

## Piecing together Christian Palestinian Aramaic Texts under Georgian Manuscripts

(St Petersburg, NLR, Syr. 16; Sinai, Georg. NF 19, 71; Oslo, Martin Schøyen, MS 35, 37; Princeton, Garrett MS 24; Göttingen, Syr. 17, 19, 23, 25)<sup>1</sup>

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First news on the Georgian palimpsest manuscript St Petersburg, NLR, Syr. 16 consisting of former Tsagareli 81 (I)<sup>2</sup> and Georg. 34 (I)<sup>3</sup> reached the scholarly world through manuscripts removed from St Catherine's Monastery. They were brought back to Mt Sinai by Constantin von Tischendorf from his second and third journeys in 1855 (59 folios = Georg. 34 [I]) and 1857 (seventy folios = Tsagareli 81 [I]).<sup>4</sup> One Georgian manuscript in *khutsuri* script (Georg. 34) had been written by Ioane Zosime at the Great Laura of St Saba near Jerusalem in 969 CE and was later taken by him to the Monastery of St Catherine. He eventually finalized Tsagareli 81 in 979 CE on Mt Sinai.<sup>5</sup> The combined manuscript covers in its lower layer sixteen different Christian Palestinian Aramaic (CPA) and Syriac texts.<sup>6</sup> At first, the individual Georgian manuscripts were described by Marie Félicité Brosset, a scholar of Georgian, in 1859 without going into the Aramaic texts beneath.<sup>7</sup> Shortly afterwards these CPA and Syriac texts were studied by the Dutch specialist for Syriac Jan P. N. Land in St Petersburg, who later edited them in his *Anecdota Syriaca* series in 1875. He listed all the individual folios according to their

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<sup>1</sup> The article contains parts of the material presented during the workshop 'Removed and Rewritten: Palimpsests and Related Phenomena from a Cross-Cultural Perspective' at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, University of Hamburg, on 8 October, 2021. All multispectral images of Sinai, Georg. NF 19 and 71 (Figures 1–5 and 7) are published here with kind permission by the librarian Father Justin at the Monastery of St Catherine's. The digital images in this study were produced via pseudo colour processing by Keith Knox (KTK). The reading of the palimpsests was made possible through Early Manuscript Electronic Library (EMEL) which provided the digital multispectral photography. The copyright of the photos remains with St Catherine's Monastery (see also <https://sinai.library.ucla.edu>). I also owe my thanks to Jost Gippert and Princeton, Special Collection who gave the permission to their digital images being added to this article (Figures 6 and 8).

<sup>2</sup> This class mark has only been known several years after Tsagareli (1888: 240) had catalogued the Georgian manuscripts in St Catherine in 1883. This bulk forming two thirds of Tsagareli 81 (I) was rather neglected in the literature in contrast to the last third, Tsagareli 81 (II).

<sup>3</sup> The major part of Georg. 34 (II) remained at St Catherine's, see Garitte (1956: 37; 1958: 15–19, 39–40); Metreveli *et al.* (1978: 93–131); images under <https://sinai.library.ucla.edu>. For Georg. 34 (I), fol. 57v cf. Land (1875: Tab. III); plates of fols. 13r/v, 18r/v, 19v (without folio numbers) in [https://primo.nl.ru/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=07NLR\\_LMS010106158&context=L&vid=07NLR\\_VU1&lang=ru\\_RU&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=default\\_tab&query=any,contains,%D0%B3%D1%80%D1%83%D0%B7%D0%B8%D0%BD%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B8%D0%B9](https://primo.nl.ru/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=07NLR_LMS010106158&context=L&vid=07NLR_VU1&lang=ru_RU&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=default_tab&query=any,contains,%D0%B3%D1%80%D1%83%D0%B7%D0%B8%D0%BD%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B8%D0%B9); photo of fol. 13v in Vasilieva (2007: 27).

<sup>4</sup> Tischendorf (1855: 13; 1860: 49); Van Esbroeck (1981: 63, 65–74) splits the manuscripts up into Syr. 16/1, 16/2, 16/3.

<sup>5</sup> Brock (2012b: 484, 487).

<sup>6</sup> These two independent Georgian manuscripts run under the same shelf number. This probably goes back to Land (1875: Latin part, 185–189) taking the Syriac and Christian Palestinian Aramaic (Syropalestinian) undertexts as a complete unit.

<sup>7</sup> Brosset (1859: 264–267).

supposed content.<sup>8</sup> It was only in 1960 that this artificially combined Georgian manuscript appeared under the shelf mark Syr. NS 16 into Nina Pigulevskaya's catalogue of the oriental manuscript collection in the National Library of Russia, a cataloguing work she had started publishing in 1937.<sup>9</sup>

The remaining third part of Tsagareli 81 (II) with twenty bifolios and twenty-nine half or cut-to-size folios forming seven quires (for the upper Georgian texts) was removed forty years later from the monastery after Tsagareli's cataloguing in 1883.<sup>10</sup> According to Agnes Smith Lewis a great theft had occurred there in 1892 after she had left St Catherine's with her sister Margaret Dunlop Gibson. Although some manuscripts were still seen in 1889 by Rendell Harris, they were suddenly missing in 1893 when Lewis and Gibson returned for their second visit to copy the Old Syriac Gospels and to prepare the catalogues of the Arabic and Syriac manuscripts. Part of the removed manuscripts turned up shortly afterwards on the antiquities market in Cairo, while many others made their way to Europe.<sup>11</sup> On their first trip to Sinai, Lewis and Gibson had met a German named "Gröte" who had roamed the library.<sup>12</sup> This was obviously the collector Friedrich Grote who must have chosen and picked out important and unique manuscripts, foremost palimpsested ones, which later arrived on clandestine routes in Europe where they suddenly surfaced in private collections – in 1906, Hugo Duensing was entrusted by a private collector with a large Georgian MSS collection, whom he named as Friedrich Grote later in 1944<sup>13</sup> – or they were sold on by antiquarian dealers like Karl Wilhelm Hiersemann.<sup>14</sup> Among them was the last and second part of Tsagareli 81 (II) tightly bound into its former board of palm wood covered by Mummy wrappings and black leather with Coptic stitches.<sup>15</sup> Not only Duensing had been handling this material (without mentioning any shelf number) but also Friedrich Schulthess who integrated certain texts into his *Lexicon Syropalaestinum* of 1903.<sup>16</sup> He had other single folios (not Tsagareli 81 [III]) from a private collector at his disposal, which he published independently from Duensing.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Tischendorf (1860: 49) made some folios accessible to Land for inspection; cf. Land (1875: Latin part, 185–189; Syriac part, 165–224).

<sup>9</sup> Pigulevskaya (1960: 55, no. XVII; 1937: 556).

<sup>10</sup> Tsagareli (1888: 233, no. 81).

<sup>11</sup> Lewis (1898: 81–82).

<sup>12</sup> Gibson (1893: 18). Rather informative are further correspondences of collectors with Arabic scholars in connection with Friedrich Grote, see Tarras (2020: 75–77). See also note 16 below.

<sup>13</sup> Duensing (1906: 1–151; 1944: 215).

<sup>14</sup> Hiersemann (1922: 6–8 [Baumstark's description] with Tafel III). The catalogue followed straight after Grote's death in 1921. His widow, resident in Berlin-Wilmersdorf, was selling off various manuscripts. Among them she also tried to sell the missing quire of the Lewis lectionary to the Principal of Westminster College (postcard form Mrs Kate Grote-Hahn to Oman, Principal of Westminster College, dated 6.3.1923, Archives at Westminster College, Cambridge, 1475/6/1/38). This is kept today with the lectionary in the College, see note 16 below.

<sup>15</sup> Sørensen (1995: 11).

<sup>16</sup> The folios in question, which contain Old and New Testament pericopes, are indicated as "Cod. manuscr." (Schulthess 1903: vi–xvi). Only Isaiah 25:3–12, Joel 2:31b–3:8, Acts 2:1–21, 14:15–17, Romans 13:7–14, and Ephesians 4:25–31 were formerly part of them (Duensing 1906: 152–156; Lewis 1907). The quire is now put together with the Lewis Lectionary (11<sup>th</sup> century), Cambridge, Westminster College, which carries on the frontispiece the following handwritten entry: Palestinian Syriac Lectionary published as *Studia Sinaitica VI* in 1896 [sic!] with its missing leaves recovered in 1906.

<sup>17</sup> There was quite a competition going on between the two scholars, with Duensing being definitely the better palimpsest reader and editor. Schulthess (1902: 253–254) added also Job 16:10–20, a missing folio of the 11<sup>th</sup>-century Lewis Lectionary, see Lewis (1907: 8). Duensing did not emend the texts to his liking, whereas Schulthess (1899; 1903; 1907) doubted lexical items and created "ghost" lemmas for his dictionary, which could be eliminated only 90 years later after many and frequent collations by me of the original manuscripts and fragments in

Tsagareli 81 (II) was handed on through several private collections. After it had last been seen by Gregor (Grigol) Peradze in 1929, still among the materials of Grote in his widow's possession,<sup>18</sup> it was auctioned in 1954 by Sotheby's to an American collector, Dr. Otto Fisher of Detroit, later bought by the antiquarian book dealer Hans Peter Kraus in New York,<sup>19</sup> and after many years it was acquired by the notorious Norwegian collector Martin Schøyen, Oslo in 1987, in whose collection it is registered under MS 35 (seventy folios) and 37 (single folio).<sup>20</sup> A stylized cross from MS 35, fol. 64v/61r adorns as a logo his website,<sup>21</sup> printed catalogues and private stationary paper. Schøyen's former MS 36 never belonged to Tsagareli 81 (II), as it is partially overwritten in Syriac or without overtext,<sup>22</sup> and it was recently offered for auction by Christie's in 2019.<sup>23</sup> Yet, according to their internal codicological details, other folios under Tsagareli 81 (I) = *CSR*P<sup>d</sup> seem to be part of this CPA Gospel manuscript.<sup>24</sup>

There followed a gap in the publication sequence of the so-called Georgian collection, which Duensing continued in 1944 by editing some additional fragmentary manuscripts with CPA undertexts partially already known from his 1906 publication. In 1955 he adds some more folios in a little booklet, including Schøyen MS 37 (= *CSRO*<sup>i</sup>), a stray folio of Tsagareli 81 (II).<sup>25</sup> Meanwhile the remnants of the "Duensing Georgian collection" had changed hands; they are kept today in the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen (Syr. 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28) as a donation by Duensing.<sup>26</sup> Syriac manuscripts with CPA underneath went into the Vatican Apostolic Library (Vat. sir. 623, 627, 628).<sup>27</sup> Other manuscripts, among them a Georgian one, had been bought by Robert Garrett who donated them with his collection in 1942 to the Princeton University Library.<sup>28</sup>

This collective CPA–Greek–Georgian manuscript (Garrett MS 24) surfaced at first in Hiersemann's catalogue of 1922 where it was described by Anton Baumstark with a photographic sample, and it was identified on the basis of the Georgian overtext with

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Cambridge, Göttingen, Oslo, Oxford, St Petersburg, and the Vatican; see Müller-Kessler (1991; 1995; 1999; 2014; 2021a); Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff (1997; 1998a, b; 1999).

<sup>18</sup> Peradze (1933: 191 under "Stephanos der Boskos"); Garitte (1954: 76–77 n. 18; 1956: 8).

<sup>19</sup> Garitte (1954: 90–91). Here one also finds an extract from the Sotheby's *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books, Autograph Letters and Historical Documents, Western and Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures* of 14 April 1954, p. 40, with a rather suspicious story that this MS was purchased by Friedrich Grote from the monks of St Catherine! The MS was shortly inspected and studied by the Aramaic specialist Goshen-Gottstein (1973: XIV) as well as the Georgian scholar Van Esbroeck (1981: 64 n. 5). It appears again in a Kraus catalogue (165) from 1983 under no. 28.

<sup>20</sup> Sørensson (1995: 10–11); <https://www.schoyencollection.com/scribes-collection/colophons/codex-sinaticus-zosimi-rescriptus-ms-035> and <https://www.schoyencollection.com/palaeography-collection-introduction/latin-book-scripts/east-european-book-scripts/georgian-khutsuri/ms-037>.

<sup>21</sup> <https://www.schoyencollection.com>.

