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New Light on the Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests of St. Catherine's Monastery

INTRODUCTION

Among the palimpsest manuscripts stored in the library of St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, Sin. geo. NF 13 and NF 55 are unusal indeed, since they contain in their undertexts the remnants of at least six different original codices in four different languages, viz. Georgian, Palestinian Aramaic, Armenian, and Caucasian Albanian. For the last of these languages, they represent the only manuscript sources known to have survived.

An international project supported by the Volkswagen Foundation from 1999 to 2008 facilitated a first attempt to decipher and edit the undertexts of Sin. geo. NF 13 and NF 55. The results were published in three volumes of the series *Palaeographia Medii Aevi* (subseries *Ibero-Caucasica*) between 2008 and 2010.[1] By applying ultraviolet and multispectral imaging, the undertexts of 106 out of the 107 folios of Sin. geo. NF 13, and 55 out of the 59 folios of Sin. geo. NF 55 were identified, reconstructed, and published. 119 of them were written in Caucasian Albanian, and 42 in Armenian. Two folios in Caucasian Albanian (Sin. geo. NF 55, ff. 1 and 5), as well as the only two folios in Aramaic (Sin. geo. NF 55, ff. 19 and 20) and the single folio in Georgian (Sin. geo. NF 13, f. 58), remained unidentified.

The Caucasian Albanian and Armenian undertexts of Sin. geo. NF 13 and NF 55 could each be proven to stem from two different underlying codices. In the case of Caucasian Albanian, the first is a codex containing St. John's Gospel, and the second derives from a lectionary mostly with lections from the New Testament (Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke; Pauline and Catholic Epistles). In the case of Armenian, we have one codex comprising the Old Testament books attributed to Solomon (Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom) and one containing the Pauline Epistles with the Euthalian apparatus.

The actual readability rate for the four original codices was very variable. In the case of the codices containing Caucasian Albanian, the Gospel codex had a far lower readability rate (an average of max. 25%) than the lectionary (nearly 100%). The lectionary thus provided the majority of the clues for deciphering the language and its script (together with a rather unreliable alphabet list contained in an Armenian encyclopaedic manuscript of the 13th century).[2] In the case of the Armenian originals, the remnants of the New Testament codex were more readable (ca. 60%) than those of the Old Testament codex (ca. 30%), mostly because the latter was overwritten horizontally (folios either unturned or turned by 180°), with the upper script to a large extent covering the lower script.

The Sinai Palimpsests Project, running from 2011 to 2016 with support from the Arcadia Fund, has enabled profound new insights concerning both Sin. geo. NF 13 and NF 55. First, it has led to a remarkable increase in the readability rate of the undertexts, especially of the Caucasian Albanian Gospel codex. This was achieved by the use of transmissive light imaging, a technique that was not yet available ten years earlier. Even though this technology usually only yields good results on one side of parchment leaves (the flesh side), it made it possible not only to improve the reconstruction of about half of the Albanian Gospel text, but also to decipher the two folios that had previously remained unidentified (Sin. geo. NF 55, ff. 1 and 5, a bifolio of the original codex, now identified as containing John 20:30–21:15;[3] Fig. 1 showing ff. 1v and 5r, i.e., the flesh side), as well

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[1] Gippert *et al.*, *Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests,* vols. I and II; Gippert, *Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, vol. III.

[2] Cf. Gippert *et al.*, *Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, vol. I, II-1–17 for details.

[3] Cf. Gippert, When Person Overcomes Class, 41–43 for details.

as to verify a correction concerning the content of two further folios (Sin. geo. NF 55, ff. 45 and 40, also an original bifolio, cf. below). In addition, 19 new minor fragments of the palimpsests were detected, 17 of which have since been identified. These fragments have proved to be extremely important for the reconstruction of the codices. In the following pages, I shall illustrate these achievements by presenting a number of examples.



Fig. 1: Sin. geo. NF 55, bifolio consisting of ff. 1v and 5r
(© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

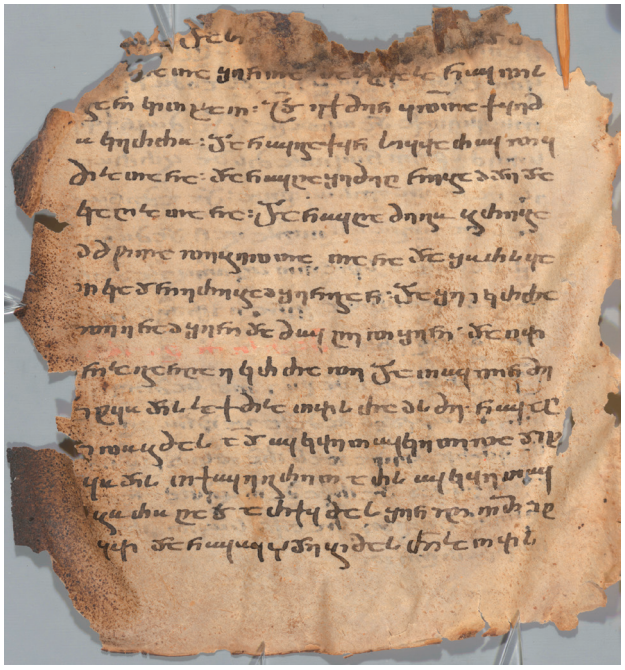


Fig. 2(a): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 40v
(© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)



Fig. 2(b): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 35r
(© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

INSIGHTS GAINED BY THE USE OF TRANSMISSIVE LIGHT

In preparing the edition of 2009, only two Albanian characters could be detected on the original bifolio re-used as ff. 35 and 40 in Sin. geo. NF 55 (Fig. 2[a] and [b]), viz. the sequence 𐬀𐬅- = *ao* in the second line of f. 35r, assumed to represent the 15th line of the bifolio. The assumption that the bifolio *in toto* covered John 20:30–21:14, with the two characters belonging to John 21:10 (Fig. 3),[4] was not based upon a proposed reading but simply on codicological considerations. After a thorough re-examination of the available multispectral images, the present author proposed another identification in 2012, according to which the bifolio contained John 18:16–31 instead; the sequence *ao* would in this case have been part of the word *kahan**ao**wġoybån'ioya* 'of the high priest' (lit. 'of the big one of the priests'), assumed to represent Gk. τοῦ ἀρχιερέως in John 18:26 (Fig. 4 showing the reconstruction of lines 14–16).[5]

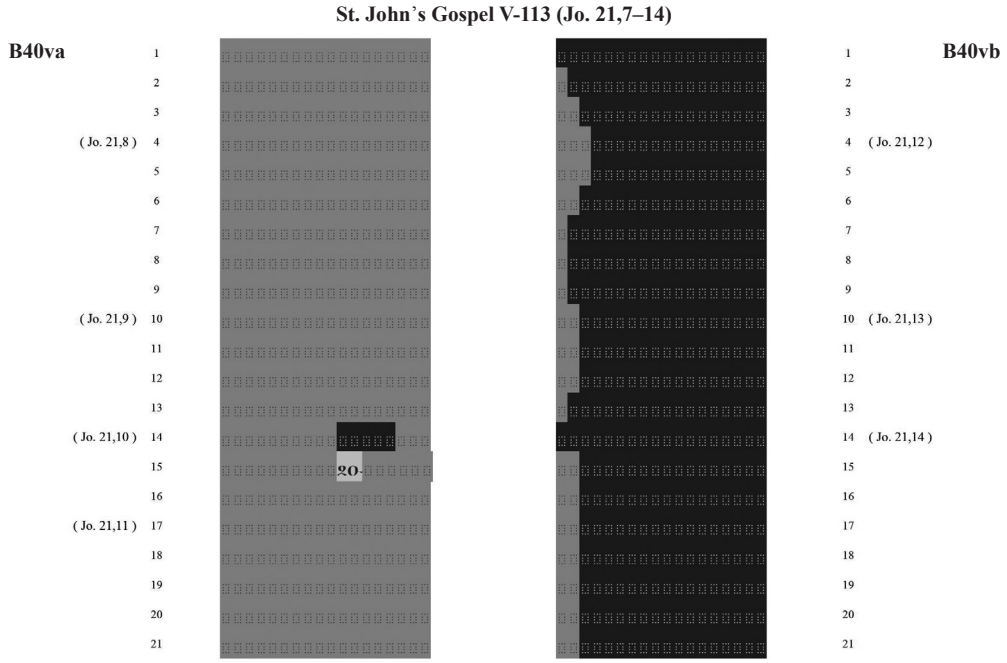
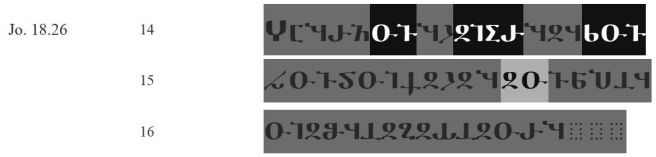


Fig. 3: Rendering of Sin. geo. NF 55, ff. 40v and 35r in the edition (source: Gippert *et al.*, *Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, vol. II, V-113)



pē-ne	*sown*	*hayḳe*	*nai'ow|ʒowġoy*	*kahanaowġoybån'i|oya*	*čin'a-qarn'aoen ...*
said[10]	one	certain[11]	of servants[12]	of high-priest[13]	a relative[14] ...
λέγει	εἷς		ἐκ τῶν δούλων	τοῦ ἀρχιερέως,	συγγενὴς ὢν ...
Ew asē	*mi*	*omn*	*i carayic'*	*k'ahanayapetin*	*azgakan ...*

pē-ne sown hayḳe nai'owʒowġoy kahanaowġoybån'ioya čin'a-qarn'aoen ...
"One of the servants of the high-priest, a relative ..., said ..."

Fig. 4: Revised rendering of Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 35r, ll. 14–16 (source: Gippert, The Albanian Gospel Manuscript – New Findings, 63)

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[4] Gippert *et al.*, *Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, vol. II, V-110–113. Here and in the following renderings, three degrees of readability are distinguished by printing in black, dark, and light grey; with decreasing reliability of the reading, the background colour changes from white to middle grey accordingly. Erased characters are represented outlined, and characters that are restituted outside of the preserved fragment are printed white on a dark grey background. In transcriptions, different kinds of brackets are used to indicate the levels of readability and preservation: (parentheses) mark minor readability, [square brackets], minimal readability, {curly brackets}, reconstructed (but not readable) text passages within the preserved fragment, and <angle brackets>, restored passages outside of the preserved fragment. Cf. Gippert *et al.*, *Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, vol. I, I-38.

[5] Gippert, The Albanian Gospel Manuscript – New Findings, 62–64.

In contrast to the older multispectral images, the transmissive light images provided by the Sinai Palimpsests Project in 2016 disclosed all 21 lines of the first column on the flesh side of the bifolio in question (Fig. 5[a] and [b]). They revealed that the identification of the content proposed in 2012 (John 18:16–31) was correct. However, they also proved that the character sequence mentioned was not part of line 15 but of line 14, and that it belonged not to *kahan**ao**wġoyban'ioya* but to the word immediately following it, *çin'**ao**en* 'a relative'. The three lines in question (13–15), representing John 18:26 (Fig. 6), thus read as follows:

Line		Reproduction	Transliteration
12		ⷘⷓⷖⷪⷭⷕⷖⷪⷯⷪⷓⷖⷪⷭⷕⷖⷪⷯ	*pēne sown haśḳe nai*
13		ⷭⷕⷭⷤⷕⷭⷍⷕⷭⷕⷖⷪⷭⷕⷖⷪⷭ	*ʿowrowġoχoc kahanaow*
14		ⷍⷕⷭⷓⷕⷭⷕⷖⷪⷭⷕⷖⷪⷭⷕⷖⷪⷭⷕⷖⷪ	*ġoybån'ioya çin'aoen o*
Transcription *pē-ne sown haśḳe naiʿowrowġoχoc kahanaowġoybån'ioya çin'aoen oya ...* 'One of the servants of the high-priest, a relative of his, said ...'			



Fig. 5(a): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 40v (transmissive image)
(© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

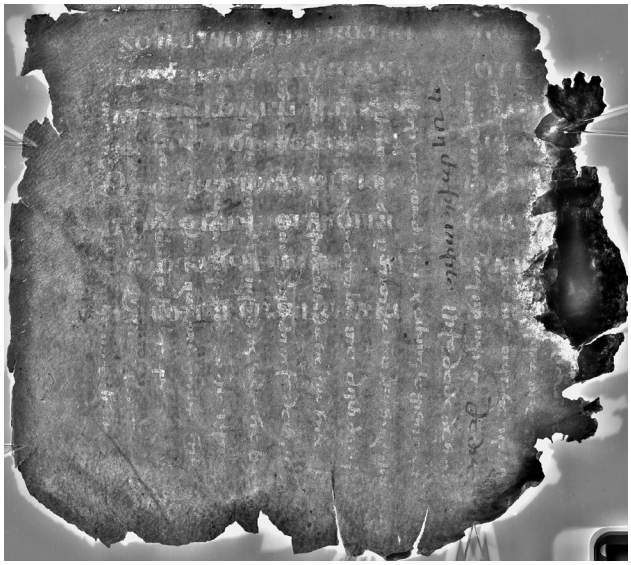


Fig. 5(b): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 35r (transmissive image)
(© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

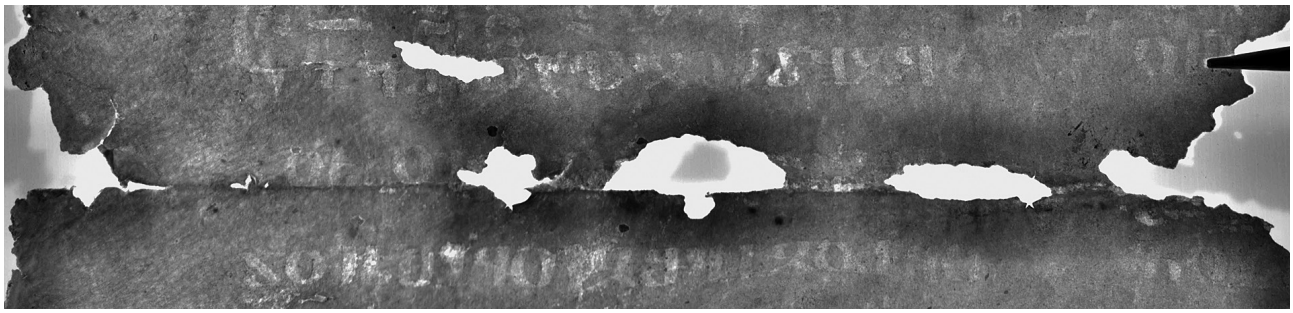


Fig. 6: Sin. geo. NF 55, ff. 40v and 35r, ll. 13–15 (transmissive image)
(© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

