Two Codices with a Common Corrector: The Secondary Corrections in N 022 and Σ 042

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Abstract: Since their discovery, scholars have known about the close textual relationship between two sixth-century Greek codices of the Gospels. That Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus (N 022) and the Rossano Gospels (Σ 042) were copied from the same exemplar is rarely questioned. However, both manuscripts also feature primary and secondary corrections. Based on the ink, pen nib width, scribal hand and textual affinity of the corrections, as well as some similar mistakes elsewhere in the manuscripts, it seems that the same scribe corrected both manuscripts using the same second exemplar. Specifically, the scribe of 042 was responsible for secondary corrections in both 042 and 022, and the second exemplar to which the corrections were made might have been a close textual relative to another sixth-century purple codex, Codex Beratinus-1 (Φ 043).

1 Introduction

It is generally acknowledged that the two sixth-century purple codices, Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus (N 022) and Codex Rossanensis (Σ 042) are copies of the same, now-lost exemplar. It is less well known, however, that each manuscript contains a series of corrections made against a second exemplar. At least in the case of 022, the scribe responsible for the corrections was not the original scribe of the manuscript.

The existence of secondary corrections in 042 has been known since as early as 1883. In the *editio princeps*, Oscar von Gebhardt identified a number of readings he traced to a different manuscript.² Jean Gribomont improved upon Gebhardt's list with a list of errata and a discussion of many of the corrections in 042.³

H. S. Cronin, Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus: The Text of Codex N of the Gospels Edited with an Introduction and an Appendix, TS 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899), liii; Jean Gribomont, "The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text," in Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: Commentarium, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, trans. Salvatore R.C. Lilla, Codices Mirabiles 1 (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1987), 195–196; Klaus Wachtel, "The Byzantine Text of the Gospels: Recension or Process?," Paper Presented at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting (2009): 2.

Oscar von Gebhardt, "Die Evangelien des Matthaeus und des Marcus aus dem Codex Purpureus Rossanensis," TUGAL 1 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1883), li–lii.

³ Gribomont, "The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text," 193–195.

On the other hand, only a few scholars acknowledge the existence of secondary corrections in 022. Louis Duchesne edited the Patmos leaves of 022 in 1876, but he ascribed the secondary correction at Mark 9:23 (Patmos f. 10v) to the first hand and did not mention that other secondary corrections were corrections at all.4 When H.S. Cronin published an editio princeps of the St. Petersburg leaves incorporating all other leaves known at the time, he was inconsistent regarding secondary corrections. At first, Cronin did not see any widespread activity from a second corrector. He wrote, "The corrections of the manuscript are (with perhaps one exception) by the same hand as the text." Ironically, Cronin's one possible second-hand exception is at Matt 27:33, a correction made by the scribe of 022.6 A few pages later, however, Cronin compares 022 and 042, noting "those instances in which some alteration has been made in the readings of one manuscript or the other by a second hand."7 Nestle attributes corrections at John 4:27 (St. Petersburg f. 127v) and 8:12 (St. Petersburg f. 146r) to a second hand. 8 It is impossible to determine which corrector is responsible for the erasure at 8:12, but the addition at 4:27 is clearly the work of the original scribe of 022. In general, however, second-hand corrections in 022 have been overlooked in scholarship since Nestle and Cronin. Legg mentions one such correction at Matt 26:60, which he designates N2, but most critical apparatuses do not distinguish among corrections in 022.9 The NA28 lists only N° (022°) corrections and does not differentiate between N1 (0221) and N2 (0222), nor does Agamemnon Tselikas in his transcription of 022.10 The IGNTP Majuscule volume of John likewise does not distinguish between 0221 and 0222 corrections.11

The present study is concerned primarily with secondary corrections in Matthew and Mark, as both 022 and 042 are extant in those books, but some aspects of the 022² corrections in Luke and John are considered as well. A list of 022² and 042² corrections is given at the end of this study. There are thirty-three instances of secondary correction at thirty places in Matthew and Mark, but four are irrelevant for the analysis presented here: corrections at Matt 12:15, 12:37 and Mark 15:7 in 022 and Matt 26:3 in 042 are mistakes that happened to be missed by the first corrector and thus do not relay any information about a second exemplar. For these secondary corrections, I observe their date, their textual affinity and the scribal hand used to make them as well as note other features that point to their common source.

⁴ Louis Duchesne writes, "ΠΙCΤΕΥCAI ajouté en onciales et en argent, de la méme main", in "Fragments de l'évangile selon saint Marc," in *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, Third Series, vol. 3 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1876), 396.

⁵ Cronin, Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus, xli.

The letters do look unusual, especially μ and the descenders on υ and ρ . The original scribe made similar forms of υ and ρ on L. 2v, and a similar μ on Vat. 6v that looks almost like a looping Coptic form. The aspect of the correction that is most convincing for identifying this corrector as the original scribe (022¹) is the small interlinear 0, which is broad and thick—not at all like the narrow 0 in upright pointed majuscule characteristic of the 022² corrector.

⁷ Cronin, Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus, xlvi.

E. Nestle, "Zum Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus," Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie 42 (1899): 623.

⁹ S.C.E. Legg, Novum Testamentum Graece Secundum Textum Westcotto-Hortianum: Evangelium Secundum Matthaeum (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940).

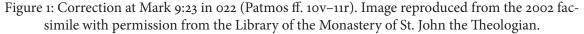
¹⁰ Agamemnon Tselikas, "Ο Πορφυροῦς Κῶδιξ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων Πάτμου καὶ Πετρουπόλεως: παλαιογραφικὴ μεταγραφὴ," in 'Ο Πορφυροῦς Κῶδιξ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων Πάτμου καὶ Πετρουπόλεως: Πανομοιότυπη ἔκδοση, ed. Agamemnon Tselikas (Athens: Miletos, 2002), 35–266.

