, Funzione e strutture della maiuscola greca 103–106; E. Crisci, La maiuscola ogivale diritta. Origini, tipologie, dislocazioni. *Scrittura e Civiltà* 8 (1985) 103–145; E. Crisci – P. Degni, La scrittura greca dall'antichità all'epoca della stampa. Una introduzione. Rome 2011, 118–120.

in the outer margins describe the specific textual content of the troparia (**Figure 115**): the most common are θ for θ(εοτοκίον) and μρ for μ(αρτυ)ρ(ικόν).

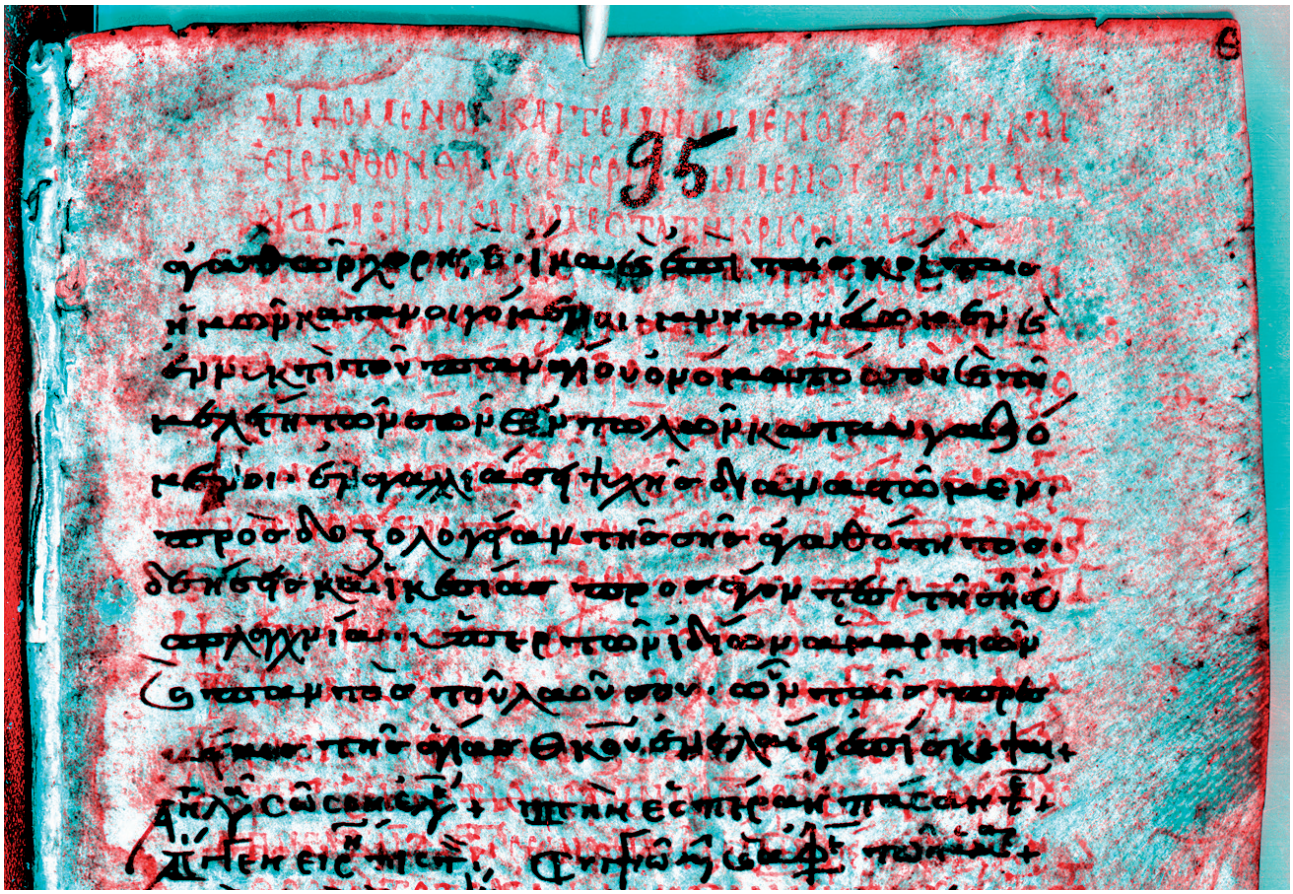


Figure 115 – f. 95r: *scriptio inferior* in red, parallel to the overtext in black ink. Processed image by Keith Knox: KTK_pseudo_WBUVUVb-MB780IR (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

The writing closely resembles that of Lond. Add. 39602 (Diktyon 39181), which was written in Cappadocia in the year 980.[567] Another codex with a rather similar srcipt is Rome, Angel. gr. 39 (Diktyon 55946). According to Crisci, this manuscript was copied in the 10th century in Cappadocia or a region under its influence,[568] while Lucà attributes it—on the basis of the ornamentation—to Southern Italy (Calabria: Rossano).[569]

This would suggest a date for the Sinai double palimpsest folia in the 10th century.[570] As far as their origin is concerned, the Sinai palimpsest folia unfortunately lack any kind of ornamentation that might help to localize them. In the absence of any further details, it is impossible to establish whether the folia were written in Cappadocia rather than Southern Italy, but it seems clear nonetheless that they originate from a provincial area.

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567 On this codex see Cavallo, Funzione e strutture della maiuscola greca 104–105, pl. 24; Crisci, Maiuscola ogivale diritta 122–123, pl. 5a. The manuscript is available online: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_39602 (19.09.2022).

568 Crisci, Maiuscola ogivale diritta 124, pl. 6a.

569 S. Lucà, Manoscritti «rossanesi» conservati a Grottaferrata, in: Catalogo della mostra in occasione del Congresso Internazionale su S. Nilo di Rossano (Rossano 28 settembre – 1 ottobre). Grottaferrata 1986, 20–21. Lucà describes the decoration of codex Angel. gr. 39 as being typical of the so-called *scuola niliana*. He indicates as characteristic the use of dark red, initial δ in the form of an animal head, and υ with circular strips at its base.

570 The *terminus ante quem* is the first quarter of the 11th century, since 'in nessun luogo dell'impero la vita di questa scrittura sembra essersi protratta oltre il primo quarto dell'XI secolo' (Crisci, Maiuscola ogivale diritta 145).

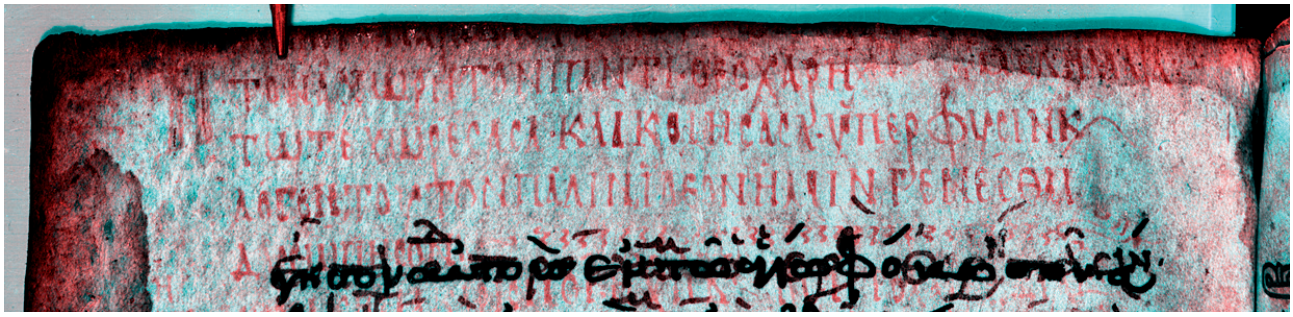


Figure 116 – f. 84ᵛ: *scriptio inferior* in red, parallel to the overtext in black ink. Processed image by Keith Knox: KTK_pseudo_WBUVB47-VIS (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

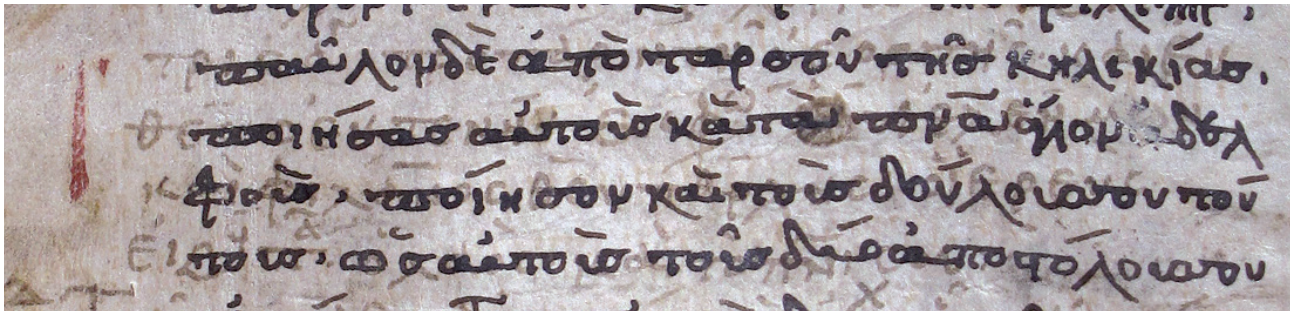
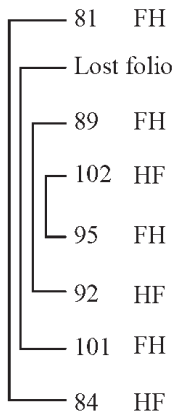


Figure 117 – f. 84ᵛ: initial of a troparion in red ink (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

The folia contain a collection of makarismoi, namely the troparia inserted into the beatitudes sung at the beginning of the Divine Liturgy. They are arranged according to the eight modes (oktoechos) system. What is preserved covers mode II (Friday) to mode VI (Monday), and mode VIII (Sunday to Friday). The text of most of the troparia can be found in the Rome edition of the Parakletike (PaR), though in a different order.

Seven of the eight folia originally belonged to the same quire (structure below), while the eighth is a loose folio formerly part of a different quire, now lost. The folia in the quire were arranged according to Gregory's rule.

The reconstructed order of the identified folia is: 81, [lost folio], 89, 102, 95, 92, 101, 84, [lost folia], 96.



My transcription of the recovered lines of text follows. Spelling errors have been tacitly corrected; accents, breathing marks, and the iota mutum subscript have been introduced. Abbreviations indicating the typology of the troparion (e.g. θ for θεοτοκίον) are located in the manuscript in the outer margin,[571] but for practical reasons

[571] A list, albeit incomplete, of possible troparia typologies, with their abbreviations, can be found in H. Husmann, Hymnus und Troparion. Studien zur Geschichte der musikalischen Gattungen von Horologion und Tropologion. *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (1971) 33. Husmann mentions those in Sin. gr. 1593 (Diktyon 59968) + Sin. gr.

I transcribe them here before the beginning of each troparion. Rubrics which clarify which day and in which mode the troparia were to be sung are marked in bold in the transcription. The apparatus that can be found after some of the transcriptions shows textual divergencies from the text printed in PaR.

f. 81r: |1 **μ(αρτυ)ρ(ικόν):** Συντριβόμενοι μάρτυρες· τοῦ ἐχθροῦ συν|2ετρίψατε· πᾶσαν δυναστείαν κ(αὶ) νίκης |3 στεφάνους ἐλάβετε (PaR 172, ll. 19–20)a |4 **θ(εοτοκίον):** Ὡς ἀρνίον κρεμάμενον· ἐπὶ ξύλου πανάμω|5με· βλέπουσα Χ(ριστό)ν ἐν … αὐτὸν ἐμεγάλυνες (PaR 172, ll. 24–25) |6 **Τῷ σα(ββάτῳ) μακαρισμοὶ ἦχ(ος) β΄ τὴν φωνήν σοί** (PaR 184, l. 15) |7 **μ(αρτυ)ρ(ικόν):** Τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ μιμησάμενοι τὰ παθήματα μάρτυ|8ρες· πάθη τῶν ἀν(θρώπ)ων ποικίλα· ἀεὶ θεραπεύετε (PaR 184, ll. 17–18)b |9 **ὁσ(ίους):** Σὺν προφήταις ἀπόστολοι· σὺν ὁσίοις διδάσ|10καλοι· τῷ Δημιουργῷ τῶν πάντων· καλῶς |11 εὐηρέστησαν (PaR 184, ll. 19–20)c |12 **ἀν(απαυσιμόν):** Μετὰ πάντων ἀνάπαυσον τῶν ἁγίων σου |13 **Κ(ύρι)ε …** (PaR 184, ll. 21–22) |15 **θ(εοτοκίον):** Τὰς δεήσεις τῶν δούλων σου μὴ παρίδῃς |16 πανάμωμε σῴζουσα ἡμᾶς ἐκ πταισμά|17των· κινδύνων καὶ θλίψεων (PaR 184, ll. 26–27)d |18 [*Decorative line*] |19 **Τῇ κυριακῇ μακαρισμοὶ ἦχο(ς) γ΄** |20 **ἀναστ(άσιμα):** Ἀθῳτήσαντα Χ(ριστ)ὲ τὴν ἐντολήν σου τῷ προπάτο|21ρι Ἀδάμ· τοῦ παραδείσου ἐξώρισας· τὸν δὲ λῃσ|22τὴν οἰκτίρμον· ὁμολογήσαντά σε ἐν Σταυρῷ· |23 ἐν αὐτῷ εἰσῴκισας κράζοντα· μνήσθητί |24 μου Σ(ωτ)ὴρ ἐν τῇ Βασιλείᾳ σου (PaR 201, ll. 24–27)e |25 Ἁμαρτήσαντας ἡμᾶς, τῇ τοῦ θανάτου κα|26τεδίκασας ἀρᾷ· ὁ Ζωοδότης [.]σημῶν· ἐν δὲ |27 τῷ σώματί σου· ἀναμαρτήτως Κ(ύρι)ε παθών |28 τοὺς θνητοὺς ἐζώωσας κράζοντας μνήσθ(ητι) (PaR 201, ll. 28–31)f ||

a δυναστείαν κ(αὶ) νίκης στεφάνους ἐλάβετε (f. 81r, ll. 2–3) : τὴν πλάνην σαφῶς, καὶ στέφος ἐδέξασθε (PaR 172, l. 20).

b μιμησάμενοι τὰ παθήματα μάρτυρες (f. 81r, ll. 7–8) : μιμησάμενοι Μάρτυρες τὰ παθήματα (PaR 184, l. 17) | πάθη τῶν ἀν(θρώπ)ων ποικίλα (f. 81r, l. 8) : πάθη ποικίλα βροτῶν (PaR 184, ll. 17–18).

c τῷ Δημιουργῷ τῶν πάντων (f. 81r, l. 10) | τῷ πάντων Δημιουργῷ (PaR 184, ll. 19–20).