On f. 35r, the same column ends with John 18:28. The text is, again, very readable. It begins with ԿՆՕ-ՀՐԿԻ-ՇՀՋԿ = *I boḳē-ne y(isow)sax* ‘Now they led Jesus’. Only the first five letters of the following word survive: they can be made out as ՋՀԳՔԿ = *aspṗin* (Fig. 5[b]). The remainder of the word must have appeared in the first line of the second column which, however, seems to have been burnt off *in toto* in the top right corner of f. 40v (Fig. 5[a]). The first character of the second column cannot be made out in any image available. This is all the more regrettable since it is quite probable that we would have had here the first specimen of one of the three characters of the Caucasian Albanian alphabet that have not yet been detected in the Sinai palimpsests. It is clear that the given word must have denoted the ‘lodge’ or ‘mansion’ of Caiaphas, just as *vankʿ* does in the Armenian New Testament (*ew acen zy(isow)s i vanacʿ kayiapʿay*... ‘and they led Jesus from the lodge of Caiaphas...’, contrasting with simple ἄγουσιν οὖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καϊάφα... in the Greek text); one more indication of the fact that the Albanian Bible text depends on the Armenian, not directly on the Greek. The Albanian word that may be assumed here is unattested elsewhere but it is clear that it must be a cognate of both Arm. *aspnǰakan* (< **aspinǰ*-) ‘hospitable, inn’ and Georg. *maspṗinʒel*- ‘host’, literally a participle formation *m-aspṗinʒ-el*- ‘hosting’, the basis of which has been preserved in the name of the town *aspṗinʒa* in South-West Georgia. Both the Armenian and the Georgian terms are borrowed from Middle Iranian, where we find Parth. *ispinǰ* and Middle Pers. *aspinǰ* ‘hospitality, inn’.[6] The question now is whether Albanian shared with Georgian the rendering of the Iranian affricate *ǰ* (i.e., *dj*) by *ʒ* (i.e., *dz*) or whether it agreed with Armenian in leaving the Iranian affricate as it was (as *ǯ*, i.e., *dj*). Whereas the character for *ʒ*, ⸗, is well attested elsewhere in the Albanian palimpsests, the character for *ǯ* has not yet been found. We know that it must have existed, given that it figures in the alphabet list of the 13th century, with a shape resembling our number 9 (Ԗ) and with its sound value indicated by the use of Arm. Ջ = *ǰ* in the name Ջայն = *ǰayn* assigned to it.[7] It is therefore a matter of utmost importance to see whether a remnant of the character in question can still be detected in the given position of Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 40v (Fig. 7[a] and [b]).[8]

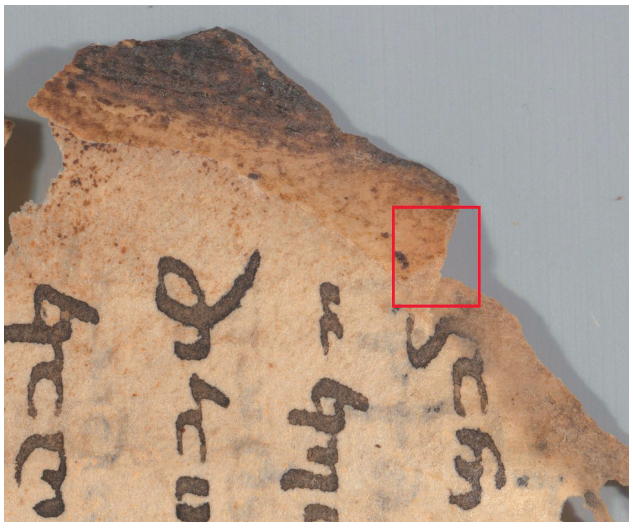


Fig. 7(a): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 40v, top right corner (© St. Catherine’s Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

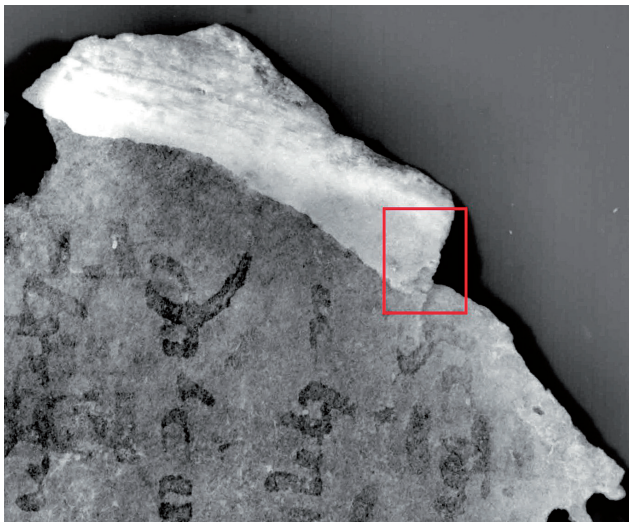


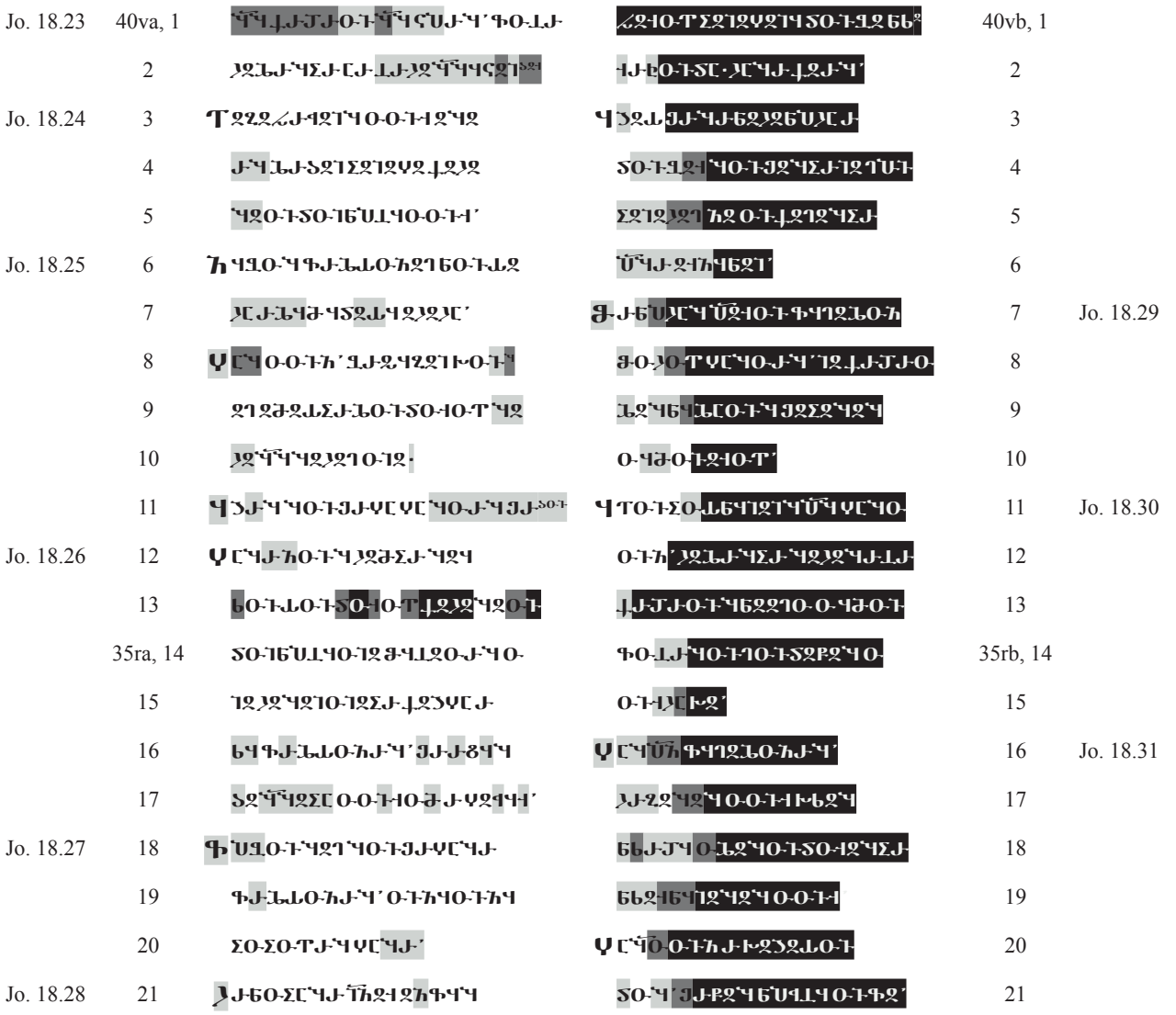
Fig. 7(b): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 40v, top right corner, transmissive image (© St. Catherine’s Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

[6] Cf. Schmitt, Iranian Influences, 455 for Arm. *aspnǰakan*; Androniḳašvili, *Narḳvevebi*, 287–288 for Georg. *maspṗinʒeli* and *aspṗinʒa*; and Durkin-Meisterernst, *Dictionary*, 87 s.v. *ʿspynj, ʿspync* and MacKenzie, *Dictionary*, 12 s.v. *aspinǰ* for the underlying Middle Iranian terms.

[7] Cf. Gippert *et al.*, *Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, vol. I, II-14 for details.

[8] A second attestation of the same word for ‘lodge’ might be present in the first visible line of the badly-damaged folio 104r of Sin. geo. NF 13, in the context of Acts 1:13 (cf. Gippert *et al.*, *Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, vol. II, VII-7 for details). Unfortunately here, too, the character in question is not discernible, only *-ṗi-* (of **aspṗinʒ/ǯ*) standing out.

Leaving the problem open for the time being, the content of the flesh side of the original bifolio represented by Sin. geo. NF 55, ff. 40v and 35r (Fig. 5[a] and [b]) can now be established with confidence, at least for the left column:



Jo. 18.23	40va, 1		40vb, 1		
	2		2		
Jo. 18.24	3		3		
	4		4		
	5		5		
Jo. 18.25	6		6		
	7		7	Jo. 18.29	
	8		8		
	9		9		
	10		10		
	11		11	Jo. 18.30	
Jo. 18.26	12		12		
	13		13		
	35ra, 14		35rb, 14		
	15		15		
	16		16	Jo. 18.31	
	17		17		
Jo. 18.27	18		18		
	19		19		
	20		20		
Jo. 18.28	21		21		

In a simplified transcription in Latin characters, the text of the left column would read as follows:

18.23 *"... |1 -n(ow)n kefeown(ow)n gåen. ṗon'e |2 haṭenḳe ē-en'e, ha-n(ow)n-igay zaχ?"*	"... |1 <witnes>s about what is bad. Then, |2 if it is good, why did you beat me?"
18.24 |3 *L'aǫa-ʒexay-n oowχ ana*|4*en ṭezay ḳayapa kaha*|5*naowġoy-bån'ioowχ.*	|3 Annas sent him |4 bound to Caiaphas the hi|5gh-priest.
18.25 |6 *Simon ṗeṭros-al bowra-*|7*hē eṭiš, iġari-aha-hē.* |8 *pē-n oows: "meçiqay vown-*|9*al ašarḳeṭowġoxoc n-a*|10*ha-n(ow)n-n-ahal oya?"* |11 *ičen nowte-pē pē-n-oen: "te-z(o)w."*	|6 Simon Peter stood |7 there, too, he was warming up. |8 They said to him: "Aren't you, |9 too, (one) of the disciples |10 of his?" |11 He denied (and) said: "I am not."
18.26 |12 *pē-ne sown hašḳe nai*|13*ʿowrowġoχoc kahanaow*|14*ġoy-bån'ioya çin'aoen o*|15*ya hanayoyaḳe kač-pē e* |16 *ʿi ṗeṭrosen: "te-eśin-*|17*za-n(ow)n-aḳē oowxoš e paxiχ?"*	|12 One from the se|13rvants of the high-|14priest, a relative of h|15im of whom |16 Peter had cut off the ear, said: "Did I not |17 see you then with him in the garden?"
18.27 |18 *Ṗåmown-al nowte-pē-ne* |19 *ṗeṭrosen; owsi-owsi* |20 *ḳoḳocen pē-ne.*	|18 And again Peter |19 denied; immediately |20 a rooster crowed.
18.28 |21 *He-boḳē-ne y(isow)saχ aspin*‖1*<ʒ/ʒaχoc ...>*	|21 Now they brought Jesus from the lod‖1<ge ...>

The transmissive light images not only enable significant additions to the text of the Gospel of John but also contribute some new words and forms. In 18:23, we find unextended *ha-* in the sense of 'what, why' (corresponding to Gk. τί, Arm. *əndēʾr*) in *ha-n(ow)n-igay* 'why did you beat (me)' (*-nown*, written abbreviated as usual, is the enclitic marker for the second person). In 18:24, we read *ţezay* 'bound' (corresponding to Gk. δεδεμένον, Arm. *kapeal*), presupposing a verb *ţezesown* 'bind'.[9] 18:25 yields *iġari-aha-hē* 'he was warming up' (Gk. θερμαινόμενος, Arm. *ǰerīnoyr*), allowing a correction of the reconstruction of **<eġa>ri-i<ha-nan>* 'be fervent' in Rom. 12:11 (Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 34ra, 9–10) to **iġari-iha-nan.*[10] In 18:26, we further read *naiʿow-rowġoxoc* abl.pl. 'from the servants', yielding *naiʿowrowx* as the plural form of *naiʿow* 'servant' instead of irregular **naiʿowʒowx* assumed formerly (for John 15:15; Sin. geo. NF 13, f. 30ra, 6).[11] Still in 18:26, we now have *čin'aoen* 'relative', erg.sg. of the referentialised paradigm of *čin'a*, a genitive derivative of *či(n)* 'nation, tribe, sort', *kač-pē* '(he) beat' (past; the verbal noun would be *kač-pesown* 'beat(ing)'), and *paxiẋ* dat.sg. 'in the garden' (of a hitherto unattested noun *pax* 'garden'). And in 18:27, we read *ķoķocen* erg.sg. 'rooster', presupposing a stem *ķoķoc*[12] and thus rendering the reconstruction of a genitive **<ķowķ>owç'in* in Is. 35:7 (Sin. geo. NF 13, f. 70ra, 21–22)[13] improbable. An important contribution to the knowledge of Albanian grammar is provided by *te-eśin-za-n(ow)n-aķē* 'did I not see you then' (lit. 'were you not visible to me then') in 18:26, which proves that in the sequence of personal clitics, a dative (*za* 'to me') can precede an absolutive case form (*nown* 'you' [sg.])—an arrangement that has previously been questioned.[14]

The example of this bifolio shows that the technology of imaging with transmissive light provides enough new insights into the text to render a revised edition of at least the Gospel codex worthwhile.[15]

THE NEW FRAGMENTS AND THEIR IDENTIFICATION

The 19 fragments newly detected in the course of the Sinai Palimpsests Project have been associated with Sin. geo. NF 55 and assigned 'folio' numbers 60 to 78, which is a practical solution for the purpose of easy referencing. It does not, however, say anything about their contents and actual positions within the codicological ensemble. As a matter of fact, the edition of 2009 has clearly proved that Sin. geo. NF 13 and NF 55 represent one codex from the point of view of the Georgian overtext, the first folio of NF 55 (as the first folio of the 18th quire) continuing (after a lacuna of one folio) the 10th (or 3rd) sermon of Abba Isaiah of Scetis which begins on f. 101v of NF 13, and the text of John the Faster, *De Poenitentia*, *Continentia et Virginitate*, which begins on f. 41v and extends up to f. 59 of NF 55, continuing again on f. 79r of NF 13 (as the last folio of the 22nd quire). The complete Georgian codex, distorted as it is, must have comprised at least 24 quires, with at least three quires missing at the beginning and some others after the last folio, which is f. 95v of NF 13. Its immensely variegated structure as established for the edition can roughly be illustrated as given below.[16]

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[9] Possibly the form *ţezay* was corrected to *zeţay* in the undertext as a misspelling: *zeţay* in the sense of 'bound' is attested elsewhere, e.g., in Acts 12:6 (Sin. geo. NF 13, f. 48ra, l. 16).