<sup>22</sup> Not mentioned in Sørensson (1995: 11).

<sup>23</sup> Misinformation caused by Sørensson's catalogue entry were taken up by Desreumaux (1997: 96–98, 108–112) and followed by Brock (1999b; 2012a: 9). MS 36 was auctioned by Christie's on 10 July 2019 for £ 35,000; its present location is unknown. Images can be found under <https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-6217449>. The other part is still in Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Syr. 28; see below.

<sup>24</sup> Müller-Kessler (2014: 275–277). Hereafter, *CSR* stands for *Corpus Sinaiticus Rescriptus* and the additional sigla *O*, *P* and *S* for Oslo, St Petersburg, and Mt Sinai as the present storing location.

<sup>25</sup> Brock (2012b: 487, 490); Müller-Kessler (2014: 282).

<sup>26</sup> Assfalg (1963b: 184–194).

<sup>27</sup> Duensing (1906: 9–12 [Vat. sir. 623]; 18–38 [Vat. sir. 627]; 113–127 [Vat. sir. 623]); Van Lantschoot (1965: 151–153 [Vat. sir. 623] and 158–159 [Vat. sir. 627]).

<sup>28</sup> Skemer (1996: 336–337).

Tsagareli's 92+93 by Robert P. Blake in a letter to Garrett in 1929.<sup>29</sup> Duensing himself did not have access to the folios, but he integrated the lower fragment part of this fragment (today Garrett MS 24, fol. 87r), which contains Saint Silvanus from the *Apophthegmata patrum* according to the photograph, in his publication of 1955.<sup>30</sup> The most comprehensive overview of the manuscript was then provided by Gérard Garitte.<sup>31</sup> It is probable that Sinai Georg. NF 20 (986 CE) is also part of the same manuscript, but there is no information available if any folios might be palimpsests or contain CPA underwriting.<sup>32</sup> Three half folios of Garrett MS 24 could be assigned to Saint Silvanus (fol. 87/90) and John Chrysostom, *De poenitentia* (fol. 99). On the other bifolio (88/89), the script is too faint to reach any identification, but the scribal hand is definitely not from the manuscript containing John Chrysostom. Among the New Finds, however, a nearly complete folio from the same manuscript and containing the same homily has surfaced under Sinai Georg. NF 19 (fol. 61; see below under section 4).

Ultimately, we are dealing here with various manuscript remnants which were distributed through theft and sold by antiquities dealers over various collections, going over into private and public hands. In later years, only scholars of Georgian such as Gérard Garitte and Michel Van Esbroeck followed the path of these Georgian *textus disiecti*,<sup>33</sup> but none of them provided any editions of the texts. Two catalogues concerning the CPA lower text material were written as doctoral theses. One of them, by Moshe Bar Asher, appeared in handwritten form and in Hebrew (Ivrit) in 1977<sup>34</sup> and the other one, by Alain Desreumaux, has remained unpublished since 1979.<sup>35</sup> What both have in common is that none of the authors had previously handled any of these Georgian manuscripts in any collection before, and therefore their descriptions have to be taken as primary attempts and incomplete.

For the preparation of a first reference grammar of Christian Palestinian Aramaic new checks were necessary since the only other existing one was a grammar for a chrestomathy in transliteration without references, which was published posthumously in 1924.<sup>36</sup> Therefore, I travelled to various collections and collated all available text material. Among them was the neglected manuscript Syr. 16 (formerly Tsagareli 81 [I] and Georg. 34 [I]) in the National Library of Russia in St Petersburg (Leningrad at that time) which I could access after two years waiting for the official permission by the library in 1986.<sup>37</sup> What had been missing was the other part of former Tsagareli 81 (II), still considered to be in the hand of the antiquarian book dealer Kraus in New York. By chance I met the Norwegian collector Martin Schøyen in June 1996 in London who informed me that he had acquired this part in 1987.<sup>38</sup> After receiving permission by my grant giver (German-Israeli Foundation) I went straight after, in July, for a

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<sup>29</sup> Hiersemann (1922: 6–8 with Tafel III); Skemer (1996: 336, n. 4).

<sup>30</sup> Duensing (1944: 225), who had other folios of this manuscript at hand for publication (Göttingen, Syr. 17 and 25, see below under section 5).

<sup>31</sup> Garitte (1967) with a complete quotation of Baumstark's description.

<sup>32</sup> Aleksidze *et al.* (2005: 83–85 / 266–267 / 393–395); Brock (2012b: 487, 489) draws attention to it.

<sup>33</sup> Garitte (1956; 1967); Van Esbroeck (1981).

<sup>34</sup> Bar Asher (1977: 53–126).

<sup>35</sup> Desreumaux (1979).

<sup>36</sup> Schulthess (1924). The CPA text samples are given in a so-called Syriac based transcription indicating a hypothetical pronunciation.

<sup>37</sup> Müller-Kessler (2014: 263; 2021b: 24–25).

<sup>38</sup> Sørensen (1995: 10–11). The meeting took place on 13.6.1996 according to the dedication by Martin Schøyen in my copy of the Checklist of Manuscripts.

reading and collation trip to Oslo.<sup>39</sup> Although this came too late for the reference grammar published in 1991,<sup>40</sup> for the text editions of the early period in CPA, which were nearly ready for print, the text material could be checked and worked into the volumes, eliminating all the former reading mistakes and incorrect emendations. It also meant an increase of the text material by reading all the unpublished parts, which constituted at least a third of the *Codex Sinaiticus rescriptus* (Tsagareli 81 [I]; Georg. 34 [I]).<sup>41</sup> Several more collation trips were undertaken by me between 1996 to 1998 to St Petersburg during which I started to prepare a manuscript description of all the CPA MSS excluding the Syriac part under the Georgian MSS (Tsagareli 81 [I] and Sinai Georg. 34 [I]). This study was delayed for some years but continued after the start of the *Sinai Palimpsest Project* (2011–2017) when I was asked to join the scholarly team. During its runtime I could identify many more manuscripts in the Sinai collection as belonging to the individual manuscripts of the *Codex Sinaiticus rescriptus* (hereafter: *CSR*)<sup>42</sup> the collective title covering, at least in the meantime, nineteen or even twenty different CPA manuscripts under various Georgian manuscripts written and copied by Zosime between 969 and 986 CE.<sup>43</sup> Having been in the position to check the originals in St Petersburg, Oslo, and Göttingen helped considerably to speed up the identification and attribution of the fragmentary manuscripts from Sinai under Georg. NF 19 and 71 and their other *membra disiecta*. I had the advantage of recognizing the typical scribal hands, something which simply cannot be judged or learned through printed texts for which mostly no photographic samples were published nor a consultation of the originals was possible.<sup>44</sup> This was bound to fail, although Duensing was rather successful with the Jerusalem Lectionary and the Cyril of Jerusalem fragments.

For this newly established scientific journal, I have tried to identify some more CPA texts under the dismembered Georgian manuscripts. The result of the joining and piecing together can be learned from the descriptions of the scattered fragments below.

### 1. Jerusalem Lectionary – St Petersburg, NLR, Syr. 16 + Oslo, Schøyen MS 35 + Sinai, Georg. NF 19, 71 = *CSRO/P/S<sup>b</sup>*

An important and most neglected manuscript in dealing with the question of an early Jerusalem Lectionary has been preserved in CPA in NLR, Syr. 16 (Tsagareli 81 [I]) overwritten by Georgian texts.<sup>45</sup> Despite the publication of several folios at first by Jan P. N. Land in 1875, the following attribution by Hugo Duensing thirty years later and Francis Burkitt's description of the lectionary parts in 1923,<sup>46</sup> it was ignored in the studies on the successive translations into Armenian and Georgian witnesses of the lectionary. While seven folios are kept in St Petersburg

<sup>39</sup> Müller-Kessler (2014: 263). The tight binding made the handling of the individual folios rather difficult. I had four days and three nights to work through MSS 35, 36, and 37, quite ideally in the long summer nights in Norway.

<sup>40</sup> Müller-Kessler (1991). Many items in the manuscripts description in the introduction are naturally meanwhile in heavy need of updates and corrections.

<sup>41</sup> Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff (1997; 1998a; 1998b; 1999).

<sup>42</sup> Müller-Kessler (2014: 282–288); see also <https://sinai.library.ucla.edu> under “Browse”.

<sup>43</sup> Brock (2012b: 487).

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Bar Asher (1977: 214) on the Lewis lectionary: “אין ידוע לאן התגלגלו שבעה דפיין האלה” ‘It is not known to where these seven leaves happened to go’. See n. 16 above.

<sup>45</sup> Brosset (1859: 365–367); Land (1875: Latin part, 185–189).

<sup>46</sup> Land (1875: Syriac part, 165–167, 173, 182, 185–187, 222–224); Duensing (1906: 126–127). Additional incorrect readings appeared in Desreumaux (1997: 41–43), see Müller-Kessler (1999: 633–634); Burkitt (1923: 422–423).



(Syr. 16), two more surfaced in the Friedrich Grote Collection and were brought to our attention by Duensing. The latter are today found in the private collection of M. Schøyen in Norway (MS 35 = Tsagareli 81 [II]). The New Finds of St Catherine’s Monastery added some remnants which were detected under Georg. NF 19 (Fig. 1) and Georg. NF 71 (Fig. 2) containing parts of lections XXXI and XXXIII according to the Armenian subdivision, preserved in four cut-to-size quarters of two folios.<sup>47</sup>

Syr. 16, fol. 108	Syr. 16, fol. 127	Syr. 16, fol. 109	MS 35, fol. 62/63	Syr. 16, fol. 68/63
Deuteronomy 6:4-5; 7c-10a; 11b-12a	Deuteronomy 7:25-26; Job 6:1-13	Job 7:21; Isaiah 40:1-2a; 3b- 5a; 40:6b-7	Proverbs 1:15b-19; Jeremiah 1:11-17; Psalm 26:7	Job 9:12b-34b
XIX	XIX	XIX	XXI	XXIV

Georg. NF 71, fols. 1+8	Syr. 16, fol. 38/106	Syr. 16, fol. 107/48	Georg. NF 19, fol. 58	Syr. 16, fol. 41/60	MS 35, fol. 27
Exodus 4:31b-5:1a; 5:3- 4a; 5:6b-7a; 5:8b-10a	Deuteronomy 13:12-17a	Deuteronomy 13:17b; Job 21:1-22	1 Thessalonians 4:17b-18; John 11:55; 57- 12:1; 3b-5; 7-9	Proverbs 9:1- 11; Isaiah 40:9-12a	Daniel 3:24c- 26; 32-33; 35b- 37
XXXI	XXXII	XXXII	XXXIII	XXXVI	XLIV