¹¹ Ulrich Schmid, W.J. Elliott, and D.C. Parker, eds., *The New Testament in Greek IV: The Gospel According to St. John, Volume Two: The Majuscules*, NTTSD 37 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008).

2 The Date of the Corrections

The corrections in both manuscripts were made where the manuscript was produced (i.e. in the scriptorium), after the initial scribe completed the task of copying the manuscript some time in the sixth century. Secondary corrections in both manuscripts were made with silver ink that matches the ink of the biblical text. Additionally, the upright pointed majuscule in which these secondary corrections were written dates also to the sixth century. Although Guglielmo Cavallo does not discuss corrections in 042 in his section of the 042 *Commentarium* volume, he does discuss the variety of scribal hands in the codex, and in his judgment, the same scribe was responsible for all of the writing in the manuscript.¹²

One phenomenon suggests that these corrections were made after the initial production of the codices, though the examples are few. Twice—once in 022 and once in 042—ink from a secondary correction has imprinted onto the facing page. The example in 042 occurs at Matt 13:27. There, a corrector changed $\zeta_1\zeta_2\alpha_1\alpha_1\alpha_1$ to $\tau_2\alpha_1\zeta_2\alpha_1\alpha_2$ by adding the article into margin to the right of the second column on 107(r). Remnants of the α are visible in the left margin of the facing page (106[r]). In 022, the imprinted ink comes from the correction at Mark 9:23 (Patmos f. 10v). The word $\pi_1\sigma_1\epsilon_2\sigma_1\alpha_1$ was added into the inner margin and has imprinted onto Patmos f. 11r. In both cases, the imprinting was caused by the scribe turning the page before the ink was dry. Because there is more biblical text after the correction, these imprints could only occur after the biblical text on those pages had been written.





Cavallo writes, "All these scripts must be regarded as products of the same hand," in "The Purple Codex of Rossano: Book, Object, Symbol," in *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: Commentarium*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, trans. Salvatore R.C. Lilla, Codices Mirabiles (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1987), 26. For additional discussions of the upright pointed majuscule in 042, see Edorardo Crisci, "La maiuscola ogivale diritta: Origini, tipologie, dislocazioni," *Scrittura e civiltà* 9 (1985): 114–115 and G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300–800*, University of London Institute of Classical Studies Bulletin Supplement 47 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1987), 88.

3 The Textual Affinity of the Corrections

3.1 General Affinity

It appears that not only were the corrections made in the same scriptorium, but they also seem to have been made against the same exemplar. Scholars do not dispute the close textual relationship of o22 and o42. It is not impossible, therefore, that two copies of the same exemplar could each be corrected against the same second exemplar. Only twenty-eight of the thirty-three instances of correction are relevant. I have already mentioned the four corrections due to mistakes by the primary scribe that were not corrected in the initial round of corrections. It is also likely that the secondary correction in o42 at 26:59 represents a change in the mind of the scribe of o42, who initially harmonised the text of Matthew to the Markan parallel but later reverted back to the text of the exemplar there. The table below illustrates the textual affinity of the corrections, which I discuss in the following paragraphs.

Table 1: Textual affinity of secondary corrections

Manuscript	Total relevant corrections	To Majority Text (MT) ¹⁴	To 043	With MT against 043	With 043 against MT
022	7	5 (or 6)	5	1	_
042	21	12 (or 13)	14 (or 15)	2	3 (maybe 5)

The fragmented nature of 022 limits the data available. It is only extant for fifteen of the twenty-five places of correction, and there are only seven secondary corrections among these verses. Five or six corrections alter the text in the direction of the majority text, as 022 has the same correction as 042 where the majority text is split at Matt 21:1. Five corrections are in the direction of Codex Beratinus-1 (GA Φ 043), a less-closely related purple codex from the 6th century.¹⁵

There are twenty-one relevant secondary corrections in 042. Of these twenty-one, twelve are in the direction of the majority text, with a possible thirteenth, as the majority text is split at Matt 21:1. Fourteen corrections align the text of 042 with that of 043. It is possible that a fifteenth correction could be added to this list: at Mark 15:46, a second corrector goes against the majority text (designated MT in the following table), but 043 is not extant for comparison there.

Table 2: Secondary corrections where $o_{43} \neq MT$

Manuscript	Matt 13:27	Matt 15:31	Matt 16:4	Mark 10:16
022	no correction	not extant	with MT	no correction
042	with 043	with MT	no correction	with 043

The table above describes the four places at which 043 does not have the reading found in the majority of manuscripts. The secondary corrector of 022 adopts the majority reading at Matt

See Elijah Hixson, "The Gospel of Matthew in a Sixth-Century Manuscript Family: Scribal Habits in the Purple Codices 022, 023 and 042" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2017), 216.

¹⁴ For the majority text, I use Maurice A. Robinson and William G. Pierpont, *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Byzantine Text*form (Southborough, MA: Chilton, 2005). Admittedly, the dominant text in the sixth-century was probably not identical to the Robinson-Pierpont text.

¹⁵ In its present condition, 043 is heavily damaged. I rely on the edition of Pierre Batiffol for the text of 043 (*Les manuscrits grecs de Bérat d'Albanie: et le Codex Purpureus Φ*, Extrait des archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires 3 [Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1886]).

16:4. 022 is not extant at Matt 15:31, and it lacks any correctional activity at Matt 13:27 or Mark 10:16. The secondary corrector of 042, however, adopts the reading also found in 043 twice against the majority reading at Matt 13:27 and at Mark 10:16 and goes against the majority reading where 043 is not extant at Mark 15:46. Only at Matt 15:31 does 042² adopt the majority reading against the reading found in 043.