[10] Gippert *et al.*, *Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, vol. II, VII-54–55. In the two dialects of the Udi language, which is the closest relative of Caucasian Albanian today, we find *eġari-* in Niž and *iġari-* in Vartašen, cf. Gukasyan, *Slovar'*, 120 s.vv. *eġaribalo* 'feverish, febrile', *eġaribesun* 'fever, be febrile', *eġaribi* 'feverish, febrile', and *eġarix* 'hot, heat'. Caucasian Albanian corresponds to the Vartašen form.

[11] Gippert *et al.*, *Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, vol. II, V-82–83.

[12] Corresponding to Udi *ķoķoç* 'chicken', cf. Gukasyan, *Slovar'*, 144.

[13] Gippert *et al.*, *Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, vol. II, VI-24–25.

[14] Cf. Gippert, When Person Overcomes Class, 37.

[15] For another example cf. the *editio princeps* of the undertext of Sin. geo. NF 55, ff. 1va and 5ra in Gippert, When Person Overcomes Class, 41–43.

[16] Cf. Gippert *et al.*, *Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, vol. I, I-3–5. Quire numbers indicated without brackets in the Table are preserved as such in the codex. In the Table, a grey background marks missing parts. Quires indicated by numbers on a reddish background belong to Sin. geo. NF 13, quires on a greenish background to Sin. geo. NF 55; correspondingly, folio numbers of Sin. geo. NF 13 are indicated by an orange background, folio numbers of Sin. geo. NF 55 on an olive background. The different textual contents of the Georgian overtext of the two codices are indicated by different shades of yellow, blueish, or violet backgrounds.

Quire	Folio	Contents	Part	Comment
*[I]	8 folios missing	*Life of St. Antony* (*CPG* 2101)		The beginning is lost. The missing paragraphs (1–16 and 18–27) may well have covered four complete quires as indicated
*[II]	8 folios missing			
*[III]	8 folios missing			
[IV]	4 folios missing			
	NF 13, f. 104rv		§§ 16–17	
	3 folios missing			
V	1 folio missing			
	NF 13, f. 1r–7r		§§ 37–44	
	NF 13, f. 7v		§§ 44–45	Text abridged, with colophon
VI	NF 13, f. 8r–9r		§§ 55–56	
	NF 13, f. 9v			
	NF 13, f. 10rv	*(Apophthegms)*	[Gk. no. 1]	Apophthegms concerning St. Antony inserted into the *Life* instead of §§ 57–87
	NF 13, f. 11r		[nos. 1, 3–4, 6–10]	
			[no. 10–11]	
	NF 13, f. 11v–15v	*Life of St. Antony*	§§ 88–89	The *Life* recommencing
			§§ 89–94	
VII	NF 13, f. 16r		§ 94	End of the *Life*, with colophon
	NF 13, f. 16v		§ 94	Author mark
	NF 13, f. 17r	*Letters of St. Antony* (*CPG* 2330)	I, 1–4	Beginning of the 1st letter of St. Antony, missing in other Georgian mss.
	NF 13, f. 17v–23r		I, 4–12	
	NF 13, f. 23v		I, 12–78	
			I, 78	
VIII	NF 13, f. 24r–26v		II, 1–5	Beginning of the 2nd letter
	NF 13, f. 27r		II, 5–34	
	NF 13, f. 27v–30v		II, 34–38	
	NF 13, f. 31r		III, 1–3	Beginning of the 3rd letter
			III, 3–37	
	NF 13, f. 31v		III, 37–42	
IX	NF 13, f. 32r–39v		IV, 1–2	Beginning of the 4th letter
[X]	NF 13, f. 103rv		IV, 2–7	
	NF 13, f. 106rv		IV, 7–86	
	1 folio missing		IV, 86–96	
	1 folio missing		IV, 96–103	
	1 folio missing		[IV, 104–112]	
	1 folio missing		[IV, 112–117]	
	1 folio missing		[V, 1–5]	[Beginning of the 5th letter]
	NF 13, f. 105rv		[V, 6–18]	
	1 folio missing		[V, 18–28]	
[XI]	1 folio missing		V, 29–38	
	NF 13, f. 74v (!)		[V, 38–50]	
			[V, 50–61]	
	NF 13, ff. 74r–78r		V, 61[–66]	
	NF 13, f. 78v		VI, 1	Beginning of the 6th letter
			VI, 1–43	
	NF 13, f. 102rv		VI, 43–51	
	1 folio missing		VII, 1–6	Beginning of the 7th letter
			VII, 6–15	
			[VII, 15–20]	[End of the 7th letter]
XII	NF 13, f. 40r	*(Apophthegms)*	[Gk. no. 29,] 11, 13, 15	Apophthegms concerning St. Antony appended
	NF 13, ff. 40v–47v	*Letters of Macarius* (*CPG* 2415)	I	Beginning of the 1st letter of Macarius
XIII	NF 13, ff. 48r–57v			
	NF 13, f. 58r			
	NF 13, f. 58v	(vacat)		End of the letter missing

Quire	Folio	Contents	Part	Comment
XIV	NF 13, ff. 59r–60v	*Letters of Ammonas* (*CPG* 2380)	I	1st letter
	NF 13, ff. 61r–63r		II	2nd letter
	NF 13, f. 63v			
	NF 13, f. 64rv		III	3rd letter
	NF 13, f. 65r		IV	4th letter
	NF 13, ff. 65v–66v			
[XV]	NF 13, f. 67r		V	5th letter
	NF 13, f. 67v			
	NF 13, f. 68r		VI	6th letter
	NF 13, f. 68v			
	NF 13, f. 70r		VII	7th letter
	NF 13, ff. 70v–71r			
	NF 13, f. 71v	*Chapters of Ammonas* (*CPG* 2390)	1	1st chapter
	NF 13, f. 72r			
	NF 13, f. 72v		2	2nd chapter
	NF 13, f. 73r		3	3rd chapter
	NF 13, f. 73v		4	4th chapter
	NF 13, f. 69rv		[5]	[5th chapter]
	1 folio missing		6	6th chapter
[XVI]	NF 13, f. 107v (!)		7	7th chapter
	NF 13, f. 107r (!)		8	8th chapter
	NF 13, f. 96r		9	9th chapter
	NF 13, f. 96v		10	10th chapter
	NF 13, f. 97r		11	11th chapter
	NF 13, f. 97v		12	12th chapter
	NF 13, f. 98r		[12a]	Additional chapter
	NF 13, f. 98v		13	13th chapter
	NF 13, f. 99r		14	14th chapter
	NF 13, f. 99v		15	15th chapter
	NF 13, f. 100r		16	16th chapter
	NF 13, f. 100v		17	17th chapter
	NF 13, f. 101r		18	18th chapter
	NF 13, f. 101v		19	19th chapter
	1 folio missing	*Asceticon of Isaiah* (*CPG* 5555, excerpt)	X, 1–7	10th (3rd) discourse of Isaiah
[XVII]	NF 55, f. 1r		[X, 7–25]	
	NF 55, f. 1r		X, 25	End of Isaiah's discourse
	NF 55, f. 1v	*Homilies of St. Ephrem the Syrian* (*CPG* 4145)	1	Beginning of St. Ephrem's 1st homily
	NF 55, f. 2r		2	Final part of the 2nd homily
	NF 55, ff. 2v–3v			
	NF 55, ff. 54r–55r			
	NF 55, f. 55v		5	5th homily
	NF 55, f. 6rv			
	NF 55, ff. 4r–5v			
	NF 55, f. 7r			Final passage omitted
				3rd homily

Quire	Folio	Contents	Part	Comment
[XVIII]	NF 55, ff. 7v–9v		3	
	NF 55, ff. 10r–11r			Abridgement or lacuna?
	NF 55, ff. 11v–12v		3a?	*Life of Abraham*[17]
	NF 55, f. 13r			
	NF 55, ff. 13v–14v	*Apophthegms* (*CPG* 5594)	Poemen	
[XIX]	NF 55, ff. 15r–24v			
[XXa]	NF 55, ff. 25r–32r			
	NF 55, f. 32v			
[XXb]	NF 55, f. 33r		Petrus Pionita	
	NF 55, ff. 33v–34r		Sisoes	
	NF 55, ff. 34v			
	NF 55, ff. 35r		Sarmata	
	NF 55, ff. 35v–37r		Hyperechius	
	NF 55, f. 37v		Comas	
	NF 55, f. 38r		Dioscorus	
	NF 55, ff. 38v–39v		Cassianus	
	NF 55, f. 40r			
	NF 55, f. 40v		Matoes	
	NF 55, f. 41r			
	NF 55, f. 41v		Motius	
	NF 55, f. 42rv	*John the Faster, Homily on penitence, continence, and virginity* (*CPG* 7555)	1937A	Beginning of the homily
[XXI]	NF 55, f. 48rv		1937A–1940A	
	NF 55, ff. 43r–44v		1940A–C	
	NF 55, f. 46rv		1940D–1944A	
	NF 55, f. 45rv		1944A–D	
	NF 55, f. 47rv		1944D–1945B	
	NF 55, ff. 49r–50v		1945B–D	
XXII	NF 55, f. 51rv		1945D–1949B	
	NF 55, f. 57rv		1949B–1952A	
	NF 55, f. 53rv		1952A–C	
	NF 55, f. 52vr (!)		1952C–1953B	
	NF 55, f. 58rv		1953B–1956A	
	NF 55, f. 56rv		1956A–C	
	NF 55, f. 59rv		1956C–1957B	
	NF 13, f. 79rv		1957B–D	
XXIII	NF 13, ff. 80r–87v		1957D–1960C	
[XXIV]	NF 13, ff. 88r–93r		1960C–1969D	
	NF 13, f. 93v		1969D–1977B	
	NF 13, ff. 94r–95r		1977C	End of the homily
	NF 13, f. 95v	*Lives of the Desert Fathers* (*CPG* 5620)	Apollo	
			Patermuthius	

[17] Not yet determined in the edition, see Gippert *et al.*, *Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, vol. I, 1–19.

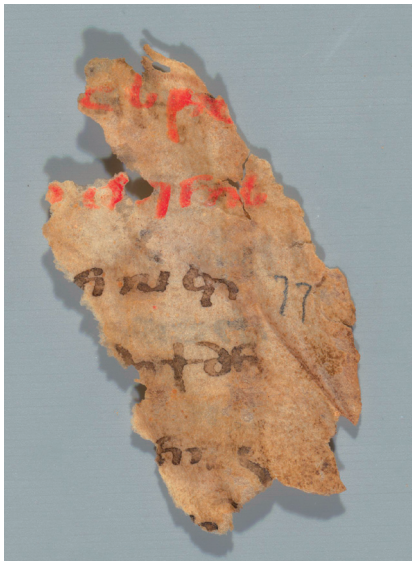


Fig. 8(a): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 77r (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

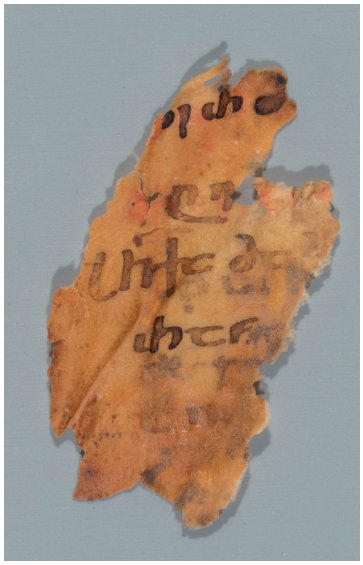


Fig. 8(b): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 77v (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

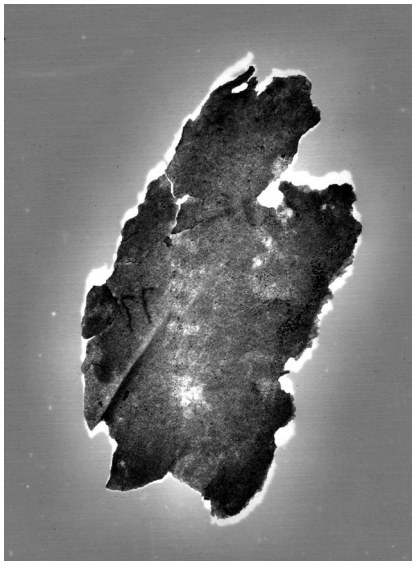


Fig. 8(c): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 77v, transmissive image (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Most of the newly-detected fragments exhibit only a very small number of characters. This is true, for example, of Frg. 77, which shows the remnants of max. six lines of the Georgian overtext, and of max. two lines of the undertext (Fig. 8[a] and [b] displaying the recto and verso of no. 77). It is clear that under these conditions, an identification can only be attempted on the basis of the overtext, and indeed, all 19 fragments have meanwhile found their place in the codicological ensemble of Sin. geo. NF 13 and NF 55. Frg. 77, for example, turned out to have been removed from the upper part of NF 55, f. 13, which contains Apophthegms nos. 9–13 concerning Poemen.[18] Even though the edges seem not to fit perfectly well (Fig. 9[a] and [b]), the continuity of the text leaves no room for doubt. The rubric on the recto, which indicates the beginning of the apophthegm section, is particularly telling;[19] cf. the following reconstruction of the lines in question (ll. 1–7, originally 3–9):

Line	NF 55, f. 13r	Frg. 77r	cf. *PG* 65, 326
3	*<... n>[ug]<e>[š]<inis>[cema]<y[20] d>*	*a sça-*	... consolation and various tea-
4	*<v>lani neṭarisa mamisa [ṗ*	*i]menis-*	chings of the blessed father Poe-
5	*ni titosaxeni :– ʒmama*	*n hki-*	men.[21] – Frater sic inter|rogavit
6	*txa mamasa ṗimens da rk(u)a v(itarme)d*	*mikmn-*	abbatem Poemenem: Com|misi
7	*ies codvay didi da minebs šena*	*neb-*	grande peccatum, et volo per
8	*is sam çel: da rk(u)a mas mamaman*	*ṗi<men>*	triennium agere poeniten|tiam. Di-
9	...		cit ei senex ...

