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Heinz Miklas

‘Excavating’ the Palimpsests in the Glagolitic Manuscripts from Sinai

PRELIMINARY OVERVIEW

St. Catherine’s Monastery holds about 81 Slavic manuscripts, of which more than half were discovered in the great ‘new’ find of 1975.[1] How many were once preserved there and have been scattered among various other monasteries and public libraries, we cannot yet tell. The oldest group of the Slavic manuscripts, altogether seven, are those written in the earliest Slavic script, Glagolitic, and derive from the 10th to the 11th century, thus belonging to the Old Church Slavonic corpus. It is interesting to note that the boundary between them and the Cyrillic manuscripts coincides almost exactly with the turn from the 11th to the 12th centuries, although the Cyrillic writing system had already been in use since the late 9th century.

So far, in eight or nine of these manuscripts (including one kept in St. Petersburg today, the Oktoechos-palimpsest, RNB Q.п.I.64, and one possible ‘candidate’ in the Vatican Library, the *Gospel-Codex Assemanianus*, Vat. slav. 3) traces of up to 12 palimpsests have been discovered,[2] the overwhelming majority in the Glagolitic manuscripts: two Glagolitic undertexts under a Cyrillic overtext (the Aprakos-palimpsest in Sin. slav. 39, f. 45r,[3] and the aforementioned Oktoechos-palimpsest[4]), and approximately eight under a Glagolitic overtext (in the new part of the Sinaitic Psalter, Sin. slav. NF 2, the second part of the Sinaitic Liturgiarium, Sin. slav. NF 5, the Medical Folia and, it seems, also in Demetrius’ Psalter and the *Codex Assemanianus*). Among the latter we find four Glagolitic undertexts, one or two Latin, two most likely Cyrillic but possibly Greek, and one which cannot be identified.

To understand these figures, we have to compare them to the total number of Glagolitic manuscripts preserved in different locations. Here, we are dealing with 29 units, about 12 of them with palimpsests or only preserved as palimpsests. Further to those already cited, these are: the Bojana-Palimpsest, RGB Grig. 8;[5] the supplement to the Glagolitic Zographou-Gospel, RNB glag. 1;[6] the Menaion-palimpsest in GIM Xludov 117;[7]

Heinz Miklas: University of Vienna, Department of Slavonic Studies, AAKH Hof 3, Spitalgasse 2–4, A-1090 Vienna; heinz.miklas@univie.ac.at

1 In total, 82, according to shelfmarks, which include parts belonging to the same manuscripts in the Old and the New Collections (for example, the Old and New parts of the Sinaitic Euchologium, Sin. slav. 37 + Sin. slav. NF 1, and the Sinaitic Psalter, Sin. slav. 38 + Sin. slav. NF 2), but omit one small Horologion-fragment which was formerly mistaken as Ethiopic (cf. Glibetić, A New 11th Century Glagolitic Fragment and Miklas, The Graphemic Coordinates), as well as the so-called Medical Folia, which bear no shelfmark of their own, but are kept within Demetrius’ Psalter, Sin. slav. NF 3, after f. 141. Also not included in this number is no. 5 of the Old Collection, which proved to be a Latin Psalter, part of which was also discovered in Sin. lat. NF 1 (cf. the facsimile of the section from the Old Collection in Altbauer, *Psalterium Latinum Hierosolymitanum*; for the section from the New Collection, see Brown, The Bridge in the Desert, 88. Unfortunately, there are still a few quires missing, as Father Justin kindly informed me). The exact and final total will only be available after careful revision of both collections in the monastery. For the time being, see Tarnanidis, *The Slavonic Manuscripts*, and Miklas and Radoslavova, St. Catherine’s Monastery on Mount Sinai, with further bibliography.

2 Cf. the lists of Old Church Slavonic manuscripts and palimpsests in Miklas, Mount Sinai and the Cyrillo-Methodian Heritage, 50–52, and Miklas and Sadovski, Die Struktur des Altkirchenslavischen, 1270–1271 (to which at least the palimpsests in the Medical Folia must now be added).

3 Often called ‘Sinaitic Palimpsest/Fragment’, see Schaeken and Birnbaum, *Die altkirchenslavische Schriftkultur*, 104 (III.2.7).

4 Cod. RNB Q.п.I.64, ff. 1v, 2r, 3v, 5v, 6r, 7v, 8r; see Schaeken and Birnbaum, *Die altkirchenslavische Schriftkultur*, 125 (IV.8).

5 Schaeken and Birnbaum, *Die altkirchenslavische Schriftkultur*, 118 (IV.2).

6 Schaeken and Birnbaum, *Die altkirchenslavische Schriftkultur*, 118 (IV.1). Since the overtext is Glagolitic, it could have been written in the Sinai. This might also be true of the Vienna and Prague Folia, which also show other traits pointing in this direction.

7 While all other Cyrillic overtexts are written by Bulgarian scribes, here we have to do with a late Serbian overtext, see Turilov, Xludovskij glagoličeskij palimpsest and Knjazevskaja *et al*., *Svodnyj katalog*, 657–658, 661 (no. D65). An edition on the basis of new multispectral images is currently being prepared by Elena Uxanova in Moscow, cf. http://press.cosmos.ru/drevneyshiy-slavyanskiy-spisok-rozhdestvenskogo-bogosluzhebnogo-kanona-vnov-obreten-blagodarya (accessed 01.07.2023) and

the palimpsest fragments in Prague (Archives of the Metropolitan chapter of St. Vitus, no. A.LX); and the Vienna Glagolitic Folia (Vind. slav. 136).[8] While this amounts to 41%, at St. Catherine's the ratio is currently about 7 to 10, or 70%! Clearly, this has mainly to do with the Sinaitic provenance of the majority, and the lack of writing material in the desert;[9] but to a certain degree it also seems to apply to all surviving Glagolitic sources, because, mainly as a result of unfavourable Church politics, the old script gradually lost its readership, first in the Moravo-Pannonian region, and then more widely across the Balkans.[10]

RESEARCH HISTORY

Before focusing on certain specimens, we have to emphasize that most of the Glagolitic palimpsests—especially those from the Sinai—share a common feature which significantly hinders their investigation: their undertexts are so thoroughly removed that it requires great effort to identify them, and even then it is often only scattered areas that are discernible. As a consequence, the above statements are still provisional, because not all extant manuscripts have yet been thoroughly analysed,[11] and most of the analysed ones are also in need of further study.

While two palimpsests in the Old Collection at Sinai were already known and partly edited prior to my research,[12] two interdisciplinary projects dedicated to the new Glagolitic finds, funded by the Austrian Science Fund, have made it possible to shed light on the remaining palimpsests.[13] These projects in due course became connected with the Sinai Palimpsests Project (www.sinaipalimpsests.org), led by Michael Phelps, Claudia Rapp and their EMEL colleagues (http://emel-library.org/). Their successful progress enabled us to receive a grant from the Austrian Federal Ministry of Science and Research, and in 2014 to found the Centre of Image and Material Analysis in Cultural Heritage (CIMA).[14] Currently, CIMA forms the basis of our third Glagolitica project,[15] which started in 2017.