In general both sets of corrections tend to align the text with that of the majority of manuscripts. For 042², the corrections go a step beyond the majority reading and bring the text more in line with that of 043. For 022², the corrections clearly point in a similar direction, but there are not enough corrections to distinguish between an exemplar more like 043 or more like the majority text. That 022² corrections are less frequent than 042² corrections might signal reluctance of the 022² corrector to interfere with the text of 022. Both manuscripts feature corrections that disagree with both the text of 043 and the majority of manuscripts, and because both 022² and 042² each clearly point in the same *general* direction, it is still possible that both corrections were made using the same second exemplar.

3.2 Shared Corrections

It is clear that the secondary corrections do not constitute an exhaustive correction process in either manuscript, but this situation is not unusual. Jongkind notes that "there is no evidence of any systematic correction" in Psalms of Codex Sinaiticus.¹6 Both Zuntz and Royse mention that the first corrector of P⁴6 corrects the manuscript far more frequently at the beginning than at the end.¹7 Scribal laziness with regard to corrections was not limited to the early centuries, either. Parker suggests that the same phenomenon was happening in 1301 by comparing two dated manuscripts of the Gospels, both copied by Theodoros Hagiopetrites (Athos, Pantokrator 47 [GA 1394] and Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana I.19 [1416] [GA 412]). Parker writes that, because these two copies of the same work by the same scribe differ most at the beginning and least at the end, a possible explanation is that "after the one copy had been made, the exemplar had been corrected prior to a second copying, the corrector steadily losing interest before the end."¹8 In spite of the non-exhaustive correction process, 022 and 042 still have a few common corrections.

At Matt 21:1, $\beta\eta\theta\sigma\phi\alpha\gamma\eta$ in the original text of both manuscripts was corrected to $\beta\eta\theta\phi\alpha\gamma\eta$. In both cases, the σ was gently scraped away, leaving flecks of ink of the original text. This man-

Dirk Jongkind, Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus, TS, Third Series 5 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2007), 179.

Günther Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquistion Upon the Corpus Paulinum*, 1946 Schweich Lectures (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), 252; James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri*, NTTSD 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 224.

D.C. Parker, *Textual Scholarship and the Making of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 71.

Scraping is typical of the original scribe of 022, but my identification of this correction as secondary in 022 rests mainly on the fact that the original scribe of 022 does not otherwise exhibit any

ner of correction indicates that it was undertaken after the ink had dried, as more immediate corrections are sometimes blotted.

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Table 4: Matt 26:60 in 022 and 042
022, London f. 2r, col. 2, ll. 7-9
022* μαρτυρων προσ
ελθοντων υσ
Τερον δε προσ

042* ψευδομαρτυ
ρων ανασταν
των υστερον

022² μαρτυρων προσ
ελθοντων ουκ ηυρο
υσΤερον δε προσ

Ου ηυρο υστερον
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The common correction at Matt 26:60 is slightly more complex. In both 022 and 042, a variation of oux eurov is added before the new Ammonian section beginning at $v\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\nu$. The addition itself is not rare; the majority of manuscripts have it. However, the variant form $\eta\nu\rho\nu$ is unique to the secondary corrections of both 022 and 042. In both manuscripts, the final nu is written as a supralinear line. The 022² corrector added $0\nu\kappa\eta\nu\rho\sigma$ at the end of the line, but the addition in 042 is more cramped. The 0422 corrector added $0\nu\kappa\eta\nu\rho\sigma$ at the *beginning* of the line with the supralinear nu in the middle. The difficulties posed by the correction in an already-corrected section of 042 could explain the missing κ .

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Table 5: Matt 11:22, 24 in 022 and 042
022, St. Petersburg f. 28r, col. 1,
                                   022, St. Petersburg f. 28r, col. 2, 042, 90(v), col. 2, ll. 8–10
ll. 11-16
                                   11. 11-16
                                                                      042* μερον· <sup>24</sup> πλη
022* τενοησαν 22 πλην
                                   022* εν σοι εμενο
                                                                           λεγω υμιν.
     λεγω υμιν τυ
                                        αν μεχρι της
      ρω και σιδωνι
                                        σημερον 24 πλη
                                                                           γη σοδομων
                                        λεγω υμιν· γη
     ανεκτοτερο
                                        σοδομων α
      εσται εν ημε
                                        νεκτοτερο
      ρα κρισεως η
0222 τενοησαν 22 πλην
                                   0222 εν σοι εμενο
                                                                      042<sup>2</sup> μερον· <sup>24</sup> πλη
     λεγω υμιν οτι
                                        αν μεχρι της
                                                                           λεγω υμιν· οτι
      γη σοδομων
                                        σημερον 24 πλη
                                                                           γη σοδομων
                                        λεγω υμιν· γη
      ανεκτοτερο
                                        σοδομων α
      εσται εν ημε
      ρα κρισεως η
                                        νεκτοτερο
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Perhaps the most interesting correction occurs at Matthew 11:22/24. At Matt 11:24, both manuscripts originally had the reading πλην λεγω υμιν γη σοδομων, lacking στι. The 042² corrector added στι in the margin at the end of the line after υμιν. The 0222 corrector intended, but failed, to make the same correction. There, 11:24 is in the right column, but the left column is visually similar in 022. The left column had Matthew 11:22: πλην | λεγω υμιν τυ|ρω και σιδωνι at around the same place as the right column has v. 24: πλη | λεγω υμιν γη | σοδομων. The 022²

interest in correcting the spelling of place names, but the scribe of 042 does. Gebhardt considers this correction secondary in 042 ("Die Evangelien des Matthaeus und des Marcus aus dem Codex Purpureus Rossanensis," lii.), and Gribomont has " $\beta\eta\theta\phi\alpha\gamma\eta$ Σ^2 N²" ("The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text," 195.).

corrector erased $\tau v | \rho \omega$ kai σιδωνι in the left column and corrected the text to στι γη σοδομων, 'correcting' the text at the wrong place.²⁰