[18] Numbered according to the mss. used in the edition Dvali, *Novelebi*, 164–165; the corresponding numbers are 12–13 and 15–16 in *PG* 65, 325–326.

[19] Cf. Gippert *et al.*, *Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, vol. I, I-19–20 for f. 13r.

[20] In Gippert *et al.*, *Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, vol. I, I-20, the word *nugešiniscemay* 'consolation' was not yet reconstructed; parts of *u*, *g*, *š*, *c*, *e*, *m*, and *a* are visible, which leave no other reconstruction possible.

[21] The manuscript Ivir. georg. 12 (f. 145v) of Mt. Athos has the title *sçavlani da txrobani titosaxeni mamisa ṗimenisni* 'Various teachings and narrations of father Poemen'. The Greek text in *PG* 65, 317A has only Περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ποιμένος.

Line	NF 55, f. 77v	NF 55, f. 13v	cf. *PG* 65, 326
			<Interrogavit abbas Anub abbatem Poemenem, de impuris cogitationibus quas gignit cor hominis, et de variis cogitationibus. Dicit ei abbas Poemen :>
3		*<... nuuḳue ididos-me culi>*	<Numquid gloriabitur securis
4	*<twni>er m*	*<ḳuetelisa da šena nu mis>-*	sine eo qui caedit in ipsa? Tu quoque ne
5	*cem m<a>*	*t qelsa da twt ukm ikmnen*	por|rigas eis manum et otiosae erunt.
6	*Tkua mam<a>*	*man ṗimen uḳuetumca a-*	Dixit iterum abbas Poemen : Ni|si
7	*ra na*	*buzardan mzarault mt-*	Nabuzardan coquorum
8	*ava*	*ri mosrul iq̇o aramca mo-*	pr|inceps venisset, non
9	*mç<u>*	*ar iq̇o ṭaʒari ...*	con|crematum fuisset templum ...



Fig. 9(a): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 13r joined with f. 77v
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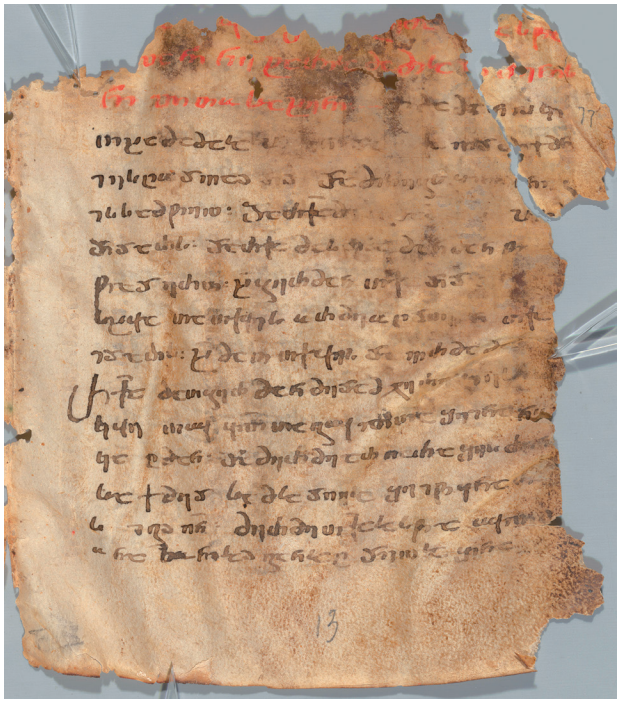


Fig. 9(b): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 13v joined with f. 77r
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In a similar way, the two fragments 60 and 75 can be joined together, the Georgian overtext belonging to § 14 of the *Life of St. Antony* (Fig. 10), and Frg. 62 can be joined with f. 105 of Sin. geo. NF 13, a fragment itself, which contains parts of the 5th letter of St. Antony (Fig. 11). Remarkably enough, 12 of the fragments can be proven to stem from the missing folios of the first two quires of the Georgian codex (containing the *Life of St. Antony*), as shown in the Table below.

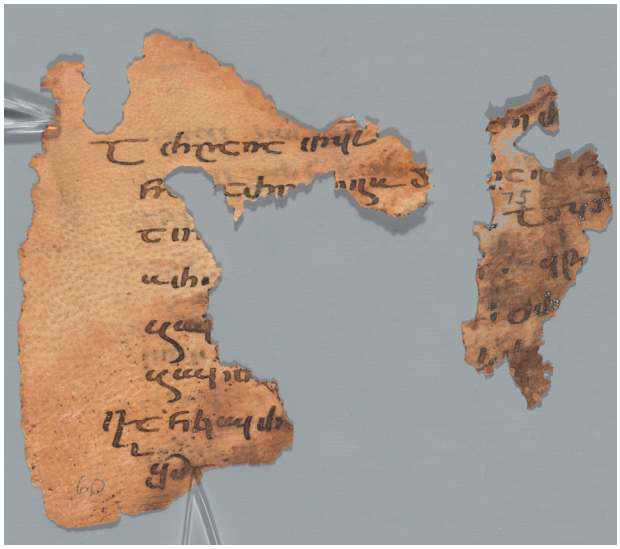


Fig. 10: Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 60r joined with f. 75r
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Fig. 11: Sin. geo. NF 13, f. 105r joined with NF 55, f. 62r
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Quire	Folio	Contents	Part	Comment
[I]	4 folios missing	*Life of St. Antony*		
	NF 55, f. 63vr		§§ 4–5	
	NF 55, f. 64vr			
	NF 55, f. 65vr		§ 6	
	NF 55, f. 67vr		§ 7	
[II]	NF 55, f. 69vr			
	NF 55, f. 70vr		§§ 8–9	
	NF 55, f. 71vr			
	NF 55, f. 72vr		§§ 10–11	
	NF 55, f. 66vr		§ 12	
	NF 55, f. 68vr		§ 13	
	NF 55, ff. 75vr+60vr		§ 14	
	1 folio missing			
[III]	NF 13, ff. 104rv		§§ 16–17	
	7 folios missing			
*[IV]	8 folios missing			
V	1 folio missing			

Frg. 73 (Fig. 12[a] and [b]), which contains a passage from the 10th (3rd) Sermon of Isaiah, is an unusual case. The identification of the text is warranted by the collation of two other codices of St. Catherine's, viz. Sin. geo. 25 and Sin. geo. 35, which contain the same sermon; cf. the parallel arrangement given below:

Fragment 73r	**Sin. geo. 35, f. 73ra, 8–16 / Sin. geo. 25, f. 94v, 10 – 95r, 2**	**Isaiah, *Logoi*, 43, 4–8, ed. Augoustinos (cf. *PG* 40, 1109B)**
	... ġav si-	... ποίησον ἀγ-
ġ	*ġuaruli : miiġe mcired zeti*	άπην καὶ λαβὲ μικρὸν ἔλαιον
da	*da icxe qorcta*[22] *š(e)nta : uḳuetu*	καὶ βάλε ἐντός σου· ἐὰν δὲ
ara	*ara inebos miuṭeve da ganisuenos :*	μὴ θελήσῃ λαβεῖν μετὰ ἀναπαύσεως[23] ...
š[ǯ]de	*šǯde ray ṭablasa z(ed)a ċabuḳ tu xa-*	Καθημένου σου ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ μετὰ ἀδελφῶν, νεώτερος ὤ-
r [nu]	*r : nu iḳadreb rkumad visame ċa-*	ν, μὴ εἴπῃς τῷ νῷ φά-
me [a(rame)d] mo	*me a(rame)d moiqsenebd codvata šenta*	γε, ἀλλὰ μνήσθητι τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν σου,
r(ayt)a ara š[č]	*r(ayt)a ara ščamde gemoys moġuare-*	ἵνα μὴ ἐσθίῃς μεθ’ ἡδο-
bit ščamde [r]	*bit : ščamde ray*[24] *...*	νῆς ...

Fragment 73v	**Sin. geo. 35, f. 73rb, 11–19 / Sin. geo. 25, f. 95v, 2–8**	**Isaiah, *Logoi*, 43, 20–21, ed. Augoustinos (cf. *PG* 40, 1109C)**
u p	*... uḳuetu p-*	... Ἐὰν π-
[en] ba	*keray gaurvebdes daiċeben ba-*	νίγῃ σε χάσμη,
[i]ri š	*geni š(en)ni r(ayt)a ara aġaṭḳmo ṗiri š-*	μὴ ἀνοίξῃς τὸ στόμα σ-
[asa] ġ(ovla)d	*eni da ganisueno boġinebasa ġ(ovla)d-*	ου καὶ φεύξεται ἀπὸ σοῦ,
wḳwetu	*ve nu aġmouṭeveb : uḳuetu*	μὴ ἀνοίγῃς
icilisay	*iġos unebeli rayme sicilisay*	τὸ στόμα σου γελῶν
[š]ensa ḳma geġ	*nu aġsṭḳmob*[25] *ṗirsa šensa ḳma geġ-*	τὸ σύνολον, ἀφοβία γάρ
avn ⁖	*avn ...*	ἐστι ...

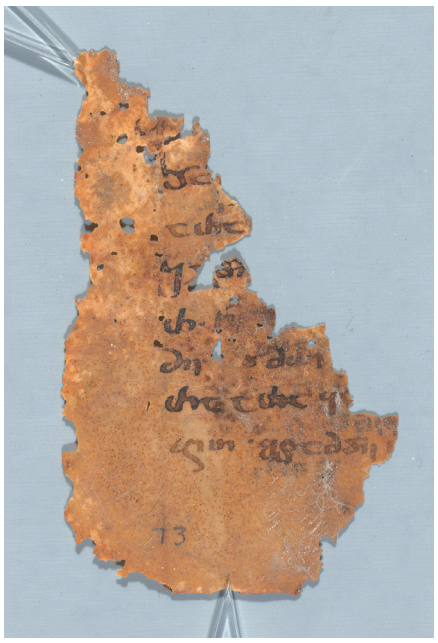


Fig. 12(a): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 73r
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Fig. 12(b): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 73v
(© St. Catherine’s Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

[22] *icxe qorcta šenta* ‘anoint your body’ in Sin. geo. 35 vs. *icxe perqta šenta* ‘anoint your feet’ in Sin. geo. 25.

[23] The following two lines of the Greek text (μὴ κοπώσῃς αὐτόν, ἐὰν δέ ἐστι γέρων πρακτικός, βίασαι αὐτόν, ἕως οὗ ἀλείψῃ αὐτὸν ὅλον) have no equivalent in the Georgian version.

[24] The Georgian text recommences with ‘When you are eating’, vs. Gk. καί.

[25] Sic Sin. geo. 25, f. 73rb, l. 18; Sin. geo. 25, f. 95v, l. 7–8 has the better form *aġmṭkmob*.

Frg. 73 can thus be identified as a remnant of the folio that is missing between Sin. geo. NF 13, f. 101v and Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 1r, thus representing the missing link in the transition between the two present codices as illustrated below.

Quire	Folio	Contents	Part	Comment
[XV]	1 folio missing	*Chapters of Ammonas*	5	Missing
[XVI]	NF 13, f. 107vr (!)		6–19	Including 12a
	NF 13, f. 96rv			
	NF 13, f. 97rv			
	NF 13, f. 98rv			
	NF 13, f. 99rv			
	NF 13, f. 100rv			
	NF 13, f. 101rv	*Asceticon of Isaiah*	X, 1–7	10th (3rd) discourse of Isaiah
	NF 55, f. 73rv		X, 7–25	
[XVII]	NF 55, f. 1r		X, 25	End of Isaiah's discourse

THE NEW FRAGMENTS AND THEIR UNDERTEXTS

For fragments of the type dealt with here, the identification of the overtexts is normally a precondition for an identification of the undertexts. It is clear that in a case like Frg. 77, which has turned out to belong to f. 13 of Sin. geo. NF 55, the undertext must be the same as that of the latter, which has been determined to extend from John 19:23 to John 19:30.[26] The transmissive light image of the combined recto of f. 13 and Frg. 77 (Fig. 9[c]) clearly shows that the latter contains text of the first column, beginning with the first line of the original folio, which has been lost for f. 13. Even though the few characters are not enough to establish the text beyond doubt, we may safely assume that they belong to John 19:23, as the preceding bifolio consisting of Sin. geo. NF 13, ff. 17 and 22 ends with John 19:22.[27] In accordance with the Greek and Armenian texts, the first two lines of NF 55, ff. 77r+13r can be reconstructed as follows:

<p̣on' e e> {hʿib}[üwn ž]{in˜}<n>	<Then the> soldier<s>,
<hay>{ʒex}ay-{ank}<e-å˜n i>	whe<n they cru>cifie<d...>

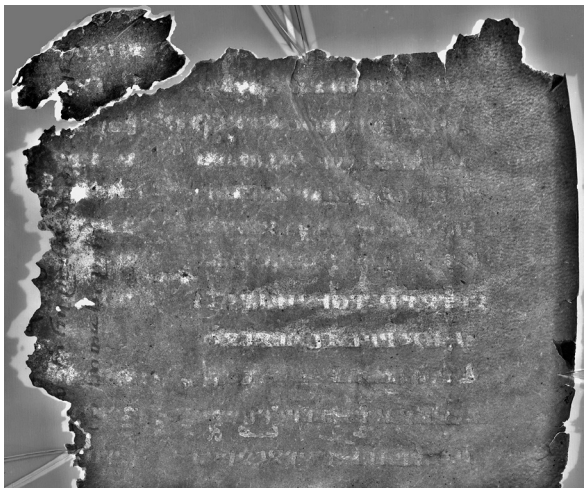


Fig. 9(c): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 13r joined with f. 70v, transmissive image (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

[26] Cf. Gippert *et al.*, *Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, vol. II, V-98–101.
[27] Cf. Gippert *et al.*, *Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, vol. II, V-96–97.