The aforementioned projects bring together expertise in three disciplines from three universities: philology from the University of Vienna, computer science from TU (Technische Universität) Vienna, and material chemistry from the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts. For specific tasks we are co-operating with colleagues from other Austrian institutions, as well as institutions in other countries. While the philologists are mainly engaged in the codicology, palaeography, textology, and the editing of the sources, our technical research is in the fields of imaging, image processing and analysis, as well as in the non-invasive analysis of the materials used for the production of the manuscripts.[16]

Uxanova *et al.*, Estestvennonaučnye i tradicionnye metody, where four pages of the palimpsest-quire are already presented (I am grateful to E. Uxanova for sharing the pre-print of the article with me).

[8] Our attempts to analyse the original Prague Folia have not yet succeeded, and our efforts towards closer examination of the Vienna Folia have remained unsatisfactory, because beyond traces of letters they have not produced any readable text.

[9] A similar situation can be observed with the Coptic manuscripts in Egypt.

[10] So far, however, we have no indication that Glagolitic texts shared the fate of Arian Gothic, considered heretical, although Glagolitism was for some time associated with the Gothic tradition in parts of Croatia, cf. Katičić, *Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte*, 477–480. Rather, the small number (so far, four) of examples of Glagolitic palimpsests under non-Glagolitic overtexts seem not to differ from those under Glagolitic overtexts; thus, it appears to have primarily depended on the *hic et nunc*-need to preserve a Glagolitic text (or exemplar), whether it was recycled or not.

[11] In the new Sinaitic Glagolitic collection this applies to the Menaion (Sin. slav. NF 4) and the Horologion fragments.

[12] The Aprakos (see Altbauer and Mareš, Fragmentum glagoliticum) and the Oktoechos Palimpsest (see Lunt, On Slavonic Palimpsests).

[13] See https://cvl.tuwien.ac.at/project/the-sinaitic-glagolitic-sacramentary-euchologium-fragments/ and https://cvl.tuwien.ac.at/project/the-enigma-of-the-sinaitic-glagolitic-tradition-2/ (accessed 01.07.2023).

[14] See Miklas and Rapp, The Centre of Image and Material Analysis, Frühmann *et al.*, Interdisziplinäre Studien and https://hrsm.cvl.tuwien.ac.at/ (accessed 01.07.2023).

[15] FWF stand-alone project no. P29892, cf. https://cvl.tuwien.ac.at/project/the-origin-of-the-glagolitic-old-church-slavonic-manuscripts/ (accessed 01.07.2023). For the kind permission to work with St. Catherine's manuscripts and the assistance we have received in our lengthy endeavours we express our sincere thanks to His Eminence Archbishop Damianos and the community of St. Catherine's, especially the librarian Father Justin, and Father Nilus (who helped us most willingly during the former's absence), as well as our dear colleague Ioannis Tarnanidis, who paved the way for our studies on the subject. All this would not have been possible, however, without the continuing support of the Austrian Science Fund (FWF).

[16] For example, our internet editions are being handled by our Russian colleagues under Victor Baranov, cf. the electronic collection of Sinaitic Glagolitic Manuscripts under http://mns.udsu.ru/mns/portal.main?p1=55&p_lid=2&p_sid=1 (accessed 01.07.2023);

PALIMPSEST SPECIMINA

Now, let us return to the palimpsests. It was in the Glagolitic Liturgiarium, Sin. slav. NF 5,[17] that I observed the first undertext, during my first visit to St. Catherine’s in 1996.[18] Being fully occupied with its overtext, I only noted that between the lines or, more often, along the same lines, there was a lower Glagolitic script, whose rounded ductus resembles the Bulgarian hand of the upper layer (Fig. 1). And since the latter may be ascribed to the second quarter of the 11th century, the undertext could be as late as the 10th century.

Later, when the Sinai Palimpsests Project supplied me with new multispectral images, I not only discovered further folios with undertext,[19] but also a majuscule line in the middle of f. 24v, which seemed to represent a headline in the same layer rather than a passage of a further underlayer (Fig. 2). More recently, thanks to additional processed images produced by the Sinai Palimpsests Project, some Cyrillic passages have become visible on f. 32v (Fig. 3), and a drawing (illustration?) on f. 68r. These support my hypothesis that we are dealing with a double palimpsest, as in the case of f. 70v. But, as the reproductions illustrate, it is extremely difficult to establish any more than this, as the manuscript was not only almost completely deprived of its previous texts in the course of (possible multiple)[20] erasure, but has also suffered seriously in recent times, as comparison with its well-preserved Petersburg fragment indicates.[21]

This is even more true of two other Sinai Glagolitic manuscripts, the so-called Psalter of Demetrius (Sin. slav. NF 3) and the Medical Folia—three small bifolios which Ioannis Tarnanidis found in the Psalter and left without any shelfmark of their own. On three recto-sides, this remarkable ternio contains the oldest medical prescriptions of Slavonic literature. But let us first turn to the Psalter.

Demetrius’ Psalter is the only manuscript in the collection which seems to have been partly written on reused parchment—just as its cover was made of reused wooden panels,[22]—but does not exibit more than indirect traces of former writing. These indications of its earlier use consist of some remnants of ruling, probable parts of characters and red stains, and a few heavily-erased surfaces where the erasure was executed with a sepia-bone or pumice.[23] Other Sinaitic Glagolitic palimpsests were probably only thoroughly washed off. However, we can observe similar cases elsewhere,[24] which need to be closely examined, as the relevant features might also be the result of cleansing of the original animal skin, rather than the later erasure of an early layer of ink.

Palimpsest traces in the Sinaitic Psalter (Sin. slav. 38 + Sin. slav. NF 2) have so far been discovered only in its new part, Sin. slav. NF 2, and are of interest in so far as they consist of fragments of rounded Glagolitic letters between the lines of overtext. The damage to the Glagolitic lettering has obviously been caused by scratching the pages with pumice or similar means. This reminds us of the Vienna Folia (Vind. slav. 136). Such

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and to broaden the scope of our current project, we have the collaboration of a conservation expert from the Danube University at Krems, as well as microbiologists from the University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences.

17 So far predominantly known under the name ‘Missal’, chosen by Ioannis Tarnanidis in his first description of the new Slavonic finds (Tarnanidis, *The Slavonic Manuscripts*, 103–110). Today we know that it is the main part of the Sinaitic Liturgiarium, the first part of which is represented in the Petersburg ‘Služebnik’ (fragments BRAN 24.4.8 and RNB, glag. 2), previously regarded as a part of the Sinaitic Euchologium, Sin. slav. 37, or as a fragment of a collection of its own, cf. Schaeken and Birnbaum, *Die altkirchenslavische Schriftkultur*, 109 (III.2.10), Knjazevskaja *et al.*, *Svodnyj katalog* 61 (nos. 34, 35), Parenti, The Krylov-Uspenskij Folia, and Miklas *et al*., Preliminary Remarks, 43–44 (especially fn. 84), 62.

