

FORTY EXCERPTS FROM THE GREEK OLD TESTAMENT IN CODEX ROSSANENSIS (ROSSANO, MUSEO DIOCESANO, S.N.), A SIXTH-CENTURY GOSPELS MANUSCRIPT

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Abstract

In a section of introductory material preceding the text of the Gospels, Codex Rossanensis (Rossano, Museo Diocesano, s.n. [Σ, 042]) contains 40 excerpts of the Greek Old Testament. These excerpts accompany miniatures depicting scenes from the Gospels and serve as a commentary, explaining the scenes they depict as fulfilling Old Testament prophecy, but what is their origin? Were they derived or copied from a pre-existing collection? Were they individually and intentionally selected for the production of Codex Rossanensis? In this article, the text of these 40 LXX excerpts is given, and possible clues to identify the source(s) of the excerpts are evaluated. In short, these 40 excerpts do not exhibit the tendencies characteristic of a pre-existing collection, and in many cases there is evidence that they were carefully selected, possibly for liturgical reasons, to accompany and to explain the miniatures in Codex Rossanensis.

I. INTRODUCTION

Hidden in the opening pages of a luxury sixth-century Gospels manuscript are 40 Greek excerpts of the Old Testament.¹ These excerpts are not reported in the most recent edition of Rahlfs's *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*.²

¹ Images of the Miniatures and their accompanying LXX excerpts can be found at www.codexrossanensis.it. I wish to extend my deep gratitude to the anonymous reviewer, whose excellent feedback has greatly improved the article.

Codex Rossanensis is one of the sixth-century Greek 'purple codices' of the Gospels. It contains Matthew's Gospel in its entirety and lacks only the final page of Mark. The text of the gospels is written in silver ink on parchment dyed purple, though the first three lines of each book are written in gold.

² A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, ed. D. Fraenkel (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004). The *Verzeichnis* does include P. Rylands III. 460 (Rahlfs no. 958), which is a testimony collection.

They accompany miniatures in a separate section prior to the Gospel text, and they are written with both a different scribal hand³ and with a different ink.⁴ Each miniature depicts an event from the Gospels, and ten miniatures are each accompanied by four LXX excerpts. The excerpts are presented as prophecies spoken by Old Testament prophets, who appear above the words of the text and point upward to the respective miniatures.

How should these excerpts be classified? Are they derived from a prior written collection, such as a testimony book? After some brief introductory comments and a summary of the criteria for determining an underlying pre-existing collection, I will give the text of the 40 LXX excerpts and test them against these criteria. Through the process of assessing whether or not they constitute a pre-existing collection, it may be possible to further elucidate their nature and presence in a Gospels manuscript.

II. TESTIMONY RESEARCH AND DETERMINING A PRE-EXISTING COLLECTION?

According to Martin Albl, a testimony collection is not merely a collection of extracted Old Testament texts.⁵ Albl argues that a testimony collection, which he defines as a polemical collection of Old Testament passages intended to *prove* that Jesus is the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy, should be distinguished from an extract collection—any collection of Old Testament excerpts, made for any number of reasons.⁶ ‘ECs [i.e. extract collections] and TCs [i.e. testimony collections] may share the

³ G. Cavallo, ‘The Purple Codex of Rossano: Book, Object, Symbol’, in G. Cavallo (ed.), *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: Commentarium*, trans. Salvatore R. C. Lilla (Codices Mirabiles, 1; Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1987), pp. 3–41, at 25–6. Cavallo remarks that ‘upright ogival capital’ (*maiuscola ogivale*) is used for these quotations, whereas the Gospel text was written in biblical capital (*maiuscola biblica*).

⁴ M. Bicchieri, ‘The Purple Codex Rossanensis: Spectroscopic Characterisation and First Evidence of the Use of the Elderberry Lake in a Sixth Century Manuscript’, *Environmental Science and Pollution Research* 21 (2014), pp. 14146–57.

⁵ Because of the space required to test 40 quotations by seven criteria, this section and the conclusions are necessarily brief. For more information on TCs and the history of *testimonia* research, see J. R. Harris, *Testimonies*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916); M. C. Albl, *And Scripture Cannot Be Broken: The Form and Function of the Early Christian Testimonia Collections* (Leiden: Brill, 1999); A. Falcetta, ‘The Testimony Research of James Rendel Harris’, *NovT* 45 (2003), pp. 280–99; D. Lincicum, ‘Paul and the Testimonia: Quo Vademus?’, *JETS* 51 (2008), pp. 297–308.

⁶ Albl, *And Scripture Cannot Be Broken*, p. 65.

same form', he writes, 'but distinctions must be made in function'. A testimony collection seeks to *prove* a claim, while an extract collection 'may have functioned in liturgical, catechetical, or homiletical life-settings'.⁷ However, Albl has been criticized for making such a sharp distinction between testimonia and extract collections.⁸ Albl himself states his 'conviction that the testimony played an essential role in early Christian catechesis and developing self-definition';⁹ if two such documents could share the same form, could not a single document have multiple functions or uses? At what point does a 'testimony collection'—one with polemical intent—become simply a tool for catechesis?¹⁰

The LXX excerpts in Codex Rossanensis certainly constitute a collection of some kind, but testimony research might provide a way to detect a pre-existing collection as their source, if they are derived from one. In the early twentieth century, the testimony scholar J. Rendel Harris identified several criteria for detecting a testimony collection behind a given work.¹¹ Thankfully, Albl gives a helpful summary of Harris's criteria for detecting testimony collections by which one may test the LXX excerpts in Codex Rossanensis.¹² These are:

1. quotations that deviate considerably from known scriptural texts;
2. composite quotations;
3. false attributions;
4. use of the same series of texts in independent authors;

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ C. D. Stanley, 'Review of "And Scripture Cannot Be Broken: The Form and Function of the Early Christian Testimonia Collections"', *JTS* 52 (2001), pp. 293–6.

⁹ *Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa: Testimonies against the Jews*, ed. M. C. Albl (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2004), p. xxi.

¹⁰ More recently, Albl has suggested that testimony collections were used 'perhaps as part of liturgical worship ... or perhaps in a catechetical setting in which the basic creedal teachings were supported by *testimonia*', in 'The *Testimonia* Hypothesis and Composite Citations', in Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn (eds.), *Composite Citations in Antiquity*, vol. 1: *Jewish, Graeco-Roman, and Early Christian Uses* (Library of New Testament Studies, 525; London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 202.

¹¹ Harris, *Testimonies*, vol. 1, p. 8.

¹² *Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa: Testimonies against the Jews*, ed. Albl, pp. xiv–xv; Albl, *And Scripture Cannot Be Broken*, p. 66; Albl, 'The *Testimonia* Hypothesis and Composite Citations', 184. The list is quoted exactly as Albl gave it in *Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa: Testimonies against the Jews*, but reformatted for convenience.

5. editorial or interpretative comments indicative of a collection;
6. evident lack of awareness of the biblical context of a quotation;
7. use of the same exegetical comments in independent authors.

These criteria are useful; documents acknowledged as testimony collections do exhibit a number of them. For example, Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa's *Testimonies against the Jews* contains eighteen quotations with deviant text forms, eight false attributions, and 'often' has composite quotations and parallel series of texts in other Christian writers.¹³ The Coptic Psalms Testimony also contains deviant text forms, false attributions, and parallels with other Christian writers, and shows a lack of awareness of the biblical context of many excerpts.¹⁴

These seven criteria are not without a degree of error in their ability to detect testimony collections. Since Albl maintains that testimony collections were polemical in nature, and since these seven criteria in themselves cannot detect polemical intent, they cannot detect a 'formal' testimony collection. These criteria can, however, detect a pre-existing collection, even if they cannot determine its nature. If the LXX excerpts in Codex Rossanensis comprise or derive from a pre-existing collection of any kind, they should bear some of these marks. By testing the 40 Old Testament quotations in Codex Rossanensis against these seven criteria and examining other features of the pages on which they were written, it may be possible to determine whether they derive from a pre-existing source.

III. THE GREEK OLD TESTAMENT IN CODEX ROSSANENSIS

Before assessing whether the LXX excerpts in Codex Rossanensis represent a pre-existing collection, their text must be presented. Antonio Muñoz reproduced the folios containing the quotations in 1907, but his transcriptions were not without significant errors.¹⁵ Gaetano Passarelli corrected the most severe

¹³ Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa: *Testimonies against the Jews*, ed. Albl, pp. 137–42.

¹⁴ M. C. Albl, "David Sang about Him": A Coptic Psalms Testimonia Collection', *VC* 66 (2012), pp. 398–425, at 403–4.

¹⁵ A. Muñoz, *Il codice purpureo di Rossano e il frammento sinopense; con XVI tavole in cromofototipia, VII in fototipia e 10 illustrazioni nel testo* (Rome: Danesi, 1907).

of Muñoz's mistakes, but did not reproduce the text of the excerpts except where he corrected Muñoz.¹⁶ William Loerke combined the two attempts to reproduce the text of the LXX excerpts, giving the text 'according to Muñoz transcription, except where corrected by Passarelli' [*sic*].¹⁷ Unfortunately, Loerke's transcriptions contain several errors as well.