4 The Identity of the Corrector: The Scribe of 042

4.1 Mixed Scribal Hands in 0422 Corrections

The hand of 0422 exhibits occasional variation, as if the corrector was undecided whether to use biblical majuscule or upright pointed majuscule for the corrections. For example, the o in οτι at Matt 11:24 (042, 90[v]) and ς in 0στις at 12:50 (042, 102[v]) are broad, though τ is identical in both corrections. On the other hand, both instances of ς and one o in the corrected letters of τους οχλους at Matt 15:31 (042, 127[r]) are narrow, oval-shaped letters characteristic of upright pointed majuscule. The other o in the correction is misshapen, but broad. The correction at Matt 19:9 (042, 151[r]) shows signs of artificial thickening. There, the scribe scraped off the original text and corrected the reading with a thin-nibbed pen, but traced the letters more than once in order to give the appearance of a wide-nibbed pen. This tracing is evident in the imperfections of σ. The correction at Mark 4:11 is especially illustrative. The scribe corrected γινεται to λεγεται. The first ε is round and broad, characteristic of biblical majuscule but written with a thin-nibbed pen in artificially thick strokes. The \subseteq stroke has been executed twice, and the two executions do not line up with each other perfectly. The second ε , however, is a narrow oval—an exact match for the upright pointed majuscule ε used by the scribe in the kephalaia lists. These variations all point to a corrector whose baseline for secondary script was upright pointed majuscule written with a thin-nibbed pen, but who occasionally tried to blend corrections with the hand of the text they replaced. Cavallo believed that the 0422 corrections are all the work of the original scribe of 042, who is also responsible for the 0421 corrections.21 This description of the 0422 corrector is consistent with a recent assessment of the scribe of 042 as a skilled copyist who sometimes acts as an editor of the text.²²

4.2 Mixed Scribal Hands in 0222 Corrections

The corrector did not erase ων of σ ιδων but incorporated the letters into the word σ οδομων.

²¹ Cavallo, "The Purple Codex of Rossano: Book, Object, Symbol," 26. More specifically, Cavallo believed that a single scribe was responsible for all of the writing in 042, though it displays a variety of scripts.

Hixson, "Gospel of Matthew in a Sixth-Century Manuscript Family," 132, 219–222. On scribes as editors, see 233–237.

o22, and generally the o22² corrections lack the mixed scribal hands that can be seen in some o422 corrections, but there is one notable exception.

Figure 2: Mark 10:19 (Patmos f. 16r) in 022. Image reproduced from the 2002 facsimile with permission from the Library of the Monastery of St. John the Theologian.



At Mark 10:19, the second corrector of 022 adds the phrase $\mu\eta$ apostephohc by scraping off the word $\tau \mu \alpha$ (previously the final word on the last line of Patmos f. 16r) and writing $\mu\eta$ aposte $|\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $\tau \iota(\mu\alpha)$. The letters $\mu\eta$ aposte written over the erased space previously occupied by $\tau \iota \mu \alpha$. These letters are large, round and broad, and seemingly written with a wide-nibbed pen, characteristic of the biblical majuscule text. They are not precisely the same size as the letters written by the scribe of 022, but they are very nearly the same size. The remaining letters are written in a clean example of upright pointed majuscule with a thin-nibbed pen.

Artificial thickening of strokes can be seen in the 022² corrections at Luke 20:24 (St. Petersburg f. 104r, especially 0 in 01) and at John 1:27b (St. Petersburg f. 118v). In the 022² correction at John 1:26–27a, the individual letters show little irregularity, but the hand of the correction gradually shifts from biblical majuscule in wide strokes to upright pointed majuscule in thin strokes.²³

Regarding the hand, one other purple codex from the sixth century exhibits both biblical majuscule and upright pointed majuscule: Codex Beratinus-1 (Tirana, National Archives, 1; GA 043). Like 042, 043 uses biblical majuscule for the biblical text and upright pointed majuscule for the surviving *kephalaia* list for Mark's Gospel. The hand is not the same, however. Most notably, θ in 043 lacks the extending horizontal found in 022² and 042².²⁴ In the upright pointed majuscule of 043, the horizontal of θ is contained within the oval of the letter. The scribe of 043 was not the second corrector of 022 or 042.

In addition to the matching hand and the artificial thickening of letters, there is a third unusual aspect that 022² corrections have in common with the scribe of 042: corrections in the

For a description of this change in appearance, see the note on this correction in the table of 022² corrections at the end of this article.

An image of the kephalaia list for Mark in 043 is among the freely available images posted online at http://www.csntm.org/manuscript/View/GA_043 (accessed 28 July 2017). It is the 21st image, and the number "113" is in the lower right corner of the protective cover over the folio. Col. 1, lines 5–6 have $\overline{\gamma}$ περι των ιαθεν|των απο ποι|κιλων νοσω.

wrong place. I have already mentioned the correction at Matthew 11:24 that was wrongly made at 11:22 by the 022² corrector, but 042 contains a similar mistake at Matt 2:10.

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Table 6: Matt 2:10 in 042
042*, 26(v), col. 2, ll. 2-7
    παιδιον· 10 ιδο παιδιον· 10 ιδο παιδιον· 10 ιδο παιδιον· 20 ιδο πα
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Third declension accusative singular nouns ending in $-\alpha v$, such as $\alpha \sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \alpha v$, can be written without the final -v. In an attempt to update the spelling, the scribe of 042 meant to erase the final -v of $\alpha \sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \alpha v$, but instead mistakenly erased the final -v of $\epsilon \chi \alpha \rho \eta \sigma \alpha v$ one line below the intended correction. The resultant text is nonsensical in context, as the subjects of the verb are the Magi, who are being narrated in third-person in Matt 2:10. 26

5 Summary and Conclusion

Although there is insufficient evidence to prove with certainty that the scribe of 042 provided the secondary corrections in 022, the available evidence does point in that direction. The upright pointed majuscule of the 022² corrections is a remarkably close match to the hand of the *Auszeichnungsschrift* of 042 attributed to the same scribe who wrote its biblical text. This hand is distinct from the upright pointed majuscule of 043, though it hails from the same time and possibly the same production centre. Like the scribe of 042, the 022² corrector artificially thickened strokes made by a thin-nibbed pen and made at least one correction in the wrong place.