d ἐκ πταισμάτων· κινδύνων καὶ θλίψεων (f. 81r, ll. 16–17) : ἐκ πολλῶν πταισμάτων καὶ θλίψεων (PaR 184, l. 27).

e τῷ προπάτορι Ἀδάμ (f. 81r, ll. 20–21) : τὸν προπάτορα Ἀδάμ (PaR 201, ll. 24–25).

f ὁ Ζωοδότης [.]σημῶν (f. 81r, l. 25) : ὁ Ζωοδότης καὶ Κύριος (PaR 201, l. 29) | ἀναμαρτήτως Κ(ύρι)ε παθῶν (f. 81r, l. 27) : ἀναμαρτήτως Δέσποτα παθῶν (PaR 201, ll. 29–30).

f. 81v: |2 Ταῖς μυροφόροις γυναιξὶ πρώταις ἐφάνης |3 ἀναστὰς ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν … (PaR 202, ll. 1–4) |8 **Τ …** |14 **κατ(ανυκτικόν):** … |19 **ἀσω(μάτους):** … |24 **μ(αρτυ)ρ(ικόν):** … ||

f. 89r: [θεράπον]|2τες ἀεί· εὐσθενῶς σοφοὶ θεραπεύετε· ὅθεν πίσ|2τει ὑμᾶς· ἅγιε δοξάζομεν (PaR 246, ll. 6–7)a |3 **θ(εοτοκίον):** Ἀποστόλων καλλονή· καὶ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀθλοφό|4ρων … (PaR 246, ll. 13–16) |9 **σταυρόν:** Κ … σε ἐν στ(αυ)ρῷ … ἐσκότασε τὸ φῶς (PaR 256, l. 28) |13 **Υ …** πάντων Ἰ(ησο)ῦ ἤχθης … (PaR 256, l. 32) |18 **μ(αρτυ)ρ(ικόν):** Τ … καὶ τὰ ὀνείδη ἀφελό[ντος] … (PaR 256, l. 37) |23 **θ(εοτοκίον):** Πάθη φέροντα σαρκὶ ἐθελουσίως καθορῶσα |24 ἐν στ(αυ)ρῷ· τὸν σὸν Υ(ἱὸ)ν παναμώμητε διεδο|25νήθης ὅλη· καὶ θρηνῳδοῦσα ἔκραζες ἀγνή· |26 Οἴμοι τέκνον ἐμὸν πῶς τεθανάτωσαι· (PaR 257, ll. 8–11)b |28 **Τῷ σα(ββάτῳ) …** Ἀθετήσαντα Χ(ριστ)έ τὴν (PaR 269, l. 5) ||

a ἅγιε δοξάζομεν (f. 89r, l. 2) : ἅγιοι γεραίρομεν (PaR 246, l. 7).

b πῶς τεθανάτωσαι (f. 89r, l. 26) : πῶς τέθνηκας τοὺς θανόντας (PaR 246, ll. 10–11).

f. 89v: |2 κουφίζετε πάντα πόνον ἀεὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχ(ῶν) ἡμ(ῶν) (PaR 269, ll. 11–12) |3 **ἰ(εράρ)χ(ας):** Ἱεράρχαι ἱεροὶ προφῆται ἔνδοξοι … (PaR 269, ll. 13–16) |8 **ἀν(α)π(αύσιμον):** … |13 **θ(εοτοκίον):** Φωτισμὸς … (PaR 269, ll. 26–29) |20 **Δ …** |25 **Τ …** ||

f. 102r: |1 … λῃστοῦ τοῦ |2 εὐγνώμονος … πρὸς αὐτόν (PaR 289, ll. 19–20) |3 Τὸν ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἅιδου (PaR 289, l. 16) |30 **κατ(ανυκτικόν):** Χερουβεὶμ καὶ Σεραφείμ … θρόνοι ἀρχάγ|31γελοι κυριότητες … (PaR 300, ll. 26–27) ||

f. 102v: |1 καὶ δυνάμεις τε καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι· ἀρχαὶ ὑψη|2λόταται, τῷ δεσπότῃ πάντοτε παριστά|3μενοι· πταισμάτων αἰτήσασθε· καὶ βίου (PaR 300, ll. 27–29)a |12 **θ(εοτοκίον):** Ἁμαρτάνοντα ἀεὶ καὶ ῥαθυμίᾳ … (PaR

776 (Diktyon 59151) + Lond. Add. 26113 (Diktyon 39051), one of the oldest Parakletike manuscripts preserved (8th–9th centuries).

301, l. 4) |[18] Τῇ γ΄ [..]κα ἦχ(ος) … |[19] κατ(ανυκτικόν): … |[25] προ(σόμοιον) δ(εσποτικόν): Ο … |[30] ἀνακράζων ἀεὶ· μνήσθητι |[31] μ(αρτυ)ρ(ικόν): Συντριβόμενοι ποιναῖς· καὶ θηρίοις βρῶμα (PaR 312, l. 37) ||

[a] δυνάμεις τε καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι (f. 102[v], l. 1) : Δυνάμεις, ἅγιοι Ἄγγελοι (PaR 300, l. 27) | τῷ δεσπότῃ πάντοτε παριστάμενοι (f. 102[v], ll. 2–3) : τῷ Δεσπότῃ ἄφεσιν παριστάμενοι (PaR 300, l. 28).

f. 95[r]: |[1] διδόμενοι· καὶ τεμνόμενοι σοφοί· καὶ |[2] εἰς βυθὸν θαλάσσης ῥιπτόμενοι· πυρὶ δαπα|[3]νώμενοι· καὶ ὠμοτάτῃ κρίσει καταξεόμε|[4]νοι … (PaR 312, ll. 37–38, PaR 313, l. 1)[a] |[7] θ(εοτοκίον): Τ … |[13] Τῇ δ΄ [..]κα ἦχ(ος) [δ΄] |[25] μ(αρτυ)ρ(ικόν): Οὐρανώσαντες τὴν γῆν … |[28] … [ἅδυ]|[29]τον ἐσκηνώσατε μεθέξει θεούμενοι· |[30] καὶ πᾶσιν αὐγάζοντες· φέγγος γνώσεως· |[31] τοῖς κατάχρεως ὑμᾶς μακαρίζουσιν (PaR 324, ll. 2–6) ||

[a] καὶ τεμνόμενοι σοφοί (f. 95[r], l. 1) : καὶ τεμνόμενοι δεινῶς (PaR 312, ll. 37–38).

f. 95[v]: |[1] σ(ταυρο)θ(εοτοκίον): Ἀναρτούμενον σταυρῷ ἐθελουσίως βλέπου|[2]σα (PaR 324, ll. 13–17) |[8] Τῇ ε΄ … |[26] θ(εοτοκίον) … |[29] … τῶν πταισ|[30]μάτων δέσποινα ἀπολ̣ύ̣τρ̣ω̣σ̣ι̣ν̣ καὶ |[31] βίου διόρθωσιν τοῖς πίστει (PaR 335, ll. 2–5) ||

f. 92[r]: [μα]|[1]κρόθυμε αἱ δυνάμεις … ἀπ̣ο̣ροῦσαι |[2] τρόμῳ ἐξίσταντο ἡ γῆ ἐκυμαίνετο |[3] τῶν φωστήρων κάλλος ἐναπεσβέν|[4]νυτο … (PaR 346, ll. 10–12)[a] |[13] μ(αρτυ)ρ(ικόν) … |[20] θ(εοτοκίον) … ||

[a] τῶν φωστήρων κάλλος (f. 92[r], l. 3) : καὶ φωστήρων κάλλος (PaR 346, l. 12).

f. 92[v]: |[2] ἡμῶν· ὅθεν χρεωστικῶς· εὐφημοῦμεν ὑμᾶς (PaR 358, ll. 36–37)[a] |[3] ἰ(εράρ)χ(ας): Ἱεράρχαι ἱεροί· καὶ προφητῶν ἐνθέων κατά|[4]λογος καὶ ὁσίων οἱ χοροί· καὶ γυναικῶν ἁγίων (PaR 358, ll. 38–39)[b] |[10] ἀν(α)π(αύσιμον): Ἔνθα λάμπει σου τὸ φῶς … (PaR 359, l. 4) |[17] θ(εοτοκίον): Ὃν ἐγέννησε πατὴρ πρὸ ἑωσφόρου λόγον … (PaR 359, l. 16) |[23] *[Decorative line]* |[24] Τῇ κυριακῇ μακαρισμοί … |[25] Ὁ λῃστὴς ἐν τῷ στ(αυ)ρῷ Θεὸν … (PaR 379, l. 16) |[28] Τῷ θανάτῳ σου Χ(ριστ)ὲ θανάτου ἔλυσας τὴν δύναμιν (PaR 379, l. 22) |[31] Μυροφόροις γυναιξίν … ||

[a] εὐφημοῦμεν ὑμᾶς (f. 92[v], l. 2) : πάντες ὑμᾶς σέβομεν (PaR 358, l. 37).
[b] καὶ προφητῶν ἐνθέων (f. 92[v], l. 3) : προφητῶν ἐνθέων (PaR 358, l. 38).

f. 101[r]: |[1] τὴν χαράν· τὸ γὰρ μνῆμά σου· καταλαβοῦσαι |[2] ἐν λύπῃ· τῇ σῇ ἐγέρσει· ἦραν τὸ χαραν (*sic*)· σ(ωτ)-ὴρ |[3] ἀνεκλάλητον |[4] Ἀναστας … |[7] θ(εοτοκίον): Χαῖρε ἔμψυχε ναὲ … (PaR 379, l. 37) |[10] Τῇ β΄ μακα(ρισμοὶ) ἦχ(ος) … Ὁ λῃστὴς ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ (PaR 389, l. 28) |[11] κατ(ανυκτικόν): Ψυχοφθόροι με λῃσταὶ … (PaR 389, l. 31) |[14] ἀσω(μάτους): Ἐπ … χοροὶ· ὑμνολογοῦσί σε τὸν πάν|[15]των Θ(εό)ν … (PaR 389, l. 34) |[17] μ(αρτυ)ρ(ικόν): Τῶν … τοῖς χοροῖς συναριθμούμενοι (PaR 398, l. 37) |[20] Διὰ παντὸς ταῖς πονηραῖς (PaR 402, l. 2)[a] |[23] Τῇ γ΄ μακα(ρισμοὶ) ἦχ(ος) … |[24] κατ(ανυκτικόν): Ὡς ἐδικαίωσας Χριστὲ … (PaR 401, l. 27) |[27] Τὸν προδραμόντα τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ καὶ ἑτοιμάσαντα |[28] ὁδοὺς ἀγαθάς· μακαρίσωμεν Ἰωάννην συμ|[29]φώνως· ταῖς ἐκείνου θείαις προσευχαῖς· |[30] πταισμάτων λυτρούμενοι (PaR 401, ll. 30–32)[b] ||

[a] In PaR this theotokion is to be sung on Tuesdays, and not on Mondays as indicated here.
[b] ταῖς ἐκείνου θείαις (f. 101[r], l. 29) : ὅπως τούτου θείαις (PaR 401, l. 31) | πταισμάτων λυτρούμενοι (f. 101[r], l. 30) : πταισμάτων ῥυσθείημεν (PaR 401, l. 32).

f. 101[v]: μ(αρτυ)ρ(ικόν): Οἱ τὸ ποτήριον Χ(ριστο)ῦ· πιόντες μάρτυρες προ|[2]θ̣ύ̣μ̣ῳ̣ ψ̣υ̣χ̣ῇ̣ θολερῶν ἡμᾶς ἁμαρτημά|[3]τ̣ω̣ν̣ … ων προσευχῶν (PaR 401, ll. 33–36) |[5] Η … |[19] θ(εοτοκίον): Π … |[24] Ω … |[28] Ω … |[29] ἐκ κ̣ό̣ρ̣ης ἀγ̣υ̣ῆ̣ς̣ ἐ̣φ̣ω̣τ̣ί̣σ̣α̣τ̣ε̣ τ̣ο̣ὺ̣ς̣ ἐ̣ν̣ σκό|[30]τει ἀγνοίας κ̣α̣θ̣η̣μ̣έ̣ν̣ο̣υ̣ς̣ θ̣ε̣ῖ̣ο̣ι̣ μ̣α̣θ̣η̣τ̣α̣ί̣· Χ(ριστο)ῦ |[31] τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ ἡμῶν (PaR 424, ll. 19–21) ||

f. 84[r]: |[2] Τῶν ἀποστόλων καλλονή θεοχαρί|[3]τωτε ὑπάρχουσα … (PaR 424, l. 30) ||

f. 84[v]: |[1] θ(εοτοκίον): Ἡ τὸν ἀχώρητον παντί· θεοχαρίτωτε … |[2]τω τε χωρήσασα· καὶ κυήσασα· ὑπὲρ φύσιν κ(αὶ) |[3] λόγον, τοῦτον πάλιν ἵλεων ἡμῖν· γενέσθαι |[4] δυσώπησον (PaR 448, ll. 2–4)[a] |[5] Τῇ κυριακῇ μακαρισμοὶ ἦχ(ος) πλ. β΄ |[6] Μνήσθητί μου ὁ Θεὸς ὁ σωτήρ μου … (PaR 467, l. 29) |[8] Διὰ ξύλου τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἀπατηθέντα … (PaR 467, l. 31) |[10] Ἅδου πύλας καὶ μοχλοὺς … (PaR 467, l. 33) |[13] Μυροφόροι· ἐν τῷ μνήματι ἐλθοῦσαι … (PaR 467, l. 38) |[16] τριαδικόν: Τὸν … δοξολογοῦμεν κ(αὶ) τὸ πν(εῦμ)α (PaR 468, l. 4) |[18] θ(εοτοκίον): Χαῖρε …

|[20] Τῇ β΄ … ἦχ(ος) πλ. β΄ Μνήσθητί μου ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς … (PaR 477, l. 36) |[21] κατ(ανυκτικόν): Π … ἐν γνώσει καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ· πεπραγ|[22][μένα] … (PaR 477, l. 38) |[24] ἀσω(μάτους): Ὁ λαμπρύναϛ τῷν ἀγγέλ̣ων τὰς χορείας … (PaR 478, l. 1) |[27] μ(αρτυ)ρ(ικόν): Πᾶσαν … [ἀθλο]|[28]φόροι … (PaR 478, l. 4) ||

[a] πάλιν ἵλεων ἡμῖν (f. 84[v], l. 3) : πᾶσιν ἵλεων ἡμῖν (PaR 448, l. 3) | δυσώπησον (f. 84[v], l. 4) : ἱκέτευε (PaR 448, l. 4).

f. 96[r]: illegible

f. 96[v]: |[1] ποικίλα θεραπεύοντες (PaR 656, ll. 6–7) |[2] Λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς παθῶν τῆς ἀτιμίας |[3] καὶ τῆς χαλεπῆς … |[4] ἱκεσίαις σου ἄχραντε … τοὺς εὐσεβῶς |[5] σε μακαρίζοντας (PaR 656, ll. 12–14) |[6] Τῇ δ΄: μακα(ρισμοὶ) ἦχ(ος) πλ. δ΄ |[14] μ(αρτυ)ρ(ικόν): Π … |[18] θ(εοτοκίον): Ἐκ παρθενικῆς … σου ὁ δημιουργ|[ὸς] … (PaR 669, l. 7) |[21] Τῇ ε΄: μακαρισμοὶ ἦχ(ος) πλ. [δ΄] |[23] πρ(οσόμοιον): … |[28] μ(αρτυ)ρ(ικόν): … ||

In the table I have tried to systematize the rediscovered material.[572] This is needed because, to my knowledge, there is as yet no edition nor analysis of such an early arrangement of makarismoi. As already noted, the arrangement is that of the eight modes. Within each mode the troparia follow the days of the week, from Sunday to Saturday. While the number of Sunday makarismoi does not seem to be fixed (it varies from four to six), the structure used for the other days appears to have achieved a level of stability. In fact, every day from Monday to Saturday is allocated four makarismoi.