Below are the Greek texts of the LXX excerpts in Codex Rossanensis, accompanied by English translations.¹⁸ These were first transcribed from the excellent photographs in Guglielmo Cavallo's short book on Codex Rossanensis,¹⁹ then compared to the 1987 reproduction,²⁰ checked against Loerke's transcriptions, and checked a second time against the photographs in Cavallo's work. Finally, the text below was checked against Muñoz's reproduction, which was made before Codex Rossanensis underwent an invasive restoration in 1917–19.²¹ In many cases, Muñoz's images clarify the text of the manuscript. The excerpts are given in the 'original order', as reconstructed by Loerke,²² and the individual excerpts are listed in order from left to right. Ligatures, including *nomina sacra*, are represented by parentheses. For the English translations, *nomina sacra* are represented by SMALL CAPS. The Psalms are cited according to their LXX references throughout this article. Because these excerpts were transcribed from images made both before and after the 1917–19 restoration, I have

¹⁶ G. Passarelli, 'Una rilettura di alcuni cartigli profetici del Codice Purpureo Rossanense', in C. D'Angela (ed.), *Testimonianze cristiane antiche ed altomedievali nella Sibaritide: Atti del convegno nazionale tenuto a Corigliano-Rossano l'11–12 marzo 1978* (Vetere Christianorum: Scavi e ricerche, 3; Bari: Adriatica Editrice, 1980), pp. 265–75.

¹⁷ W. C. Loerke, 'The Rossano Gospels: The Miniatures', in Cavallo (ed.), *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: Commentarium*, pp. 109–71, at 115.

¹⁸ The translations are my own.

¹⁹ G. Cavallo, *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis*, trans. S. Lilla and A.-C. Faitrop Porta (Guide illustrate, 1; Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1992). For the text of the LXX quotations, the photographs in this work are slightly clearer than in the 1987 reproduction.

²⁰ *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis, Rossano Calabro, Museo dell'Arcivescovado: Facsimile* (Codices Mirabiles, 1; Rome: Salerno, 1985).

²¹ Bicchieri writes: 'In 1917–19, the codex was subjected to a restoration treatment carried out by Nestore Leoni, a famous miniaturist ... Unfortunately, Leoni's intervention irreversibly modified the aspect of the illuminated sheets. Nestore Leoni never wrote what materials he used for the restoration. Another cause of deterioration of the manuscript is related to the almost continuous display of the illuminated pages in the museum', in 'The Purple Codex Rossanensis', pp. 14146–7.

²² Loerke, 'The Rossano Gospels: The Miniatures', pp. 111–13.

used the standard transcription sigla to indicate the most visible text from any image.²³

3.1. *Folio 7 verso*

Miniature: The parable of the Good Samaritan

Accompanying text:

περι του εμπεινοντος εις τους ληστας

Concerning the one who fell among thieves.

- 1 δᾶδ (Ps. 93:17) ει μη οτι κ(υριο)ς εβοη|θησεν (μοι)| παρα βρα|
 χυ παρω|κησεν ω|αδη η|ψυχη (μου)| †
 Unless the LORD came to my aid, my soul would have soon dwelt
 in Hades.
- 2 μιχαιας (Mic. 7:19–18) επιστρε|ψει και|οικτιρη|σει ημας|οτι θελη|τησ
 ελε|ους εστι(ν)| †
 He will turn and will have compassion on us, because he is the
 one who desires mercy.
- 3 δᾶδ (Ps. 117:7) κ(υριο)ς εμοι|βοηθου|καγω ε|ποθο|μαι επι|τους
 ε|χθρους|μου| †
 The LORD is my helper, and I will gaze upon my enemies.
- 4 κυραχ (Sir. 18:13) ελεος αν|θρωπου|επι τον|πλησιον|ελεος δε|θ
 (ε)υ επι πα|σαν σαρκα †
 The mercy of a man [is] on his neighbour, but the mercy of GOD
 is on all flesh.

3.2. *Folio 7 recto*

Miniature: The healing of the man born blind

Accompanying text: none

- 1 δᾶδ (Ps. 26:1) κ(υριο)ς φω|τισμος|μου και|ς(ωτ)ηρ μου|τινα
 φο|βηθη|σομαι| †
 The LORD is my light and my SAVIOUR; whom shall I fear?
- 2 κυραχ (Prov. 22:11) αγαπα|κ(υριο)ς καρδι|ας οσιας|δεκτοι|δε
 αυτω|παντες|αμωμοι| †
 The LORD loves the pure of heart, and all who are blame-
 less are acceptable to him.

²³ That is to say, brackets are used only where all images of the text are unreadable. An underdot is used where at least one image shows a partial letter, even if the others do not. If any image contains a clear text, the text is reproduced here without brackets or underdots.

- 3 δᾱδ (Ps. 145:8) κ(υρι)ς σοφοι|τυφλους|κ(υρι)ς ανορ|θου
κα|τερρα|γμε|νους| †
The LORD gives wisdom to the blind; the LORD restores
those who are dashed down.
- 4 ηκαϊας (Isa. 35:5-6) τοτε ανοι|χθησον|ται οφθ(αλ)|μοι τυ|φλων|
και τρα|νη εσται|γλωσσα|μογιλα|λων
Then, the eyes of the blind will be opened, and the tongue
of the mute will shout.

3.3. *Folio I recto*

Miniature: The raising of Lazarus
Accompanying text: none

- 1 δᾱδ (Ode 3:6)²⁴ κ(υρι)ς θανα|τοι κ(αι) ζω|ογονει|καταγει|
εις αδου|κ(αι) αναγει|†
The LORD kills and makes alive; he brings down to Hades
and lifts up.
- 2 ωσηε (Hos. 13:14) εκ χειρος|αδου ρυ|σομαι αυ|τους εκ|
θανατου|λυτρω|σομαι (αυ)|τους|†
I will deliver them from the hand of Hades; I will redeem
them from the hand of death.
- 3 δᾱδ (Ps. 76:15) κυ ει ο θ(εο)ς| ο ποιων |θαυμασι|α μονος|
†
You are the GOD who alone does wonders.
- 4 ηκαϊας (Isa. 26:19) αναστη|γονται|οι νεκρ|οι κ(αι) εγερ|θησον|
ται οι εν|τοις (μνη)|μοις|†
The dead will arise and those who are in tombs will be
raised up.

3.4. *Folio I verso*

Miniature: The Triumphal Entry
Accompanying text: none

- 1 δᾱδ (Ps. 117:26) ευλογη|μενος ο|ερχομε|νος εν ο|νομα|
τι κ(υρι)υ
Blessed is he who comes in the name of the LORD.

²⁴ Also, 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 2:6.

- 2 ζαχαριας (Zech. 9:9) *ειπατε|τη θυγα|τρι ciω(v)|ιδου ο βα|
 ciλευc c(ou)|ερχεται|coi πραuc|κ(αι)
 επιβεβη|κωc επι ο|νον κ(αι) πω|λον
 ὕζιον|ὑποξυγι|ου*

Say to the daughter of Zion: Behold, your king comes to you, meek and embarking upon a donkey and a colt, the son of a beast of burden.

- 3 δᾶδ (Ps. 8:3) *εκ στο|ματος|νηπιω(v)|και θη|λαζον|
 των κα|τηρτι|ζω αι|νον*

Out of the mouth of infants and nursing babies you have prepared praise.

- 4 μαλαχιας (Zech. 14:9) *και εcται|κ(υριο)c ειc βα|ciλεα επι|
 παcαν|την|γην*

And the LORD will be a king over all the earth.

3.5. *Folio 2 recto*

Miniature: The cleansing of the temple

Accompanying text:

περι των εκβληθεντων εκ του ἱερου
 Concerning those cast out of the temple

- 1 δᾶδ (Ps. 68:10) *ο ζηλοc|του οικ(ου)|cou κατα|φαγεται|
 με †*

Zeal for your house will consume me.

- 2 ωcηε (Hos. 9:15) *εκ του|οικου μ(ου)|εκβαλω|αυτουc|ου μη|
 προσθη|cω του|αγαπη|cαι αυ|τουc*

I will cast them out of my house; by no means will I add to loving them.

- 3 δᾶδ (Ps. 8:7-8) *παντα|υπεταξιαc|υποκατω|των πο|δων αυ|
 του προ|βατα κ(αι) βο|αc απαcαc|ετι
 δε κ(αι)|τα κτη(νη)|του πεδι|ου †*

You have put all things under his feet, sheep and all oxen, and yet, even the beasts of the field.

- 4 ηcαιιαc (Isa. 56:7-8) *ο οικoc μου|οικoc προc|ευχηc κλη|θηcεται
 πα|cω τοic ε|θνεcω ει|πεν κ(υριο)c ο cυ|
 ναγαγων|τουc διεc|παρμεν(ου)c|ι(cρα)ηλ †*

My house shall be called a house of prayer for all nations, said the LORD who gathers together those of ISRAEL who are scattered.

- 1 δᾶδ (Ps. 22:2) ἐπι ἰδα|τος ἀνα|παυσε|ως ἐξε|θρεψε(ν)|
 με †
 He leads me beside still waters.
- 2 δᾶδ (Ps. 40:10) ὁ ἐσθιω(ν)|αρτους|μου ἐ|μεγαλυ|νευ ἐ|
 π ἐμε|πτερ|νιςμο(ν)
 The one who eats bread with me makes a great treachery
 against me.
- 3 δᾶδ (Ps. 40:7–8) ἐξεπο|ρευετο|ἐξω και|ελαλει|ἐπι το αυ|
 το κατ ἐ|μου εἰσι|θυριζο(ν)|παντες|οι
 ἐχθροι|μου
 He goes outside, and he speaks; all my enemies whisper
 together against me.
- 4 σοφομας (Zeph. 1:7) ἐλαβι|σθαι ἀπο|προσω|που κ(υρι)υ|
 διοτι η|τοιμασε(ν)|την θυ|σιαν αυ|του †
 Be afraid from the face of the LORD, because he prepared
 his sacrifice.