The variation in the hand of the 042² corrections that is mostly missing in the 022² corrections could be explained if the scribe of 042 were responsible for both. For his or her own work, the scribe of 042 was free to adapt his or her script to the biblical majuscule of the Gospel text. This was possibly an attempt to minimise the interfering effect of corrections, which mar the appearance of an otherwise beautiful codex.² The codex—or at least, the writing in the codex—was entirely his or her own work. The corrections were made by the same physical hand that wrote the letters that needed them, so the handwriting was adapted to represent this facet of manuscript production in spite of the different pen used. For 022, however, these were two different scribes. The corrector—likely the main scribe of 042—used upright pointed majuscule to distinguish his or her corrections from the 022¹ corrections made by the main scribe of 022. Occasionally the hand was adapted (at Mark 10:19, for example), but a clean secondary hand was the easiest way to correct the text while best preserving the beauty of the codex. That the two codices were not subjected to an exhaustive process of correction is not unusual, as manuscripts are often corrected in varying degrees of thoroughness. Perhaps the corrector did not want to mar the appearance of these luxurious treasures any more than was necessary.

²⁵ F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and R.W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 26 (§ 46[1]).

²⁶ The scribe of 042 also corrected μαγδαλαν to μαγδαλα (042¹) at Matt 15:39 for the same reason.

²⁷ Jean Gribomont writes, "Purple codices are less subject to corrections which may damage their luxurious parchment," in "The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text," 195.

It is possible that the second exemplar to which 022 and 042 were corrected was the exemplar of 043. The second exemplar certainly preserved more majority readings than the manuscript of which 022 and 042 are copies, and Hermann von Soden recognised that the exemplar of 043 was closer to the majority text than that of 022 and 042.28 Additionally, the Mark volumes of Text und Textwert place 043 as closer in agreement with the Majority Text (89.3% [158/177 readings in agreement]) than either 042 (84.1% [159/189]) or 022 (83.0 [73/88]).29 Among secondary corrections where 043 differs from the majority text, 042 agrees with 043 more often than with the majority of manuscripts, though admitedly, some secondary corrections do not align the text with that of 043. Codex 043 does bear some striking similarities to 022 and 042. All three manuscripts have large letters in 2 columns (though 022 has 16 lines per column, 042 has 20 and 043 has 17). Both 042 and 043 have gold used for the first lines of the Gospels.³⁰ Both 022 and 043 use gold ink for *nomina sacra* referring to God or Jesus, though these golden names are limited to the first six leaves of Matthew in 043.31 All three manuscripts are written in predominantly silver ink on purple parchment in biblical majuscule, though 042 and 043 have kephalaia lists in upright pointed majuscule. Both 022 and 042, along with Codex Sinopensis (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, supp. gr. 1286; GA 023) are copies of the same exemplar, and 043 is a close textual relative from the same century. There is no scholarly doubt that 022, 042 and 043 originate from the same production centre, so it is entirely within the realm of possibility that the second exemplar to which 022 and 042 was corrected was none other than the exemplar of 043, or at least one of its closer relatives.

Finally, the situation tentatively proposed here is consistent with what one would expect from each scribe involved.³² The scribe of o22 is the least competent of the scribes of the three purple codices o22, o23 and o42. He or she is limited to biblical majuscule, often makes non-sensical blunders and has the worst orthography of the three scribes. This scribe is one who possibly had not yet mastered the craft of manuscript production, and in light of the extravagance of the purple codex he or she was producing, it is almost expected that a senior scribe might have needed to give a final approval before the codex was sent to its recipient. Such a working relationship is evident in Codex Sinaiticus, where, as Jongkind notes, "scribe D corrects his own work and that of scribe A, but scribe A limits himself to correcting his own work."³³ The scribe of o42 bears every characteristic of such a senior scribe. He or she was highly trained—competent in multiples styles of handwriting—and took the liberty to change the text much more often than any of the other scribes and who knew the Gospel of Mark well

²⁸ "17 [043] rückt von ihnen [022, 023 and 042] etwas ab, doch nur durch die weitere Abwandlung des Textes nach K," in Hermann von Soden, ed., *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt*, vol. 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1911), 1246.

²⁹ Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, eds., *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments: IV. Die synoptischen Evangelien: 2. Das Markusevangelium: 1:1. Handschriftenliste und vergleichende Beschreibung*, ANTF 26 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1998), 29–31.

On the first page of each Gospel in 042, the first three lines of each column are in gold. The first line of each column on the first page of Mark is gold in 043; no first lines survive in 022.

³¹ Batiffol, Les manuscrits Grecs de Bérat d'Albanie, 21.

Hixson, "Gospel of Matthew in a Sixth-Century Manuscript Family." For conclusions about the scribe of 022, see 130–131 for a preliminary assessment based on the tendencies of the scribe in the sections where all three manuscripts are extant and 161–163 for an assessment that also takes into account the textual changes made where at least two of the three manuscripts are extant. For the conclusions about the scribe of 023, see 131 and 182–184; for the scribe of 042, see 132 and 219–222.

Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, 44, but see 39–57 on the interactions of scribes A and D.

enough to make harmonisations *in scribendo*. It is within the realm of possibility that 042 and 022 are, respectively, the works of a master and his or her apprentice.

6 Lists of 022² and 042² corrections

In the following tables, it is assumed that the correction brings the manuscript into alignment both with 043 and with the majority of manuscripts (or only the majority of manuscripts where 043 is not extant) unless otherwise noted in the footnotes.