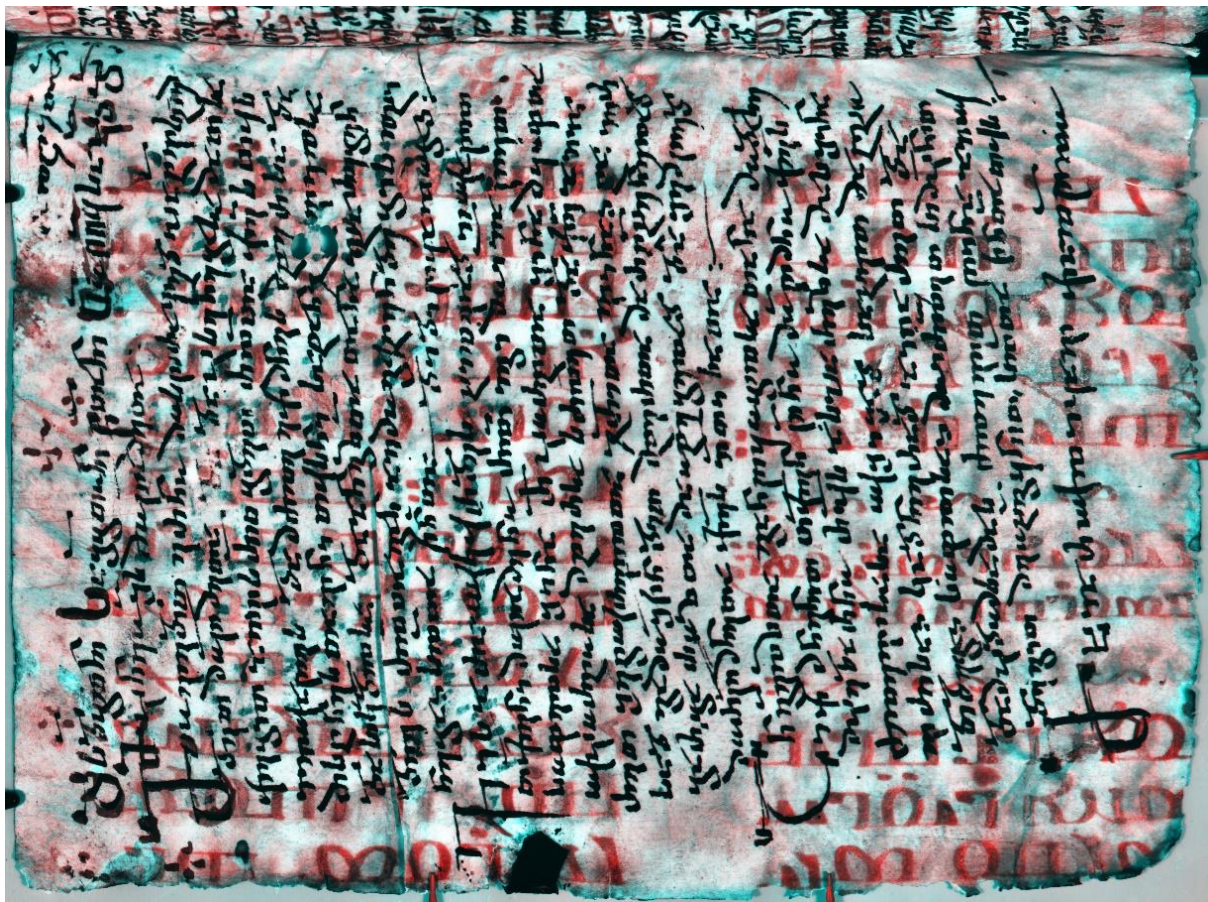


Fig. 1: Sinai, Georg. NF 19, fol. 58v (r): 1 Thessalonians 4:17b-18; John 11:55; 57-12.1

<sup>47</sup> Duensing (1906: 89-90, 110, 126-127); Müller-Kessler (2023b [in preparation]).



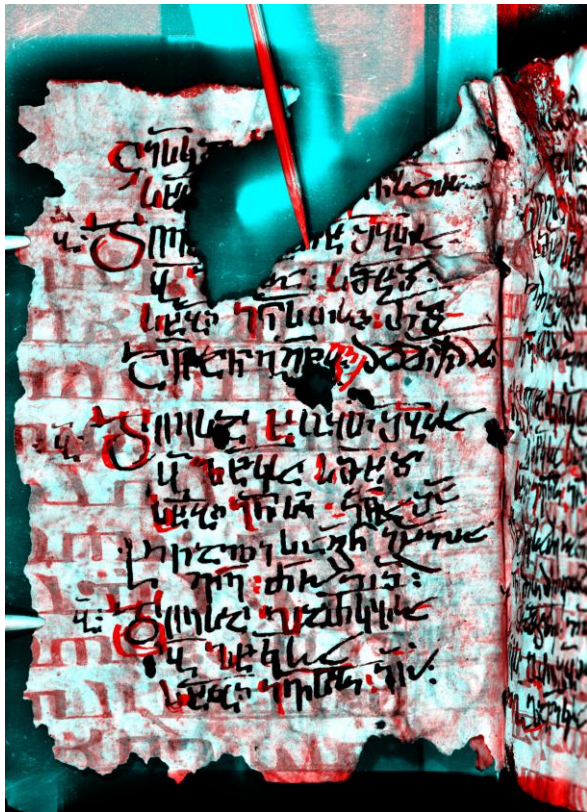


Fig. 2: Sinai, Georg. NF 71, fol. 1v: Exodus 5:8b-10a

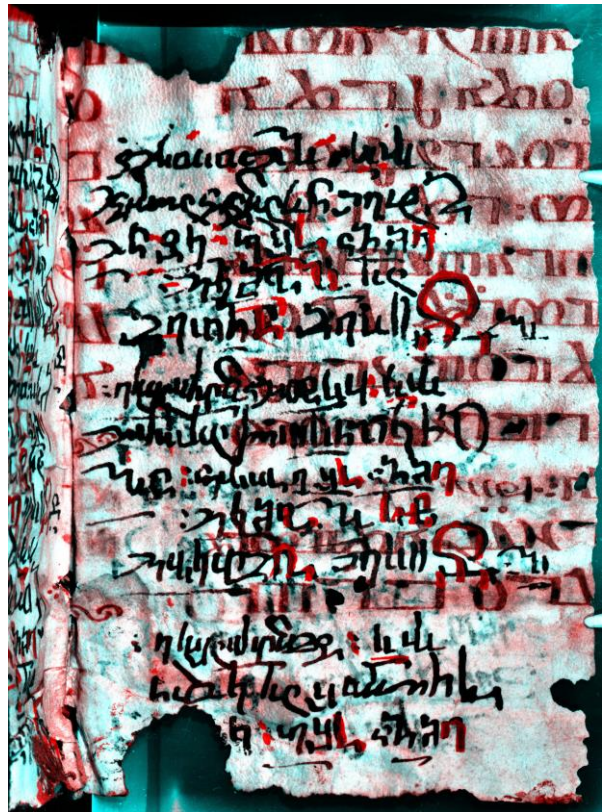


Fig. 3: Sinai, Georg. NF 71, fol. 2r (v): Catechesis VI.0

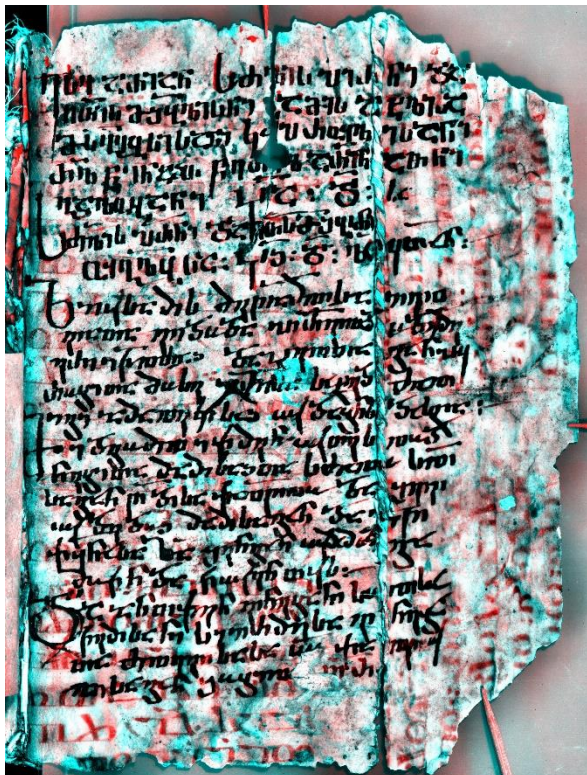


Fig. 4: Sinai, Georg. NF 19, fols. 2r+3r: Catechesis VI.6

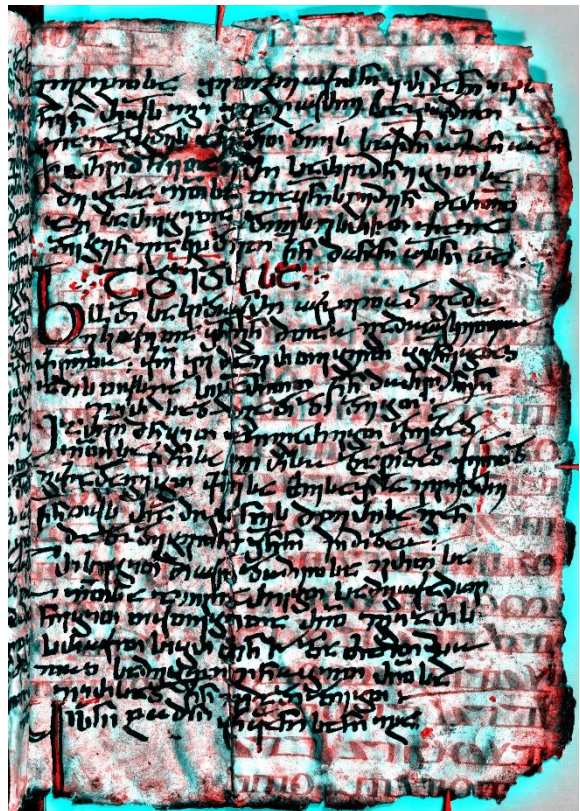


Fig. 5: Sinai, Georg. NF 19, fol. 7r (I) right:  
Catechesis X.10-11 + 7r (v) left: Catechesis III.10



**2. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses* – St Petersburg, NLR, Syr. 16 + Oslo, Schøyen MS 35, 37 + Sinai, Georg. NF 19, 71 = CSRO/P/S<sup>i</sup>**

The largest remaining manuscript of *CSR* is preserved under several shelf marks: St Petersburg, NLR, Syr. 16 + Oslo, Schøyen MS 35, 37 + Sinai, Georg. NF 19, 71 contain the earliest translation of the *Catecheses of Cyril of Jerusalem* based on an early unattested Greek witness. Its fate is the same as that of the Jerusalem lectionary fragments. The original manuscript had been dismembered by Zosime in the 10<sup>th</sup> century (979–980 CE) in St Catherine’s,<sup>48</sup> of which 65 fragments consisting of bifolios, half folios and single columns could be recognized under several Georgian texts in Tsagareli 81 (I+II), the Gospel lections in Sinai Georg. NF 71 (Fig. 3),<sup>49</sup> and the Hymnary (*Iadgari*) in Sinai Georg. NF 19 (Figs. 4–5).<sup>50</sup> When Duensing published parts of them (Tsagareli 81 [II]) in 1906, they were still in the possession of the private collector Friedrich Grote. One folio went astray and could only be edited by him in 1955 (Schøyen MS 37).<sup>51</sup> The major part had been partially presented as *Theologica petropolitana* by Land in his *Anecdota Syriaca*.<sup>52</sup> In 1999 all the folios known until then were published with many unread columns and pages.<sup>53</sup> Only the parts of the New Finds were missing, which have now added seven folios in a rather mutilated state and a missing column of NLR, Syr. 16, fol. 117 in Sinai, Georg. NF 19, fol. 7 (I; Fig. 5). Two half folios could be joined from two quarters (Georg. NF 71, fols. 1+8; Fig. 3). Of one half folio the last six lines were cut off and sewn onto another column (Georg NF 19, fol. 2/3; Fig. 4). All these additional new fragmentary folios have just been edited with their full readings.<sup>54</sup> One image of Georg NF 71, fol. 2v was published without indication of shelf mark and content in 2010.<sup>55</sup>

Syr. 16, fol. 128r	MS 35, fol. 31r	Syr. 16, fol. 36r	MS 37r	MS 35, fol. 22r	Georg. NF 19, fols. 7v(II)+6r	Syr. 16, fol. 111r
Syr. 16, fol. 128v	MS 35, fol. 31v	Syr. 16, fol. 36v	MS 37v	MS 35, fol. 22v	Georg. NF 19 fols. 7r(II)+6v	Syr. 16, fol. 111v
Pro 4–6	Pro 9–11	Pro 11–12	III 5–6	III 8–10	III 10–13	III 13–15

Syr. 16, fol. 46r (I) <sup>56</sup> + MS 35, fol. 30r	Syr. 16, fol. 123r	Syr. 16, fol. 90/101r	Syr. 16, fol. 115r	MS 35, fol. 70r	Syr. 16, fol. 100/91r	Georg. NF 71, fols. 2r(v)+7r
Syr. 16, fol. 46 v (I) + MS 35, fol. 30v	Syr. 16, fol. 123v	Syr. 16, fol. 90/101v	Syr. 16, fol. 115v	MS 35, fol. 70v	Syr. 16, fol. 100/91v	Georg. NF 71 fols. 2v(r)+7v
IV 0–2	IV 2–4	IV 36–V 1	V 3–5	V 7–8	V 9–10	V 13–VI 1

<sup>48</sup> Brock (2012b: 487).

<sup>49</sup> Aleksidze *et al.* (2005: 592) show fols. 6v/7r.