18 See Miklas, Zur editorischen Vorbereitung, 125–126.

19 So far the following folios have been recognized as palimpsested (numbers according to my present folio order): 1r, 1v, 2r, 2v, 3r, 3v, 4r, 4v, 5r, 6v, 7v, 8r, 8v, 11r, 12r, 13v (?), 14r, 14v, 15v, 17r, 17v, 18v (?), 19v, 20v, 21r, 22v, 23v, 24r, 24r, 24v; 27v, 28r, 29r, 30r, 30v (?), 32r, 32v, 33r, 34r, 34v, 35r, 35v, 36r, 36v, 37r, 37v, 38v, 39r, 39v, 40r, 40v, 41r (?), 41v, 42r, 44v, 47v, 50r, 51r, 52r, 53v, 54r, 54v, 55r, 55v, 56r, 56v, 57v, 58r, 59v, 60r, 60v, 61r, 62v, 63r, 63v, 64r, 64v, 65r, 65v, 66r, 67r, 67v, 68r, 68v, 69v, 70v, 71v, 72r. In addition, there are quite a few smaller fragments with possible traits of undertexts: 9y, 16y, 17y, 18y, 19x, 19y, 21y, 22x, 25x, 25y, 32y, 35y, 36x, 36y, 39x, 40x, 40y, 43x, 46y. For colour photographs and further information (on the first group) see the Sinai Palimpsests Research Site (https://sinai.library.ucla.edu/, accessed 01.07.2023) under no. 82.

20 Beyond the aforementioned Glagolitic and Cyrillic traits on some folios (e.g., ff. 13v, 23r, 24v, 32v, 51r, 54r, 68v, 75r), we observe vertical lines which might belong to a second undertext. It is also worth mentioning that on some folios (e.g., ff. 12r, 70v) the Glagolitic undertext runs upside down in relation to the overtext.

21 See the (enlarged) image in Miklas, Die slavischen Schriften, 246.

22 See the images in Miklas (ed.), *Psalterium Demetrii Sinaitici*, 146–149.

23 See Miklas (ed.), *Psalterium Demetrii Sinaitici*, 41 and 74.

24 Cf., e.g., Fig. 1, p. 9 with the example of the manuscript Vind. suppl. gr. 200 in Miklas and Rapp, The Centre of Image and Material Analysis, 9.

traces are easily visible on ff. 31v–32r[25] (Fig. 4), while fainter character-remnants can be made out, for example, on ff. 8v (above line 15), 9r, 12r, 16v, 17r, 31v (passim).

The examination of the Assemani-Gospel only began recently and so far has discovered a few possible traces of earlier writing. If we exclude the tall, handsomely-braided initial in the left lower margin of f. 157v (Fig. 5), because it could also have been added by Pop Stan who wrote a long note not long after it was copied,[26] we are left with such faint traces as on ff. 41v, 50v, 155v, 156v, 157v–158r etc. (Fig. 6), which may partly derive from erased marginal notes.

The Medical Folia represent the most interesting palimpsest case of all. When working with them in St. Catherine's library, neither I nor my first collaborator Velizar Sadovski guessed that we were looking at a palimpsest. Some years later, Dana Hürner suggested we should have a close look at the pictures together, as she had the impression that there might be character-parts scattered across one or two of the pages. Being unable to find a single intact character, we started turning the pages, first by 90 degrees, then upside-down. We then became aware of further ruling-lines, running partly in the same direction, partly crossing each other.[27] This indicated no fewer than three underlayers! When we followed the lines systematically, we discovered a whole phrase in Latin (the first letter of which can be seen in Fig. 7a),[28] and then a few single, rounded Glagolitic letters (Fig. 7b).

The Latin phrase (running perpendicular in relation to the overtext, beginning at the top left corner) seems to be copied in Carolingian style and consists of two abbreviations, the first in the three majuscule letters *STE* for *S(ANC)T(A)E*, the second in the four minuscule letters *ecle* for *ec(c)l(esia)e*. Initially, I thought this might be the incipit of a liturgical text, but what I found in the literature did not seem to fit.

At that time Claudia Rapp invited me to suggest the most important Slavonic palimpsests from Sinai for the next imaging campaign of the Sinai Palimpsests Project. So I asked EMEL to concentrate their efforts on the Liturgiarium and the Medical Folia as being the most intriguing palimpsests, for which I was impatient for more legible results.[29] The information that emerged was worth waiting for. Apart from discovering further palimpsest traces in the Liturgiarium, such as the Glagolitic majuscules, in the Medical Folia I could now make out the Cyrillic (or Greek?) script (Fig. 7c) that had previously been examined without results.[30] Considering the cultural history of the Slavic lands and the situation in St. Catherine's at the time—roughly, the late 9th until the early 11th century,—the sequence of the layers ought to have started with the Latin and ended with the Cyrillic text, but it seems that in fact the Glagolitic is the youngest. The overtext definitely derives from the middle or third quarter of the 11th century.

Interestingly, the new multispectral images hardly disclosed any traces of the Latin phrase which we had discovered on the colour and UV image-series we had made in 2007.[31] Instead, I made out something completely different and unexpected—remnants of miniatures, covering the two pages of the first bifolio (Fig. 8–9), where we had found the Latin characters. If my interpretation is correct—and doubts certainly remain,—then we are dealing with Michael the Archangel on the left (f. 141av), and the Mother of God, in the pose of the Eleousa, on the right (f. 141fr).[32]

This finding opened up another possible interpretation of the Latin phrase. Now it could be taken as the title written at a right angle to accompany the drawing of St. Michael on the same page. Thus, the whole text may have been: 'Sanct(a)e ecclesi(a)e princeps c(a)elestis militi(a)e sanctus Michael Archangelus'.

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[25] Cf. already Mareš and Miklas (eds.), *Psalterii Sinaitici pars nova*, 128, 130.

[26] However, in this case it would have to be explained why only the initial has been (partly) deleted, and not the note? Furthermore, on f. 156v we also observe traces of a similar braided initial or ornamental strip, and it seems rather unlikely that they had penetrated from the neighbouring sheet. As far as I can see, the topic has not been discussed in extant descriptions, cf. especially Džurova *et al*., *Opis na slavjanskite răkopisi*, 60, 65.

[27] See the description and the reproductions in Miklas (ed.), *Psalterium Demetrii Sinaitici*, 124–125, 301.

[28] For a full reproduction see Miklas (ed.), *Psalterium Demetrii Sinaitici*, *ibid*.

[29] It is my pleasure to thank Claudia Rapp, Mike Phelps, and the team of the Sinai Palimpests Project, for letting me participate in the project and providing me with the images mentioned above.

[30] For coloured photographs and more detailed information see the Sinai Palimpsests Research Site (https://sinai.library.ucla.edu/) (accessed 01.07.2023) under no. 52.

[31] Miklas, Zum Gang der Erforschung.

[32] Actually, examining the older pictures again, I noticed that I could have discovered the drawings already earlier, but since in order to see characters I magnified the pictures on the screen, I was unable to make out larger entities.

Even if we cannot be sure that this reading will hold,[33] the presence of Latin traces needs to be explained. What could be their origin? The Sinai? Possibly. But there is at least one other possibility. In order to find it, we have to consider the manuscript as a whole. The palaeography, language, and content of the reinscribed text suggest that either the scribe or (one of) his template(s) derive from Istria,[34] where in the relevant period all three of the relevant scripts were in use. So we must ask, in which context do the Latin traces belong? For an answer, we need to look at the place of Latin in the Glagolitic Sinaitica in general.