3.8. Folio 3 verso

Miniature: The Eucharist: the bread

Accompanying text:

λαβων ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς|λεγων τουτο ἐστιν το σωμα μου
 Taking bread [and] giving thanks, he gave to them, saying, 'This
 is my body'.

- 1 δᾶδ (Ps. 33:9) γευσα|σθαι και|ἴδετε ὁ|τι χρη|στος ὁ|
 κ(υρι)ος †
 Taste and see that the LORD is good.
- 2 μωσης (Exod. 16:15) οὗτος ὁ|ἄρτος ὁ(ν)|ἔδωκε(ν)|ἰμῶν|κ(υρι)ος
 ἐκ του|ου(ρα)νου|φαγει(ν)|†
 This [is] the bread, which the LORD gave to you from
 HEAVEN to eat.
- 3 δᾶδ (Ps. 77:24–5) ἄρτον|ου(ρα)νου|ἔδωκε(ν)|αὐτοῖς|ἄρτον|
 ἀγγελω(ν)|ἐφαγεν|ἀν(θρωπ)ος
 Bread from HEAVEN he gave to them; MAN ate the bread of
 angels.

- 4 ησαΐας (Isa. 6:6–7) και απεστα|λη προς με|εν των σε|ραφιν
κ(αι) εν|τη χειρι ει|χεν ανθρα|κα πυρος
κ(αι)|ειπεν προς|με υ(ι)ε αν(θρωπ)ου|
τουτο περι|ελει τας α|μαρτιας σου

And he sent to me one of the seraphim, and he had in his hand a coal of fire, and he said to me, 'SON of MAN, this will take away your sins'.

3.9. Folio 4 recto

Miniature: The Eucharist: the cup

Accompanying text:

λαβων ποτηριον ευχαριστησας εδωκεν αυτοις|λεγων τουτο εστιν το αιμα
μου

Taking the cup [and] giving thanks, he gave to them, saying, 'This is my blood'.

- 1 μωσης (Exod. 24:8) τουτο το|αιμα της|διαθη|κης ης|ενετει|
λατο προς| υμας ο|θ(εο)ς †
This [is] the blood of the covenant, which GOD commanded to you.
- 2 δαδ (Ps. 115:4) ποτηρι|ον σω|τηριον| λημφο|μαι και|
το ονο(μα)|κ(υριο)υ επι|καλεσο|μαι †
I will receive the cup of salvation, and I will call upon the name of the LORD.
- 3 δαδ (Ps. 22:5) και το|ποτηρι|ον σου|μεθυσ|κον με|ωσει
κ(ρα)|τις τον|†
And your cup makes me drunk just like the best [wine].
- 4 κολομων (Sir. 24:21) οι πινο(ν)|τες με |ετι δι|ψησου|σω|†
Those who drink me will still thirst.

3.10. Folio 4 verso

Miniature: Gethsemane

Accompanying text: none

- 1 δαδ (Ps. 108:4) αντι του|αγαπαν|με ενδι|εβαλλον|με εγω δε|
προσευχο|μην
In place of loving me, they stand in my way, but I pray.²⁶

²⁶ The initial *a* of this quotation is enlarged.

- 2 δᾶδ (Ps. 87:3) εἰσελθα|τω ενω|πιον σου|η προς|ευχη|μου
Let my prayer enter before you.
- 3 ιωνας (Jonah 2:8) και ελθοι|προς σε η|προσευ|χη μου|εις ναον|
αγιον|[c]ου
Would that my prayer come to you in your holy temple!
- 4 ναουμ (Nah. 1:7) χρηστος|κ(υριος) τοις υ|πομενου|σιν αυτο(ν)|
εν ημε|ρα θλιψε|ως
The LORD is good to those who endure him in the day of tribulation.

IV. DERIVED FROM A PRE-EXISTING SOURCE? APPLYING THE CRITERIA

Loerke describes the series of miniatures in Codex Rossanensis as ‘an integral unit with its own carefully planned LXX commentary’.²⁷ The question remains: was the Old Testament ‘commentary’ simply copied from an existing collection, or does its origin derive from a different source? If these LXX excerpts were copied from manuscripts that were not collections of Old Testament quotations, their text-critical value is slightly elevated.²⁸ By applying the seven criteria summarized by Albl, we can look for signs that the 40 LXX excerpts are derived from a pre-existing collection of excerpts.

4.1. *Quotations that Deviate Considerably from Known Scriptural Texts*

Harris stated ‘Peculiar Texts’ as his first criterion for determining an underlying testimony collection.²⁹ If the LXX excerpts in Codex Rossanensis derive from a testimony collection, one may expect to see some deviation from the standard LXX text.³⁰ In order to make the data more manageable, I

²⁷ Loerke, ‘The Rossano Gospels: The Miniatures’, p. 110.

²⁸ In the copying process, if these quotations were derived from a pre-existing collection of LXX quotations, the scribe would turn to the particular page of the source where his or her texts were located and copy down four passages listed under the relevant heading. If such a collection were not behind the extracts in Codex Rossanensis, the scribe would have needed to use continuous-text manuscripts, or possibly a lectionary or liturgical book or books as his or her exemplars.

²⁹ Harris, *Testimonies*, vol. 1, p. 8.

³⁰ I have compared each quotation against the volumes in the Göttingen LXX series, with the exception of Prov. 22:11; the Göttingen Proverbs volume has not yet been published.

have separated the quotations into three groups: The Twelve, Psalms and Odes, and other excerpts.

The *Twelve*

- The texts of Jonah 2:8, Nah. 1:7, Hos. 9:15, and Zech. 14:9³¹ agree with Ziegler text.³²
- The text of Mic. 7:19–18 agrees with Ziegler's, except the order is reversed. The addition of *αυτος* is present between the two phrases in the Lucianic recension (including A), hence its presence in the Rahlfs-Hanhart edition,³³ but its absence in Codex Rossanensis may be due to one of a number of factors, including its context.
- Hos. 13:14 is presented as it is in Ziegler edition, but lacking *και*. This omission is not singular; A and several other manuscripts also lack *και*, as does the Masoretic Text.
- Zech. 9:9 differs greatly from the LXX, but it agrees with Zech. 9:9 as it is cited in Matt. 21:5. The text of Matthew's Gospel in Codex Rossanensis is slightly different in the original hand. The text there contains an additional *επι* (*επι ονον και επι πωλον*), but a corrector subsequently erased it.
- The text of Hos. 7:13 is slightly peculiar. The scribe of Codex Rossanensis omits *εισω*, and produces an orthographic variant: *διλαιοι* in place of *δελαιοι*. The orthographic change of *ει* to *ι* is widespread and cannot be considered evidence of a textually deviant exemplar.³⁴ The omission of *εισω* is singular to Codex Rossanensis, but its inclusion is not necessary to convey the meaning of the citation; moreover, including it would probably have pushed the excerpt outside the area allotted for it.

³¹ However, Zech. 14:9 is wrongly attributed to Malachi.

³² *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum 13. Duodecim prophetae*, ed. J. Ziegler (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1943).

³³ *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum iuxta LXX interpretes*, ed. A. Rahlfs and R. Hanhart, rev. edn. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006).

³⁴ F. T. Gignac states that 'There is a very frequent interchange between *ει* and *ι* (whether long or short etymologically) in all phonetic environments throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods', in *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichità, 55; Milan: Istituto editoriale cisalpino-La goliardica, 1976), vol 1, p. 189. Likewise, J. R. Royse considers the *ει/ι* interchange to be so insignificant that he does not record occurrences of it in his exhaustive tome, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (NTTSD 36; Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 79–81.

- Perhaps the most perplexing citation is that of Zeph. 1:7. In addition to two orthographical variants in the same word,³⁵ the excerpt lacks three sections of the LXX text. The scribe omitted references to God and the Lord, as well as the middle section that states that the day of the Lord has drawn near. These changes are unique to Codex Rossanensis.

Only one of the nine excerpts from the Twelve offers any substantial evidence of a pre-existing source (Zeph. 1:7). Six of the excerpts offer no evidence at all, and the evidence of two of the nine is weak at best (Mic. 7:19–18 and Hos. 7:13).

Psalms and Odes

- The texts of Pss. 8:3, 22:2, 26:1, 33:9, 40:7–8, 40:10, 44:15, 77:24–5, 87:3, 93:17, 108:4, 115:4, 117:26, and Ode 3:6 agree with Rahlfs's text; there is a Lucianic variant in Ps. 87:3, but not in any of the other non LXX-deviant texts.³⁶
- Ps. 8:8 contains the Lucianic variant *απαντας* instead of *παντας*.
- Ps. 22:5 is reproduced in the Lucianic form, resulting in the addition of *με* and the change of *ωσ* to *ωσει*.
- Ps. 44:14 is cited in the Lucianic form, *η δοξα της θυγατρος του βασιλεωσ*. Rahlfs's text is *η δοξα αυτης θυγατρος βασιλεωσ*.
- The *αυτους* of Ps. 52:6 is cited as *αυτασ*.³⁷

³⁵ The scribe wrote *ελλαβισθαι* for *ελλαβεισθε*.

³⁶ *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum 10. Psalmi cum Odis*, ed. A. Rahlfs (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979). The Lucianic variant in Ps. 87:3 amounts to the difference of a single vowel: *εισελλατω* (LXX, Codex Rossanensis) against *εισελθετω* (B, L'), though O. von Gebhardt reported that the change from *ε* to *α* is common in the larger, New Testament portion of Codex Rossanensis, in 'Die Evangelien des Matthaeus und des Marcus aus dem Codex Purpureus Rossanensis' (TU 1; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1883), pp. iii–liv, 1–96, at xxxv–xxxvi. Additionally, the quotation of Ps. 33:9 has an orthographic difference (*α*) from Rahlfs's text (*ε*).