<sup>50</sup> Müller-Kessler (2014: 281–288); the recent additions from the New Finds of 1975 had been left behind in St George’s Tower of St Catherine’s in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, cf. Müller-Kessler (2021b).

<sup>51</sup> Duensing (1906: 41–62); Duensing (1955: 130–131).

<sup>52</sup> Land (1875: Syriac part, 171–211).

<sup>53</sup> Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff (1999). Desreumaux (1997: 129–202, pl. V), dealt with a third, the Oslo part (Tsagareli 81 [II]), without going into the internal set-up of the Cyril manuscript despite Duensing’s masterful attribution in 1906. He also ignored the better readings by Duensing (1955: 150–152) for Schøyen MS 37 and added non-existing ones instead; see Müller-Kessler (1999: 635).

<sup>54</sup> Müller-Kessler (2021b).

<sup>55</sup> Despite the signalling of further codicological studies of the complete Tsagareli manuscript by Desreumaux (2009: 206–207), the underlying text of this codex could not be identified by him with Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechesis VI.1 (Desreumaux 2010: 1322, Fig. 2 right).

<sup>56</sup> Forms two thirds of column b in the recto or a in the verso.



MS 35, fol. 69r	Georg. NF 19, fols. 2r+3v	Syr. 16, fol. 95/96r	MS 35, fol. 51/52r	Syr. 16, fol. 49/47r	Syr. 16, fol. 7/18r	MS 35, fol. 8/17r
MS 35, fol. 69v	Georg. NF 19, fols. 3r+2v	Syr. 16, fol. 95/96v	MS 35, fol. 51/52v	Syr. 16, fol. 49/47v	MS 35, fol. 7/18v	MS 35, fol. 8/17v
VI 3–4	VI 7–8	VI 14–16	VI 24–26	VI 33–34	VII 6–9	VIII 3–5

Syr. 16, fol. 65/66r	Syr. 16, fol. 86/87r	Syr. 16, fol. 62/69r	Syr. 16, fol. 77/76r	Syr. 16, fol. 1r	Georg. NF 19, fol. 7r (I) + Syr. 16, fol. 117r	Syr. 16, fol. 118r
Syr. 16, fol. 65/66v	Syr. 16, fol. 86/87v	Syr. 16, fol. 62/69v	Syr. 16, fol. 77/76v	Syr. 16, fol. 1v	Syr. 16, fol. 117v + Georg. NF 19, fol. 7v (I)	Syr. 16, fol. 118v
VIII 8–IX 1	IX 6–8	IX 8–10	IX 13–15	X 5–6	X 10–12	X 14–16

MS 35, fol. 10/15r	Syr. 16, fol. 39r	Syr. 16, fol. 61r	Syr. 16, fol. 120r	Syr. 16, fol. 83/82r	Syr. 16, fol. 31r	MS 35, fol. 12/13r
MS 35, fol. 10/15v	Syr. 16, fol. 39v	Syr. 16, fol. 61v	Syr. 16, fol. 120v	Syr. 16, fol. 83/83v	Syr. 16, fol. 31v	MS 35, fol. 12/13v
X 18–19	XI 1–3	XI 3–5	XI 14–15	XI 23–24	XII 2–4	XII 13–15

Syr. 16, fol. 116r	MS 35, fol. 9/16r	Syr. 16, fol. 70/71r	Syr. 16, fol. 126r	Syr. 16, fol. 124r	MS 35, fol. 1r	Syr. 16, fol. 119r+46IIr
Syr. 16, fol. 116v	MS 35, fol. 9/16v	Syr. 16, fol. 70/71v	Syr. 16, fol. 126v	Syr. 16, fol. 124v	MS 35, fol. 1v	Syr. 16, fol. 119v+46IIv
XII 18–19	XII 30–32	XIII 11–13	XIII 18–19	XIII 30–31	XIII 31–33	XIV 3–4

MS 35, fol. 4r	Syr. 16, fol. 110r	Syr. 16, fol. 80/81r	Syr. 16, fol. 52r	MS 35, fol. 2r	Syr. 16, fol. 60r	Syr. 16, fol. 55r
MS 35, fol. 4v	Syr. 16, fol. 110v	Syr. 16, fol. 80/81v	Syr. 16, fol. 52v	MS 35, fol. 2v	Syr. 16, fol. 60v	Syr. 16, fol. 55v
XIV 21–22	XIV 29–30	XV 9–10	XV 12–13	XV 20–22	XVI 6–8	XVI 11–12

MS 35, fol. 20r	Syr. 16, fol. 73/72r	MS 35, fol. 47/56r	MS 35, fol. 37/105r	Syr. 16, fol. 74/75r <sup>57</sup>	Georg. NF 71, fols. 3r+6v	Syr. 16, fol. 122r
MS 35, fol. 20v	Syr. 16, fol. 73/72v	MS 35, fol. 47/56v	MS 35, fol. 37/105v	Syr. 16, fol. 74/75v	Georg. NF 71, fols. 6r+3v	Syr. 16, fol. 122v
XVI 26–28	XVII 7–10	XVII 12–15	XVII 19–21	XVII 30–32	XVIII 9–11	XVIII 12–13

### 3. Ephrem Graecus, *Sermo in adventum Domini* (CPG 3946)<sup>58</sup> – Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Syr. 19, 23 + Sinai, Georg. NF frg. 68

One folio, one half folio and one bifolio (Tzagareli 92+93) once belonging to the Friedrich Grote Collection are known from Duensing 1906 and 1955. They had the same fate as the Lectionary and the Catecheses' fragments from Tzagareli 81 (II). These fragmentary manuscripts were removed in 1892 from the Monastery of St Catherine and are partially known as the Duensing "Large Georgian collection" of various contents.<sup>59</sup> The New Finds provided the missing single bottom fragment of Göttingen, Syr. 23, fol. 4<sup>60</sup> under Sinai, Georg. NF frg. 68. It could be identified in December 2013 by Sebastian Brock with Ephrem Graecus, *Sermo*

<sup>57</sup> Fol. 74/75 definitely does not belong to Georg. 34. In Van Esbroeck (1981: 65) it must be a typographical error for fol. 57.

<sup>58</sup> For the Greek text cf. Phrantzolas (1992: 123).

<sup>59</sup> Duensing (1906; 1944; 1955); Bar-Asher (1977: 66–67) who also groups Tzagareli 81 (II) (= Schøyen MS 35, 37) with it. The majority of single quires and stray folios went into the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen as a donation by Duensing; see Assfalg (1963b: 184–196).

<sup>60</sup> Assfalg (1963b: 187, 192).

*in adventum Domini* and joined to the top part of fol. 4.<sup>61</sup> From the codicological point of view (measurements; scribal features, line justification) this manuscript does not coincide with St Petersburg, Syr. 19 as published by Kokowzoff 1906, which contains Ephrem's homily *De poenitentia*.<sup>62</sup>

Syr. 19 (a) 1r <sup>63</sup>	Syr. 23, fol. 2r/3v <sup>64</sup>	Syr. 23, fol. 4r (top) <sup>65</sup> + Georg. NF frg. 68r (bottom)	Syr. 19 (b) 1r <sup>66</sup>
Syr. 19 (a) 1v	Syr. 23, fol. 3r/2v	Syr. 23, fol. 4v (top) + Georg. NF frg. 68v (bottom)	Syr. 19 (b) 1v
CPG 3946	CPG 3946	CPG 3946	?

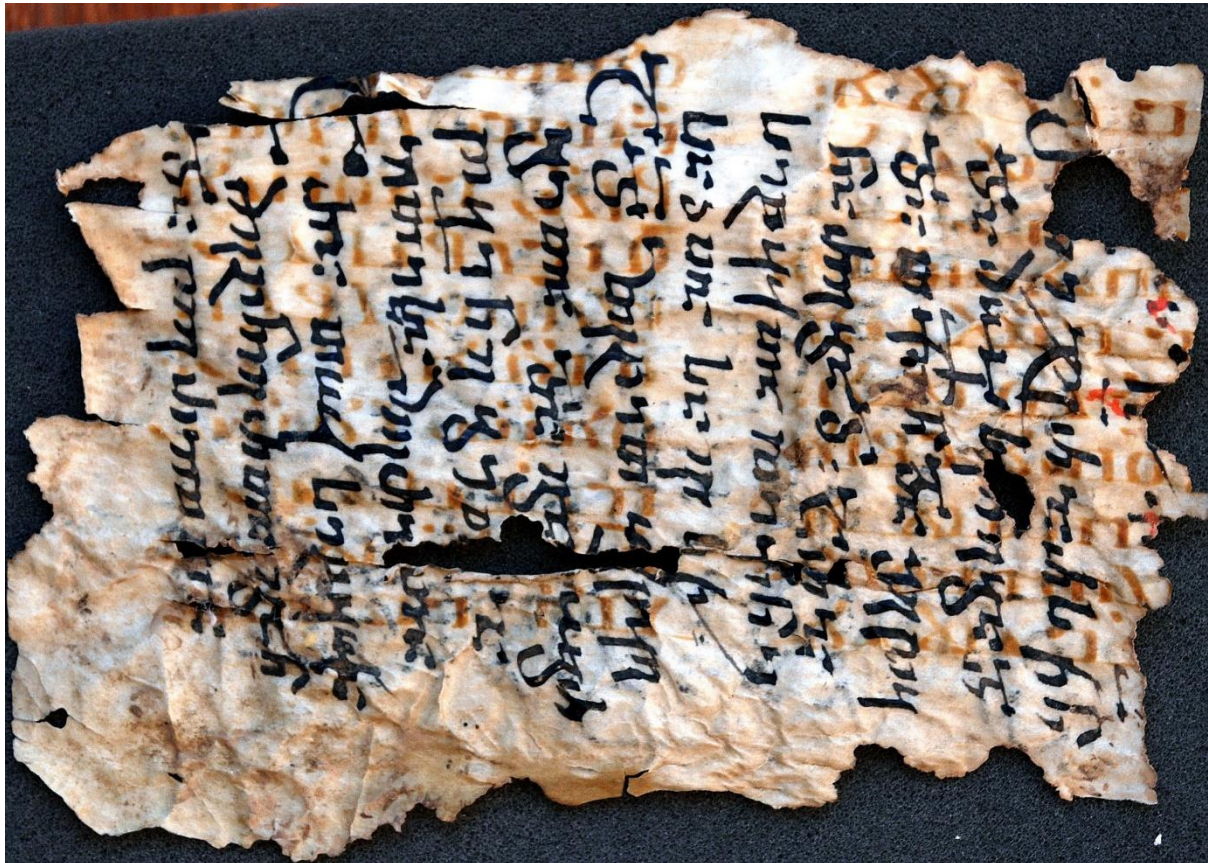


Fig. 6: Sinai, Georg. NF frg. 68r: Ephrem, *Sermo in adventum Domini*

**3a. Ephrem, *Sermo in adventum Domini* (CPG 3946) – Göttingen, Syr. 23, fol. 4r (top) + Sinai, Georg. NF frg. 68r (bottom); Fig. 6**

- a1.            ܥܘܪܘܟܘܢ[...]      [...] found  
                  ܐܘܪܘܟܘܢ[...]ܐܘܪܘܟܘܢ      [...] the places  
                  ܐܘܪܘܟܘܢ[...]      [...] for him

<sup>61</sup> Email of December 2013. Brock permitted me to include the text in this overview. The fragment is catalogued under <https://sinai.library.ucla.edu>.

<sup>62</sup> Kokowzoff (1906: 39, pl. 4). Contra Desreumaux (1998: 223) who mixes here several MSS (Syr. 17, 19 and Garrett 24) of various contents, St Petersburg, NLR, Syr. 21 shows a bold stroke and the letters are not so well executed as in Göttingen, Syr. 19 and 23.

<sup>63</sup> Duensing (1906: 63–66).

<sup>64</sup> Duensing (1955: 126–129).

<sup>65</sup> Duensing (1955: 130). A good and clear example of the scribal hand can be found in the photo on p. 139 (Antichrist).

<sup>66</sup> Duensing (1906: 69–70).