LATIN TRACES

While the Church Slavonic tradition until the turn of the 11th/12th century only reveals Latin influences in exceptional cases and in specific contexts, here we observe the opposite: these Glagolitic manuscripts are full of different Western elements, including Latin. This gives us scope to create an entire typology. Leaving aside elements in the decorative schemes,[35] we find Latin interferences in:

Palaeography

Both the Medical Folia[36] and the book in which they came down to us, the Psalter of Demetrius, exhibit Latin minuscule forms and punctuation elements, which coincide with certain linguistic features and can best be linked to the Beneventana in Dalmatia.[37] The monk-priest from whom the Psalter received its name inserted a tripartite Greek-Latin-Glagolitic *abecedarium*, whose first two parts are mainly composed in majuscules that clearly resemble his Cyrillic letters. But in order to become acquainted with the Latin minuscule script, he apparently asked a contemporary to add a minuscule alphabet as a learning pattern on the next folio.[38] An early result of his writing exercises may be the unfinished alphabets on f. 9v of the main part of the somewhat older Sinai Psalter, Sin. slav. 38.[39] I have tried to compare all these Latin minuscule forms with those of Latin manuscripts in St. Catherine’s with specific local traits that were available to me,[40] but the correlations with the Carolingian tradition (also widespread in the Western Balkans) seem to be stronger. Thus, even the Slavic manuscripts contribute to the colourful diversity of the Sinaitic Latin tradition, whose features can be traced from Insular and mainland Europe (such as Visigothic, Luxeuil, Carolingian and Beneventan) to North Africa and Palestine, where they were influenced by other traditions.[41]

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[33] The main counter-argument may be seen in the ruling scheme which the Latin phrase follows, since it fills the entire page; but this argument can be undermined on the assumption that the ruling scheme was used predominantly for the reverse side.

[34] See Miklas (ed.), *Psalterium Demetrii Sinaitici*, 34–37, 125–126, Miklas and Hürner, Westliche Elemente, 311–312, and Miklas *et al*., Preliminary Remarks, 44, 51–53, 56.

[35] So far, Latin influence in the decor has mainly been seen in the Glagolitic *Codex Marianus* of the late 10th c., cf. *inter alia* Vasiljev, Portreti svetitelja. E. Uxanova recently discovered a large, Beneventan-style Latin initial in the Glagolitic Xludov palimpsest (GIM, Xludov 117) of the 11th century, which may be connected with a Latin palimpsest in the same codex (according to her, written in the second half of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century in Southern Italy); see Uxanova *et al*., Estestvennonaučnye i tradicionnye metody, 16–24 (with illustrations). Linguistically the scribes of the Marianus and the Glagolitic Xludov palimpsest derive from the South Western Balkans; whether the manuscripts were also written there is less certain.

[36] Miklas (ed.), *Psalterium Demetrii Sinaitici*, 121, 123, 124, 126 (commentary), 130 (plate).

[37] For the mentioned peculiarities in Demetrius’ Psalter see Miklas (ed.), *Psalterium Demetrii Sinaitici*, 89, 108, 112 (plates) and 49, 50–51, 62 (commentary) as well as Miklas and Hürner, Westliche Elemente, 303–304; cf. also Miklas *et al*., Preliminary Remarks, 39 fn. 62, 42 fn. 80, 50. In discussions with Michelle Brown, however, I learned that the relevant palaeographic specifics seem not be exclusive to the Beneventan tradition, though Beneventan examples can also be found in St. Catherine’s library (cf. Brown, The Bridge in the Desert, 91–92 with pl. 3b).

[38] See the reproductions of the *abecedaria* in Miklas (ed.), *Psalterium Demetrii Sinaitici*, 63, 73 and Miklas *et al.*, Preliminary Remarks, 83 (Fig. 6–7) as well as the comments in Miklas and Hürner, Westliche Elemente, 313 and in Miklas *et al*., Preliminary Remarks, 28, 44, 50.

[39] See Miklas *et al*., Preliminary Remarks, 49–50, 88 (Fig. 15).

[40] Especially the chronologically-proximate Latin parchment psalter (*olim* Sin. slav. 5), whose palaeography has puzzled investigators (see Lowe, An Unknown Latin Psalter; Vezin, À propos des manuscrits latins; Vezin, Les manuscrits latins du Sinaï; Brown, Imagining, Imaging, and Experiencing the East, 77; Brown, The Bridge in the Desert, 88–89, and fn. 1), but also from other examples to be found in the cited publications and on the internet, such as the paper epistolary fragment from the cover of manuscript Sin. ar. 455. Cf. also Miklas (ed.), *Psalterium Demetrii Sinaitici*, 73.

[41] So we eagerly await the results of Michelle Brown’s full description of the over fifty Latin manuscripts and palimpsests preserved

Textology

Even the oldest Slavic manuscript, the Kiev Folia (NBU, f. 301 no. 328), written in a unique mixture of West and South Old Church Slavonic, most likely during the second quarter of the 10th century,[42] contains translations from a Latin Sacramentary which currently can best be linked with the manuscript Paduanus Bibl. Capit. D. 47.[43] Discovered and very likely written in the Sinai, most scholars assign its two scribes to the former Moravian lands—in those days Hungary.[44] The origins of the Latin original can be sought in those areas which formerly belonged to the Patriarchate of Aquileia, but were partly missionarized by the Archdiocese of Salzburg and its subordinated dioceses.[45]

In due course we find further translations of Latin or mixed Latin-Italo-Greek texts in the Sinaitic Euchology from the second quarter of the 11th century[46] and in the Sinaitic Liturgiarium (cf. below under C), written by the same hand a few years later, and then again in secondary entries by the above-mentioned Demetrius in the Kiev Folia and in the Psalter named after him. In the Kiev Folia, on the initially empty first recto page, Demetrius added, after excerpts of the Old Church Slavonic Apostolus (Romans 13:11–14, Romans 14:1–4 as reading for tyrophagy), the prayer 'Super populum' on the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary (25. March), translated from the so-called Gregory Sacramentary.[47] Again in his Psalter, Demetrius also mainly filled the empty space with prayers, the last of which, entitled 'St. Gregory's Prayer' and dedicated to the forgiveness of sins before death (ff. 140r, lines 14–23, 140v, lines 1–9, 144r, lines 1–24), was only recently identified with the second part of a paraliturgical Latin prayer attributed to Gregory the Great.[48]

While the Liturgiarium was in all likelihood written in St. Catherine's by a Bulgarian scribe,[49] Demetrius' entries were definitely composed there, and date from the last quarter of the 11th century. His home seems to have been in Duklja, today's Montenegro, but before leaving for the Sinai he probably spent parts of his life in the area of Dubrovnik (possibly Ston) and on Istria.[50]

Content

The Liturgiarium contains several significant examples among its many texts translated from Latin, such as a short prayer devoted to abbot Aligernus of Montecassino (949–986)[51] and the mixed Liturgy of St. Apollinaris (formerly believed to be St. Peter's Liturgy)[52], predominantly based on a Latin version.[53] The latter may also have been connected with Montecassino, or its dependance at Valleluce, where Aligernus offered shelter

in St. Catherine's; for now see *inter alia* Brown, Imagining, Imaging, and Experiencing the East, 74–84 and Brown, The Bridge in the Desert, 88–98.