In a similar way, Frg. 62, which can be joined to f. 105 of Sin. geo. NF 13 (cf. above), provides parts of the missing column of the bifolio consisting of ff. 105 and 106, which contains the 5th letter of St. Antony in its Georgian overtext and Luke 1:58–80 from the Caucasian Albanian lectionary in its undertext, with the recto of Frg. 62 covering Luke 1:64–65 (Fig. 11 and 13[a]). Remarkably enough, another scrap that was detected among the uncatalogued Georgian fragments of the New Finds in St. Catherine's Monastery in May 2009 turned out to belong to f. 106, i.e., the lower part of the same bifolio, containing Luke 1:67–68 on its recto and 72–74 on its verso (Fig. 13[b]).[28] Unfortunately this fragment was not accessible to the Sinai Palimpsests Project so there are no multispectral or transmissive light images available.

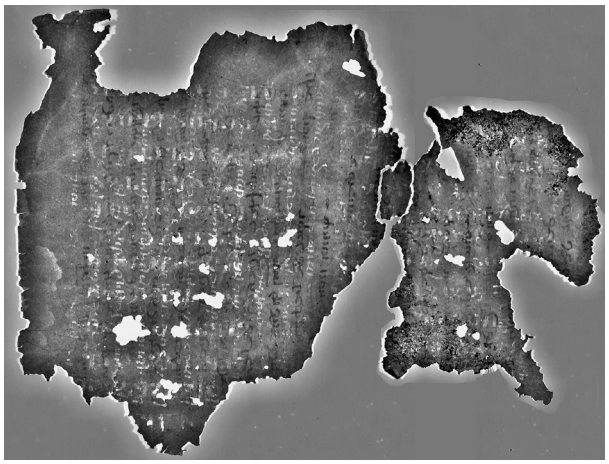


Fig. 13(a): Sin. geo. NF 13, f. 105r joined with NF 55, f. 62r, transmissive image (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)



Fig. 13(b): Sin. geo. NF 13, ff. 105r and 106v joined with NF 55, f. 62r and unnumbered fragment (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

[28] Cf. Gippert, *Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, vol. III, I-21–25 for details and a reconstruction of the bifolio.

The same method of identification works just as well, of course, with undertexts other than Caucasian Albanian. This is true, e.g., of Frg. 61, which can be joined with Sin. geo. NF 13, f. 95 containing apophthegms on Apollo and Patermuthios from the *Historia monachorum* in its Georgian overtext[29] (Fig. 14[a] for the recto), and thus provides missing parts of the Armenian undertext comprising Song of Songs 7:12–8:2 on the recto (Fig. 14[b]) and 8:2–6 on the verso.[30]

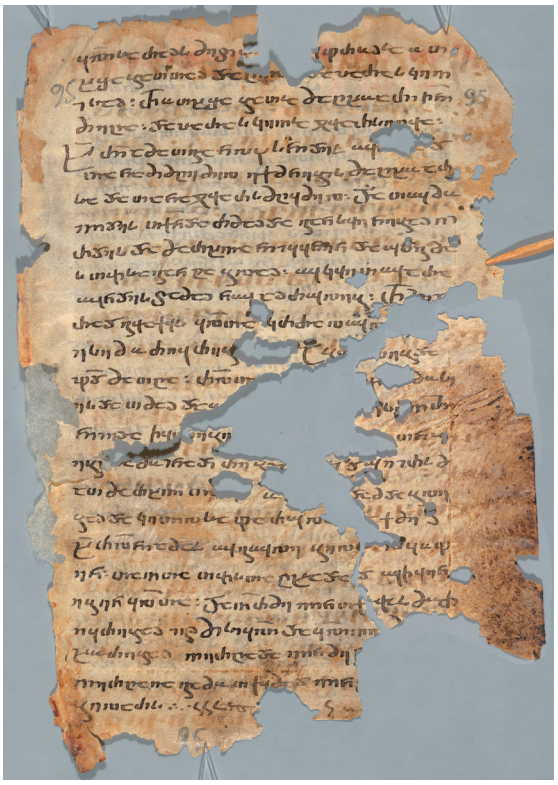


Fig. 14(a): Sin. geo. NF 13, f. 95r joined with NF 55, f. 61r (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

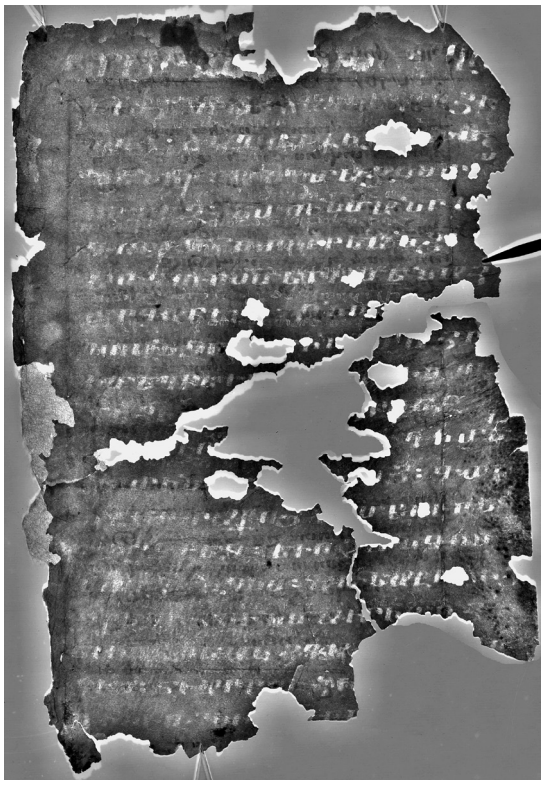
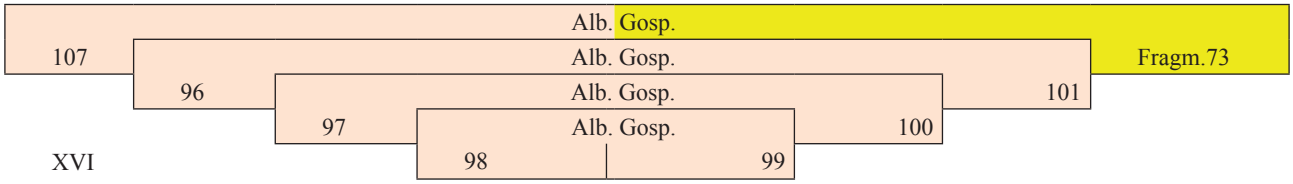


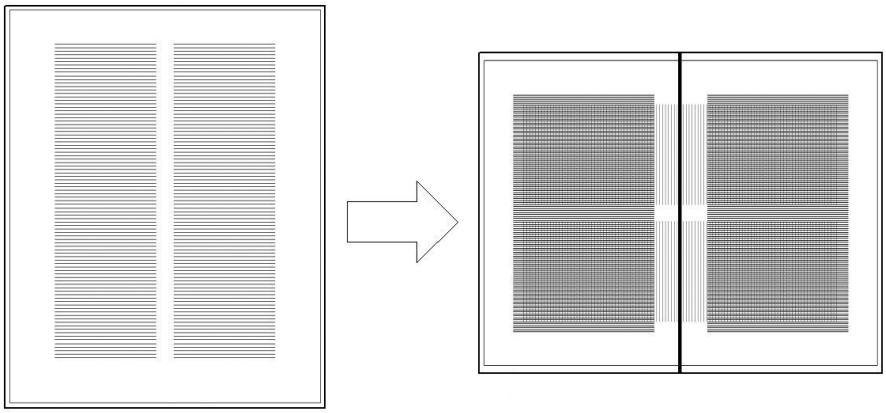
Fig. 14(b): Sin. geo. NF 13, f. 95r joined with NF 55, f. 61r, transmissive image (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Whenever a fragment cannot be joined to an existing folio, the identification of the undertext is much more difficult as there is no *a priori* relation between a given overtext and its erased predecessor. In these cases, codicological considerations may be expedient. This is true, for example, for Frg. 73, the remnant of the transitional folio between Sin. geo. NF 13 and NF 55, which must have represented the last folio of quire XVI of the complete Georgian codex. Given that nearly all quires of the codex consist, as quaternions, of eight folios representing four bifolios, Frg. 73 must have been the "partner" of f. 107 of Sin. geo. NF 13, which is the first folio of the quire; cf. the schematical illustration below.



[29] Cf. Gippert *et al.*, *Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, vol. I, I-23–24 for the identification.
[30] Cf. Gippert, *Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, vol. III, IV-48–51 for the undertext of Sin. geo. NF 13, f. 95.

We must consider now that one bifolio of the Georgian codex was normally gained by taking one folio of the palimpsested codex, turned by 90° or 270° (the only exception being the remnants of the Armenian Old Testament codex, NF 55, ff. 48–59 and NF 13, ff. 79–95, and the one folio with Georgian undertext, NF 13, f. 58); this can be illustrated schematically as follows:



On this basis, we may safely deduce for Frg. 73 that it contains, as the upper part of the folio also yielding f. 107, passages from the sixth chapter of John. And indeed, the few characters discernible on its verso (Fig. 15[a]) permit the reconstruction of four lines of John 6:22, which must have been lines 9–12 in the first column of the original folio, just as it was reconstructed in the edition,[31] and with only one complete line missing between them and f. 107r (Fig. 15[b]):

Ms.	Line	John 6.22	Armenian[32]
Fragm. 73v	8	{K}<aen eṭiš e ž̃d bowra>-	*I vaŀiw andr žoŀovorwdn*
	9	h̃ḳe-{h}<ē eṭowx̣own e ç̣ay a>-	*or kayr yaynkoys covown,*
	10	ḳa-å̃a [no]<w>[t]-{a}<naḳe en'eġ>	*tesanēr tʿē ayl*
	11	[nᶜa hē-n] eṭi[š sa] <sao a>-	*naw očʿ goyr and baycʿ miayn*
	12	ṭown ba[h]a-b{åh}[ē h]an{a}<ye>-	*mioyn yor mtin*
	13	<ṭowx̣ḳe e ašarḳeṭowx̣ ỹsi .>	*ašakertkʿn y(isows)i.*
107r	14	<now>{t}-al-baha-båhē ỹs <e a>-	*ew zi čʿēr mteal y(isow)s*
	15	[š]{ar}[ḳ]eṭowġo[xoš i]{čē e nᶜa} ...	*ənd ašakertsn iwr i nawn...*

[31] Cf. Gippert *et al.*, *Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, vol. II, V-30–33 for the undertext of Sin. geo. NF 13, f. 107.

[32] The Armenian text is collated here as it is much closer to the Albanian than the Greek.

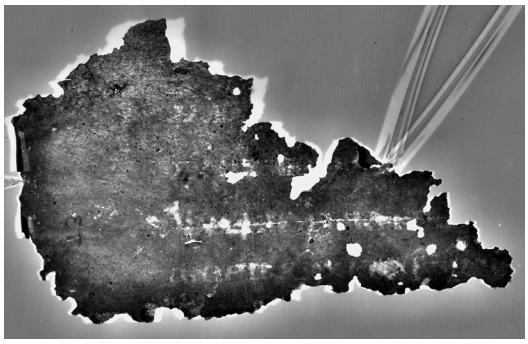


Fig. 15(a): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 73v, transmissive image (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

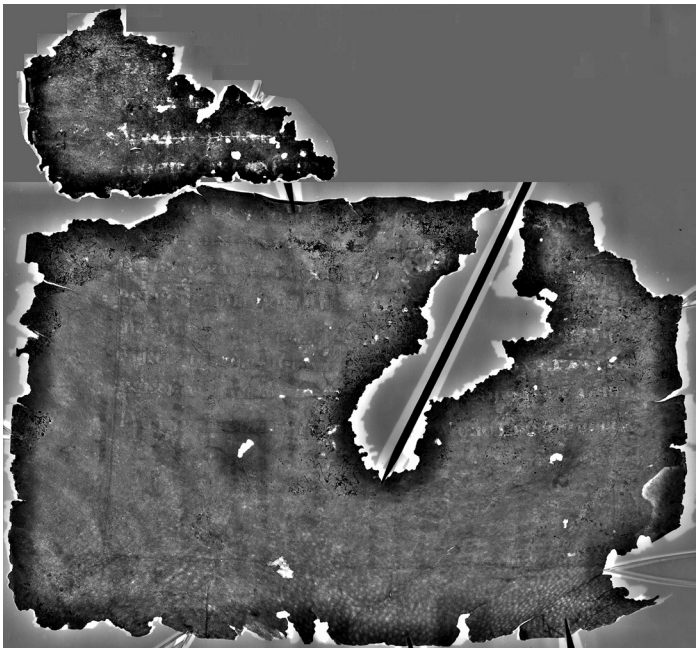


Fig. 15(b): Sin. geo. NF 13, f. 107r joined with NF 55, f. 73v, transmissive image (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

The same principle also applies to the fragments that cannot be joined to an existing folio, especially those that derive from the first two quires of the Georgian codex (Frg. 60, 63–72, and 75, cf. above). By calculating the separation between the passages of their overtexts (from the *Life of St. Antony*), we not only arrive at identifying Frg. 60 and 75 as parts of the same folio (Fig. 16[a] and [b]) but also at establishing the sequence of the fragments, which is uninterrupted beginning with Frg. 63. We can further calculate the underlying quire structure, with four folios missing at the beginning of the first quire, and one folio at the end of the second one; this implies that six of the fragments of quire II can be joined together as remnants of bifolios. And whenever the undertext of one of the 'partners' can be identified, the undertext of the other 'partner' can also be deduced. As a matter of fact, all seven fragments pertaining to quire II thus prove to stem from the Caucasian Albanian Gospel codex as schematised below.