	:: ḥiā[...]	the [...]	
5.	ḥi[...]	[...]..	
	ḥu[...]	[...]..	
	ḥlā[...]	[...] fright	
	:: ḥi[...]	[...]..	
	[.....]	[.....]	
10.	[.....]	[.....]	
	[.....]	[.....]	
	[.....]	[.....]	Ἐν πλατείαις <sup>67</sup>
	: ḥlā[...]	[d]ead bodies	θνησιμαῖα.
	ḥlā[...]	in the [h]ouses;	
15.	:: ḥlā[...]	[dead bodie]s;	
	ḥiā[...]	[in the m]arket-streets stench,	Ἐν πλατείαις δυσωδία,
	ḥlā[...]	[in] the houses	ἐν οἰκίαις
	:: ḥiā[...]	[s]tench;	δυσωδία
	ḥiā[...]	[in the m]arket-streets hunger	Ἐν πλατείαις πείνα
20.	ḥiā[...]	[and th]irst,	καὶ δίψα,
	:: ḥlā[...]	[and the vo]ice of weeping,	
	ḥlā[...]	[and in] the houses	ἐν οἰκίαις
b1.	ḥiā[...]	hunger and thirst,	πείνα καὶ δίψα,
	:: ḥlā[...]	and the voice of weeping;	[Ἐν πλατείαις] φωνὴ κλαυθμοῦ,
	ḥlā[...]	in the market streets	Ἐν πλατείαις
	: ḥiā[...]	turmoils,	θόρυβος
5.	ḥlā[...]	and in the houses	ἐν οἰκίαις
	: ḥlā[...]	wailings,	θόρυβος
	ḥlā[...]	and everyone	εἷς ἕκαστος
	. ḥiā[...]	was in weeping.	τῷ ἑτέρῳ μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ
	ḥlā[...]	He met [the] com[panion]	συναντῶσι·
10.	[.....]	[.....]	
	[.....]	[.....]	
	[.....]	[.....]	
	[...] ḥlā[...]	And mother [...]	
	ḥlā[...]	friends by friends	Φίλοι φίλοις
15.	ḥlā[...]	meeting in the market-streets,	ἐν πλατείαις
	ḥlā[...]	and embracing	περιπλακέντες
	ḥlā[...]	one another,	
	ḥlā[...]	and perishing,	ἐκλείπουσι,
	ḥlā[...]	and brothers by brothers	καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ἀδελφοῖς
20.	ḥlā[...]	embracing	περιπλακέντες
	:: ḥlā[...]	dead [on]es.	θανατοῦνται.
	ḥlā[...]	He will be different	Μεμάρανται καὶ

**3b. Ephrem, *Sermo in adventum Domini* (CPG 3946) – Göttingen, Syr. 23, fol. 4v (top) + Sinai, Georg. NF frg. 68v (bottom)**

<sup>67</sup> The Greek will be only juxtaposed when it nearly agrees with the CPA version. The latter is based anyway of much earlier Greek witnesses.





witness, Sinai, CPA NF Frg 7.<sup>70</sup> The latter is the top text covering two early CPA texts in uncial script (Gospel of Luke and a martyrdom).<sup>71</sup> It looks a bit as if the homily *On the Woman from Sarepta* interpreting 3 Kingdoms 17:12 and 14 (CSR<sup>Pj</sup>) might be by John Chrysostom as well, although no Greek *Vorlage* can be found agreeing to it.<sup>72</sup>

The homily *On the Repentance* occurring on the remnants of a CPA manuscript is also extant in a Georgian version with two attested witnesses, one in Sinai, Georg. 51, fols. 73r–77r and the other one in St Petersburg, RNL, E-16, fols. 170r–176v, both still unedited.<sup>73</sup> The CPA text is today distributed over two or three storing places, but its origin was St Catherine on Mount Sinai. Zosime made again use of single folios for at least two new Georgian manuscripts: Garrett MS 24, fol. 99 (Tsagareli 92+93) + Sinai, Georg. NF 19, fol. 61 (986 CE). The content of fol. 99 defied identification for over hundred years. Just during the preparation of this article it could be identified with the help of the newly discovered Sinai, Georg. NF 19, fol. 61. What all fragments, including Göttingen, Syr. 19 (c), have in common is the specific scribal hand. The *šadeh* and the *kafs* are executed with a fine stroke. Some of the final *kafs* and *nuns* have instead a lower slanting line, a curved line. These peculiarities coincide with characters also visible in the reproduction of Syr. 19 (c) r bottom.<sup>74</sup> Similar shapes of letters cannot be found in any other early CPA manuscript. Rather telling are also words like 𐌌𐌆𐌆𐌆, 𐌆𐌆𐌆, 𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 (‘left’, ‘right’, ‘youth’) and the expression 𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 ‘with knowledge’ for this homily of John Chrysostom. The unidentified fragments might be part of a homiletic series by him.

The text is here juxtaposed with the Greek as long as it agrees with it. On fol. 99vb it heavily deviates.

Garrett 24, fol. 99r	Sinai, Georg. NF 19, fol. 61r (v)	Syr. 19 (c) r
Garrett 24, fol. 99v	Sinai, Georg. NF 19, fol. 61v (r)	Syr. 19 (c) v
PG 60, 765	PG 60, 766–767	?

#### 4a. John Chrysostom, *De poenitentia* (PG 60, 765) – Princeton, Garrett MS 24, fol. 99r

a1.	𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆	With the crowns of gold and the twisted golden flowers I will bring upon	Στεφάνῳ χρυσοκόμοις ἄνθεσι πεπλεγμένῳ τὰς τῶν φιληκόων κεφαλὰς
5.	𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 [𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆]	the heads of those who love and will listen. He plucked the top [of the f]lowers from the	κεφαλὰς δοξάσαι βουλόμενοι, ἐκ τῶν ἀκηράτων λειμώνων Χριστοῦ
10.	𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 [..]	words of the Messiah to be [..] a good smell	δακτύλοις ἄνθεα περικαλλῆ τρυγήσαντες,

<sup>70</sup> Brock (1999b).

<sup>71</sup> Brock (1995: 83 with plates 394–401): CPA sp. 7 (now CPA NF Frg, 68); Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff (1998a: 157–160): Luke 9:38–50 and 17:15–28; Müller-Kessler (2023a [in preparation]): beginning of the Martyrdom of Proklos and Hilarios, identified in May 2021 by myself and Estella Kessler, Brasenose College Oxford.

<sup>72</sup> Land (1875: Syriac part, 179–181); Müller-Kessler (2014: 295–296).

<sup>73</sup> Garitte (1958: 184, no. 42). The information on the MSS was kindly provided by Jost Gippert.

<sup>74</sup> Duensing (1906: pl. II.1 with reference to p. 71).

b1.	: ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ : ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ	the temple of god, with such is the praised crown. Many more,	ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ λαός, μᾶλλον δὲ ναός, τοιούτῳ στεφάνῳ δεδοξάσθαι, ὅσοι μάλιστα
5.	ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ	those who were without stain and without fault watched their temples,	ἄσπιλον καὶ ἀμόλυντον τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ
10.	[...]: ܟܠܟܝܢܐ [...]: ܟܠܟܝܢܐ [...]: ܟܠܟܝܢܐ	for god [...] with light [...] who des[ire]	ἐφυλάξατε, πορφυρέοις στόμασι καὶ τῷ ἔμφεγγεῖ

**4b. John Chrysostom, *De poenitentia* (PG 60, 765) – Princeton, Garrett MS 24, fol. 99v**

a1.	ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ	with the praised light of hope which is lightened. Every one of those who neglected themselves	ἐπὶ τὸ θαυμαστὸν φῶς τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοὺς ἀνάξατε. Ὅσοι δὲ ἐξ ἀπροσεξίας
5.	ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ	and ruined the temple of God, not until the end you will reach your [...], but	ταῖς ἠδυπαθείαις τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ διαφθείρατε, μὴ εἰς τέλος ἑαυτοῦς ἀπελπίσατε, ἀλλὰ
10.	[...]: ܟܠܟܝܢܐ [...]: ܟܠܟܝܢܐ	[...] repentan[ce]	διὰ τῆς μετανοίας τοῦτον
b1.	ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ	and became forbidden. And with his eagerness he renewed it what he had erected as so that he will not be blameless through which was damage. That one concerning the image was the one who will say [...]	καὶ διαφθαρέντα σπουδαίως ἐπανορθωσάμενος ἀνακτίζει, ὥς οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἀπολιμπάνεσθαι τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀνοικοδομηθέντα
5.	ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ		
10.	[...]: ܟܠܟܝܢܐ [...]: ܟܠܟܝܢܐ		

**4c. John Chrysostom, *De poenitentia* (PG 60, 766) – Georg. NF 19, fol. 61r (v); Fig. 7**

a1.	ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ	stretching, and from the height he is, and he sends himself to the water, and goes up again renewing, since thus is the repentance. For the heart takes the repentance into its inside.	ἐπαρθέντα, εἰς διειδεστάτην πηγὴν ἑαυτὸν χαλάσαντα ἀνακαινίζεσθαι. Τοιαύτη ἐστὶν ἡ μετάνοια· τὴν γὰρ ἔχουσιν αὐτὴν καρδίαν εἰς ὕψος
5.	ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܟܠܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ		