³⁷ 'This' David is even shown pointing in the specific direction of the five foolish virgins. The text here is 'They will be put to shame because God has despised them'. Loerke notes that among the LXX quotations in Codex Rossanensis, some of the authors are pointing to specific sections of the miniatures, in 'The Rossano Gospels: The Miniatures', p. 114. Interestingly, the text of Matt. 25:2 in Codex Rossanensis is similarly harmonized; the adjective *φρόνιμοι*, which normally has only masculine forms, is given a feminine ending (*φρονιμαι*) in the light of its reference in context to five women.

- For Ps. 68:10, the scribe gave the form of the text found in John 2:17 (though the difference only amounts to a shift from active to middle voice).³⁸
- To the end of Ps. 76:15, the scribe added *μνοϛ*. There is some Lucianic support for this addition (*L^{pau'}*).
- The preposition *επι* is inserted without LXX support in the citation of Ps. 117:7.³⁹
- The two sense lines are presented in their Lucianic order in the citation of Ps. 145:8.

On the surface level, several of the Psalms excerpts seem to deviate from the standard LXX text. Of the 22 excerpts of Psalms and Odes accompanying the miniatures of Codex Rossanensis, eight contain variant forms of the text. At a closer look, however, it appears that the scribe of Codex Rossanensis was not citing a variant form of the text at all. Five of the eight deviant citations simply follow the Lucianic recension. In only one of the 22 excerpts is there a Lucianic variant that this scribe does not reproduce (Ps. 87:3), and it is the difference of a vowel (*a/ε*). Of the three remaining deviant forms, one is a deliberate editorial change to complement the miniature it accompanies: in Ps. 52:6, rather than write the masculine pronoun, the scribe wrote the feminine form to refer to the ten virgins depicted in the miniature just above the text.

Other excerpts

- The excerpts from Sir. 24:21 and Isa. 26:19 both agree with Ziegler's texts.⁴⁰
- The excerpt of Ex. 16:15, *κ̄̄ υμν* is transposed from its LXX order, but the transposition is widely attested. The phrase *εκ του ο̄ν̄ου* is included. No other manuscript exhibits this inclusion, and the verse does not match its use in John 6. However, Loeke notes that the headings over

³⁸ This is not a Lucianic variant, but it does have support in codices Sinaiticus and Vaticanus.

³⁹ It is possible that it was added due to influence from the preposition *ἐν* in the Masoretic Text, or as further clarification for the verb. Albl writes that 'a reading which deviates significantly from the LXX, and which cannot be explained as a revision towards the Hebrew, may legitimately be considered as possible evidence for the use of a non-biblical collection', in *And Scripture Cannot Be Broken*, p. 101. Even if it is not a revision towards the Hebrew, the addition of *επι* here is hardly a 'significant deviation'.

⁴⁰ *Sapientia Iesu filii Sirach*, in *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, 12.2, ed. J. Ziegler (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965); Ziegler, *Duodecim prophetae*.

the two miniatures of the Eucharist have been altered to create a 'strict parallelism' that is not found elsewhere in the New Testament; '[n]either can it be matched in early liturgical practice'.⁴¹ Perhaps the phrase was included because of the reference to the 'bread of heaven' in Ps. 77:24–5, written adjacent to Exod. 16:15.

- The variant form of Ex. 24:8 is due to the fact that it is cited according to its form in Heb. 9:20.
- In Isa. 6:6–7, the addition of *πυρος* is well attested, after which the excerpt becomes very periphrastic. The content is clearly the incident described in Isa. 6:7,⁴² but the scribe referred to Isaiah as 'son of man'. Only Codex Rossanensis contains this form of the text.
- The excerpt of Isa. 35:5–6 is reproduced just as it is in the LXX, except that two phrases were removed from the middle of the full passage.
- In Isa. 56:7–8, the scribe removed the postpositive *γαρ* (as the verse is quoted in the New Testament), and the verb is changed from the present participle (*συναγαγων*) to the aorist participle (*συναγαγων*). Seven other manuscripts, three of which comprise the *III* subgroup of the Lucianic recension, share the change from present to aorist.⁴³
- Two words are transposed in the excerpt of Prov. 22:11, but a two-word transposition is hardly a 'considerable deviation' from the LXX.⁴⁴
- The omission of *αυτου* and the change of *κυριος* to *θ(εο)ς* in Sir. 18:13 are more likely due to the interpretation of Christ as the good Samaritan in the parable than to a variant form in the source of the excerpt.

⁴¹ Loerke, 'The Rossano Gospels: The Miniatures', p. 137.

⁴² This rules out the possibility of a composite quotation with a passage from Ezekiel.

⁴³ *Isaias*, in *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, 14, ed. J. Ziegler (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939), p. 73. The additional manuscripts, according to Ziegler's apparatus, are 86, 565, 407, and 538. Still, the oldest manuscripts among those seven date to the ninth century, making Codex Rossanensis the oldest support for the aorist participle in v. 8. However, the change could simply be due to a dittography of *-αγ-* in the middle of the word.

⁴⁴ Unfortunately, we still await the Göttingen LXX volume on Proverbs. Rahlfs' LXX, however, gives no support for the transposition.

Of the nine remaining excerpts, seven have variant forms of the LXX text.⁴⁵ However, only one of the seven excerpts (Isa. 6:6–7) could be considered evidence of a pre-existing collection. Two of the seven are only possible evidence (Exod. 16:15 and Isa. 35:5–6).

Summary. There does not seem to be much evidence for a pre-existing collection of LXX quotations as the source of the 40 excerpts in Codex Rossanensis based on the criterion of deviating text-forms. Only two of the 40 excerpts deviate ‘significantly’ from known text-forms (Zeph. 1:7 and Isa. 6:6–7). The text of the Psalms in these excerpts suggests that the Psalms quotations might derive from a Psalter that had a Lucianic text.

4.2. Composite Quotations

Edwin Hatch identified the phenomena of instances of writers in the New Testament and early church fathers who ‘blended several passages into one’ as ‘relics of such manuals’, which ‘would consist of extracts from the Old Testament’.⁴⁶ Since Hatch, the presence of composite quotations has been taken up in *testimonia* research as a criterion by which works with potential underlying testimony collections are evaluated.⁴⁷ None of the 40 LXX excerpts in Codex Rossanensis are composite quotations. However, many of Hatch’s examples of composite quotations in the Fathers are several lines long and would not have fit into the space that the scribe of Codex Rossanensis had available. It may be the case that the scribe did not have enough room to write composite quotations in the space allocated for LXX excerpts in Codex Rossanensis. Nevertheless, many of the LXX excerpts in Codex Rossanensis consist of two phrases, and a composite excerpt of a similar length as the one Hatch identifies in *Barn.* 5:13 would have fitted in the space available.⁴⁸ The absence of composite quotations is not a strong argument for

⁴⁵ These are Exod. 16:15, 24:8, Prov. 22:11, Sir. 18:13, Isa. 6:6–7, 35:5–6, and 56:7–8.

⁴⁶ E. Hatch, ‘On Composite Quotations from the Septuagint’, in *Essays in Biblical Greek* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889), pp. 203–14, at 203.

⁴⁷ Albl summarizes the history of *testimonia* research in his literature review, including how composite quotations have been discussed, in *And Scripture Cannot Be Broken*, pp. 7–65.

⁴⁸ Hatch, ‘On Composite Quotations from the Septuagint’, p. 207; *Barn.* 5:13 contains ‘Pierce my flesh with nails [Ps. 118:20], for bands of evil men have risen up against me [Ps. 21:17]’, in *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*, ed. M. W. Holmes, updated edn. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 1999).

or against the use of a pre-existing collection as the source of the 40 LXX quotations in Codex Rossanensis.

4.3. *False Attributions*

False attributions could point to a pre-existing source of the LXX excerpts in Codex Rossanensis. If the scribe copied them from a book that contained lists of excerpts, he or she would have greater opportunity to err by attributing quotations to the wrong Old Testament author. The 40 excerpts in Codex Rossanensis can be divided into two groups: those attributed to prophets other than David and those attributed to David.

False attribution to prophets other than David

- Zech. 14:9 is attributed to Malachi (*μαλαχιας*) in fol. 1^v.
- Sir. 24:21 is attributed to Solomon (*κολομων*) in fol. 4^r.
- Prov. 22:11 is attributed to Sirach (*σιραχ*) in fol. 7^r.

These three falsely attributed quotations offer mixed evidence of a pre-existing collection. The false attribution of Zech. 14:9 to Malachi could indeed indicate dependence on a tradition of scriptural extracts. However, the other two false attributions could be due to the scribe confusing authors in the Wisdom writings. Of the 40 LXX excerpts in Codex Rossanensis, only three come from the Wisdom books (not including the Psalter), and two of these three are falsely attributed.

‘False’ attribution to David (*δαδδ*)

- Ps. 44 (quoted twice on fol. 2^v) is a song of the sons of Korah.
- Ps. 76:15 (fol. 1^r) is a song of Asaph.
- Ps. 145 (fol. 7^r) bears the attribution in v. 1 ‘Of Haggai and Zachariah (*Αγγαιου και Ζαχαριου*)’.
- Ode 3:6⁴⁹ (1 Kgs. [1 Sam.] 2:6; fol. 1^r) is a line from the prayer of Hannah.