The typology of each troparion is specified in the margins of the manuscript and can be observed in the table. It is interesting to note that each day has specific categories of troparia: for instance, on Mondays the order is always as follows: 1. katanyktikon (penitential) 2. asomatous (for the angels) 3. martyrikon (for the martyrs) 4. theotokion (for the Virgin Mary). Monday is the day dedicated to the angels.

Moreover, on all days except Saturdays the last two troparia are a martyrikon and a theotokion, while on Saturdays the martyrikon is replaced by a troparion anapausimon (for the dead): Saturday is the day devoted to the departed.

ἦχ. α΄	**ἦχ. β΄**	**ἦχ. γ΄**	**ἦχ. δ΄**	**ἦχ. πλ. α΄**	**ἦχ. πλ. β΄**	**ἦχ. βαρ.**	**ἦχ. πλ. δ΄**
---	---	Sunday 5 makarismoi anastasimoi (81[r]–81[v])	Sunday (At least) 4 makarismoi anastasimoi (89[v]–102[r])	Sunday 5 makarismoi anastasimoi (92[v]–101[r])	Sunday 4 makarismoi anastasimoi 1 triadikon 1 theotokion (84[v])	---	--- (96[r])
---	---	Monday 1) katanykt. 2) asomatous 3) martyrikon (81[v]) ---------- 4) (lost)	Monday 1) katanykt. 2) --- 3) --- 4) theotokion (102[r]–102[v])	Monday 1) katanykt. 2) asomatous 3) martyrikon 4) theotokion (101[r])	Monday 1) katanykt. 2) asomatous 3) martyrikon (84[v]) 4) ---	---	--- (96[r])
---	---	---	Tuesday 1) katanykt. 2) pros. desp. 3) martyrikon 4) theotokion (102[v]–95[r])	Tuesday 1) katanykt. 2) --- 3) martyrikon 4) --- (101[r]–101[v])	---	---	--- (96[r])
---	---	---	Wednesday 1) --- 2) --- 3) martyrikon 4) staurotheot. (95[r]–95[v])	Wednesday 1) --- 2) --- 3) --- 4) theotokion (101[v])	---	---	Wednesday 1) --- 2) --- 3) --- 4) --- (96[r]–96[v])

[572] The table takes inspiration from those by D. Bucca, Un antico manoscritto innografico di origine orientale: il Sin. gr. 824. *RSBN* n.s. 43 (2006) 107, 108, and 110, summarizing the structure of the three sections that constitute Sin. gr. 824: stichera, kathismata and kanons.

ἦχ. α΄	ἦχ. β΄	ἦχ. γ΄	ἦχ. δ΄	ἦχ. πλ. α΄	ἦχ. πλ. β΄	ἦχ. βαρ.	ἦχ. πλ. δ΄
---	---	Thursday 1) (lost) 2) (lost) ---------- 3) martyrikon 4) theotokion (89^{r})	Thursday 1) --- 2) --- 3) --- 4) theotokion (95^{v})	Thursday 1) --- 2) --- 3) --- 4) theotokion (101^{v}–84^{r})	---	---	Thursday 1) --- 2) --- 3) martyrikon 4) theotokion (96^{v})
---	Friday 1) (lost) 2) (lost) ---------- 3) martyrikon 4) theotokion (81^{r})	Friday 1) stauron 2) --- 3) martyrikon 4) theotokion (89^{r})	Friday 1) --- 2) --- 3) martyrikon 4) theotokion (92^{r})	--- (84^{r})	---	---	Friday 1) prosom. 2) --- 3) martyrikon (96^{v}) ---------- 4) (lost)
---	Saturday 1) martyrikon 2) osious 3) anapaus. 4) theotokion (81^{r})	Saturday 1) --- 2) ierarchas 3) anapaus. 4) theotokion (89^{r}–89^{v})	Saturday 1) --- 2) ierarchas 3) anapaus. 4) theotokion (92^{r}–92^{v})	Saturday 1) --- 2) --- 3) --- 4) theotokion (84^{r}–84^{v})	---	---	

These 10th-century folia written in upright pointed majuscule most likely originate from an ancient Parakletike, namely a book containing the services for a cycle of eight whole weeks, including Saturdays, Sundays and weekdays. A comprehensive history of this hymnographical book is still to be written,[573] although in recent years there have been steps in this direction.[574]

The modern Parakletike—i.e. that found in printed editions like PaR, as well as in manuscripts starting from the 12th–13th century (like Sin. gr. 795 [Diktyon 59170] and Messin. S. Salv. 51 [Diktyon 40712])—is arranged according to "liturgical order", meaning that hymns and troparia of all the various typologies are interspersed and follow the daily sequence of the service; they are distributed across eight weeks and according to the eight musical modes.[575]

By contrast, the oldest manuscripts (8th–9th century) followed a "genre structure". This meant that at an earlier stage the hymns or the troparia were not grouped and sorted with respect to their use within a service, but according to hymnographical genre: the oldest Parakletike had a first part containing stichera and kathismata, and a second with kanons and makarismoi. Both were ordered according to the eight modes.[576]

The palimpsest folia of Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 + Sin. gr. NF M 68 + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 clearly belong to this second more archaic category, since the makarismoi are copied all together in an independent section.[577]

A complete list of the oldest extant versions of the Parakletike does not yet exist, and we are reliant therefore on individual studies. In terms of current knowledge, the most ancient Parakletike is the so-called *Paracletice sinaitica antiqua*, an 8th–9th century manuscript in sloping pointed majuscule, today divided into three parts (Sin. gr. 1593 + Sin. gr. 776 + Lond. Add. 26113).[578] However, the section containing the makarismoi is neither

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573 F. D'Aiuto – D. Bucca, Per lo studio delle origini della Paracletica: alcuni testimoni antiquiores d'ambito orientale e italiota, in: Bisanzio e le periferie dell'Impero. Atti del Convegno Internazionale nell'ambito delle celebrazioni del millenario della fondazione dell'Abbazia di San Nilo a Grottaferrata (Catania, 26–28 novembre 2007), ed. R. Gentile Messina. Acireale – Rome 2011, 82 n. 28.

574 A reference point is the article by D'Aiuto – Bucca, Per lo studio delle origini della Paracletica. Eagerly awaited are the results of the project "Per un *corpus* dei manoscritti innografici *antiquiores*" coordinated by Francesco D'Aiuto. A description of the project can be found in F. D'Aiuto, Per la storia dei libri liturgico-innografici bizantini: un progetto di catalogazione dei manoscritti più antichi. *BollGrott* 3 (3rd s.) (2006) 53–66.

575 D'Aiuto – Bucca, Per lo studio delle origini della Paracletica 81 and 90.

576 The first scholar to establish this was Chr. Hannick, Le texte de l'oktoechos, in: Dimanche. Office selon les huits tons: Oktoechos. Chevetogne 1972, 42–43. See also Bucca, Un antico manoscritto 106–107, and D'Aiuto – Bucca, Per lo studio delle origini della Paracletica 78 and 91.

577 An independent book called Makaristarion also existed, but as a phenomenon confined to the 13th–14th centuries (Hannick, Le texte de l'oktoechos 43). One example is Sin. gr. 828 (Diktyon 59203).

578 Husmann, Hymnus und Troparion 33; Hannick, Le texte de l'oktoechos 48; D'Aiuto – Bucca, Per lo studio delle origini della

complete nor independent—they are inserted among the kanons—and thus it cannot usefully be compared with the palimpsest folia examined here.

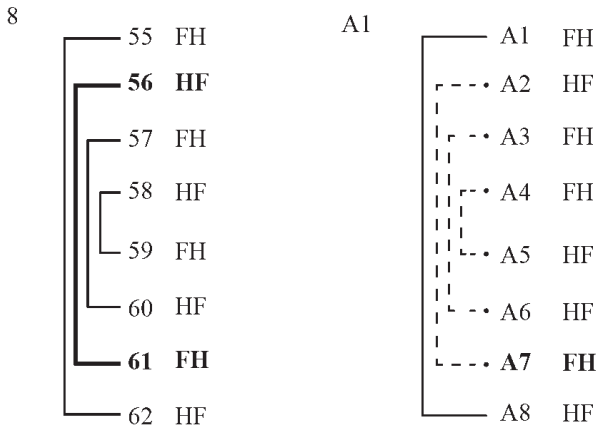
A further early example is the late 9th–early 10th century Sin. gr. 824 (Diktyon 59199), a Sunday Oktoechos.[579] Unfortunately, here the makarismoi section is entirely missing: stichera, kathismata and kanons are the only content.

Nevertheless, I have been able to identify two Parakletike manuscripts that—like the palimpsest folia of Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 + Sin. gr. NF M 68 + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98—feature an independent section devoted to makarismoi. This was made possible thanks to the concise but still informative description by Husmann of a number of Sinai hymnographical manuscripts belonging to the Old Collection,[580] and their online availability on the website of the Library of Congress.

An independent section containing makarismoi are found in ten folia at the beginning of the 10th-century Sin. gr. 779 (Diktyon 59154)[581] and also in the 11th century codex Sin. gr. 799, ff. 81–106 (Diktyon 59174). Detailed codicological and palaeographical investigation is needed here, as well as analysis of content.[582] My initial observations, however, would seem to confirm that their sequence and disposition is almost identical to that in the palimpsest folia, though in the latter a number of troparia are missing or at variance. It is worth underlining that only in the Sinai palimpsest folia are the troparia "classified" according to their typology, and this by means of abbreviations in the margins. In Sin. gr. 779 only troparia that are martyrika or theotokia are indicated with marginal abbreviation; in Sin. gr. 799 the troparia are numbered using the Greek letters of the alphabet. This seems to indicate an evolution from a more complex system (attributing a specific name to each troparion, as in the Sinai palimpsest folia) to a simpler one (allocating a number, as in Sin. gr. 799), with our manuscript representing an even later stage in this evolution.

Clement the Hymnographer, Kanon on Saint Eupraxia

1b. ff. 56rv, 61rv, A7rv (*inferior*);[583] *post* early 9th century: Clement the Hymnographer, Kanon on Saint Eupraxia (fragments)
Bibliography: —
Specimina: **Figures 118 – 120**



Paracletica 80 n. 19 and 82 n. 28. See also the entry "Weekly Tropologion" in the Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology.

579 This manuscript was described in great detail by Bucca, Un antico manoscritto. In the tables on pp. 107, 108 and 110, she helpfully summarizes the structure of the three sections of Sin. gr. 824: stichera, kathismata and kanons. Therefore, even if not on a Parakletike, Bucca's detailed study is very useful for understanding the early structure of such hymnographical books.

580 Husmann, Hymnus und Troparion 34–46.

581 Husmann, Hymnus und Troparion 35. The makarismoi are found on ff. 1–10. These folia were not part of the original manuscript and are not written in the same hand as the rest. Yet the script seems quite old, and a detailed palaeographical study is highly desirable. The manuscript is available online: https://www.loc.gov/item/00271075765-ms/ (19.09.2022).

582 Husmann, Hymnus und Troparion 41. The manuscript is available online: https://www.loc.gov/item/00271074475-ms/ (19.09.2022).

583 The palimpsest folia are indicated in bold in the scheme.

The oldest undertext of these double-palimpsest folia runs perpendicular to the overtext (Typikon) and to the more recent *scriptio inferior* (Euchologion), rotated through 90° or 270° (**Figure 118**). A single folio of Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 + Sin. gr. NF M 68 + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 corresponds to half a folio of the original manuscript, one bifolio to a complete original folio. Each (reconstructed) folio had 28/29 lines of text, with 8 mm between and arranged in a single column. The *Schriftspiegel* is approximately 200×120 mm. The upper margin measures 15 mm (f. 61^{r}), the outer 40 mm (f. 61^{r}), the internal one 25 mm (f. 61^{r}), and the lower 50 mm (f. 56^{v}). The original manuscript measured approximately 255×180 mm.

The text is written upon the ruled lines in sloping pointed majuscule. On the basis of a sample of ten, the average angle of slope is 105,6°. Simple initials outside the text block introduce each troparion. Two small crosses are located above the first line of f. A7^{r}, one on the left and one on the right, probably for decoration (**Figure 120**).[584] The small letter θ visible in the left margin of f. 56^{r} and f. A7^{r} is an abbreviation of θ(εοτοκίον) while the letters ωδ in the left margin of f. 56^{r} represent ᾠδ(ή) (**Figure 119**).