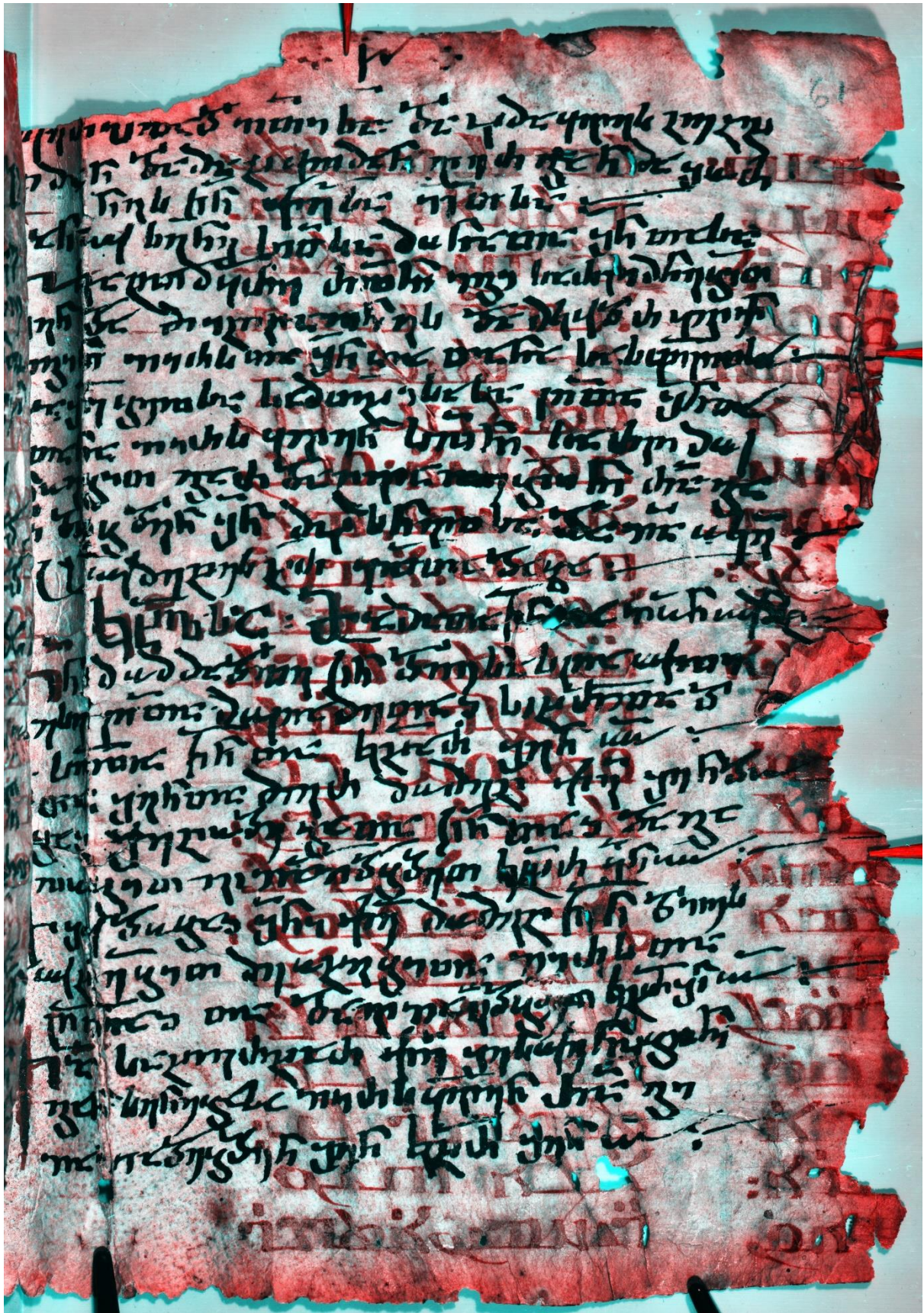


Fig. 7: Sinai, Georg. NF 19, fol. 61r (v): John Chrysostom, De poenitentia



10.	ܚܒܝܢ ܠܗ ܠܗ ܠܗ : ܚܒܝܢ ܚܒܝܢ ܚܒܝܢ ܚܒܝܢ , ܠܗ ܚܒܝܢ : ܠܗ	She makes him to be similar; and on the spring of tears she let him descend and she washes	μετάρσιον ἐπάρασα, τή πηγῇ τῶν δακρῦων τὴν μὲν παλαιότητα τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων
15.	ܚܒܝܢ ܚܒܝܢ ܚܒܝܢ , ܠܗ ܚܒܝܢ : ܠܗ	off the stains clothing him; and the spirit	ἀποσμῆχει, τὴν δὲ καινότητα [τοῦ Πνεύματος] ἐπενδύει.
20.	ܚܒܝܢ ܚܒܝܢ ܚܒܝܢ ܚܒܝܢ ܚܒܝܢ ܚܒܝܢ	begins to speak to the soul in which is repentance,	Διὸ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα πρὸς τὴν ἐν μετανοίᾳ οὖσαν ψυχὴν λέγειτὸ,
b1.	[ܚܒܝܢ ܚܒܝܢ] ܚܒܝܢ [ܚܒܝܢ] ܚܒܝܢ [: ܚܒܝܢ] ܚܒܝܢ [ܚܒܝܢ ܚܒܝܢ] ܚܒܝܢ	‘and will be renewed li[ke of the eagle] [your] you[th.] (Ps 102:5b)’ <sup>75</sup> And this [image]	Ἀνακαινισθήσεται ὡς ἀετοῦ ἡ νεότης σου. Ταύτην εἰδῶς
5.	[... ܚܒܝܢ] ܚܒܝܢ [... ] ܚܒܝܢ [... ܚܒܝܢ] ܚܒܝܢ [... ] ܚܒܝܢ [... ] ܚܒܝܢ [... ] ܚܒܝܢ	ren[ewed ...] Now [...] the child[ren of ...] ...[... ...] an advice <sup>76</sup> [and said,] ‘For the rep[entance]	ὁ μέγας τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν ἱατρὸς πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν εἶναι ἐνεργεστέραν, συμβουλευεὶ λέγων· Μετανοεῖτε· ἤγγικε γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.
10.	[ܚܒܝܢ ܚܒܝܢ] ܚܒܝܢ [ܚܒܝܢ ܚܒܝܢ] ܚܒܝܢ [... : ܚܒܝܢ] ܚܒܝܢ [... ] ܚܒܝܢ	[is near the kingdom] of h[eaven.] (Mt 3:3)’ <sup>77</sup> Now [...]	Μετανοεῖτε· ἤγγικε γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.
15.	[ܚܒܝܢ ܚܒܝܢ] ܚܒܝܢ [... ܚܒܝܢ] ܚܒܝܢ [... ܚܒܝܢ] ܚܒܝܢ [... ܚܒܝܢ] ܚܒܝܢ [... ܚܒܝܢ] ܚܒܝܢ [... ܚܒܝܢ] ܚܒܝܢ	the repentan[ce. ‘Look] at generation[s ...] and se[e ...] in the Lor[d ...] or wh[o ...] in [his] f[ear ...] and o[r...] who ca[lled ..]	Ἐμβλέψατε εἰς ἀρχαίας γενεάς, καὶ ἴδετε, τίς ἐπίστευσε τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ κατησχύνθη; ἢ τίς ἐνέμεινε ἐν τῷ φόβῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐγκατελείφθη; ἢ τίς ἐπεκαλέσατο
20.	[... ܚܒܝܢ] ܚܒܝܢ [... ܚܒܝܢ] ܚܒܝܢ [... ܚܒܝܢ] ܚܒܝܢ [... ܚܒܝܢ] ܚܒܝܢ		

**4d. John Chrysostom, *De poenitentia* (PG 60, 767) – Georg. NF 19, fol. 61v (r)**

a1.	. ܚܒܝܢ [...] ܚܒܝܢ [...] ܚܒܝܢ ܚܒܝܢ [...] ܚܒܝܢ [...]	[...] of him [...] who is merciful [...] the Lord [...] sins	αὐτὸν, καὶ ὑπερεῖδεν αὐτόν; Διότι οἰκτίρμων καὶ ἐλεήμων ὁ Κύριος, καὶ ἀφήσιν
5.	ܚܒܝܢ ܚܒܝܢ [...] ܚܒܝܢ [...] ܚܒܝܢ [...] ܚܒܝܢ [...]	[... in ti]me [...of s]in [...] save [...] before	ἀμαρτίας, καὶ σώζει ἐν καιρῷ

<sup>75</sup> Newly attested biblical verse in CPA.

<sup>76</sup> CPA has an addition here.

<sup>77</sup> Newly attested biblical verse in CPA.

	:: ႁႃႏႃ[ႃႏ]	[...] your [si]ns. (Eccl. 2:10–11) <sup>78</sup>	θλίψεως.
10.	ႃ[.....] ႏႃႏ[...] ... [...] ႏႃႏႃ[...]	[.....] [.....] [.....] [.....]	Καὶ μὴ αἰσχυνοῦθῆς, τέκνον, ὁμολογήσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου· ἔστι γὰρ αἰσχύνῃ ἢ ἐπάγουσα ἁμαρτίαν, καὶ ἔστιν αἰσχύνῃ ἢ δόξα καὶ χάρις. Ἡ ἐνταῦθα μετανοοῦσα ψυχὴ λαμβάνει τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων· Ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἅδῃ τί ἐξομολογήσεται τῷ Κυρίῳ;
15.	ႏႃႏ[...] ႏႃႏႃ[...] ႏႃႏ[...] ႏႃႏႃ[...] ႏႃႏ[...]	[.....] [...] repenting [... un]til [...] she [...] of sins. 'For [...]	ἢ δόξα καὶ χάρις. Ἡ ἐνταῦθα μετανοοῦσα ψυχὴ λαμβάνει τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων· Ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἅδῃ τί ἐξομολογήσεται τῷ Κυρίῳ;
20.	ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ : ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ	[gives] thanks [... the L]ord. (Ps 6:5) <sup>79</sup> Now [...]	τί ἐξομολογήσεται τῷ Κυρίῳ;
b1.	ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ : ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ	on account of the sins you will be saved. For see as is written, the prophet saying, <sup>80</sup>	ἐπὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίας σου, ἵνα σωθῆς·
5.	ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ	'When you will return and lament, then you will live; then you will know what you were. (Is 30:15) <sup>81</sup> Speak	Ἵταν γὰρ, φησὶν, ἀποστραφεῖς στενάξις, τότε σωθήσῃ. [γνώση που] <sup>82</sup> Λέγε σὺ, φησὶ, τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου, ὅπως ἂν δικαιωθῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου
10.	ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ	you now at first of your sins, 'Because you will be justified by your words.	φησὶ, τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου, ὅπως ἂν δικαιωθῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου
15.	ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ	And you will cry out when being judged. (Mt 12:37) He said on account of your sins 'The sins of my youth and without	καὶ νικήσης ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε. λεγε τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου. Ἄμαρτίας νεότητός μου, καὶ
20.	ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ : ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ ႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃႏႃ	knowing you shall not remember me, but as your mercy it will be remembered. (Ps 24:7) <sup>83</sup>	ἀγνοίας μου μὴ μνησθῆς. Κατὰ τὸ ἔλεός σου μνήσθητί

<sup>78</sup> Newly attested biblical verse in CPA.

<sup>79</sup> Newly attested biblical verse in CPA.

<sup>80</sup> CPA has here the additional introduction which is omitted in Greek.

<sup>81</sup> Newly attested biblical verse in CPA.

<sup>82</sup> Omitted in PG.

<sup>83</sup> Newly attested biblical verse in CPA.



**5. Saint Silvanus, *Apophthegmata patrum*** (CPG 5562; PG 65, 408–410) – Göttingen, Syr. 17, 25 + Princeton, Garrett MS 24, fol. 90/87

Sebastian Brock was sent a multispectral image of Garrett MS 24, fol. 90v<sup>84</sup> of which he had also received black and white images showing a CPA script. He joined the half fol. 90 with the lower half fol. 87 formerly published by Duensing in 1944 only according to a photograph of fol. 87v. It contains the account of Saint Silvanus from the collection of the *Apophthegmata patrum*, which was identified as such by Anton Baumstark in the Hiersemann catalogue.<sup>85</sup> Two lines of this bifolio are now lost in the middle due to binding or cutting to-size.<sup>86</sup> The folio belongs with some others to Göttingen, Syr. 17 and 25.<sup>87</sup> The CPA version is rather close to the Greek transmission. It corresponds to the account of Silvanus (apophthegms I–VI) as printed in Cotelerius, *Ecclesiae Graecae monumenta*; some deviating parts can be found in Venice, Codex Marcianus 346 fondo antico or now Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Coislin 126.<sup>88</sup> All folios have the Georgian text of the Greek Chronicle of the Early Church by Alexander of Cyprus (*De venerandae ac vivificae crucis inventione*)<sup>89</sup> on top which was copied by Ioane Zosime in 986 at St Catherine’s Monastery.<sup>90</sup>

Syr. 25, fol. 1r	Garrett 24, fol. 90v/87r = r	Syr. 17 (b) <sup>91</sup> r + Syr. 17 (c) <sup>92</sup> r	Syr. 17 (d) r a <sup>93</sup>	Syr. 17 (e) r <sup>94</sup>
Syr. 25, fol. 1va <sup>95</sup> Syr. 25, fol. 1vb	Garrett 24, fol. 90r/87v <sup>96</sup> = v	Syr. 17 (b) r + Syr. 17 (c) v	Syr. 17 (d) v	Syr. 17 (e) v
PG 65, 408 (I)	PG PG, 408–410 (I–IV)	PG 65, 410 (IV–VI)	—	—
AP <sup>97</sup> IV.48	AP IV.48, III.33	AP XVIII.27, XI.68	AP X.100	AP X.100

**5a. Saint Silvanus III–IV** (PG 65, 409–410) – Princeton, Garrett MS 24, fol. 90v/87r (originally recto); Fig. 8

a1.	ܠܘܠܘܢ ܟܘܢܘܢ ܟܘܢܘܢ	... the food	Ἐκεῖνο τὸ φαγεῖν
	ܕܘܟܘܢ [ܘܢ]	[...] was	τῆς ἀγάπης
	ܘܢ ܕܘܟܘܢ : ܠܘܠܘܢ ܟܘܢܘܢ	[from ch]arity. We	ἡμεῖς δὲ
	ܘܢ ܕܘܟܘܢ ܟܘܢܘܢ	will keep our [fa]st	τὴν ἑαυτῶν νηστεῖαν κρατήσωμεν,
5.	ܘܢ ܕܘܟܘܢ [ܘܢ]	[...] Again my master	τέκνον
	ܘܢ ܕܘܟܘܢ [ܘܢ]	[Si]lvanus	

<sup>84</sup> Hiersemann (1922: pl. III); Skemer (1996: 336–337).

<sup>85</sup> Baumstark *apud* Hiersemann (1922: 8).

<sup>86</sup> I owe Sebastian Brock my sincere thanks for familiarizing me with this new find. He permitted me to integrate the information and his reading within this study. There are only a few minor corrected readings and additions by myself.

<sup>87</sup> Duensing (1906: 40–41; 1944: 224, 227).

<sup>88</sup> Cotelerius (1677: 678–680); Duensing (1944: 221–222); Guy (1993–2005: II, 78–81: N 217).

<sup>89</sup> CPG 7398; PG 87: 4016–4076; Mgaloblishvili (1975: 226–228).