6.1 0222 Corrections

Table 7: List of 0222 Corrections

Text	Location	Correction	Uncorrected Reading
Matt 11:22 ³⁴	St. Petersburg f. 28r	οτι γη σοδομων	τυρω και σιδωνι
Matt 12:15 ³⁵	St. Petersburg f. 30v	οχλοι πολλοι	οχλοι λοι
Matt 12:37 ³⁶	St. Petersburg f. 33v	δικαιωθηση	δικαιωθη
Matt 16:4 ³⁷	New York f. v	γενεα	Και αποκριθεις ο ις ειπεν
			γενεα
Matt 18:10 ³⁸	St. Petersburg f. 46v	add εν ουρανοις	no addition

The exemplar lacked oτι at Matt 11:24 (as does 042*), which is also on St. Petersburg f. 28r, but in column 2. The addition should have taken place between lines 13 and 14; the correction in 042 occurs at the end of the line (90[v], col. 2, line 9). In this instance, the corrector saw the need for correction, found the place for the correction (in col. 2), but mistakenly made the correction at approximately the sample place in col. 1.

The script of the correction also merits a few remarks. The scribe of 022 usually makes 0 with two strokes, \subseteq and \supseteq often leaving the top of 0 unconnected. The scribe of 042, on the other hand, usually makes 0 with a single round stroke. Additionally, δ in 022 is usually simple. The two obliques meet at the top with only a slight flourish if any, and the base is a thin horizontal that occasional extends to the right, and even more seldom ends in a slight serif. The shape is that of an almost-mechanical triangle made in three straight strokes, counter-clockwise, without lifting the pen. On the other hand, δ in 042 is far more elaborate. The right oblique (\) extends above the left oblique, much like in the modern lower-case λ , and the base is a long thin horizontal, extending on both sides with large serifs at each end. The correction at Matt 11:22, although it is within the range of the script of 022, is a closer match to the normal script of 042, especially in 0 and δ . The correction itself brings the text into alignment with the majority of manuscripts.

- ³⁵ See the discussion of this correction in Hixson, "Gospel of Matthew in a Sixth-Century Manuscript Family," 137.
- The uncorrected reading δ ικαιωθη is an agrist passive subjunctive, 3rd-person singular, which is contextually nonsensical; the correct reading is the future passive indicative, 2nd-person singular form. The letter σ is taller than it is broad, and it appears to be made with a single stroke.
- This correction is made with a series of marks in the text. The addition of the words και αποκριθη ο ι(ησου)ς είπεν is found only in the manuscripts 022, 023 and 042. In 022, it comprises all but the final letters of two lines. Almost all of the letters have deletion dots above them, and each line is accompanied by a diplé in the left margin (>). The diplé in the second line is between the text and the Ammonian section/Eusebian canon numbers, indicating that only the main text is to be deleted. Most of the letters have oblique strikes through their lower parts, and curved marks are next to the first and last letters of the first line and the last letter of the deleted text on the second line.
- The curve on the initial ε turns upward prematurely, as if the scribe began to write with upright pointed majuscule but decided to blend the writing to match the biblical majuscule of 022 more

Text	Location	Correction	Uncorrected Reading
Matt 21:1 ³⁹	Vatican f. 4v	βηθ'φαγη	βηθ'σφαγη
Matt 26:60 ⁴⁰	London f. 2r	add ουκ ηυρον	no addition
Mark 9:23 ⁴¹	Patmos f. 10v	add πιστευσαι	no addition
Mark 10:19 ⁴²	Patmos f. 16r	μη αποστερησης τιμα	τιμα
Mark 15:7 ⁴³	Patmos f. 32r	συνστασιαστων	στασιαστων
Luke 3:33 ⁴⁴	St. Petersburg f. 56r	omit	του αρνι
Luke 9:31 ⁴⁵	St. Petersburg f. 68r	ελεγον	ελεγον δε
Luke 12:36 ⁴⁶	St. Petersburg f. 69v	κν (κυριον)	κε (κυριε)
Luke 20:24 ⁴⁷	St. Petersburg f. 104r	δηναριον οι δε εδιξαν και ει[πεν] τινος	δηναριον τινος εχει
Luke 24:13 ⁴⁸	Vienna f. 49r	εξηκοντα	εκατον εξηκοντα
John 1:26-27a ⁴⁹	St. Petersburg f. 118r	οιδαται αυτος εστιν ο οπισω	οιδαται ο οπισω

closely. Other round letters are narrower than tall but not as narrow as is typical of the 022^2 corrector. The oblique of ν connects at the top of the first vertical, whereas the original scribe of 022 usually connects the oblique nearer to the middle of the first vertical.