42 For the dating of the manuscripts, cf. Miklas and Hürner, A Numerical Approach.

43 See the facsimiles and texts in Nimčuk, *Kyjivs'ki hlaholyčni lystky*, and, on the manuscript, Schaeken, *Die Kiever Blätter*, Turilov, Kievskie listki, and Hürner, *Paläographie und Graphematik*.

44 Recently, attempts have also been made to assign them to the Serbian area, mainly on the basis of their accent marks; see only Savić, *Srpska književna reč*, 15–17, 266.

45 Cf., however, fn. 54.

46 In addition to a text connected with the Old High German tradition, the Euchology contains two translations from the Latin, one of them of Roman origin; see Parenti, The Krylov-Uspenskij Folia, 10.

47 Inc. *Zaštiti, gospodi, raby svoję* (cf. Nimčuk, *Kyjivs'ki hlaholyčni lystky*, 128, Schaeken, *Die Kiever Blätter*, 213, Savić, *Srpska književna reč*, 72–73) – *Protege, domine, famulos tuos*. For the Latin text of the Gregory Sacramentary, see *PL* 78.52. On account of its unusual order, it was characterized as having become a private prayer, see Pantelić, O Kijevskim i Sinajskim listićima, 27–28 and Savić, *Srpska književna reč*, 59.

48 Stankovska, K fototypickému vydání, 466–467; for the Latin text see Vepřek, *Modlidba sv. Řehoře*, 123–131; for the latest overview of Latin witnesses and its relationship to the Slavonic witnesses cf. Vepřžek, K voprosu.

49 Whether this is also true of the Sinaitic Euchologium, written by the same scribe, is not yet clear.

50 See Miklas and Hürner, Westliche Elemente, 14–15, 17 and Miklas *et al*., Preliminary Remarks, 53, 55.

51 Deriving from the Gelasianum and identified by Stefano Parenti (who is currently analyzing the micro-structure of the relevant part of the Liturgiarium) with CO 1061; inc. *Prěgresenię nemošti našeję. Molim sę gospodi – Delicta, domine, quaesumus* (f. 26v, lines 11–16).

52 Cf. Parenti, Glagoličeskij spisok and Parenti, Un testimonio glagolitico. The other liturgies contained in the Liturgiarium, the liturgy of St. Basil and parts of the liturgies of St. John Chrysostom and St. James, are translations from the Greek texts, cf. Parenti, The Krylov-Uspenskij Folia.

53 According to the current order (partly requiring correction) on ff. 15('13')–19.

to Nilus of Rossano (ca. 910–1004) and his flock in the 990s, although the whole compilation was probably composed elsewhere.[54] Moreover, by virtue of some secondary entries by Demetrius, this manuscript is also connected with his Psalter, while the *Missa s. archistrategae Michaelis* (f. 35v) associates the main part with the presumed palimpsest drawing of the saint in the Medical Folia.

The texts and names which Demetrius left behind on the first empty pages in his Psalter and in the first, Petersburg part of the Liturgiarium, can also be linked to his additions to the Kiev Folia as well as to the original content of the Liturgiarium.

First, there is the so-called ‘Prayer against the Wolf’, in which Dana Hürner and I see a hidden attack on Gregory VII’s anti-Slavonic language policy with regard to the liturgical tradition of Croatian Dalmatia.[55] Since the ‘Prayer against the Wolf’ is the first of an entire cycle in which Constantine-Cyril of Thessalonica (Teacher of the Slavs, inventor of the Glagolitic script, and key founder of the Slavonic liturgical language) and the Mother of God and Gregory the Great (both connected with Demetrius’ previous and current place of activity[56]) play the roles of the good heroes, we can conclude that in Demetrius’ despair, St. Michael the Archangel appears as the light-figure announcing the end of the threat by sheathing his sword (here: the knife)—just as he had appeared on top of Hadrian’s Mausoleum in Rome (hence Castel Sant’Angelo) in Gregory the Great’s vision of 590. And second, there is Demetrius’ Diptychon in the St. Petersburg fragment of the Liturgiarium,[57] which he must have added after he noticed that the person who had recorded Apollinaris’ Liturgy in its main part (f. 17v) had omitted the relevant passage in his copy or (rather) translation.[58] The Diptychon also includes the Western names Mastal, Petrunia, and Romald.[59]

Mastal can most probably be identified with Mastulus, Gregory the Great’s valued supporter in the Three Chapter controversy, who was bishop of Sabiona in Southern Tyrol, and also in charge of Istria. Petrunia (Petronia) has been identifed by Maria Pantelić with Petronilla of Rome,[60] whose relics had been transferred to Dubrovnik around 920. And Romald is clearly Romuald of Ravenna, the ardent follower of Apollinaris and founder of the Camaldolese, who exerted great influence on Istria and in Dalmatia.[61] He spent about two years on Istria (approx. 1001–1002), during which he also founded or revitalized several monasteries, of which the abbey of St. Michael’s over the Limfjord (Sv. Mihovil nad Limom, San Michele di Leme) and St. Petronilla in Dvigrad (Duocastelli) deserve special mention in our context.[62] Under the influence of reading the works

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[54] Stefano Parenti (personal communication) thinks in terms of an Italo-Greek centre in southern Italy. Comparable examples suggestive of a similar background can be found elsewhere. For example, an interesting parallel to the core Latin section is offered by a Trier Missal from the beginning of the 17th century, today part of Cod. Sém. de Luxembourg 4, ff. 15r sqq., cf. Falmagne, *Die Echternacher Handschriften*, 528. M. Pantelić had already traced the origin of the prayer ‘Kiss of the Cross’ (*Oratio in tertia genuflexione*) in the Petersburg part of the Liturgiarium (BRAN 24.4.8, f. 1v, lines 22–26) to sources in the Trier-Mainz-Cologne area, see Parenti, The Krylov-Uspenskij Folia, 8–10 and Miklas *et al*., Preliminary Remarks, 62. Also, the above-mentioned Padua manuscript Bibl. Capit. D. 47, which contains the most relevant parallels to the Kiev Folia (and connects them with the Liturgiarium through the Mass of St. Clement, Sin. slav. NF 5, f. 36r), derives from the lower Rhine area between Aachen and Liège. And in the early Church Slavonic heortological examples, we encounter, besides Roman and Italo-Greek names, elements from the Lower Rhine area (especially Trier), St. Gall, and, in rare cases (such as the one of St. Cuthbert) even of Insular origin; cf. Miklas, Zur Einordnung des Westgutes, 119–122. All these connections will have to be reviewed again, taking into account the ‘oriental connection’.

[55] For the following see Hürner, *Paläographie und Graphematik*, 382–391, and Miklas *et al.*, Preliminary Remarks, 56–58.

[56] While the monastery on the Sinai was dedicated to the Mother of God and at that time still exclusively known as ‘Panagia’, pope Gregory I.—because of his great attention to and care for the Sinai and Jerusalem—remained highly esteemed by the Sinaitic monks until the 14th century, see Miklas *et al*., Preliminary Remarks, 63, and more generally, Brown, Imagining, Imaging, and Experiencing the East, 59, 76, 77, 78, 81–82, Brown, The Bridge in the Desert, 74sqq., 89, 90, 93.