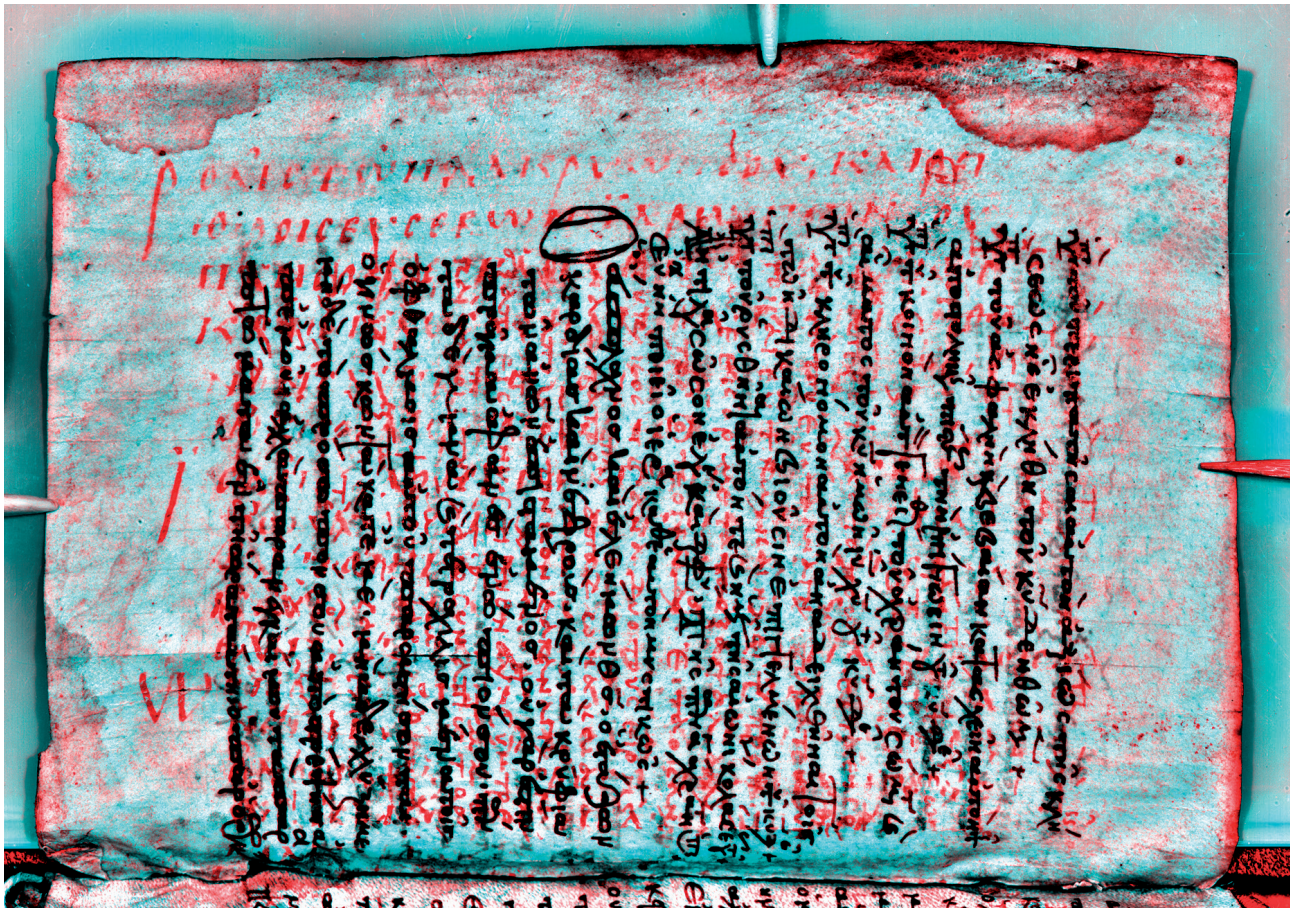


Figure 118 – f. 61^{v}: *scriptio inferior* in red, perpendicular to the overtext in black ink. On ll. 1–2: Ῥοαῖς τῶν δακρύων σου καὶ ῥείθροις εὐσεβῶν. Processed image by Keith Knox: KTK_pseudo_WBUVUVb-MB780IR (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

The folia contain a fragment of a kanon for Saint Eupraxia. The text has been edited by Acconcia Longo as Kanon XXXV in AHG XI 452–469 (*inc.*: Ὡς θεῖον καλλώπισμα τὴν Εὐπραξίαν): it was sung on July 25th. Preserved in the lower layers of ff. 56 and 61 are five troparia of ode η΄ and then five troparia of ode θ΄ (the final part of the fifth troparion of ode θ΄ is missing as it was written on a folio which is now lost). The edited text is based on codex Crypt. Δ. α. XI (Diktyon 17655), a late 11th-century Menaion for July, written in Grotta-

[584] As far as I can tell with the naked eye (processed images are not available for this folio), there is no title between the two crosses. Moreover, this is not the beginning of a new section, but rather the text seems to continue from the previous folio.

ferrata by the hieromonachos Sophronios.[585] Acconcia Longo describes the Cryptensis as a unique witness to this kanon on Saint Eupraxia. She writes: 'sicuramente il canone ci è giunto mutilo. I tropari conservano infatti le vestigia di un acrostico che comprendeva il nome della santa, Εὐπ<ρ>αξί<α>ν, alle odi δ΄, ε΄, ς΄, e forse la parola <μ>έλ<π>ω all'ode θ΄'.[586] The Sinai palimpsest folia confirm that the Cryptensis contains an incomplete version of the kanon. In fact, ode η΄ as edited in Crypt. Δ. α. XI has four troparia, while the same ode in the Sinai manuscript preserves five (and at least one more is missing at the beginning). Similarly, ode θ΄ in the Grottaferrata manuscript has four troparia, while there are five troparia for ode θ΄ in the Sinai manuscript (though, again, one final troparion, namely the theotokion, is missing).[587] This means that odes η΄ and θ΄ in the Sinai folia each had at least six troparia (two more than in the Grottaferrata manuscript), and they therefore preserved a more extensive and complete version of the kanon.

Acconcia Longo also drew attention to the fact that the kanon is acrostic in form. The incomplete acrostic for odes η΄ and θ΄ of the Cryptensis reads ρω ελω, while that of Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 + Sin. gr. NF M 68 + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 for the same odes—but with four additional troparia—reads ριωῳ μέλπω. This confirms Acconcia Longo's hypothesis that ode θ΄ contributed the word μέλπω to the acrostic, and indicates that the Sinai palimpsest contains a much more complete text than the manuscript from Grottaferrata.

Acconcia Longo additionally indicates that 'l'acrostico dei nove θεοτόκια compone il nome Κλήμεντος',[588] which is one of the ways used by Clement the Hymnographer to sign his kanons.[589] There is only one θεοτοκίον extant in the Sinai folia: the second to last, namely that located at the end of ode η΄. It begins with the letter omicron, none other than the penultimate letter of Κλήμεντος. Clement the Hymnographer—who died some time after 824—was very likely a monk. Besides a complete Lenten weekday hymnody, he produced almost 30 kanons, mostly for minor feasts and funeral rites.[590] The attribution of the kanon to Clement the Hymnographer allows these few sheets in sloping pointed majuscule to be dated after the beginning of the 9th century but earlier than the Typikon that lies on top of it (late 11th – early 12th century). The folia might have belonged to a Menaion manuscript. The reconstructed folio order is: 61^{v}+56^{r}, 61^{r}+56^{v},[591] and it has been possible to decipher the following lines: spelling errors have been tacitly corrected; accents, breathing marks, and the iota mutum subscript have been introduced.

f. 61^{v}: || Ῥοαῖς τῶν δακρύων σου· καὶ ῥεί|[2]θροις εὐσεβῶν· ἱδρώτων σου |[3] πάνσοφε τὰ πάθη τῆς σαρκὸς |[4] κατέκλυσας πάντα· καὶ παρθέ|[5]νον σαυτὴν … (AHG XI 467) |[6] ὡς νυμφ[± 5]σα … (AHG XI 468) |[7] Ἴσα … |[8] χω … |[9] ἁγίοντες … |[10] κου … |[11] Εὐπραξία … |[12] Ὡς πρᾶος ὡς ἥσυχος καὶ ὅλη τα|[13]πεινὴ ὑπάρχουσα πν(εύματι) κυ(ρίου) τὰς |[14] ὁδοὺς ἐξεῦρες ὁσία διὰ πράξε|[15]ως καὶ … ἀξίως ἐν βίῳ |[16] μακαρία …(AHG XI 468) ||

f. 56^{r}: ||[1] Ν … |[2] προσευχῆς· ατ … |[3] κα … τῆς χορισμ … |[4] ζ … |[5] ως πα… |[6] θ(εοτοκίον) Ὁ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως … |[7] καὶ θ(εὸ)ς ἠνέσχετο … [ὠφθῆ]|[8]ναι ἐπὶ γῆς ἐκ σοῦ παναγία ἀσυγ|[9]χύτως τεχθείς ἵνα τὴν πε-|[10] σοῦσαν εἰκόνα ἀναστήσῃ (AHG XI 468) |[11] ᾠδ(ή) θ΄ … |[12] Μαρτυρ… αθλ[ ] |[13] [..]ωσ[.]τεφ … ||

f. 61^{r}: ||[1]ματι σεμνή· τῶν πόλλων σου |[2] θαυμάτων· ἃς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ω κοι|νωνοῦ [.] απειλ[.]φ[.]σ[± 3] ταφης |[3] συμμετόχους καὶ τῆς δόξης· |[4] π.επ. τυχες αυτη |[5] Ἐν ἀρεταῖς Εὐπραξία ὤφθης σα|[6]φῶς φερωνύμως·

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585 E. Follieri, Un canone di Giuseppe Innografo, per S. Fantino «il vecchio» di Tauriana. *REB* 19 (1961) 139.

586 AHG XI 627–628.

587 The fact that the acrostic concludes with the fifth troparion of ode θ΄ shows that only one troparion, namely the θεοτοκίον, is missing at the end of ode θ΄.

588 AHG XI, p. 628.

589 On the acrostics in Clement's kanons more specifically, see W. Weyh, Die Akrostichis in der byzantinischen Kanonesdichtung. *BZ* 17/I (1908) 51–53. Clement had another characteristic way of signing his works, namely using a specific formula in the last line (unfortunately this is missing in the Sinai folia): he tends to use the word πληρόω, usually linked with the noun ᾠδή (A. Kazhdan, An Oxymoron: Individual Features of a Byzantine Hymnographer. *RSBN* n.s. 29 (1992) 20–21). As an example, the last verse of the kanon for Saint Eupraxia in the codex Cryptensis reads: τὴν ᾠδὴν ἀποπληρῶ (AHG XI 469).

590 On Clement the Hymnographer and his kanons see PmbZ I 3650; M. Arco Magrì, Clemente Innografo e gli inediti canoni cerimoniali. Rome 1979; Kazhdan, An Oxymoron (list of Clement's kanons on pp. 22–25).

591 The text on f. 61^{v} continues on 56^{r}, and that on f. 61^{r} on 56^{v}.

ἀποθεμέ|[7]νη γὰρ σεμνὴ τὴν τοῦ πλού|[8]του σου δόξαν καὶ τὴν εὐγέ|[9]νειαν ὁμοῦ· πτωχείας ἐν πν(εύματ)ι· |[10] ὑπέταξας· σεαυτὴν τῷ κ(υρί)ῳ· |[11] καὶ ἐδείχθης εὐγενὴς καὶ |[12] εὐκλεής(*) |[13] Λόγοις θ(εο)ῦ τρεφομένη βρῶσιν πα|[14]θῶν οὐκ ἐγεύσῳ … τὸν γῦν |[15] … ἀγνὸν (AHG XI 468–469)||

* ἀκλινής in AHG XI 469

f. 56ᵛ: ||[1] προσάγουσα ἔτυχες τῆς στά|[2]σεως τῆς μεγάλης ἐκείνης Εὐ|[3]πραξία τῆς τριάδος λειτουργέ (AHG XI 469) |[4] Πεπλήρωται σου ὁσίως· ὁ τῆς ἀσκή|[5]σεως δρόμος καὶ μετὰ Παύλου |[6] ἐκβοᾷς Εὐπραξία εὐθαρσῶς πρὸς |[7] τὸν σ(ωτ)ῆρα κα … τὸν δρόμον τε |[8] τ … καὶ τὴν πίσ|[9]τιν νομίμως ὀρθοδόξως τῇ |[10] ἀγάπῃ σου σ(ωτ)ήρ |[11] Ὡς θαυμαστός σου ὁ βίος· ὡς εὐσε|[12]βής σου ὁ δρόμος· νύμφη χ(ριστο)ῦ ὑπερ|[13]καλλής· Εὐπραξία ὁσία μοναζου||[σῶν] (AHG XI 469)

f. A7ʳ: [ ]||[1]θειση τῆς τούτου ἐγέρσεως |[5] θ(εοτοκίον) Σε … ||

f. A7ᵛ: ||[1] καὶ ἀνακα … ||

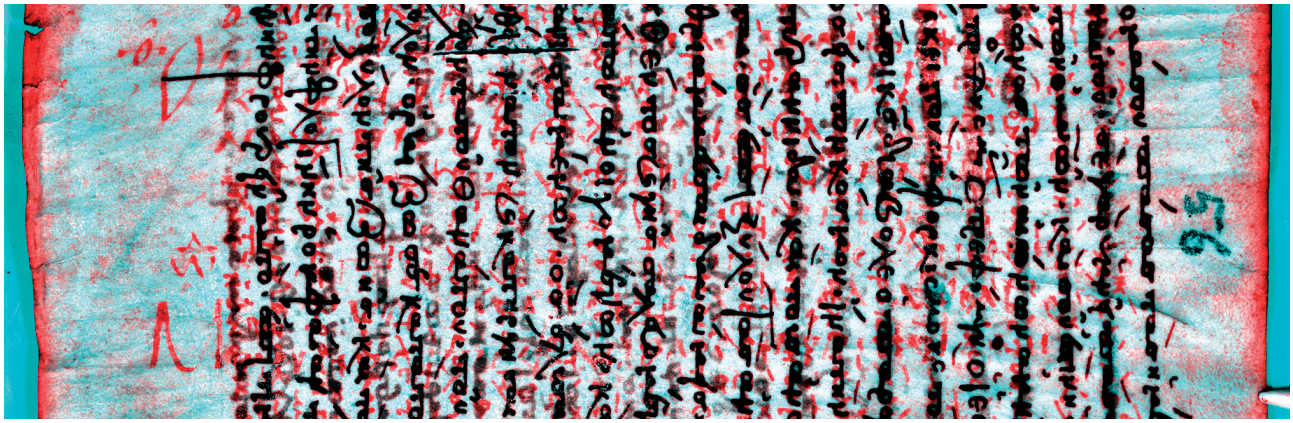


Figure 119 – f. 56ʳ: θ (for θεοτοκίον) and ωδ (for ᾠδή) in the left margin. Processed image by Keith Knox: KTK_pseudo_WBUVB47-MB780IR (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

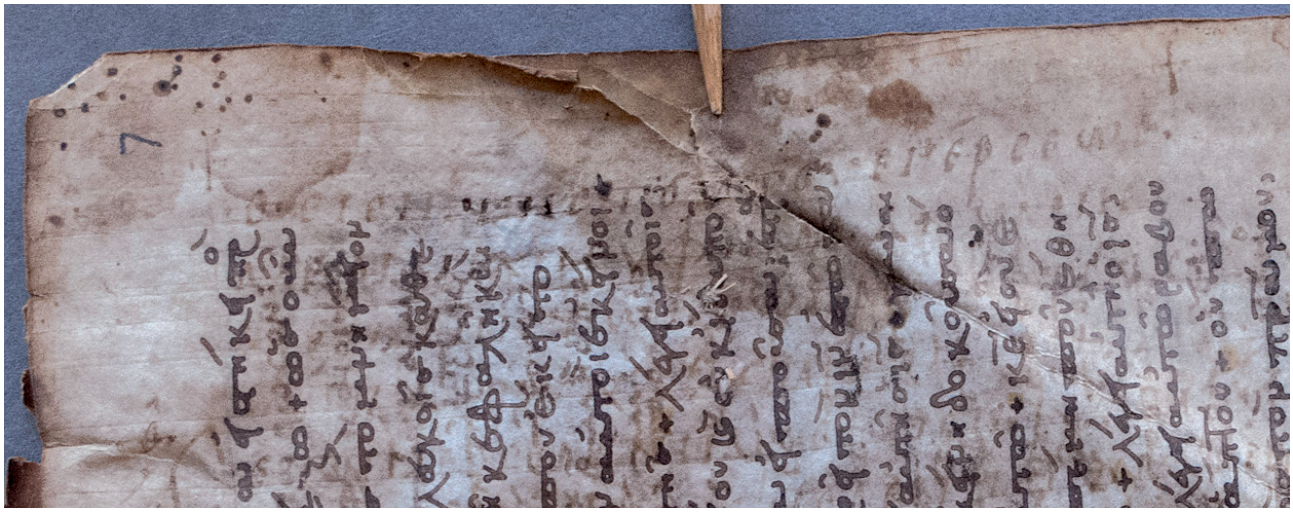
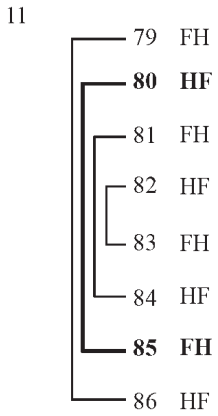


Figure 120 – f. A7ʳ: two small crosses above the first line and θ (for θεοτοκίον) in the left margin (© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Erotapokriseis (?)