Attribution to David is inconclusive evidence for an underlying excerpt collection. The Coptic Psalms Testimony introduces each excerpt with the words ‘And David sang about him, saying’, but among its excerpts are Ps. 44:7 (a song of the sons

⁴⁹ The citation of 1 Kgs. 2:6 (1 Sam. 2:6) to David makes more sense not as a citation of 1 Kings, but of Ode 3, where the prayer is reproduced as a hymn.

of Korah), and Ps. 77:65 (a song of Asaph).⁵⁰ However, attribution to David, both in the Coptic Psalms Testimony and in Codex Rossanensis, reflects not dependence on pre-existing extract collections, but the general practice of regarding David as the (single) author of the Psalms. The *Apostolic Constitutions* attributes Psalm 45 (sons of Korah) to David,⁵¹ and Augustine's position, on the Davidic authorship of all the Psalms,⁵² 'tended to prevail' among Christians into the Middle Ages, according to Harry P. Nasuti.⁵³ It is not inconceivable that the scribe could have referenced these Psalms and Ode quotations collectively as the work of David even though some individual Psalms and hymns were attributed to others, especially if he or she copied them from a single Psalter.⁵⁴

Summary. Based on the criterion of false attributions, it is possible, though unlikely, that the 40 LXX quotations derive from a pre-existing collection of extracts. Only three quotations are falsely attributed in a way that could provide evidence of such an underlying source (Zech. 14:9, Sir. 24:21, and Prov. 22:11). Attribution of all of the excerpted Psalms to David is not evidence of an underlying collection.

4.4. Use of the Same Series of Texts in Independent Authors

Space prohibits an exhaustive comparison of Codex Rossanensis with all other early Christian authors, but a few observations may be made. The selection of text quoted in Codex Rossanensis is compared with Cyprian's *Ad Quirinum testimonia adversus Judaeos* (c.248), Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa's *Testimonies against the Jews* (c.400) and the Coptic Psalms Testimony (which Albl dates to the fifth century).⁵⁵ As Albl has stated, a single category is insufficient to identify an underlying excerpt collection, so the comparisons in this criterion are limited for the sake of brevity.

⁵⁰ Albl, 'David Sang about Him'.

⁵¹ *Const Ap.V.20* (ANF 7:448).

⁵² See Augustine, *Civ.* 17.14. My thanks to M. J. J. Hoskin for this reference.

⁵³ H. P. Nasuti, *Defining the Sacred Songs: Genre, Tradition and the Post-Critical Interpretation of the Psalms* (JSOTSup 218; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), p. 137.

⁵⁴ Such a practice is not unlike the 19th-century pastor Charles Haddon Spurgeon's commentary on the Psalms, which he titled *The Treasury of David*.

⁵⁵ Albl, 'David Sang about Him'.

Cyprian does cite a few of the same verses in *Ad Quirinum*⁵⁶ (Pss. 33:9, 52:6, 117:8, 117:26, Mic. 7:18, Nah. 1:7, Zeph. 1:7, and Zech. 9:9). However, Cyprian's series of quotes and the groups of four in Codex Rossanensis are independent of each other.

- None of the 22 Psalms excerpts appear in the extant parts of the Coptic Psalms Testimony. However, the Coptic Psalms Testimony seems to be arranged thematically in three sections: Christ's infancy, passion, and resurrection/ascension.⁵⁷ Since the Gethsemane scene is the only surviving miniature in Codex Rossanensis with accompanying excerpts that fits into any of these three categories, the absence of parallels in the Coptic Psalms Testimony is evidence neither for nor against a pre-existing collection of excerpts.
- Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa's *Testimonies against the Jews* has two quotations in common with Codex Rossanensis. Like Codex Rossanensis, Pseudo-Gregory quotes Ps. 40:10 with reference to Judas, but it is the only Old Testament passage cited in its section, *Περὶ προδοσίας* ('Concerning Betrayal'). Pseudo-Gregory also quotes Isa. 35:5–6 but does not use any of the other verses used on fol. 7^r in Codex Rossanensis.
- There is overlap in the use of some of these texts in similar groupings elsewhere, but their collected use seems to be liturgical. Loerke shows how the LXX excerpts can be divided into 20 pairs and that the placement of a Psalm as the first in each pair in all but three citations (one of which is an Ode) reflects the format of the Jerusalem liturgy.⁵⁸ Basing his conclusions on Michel Tarchnischvili's work,⁵⁹ Loerke discusses fol. 3^r (the Last Supper and Christ washing Peter's feet) as an example of

⁵⁶ Cyprian, *Sancti Cypriani Episcopi Opera. Ad Quirinum, Ad Fortunatum*, ed. R. Weber (CCSL 3; Turnhout: Brepols, 1972).

⁵⁷ Albl, 'David Sang about Him', pp. 399–400.

⁵⁸ W. C. Loerke, 'The Monumental Miniature', in *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art* (Princeton: Trustees of Princeton University, 1975), pp. 61–97, at 69.

⁵⁹ M. Tarchnischvili, *Le Grand Lectionnaire de l'église de Jérusalem: (V^e–VIII^e siècle)*, 2 vols. (CSCO 189 and 205; Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus SCO, 1959).

the liturgical influence on Codex Rossanensis. He deserves to be quoted in full:

The three Psalm verses on this page were used in services on Holy Thursday in fifth-century Jerusalem. Psalm 22:2 is prescribed in the canon as a *stichos* preceding four New Testament lessons, which included 1 Corinthians 11:23–42, the Communion; Matthew 26:20–24, the Last Supper; and John 13:3–30, the Washing of the Feet. The verses from Psalm 40, aimed against Judas, prefaced a reading of Matthew 26:2–16, which ends with Judas' resolution to betray Christ ... On this page, as in the liturgy, we pass verbally from Psalm 40 to Matthew 26, verse 21 in the inscription and visually to verse 23 in the miniature. The whole page is surely a liturgical composition, recalling to the reader the divine service in which the life of Christ annually unfolded before him in carefully selected and integrated readings from Psalms, the Prophets, and the Gospels.⁶⁰

Elsewhere, Loerke argues that at least some of the LXX excerpts on fols. 1^v (Entry to Jerusalem), 3^v (Eucharist: Bread), 4^r (Eucharist: Wine), 4^v (Christ in Gethsemane), 7^r (Man born blind), and 7^v (Good Samaritan) have a connection to early Christian liturgy.⁶¹

4.5. Editorial or Interpretative Comments Indicative of a Collection

The criterion of 'editorial or interpretative comments indicative of a collection' is difficult to assess in the case of Codex Rossanensis. If the scribe used an excerpt collection organized into units as the source of the 40 LXX quotations, the particular quotations in Codex Rossanensis could be merely the first four texts given under each unit in the collection. However, Harris's seven criteria for detecting underlying pre-existing collections are usually applied to literary texts, not artwork accompanied by LXX excerpts as is the case in Codex Rossanensis.⁶² The closest approximation to such information is the way the texts are used alongside the miniatures they accompany. In order to assess evidence of a collection through 'editorial or interpretative comments', each page must be evaluated as a whole and the

⁶⁰ Loerke, 'The Monumental Miniature', pp. 72–3. Loerke, however, does not explain the use of Zeph. 1:7.

⁶¹ Loerke, 'The Rossano Gospels: The Miniatures', pp. 126–45.

⁶² After giving the criteria for detecting pre-existing collections, Albl cites the existence of such collections as further proof of their use, indicating that the criteria are intended to detect a pre-existing collection in instances where there is no apparent collection, such as literary texts, in *And Scripture Cannot Be Broken*, p. 66.

relationship between text and miniature examined. Loerke maintains that the placement of the excerpts below miniatures is often deliberate.⁶³ If he is correct, the relationship between text and miniature would be evidence that the excerpts were carefully selected, not copied from a pre-existing collection. For the sake of brevity, only three test-cases are discussed here.

Folio 1^r (The Raising of Lazarus)

There is no inscription above this miniature. Christ stands to the left of the centre with his arm extended, while Mary and Martha kneel before him. At the right of the scene, Lazarus stands in the doorway of a tomb. He is still wrapped in burial clothes (John 11:44) and is being helped out by a man who has his nose covered (11:39).

The first David and Hosea point to the right. David proclaims, 'The LORD kills and makes alive; he brings down to Hades and lifts up' (Ode 3:6). Hosea points right to Lazarus; the text says, 'I will deliver them from the hand of Hades; I will redeem them from the hand of death' (Hos. 13:14). The second David points left, proclaiming 'You are the GOD who alone does wonders' (Ps. 76:15). Isaiah also points left but indicates Lazarus, who stands above him. The text below Isaiah says, 'The dead will arise and those who are in tombs will be raised up' (Isa. 26:19). Each David points and refers to Christ; each prophet (after David) points and refers to Lazarus.

The relationship between the selection of texts and the miniature it accompanies points to intentionality on the part of the scribe and artist. The prophets' ability to point to the figure to whom their text refers is made possible only by this relationship. Both Davids refer to Christ, though they are pointing in opposite directions. Christ stands slightly to the left of the centre of the miniature, directly above the figure of Hosea. Hosea and Isaiah both refer to Lazarus, the figure furthest to the right of the scene.

Folio 2^v (The Wise and Foolish Virgins)

The section heading for Matt. 25:1 as it is written in the margins above the Gospel text in Codex Rossanensis, 'Concerning the 10 Virgins' (*περι των ·ι· παρθενων*) is written above the miniature. Christ stands at the centre of the miniature in front of a closed door. The wise virgins are clothed in white robes and positioned

⁶³ Loerke, 'The Rossano Gospels: The Miniatures', pp. 114, 130-1.

to his right, walking onwards with their lamps still lit. On the other side of the door, the foolish virgins are clothed in colourful robes, but their lamps are nearly extinguished. The virgin who knocks on the door carries her lamp haphazardly on her shoulder, and the two figures farthest from the door have lost their lamps completely. One extinguished lamp lies on the ground next to them.