[57] Here RNB glag. 2; cf. the whole diptychon in Miklas *et al*., Preliminary Remarks, 44.

[58] Even more indicative is the fact that in the enumeration of holy names on f. 16r, Roman saints are eliminated, while on f. 18v, after Clemens Romanus, the teachers of the Slavs appear (‘...*Clemente,* Cyrillo et Methodio *et omnibus sanctis tuis*’).

[59] On the following see Pantelić, O Kijevskim i Sinajskim listićima, 33–41, Miklas and Hürner, Westliche Elemente, 316, 317, and Miklas *et al*., Preliminary Remarks, 43–48, 52, 55, 60–62.

[60] Pantelić, O Kijevskim i Sinajskim listićima, 34–35, and Miklas *et al*., Preliminary Remarks, 44 fn. 87.

[61] Miklas *et al*., Preliminary Remarks, 45–47.

[62] For Istrian monasteries connected with Romuald and his followers see Hürner, *Paläographie und Graphematik*, 363 and the articles of S. J. Škunca (kamaldolci), R. Matijašić and S. Mustač (Kloštar), I. Jurković (Acika) and Đ. Križman-Zorić (Anson), in Bertoša and Matijašić, *Istarska enciklopedija*.

of John Cassian and others, he encouraged his pupils to go to Egypt, Syria, Mount Sinai, and Mount Athos.[63]

While the topics in this short sketch will surely continue to occupy us in the future, a brief conclusion is in order: since it was very likely Demetrius who inserted the Medical Folia into his Psalter, the direct and circumstantial evidence presented here speaks in favour of Istria as place of origin of their Latin palimpsest.

ABBREVIATIONS

BRAN = St. Petersburg, Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences
GIM = Moscow, State Historical Museum
NBU = Kiev (Kyiv), National Library of Ukraine
RGB = Moscow, State Library of the Russian Federation
RNB = St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia

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[63] Miklas *et al*., Preliminary Remarks, 47 fn. 91, 63. More generally on the subject see Brown, Imagining, Imaging, and Experiencing the East, 52, Brown, The Bridge in the Desert, 81, and the contributions of Michelle Brown and Father Justin in this volume.

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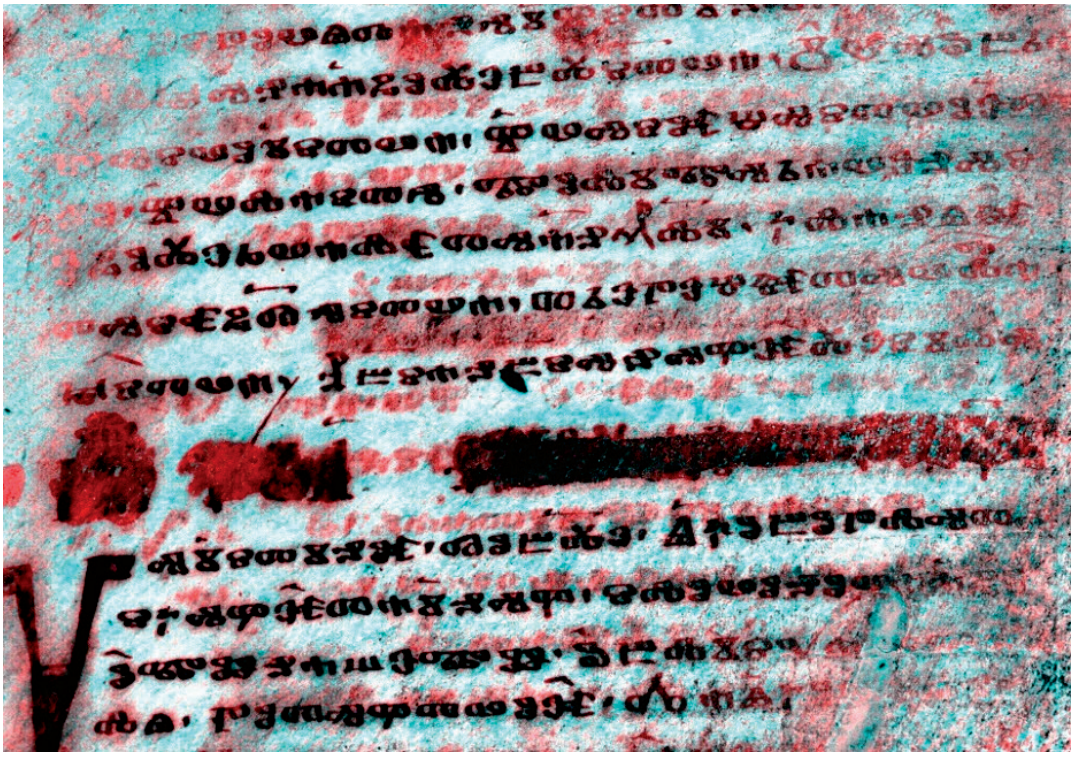


Fig. 1: Cod. Sin. slav. NF 5, f. 39r (excerpt) – Glagolitic underlayer
(© St. Catherine’s Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

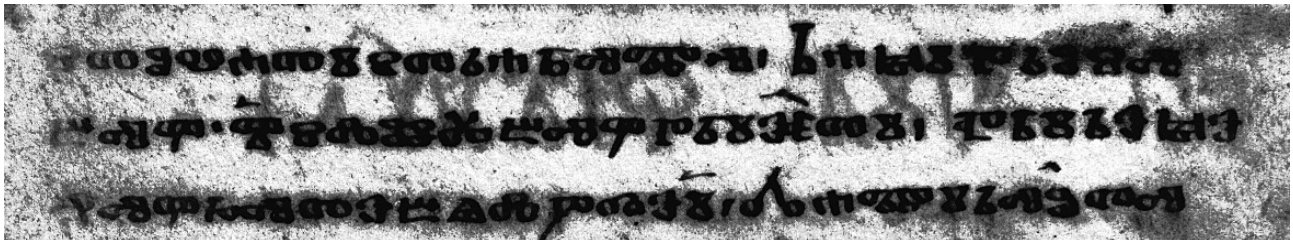


Fig. 2: Cod. Sin. slav. NF 5, f. 24v (excerpt) – Glagolitic palimpsest-headline
(© St. Catherine’s Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