1c. ff. 80rv, 85rv (*inferior*);[592] 11th century: Erotapokriseis? (fragments)[593]
Bibliography: —
Specimina: **Figure 121**



The oldest undertext of this double-palimpsest bifolio runs parallel to the overtext (Typikon) and to the more recent *scriptio inferior* (Euchologion), rotated through 180° (**Figure 121**). This bifolio of Sin. gr. 966 corresponds approximately to one bifolio of the original manuscript, which—as is evident from the fact that the outer margin of f. 80 has been trimmed by several centimetres—was certainly larger. Each side of the bifolio preserves 22–23 lines of text, with 7 mm between and arranged in a single column. The upper margin measures 35 mm, the outer 45 mm, and the lower 35 mm (f. 85v). The original manuscript measured approximately 190×130 mm. Prickings are still visible in the outer margin of f. 80, their shape elongated rather than round, and likely made with a penknife. The ruled lines tally with Sautel-Leroy type 24D1.[594]

The repeated activity of palimpsestation has damaged the surface of the parchment, with the result that the text is completely illegible on f. 85 and barely visible on f. 80. However, from what is visible it is possible to say that the text is written in an upright rectangular calligraphic minuscule with thick and pronounced strokes hanging from the ruled line. A notable peculiarity is the letter ζ *a proboscide*, in the form of a three inclined to the left. This mode of writing recalls that of Salentine manuscripts written in *style rectangulaire aplati ou écrasé*.[595] However, its poor legibility does not permit a secure conclusion, and can only cautiously suggest that these folia were written in Southern Italy, perhaps in the 11th century. What is sure, however, is that the *terminus ante quem* for dating the bifolio is the Typikon that lies above it, namely the late 11th – early 12th century.

Folio 80r preserves at its top (rotated through 180°) the title [κε]φάλαιον λα΄ τ(ῶν) ἁγ(ίων) π(ατέ)ρ(ων) (**Figure 121**). Also legible on l. 7 of f. 80v is the sentence ἐρώτησις β΄. Unfortunately, nothing more can be read. Nonetheless, I would like to suggest that what does remain legible may hint at a collection of erotapokriseis.[596] The reconstructed order of the folia is: 80v, 80r. Since nothing is legible on f. 85, it is not possible to establish whether it goes before or after f. 80. If the bifolio has been reused in its original configuration the folio order would be 80v, 80r, 85v, 85r; if it has been folded inside out, the folio order would be 85v, 85r, 80v, 80r.

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[592] The palimpsest folia are indicated in bold in the scheme.

[593] Ernst Gamillscheg describes this undertext as written in an upright minuscule. He transcribes the title on f. 80r and reads ἐρώτησις β΄ on f. 80v, but does not venture any hypothesis regarding the nature of the content.

[594] Sautel, Répertoire de réglures 50, 151.

[595] Jacob, Les écritures; Lucà, Scritture e libri in Terra d'Otranto. The oldest dated manuscript in this style is Par. gr. 3 (Diktyon 49563), which was written in 1095. This is the reason why scholars attribute this style to the end of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th, but this does not preclude the existence of earlier examples.

[596] ODB, I, p. 727; A. Volgers – C. Zamagni (ed.), Erotapokriseis: Early Christian Question-and-Answer Literature in Context. Proceedings of the Utrecht Colloquium (13–14 October 2003). Leuven 2004, in particular the contribution of Rey (pp. 165–180) and the conclusion to the volume by Bussières (pp. 181–189); Y. Papadoyannakis, Instruction by Question and Answer: The Case of Late Antique and Byzantine Erotapokriseis, in: Greek Literature in Late Antiquity. Dynamism, Didacticism, Classicism, ed. S. Fitzgerald Johnson. Aldershot 2006, 91–105.

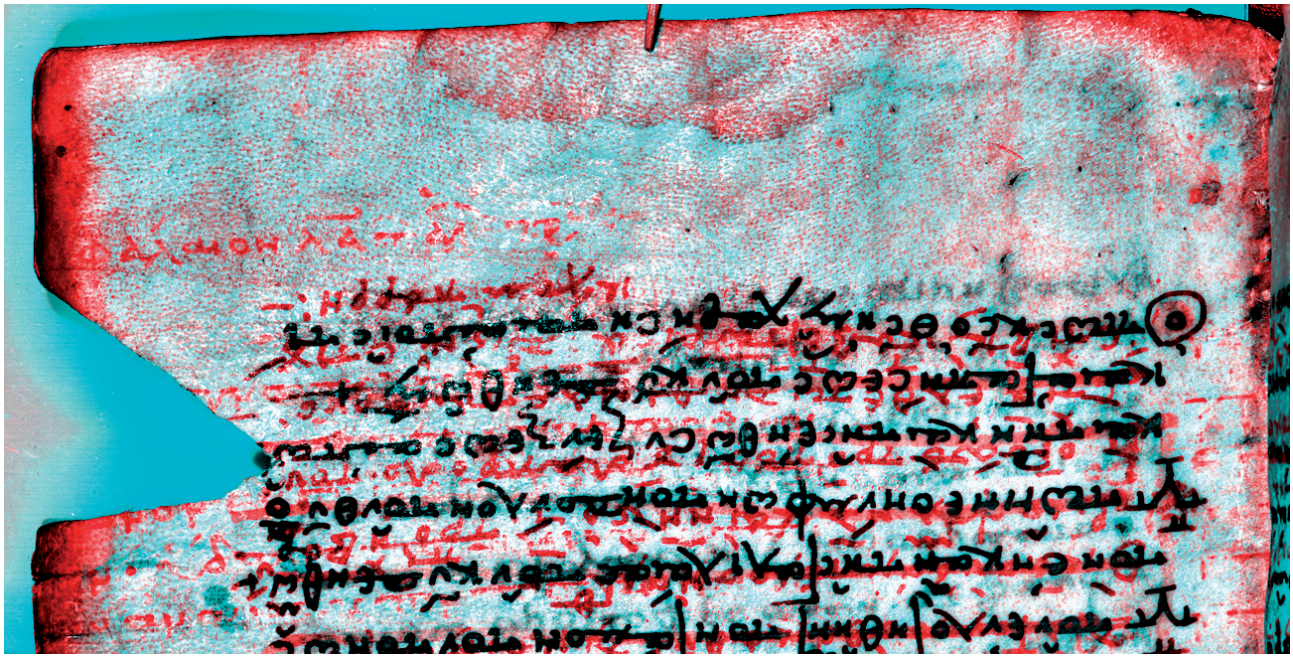
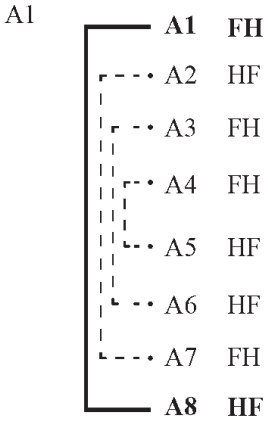


Figure 121 – f. 80r: *scriptio inferior* in red, parallel to the overtext in black ink and rotated through 180°. In the upper margin: [κε] φάλαιον λα΄ τ(ῶν) ἁγ(ίων) π(ατέ)ρ(ων). Processed image by Keith Knox: KTK_pseudo_WBUVB47-MB780IR
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Gospel Readings

2. ff. A1rv, A8rv;[597] Gospel readings (from a Lectionary?)
Bibliography: —
Specimina: **Figures 122 – 123**



The lower writing is perpendicular to the *scriptio superior*, rotated through 90° or 270°. A single folio of Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] corresponds to half a folio of the original manuscript, one bifolio to a complete original folio. The reconstructed folio A1+A8 has 26 lines of text, which are arranged in two columns. The original manuscript measured approximately 220×165 mm. Prickings are still visible in the outer margin (**Figure 122**), probably made with an awl or the arm of a compass.

[597] The palimpsest folia are indicated in bold in the scheme.

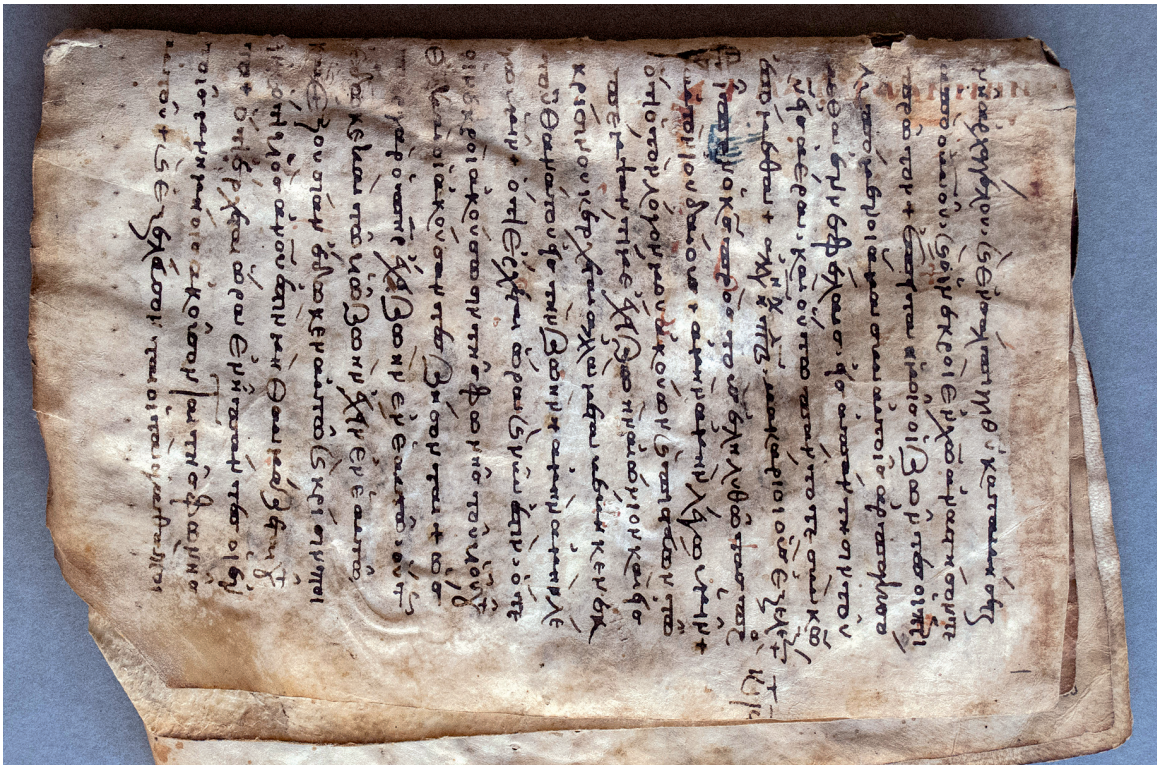


Figure 122 – f. A1r: prickings on the left margin of the original folio
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

The text is written in majuscule and is very difficult to make out without the aid of multispectral imaging. Nevertheless, I have been able to distinguish two rubrics which seem to have been written in red, one on f. A1r and the other on f. A8r. Both read as κατ(ὰ) Ἰωάννην, which indicates that we are dealing with readings from the Gospels. The rubric on f. A8r is followed by a decorated initial that marks the beginning of the Gospel reading (**Figure 123**). The original folio order can be established on the basis of codicological features and its sequence is: A8r+A1v,[598] A8v+A1r.[599] It is possible that these folia come from a Lectionary, a hypothesis which the two-column layout would support.[600] Its poor legibility does not allow any attempt to date or locate the script.

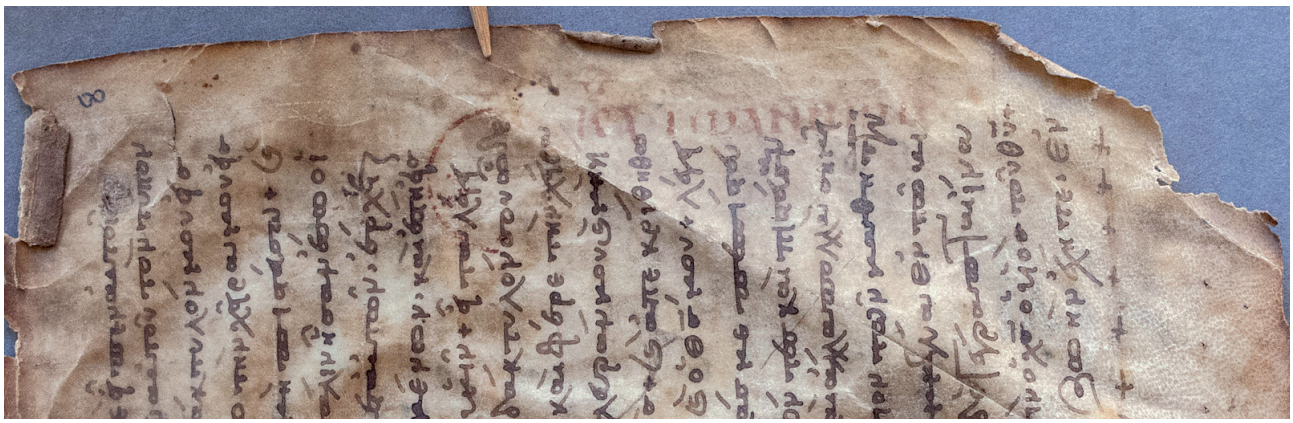
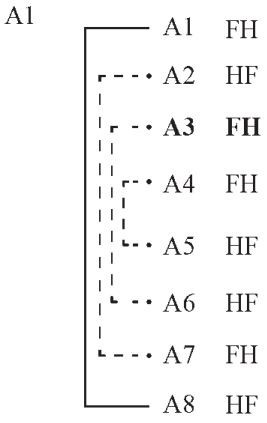


Figure 123 – f. A8r: rubric (κατὰ Ἰωάννην) followed by decorated initial
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

[598] The text on f. A8r continues on f. A1v.
[599] The text on f. A8v continues on f. A1r.
[600] Parenti, Tipologie 87.

Ecclesiastical Canons

3. f. A3^{rv};[601] Ecclesiastical canons (fragments)
Bibliography: —
Specimina: **Figure 124**



The undertext runs parallel to the overtext. A single folio of Sin. gr. NF M 21 corresponds to one folio of the original manuscript. The size of the original manuscript seems to have been at least 180×130 mm. Folio A3^{r} preserves 23 lines of text, which are arranged in a single column (**Figure 124**); the verso is so well erased that hardly anything remains visible.

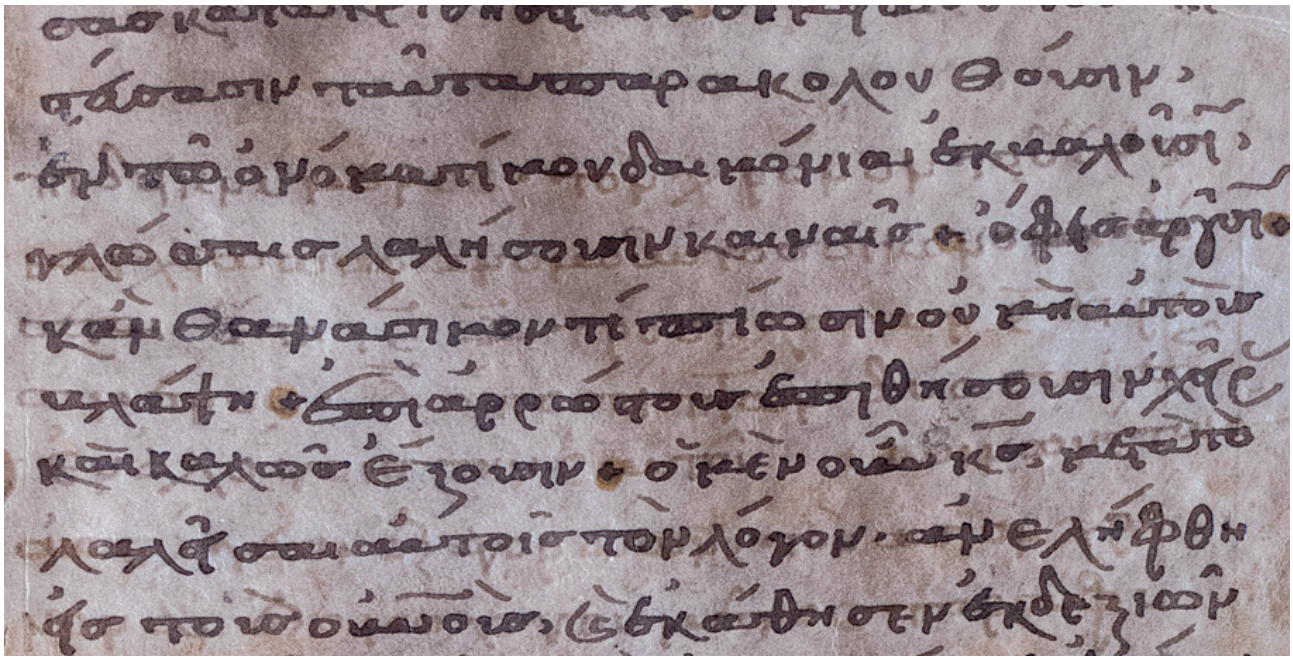


Figure 124 – f. A3^{r}: *scriptio inferior* in light brown in Greek minuscule
(© Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Through onsite analysis and on the basis of the photographs that Father Justin Sinaites made available to me, I have been able to establish that the the folio is written in a rounded and elegant minuscule and preserves a number of ecclesiastical canons. Its poor legibility has so far defeated any attempt to date or locate the

[601] The palimpsest folio is indicated in bold in the scheme.

script. The text itself can be compared with Basil of Caesarea's Letter 217 *To Amphilochius about the canons* (Ἀμφιλοχίῳ περὶ κανόνων),[602] which is the third of three letters known as canonical letters.[603] These are letters addressed to Amphilochius of Iconium, which preserve a total of 84 ecclesiastical canons numbered continuously throughout. The letters make no attempt to codify all church law, but rather respond to specific queries sent by Amphilochius to Basil.[604] I will transcribe in the following what I have managed to read on f. A3^{r}. Unfortunately, without the aid of multispectral imaging, nothing can be read on f. A3^{v}.

f. A3^{r}: ἐ]||[1]πιδεικνύμενος τὸν χρόνον τοῦ ἐν τῇ |[2] μοιχείᾳ παρανομοῦντος οἰκονομηθή|[3]σεται [ ] |[4] [ ] |[5] ΞΓ΄ Ὁ ἐν ἀλόγοις [ ] |[6] ἀσέβειαν ἐξαγορεύων [ ] |[7] [ ] ἐξομολογούμενος παραφυ|[8]λάξεται |[9] ΞΔ΄ Ὁ ἐπί[ ] |[10] [ ] |[11] [ ] |[12] [ ] |[13] [ ] |[14] ΞΕ΄ Ὁ γοητείαν [ ] ἐξαγορεύων |[15] τὸν τοῦ φονέως χρόνον ἐξομολο|[16]γήσεται [ ] |[17] ὡς ἐν ἐκείνῳ [ ] ἐαυ|[18]τὸν ἐλέγξας |[19] ΞϚ΄ Ὁ τυμβωρύχος ἐν δέκα [ ] |[20] [ ] |[21] [τέσσαρ]|[22] σιν ὑποπίπτων ἐνι[ ] |[23] καὶ τότε δεχθησόμενος ||

The text of the canons in Sin. gr. NF M 21 is identical to that found in the edition of Basil's letter 217 for canons 62 to 66, with the exception of one and half lines added at the end of canon 62, which are unfortunately illegible to the naked eye and missing in the edition.[605] As is possible to observe in the transcription, the numbering of the canons in Sin. gr. NF M 21—which was originally applied in the internal margin of the folio (now in the stub of f. A3)—coincides with the numbering of the canons in the edition of Basil's letter 217. However, the presence of variants in the text and the lack of the beginning of the letter itself, or of a title, means that it is safer to state that the folio contains a number of ecclesiastical canons rather than that its content derives with certainty from Basil's letter 217, even though this seems probable.

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602 Edited by Courtonne (Basil, Letters II, 208–217). The Canons were translated into Arabic and Coptic. On the recent discovery of a complete Coptic papyrus codex containing the Canons in Sheikh Abd el-Gurna (now the National Museum of Alexandria, Coptic Ms. 1), see A. Camplani – F. Contardi, The Canons Attributed to Basil of Caesarea. A New Coptic Codex, in: Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times, Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies (Rome, September 17th–22th 2012), and Plenary Reports of the Ninth International Congress of Coptic Studies (Cairo, September 15th–19th, 2008), ed. P. Buzi – A. Camplani – F. Contardi. Leuven 2016, II, 986–987, and A. Camplani – F. Contardi, Remarks on the Textual Contribution of the Coptic Codices Preserving the Canons of Saint Basil, with Edition of the Ordination Rite for the Bishop (Canon 46), in: Philologie, herméneutique et histoire des textes entre orient et occident. Mélanges en hommage à Sever J. Voicu, ed. F. P. Barone – C. Macé – P. Ubierna. Turnhout 2017, 139–159.

603 The other two are letters 188 (edited in Courtonne: Basil, Letters III, 120–131) and 199 (edited in Courtonne: Basil, Letters II 154–164). Cf. CPG 2901.1.

604 For an introduction to, and translation of, Basil's three canonical letters see E. Muehlberger (ed.), The Cambridge Edition of Early Christian Writings, 2: Practice. Cambridge 2017, 143–167. The canons on which Basil draws go back to the mid-third century: Basil mentions Dionysius of Alexandria, Cyprian of Carthage and Firmilian of Caesarea (Muehlberger, Early Christian Writings 143).

605 For the edition of canons 62 to 66 see Courtonne: Basil, Letters II 212. The English translation of these five canons reads: '62. The man who did indecent things with men will be supervised for the time period allotted to the sin of adultery. 63. The man who confesses his own impious acts with beasts will observe the same time period [as the previous case] in penance. 64. The perjurer will not partake for ten years: for two years weeping, for three hearing, for four in prostration, and for one merely standing, and then he will be deemed worthy of communion. 65. He who confesses witchcraft or poisoning will do penance for the time allotted for murder, being treated as if he had convicted himself of that sin. 66. The grave-robber will not partake for ten years: for two years weeping, for three hearing, for four in prostration, for one standing, and then he will be admitted' (translation by A. Radde-Gallwitz in Muehlberger, Early Christian Writings 163–164).

SUMMARY

As palaeographical peculiarities and comparisons with dated codices suggest, the four extant sections of the Euchologion Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C] were all written by the same hand in the second half of the 12th century—likely between 1166 and 1174—in Salento.[606] This is confirmed by a series of pertinent characteristics: the oblong format, the use of decorative elements such as the omicron *en rondelle* and the initials with double outline, the employment of geminate consonants where they are not etymologically justified (*raddoppiamento sintattico*), and a number of idiosyncrasies of content:

- the mention within the commemoration of the dead in the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom of the Norman kings Roger II and William I;
- the confession rite by John Nesteutes in use in Otranto;
- the Salentine version of the prayer for vesting the priest;
- Otrantan characteristics in the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom: the rubric with the reference to Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite at the beginning of the Great Entrance, and the presence at the end of the liturgy of three skeuophylakion prayers;
- the presence of two almost identical prayers for the presentation of a child in church on the 40th day after birth, common in Salentine Euchologia;
- within the baptismal rite, the western instructions for the priest to give the white robe and the candle to the neophyte;
- the betrothal and nuptial rites in use in Otranto;
- the typical Salentine structure and rubrics of the adelphopoiesis rite;
- the presence of a special Gospel for the Vespers of Gonyklisia, as in other Salentine liturgical books;
- the Salentine version of the prayer for the benediction of new wine;
- the Salentine version of the kampanismos rite;
- the typically Salentine concluding prayer for Matins (*Ὄρθρον εἰρηνικὸν καὶ ἡμέραν ἀναμάρτητον*);
- the order of the prayers for Vespers, found also in other Otrantan codices.

As was common in Salento between the 12th and 13th centuries,[607] the copyist of the Euchologion had recourse to recycled, badly-shaped, and badly-worked parchment. 64 folia of Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C] are palimpsest and come from three different original manuscripts. One of these (original manuscript 1) was already palimpsest, and its folia come from three different original manuscripts. This means that a number of folia in Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C] are double palimpsest.[608] The recycled sheets were reused by the copyist of the prayer book in two different ways:

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606 Selected contributions on the written culture in Salento between the 12th and 13th centuries: D. Bianconi, Età comnena e cultura scritta. Materiali e considerazioni alle origini di una ricerca, in: The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon: Three Hundred Years of Studies on Greek Handwriting. Proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium of Greek Palaeography (Madrid–Salamanca, 15–20 September 2008), ed. A. Bravo García – I. Pérez Martín, Turnhout 2010, I–II, 75–96 (I), 668–677 (II); G. Cavallo, Libri greci e resistenza etnica in Terra d'Otranto, in Libri e lettori nel mondo bizantino, ed. G. Cavallo. Bari 1982, 157–178; G. Cavallo, Manoscritti italogreci e cultura benedettina (secoli X–XII), in: L'esperienza monastica benedettina e la Puglia. Atti del Convegno di studio organizzato in occasione del XV centenario della nascita di S. Benedetto (Bari – Noci – Lecce – Picciano, 6–10 ottobre 1980), ed. C.D. Fonseca. Galatina 1983, I, 169–195; G. Cavallo, Mezzogiorno svevo e cultura greca. Materiali per una messa a punto. *BZ* 84–85 (1991–1992) 430–440; G. De Gregorio, Tardo medioevo greco-latino: manoscritti bilingui d'Oriente e d'Occidente, in: Libri, documenti, epigrafi medievali: possibilità di studi comparativi. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio dell'Associazione italiana dei paleografi e diplomatisti (Bari, 2–5 ottobre 2000), ed. F. Magistrale – C. Drago – P. Fioretti. Spoleto 2002, 94–114; Jacob, Culture grecque; A. Jacob, Testimonianze bizantine nel Basso Salento, in: Il Basso Salento. Ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa, ed. S. Palese. Galatina 1982, 49–69; S. Lucà, I Normanni e la "rinascita" del secolo XII. *ASCL* 60 (1993) 1–91; Lucà, Scritture e libri in Terra d'Otranto; Perria, Γραφίς 103; F. Ronconi, Per speculum in aenigmate. Incontri di culture nel Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo. Considerazioni nel riflesso dei manoscritti, in: Civilità a contatto nel Mezzogiorno normanno svevo. Economia Società Istituzioni. Atti delle ventunesime giornate normanno-sveve (Melfi, Castello federiciano, 13–14 ottobre 2014), ed. M. Boccuzzi – P. Cordasco. Bari 2018, 319–410. For the history of the region, see for instance J.-M. Martin, La Pouille du VIe au XIIe siècle. Rome 1993.

607 Arnesano, Libri inutiles 199–200, lists 112 palimpsests with *scriptio superior* written in Salento, including Sin. gr. 966. Most were written during the 13th century.

608 The reuse of several *codices antiquiores* to create a new manuscript, and the recourse to double or triple palimpsestation is very common in Salentine palimpsests (Arnesano, Libri inutiles 192 n. 10).

1) keeping them in their original format, while slightly trimming the margins (original manuscript 1 and 3);
2) folding a folio in two in order to obtain a bifolio (original manuscript 2).