David is the figure above the first three Old Testament excerpts. The first two Davids point and look across to the wise virgins, proclaiming, 'The virgins will be carried off to the king after her' (Ps. 44:15) and 'All the glory of the king's daughter [is] from within' (Ps. 44:14). The third David and Hosea look and point in the opposite direction to the foolish virgins. Their accompanying texts say, 'They will be put to shame because GOD has despised them' (Ps. 52:6) and 'Woe to them because they have turned away from me; [they are] wicked because they acted ungodly to me' (Hos. 7:13).⁶⁴

Significantly, Ps. 44:14 is written after v. 15 as a separate excerpt. If the LXX excerpts are understood as commentary on the miniature, the scribe's placement fits well. The two verses, read in this order, show an exegetical progression. The first excerpt describes what will happen—the virgins will be carried off to the king. The second excerpt, on the other hand, explains how they arrive at this state—their glory is from within. This exegetical progression is exhibited in the placement of the other two excerpts below this miniature as well. The first excerpt proclaims that the foolish virgins will be put to shame. The second excerpt explains their coming shame—they turned away from Christ. The overall arrangement of texts and miniature in the case of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, like that of the Raising of Lazarus, points to intentionality in the creation of the page.

Folio 3^r (The Last Supper and Washing Peter's Feet)

The double miniature features two separate scenes. Each scene is accompanied by an excerpt from the Gospels. The scenes are not equally distributed on the page; the Last Supper takes up twice the amount of space as the Washing of Peter's Feet. In the depiction of the Last Supper, Christ reclines at the left end of a

⁶⁴ Loerke mentions the placement of the quotations in relation to the group each one addresses, saying, '[T]he fates of the wise and foolish virgins, divided by the closed door in the miniature, are also sharply contrasted by the two pairs of quotations from the Old Testament', in 'The Rossano Gospels: The Miniatures', p. 131.

semi-circular table. His disciples recline around it with Peter at the opposite end. Judas, the sixth figure from Christ, dips his hand into the dish. Loerke describes the scene: 'Christ's right arm and hand are extended in the gesture of speech, signifying that he is uttering the words inscribed above the miniature', 'Truly, I say to you that one of you will betray me' (Matt. 26:21).⁶⁵ In the other scene, the eleven crowd around Christ and Peter. Christ stoops to wash Peter's feet, immersed in a basin; Peter extends his hands ('Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head', John 13:9). Above the scene is the text of John 13:8, 'Peter said to him, "You will never wash my feet!"'

The accompanying excerpts to this double miniature cannot be read as pairs, unlike both previous examples. The asymmetry is fitting in this case since visually the two scenes are not given equal space above the excerpts. The first David points to the foot-washing scene at the far right of the page. The excerpt is from Ps. 22:2 ('He leads me beside still waters'). The other two Davids and Zephaniah all refer to Judas, who is shown dipping bread in the miniature of the Last Supper.⁶⁶ The two Davids proclaim, 'The one who eats bread with me makes a great treachery against me' (Ps. 40:10) and 'He goes outside, and he speaks; all my enemies whisper together against me' (Ps. 40:7-8). Also pointing to Judas, Zephaniah offers a warning, 'Be afraid from the face of the Lord, because he prepared his sacrifice' (Zeph. 1:7).

Loerke argues that some of the miniatures in Codex Rossanensis 'have clearly been copied from something, whether another miniature or a monumental prototype'.⁶⁷ Specifically, he

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Cf. Loerke, who groups the four LXX quotations into two pairs, adding: 'The left pair addressed the Footwashing; the right, the Last Supper. The inner member of each pair addressed Judas'; *ibid.*, p. 134. However, the second David in the first pair must refer to Judas in the depiction of the Last Supper; Judas is indistinguishable in the footwashing scene.

⁶⁷ Loerke, 'The Monumental Miniature', p. 73. Although Loerke does argue that some of the miniatures were copied from pre-existing models, this article is concerned with the source(s) of the accompanying texts. One might suggest that both the miniature and its accompanying texts were copied from a model, but such a suggestion could only be speculation. Four factors suggest that the 40 LXX excerpts were copied independently of the miniatures:

1. David's crown is remarkably consistent in each of David's 22 appearances, and its style is more consistent with a late date of composition than an earlier one (Loerke, 'The Rossano Gospels: The Miniatures', pp. 165-6). If the scribe/artist merely copied these figures and texts from a pre-existing model, one might see either an older style of crown (as is the case in Codex

cites the 'poorly aimed' gaze of the apostles at the Last Supper and the 'cramping dislocation in the *Washing of the Feet*' as evidence of their dependence on some previous image.⁶⁸ However, the artist and scribe do seem to have worked in harmony on this page. The prophets are able to point to their referents only because the artist depicted the scene in a way that allows them to do so. The artist could have given the two scenes equal space, but instead he or she depicted the scenes in such a way that the Last Supper is given the larger area, and the texts are selected and arranged in a way that is consistent with the work of the artist.

Like the citations of Psalm 44 below the miniature of the Parable of the Ten Virgins, two citations of Psalm 40, out of order, accompany the depiction of the Last Supper. Ps. 40:10 precedes Ps. 40:7–8, and each text is a separate excerpt. Both texts refer to Judas. The reversed order of the citations is due to their use here: these two citations are presented chronologically. Judas, the one who makes a great treachery against Christ, eats with Christ before he goes outside (John 13:30).

Summary. Intentionality can be seen in the layout and content of each of the three pages discussed here. If the artist and the scribe were not the same person, they must have been two individuals working together closely. In each of the examples presented, the prophets point to the part of the miniature to which

Sinopensis) or inconsistency among the 22 necessary 'updates' to David's crown.

2. Some prophets are depicted differently in successive appearances. The depictions of Hosea and Isaiah are inconsistent; both prophets are variously depicted as younger or older (*ibid.*, p. 122). Such a mistake is easy to understand if the artist were creating the images, but if he or she were merely copying them, the act of copying would provide the opportunity to correct this mistake.

3. In two places in Codex Rossanensis—once below the miniature of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, and once in the Gospel text of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins in Matthew 25, the grammatical form of a word is altered to clarify that the text refers to women. These changes result in singular readings in each place, suggesting that the changes in each place were the result of the same scribe or at least were made under the direction of a single person in authority over the production of the codex (see n. 37 above).

4. In spite of the 'readjusting' some of the miniatures underwent—specifically, the cramped depiction of the Washing of Peter's Feet or the 'poorly aimed' gaze in the Last Supper—the prophets below still refer to the correct sections of the miniatures. If the prophets and their texts were copied with the miniatures, one would expect to see some examples of incorrect emphases, as one observes in the miniatures themselves.

⁶⁸ Loerke, 'The Monumental Miniature', pp. 73–8.

their accompanying text refers. Below the Raising of Lazarus, for example, each of the four prophets points to the correct referent of his respective text, despite the organization of the four into two pairs pointing in opposite directions. Accompanying the Parable of the Ten Virgins, the four excerpts are also organized into pairs, each of which demonstrate exegetical progression in commentary about the group of virgins to which the pair points. In the case of the Last Supper and Washing of Peter's Feet, the unequal emphasis of the excerpts parallels the unequal emphasis given to the two scenes by the artist—three excerpts refer to the scene given visual dominance, and only one refers to the smaller scene given less space. The layout of each page as a whole demonstrates that excerpts on a given page have a much closer relationship with the miniatures they accompany than with groups of excerpts on other pages.

4.6. Evident Lack of Awareness of the Biblical Context of a Quotation

C. H. Dodd has argued that 'at a very early date a certain method of biblical study was established' by which a Christian biblical scholar would reference verses from the Old Testament functioning 'rather as pointers to the whole context than as constituting testimonies in and for themselves'.⁶⁹ Donald Juel, in response to Dodd, was correct to point out that 'Christian interpreters, like their Jewish contemporaries, were capable of abstracting a verse or a sentence from its literary context to make a point or to discover a new truth in it'.⁷⁰ Since early Christians were not bound to context, an 'evident lack of awareness of the biblical context' of a quotation is not strong evidence of a pre-existing collection, but consistency with biblical context may be evidence against one. For the sake of space, the texts on just two of the five folios are considered. Only texts which seem to be explicitly relevant or irrelevant when considered in their Old Testament contexts are discussed.

Folio 3^r (The Last Supper and Washing Peter's Feet)

Loerke has demonstrated that three of the LXX excerpts on fol. 3^r are dependent on the liturgical tradition, but scriptural

⁶⁹ C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures: The Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology* (London: Nisbet & Co., Ltd., 1952), p. 126.

⁷⁰ D. Juel, *Messianic Exegesis: Christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), p. 21.

context is the only explanation for the fourth, Zeph. 1:7.⁷¹ Pointing to Judas dipping his bread with Christ, the prophet says 'be afraid from the face of the Lord, because he prepared his sacrifice'. However, Zeph. 1:2–6 speaks of the destruction the Lord will bring. The passage speaks broadly at first, but by v. 6 it narrows down to 'those who have turned back from following the Lord'. In context, it is a fitting verse for Judas. As the other three verses were used liturgically, biblical context is the best explanation for the presence of Zeph. 1:7 here.