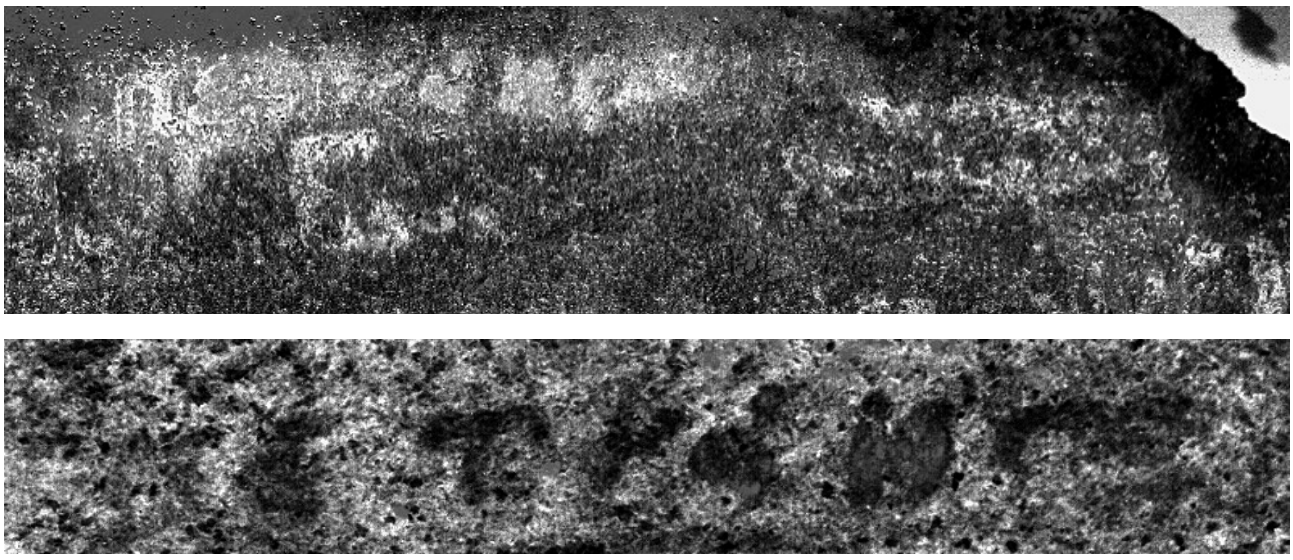


Fig. 3: Cod. Sin. slav. NF 5, f. 32v (excerpts) – Cyrillic palimpsest-passages (© St. Catherine’s Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)

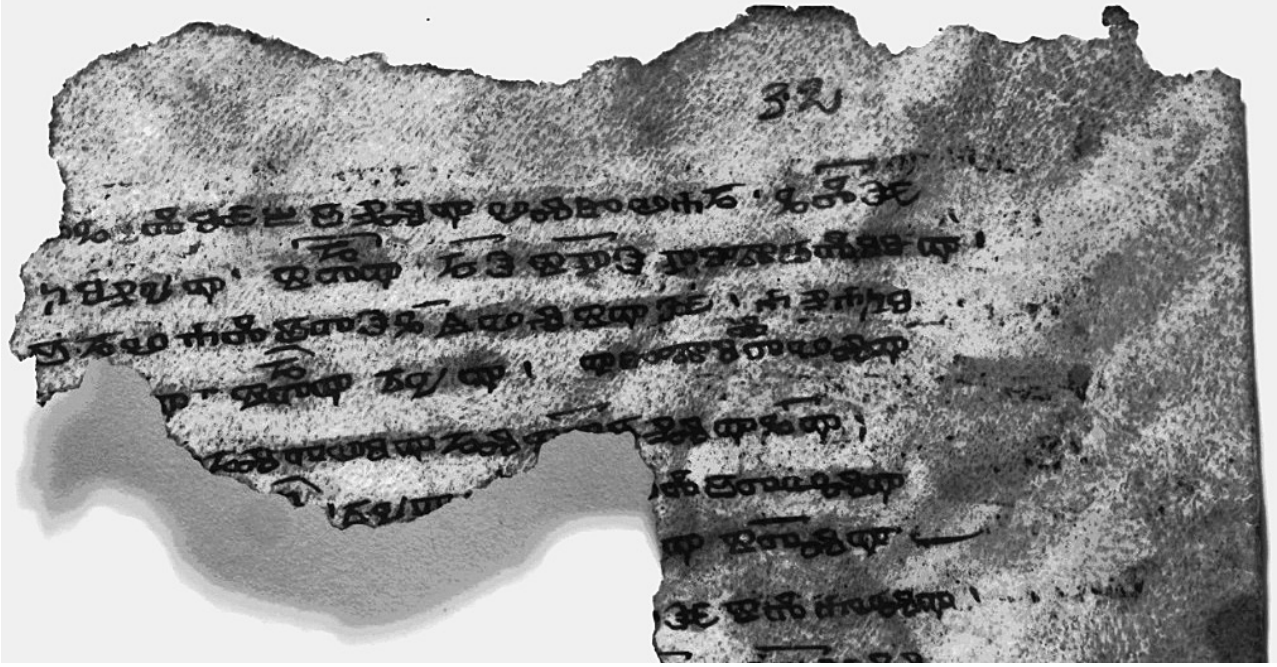


Fig. 4: Cod. Sin. slav. NF 2, f. 32r (excerpt) – traces of Glagolitic underlayer
(© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt, © M. Lettner, F. Kleber, H. Miklas as part of the FWF project P19608)

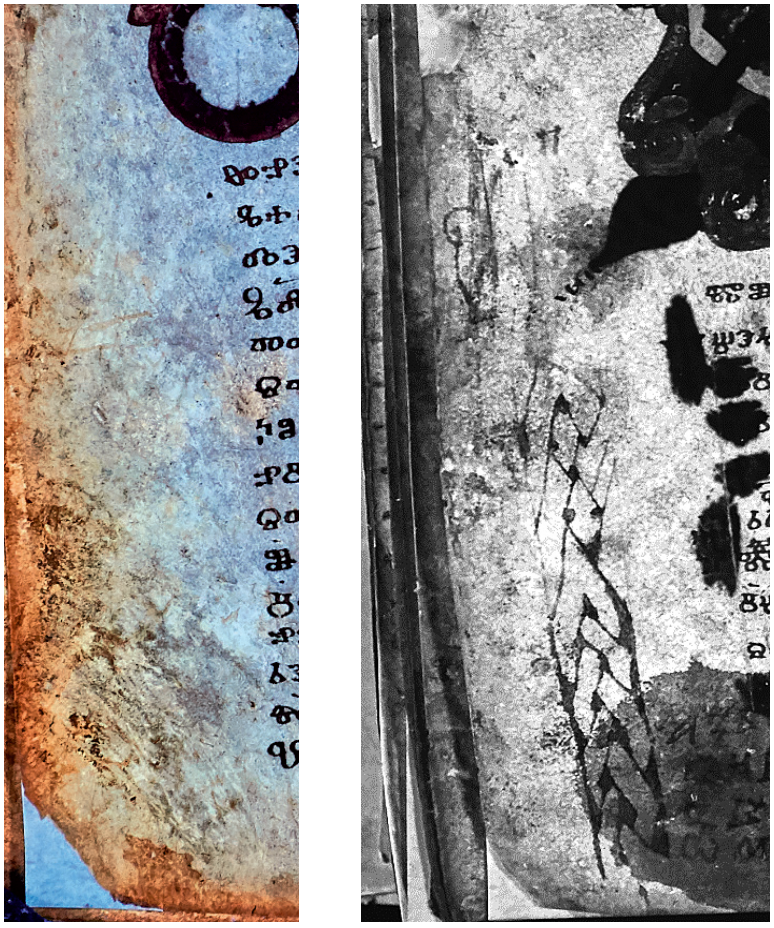
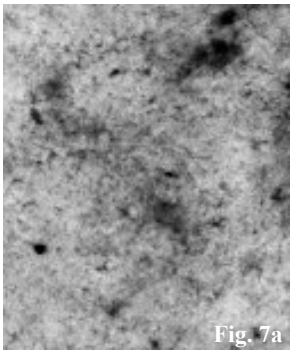