Original manuscript 2—written in sloping pointed majuscule—was probably a Gospel Lectionary: only one bifolio is extant. Original manuscript 3 is equally frugally represented: just a single folio remains, containing a collection of ecclesiastical canons, which correspond to canons 62–66 transmitted in Basil of Caesarea's Letter 217 *To Amphilochius about the Canons*. Both texts are found in Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A]. This manuscript was not submitted to multispectral imaging, but was briefly examined with an ultraviolet flashlight onsite, and later studied by means of some simple RGB pictures. It has not so far been possible to establish the date and origin of these two *scriptiones inferiores*.

It is nonetheless clear that most of the palimpsest folia (61 out of 64) originate from a liturgical monastic Typikon (original manuscript 1). Codicological characteristics—such as ruled lines traced according to Leroy's index X, and the oblong form of the codex—alongside peculiarities in the ornamentation (yellow wash, side bands resembling vegetal motifs, omicron *en rondelle*, initials with double outline, asterisks with arrowheads) suggest that this Typikon, like the Euchologion that lies above it, was the product of Terra d'Otranto.[609] It was probably written towards the end of the 11th century, or perhaps in the early 12th, and it is therefore—in terms of current knowledge—one of the oldest Salentine liturgical books now extant.[610] By implication, too, the chronological gap between the *scriptio superior* and *inferior* is relatively short, a maximum perhaps of 100 years. The text of the Typikon—seven quires of which have been reconstructed—falls readily into three categories: general rules, synaxarion, triodion. There is no *verbatim* match with any existing Typika, but the text has some sections in common with the Sabaite Typikon, and—to a lesser extent—that of Kasoulon and of Nikon of the Black Mountain. As these sources are almost contemporaneous, this might indicate a common model. As for the tradition that the Sinai Typikon reflects, it seems closer to the Sabaite. Significant, thus, is the explicit mention of a diataxis for eating and drinking according to the practice of Jerusalem, as well as the absence of Stoudite saints in the synaxarion section. Finally, the unusual length of the liturgical instructions on the feast day dedicated to Saint Blasius (February 11th) seems to confirm a Salentine origin. This Saint was celebrated more in the West than in the East, and his cult was—and still is—popular in several centres of Terra d'Otranto.

Twelve folia from the Typikon are palimpsest and come from three different original manuscripts: a 10th-century Parakletike copied in a provincial (Southern-Italian?) upright pointed majuscule; fragments from a Kanon on Saint Eupraxia in sloping pointed majuscule that were surely copied after the beginning of the 9th century and that are otherwise only attested in the late 11th century Crypt. Δ. α. XI, itself copied in Grottaferrata; and an 11th century collection of Questions and Answers (identification still provisional), whose minuscule writing recalls the Salentine *style rectangulaire aplati ou écrasé*. The impression is therefore that the reused folia did not come from very far away, but rather from Southern-Italian centres.[611]

The fact that it is possible to localize the scripts used to write the *scriptiones inferiores* helps to improve our knowledge of early Southern-Italian (especially Salentine) manuscripts, specifically for the period before the 12th century characterized by scarcity of evidence. As already mentioned, the oldest known Salentine script style is the minuscule *rectangulaire aplati ou écrasé*, which is first attested in a dated manuscript of 1095 (Par. gr. 3).[612]

We do not know when the Euchologion Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C] entered Saint Catherine's manuscript collection and in what condition. We also do not know whether it was actually used during the liturgy: the few Arabic annotations visible in the margins—unfortunately impossible to date—might have been added once the manuscript was already in the Monastery, but they do not seem to be related to the content of the manuscript. It might have been a gift, or else the personal prayer book of a Southern-Italian monk who lived for a certain period at Saint Catherine's: after all, monks

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609 Canart – Lucà, Codici greci 29 have already noted that the most recent *scriptiones inferiores* of Salentine codices also display Salentine characteristics, and, if not Salentine, Italo-Greek. The Typikon underneath Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C] seems to belong to this tradition.

610 Parenti, Tipologie 48 writes: 'non si conoscono libri liturgici di Terra d'Otranto anteriori al XII secolo'. We might be dealing with one of these.

611 It has been noted that the oldest layers of Southern-Italian palimpsests usually display writings that seem to originate from Constantinople or from the Levant, but the presence of Italo-Greek writings is also attested: Arnesano, Libri inutiles 192 n. 8; Canart–Lucà, Codici greci 29; I. Hutter, Patmos 33 im Kontext. *RSBN* n.s. 46 (2009) 122; Jacob, Culture grecque 55–56.

612 Jacob, Les écritures; Lucà, Scritture e libri in Terra d'Otranto.

coming from Southern Italy were active members of the Monastery. For instance, we learn from the colophon of manuscripts Sin. gr. 595 (Diktyon 58970) + 624 (Diktyon 58999)[613] (two Menaia which were part of a set of four) that in 1048, on the order of hieromonachos Askepastos from Calabria who was himself a monk at Saint Catherine's, this set of books was broken up into twelve volumes. Moreover, the Euchologion Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C] is not the only Southern-Italian manuscript at Saint Catherine's: there are at least eleven more,[614] and two of these are Salentine, namely Sin. gr. 193 (Tetraevangelion with commentary dated 1124), and Sin. gr. 1201 + Sin. gr. NF M 186 + Petropol. gr. 114 (Etymologicum Gudianum, 13th century).[615]

What is certain is that at some point in its history—at the latest in 1734 when the Marthales Library was built—the main bulk of the Euchologion was brought to the newly constructed library and assigned the shelfmark Sin. gr. 966, while a number of loose quires (nowadays catalogued with the shelfmarks Sin. gr. NF M 21 and Sin. gr. NF M 68) were left behind in a room under the Chapel of Saint George along the monastery's northern wall, the place where the New Finds were discovered in 1975. The quire currently catalogued as Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C] was purloined and brought to the United States with other Greek Sinai manuscripts, probably at the beginning of the 20th century.[616] It was possibly donated to Bryn Mawr College in 1951 by Howard Lehman Goodhart (1884–1951), who bequeathed to the college library an additional number of Syriac and Arabic manuscripts of Sinaitic origin.[617] Somewhere in the process, an undefined number of quires went missing, and the possibility cannot be excluded that more of them may surface again among the Sinai New Finds.

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613 Specimina Sinaitica 26–28.

614 They are: Sin. gr. 1598 + Sin. gr. 2095 + Petropol. gr. 54 (Diktyon 59973 + Diktyon 60470 + Diktyon 57124), Sin. gr. 193 (Diktyon 58568), Sin. gr. 223 + Petropol. gr. 289 (Diktyon 58598 + Diktyon 57361), Sin. gr. 234 + Petropol. gr. 297 (Diktyon 58609 + Diktyon 57369), Sin. gr. 401 (Diktyon 58776), Sin. gr. 416 + Sin. gr. NF M 177 (Diktyon 58791 + Diktyon 61004), Sin. gr. 422 (Diktyon 58797), Sin. gr. 522 (Diktyon 58897), Sin. gr. 1201 + Sin. gr. NF M 186 + Petropol. gr. 114 (Diktyon 59576 + Diktyon 61013 + Diktyon 57185), Sin. gr. 699 [*scriptio inferior:* Pentekostarion] (Diktyon 59074), Sin. gr. NF M 130 [*scriptio inferior:* John Klimax, *Ladder*] (Diktyon 60957). The last two were attributed to Southern Italy by Pasquale Orsini during the *Sinai Palimpsests Project* and require further investigation.

615 G. Rossetto, From West to East: Evidence for Southern-Italian Manuscript Culture in Saint Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai. Unpublished paper presented at IMC – Leeds, July 2nd–5th, 2018. I have been working on the relationship between Southern Italy and the Sinai within the frame of the Wittgenstein-Project *Mobility, Microstructures and Personal Agency* (FWF Z 288) led by Claudia Rapp. In my current project (FWF T 1192-G) I further explore Sinai manuscripts of Southern-Italian origin, with a special focus on Euchologia.

616 Georgi Parpulov has identified four further manuscript fragments of Sinaitic origin in Bryn Mawr College collection, i.e. Bryn Mawr 2012.11.108 [Diktyon 76666] (originally part of Sin. gr. 596 [Diktyon 58971]), Bryn Mawr 2012.11.91 [Diktyon 76663] (originally part of Sin. gr. 926 [Diktyon 59301]), Bryn Mawr 2012.11.105 [Diktyon 76659] (originally part of Sin. gr. NF M 134 [Diktyon 60961], Bryn Mawr 2012.11.107 [Diktyon 76662] (originally part of Lond. Add. 20004 [Diktyon 38983]. See G. Parpulov, Membra disiecta Sinaitica Graeca. *Fragmentology* 5 (2022).

617 The Goodhart family had strong ties with Bryn Mawr College, and bequeathed to it around 600–900 historic books (incunabula, manuscripts, prints etc.). Goodhart's daughter, Phyllis Walter Goodhart Gordon (1913–1994), was studying Latin there in 1935 and later became an important Renaissance scholar. Her graduation in 1935 offers a *terminus post quem* for the acquisition of the Greek manuscripts, since this is when both she and her father effectively started their collecting activities. It is thus safe to say that the Bryn Mawr collection of Greek manuscripts were part of the Goodhart collection between 1935 (or later) and 1951. Their collection has its origin in the aim of furthering Phyllis's research. As with the Oriental manuscripts, however, the Greek acquisitions do not seem to have belonged to her core interests. One of the sources of the Goodhart collection was the collection of Arnold Mettler-Specker (1867–1945). I thank Peter Tarras for detailed information on manuscript fragments at Bryn Mawr College and their history.

CONCLUSION

The library of the Monastery of Saint Catherine in the Sinai desert not only holds one of the oldest collections of Greek manuscripts in the world, but it is also a very rich repository of palimpsests. It preserves over 170 rewritten manuscripts, in eleven different languages. They have been identified on the basis of catalogues and, in many cases, quite by chance in leafing through the manuscripts.[618] During the *Sinai Palimpsests Project* (2009–2016) of the Early Manuscripts Electronic Library (EMEL), 74 palimpsests currently housed at the monastery have been imaged and individually examined by a number of scholars.

The first two chapters of this monograph deal with the Greek palimpsests of Saint Catherine's, including an explanation of technical aspects such as multispectral imaging capture and digital image processing. They are based on the data collected during the *Sinai Palimpsests Project*, but concern not only those manuscripts which were subject to the imaging process, but also those not selected for imaging. The Sinai palimpsests are arranged in four preliminary inventories which are located at the end of the second chapter. The first lists the palimpsests with Greek *scriptio superior*; the second records those with Greek *scriptio inferior*; the third and more detailed one describes the Greek texts identified in the palimpsests, while the last offers a short catalogue of the newly identified *membra disiecta sinaitica*.

The collected data allow us to draw a number of general conclusions. We find 64 palimpsests with Greek *scriptio superior* at Sinai. In order to write new texts, Greek scribes recycled books written in six different languages, namely Arabic, CPA, Ethiopic, Greek, Latin and Slavonic, amounting to more than half the languages found in the lower layers of Sinaitic palimpsests. Greek—at 82%—is the most common among the erased languages. In most cases (80%), Greek texts overwrite other Greek texts exclusively. In only 12% of cases do Greek texts supplant texts written in Greek and another language. Even less frequently (6%) do Greek texts overlay texts not written in Greek.

Most of the Sinaitic palimpsests with Greek *scriptio superior* were produced either around the ninth century, or between the 12th and the 14th centuries. Where most of the palimpsests were copied is largely unknown and requires further investigations. This gap in the record is largely due to the scarcity of manuscripts with subscriptions or other relevant information. Regarding the content of texts preserved in the upper layers of these manuscripts, the vast majority (76%) contain various kinds of liturgical texts, while classical literature is not present at all.

94 Sinai palimpsests contain at least one text in Greek as *scriptio inferior*. The patterns of this reuse indicate that these Greek texts and their parchment were available to communities speaking Arabic, CPA, Georgian, Slavonic, Syriac and—above all—Greek. While 80% of the manuscripts have only Greek texts as *scriptiones inferiores*, the remaining 20% have as *scriptiones inferiores* texts in Greek and other languages, with in one case up to five different languages ocurring in the same codex. The most common combination of languages in the *inferiores* is Greek with CPA.

For my analysis of the patterns of parchment reuse, script styles, date, origin, and content of Greek *inferiores*, I focused on the 32 palimpsests with their 92 Greek textual units that fell within the remit of the *Sinai Palimpsests Project*. This number of textual units does not represent the number of erased original manuscripts, since—as Appendix 4 shows (*membra disiecta sinaitica*)—multiple textual units can be *membra disiecta* of the same original manuscript. This means that the erased original manuscripts were far fewer than 92. The original manuscripts that have been reconstructed so far (re-joined *membra disiecta sinaitica*) are listed in Appendix 4.

Most of the textual units (86) originated in parchment codices, and the remaining six come from parchment scrolls. The most common way of reusing sheets of old codices as attested in the Sinai palimpsests collection

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[618] For instance, I have identified six palimpsests among the New Finds which escaped Nikolopoulos eye (Greek New Finds). They are Sin. gr. NF MG 53, Sin. gr. NF MG 82, Sin. gr. NF M 9, Sin. gr. NF M 22, Sin. gr. NF M 30, Sin. gr. NF M 68 (four unfoliated quires).

was to take individual parchment folia, rotate them through 90°/270°, cut them in half and reuse them as bifolia. Reusing old bifolia as such was also quite common. If parchment scrolls were reused, the scribe would cut them in order to prepare them for use as bifolia. Moreover, one fourth (25%) of the manuscripts with Greek undertexts analysed during the *Sinai Palimpsests Project* were prepared using double palimpsest parchment.

The vast majority of the undertexts were copied around the sixth century, and then again around the ninth. A good proportion (68%) is written in majuscule and constitute therefore valuable new evidence for the study of the evolution of this kind of script. As for types of majuscules in use, the most widespread are the biblical and the sloping pointed majuscule. Less common among the Sinai palimpsests are the Alexandrian majuscule and the upright pointed majuscule. Another 19 textual units are written in minuscule and a further ten in mixed script. For only a third of the textual units has a place of origin been suggested. For the most part, these were copied in the Sinaitic-Palestinian area, Syria, and Southern Italy. Regarding the content of the *inferiores*, Christian religious works are clearly dominant (87%), with a very much smaller percentage of classical literature (8%), and a scattering of as yet unidentified texts. Among the Christian works, liturgical and biblical are most frequent, followed by homiletical and theological works.