Folio 3^v (Eucharist: the Bread)

Although the heading of Psalm 33 identifies its occasion as when David 'changed his face before Abimelech', the immediate context of vv. 9–11 speak to a wider audience: 'Fear the Lord, you, his saints, because there is no lack for those who fear him' (v. 10). In Codex Rossanensis, reproduced below the apostles receiving the Eucharist, the context of Ps. 33:9 referring to the Lord's saints is fitting. Loerke also draws a connection to v. 6; 'hasten to him and be enlightened', commenting that it is the reason 'for the quick pace of two apostles and for the upraised arms of the one who has "tasted" the Bread and is, therefore, "enlightened"'.⁷² Exod. 16:15 and Ps. 77:24–5 seem to be taken out of context at first glance; both refer to the Manna from heaven in Exodus 16. However, Loerke mentions that both texts were paraphrased and used together on Holy Thursday in the Jerusalem liturgy.⁷³ Though they may be taken out of biblical context, they were selected here because of liturgical use. Similarly, Isa. 6:6–7 seems to be taken out of context, but Loerke notes that it was used in the Liturgy of John Chrysostom for when a deacon receives the Eucharist.⁷⁴

Folio 7^v (the Good Samaritan)

The LXX excerpts under the miniatures of the Good Samaritan make sense in the light of the interpretation of Christ as the Good Samaritan, as it is depicted in the miniature. The 'neighbour' of the parable is not merely a downcast soul, but one who

⁷¹ Loerke, 'The Monumental Miniature', p. 72; Loerke, 'The Rossano Gospels: The Miniatures', p. 134.

⁷² Loerke, 'The Rossano Gospels: The Miniatures', pp. 137–8. Loerke also notes that Psalm 33 was sung liturgically as the communion hymn, and that v. 9 was the congregational response.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 137, n. 75.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

has fallen among thieves, as the title to the miniature makes clear. In the light of the neighbour and his adversaries, the thieves, Pss. 93:17 and 117:7 are contextually appropriate. Although the beginning of Psalm 93 deals with the Lord's vengeance against evil-doers, the psalm shifts to the Lord's care for his people ('The Lord will not forsake his people', v. 14). Similarly, Psalm 117 deals with victory in the Lord over adversaries. Ps. 117:13 states 'I was pushed, overturned and fallen, and the Lord came to my aid'. The context of Micah 7 also demonstrates intentionality in the selection and placement of Mic. 7:19–18. Earlier in Mic. 7:5, Micah says 'put no trust in friends and do not hope in your partner', but the promise is given that the Lord is faithful and will come to the aid of his people. Jesus asks, 'Who of these three seems to you to have been the neighbour of the one fallen among thieves?' (Luke 10:36). 'The one who had mercy on him' (10:37); Christ is the one who had compassion, because he is the one who desires mercy.

Folio 7^r (Healing of the Man Born Blind)

Ps. 26:1 (LXX) seems out of place below the miniature of the man born blind (John 9:1–7), until one considers the scriptural context. Psalm 26 speaks of the Lord's provision and offers comfort in the face of difficulties. Its use with the man born blind is especially fitting in the light of the Psalmist's request 'to see the pleasure of the Lord' in v. 4. Isa. 35:5–6 seems out of biblical context, where it sits within a prophecy of the redeemed of the Lord returning to Zion; however, the content of the specific passage (the eyes of the blind being opened) fits well with the account of the healing of the man born blind depicted just above the excerpt.⁷⁵

Summary. Rather than a lack of awareness of the biblical context, the scribe's choice of excerpts exhibit evidence that the selection and placement were carefully planned. Generally, the wider biblical context of these texts sheds light on the reasons for their use in Codex Rossanensis. Those that are taken out of

⁷⁵ Albl states: 'stories of Jesus healing the blind were collected not so much for their own sake, but because they matched the prophecy in Isa. 35:5–6', in *And Scripture Cannot Be Broken*, p. 26. However, since Albl seems to indicate that this was a widespread use of the Isaiah passage, it seems that its specific presence in Codex Rossanensis is better attributed to popular, even liturgical, use, than to its presence in a testimony collection, even if its presence in earlier testimony collections gave rise to its liturgical use.

context are probably included in Codex Rossanensis because of their liturgical use.

4.7. *Use of the Same Exegetical Comments in Independent Authors*

The final testimony criterion is quite difficult to assess in the case of Codex Rossanensis. Since these excerpts accompany miniatures and are not cited with accompanying exegesis, the only parallel is to locate other sets of miniatures with accompanying LXX excerpts. Codex Sinopensis (O, 023; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Suppl. Gr. 1286) is helpful in this regard. Codex Sinopensis is a manuscript consisting of 44 leaves of Matthew's Gospel. Like Codex Rossanensis, Codex Sinopensis is a 6th-century purple manuscript, and remarkably, the two manuscripts were copied from the same exemplar.⁷⁶ Unlike Codex Rossanensis, Codex Sinopensis contains only Matthew and only gold ink, and its miniatures are dispersed throughout Matthew's Gospel, rather than collected together at the beginning. Only five miniatures, each with only two LXX excerpts, are preserved. They are the beheading of John the Baptist (Matt. 14:3–12), the feeding of the 5,000 (Matt. 14:14–21), the feeding of the 4,000 (Matt. 15:32–8), the healing of the two blind men on the way to Jericho (Matt. 20:29–34), and the cursing of the fig tree (Matt. 21:18–21). André Grabar has reproduced the folios containing the miniatures,⁷⁷ and H. S. Cronin transcribed the text of the LXX excerpts that accompany them.⁷⁸ While there are no overlapping miniatures between the two manuscripts, there are two overlapping LXX texts. Both manuscripts use Exod. 16:15 and Isa. 35:5, but they use each citation differently. The difference in usage of the same texts suggests that the LXX excerpts in these two sibling-manuscripts are not the product of a pre-existing collection, but of a careful commentator.

⁷⁶ J. Gribomont, 'The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text', in Cavallo (ed.), *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: Commentarium*, pp. 193–211. Gribomont refers to the trio of 'ΣΝΟ' throughout this work.

⁷⁷ A. Grabar, *Les Peintures de l'Évangélaire de Sinope (Bibliothèque nationale, Suppl. Gr. 1286): Reproduites en facsimilé* ([Paris]: Bibliothèque nationale, 1948).

⁷⁸ H. S. Cronin, 'Codex Chrysopurpureus Sinopensis', *JTS* 2 (1901), pp. 590–600. The LXX excerpts in Codex Sinopensis were also not included in the most recent *Verzeichnis*.

Isaiah 35:5

The scribe of Codex Sinopensis used Isa. 35:5 to illustrate the healing of the two blind men in Matt. 20:29–34. Two men are clearly depicted, and Christ is touching their eyes (v. 34). Isaiah is pictured to the right above the text *ποτε ανοιχθησονται οφθαλμοι τυφλων*. The scribe of Codex Rossanensis used a fuller citation, Isa. 35:5–6, to accompany a miniature which clearly represents the healing of the man born blind as described in John 9:1–7, not Matt. 20:29–34. In Codex Rossanensis, the miniature has two parts: the healing itself and the man washing in the Pool of Siloam (John 9:6–7). The scribe of Codex Rossanensis added *και τρανη εσται γλωσσα μογιλαλων* (and the tongue of the mute will shout) from v. 6 to the text shared with Codex Sinopensis. Although these two miniatures depict similar events, they are clearly distinct from one another.

Exodus 16:15

More significant is the scribe use of Exod. 16:15. The scribe of Codex Sinopensis used a longer excerpt from this passage to accompany the miniature of the feeding of the 5,000. To the left of the miniature in Codex Sinopensis, the text says *και ειπεν μωυσης τοις ιηλ̄ ουτος ο αρτος ον ειπεν κ̄ δουναι υμιν φαγειν*.⁷⁹ However, the scribe of Codex Rossanensis applied this text to the Eucharist and reproduced a variant form of the text, *ουτος ο αρτος ο(ν) εδωκε(ν) υμιν κ(υριο)ς εκ του ου(ρα)νου φαγει(ν)*. Not only are these texts applied to very different contexts, they are reproduced in variant forms.

V. OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

In addition to Harris's seven criteria for detecting a testimony collection, other features of Codex Rossanensis can shed light on the origin of its 40 LXX quotations. The inscriptions that accompany the miniatures, or the lack thereof, could provide evidence of the origin of the quotations. Likewise, the arrangement of the quotations on each page as two pairs, each with David first, can reveal more about how the quotations were intended to be used, especially when the scribe deviated from the pattern.

⁷⁹ This folio is damaged, and it is difficult to read the text in Grabar's reproduction. I am dependent on Cronin's transcription for the text here, *ibid.*, p. 599.

5.1. *Accompanying Inscriptions*

Many of the miniatures in Codex Rossanensis, including some of those without Old Testament excerpts, are accompanied by inscriptions. These inscriptions function either as a 'title' to the page, or as dialogue to accompany the event depicted. If the excerpts were derived from a pre-existing source, one might expect to see some continuity in the type of inscriptions provided.

Folio 7^v: The parable of the Good Samaritan

The text accompanying this miniature is the section heading for the parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:30–7). Although neither Luke nor its list of *kephalaia* is still extant in Codex Rossanensis, the text of the heading does agree with that of the majority of manuscripts, according to Swanson.⁸⁰

Folio 7^r–folio 1^v

No inscription accompanies these three miniatures, depicting healing of the man born blind (John 9:1–7), the raising of Lazarus (John 11:1–46), and the entry into Jerusalem (Matt. 21:1–11; Mark 11:1–10; Luke 19:28–40; John 12:12–15).