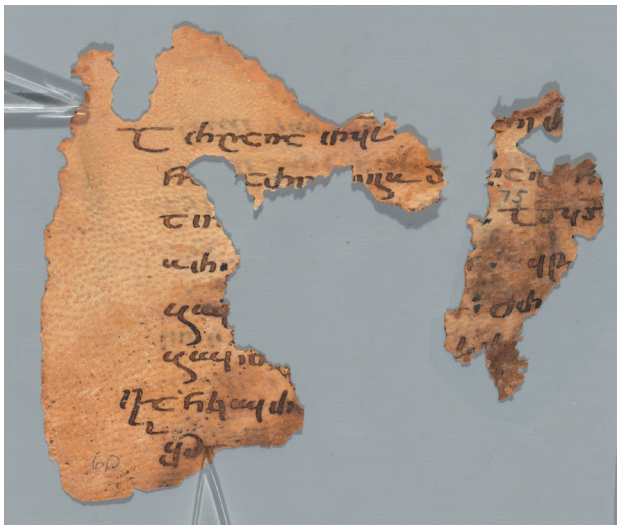
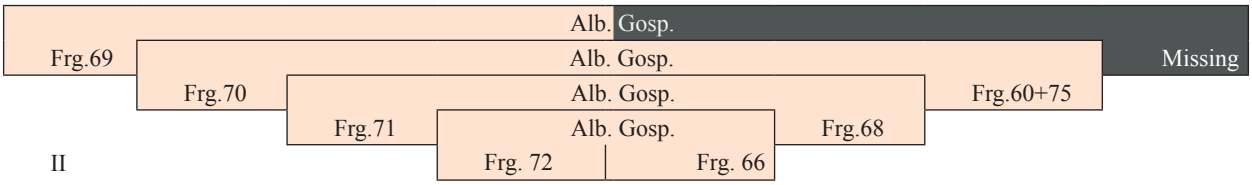


Fig. 16(a): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 60r joined with f. 75v (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)



Fig. 16(b): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 60v joined with f. 75r (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)



As an example, the undertext of Frg. 70r is reconstructed here (Fig. 17[a]), which can be identified as representing John 6:63–65 on the basis of the transmissive light image (Fig. 17[b]):

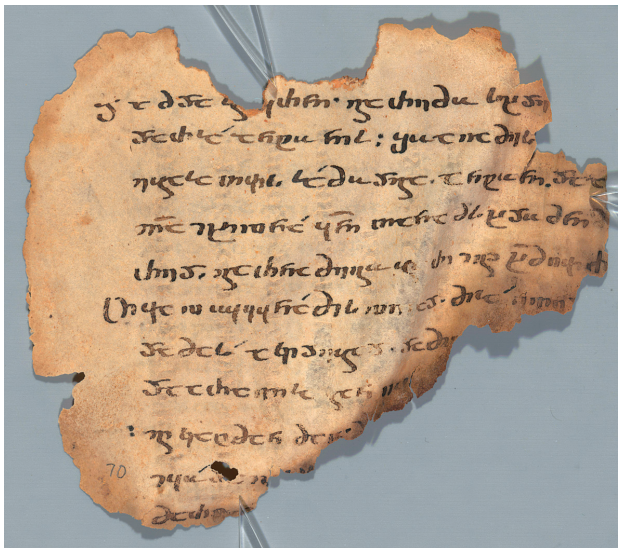


Fig. 17(a): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 70r
(© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

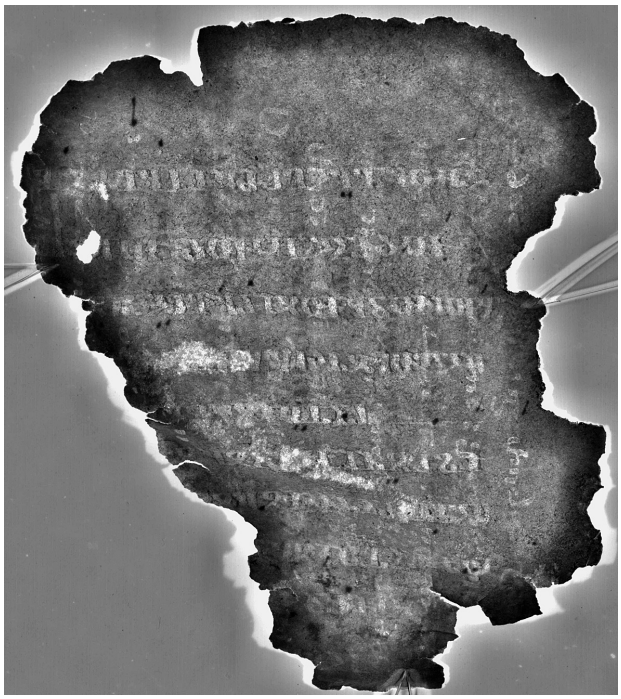


Fig. 17(b): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 70r, transmissive image
(© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Line	Frg. 70r	John 6:63–65 (Armenian)
		Hogín ē kendanawor,
1	marmin'en šel hil' now-ba '	*marmin inčʿ očʿ awgnē.*
2	[E] {il'}[owx̣] zow pē-hˇk̦e-zow-	*Zbansn zor es xawsēcʿay*
3	-<vˢ>[as] hel-ne-ya own ġowyown '	*ənd jez, hogí ē ew keankʿ.*
4	<Sa b>{ow-ne} [ži]n vˢax̣[oc] h[å]-	*Aył en omankʿ i jēnǰ*
5	<ya-n-aha>-[n-hanay]åˇr[k̦e ']	*or očʿ hawatan.*
6	<Eṭ'ˇneš aa>-{a}na[k̦e-hē yˇs]a eś{e}-	*Kʿanzi gitér y(isow)s i skz-*
7	<xosṭay> {h}ana[yåˇr]k̦e [åˇr hē]	*banē ov en aynokʿik*
8	<håya-n-aha-n-h>[a]nayåˇrk̦e {own}	*or očʿn hawatan. Ew*
9	<o hašk̦e-hē ta>-{da}ġeso{wn}-	*ov ayn ēr or matne-*
10	<hanayoen>{k̦e}-hē [o]{o}<w>-	*locʿn ē z-*
11	<x̣-al '>	*na.*

The undertext of the verso (Frg. 70v) is much harder to establish, given that it is on a hair side, for which transmissive light imaging usually does not work. On the basis of the new multispectral images, it can nevertheless be identified as beginning with John 6:49–50, which means that it was originally the recto (Fig. 17[c]):

Line	Frg. 70v	John 6:49–50
1	Derġo[n] bʿ[efi k]ay-n[e] {e}	*Harkʿn jer keran*
2	manan[a k]ʿaba[n]a[x̣] {p̣owri}-<ne '>	*zmananayn yanapatin. Ew meṙan.*
3	E[e-ne ś]ow[m ć]ow[dowa]{x̣}<oc>	*Ays ē hacʿn or erknicʿ*
4	[aci-b]{åhē}-[h˜]ḳe ' o[wk]{a}-<hanay>-	*iǰeal ē zi or owticʿē*
5	{o}e[nḳ]e etx̣[o]{c} [no]{w}<t-anḳe>-	*okʿ i smanē mi*
6	-[va-bil'al ']	*meṙanicʿi:*

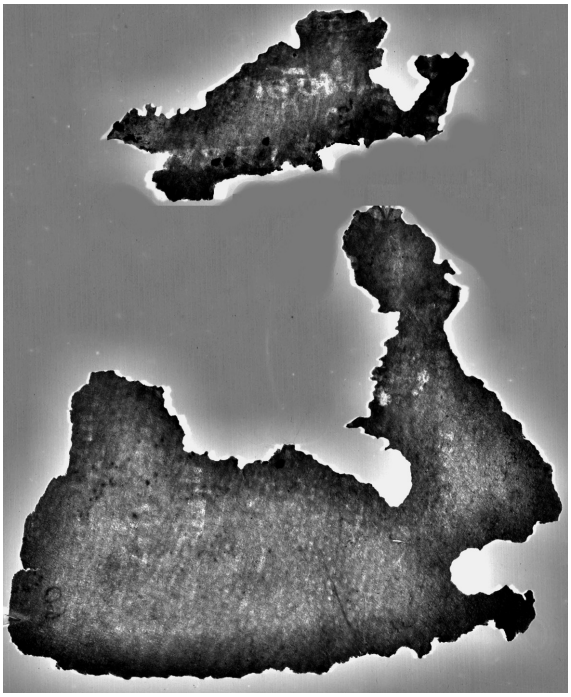


Fig. 16(c): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 60r joined with f. 75v, transmissive image (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

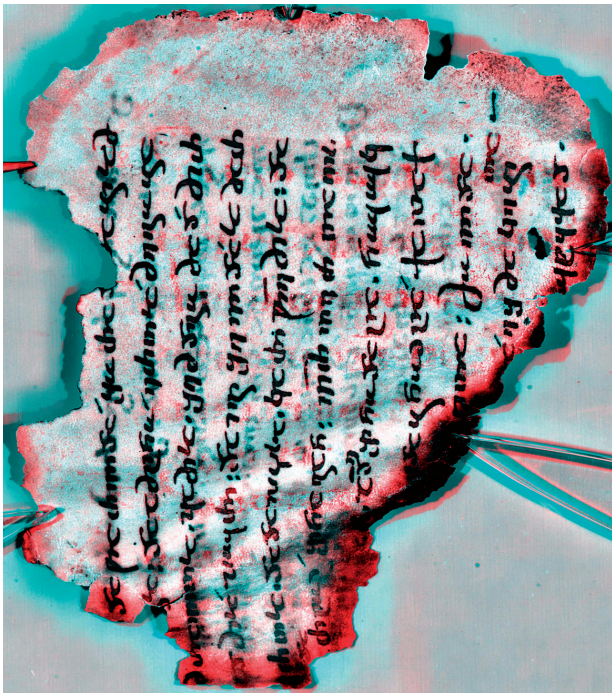


Fig. 17(c): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 70v, multispectral image (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Considering the extent of the visible margins of Frg. 70v, we may further assume that the text it contains represents the beginning of the first column, i.e., the upper left corner of the original recto, whereas the text of Frg. 70r represents the first lines of the second column of the original verso. For the complete folio underlying it, we may thus estimate that the text covered John 6:49–67, the folio fitting exactly between Sin. geo. NF 13, ff. 99+98 (with John 6:27–48) and Sin. geo. NF 55, ff. 17+22 (with John 6:67–7:17).[33] For the 'partner' of Frg. 70 represented by Frg. 60 + 75, this implies that it must have belonged to the lower half of the original folio, with its 'verso' continuing the text of Frg. 70r. As Frg. 60 appears to be empty (Fig. 16[c]), it is likely to be a remnant of the lower margin, which was rather broad in the Albanian Gospel codex; the letters visible on Frg. 75v (cf. ib.) must then belong to the last lines of the column in question. If this was the same (second) column as on Frg. 70r, the characters must have belonged to John 6:66 and 67, and indeed, the text passage can be reconstructed as follows:

[33] Cf. Gippert *et al.*, *Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, vol. II, V-34–37 for the undertext of Sin. geo. NF 13, ff. 99+98 and V-38–41 for the undertext of Sin. geo. NF 55, ff. 17+22.

Line	Frg. 75v	John 6:66–67 (Armenian)
19	<ķor-hē-n-å˜r no>{w-h}[o]{ro}-<iġa>-	*yets . ew očʿ ews šrǰecʿin*
20	-<n-å˜r-hē hi>{m}[i] oow[xo]<š '>	*ənd nma.*
21	<Pē-ne y˜n e ṗ>açar a{ša}<rķe>-	*Asē Yisows cʿerkotasan ašakertsn*

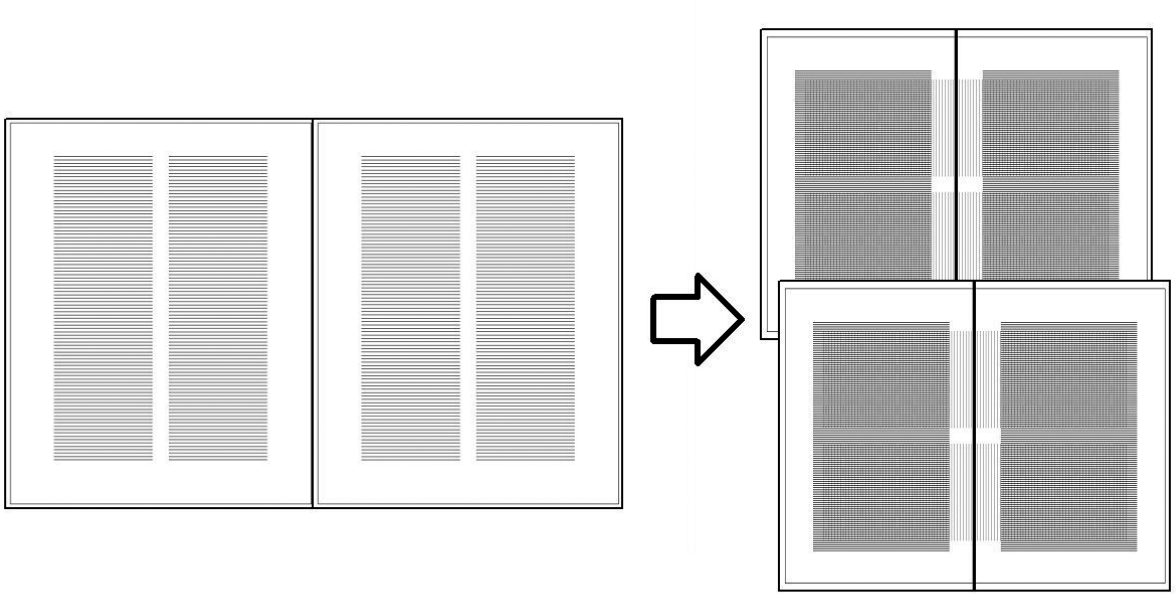
On the basis of all these identifications, we can now reconstruct the original codex containing the Gospel of John in Caucasian Albanian with much better reliability than ever before.[34] We may safely state that it consisted of six quaternions, of which only the last one is represented *in toto* in the palimpsest, and that the first folio must have been empty (or filled with other materials, e.g., a chapter index). The reconstructed quire structure is illustrated in the table below, with A denoting Sin. geo. NF 13 and B denoting Sin. geo. NF 55.[35]