- The σ is scraped away. Scraping is typical of the original scribe of 022, but my identification of this correction as secondary rests mainly on the fact that the original scribe of 022 does not otherwise exhibit any interest in correcting the spelling of place names, but the scribe of 042 does. The scraping is gentle; the corrector was careful not to mar the parchment to the effect that flecks of ink remain in both 022 and 042. The majority text is divided between the two readings, but the correction agrees with 043.
- Both 022 and 042 have the same correction here *in subs*tance (022: ουκ ηυρο at the end of a line, and 042: ου ηυρο in the middle of a line); 023 is not extant.
- ⁴¹ Cf. Duchesne, who writes, "ΠΙCΤΕΥCAI ajouté en onciales et en argent, de la méme main," in "Fragments de l'évangile selon saint Marc," 396.
- This correction harmonises the text to the parallels in Matt 19:18 and Luke 18:20.
- This correction is likely due to a mistake whereby the scribe of o22 omitted a syllable. It is unlikely that the correction here reveals anything about the second exemplar.
- These two words are marked for deletion by deletion dots above the letters and oblique strokes through them, accompanied by a diplé to the left of the line, like the omission by the second corrector at Matthew 16:4.
- The omission is made the same way as other omissions by the second corrector: deletion dots above the letters and oblique strokes through them.
- The scribe wrote $\kappa \epsilon$ with gold ink, but the 022² corrector struck through the ϵ and added v, both with silver ink.
- The correction harmonises the text to parallels at Matt 22:19 and Mark 12:16, but the majority of manuscripts lack this addition.
- ⁴⁸ Stanley E. Porter and Wendy J. Porter (*New Testament Greek Papyri and Parchments: New Edi*tions: Texts, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Wendy J. Porter, MPER NS 29 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008], 150, 155.) incorrectly identify this correction as the work of the original scribe. They are correct that the letters are "crossed out with short diagonal strokes" but they neglect to mention that each letter also has a deletion dot above it. Because is the same way the second corrector deleted the long addition in Matthew 16:4, and because the original scribe usually scrapes off or blots out letters for deletions, this correction at Luke 23:14 is, in my opinion, the work of the second corrector. I am thankful to James Snapp Jr. for drawing my attention to this correction.
- The corrector erased the words o οπισω and wrote the correction over it, extending into the margin. In the space normally used for the biblical text in 022, the corrector used biblical majuscule in large letters that are only slightly smaller than those of the original text. The letters –τιν ο

Text	Location	Correction	Uncorrected Reading
John 1:27b50	St. Petersburg f. 118v	ερχομενος ος εμπροοσθεν (μου) γεγονεν ου ουκ ειμει	ερχομενος ου ουκ ειμει
John 6:15 ⁵¹	St. Petersburg f. 136r	ποιησουσιν αυτον	ποιησουσί
John 7:39	St. Petersburg f. 145r	γαρ ην πνα αγιον	γαρ ην πνα
John 8:42 ⁵²	St. Petersburg f. 149v	εγω γαρ δια την αληθιαν εκ του $\overline{\theta \nu}$	εγω γαρ εκ του $\overline{\theta \upsilon}$
John 17:11	St. Petersburg f. 159v	ους εδωκας	ω εδωκας
John 17:12	St. Petersburg f. 159v	ους εδωκας	κ(αι) ους εδωκας
John 19:28	St. Petersburg f. 170r	παντα ηδη τετελεσται	παντα ηδη παντα
John 20:10	St. Petersburg f. 173r	απηλθον ουν παλιν εαυτου οι μαθητα[ι]	omit v. 10

6.2 0422 Corrections

Table 8: List of 0422 corrections53

Text	Location	Correction	Uncorrected Reading
Matt 11:24	90(v)	οτι γη σοδομων	γη σοδομων
Matt 12:3	92(v)	add $(\alpha v \tau)o[\varsigma]$	επινασεν και
Matt 12:50a ⁵⁴	102(v)	οστις	ος
Matt 13:27 ⁵⁵	107(r)	τα ζιζανια	ζιζανια
Matt 15:16 ⁵⁶	124(v)	ο δε ι(ησου)ς ειπεν	ο δε ειπεν

comprise a gradual shift in appearance. The τ is smaller than σ but larger than ι . The ι and ν are the same height as the following letters, but σ is slightly wider than the σ of σ that follows it. By the word σ is σ , the hand is upright pointed majuscule.

The corrector made use of the strokes that he or she could; the curve of o, the bowl of ν and the vertical of κ in $o\nu\kappa$ become the curve of ϵ , the bowl of μ and the first vertical of π , respectively.

The corrector erased the supralinear nu-line and wrote the letters $v \alpha v | \tau v v$.

The corrector erased $-\gamma\omega$ γαρ and wrote the letters $-\gamma\omega$ γαρ $\delta\iota|\alpha$ την $\alpha\lambda\eta\theta\iota|\alpha\nu$ in their place. The final letters, $\alpha\nu$, are written in biblical majuscule where γαρ originally stood, though the rest of the correction was added in small letters of upright pointed majuscule in the inner margin. The addition is singular according to the apparatuses of Tischendorf, Soden, NA²⁸ and the IGNTP volumes on John (D.C. Parker and W.J. Elliott, eds., *The New Testament in Greek IV: The Gospel According to St. John, Volume One: The Papyri*, NTTS 20 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1995); Schmid, Elliott, and Parker, *The New Testament in Greek IV: The Gospel According to St. John, Volume* Two: *The Majuscules*).

Because Gebhardt and Gribomont have already discussed secondary corrections in 042, notes and descriptions of the physical features of these corrections are limited. Both Gebhardt and Gribomont note a correction at Matt 26:39, in which προσελθων was corrected to προελθων by a deletion point above σ. In my estimation, this instance is not a correction but merely a stray splatter of ink. The mark itself is splotchy and does not resemble the clean deletion points used elsewhere.

o22 is not extant here. This correction is one of two corrections at Matt 12:50. See Hixson, "Gospel of Matthew in a Sixth-Century Manuscript Family," 514–515, n. 38.

The article $\tau\alpha$ is added in the margin, agreeing with 043 but not with 022 or the majority of manuscripts. Traces of the ink of the correction are imprinted in the margin of 106(v).

The ς is more broad than narrow; the letters are an interlinear addition.