Folio 2^r: The Cleansing of the Temple

Above this miniature is the section heading for John 2:13–29, the cleansing of the temple. Its text agrees with that of the majority of manuscripts, according to Swanson.⁸¹

Folio 2^v: The Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins

The text above the miniature (*περι των ·ι· παρθενων*) is the section heading given both in the list of *kephalaia* preceding Matthew's Gospel in Codex Rossanensis and above the Gospel text at Matt. 25:1.⁸²

⁸⁰ *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines against Codex Vaticanus: Luke*, ed. R. Swanson (Pasadena, CA: William Carey International University Press, 1998), p. 4.

⁸¹ *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines against Codex Vaticanus: John*, ed. R. Swanson (Pasadena, CA: William Carey International University Press, 1995), p. 1.

⁸² The form of the heading above the miniature matches the form in the list of *kephalaia*. Above the Gospel text, the scribe did not place dots on either side of the abbreviation of the number ten (ι).

Folio 3^r: The Last Supper and Christ Washing Peter's Feet

Biblical texts accompany each scene in this double miniature. Above the Last Supper, the inscription is from Matt. 26:21, 'Truly, I say to you that one of you will betray me'; above Christ washing Peter's feet, the inscription is from John 13:8, 'Peter said to him, "You will never wash my feet!"' The text from Matthew is exactly as it is in the Gospel text of Codex Rossanensis, but, unfortunately, the manuscript is not extant in the Fourth Gospel. The text of this inscription does agree with \aleph A K Γ Δ Θ 33 700 1424 \aleph John 13:8 against differences regarding the placement of $\mu\upsilon\nu$, one placement attested by D f^1 f^3 1241, the other placement attested by \mathfrak{P}^{66} \mathfrak{P}^{75} B C L W Ψ 892 1844 and adopted by Nestle–Aland 28.

Folio 3^v–folio 4^r: The Eucharist

The two miniatures depicting the Eucharist are accompanied by neither section headings nor precise biblical texts. Above the miniature of the bread, the inscription keeps close to the text of Luke 22:19, omitting only the clause 'he broke [it] and ...'. The inscription above the miniature of the cup, however, contains a unique text that has been harmonized to that of the first inscription. Loerke notices the 'strict parallelism of the inscriptions—eleven words in each, nine of them identical', adding that the precise wording of these inscriptions can be found neither in other extant New Testament manuscripts, nor in early liturgy.⁸³ Perhaps the scribe's willingness to harmonize the two inscriptions stems from the common scribal practice of harmonization to the surrounding text.⁸⁴

Folio 4^v: Gethsemane

No inscription accompanies the miniature of Christ in Gethsemane.

There is variety among the inscriptions to the miniatures in Codex Rossanensis. Section headings, strictly cited Gospel texts, and loosely cited Gospel texts are all present, and four

⁸³ Loerke, 'The Rossano Gospels: The Miniatures', p. 137.

⁸⁴ J. Hernández, Jr. has noticed that one century earlier, the scribe of the Apocalypse in Codex Alexandrinus (A 02) frequently harmonized to context: 'The overwhelming majority of our harmonizing singular readings appear to stem from the scribe's deliberate or careless assimilation to the immediate literary context'; *Scribal Habits and Theological Influences in the Apocalypse: The Singular Readings of Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, and Ephraemi* (WUNT 2.218; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), p. 116.

miniatures have no accompanying inscriptions. The second inscription accompanying the depictions of the Eucharist has been clearly harmonized to the first, which agrees closely (though not perfectly) with the text of Luke. Among the ten examples cited, there are no examples of incorrect headings, the presence of which might indicate a pre-existing source.⁸⁵

The missing inscriptions are difficult to explain, but scribal error is a possibility. If Loerke's restoration of their original order is correct, three of the four missing inscriptions occur sequentially. A mistaken omission of three inscriptions in a sequence is not inconceivable; at the end of Matthew's Gospel, the final three entries for the Eusebian apparatus are missing in Codex Rossanensis. The missing inscription above the Gethsemane scene could be due to its striking presence on the page. Loerke notes that its dark, painted background stands in stark contrast with the unpainted, purple parchment background of the other miniatures.⁸⁶ Perhaps the scribe, distracted by the artwork, simply forgot to add the inscription.⁸⁷

5.2. *Pairs of Two and their Order*

Loerke has noticed that the excerpts are presented as pairs, based on liturgical use.⁸⁸ David is the first figure of each pair, but this pattern is broken twice.⁸⁹ That both instances of the broken pattern occur on fol. 4 is probably due to coincidence. In each case, the broken pattern is most likely due to the

⁸⁵ There is one example of an incorrect inscription on fol. 8^v. However, this miniature does not contain any Old Testament excerpts and appears to be part of a series of depictions of the trial of Christ. All three of the miniatures unaccompanied by Old Testament excerpts appear together on the same folio and depict scenes from the trial. Loerke gives them a full treatment in 'The Miniatures of the Trial in the Rossano Gospels', *Art Bulletin* 43 (1961), pp. 171–95.

⁸⁶ Loerke, 'The Rossano Gospels: The Miniatures', p. 138.

⁸⁷ A further instance of this kind of omission present in Codex Rossanensis occurs at Matt. 22:41. In the margin above the Gospel text, there is a section number ($\nu\bar{\epsilon}$ [55]) without an accompanying section heading.

⁸⁸ Loerke writes: 'The forty verses form twenty pairs, in nineteen of which David occurs, paired with a Prophet sixteen times and with himself three times. With the exception of folio 4, he occupies the first and third positions on the page. These pairs reflect the liturgical practice in which a Psalm verse, a *stichos*, normally preceded Old and New Testament lessons', in 'The Monumental Miniature', p. 69.

⁸⁹ One might count a third instance if one focuses on the use of Psalms instead of the use of the figure David. On fol. 1^r (The Raising of Lazarus), Ode 3:6 is written, but the figure is still David. This use is consistent if the quotations were taken from a single Psalter that also contained the Odes.

influence of the liturgical use of these Old Testament passages on the composition of Codex Rossanensis.

Folio 4^r: The Eucharist (Wine)

Moses, not David, is the first figure on fol. 4^r. This page, however, is the second of a two-part work. As mentioned previously, the text of the inscription above the miniature on fol. 4^r is altered to match the text of the previous inscription. Ciro Santoro notes that the miniature here does not depict something historical about the life of Christ; rather, it presents the liturgical celebration of the Eucharist, '[s]oltanto invece del sacerdote c'è Cristo che distribuisce le specie eucaristiche'.⁹⁰ Furthermore, the two folios depicting the Eucharist (fol. 3^v and fol. 4^r) face each other. In the fourth century, Cyril of Jerusalem indicated that the celebration of communion began with the chanter inviting communicants to the sacrament by chanting Ps. 33.9, 'Taste and see that the Lord is good'.⁹¹ As the first excerpt on the two-page depiction of the Eucharist, perhaps Ps. 33:9 serves to introduce the sacrament in Codex Rossanensis as well. Moses and David, the second and third figures on fol. 3^v, form a parallel pair with Moses and David, the first and second figures on fol. 4^r. Moses, not David, is first in these two pairs because the Eucharist is depicted as deriving from events described in Exodus. The last two figures on fol. 4^r form a David/Prophet pair on their own, and Isaiah, the last figure on fol. 3^v, provides another promise to the reader: 'This will take away your sins'.

Folio 4^v: Gethsemane

Jonah, not David, is the third figure on fol. 4^v. Loerke writes, 'The four quotations from the Psalms and Prophets on this page were carefully selected and positioned to reinforce the mood of the painting', adding later that the first three excerpts were read 'on Thursday, Friday and Saturday of Holy Week' in the early liturgy of Jerusalem.⁹² Apart from liturgical reasons, there is no apparent reason why the pattern of David being in the third position should be broken here. The excerpts are very similar

⁹⁰ 'Only instead of the priest, it is Christ who distributes the Eucharistic elements', in C. Santoro, *Il Codice Purpureo di Rossano* (Rome: Frama Sud, 1974), p. 85.

⁹¹ Greek text given in *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, ed. Auguste Piédagnel (Sources Chrétiennes, 126; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1966), V. 20 (pp. 168–70); Loerke writes that Cyril mentioned this verse in 'The Rossano Gospels: The Miniatures', p. 137.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 139.

in content, and the pattern would be preserved if their order were simply reversed. The best explanation is that their order on fol. 4^v derives from the order in which they were read in the Jerusalem liturgy.

VI. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the LXX excerpts in Codex Rossanensis do not appear to be remnants of a pre-existing collection of Old Testament quotations. As a whole, they do not deviate considerably from the LXX. No similar series of texts appears in any of the other collections consulted, but many of the texts were used in early liturgy. The strategic placement of some of the excerpts in relation to the miniatures they accompany reflects a great deal of care behind their selection. The biblical contexts of the excerpts illuminate the reasons why some were selected, while the selection of others is probably due to liturgical use. The attribution of the Psalms (and Ode) to David and the Lucianic text of the excerpts wherever there are Lucianic variants give some indication that a Psalm book with a Lucianic text may have been the source of more than half of these excerpts. Moreover, there is diversity in the headings (or lack thereof) that accompany the miniatures, and the scribe takes the liberty to break patterns in the grouping of quotations in order better to accommodate the page. The nature of the LXX excerpts in Codex Rossanensis suggests that they were not copied from a pre-existing collection of any kind. The best explanation for what is observed by testing them against Harris's and Albl's criteria for detecting an underlying collection of Old Testament excerpts is that these quotations were intentionally selected and copied from one or more biblical or liturgical manuscripts, making them more akin to fragmentary manuscripts than to extract collections that have been transmitted as such. As these forty are sixth-century witnesses to the Seventy, Codex Rossanensis (Rossano, Museo Diocesano, s.n.) should be included in a future edition of the *Verzeichnis*.