I															
(*vacat*)		1.1–24		1.24–45		1.45–2.15		2.15–3.9		3.9–27		3.28–4.11		4.11–31	
		A40r	A40v			A6r	A6v	A7r	A7v			A41r	A41v		
		A47v	A47r			A1v	A1r					A46v	A46r		
II															
4.32–48		4.48–5.17		5.17–35		5.35–6.9		6.9–27		6.27–48		6.49–67		6.67–7.17	
B18r	B18v	B69v	B69r	A100r	A100v	A101r	A101v	B73r	B73v	A99r	A99v	B70v	B70r	B17r	B17v
B21v	B21r			A97v	A97r	A96v	A96r	A107v	A107r	A98v	A98r	B60r+75r	B60v+75v	B22v	B22r
III															
7.18–36		7.37–8.14		8.14–31		8.32–50		8.51–9.9		9.9–27		9.27–10.6		10.7–26	
B68v	B68r			A19r	A19v	A50r	A50v	A51r	A51v	A18r	A18v	A74r	A74v	B66v	B66r
B71r	B71v			A20v	A20r	A55v	A55r	A54v	A54r	A21v	A21r	A102v	A102r	B72r	B72v
IV															
10.26–11.7		11.7–30		11.30–47		11.48–12.6		12.6–26		12.26–44		12.44–13.11		13.11–28	
		A65r	A65v			B12r	B12v	B11r	B11v	B54r	B54v	A66r	A66v		
		A60v	A60r			B9v	B9r	B10v	B10r	B55v	B55r	A59v	A59r		
V															
13.28–14.7		14.7–24		14.24–15.13		15.13–16.5		16.5–22		16.22–17.6		17.6–25		17.25–18.16	
						A30r	A30v	A31r	A31v						
						A25v	A25r	A24v	A24r						
VI															
18.16–31		18.32–19.7		19.7–22		19.23–38		19.38–20.15		20.15–29		20.30–21.16		21.16–25+col.	
B40r	B40v	A61r	A61v	A17r	A17v	B13r+77r	B13v+77v	B14r+78r	B14v+78v	A16r	A16v	B1r	B1v	B39r	B39v
B35v	B35r	A64v	A64r	A22v	A22r	B8v	B8r	B7v	B7r	A23v	A23r	B5v	B5r	B36v	B36r

[34] For previous attempts cf. Gippert, The Albanian Gospel Manuscript – New Findings, 62 and Gippert, When Person Overcomes Class, 39.

[35] In the table, a yellow background indicates the position of the new fragments; a green one, folios whose content has now been identified differently from the edition of 2009; and a grey one, missing parts.

This reconstruction builds upon one further, decisive, observation: as the table shows, folios that are adjacent in the Georgian *codex rescriptus* are usually distributed symmetrically within the quires they originally belonged to. For example, we find ff. 40 and 41 of Sin. geo. NF 13 as the second and seventh folio of the first quire, and ff. 6 and 7 as the fourth and fifth. This means that both these pairs represent one bifolio each of the original codex, which presupposes that in the reuse, the original bifolios were still coherent so that the two folios they consisted of could be used one after another as illustrated below. It is this structural precondition that forces us to assume that the first folio of the codex did not contain text of the Gospel.



LOOKING AHEAD

Only one of the 'new' fragments that is likely to stem from the Gospel codex, viz. no. 63 (Fig. 18[a] for the 'recto'), cannot immediately be assigned a place in the reconstructed Gospel codex, because the visible traces, even in the transmissive light image (Fig. 18[b]), are insufficient to determine its contents with certainty and because it has no 'partner'. According to the overtext, it must be a remnant of the fifth folio of the first quire of the Georgian *codex rescriptus*, whose counterpart would have been the fourth folio, lost together with the ones preceding it, and it must represent the outer corner of the top half of the folio it represents. On the basis of this, we may estimate that Frg. 63r contains John 4:15–18 in its undertext, thus representing a part of the last folio of the first quire of the Albanian Gospel codex; cf. the tentative reconstruction of the eight lines it exhibits:

Line	Frg. 63r	John 4:15–18 (Armenian)
	<nowt-anḳe-he>-	*ew mí e-*
1	<ġal-zow e>{t}[iš] {he-b}o[ḳ]al-	*kicʿ aysr hanel*
2	-<zow xe '>	*ǰowr.*
3	<Pē-n-aġ>{ow}[s y˜]n o[w]{k}[al pa]-{n˜n}	*Asē cʿna Yisows: ertʿ kočʿea*
4	<owsbos> {v}[ē ' h]ekal-n˜[n] {eṭ^iš '^}	*zayr kʿo ew ék aysr.*
5	<IĺIow-ḳor-b>[i]yay-n-oow a [xi]-	*Patasxani et nma kinn*
6	<%e pē-n-aġe>{n '} te-bezi-va {'}	*ew asē: čʿikʿ im ayr.*
7	<Pē-n-aġows y˜n> {ē}-n˜n-{p}ē {te}-	*Asē cʿna Yisows: barwókʿ asacʿer*
8	-<bezi-va-ḳa ' x>{o} owsbo <ta>-	*tʿe čʿikʿ im ayr. zi hing ayr*
9	<batkē-n˜n . …>	*pʿoxeal ē kʿo …*

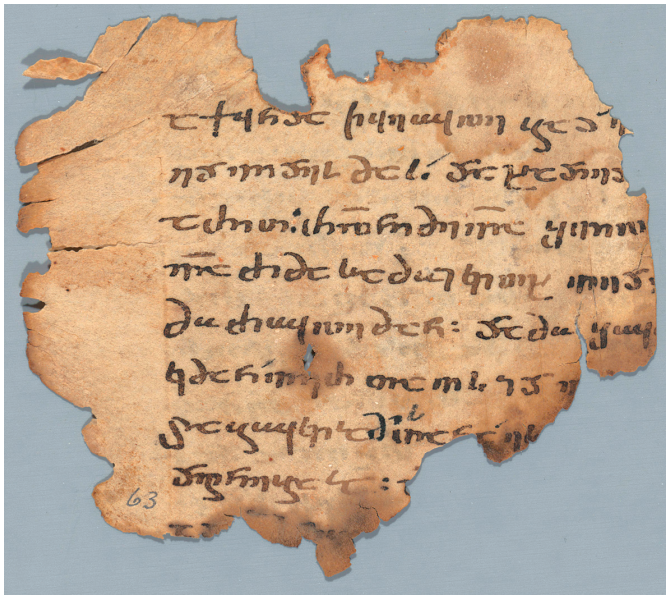


Fig. 18(a): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 63r
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Fig. 18(b): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 63r, transmissive image
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For the remnants of the seventh and eighth folios, represented by fragments no. 65 and 67, the content can more easily be determined: with passages from Ephesians (5:29 and 4:11–15) and Galatians (4:4–6), they belong to the Albanian lectionary codex, continuing the text of Sin. geo. NF 13, f. 27r, which ends with Eph. 5:29.

The small Frg. 64, whose undertext is from the Armenian New Testament, came as a surprise. The five lines it reveals on its recto (Fig. 19[a] and [b]) turned out to contain the beginning of Heb. 11:35, the final words of which appear in the first lines of the undertext of the bifolio consisting of Sin. geo. NF 13, f. 62v and f. 63r (Fig. 20[a] and 21[a]). For two reasons, Frg. 64 nevertheless cannot belong to a folio immediately preceding these. First, the hand and style is totally different (thin and strongly slanted in ff. 62 and 63, rather bold and upright in Frg. 64). Second, the content of the verso of Frg. 64 is Heb. 12:3–5 (Fig. 19[c] and [d]), which is also contained in Sin. geo. NF 13, ff. 63v+62r (Fig. 20[b] and 21[b]). We thus have two different witnesses to the same text passage here, with only one minimal orthographical difference (the *shewa* vowel spelt out in *mełacʿən* 'of the sins' after the line break in f. 62rb, 4):

Heb.	Frg. 64v	Sin. geo. NF 13, 63va, 20 – 62rb, 4
12.3	*<jerovkʿ ew lkʿa>nicʿikʿ <·>*	*jerovkʿ ew lkʿani|cʿikʿ ·*
12.4	*<zi čʿewews> areamb*	*zi čʿewews are|amb*
	<čʿapʿpa>terazme-	*čʿapʿpate|razme-*
	<alkʿ> [h]akaṙak kacʿēkʿ	*alkʿ haka|ṙak kacʿēkʿ*
12.5	*<me>[ł]acʿn · || ew mo-*	*meła|cʿən : || ew mo-*

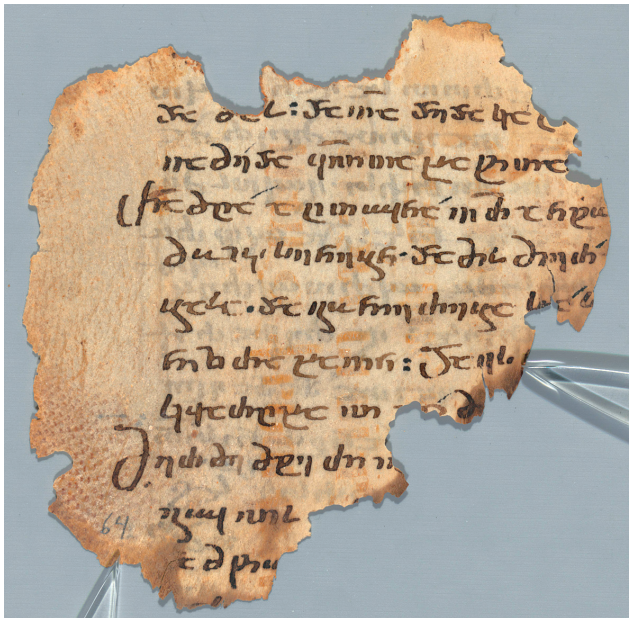


Fig. 19(a): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 64r
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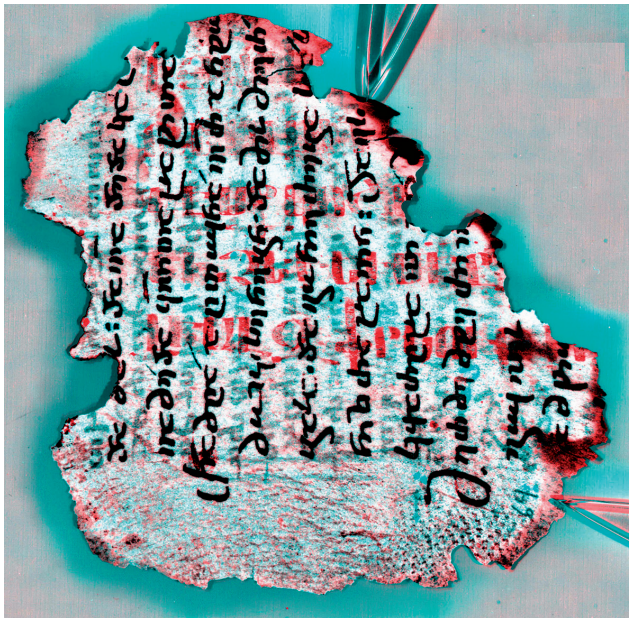


Fig. 19(b): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 64r, multispectral image
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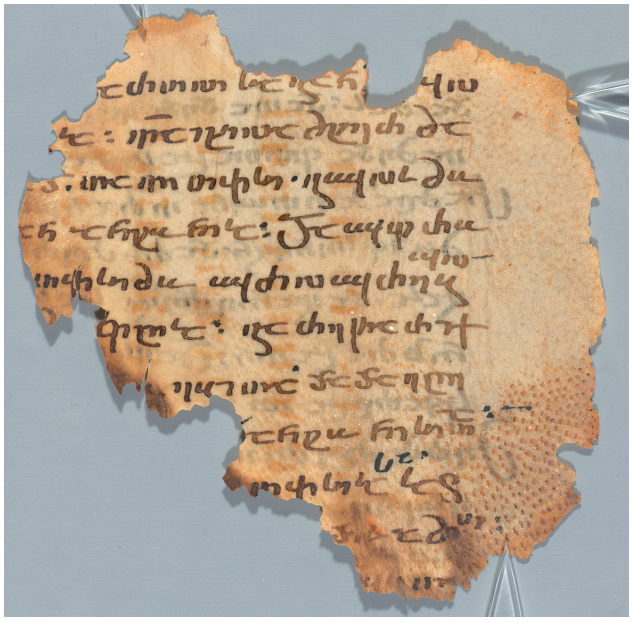


Fig. 19(c): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 64v
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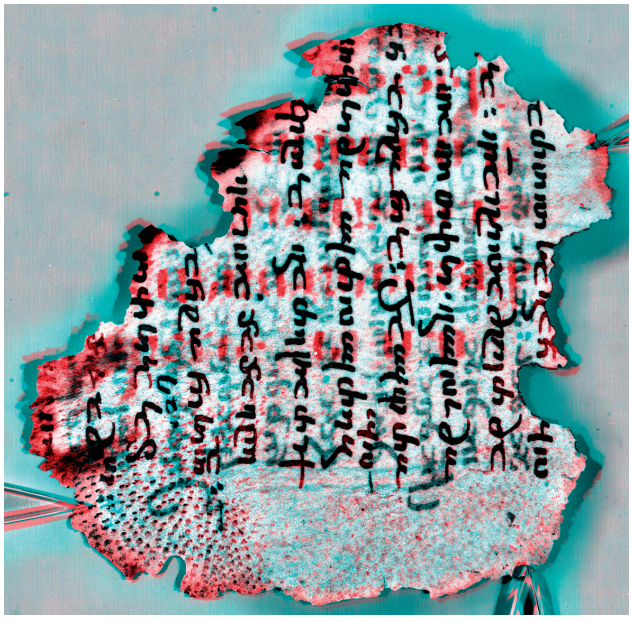