Text	Location	Correction	Uncorrected Reading
Matt 15:31 ⁵⁷	127(r)	τους οχλους	τον οχλον
Matt 16:23 ⁵⁸	133(r)-134(v)	μου ει	ει μου
Matt 19:9 ⁵⁹	151(r)	μη επι πορνια και γαμηση αλλην μοιχαται	μη επι πορνια ποιει αυτην μοιχευθηναι
Matt 19:28	154(v)	ακολουθησαντες μοι	ακολουθησαντες
Matt 21:1 ⁶⁰	162(v)	βηθ'φαγη	βηθσφαγη
Matt 21:5 ⁶¹	163(r)	πωλον	επι πωλον
Matt 21:15b ⁶²	165(r)	κραζοντας	τους κραζοντας
Matt 26:3 ⁶³	206(v)	την αυλην του αρχιερεω[ς] το[υ] λεγομενου καιαφα	την αυλην του λεγομενου καιαφα
Matt 26:59 ⁶⁴	217(r)	οπως αυτον θανατωσωσιν	wste auton θ anatwsai 65
Matt 26:60a ⁶⁶	217(r)	add $\delta\epsilon$	no addition
Matt 26:60b	217(r)	add ου ηυρο	no addition
Matt 27:38	226(v)	σταυρουνται συν αυτω	σταυρουνται αυτω
Mark 1:7	244(v)	ο ισχυοτερος μου	ο ισχυοτερος

- Only the endings of the noun and its article were changed, but the correction aligns 042 with the majority of manuscripts against 043. 022 is not extant here.
- ⁵⁸ It appears that both words ει μου were erased; they were the first words on 134(v). The word ει is obscured, and it seems that it was incorrectly erased and rewritten in its original place. The word μου is written in a ligatured form in the margin after the final line on 133(r). 022 is not extant here.
- ⁵⁹ The hand of this correction is artificially thickened.
- 60 Matt 21:1 was corrected in the same manner in 042 as in 022.
- It is possible that this correction is a harmonisation to the text of quotation of Zech. 9:9 beneath the miniature of the entrance into Jerusalem on 2(v). On that quotation, see Elijah Hixson, "Forty Excerpts from the Greek Old Testament in Codex Rossanensis," *JTS* 67 (2016): 514, 518. This correction aligns the text of 042 to that of 043, against the majority of manuscripts.
- Matt 21:15 is difficult. There appears to be a correction made *in scribendo* just before τους κραζοντας; the scribe seems to have made a leap, resulting in παιζον– just before a line break. Gribomont considered this correction to be made *in scribendo*, in "The Rossano Gospels: The Biblical Text," 194. The letters seem blotted out, but the replacement letters are uncharacteristic of the 042¹ corrections. They are much larger than normal and appear artificially thickened. However, what appears as artificial thickened strokes in this case could merely be the need to retrace letters (done imperfectly) because of the altered parchment from the correction. The article τους is deleted by deletion dots over the letters, though they, too, are larger than normal. It is possible, in this case, that this correction could be assigned the designation 042¹. Still, I hesitantly consider it to be a secondary correction; Gebhardt numbered it with the other secondary corrections, in "Die Evangelien des Matthaeus und des Marcus aus dem Codex Purpureus Rossanensis," lii.
- ⁶³ 042* is singular at Matt 26:3; it is possible that in this instance, the scribe did not correct the reading in the first round of corrections and added the missing words when the manuscript was corrected against the second exemplar.
- ⁶⁴ Pierre Batiffol gives the reading of 043 here as 0πως αυτον θανατωσωσιν, in *Les manuscrits Grecs de Bérat d'Albanie*, 82. However, the images of 043 taken by the Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts (http://www.csntm.org/manuscript/View/GA_043 [accessed 28 July 2017]) reveal that Batiffol's word order is incorrect. The word order in 043 is 0πως θανατωσωσιν αυτον.
- There is an *in scribendo* correction at Matt 26:59 in 042 as well. The scribe originally wrote wote auton $\theta\omega$ before correcting it immediately to wote auton $\theta\alpha$ uatwoal. This reading is a scribal change as well; 022 has $0\pi\omega$ 0 auton $\theta\alpha$ 0 autonously.
- ⁶⁶ The corrections at Matt 26:60 a–b go against both 043 and the majority of manuscripts.

Text	Location	Correction	Uncorrected Reading
Mark 1:19 ⁶⁷	246(v)	προβας εκειθεν ολιγον	προβας εκειθεν
Mark 4:11 ⁶⁸	265(r)	λεγεται	γινεται
Mark 10:1 ⁶⁹	317(r)	του περαν	δια του περαν
Mark 10:16 ⁷⁰	319(r)	ηυλογει	κατηυλογει
Mark 15:46 ⁷¹	373(r)	ιωσηφ· ο δε ιωσηφ αγορασας	ιωσηφ· και αγορασας

⁶⁷ It is possible that the omission of ολιγον in 042^* was a scribal error. There is a gap between the final ω of εκειθεν and the first letter of the following word, but the long descender of ρ in $\pi\rho\sigma\beta\alpha\varsigma$ intrudes into that space. The scribe left room for the descender of ρ , rather than writing over it, and the pause to make the decision could have distracted the scribe from writing ολιγον.

o22 is not extant here, but the uncorrected reading at Mark 4:11 agrees with both o43 and the majority text.

⁶⁹ It is difficult to determine whether this erasure should be designated 042¹ or 042², but the latter seems more likely. The ink is not fully erased, suggesting that it had dried before the correction was made. Furthermore, 022 is extant here, and the original text of 042 agrees with 022, which lacks a correction. Gebhardt considered this correction to be one of the number made against a second exemplar, in "Die Evangelien des Matthaeus und des Marcus aus dem Codex Purpureus Rossanensis," lii.

⁷⁰ The correction at 10:16 has the same set of circumstances as the correction at 10:1. They are both imperfect erasures, changing the text away from 022, and Gebhardt considered them both to be corrections made to a second exemplar. The majority of manuscripts have ευλογει, but 042² aligns with 043, having the variant form ηυλογει.

Neither 022 nor 043 is extant here. The uncorrected text of 042 agrees with the majority of manuscripts. The correction is difficult to see because of Nestori Leoni's attempt at restoration, during which he covered the final folios in crêpeline (made of silk), as Marina Bicchieri confirmed by Raman spectroscopy, in "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 Res*earch 21 (2014): 14149.