<sup>90</sup> Garitte (1967: 43); Skemer (1996: 337).

<sup>91</sup> Duensing (1944: 226–227).

<sup>92</sup> Duensing (1906: 40).

<sup>93</sup> Duensing (1906: 41 top).

<sup>94</sup> Duensing (1906: 41 bottom).

<sup>95</sup> Duensing (1944: 223–224) with end of the Vita of Saint Sarmatas.

<sup>96</sup> Duensing (1944: 226), who could edit only the verso side after Hiersemann (1922: pl. III). The other three half folios (88/89 and 99) were not identified by Baumstark in his manuscript description.

<sup>97</sup> Arrangement according to Guy (1993–2005).

	<p>         [ჟ] ზღა და ზრ          [ჟ] ზრ [ჟ] ზრ          [ა] ზრ          [.....]          [.....]          [..] ზრ          [ჟ] : ზრ       </p>	<p>         [at a] time he was sitting with          [so]me of the brethren,          [and] he became          [a]mazed and fell          [.....]          [.....]          [..]. and was          [weep]ing. And they asked          of him,          [the brot]hers saying,          ‘What have you our father?’          [The old man] was          [sil]ent and weeping          [...] were          fasting for him, he said,          ‘[I was] snatched          by justice and saw       </p>	<p>         II. Ὁ αὐτὸς καθεζόμενός          ποτε μετὰ ἀδελφῶν,          ἐγένετο          ἐν ἐκστάσει, καὶ πίπτει          ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἑαυτοῦ·          καὶ μετὰ πολὺ          ἀναστὰς          ἔκλαιε. Καὶ παρεκάλεσαν          αὐτὸν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ, λέγοντες·          Τί ἔχεις, πάτερ;          Ὁ δὲ ἐσιώπα          καὶ ἔκλαιεν.          Ἀναγκαζόντων δὲ          αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν, εἶπεν·          Ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν κρίσιν          ἤρπάγην· καὶ εἶδον       </p>
10.	<p>         [ჟ] ზრ          [.....]          [.....]          [..] ზრ          [ჟ] : ზრ       </p>	<p>         many from our kind          going to the torture,          and many of the          seculars going          to the kingdom.’          And the old man          was sad<sup>99</sup> and he          did not want          to go out from          his cell. And if          [.....]          [.....]          covering his face          in the cap and said,          ‘What do I want to          see this          light          which is temporal,          and none of the brothers          are in it.’          Another good thing for          his disciple       </p>	<p>         πολλοὺς τοῦ γένους<sup>98</sup>          ἡμῶν ἀπερχομένους εἰς τὴν          κόλασιν,          καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν          κοσμικῶν ἀπερχομένους          εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν.          Καὶ ἐπένηθει ὁ γέρον,          καὶ οὐκ          ἤθελεν          ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ          τοῦ κελλίου αὐτοῦ. Εἰ δὲ          καὶ ἠναγκάζετο          ἐξελθεῖν,          ἔσκεπε τὸ πρόσωπον ἑαυτοῦ          τῷ κουκουλίῳ, λέγων·          Τί θέλω          ἰδεῖν          τὸ φῶς τοῦτο          τὸ πρόσκαιρον,          καὶ οὐκ ἔχον οὐδὲν          ὄφελος.          III. Ἄλλοτε εἰσηλθεν<sup>100</sup>          ὁ μαθητῆς αὐτοῦ       </p>
b1.	<p>         [ჟ] ზრ          [.....]          [.....]          [..] ზრ          [ჟ] : ზრ       </p>	<p>         many from our kind          going to the torture,          and many of the          seculars going          to the kingdom.’          And the old man          was sad<sup>99</sup> and he          did not want          to go out from          his cell. And if          [.....]          [.....]          covering his face          in the cap and said,          ‘What do I want to          see this          light          which is temporal,          and none of the brothers          are in it.’          Another good thing for          his disciple       </p>	<p>         πολλοὺς τοῦ γένους<sup>98</sup>          ἡμῶν ἀπερχομένους εἰς τὴν          κόλασιν,          καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν          κοσμικῶν ἀπερχομένους          εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν.          Καὶ ἐπένηθει ὁ γέρον,          καὶ οὐκ          ἤθελεν          ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ          τοῦ κελλίου αὐτοῦ. Εἰ δὲ          καὶ ἠναγκάζετο          ἐξελθεῖν,          ἔσκεπε τὸ πρόσωπον ἑαυτοῦ          τῷ κουκουλίῳ, λέγων·          Τί θέλω          ἰδεῖν          τὸ φῶς τοῦτο          τὸ πρόσκαιρον,          καὶ οὐκ ἔχον οὐδὲν          ὄφελος.          III. Ἄλλοτε εἰσηλθεν<sup>100</sup>          ὁ μαθητῆς αὐτοῦ       </p>
5.	<p>         [ჟ] ზრ          [.....]          [.....]          [..] ზრ          [ჟ] : ზრ       </p>	<p>         many from our kind          going to the torture,          and many of the          seculars going          to the kingdom.’          And the old man          was sad<sup>99</sup> and he          did not want          to go out from          his cell. And if          [.....]          [.....]          covering his face          in the cap and said,          ‘What do I want to          see this          light          which is temporal,          and none of the brothers          are in it.’          Another good thing for          his disciple       </p>	<p>         πολλοὺς τοῦ γένους<sup>98</sup>          ἡμῶν ἀπερχομένους εἰς τὴν          κόλασιν,          καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν          κοσμικῶν ἀπερχομένους          εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν.          Καὶ ἐπένηθει ὁ γέρον,          καὶ οὐκ          ἤθελεν          ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ          τοῦ κελλίου αὐτοῦ. Εἰ δὲ          καὶ ἠναγκάζετο          ἐξελθεῖν,          ἔσκεπε τὸ πρόσωπον ἑαυτοῦ          τῷ κουκουλίῳ, λέγων·          Τί θέλω          ἰδεῖν          τὸ φῶς τοῦτο          τὸ πρόσκαιρον,          καὶ οὐκ ἔχον οὐδὲν          ὄφελος.          III. Ἄλλοτε εἰσηλθεν<sup>100</sup>          ὁ μαθητῆς αὐτοῦ       </p>
10.	<p>         [ჟ] ზრ          [.....]          [.....]          [..] ზრ          [ჟ] : ზრ       </p>	<p>         many from our kind          going to the torture,          and many of the          seculars going          to the kingdom.’          And the old man          was sad<sup>99</sup> and he          did not want          to go out from          his cell. And if          [.....]          [.....]          covering his face          in the cap and said,          ‘What do I want to          see this          light          which is temporal,          and none of the brothers          are in it.’          Another good thing for          his disciple       </p>	<p>         πολλοὺς τοῦ γένους<sup>98</sup>          ἡμῶν ἀπερχομένους εἰς τὴν          κόλασιν,          καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν          κοσμικῶν ἀπερχομένους          εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν.          Καὶ ἐπένηθει ὁ γέρον,          καὶ οὐκ          ἤθελεν          ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ          τοῦ κελλίου αὐτοῦ. Εἰ δὲ          καὶ ἠναγκάζετο          ἐξελθεῖν,          ἔσκεπε τὸ πρόσωπον ἑαυτοῦ          τῷ κουκουλίῳ, λέγων·          Τί θέλω          ἰδεῖν          τὸ φῶς τοῦτο          τὸ πρόσκαιρον,          καὶ οὐκ ἔχον οὐδὲν          ὄφελος.          III. Ἄλλοτε εἰσηλθεν<sup>100</sup>          ὁ μαθητῆς αὐτοῦ       </p>
15.	<p>         [ჟ] ზრ          [.....]          [.....]          [..] ზრ          [ჟ] : ზრ       </p>	<p>         many from our kind          going to the torture,          and many of the          seculars going          to the kingdom.’          And the old man          was sad<sup>99</sup> and he          did not want          to go out from          his cell. And if          [.....]          [.....]          covering his face          in the cap and said,          ‘What do I want to          see this          light          which is temporal,          and none of the brothers          are in it.’          Another good thing for          his disciple       </p>	<p>         πολλοὺς τοῦ γένους<sup>98</sup>          ἡμῶν ἀπερχομένους εἰς τὴν          κόλασιν,          καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν          κοσμικῶν ἀπερχομένους          εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν.          Καὶ ἐπένηθει ὁ γέρον,          καὶ οὐκ          ἤθελεν          ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ          τοῦ κελλίου αὐτοῦ. Εἰ δὲ          καὶ ἠναγκάζετο          ἐξελθεῖν,          ἔσκεπε τὸ πρόσωπον ἑαυτοῦ          τῷ κουκουλίῳ, λέγων·          Τί θέλω          ἰδεῖν          τὸ φῶς τοῦτο          τὸ πρόσκαιρον,          καὶ οὐκ ἔχον οὐδὲν          ὄφελος.          III. Ἄλλοτε εἰσηλθεν<sup>100</sup>          ὁ μαθητῆς αὐτοῦ       </p>
20.	<p>         [ჟ] ზრ          [.....]          [.....]          [..] ზრ          [ჟ] : ზრ       </p>	<p>         many from our kind          going to the torture,          and many of the          seculars going          to the kingdom.’          And the old man          was sad<sup>99</sup> and he          did not want          to go out from          his cell. And if          [.....]          [.....]          covering his face          in the cap and said,          ‘What do I want to          see this          light          which is temporal,          and none of the brothers          are in it.’          Another good thing for          his disciple       </p>	<p>         πολλοὺς τοῦ γένους<sup>98</sup>          ἡμῶν ἀπερχομένους εἰς τὴν          κόλασιν,          καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν          κοσμικῶν ἀπερχομένους          εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν.          Καὶ ἐπένηθει ὁ γέρον,          καὶ οὐκ          ἤθελεν          ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ          τοῦ κελλίου αὐτοῦ. Εἰ δὲ          καὶ ἠναγκάζετο          ἐξελθεῖν,          ἔσκεπε τὸ πρόσωπον ἑαυτοῦ          τῷ κουκουλίῳ, λέγων·          Τί θέλω          ἰδεῖν          τὸ φῶς τοῦτο          τὸ πρόσκαιρον,          καὶ οὐκ ἔχον οὐδὲν          ὄφελος.          III. Ἄλλοτε εἰσηλθεν<sup>100</sup>          ὁ μαθητῆς αὐτοῦ       </p>
20.	<p>         [ჟ] ზრ          [.....]          [.....]          [..] ზრ          [ჟ] : ზრ       </p>	<p>         many from our kind          going to the torture,          and many of the          seculars going          to the kingdom.’          And the old man          was sad<sup>99</sup> and he          did not want          to go out from          his cell. And if          [.....]          [.....]          covering his face          in the cap and said,          ‘What do I want to          see this          light          which is temporal,          and none of the brothers          are in it.’          Another good thing for          his disciple       </p>	<p>         πολλοὺς τοῦ γένους<sup>98</sup>          ἡμῶν ἀπερχομένους εἰς τὴν          κόλασιν,          καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν          κοσμικῶν ἀπερχομένους          εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν.          Καὶ ἐπένηθει ὁ γέρον,          καὶ οὐκ          ἤθελεν          ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ          τοῦ κελλίου αὐτοῦ. Εἰ δὲ          καὶ ἠναγκάζετο          ἐξελθεῖν,          ἔσκεπε τὸ πρόσωπον ἑαυτοῦ          τῷ κουκουλίῳ, λέγων·          Τί θέλω          ἰδεῖν          τὸ φῶς τοῦτο          τὸ πρόσκαιρον,          καὶ οὐκ ἔχον οὐδὲν          ὄφελος.          III. Ἄλλοτε εἰσηλθεν<sup>100</sup>          ὁ μαθητῆς αὐτοῦ       </p>

<sup>98</sup> Guy (1993–2005: I, 168): σχήματος.  
<sup>99</sup> Suggestion by Brock for this meaning, which is preferable. The spelling, however, should be ჟრღჟ in the early period of CPA. Only late Gospel Lectionary B spells this with yud instead, see Müller-Kessler (1991: 189–190).  
<sup>100</sup> Guy (1993–2005: III, 80): Εἰσηλθε ποτε ὁ μαθητῆς τοῦ ἀββᾶ Σιλουανοῦ.