Even though fewer in number, fragmentary works from classical antiquity (medical, botanical and mythological) are also present.[619] These were all copied in the fifth–sixth century and then replaced with Arabic works between the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century. Three of the surviving fragments are medical works from the *corpus Hippocraticum* (*Epidemiae*, *Regimen*, *Letters*) and predate the oldest attestations of these texts by approximately four centuries. Codicological and palaeographical features suggest that these three textual units originate from the same manuscript as two other previously unknown medical texts which are found in the same manuscript (Sin. ar. NF 8): a "Treatise on medical terms" and "Recipes for different diseases", the latter probably by the second-century physician Antyllus. Sin. ar. NF 8 also contains one folio from a botanical work that preserves the drawings of the plants Adianton and Phileterion, both accompanied by short captions. Moreover, underneath the Arabic lines of Sin. ar. NF 66 is a previously unknown mythological poem in hexameters mentioning—among others—Zeus, Persephone, and Dionysus.[620]

In the Sinai collection of Greek manuscripts, liturgical and theological books prevail. Among these we find the Euchologia (prayer books), which form the focus of the third chapter of this monograph. The combined investigation of descriptions of Sinai Euchologia in catalogues (Gardthausen, Beneševič, Dmitrievskij, Nikolopoulos), of digital images of the codices (Library of Congress' and National Library of Israel's websites), and of manuscripts studied onsite, has led to the identification of a total of 64 Greek Euchologia (complete or fragmentary) copied before 1647—i.e. before Goar's first edition of the "Euchologion"—in codex form. This makes Saint Catherine's the largest known collection of Byzantine prayer books in existence. The 64 prayer books are listed and briefly described in the Appendix located at the end of the chapter.

Only one Euchologion was surely copied at Saint Catherine's (Sin. gr. 980), while most of the others came from abroad (especially from Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and Crete), brought by monks, inherited by metochia, or offered as votive gifts. The vast majority of Euchologia manuscripts preserved at Saint Catherine's date to the 11th–12th and 14th–16th centuries. Ten (15%) contain a colophon that precisely indicates the date of copying. Ownership entries and marginal notes by later owners provide information about their origins, the point at which they entered the collection, and details of ownership. Examples are *ex-libris* left by Sinai archbishops (e.g. in Sin. gr. 2045) and monks' personal notes (e.g. in Sin. gr. 977).

With regard to the current number of Euchologia at the monastery, it is important to state that this number is approximate and may be an overestimate: it is in fact decidedly possible that fragmentary manuscripts identified as Euchologia in the Greek New Finds correspond to missing sections of Euchologia manuscripts in the Old Collection. Two examples considered here for the first time pertain to the Euchologia Sin. gr. 960 and Sin. gr. 966, since I identified a number of loose quires originally belonging to these two manuscripts among the New Finds.

The last three chapters of this book (chapters four to six) are devoted to the analysis of three manuscripts belonging to the Sinai Greek collection, which share the characteristic of being prayer books written on top of recycled parchment sheets. For each manuscript, both *scriptiones superiores* and *scriptiones inferiores* have

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619 Rossetto, Classical Texts.

620 Rossetto, Fragments from the Orphic Rhapsodies?; Rossetto et al., A Revised Text.

been investigated. Taken together, these three manuscripts demonstrate the haphazard nature of the selection of texts for erasure, and give an indication of how parchment sheets circulated as writing material.

Chapter four turns to the Euchologion Sin. gr. 960. I have identified further folia and quires among the New Finds which were originally part of it, namely Sin. gr. NF M 11, Sin. gr. NF M 22, Sin. gr. NF M 79. This prayer book was written in the second half of the 12th century, probably in Cyprus or Syria/Palestine. Its copyist also decorated and corrected the manuscript, in all probability for his private use.

In order to produce the Euchologion, he had recourse to recycled, badly-shaped, and poorly-worked parchment. The greater part of Sin. gr. 960 + Sin. gr. NF M 11 + Sin. gr. NF M 22 + Sin. gr. NF M 79 is palimpsest. The recycled sheets were reused in their original state, only slightly trimmed at the edges. The palimpsest folia originate from two different liturgical manuscripts.

The older is a Sticherarion. This liturgical text is provided with Paleo-Byzantine musical notation dating to the second half of the 11th century. This musical notation of Palestinian origin was used until the mid 12th century, when the Middle-Byzantine diastematic notation prevailed. This not only explains why the Sticherarion was chosen for erasure, but also sets a possible *terminus post quem* for the overtext: the middle of the 12th century.

The second erased liturgical manuscript preserves sections from the Liturgy of Saint Basil and the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts. It is likely that these palimpsest leaves were originally part of a Euchologion manuscript datable to the early 12th century and copied in Cyprus or Palestine. This was copied only 50 years before the Euchologion of the *scriptio superior*.

The fifth chapter concerns Sin. gr. 962, a prayer book that was copied in the second half of the 11th century, likely in Palestine. This Euchologion was in use for several centuries, by Greek and Arabic speakers. Indeed, its margins are filled with annotations made by at least five users, active during the 13th and 14th centuries. These notes tell of the history of the manuscript. For instance, an Arabic note states that the manuscript belonged to the church of Saint Elijah, the last station for pilgrims before the ascent to Mount Sinai and nowadays a ruin.

One of the manuscript's users replaced a damaged or lost quire, employing palimpsest and double-palimpsest parchment for a total of six folia. To do this, he employed folia originating from three different manuscripts, one of which was already palimpsest. He recycled the parchment sheets in three different ways: in the first case, he divided a bifolio in two to obtain two individual folia, then cut one of the folia in half horizontally and rotated it through 180°; in the second cases he divided a bifolio in two to obtain two individual folia, then rotated one folio through 90°/270°; in the third case, he simply rotated a bifolio through 180°. The time span between the *scriptio superior* and the *scriptiones inferiores* ranges from one to two hundred years.

The palimpsest folia originate from homiletical and hymnographical manuscripts. Among these are passages from the homily *De imperio, potestate et gloria* by Pseudo-Chrysostom with marginal annotations, an otherwise unknown Kanon on Saint Nicholas, Troparia for Saint Macrina the Younger (including one sticheron that was not previously attested), and the *Kanon on Saints Peter, Andrew, and Dionysius* by Joseph the Hymnographer.

The final chapter of the monograph deals with Sin. gr. 966, whose *disiecta membra* I have identified among the Sinai New Finds and in the United States (Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania). They are: Sin. gr. NF M 21, Sin. gr. NF M 68 and Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98. This prayer book was copied in Salento in the second half of the 12th century. Approximately half of the folia concerned are palimpsest and come from three different original manuscripts. One of these was itself palimpsest and its folia in turn came from three separate original manuscripts. The scribe reused the parchment sheets in two different ways: keeping them in their original format while slightly trimming the margins, or folding one folio in two to obtain a new bifolio.

The erased folia preserve liturgical and theological texts: fragments from a Gospel Lectionary and a collection of ecclesiastical canons, and several folia from a liturgical monastic Typikon. This Typikon, like the Euchologion that lies above it, was a Southern-Italian production (Salento). It was written towards the end of the 11th or in the early 12th century, and as such it is one one of the oldest Salentine liturgical books in existence. There is no *verbatim* correlation with any of the existing Typika, although some of its sections are shared with the Sabaite Typikon, that of Kasoulon (Casole) and also that of Nikon of the Black Mountain. As far as its tradition is concerned, peculiarities of content make it closer to the Sabaite than the Stoudite Typikon.

A number of folia from the Typikon are themselves palimpsest and come from three different original manuscripts: a tenth-century Parakletike written in a provincial (Southern-Italian?) upright pointed majuscule; frag-

ments from a Kanon on Saint Eupraxia, otherwise uniquely witnessed in the late 11th century Crypt. Δ. α. XI, itself written in Grottaferrata; and an 11th-century collection of Questions and Answers (identification still provisional), also Salentine.

The possibility of localizing the scripts of the *inferiores* is of real value for our knowledge of early Southern-Italian (especially Salentine) manuscripts, specifically for the period before the 12th century which is otherwise poorly documented.

We do not know when the three Euchologia at the heart of this investigation entered Saint Catherine's manuscript collection. Certainly, at some point in their history—at the latest in 1734 when the Marthales Library was built—the main bulk of the three were were brought to the newly constructed library and assigned the shelfmarks Sin. gr. 960, Sin. gr. 962, Sin. gr. 966, while their loose quires were left behind in a room under the Chapel of Saint George along the monastery's northern wall, the place where the New Finds were discovered in 1975. At the beginning of the 20th century, one quire (Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98) was discreetly removed and brought to the United States. An unspecified number of quires additionally went missing, though it cannot be excluded that more of these will come to light.

The investigation of the three Sinai Euchologia and their *disiecta membra* written on reused parchment is a contribution to the history of the Sinai collection, with particular relevance to research on Euchologia and palimpsests. While there have been studies of individual palimpsest manuscripts, I have attempted to contextualize these three examples within the context both of the library collection and its palimpsests. In these terms, this monograph marks the starting point of a broader approach to be directed both at collections of Euchologia and the palimpsests preserved at Saint Catherine's.

In relation to the Euchologia specifically, this study has illuminated the potential of codicological and palaeographical research in conjunction with a thorough analysis of content. A comprehensive study of all Sinai Euchologia, both in the Old and New Collections, is now highly desirable, providing scope for a level of analysis that goes beyond individual studies of specific famous manuscripts, as has mostly been ventured to date. This would allow new light to be shed on the origin and traditions of these prayer books, and the manner in which they entered the collection.[621]

As far as the palimpsests are concerned, it would seem very worthwhile to continue with detailed studies of individual palimpsests. It is to be hoped that a second phase of the *Sinai Palimpsests Project* will allow for all of the palimpsests in the collection to undergo multispectral imaging and the results to be made available online. This investigation of three Euchologia indicates the benefits of more extensive studies, taking into consideration the entire collection of palimpsests to gain comprehensive insights into the practices of palimpsestation in different regions and at different times.

Another compelling point that has emerged from the study—especially in connection with one of the three palimpsest Euchologia—is the presence of Southern-Italian books at Saint Catherine's. How did it happen that the Salentine prayer book Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 + Sin. gr. NF M 68 + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 came to the Sinai? It might have been a gift, or else the personal prayer book of a monk from Southern Italy, who somehow came to live for a certain period at Saint Catherine's. An analysis of contacts between Sinai and Southern Italy, primarily based on the handwritten evidence, seems a promising topic for further research.[622]

Finally, editions of the previously unattested texts recovered in the three palimpsest prayer books (e.g. the liturgical Typikon in Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 + Sin. gr. NF M 68 and the fragmentary Kanon on Saint Nicholas in Sin. gr. 962) also constitute a *desideratum* for future research.

What this study has abundantly shown is that the in-depth study of individual palimpsest manuscripts from a monastic library requires a combined application of methods from codicology, palaeography and liturgical studies, and the availability of high-quality multispectral and processed images. Liturgical manuscripts written on recycled parchment, perhaps more than any other kind of manuscript, offer a unique and multi-layered perspective of the history of the production and use of manuscripts over many centuries.

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[621] Thanks to funding from the FWF, I have embarked on a three-year investigation of this topic: *Priests, Books and the Library at Saint Catherine's (Sinai)* – FWF Project T 1192-G, https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/imafo/research/byzantine-research/communities-and-landscapes/euchologia-project/priests-books-and-the-library-at-saint-catherines-sinai (19.09.2022). This will significantly improve upon the preliminary remarks presented here on this important prayer-book collection.

[622] For a preliminary investigation on this topic see Rossetto, From West to East.

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Sin. gr. 966 + Sin. gr. NF M 21 [A] + Sin. gr. NF M 68 [B] + Bryn Mawr 2012.11.98 [C]

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GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS

Digital image processing	Use of a digital computer to process digital images through one or more algorithms. Image processing is used to detect various patterns and qualities in images. Pattern Recognition is used, for instance, for image recognition, computer-aided medical diagnosis, handwriting analysis, or for enhancing faint or almost illegible ink, as is the case with palimpsests
ENVI®	Image-analysis software developed by Harris Geospatial Solutions; chiefly used for GIS and remote-sensing applications, but also employed to recover information from spectral images of damaged manuscripts and objects of cultural heritage
Fluorescence	The process by which a material, when illuminated with a particular wavelength of light (typically UV or blue), emits light at a different wavelength; commonly occurs in "natural" materials
Grayscale image/ panchromatic image	Single band image, i.e., a black and white image
Hue	The identification of colours by numbers, more specifically angle degrees when placing all colours in a 360-degree circle
ICA	Independent Components Analysis; similar to PCA, but aims to maximize the "independence" of the data in the spectral domain; also used to highlight subtle material differences and visualise this in a false colour image
IDL®	IDL, short for Interactive Data Language, is a programming language used for data analysis. It is popular in particular areas of science, such as astronomy, atmospheric physics, and medical imaging
Iron-gall ink	The most commonly used ink in the Middle Ages; a brown-black substance made, in its simplest form, from gum Arabic, iron sulphate, water, and oak galls (protuberances that develop on oak trees around larvae laid by the gall wasp)
Multispectral imaging (MSI)	Imaging in many colours, typically through a system with illumination sources in various colours and colour-specific filters
PCA	Principal Components Analysis; an image processing technique that aims to de-correlate image data in the spectral domain to highlight subtle material differences; transformed bands of an image are often visualised in a false colour image
Pseudocolour image	The process of creating a "colour" image where the three colours represent different materials or material signatures, not necessarily red, green, and blue
Reflectance	The efficiency with which a material reflects light as a function of wavelength; material property that gives a specific material a specific "colour"
Saturation	Saturation is also referred to as "intensity" and "chroma." It refers to the dominance of hue in the colour
Spectral filter	A device placed in front of an imaging system that allows only a certain wavelength of light to pass through
Transmission	The efficiency with which light passes through a material as a function of wavelength

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Built in the 6th century at the order of Emperor Justinian, the Monastery of Saint Catherine in the Sinai desert preserves the oldest Christian monastic library with an uninterrupted history. This Greek Orthodox monastery houses a significant collection of manuscripts, including a large number of palimpsest manuscripts (over 170). Eleven different languages are attested in their erased layers as *scriptiones inferiores*: they reflect the long history and the multicultural nature of the Sinai collection.

This book lies at the intersection of palimpsest studies and the investigation of the Byzantine Greek Euchologia (prayer books), with an additional focus on the history of the Sinai library. It offers the first inventory of the Greek palimpsests preserved at the Monastery of Saint Catherine including a list of newly identified *membra disiecta sinaitica*. The second part contains the detailed description and historical analysis of three selected Sinai Euchologia (Sin. gr. 960, Sin. gr. 962, Sin. gr. 966) written on recycled parchment, which have never been studied with regard to their *scriptiones inferiores*. This study thus offers new insights into the history and development of the Sinai collection of manuscripts over the centuries.

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