Fig. 19(d): Sin. geo. NF 55, f. 64v, multispectral image
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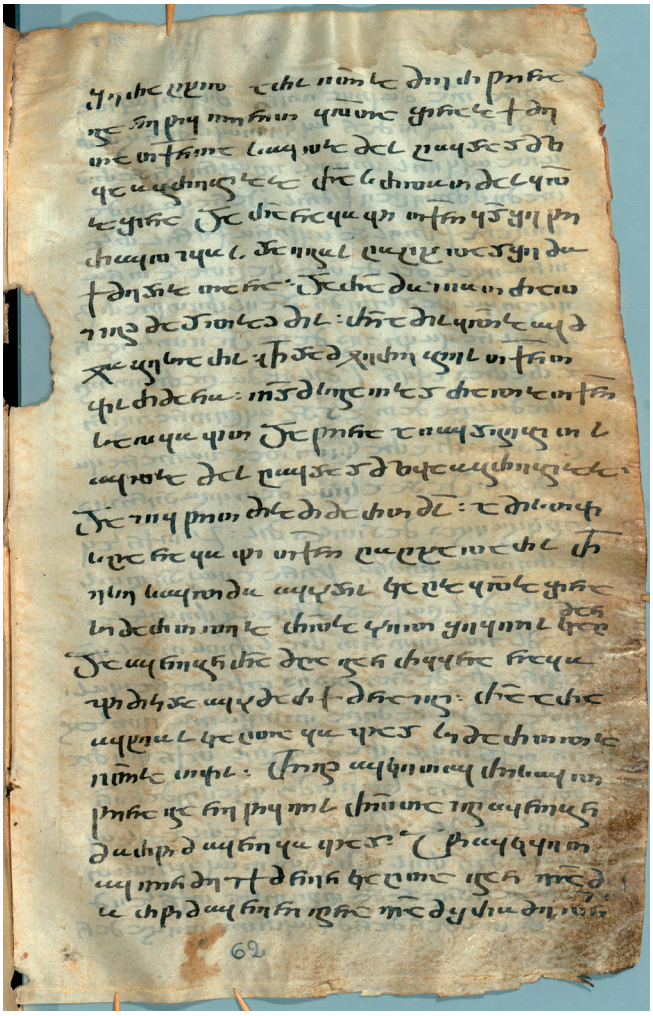


Fig. 20(a): Sin. geo. NF 13, f. 62r (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

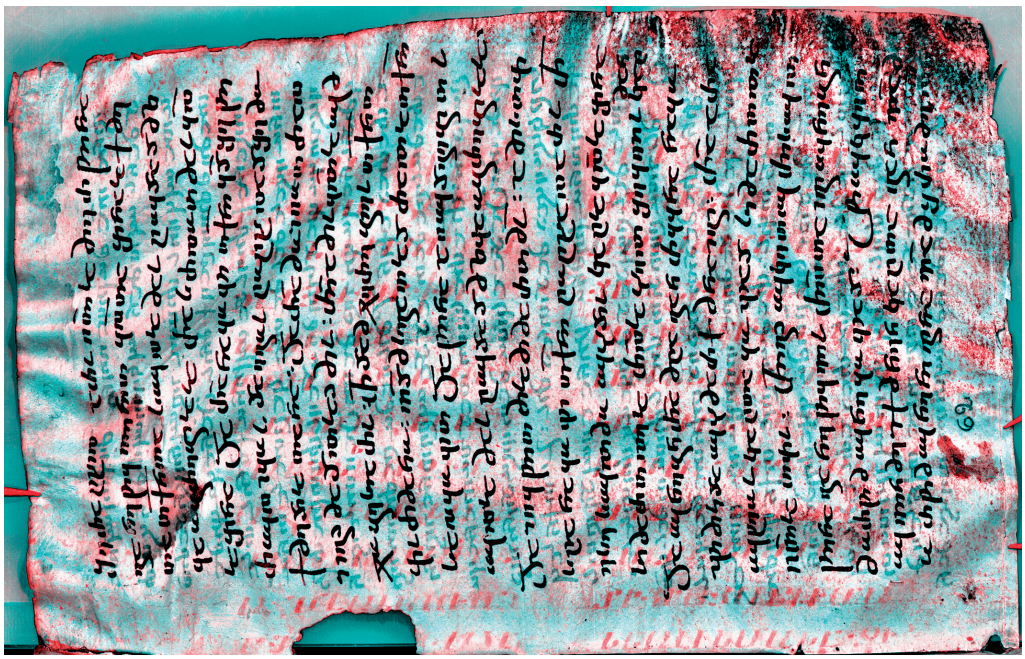


Fig. 20(b): Sin. geo. NF 13, f. 62r, multispectral image (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

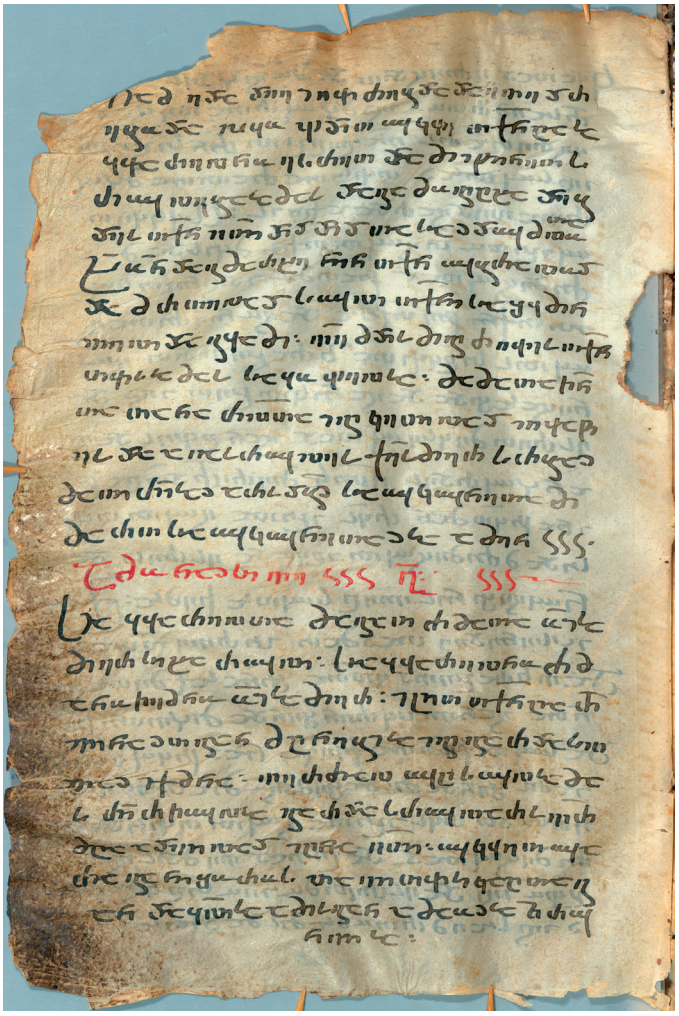


Fig. 21(a): Sin. geo. NF 13, f. 63v (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

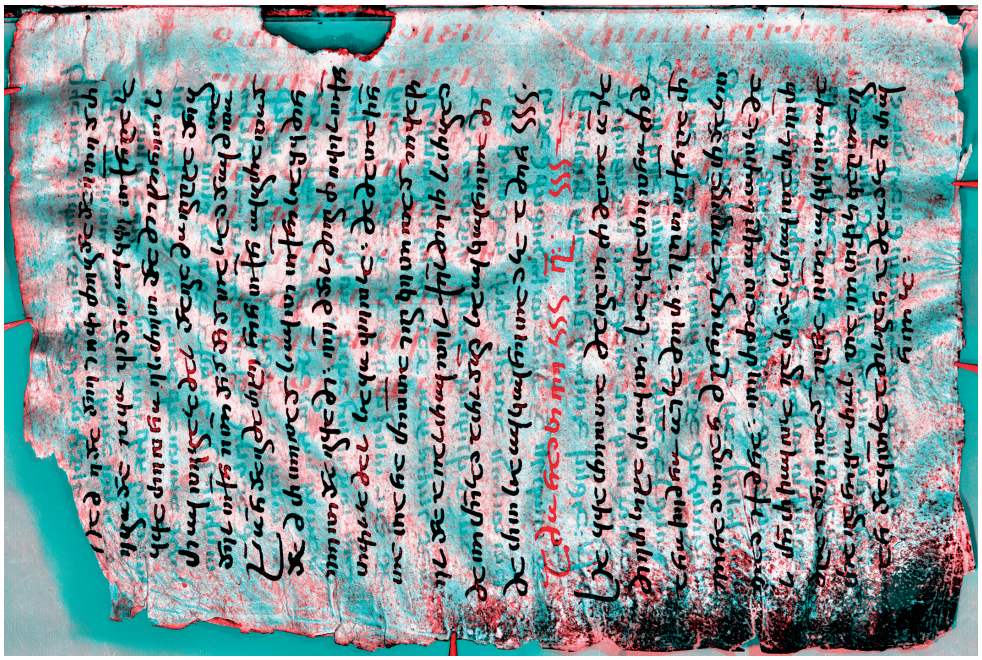


Fig. 21(a): Sin. geo. NF 13, f. 63v, multispectral image (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

Why have two Armenian versions of the same passage from Hebrews survived side by side in palimpsest form in our *codex rescriptus*? As a matter of fact, they are not even the only palimpsest witnesses of the final chapters of the epistle in Armenian. Another palimpsest of St. Catherine's Monastery, Sin. syr. 7, also contains, on its ff. 47 and 48, an Armenian undertext (in majuscules) consisting of Heb. 10:21–35 and 11:25–38 (Fig. 22[a] and [b] for f. 47v)—the only Armenian undertext in that codex—, and the overlap again proves that this cannot stem from the same original. Outside of Mount Sinai, we find Heb. 11:14–33 in the Armenian palimpsest leaf Mingana Chr. Arab. Add. 124 of the University of Birmingham, yet another witness of the same type.[36]

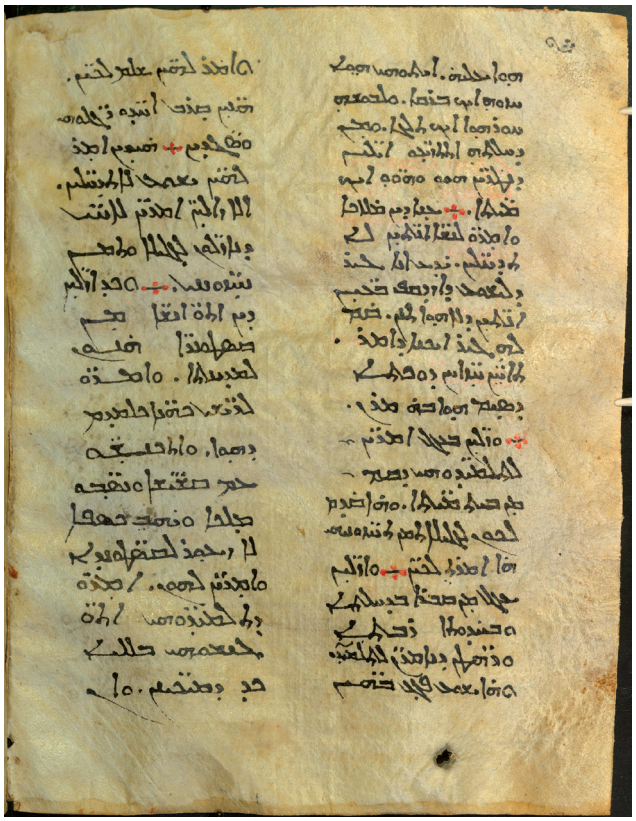


Fig. 22(a): Sin. syr. 7, f. 47v
(© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

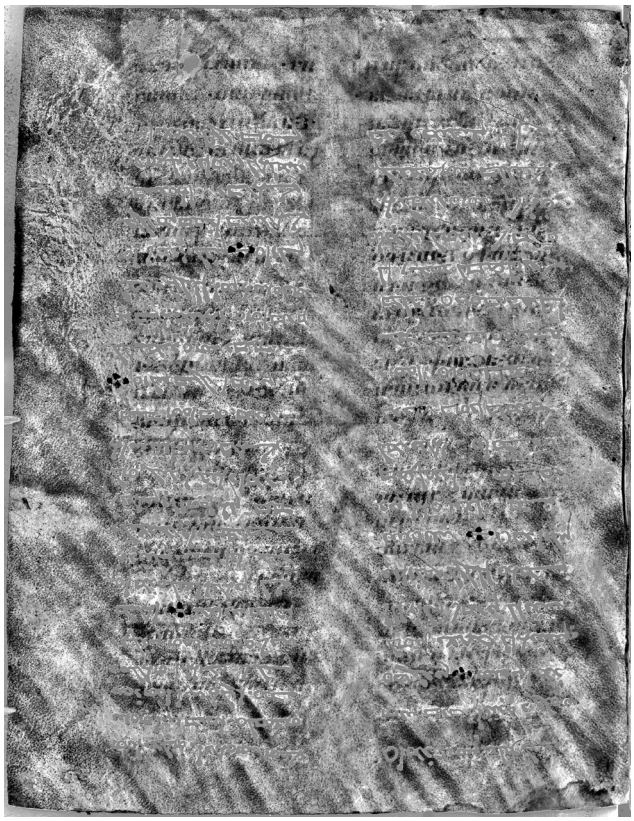


Fig. 22(b): Sin. syr. 7, f. 47v, multispectral image
(© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

What made the end of this epistle so important that it is so often found in erased layers? The reason may be that Hebrews was usually placed at the end of the Pauline epistles, with the final folios being liable to coming loose and then being reused. However, the fact that we find Heb. 11:35–12.5 even a third time in Sin. geo. NF 13 and NF 55, namely, in the Caucasian Albanian undertext of ff. (NF 13) 33, 38, 67, and (NF 55) 42,[37] is merely accidental, given that it here figures among the pericopes of a lectionary, not as part of a praxapostolos-type codex.

[36] Cf. Brock, Palimpsest Fragment, 129–134, and id., *Notes*, 224 with n. 6, who assumes only Heb. 11:15–32. On the webpage displaying the fragment (http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/91/, accessed 01.07.2023), the palimpsest is styled 'a legal text (?) in Armenian'; this information is obviously based upon Mingana, *Catalogue*, 20, which states under no. 166: 'Under-Writing: Not Biblical. Possibly the fragment of a legal code'.

[37] Cf. Gippert, *Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests*, vol. III, I-7 for a comparative account of the Armenian and Albanian undertexts.

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[38] https://www.csmc.uni-hamburg.de/news/2022-04-06-delicate.html (accessed 01.07.2023).