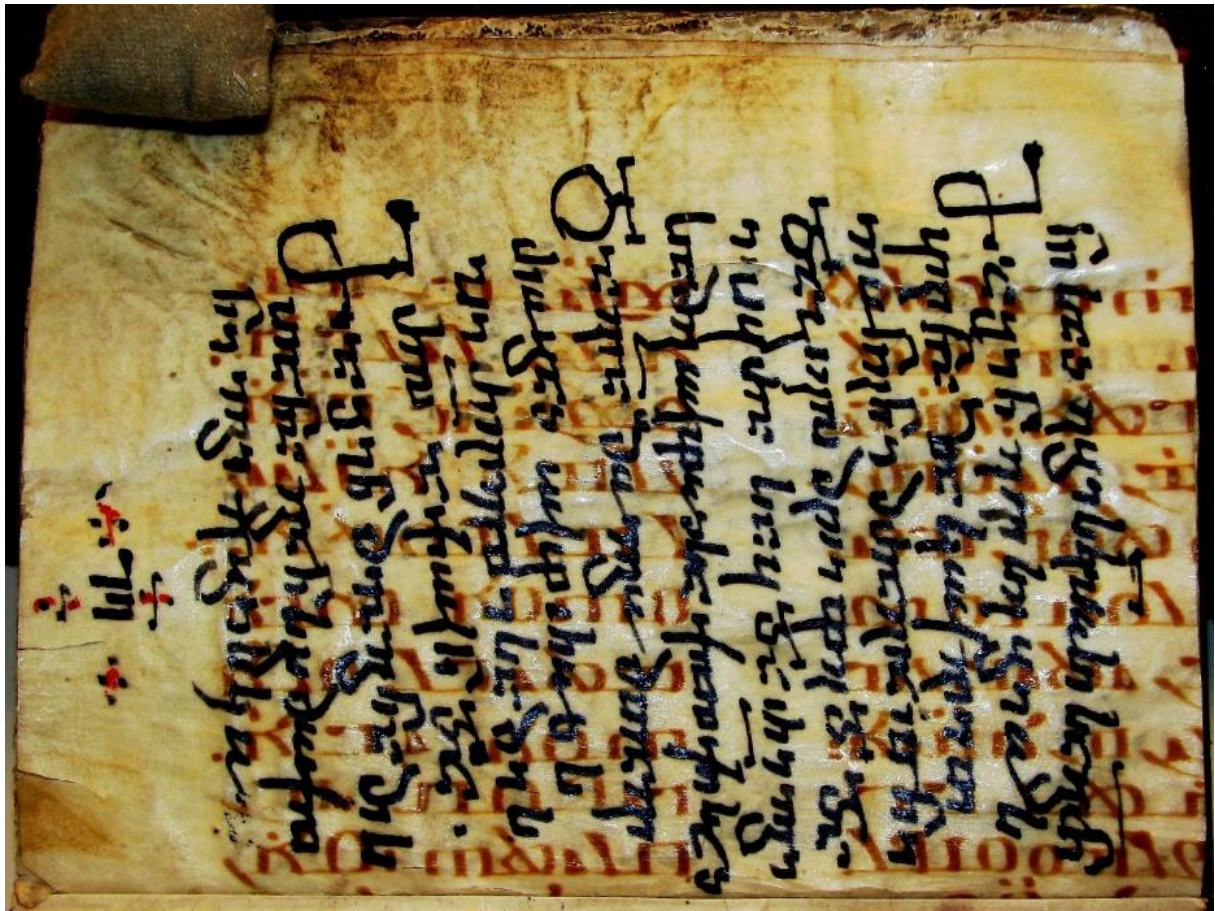


Fig. 8: Princeton, Garrett MS 24, fol. 90v (r): Saint Silvanus

**5b. Saint Silvanus IV–V (PG 65, 409–410) – Princeton, Garrett MS 24, fol. 90r/87v (originally verso)**

a1.	<p>ܘܥܒܪܐ ܘܥܒܪܐ  ܘܥܒܪܐ ܘܥܒܪܐ  ܘܥܒܪܐ ܘܥܒܪܐ  ܘܥܒܪܐ ܘܥܒܪܐ</p>	<p>Zacharias and he [f]ound  him in stu[p]or  and stretching his hands<sup>101</sup>  to heaven.</p>	<p>Ζαχαρίας, καὶ εὗρεν  αὐτὸν ἐν ἐκστάσει,  καὶ αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ ἤπλωμέναι  εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν.</p>
5.	<p>ܘܥܒܪܐ ܘܥܒܪܐ  ܘܥܒܐ ܘܥܒܐ  ܘܥܒܐ ܘܥܒܐ</p>	<p>And he closed the door,  and went out to him, and  he entered  again at the sixth</p>	<p>Καὶ κλείσας τὴν θύραν  ἐξῆλθε. Καὶ ἐλθὼν  περὶ ὥραν ἕκτην καὶ ἐννάτην,  εὗρεν αὐτὸν οὕτως.</p>
10.	<p>ܘܥܒܐ ܘܥܒܐ  ܘܥܒܐ ܘܥܒܐ  [.....]  [.....]</p>	<p>hour. And at the ninth  he would find him  thus his mind  [.....]  [.....]</p>	<p>Καὶ περὶ ὥραν ἐνδεκάτην  ἔκρουσε·  καὶ εἰσελθὼν,</p>

<sup>101</sup> Cf. ܘܥܒܪܐ ܘܥܒܪܐ ܘܥܒܐ ‘that one who stretched out the hand’ FMSD 6b:5–6 (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1996:14); ܘܥܒܐ ܘܥܒܐ ܘܥܒܐ ‘the old man stretched out his hand to heaven’ FMSD 27b:6–8 (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1996:35).

	<p>თბა მხედა          იარაგა უკრე          რათ რა მლ          ::, ი: ,ი: ,ი: ,ი: ,ი:          მლ იარაგათა          რათა მხედა          : ,ი: ,ი: ,ი:          ა რა რათა          იარაგა, ი: ,ი:          უკრე რათა</p>	<p>and he would find him          silent. And he said          to him, ‘What is          with you today master?’          And he said to him,          ‘I am weak          today my son.’          And then he          grasped his feet saying,          ‘I am not leaving you</p>	<p>εὔρεν αὐτὸν          ἡσυχάζοντα· καὶ λέγει          αὐτῷ· Τί ἔχεις          σήμερον, πάτερ;          Ὁ δὲ [γέρον] εἶπεν·          σήμερον<sup>102</sup>,          τέκνον.          Ὁ δὲ κρατήσας αὐτοῦ          τοὺς πόδας ἔλεγεν·          Οὐ μὴ σε ἐάσω,</p>
b1.	<p>[,] ,ი: ,ი: ,ი: ,ი:          [რ] ,ი: ,ი: ,ი: ,ი:          [,] ,ი: ,ი: ,ი: ,ი:          [რ] ,ი: ,ი: ,ი: ,ი:          5. [ი] ,ი: ,ი: ,ი: ,ი:          მხედა          [..] ,ი: ,ი: ,ი: ,ი:          [ი] ,ი: ,ი: ,ი: ,ი:          10. [რ] ,ი: ,ი: ,ი: ,ი:          [.....]          [.....]          [ი] ,ი: ,ი: ,ი: ,ი:          [რ] ,ი: ,ი: ,ი: ,ი:          15. [ი] ,ი: ,ი: ,ი: ,ი:          [რ] ,ი: ,ი: ,ი: ,ი:          [რ] ,ი: ,ი: ,ი: ,ი:          [რ] ,ი: ,ი: ,ი: ,ი:          20. [რ] ,ი: ,ი: ,ი: ,ი:          [რ] ,ი: ,ი: ,ი: ,ი:          [რ] ,ი: ,ი: ,ი: ,ი:          [რ] ,ი: ,ი: ,ი: ,ი:</p>	<p>until you [tell me]          Zacharias what you saw.’          He said, ‘I was give[n]          to heaven,          being seized,          and I saw          his <i>glory</i><sup>103</sup>, the [...]          of God. And after          I was stand[ing]          [.....]          [.....]          master Silvanus.          lived on Mount          Sinai. [His]          disciple Zacharias          w[ent] to the old [man]          and said to the old [man],          ‘Let the wa[ter] go          and water the gar[den]          (met. church).’          And the old [man] went out          and covered h[is] face.</p>	<p>ἐὰν μὴ εἴπης μοι          τί εἶδες.          Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ γέρον·          Ἐγὼ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν          ἠρπάγην,          καὶ εἶδον          τὴν δόξαν          τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἐκεῖ          ἰστάμην          ἕως ἄρτι, καὶ νῦν ἀπελύθην.          IV. Καθεζομένου ποτὲ          τοῦ ἀββᾶ Σιλουανοῦ          εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σινᾶ,          ἀπῆλθεν          ὁ μαθητῆς αὐτοῦ Ζαχαρίας          εἰς διακονίαν,          καὶ λέγει τῷ γέροντι·          Απόλυσον τὸ ὕδωρ,          καὶ πότισον τὸν κῆπον.          Ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν          ἔσκεπε<sup>104</sup> τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ</p>

<sup>102</sup> Guy (1993–2005: III, 80): Ἡσθῆνησα τίποτε.

<sup>103</sup> Sebastian Brock suggests to see here an abbreviation for *თბა მხედა* as in Syriac. In CPA such elisions are not known, but it might be the solution for this obscure spelling, given the Greek parallel *δόξαν*.

<sup>104</sup> Guy (1993–2005: II, 174): ἐσκέπασεν ἑαυτοῦ.



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## ქრისტიანული პალესტინის არამეული ტექსტები ქართული

### ხელნაწერების ქვედა ფენებში

კრისტა მიულერ-კესლერი (იენა)

პალესტინელ ქრისტიანთა მიერ არამეულ ენაზე შესრულებული არაერთი ხელნაწერი, რომლებიც ჩვენი წელთაღრიცხვის მე-5–მე-7 საუკუნეებით თარიღდება, დაშლილი და ახალი ქართული ტექსტების შესაქმნელად საწერ მასალად ხელახლა გამოყენებულ იქნა, მათ შორის მე-10 საუკუნის ქართველი მწიგნობრის იოანე ზოსიმეს მიერ. არამეული ხელნაწერების დაშლის შედეგად მიღებულ პალიმფსესტურ ფურცლებზე ქართული ხელნაწერი იოანე ზოსიმეს უნდა გადაეწერა ან იერუსალიმის მახლობლად მდებარე საბაწმინდის ლავრაში, ან სინას მთაზე, წმინდა ეკატერინეს მონასტერში, სადაც ის მოღვაწეობდა. იოანე-ზოსიმეს გადაწერილი ხელნაწერი მე-19 საუკუნის მეორე ნახევარში დაანაწევრეს და მისი დიდი ნაწილი გაიტანეს სინის მთის წმ. ეკატერინეს მონასტრიდან. ხელნაწერის ნაწილები ევროპასა (სანკტ-პეტერბურგში, გოტინგენში, ოსლოში) და ამერიკაში (პრინსტონში) იქაურ საჯარო და კერძო კოლექციებში მოხვდა, სინის მთაზე დარჩენილი ნაწილი კი, რომლებიც წმ. გიორგის კოშკის დახურულ საცავში ინახებოდა, 1975 წელს სხვა ხელნაწერებთან ერთად იქნა აღმოჩენილი. მსოფლიოს სხვადასხვა ქვეყანაში გაბნეული ხელნაწერის ცალკეული ფურცლები და ფრაგმენტები, ფრაგმენტების კოდიკოლოგიური მახასიათებლებისა და შინაარსის გათვალისწინებით, დღეისათვის დიგიტალურად პირვანდელი სახით არის აღდგენილი და „გამთლიანებული“. პალიმფსესტის ქვედა ფენა მოიცავს იშვიათი ტექსტების მთელ რიგს, მათ შორის, იერუსალიმის ლექციონარის უძველეს ვერსიას, კირილე იერუსალიმელის სწავლანი, ფსევდო-ეფრემ ასურის (Ephrem Graecus) ქადაგებას „მეორედ მოსვლისათვის უფლისა“ (*Sermo in adventum Domini*), იოანე ოქროპირის ჰომილიას სინანულის შესახებ და წმინდა სილოვანეს გამონათქვამებს აპოფთეგმებიდან.