Fig. 5: Cod. Vat. slav. 3 – remainders of braided strips or initials on ff. 156v (left) and 157v (right)
(© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt, © S. Brenner, H. Miklas as part of the FWF-project P29892)

Fig. 6: Cod. Vat. slav. 3 – probable palimpsest traces on ff. 50v (above), 51r (bottom left) and 158r (bottom right)
(© St. Catherine’s Monastery, Sinai, Egypt, © S. Brenner, H. Miklas as part of the FWF project P29892)



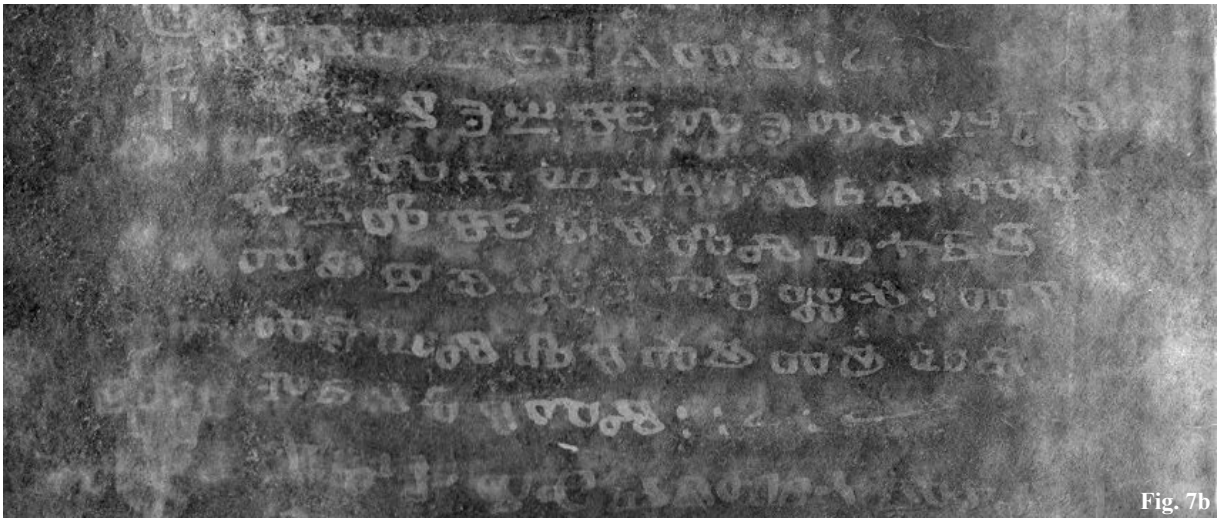


Fig. 7a–c: Glagolitic Medical Folia (inserted in Cod. Sin. slav. NF 3), f. 141av (excerpts) – traces of Latin (7a), Glagolitic (7b) and Cyrillic (Greek?) (7c) underlayers
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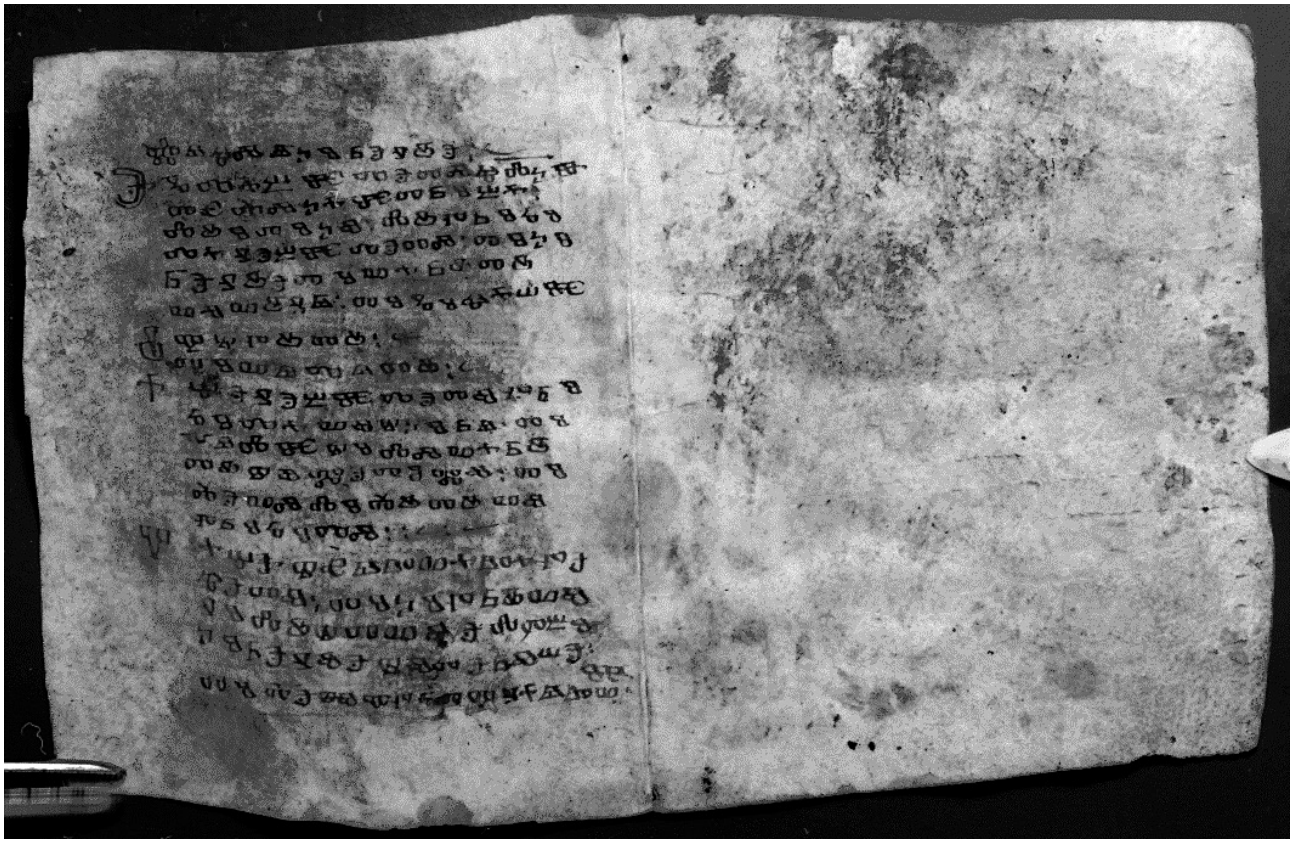

Fig. 8: Glagolitic Medical Folia (inserted in Cod. Sin. slav. NF 3), ff. 141av–141fr (*inter alia* with traces of palimpsest miniatures) (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt, © M. Lettner, F. Kleber, H. Miklas as part of the FWF project P19608)

Fig. 9: Glagolitic Medical Folia (inserted in Cod. Sin. slav. NF 3), f. 141fr – traces of palimpsest miniature (© St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt)