The Joshua Roll

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I. The Relationship of Text and Picture

The Joshua Roll (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. gr. 431) is a ten-meter long parchment scroll, approximately 30 centimeters tall, illustrating portions of the first half of the book of Joshua with selections from chapters two through ten of the Septuagint.[1] Fragmentary scenes at the beginning and end indicate that portions are currently missing from both the front and the back. Each of the fifteen folios has color drawings above corresponding text, verses drawn from the Greek Old Testament. As with the making of papyrus scrolls in antiquity, the scribe and artist of the Rotulus "took up not a blank sheet … , but a blank roll;" like the writers of classical bookrolls, both of them "did not pay attention to the glue joins (κολλήσεις) between the manufactured sheets (κολλήματα)."[2] In 1902 the parchments were detached and separated and are currently preserved under Plexiglas.

The illuminations of the manuscript have been well-studied, but the text that accompanies this imagery has failed to receive detailed attention. In studies of the Roll the writing was considered secondary and subordinate to the imagery, "clear that the pictures were of greater importance than the text."[3] It was generally agreed that the Rotulus "is a highly narrative set of pictures and the text is very much in second place."[4] In a recent compendium of Early Christian manuscript painting these verse excerpts could be dismissed simply as "nothing but an abridgement of the Greek Old Testament."[5] The texts are only cited at length in the two facsimiles of the manuscript, the first published

1 For the dimensions of the sheets of the Joshua Roll, Mazal, *Josua-Rolle* 11:
Folio 1) 305/310x660 mm
Folio 2) 305x735 mm
Folio 3) 300/315x640/650 mm
Folio 4) 310/315x505/520 mm
Folio 5) 305/315x780 mm
Folio 6) 310x670 mm
Folio 7) 315x770 mm
Folio 8) 310x670 mm
Folio 9) 310x675/680 mm
Folio 10) 310x780/785 mm
Folio 11) 310/315x760/763 mm
Folio 12) 310/315x745/750 mm
Folio 13) 310/315x895 mm
Folio 14) 305x890 mm
Folio 15) 300x420 mm
Cf. *Il Rotulo* 1: "Ma fino al 1902 non era così. Le pergamene, incollate una all'altra, formavano un'unica striscia della lunghezza di m. 10,459."

2 Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 88.

3 Rodley, *Byzantine Art* 186: "This [the lacunae in the verse excerpts], plus the fact that the text is an abbreviated one, makes it clear that the pictures were of greater importance than the text."

4 Cormack, *Byzantine Art* 106. Cf. Lietzmann, "Josuarolle" 184: "Hier haben wir es mit einer Rolle zu tun, bei der ersichtlich der Text die Nebensache und die Bilder die Hauptsache waren."

5 Sörries, *Christlich-antike Buchmalerei* 141: "Dieser Text ist nur ein Exzerpt des Septuaginta-Textes."

in 1905 in black and white (*Il Rotulo*) and the second in 1984 in color to scale as an actual scroll (Mazal, *Josua-Rolle*); and even there the verse excerpts are treated to a large extent apart from the miniatures, in the latter case placed alone in a separate chapter and in the former relegated usually to the very end of the discussion of each scene without further comment.

The writing is the work of at least two different scribes.[6] Hand A, as named in the earlier literature, provided only the legends written in uncial, square capitals, found here and there on Folios 6 through 11 and Folio 13. This contribution, some of the nametags in Scenes 11 (2 legends), 15 (2), 17 (1), 18 (1), 19 (1), 22 (7), 26 (1), 27 (1), and 30 (1), has been associated with the illuminator, faithfully copying the preexisting model for the Rotulus and repeating in his lettering the same 'graphic' details as found in the drawings.[7] Hand A is printed on the page, as written, all in capital letters. The so-called Hand B wrote other legends and each of the verse excerpts drawn from the Septuagint in majuscule where the letters remain of approximately equal height despite already exhibiting the growing influence of the minuscule book hand in some words and a few ligatures. Recently Otto Kresten identified the same handwriting in a manuscript of Saint John Chrysostom's commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rossianus 169).[8] The manuscript, written by 'Basileios, monk and καλλιγράφος', a scribe active in the 960s and 970s, is dated 961, thus attaching the verse excerpts of the Joshua Roll in all probability to the third quarter of the tenth century. Hand B, the writing of 'Basil the calligrapher', is *scriptio continua*. It is printed here with separations between words in lower case letters, except for initial capitals.

On the Roll the legends of Hand A were first assumed to be original while the writing of Hand B was deemed a later addition. For Hans Graeven, "The Joshua Roll of

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6 Mazal, *Josua-Rolle* 23: "Lediglich wenige Beischriften wie ἄνδρες Ἰεριχώ auf Blatt 5 [verse excerpt 9 – Scene 10], πόλις Ἰεριχώ auf Blatt 6 [verse excerpt 9 – Scene 10] oder Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυή und Ἰσραηλῖται auf Blatt 7 [verse excerpt 12 – Scene 13] könnten Texte einer Hand C sein, da sie in Tinte und Duktus von Hand B weiter sich zu entfernen scheinen."

7 Kresten, "Biblisches Geschehen" 6: "einige von ihnen [Legenden], vor allem jene, die in einem engen räumlichen Zusammenhang mit der jeweiligien Szene stehen, sind ohne Zweifel auf den Maler zurückzuführen, dem wir die Miniaturen der vatikanischen Rolle verdanken. Da sich dieser Künstler eines anderen Schreib- bzw. Malinstruments bediente als der καλλιγράφος Basileios, war er in der Lage, in diesen Fällen auch die graphischen Einzelheiten der Vorlage, etwa den akzentuierten Gegensatz von Haar- und Schattenstrichen oder Zierelemente an den Schäften und Balken, sehr genau wiederzugeben;" and Weitzmann, *Joshua Roll* 43: "Some of the inscriptions are written in a fine, stylish uncial, apparently by the painter himself."

8 Kresten, "Biblisches Geschehen" 3: "Einzig der Umstand, dass Basileios im Rossianus die Ethika, die den Chrysostomos-Text begleiten, in den Freirändern in einer informellen Majuskel schrieb, liefert eine ausreichende Handhabe für einen Vergleich mit den Majuskeln des Bibeltextes im Josua-Rotulus;" and Kresten, *Il Rotolo di Giosuè (BAV, Pal. gr. 431) e gli Ottateuchi* 18–19.
For BAV, Rossianus 169, formerly Vienna, Wiener Jesuitenkollegium, Bibliotheca Rossiana Codex 5 (VIII. 108), see Montfaucon, *Pal. Græca* 511; Blanchino, *Evangeliarium quadruplex* 1, 563ff and pl. VI; Piccolomini, "Index Codicum Graecorum" 183; Van de Vorst, "Verzeichnis" 494; Vogel/Gardthausen, *griechischen Schreiber* 56; Gollob, "Handschriften der Rossiana" 10; Bick, *Schreiber* Nr. 2, 18–19; Kehr, "Aus der Bibliotheca Rossiana;" Diller, "Scipio Tettius' Index" 16, note 6; and most recently Gregorio, "Una lista" 105–8.
For a facsimile, Lefort and Cochez, *Palaeographisch Album* pl. 35: "A. D. 961, manu BASILII calligraphi monachi. — S. JOANNIS CHRYSOSTOMI Homiliae in Epistolam ad Romanos. Vindobonensis biblioth. Rossianae gr. 5. – F. 269v; 277 x 228 mm."

the Vatican Library originally bore no text but only a continuous row of pictures where here and there a particular name was inscribed for explanation."[9] So with regard to the verse excerpts, as Hans Lietzmann pointed out, "one is accustomed quite generally to view this text as a later addition and to deserve no further attention."[10]

Lietzmann recognized, however, that the Roll, both text and illuminations, was copied from an earlier model and that the maker of the current Joshua Roll worked from a preexisting set of pictures with captions: "He definitely had the text before him which he copied. Or to put it more sharply: our scribe was not the creator of the verse excerpts, but he found them already complete in his model."[11] It was recognized that these verse excerpts at the bottom of the parchment were planned to accompany the illuminations from the start. Following Weitzman, Victor Lazarev pointed out, "It was intended from the beginning that the illustrations of the Roll would be supplied with a text, for which, at the bottom a band was left empty, from 4.5 cm to 6.5 cm high."[12] It seems clear that the Joshua Roll was conceived to combine image and text.

Nevertheless, past generations of art historians believed, like Charles Rufus Morey, that "the scribe did not always pick his excerpts to fit the drawings."[13] In the same vein Kurt Weitzmann recognized in the pictures of the Joshua Roll "so many incongruities with regard to the underlying text;" the so-called "errors" Weitzmann lists, ten in number, are each in turn discussed with the corresponding scene.[14]

9 Graeven, "Typen der Wiener Genesis" 91: "Er [der Josuarotulus der Vaticanischen Bibliothek] trug ursprünglich gar keinen Text sondern nur eine fortlaufende Reihe von Bildern, denen hier und dort ein einzelner Name zur Erklärung beigeschrieben war." Cf. Gerstinger, *Die griechische Buchmalerei* 11: "der sogenannte Josua-rotulus der Vatikanischen Bibliothek … mit einer quer über die ganze Rollenlänge … ununterbrochen fortlaufenden erzählenden Illustrationenfolge zum Buche Josua und einem zum größeren Teil erst in erheblich späterer Zeit (im 10. Jahrhundert) beigesetzten, kurzen erläuternden Text;" Wulff, *altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst* 281: "Die kurzen Namensbeischriften in reiner Unziale gehören mit der Malerei zusammen, die begleitenden Textzusätze in mittelalterlicher Kursive sind erst im 9. oder 10. Jahrhundert an einem früheren Aufbewahrungsort der Handschrift hinzugefügt worden;" Morey, *Early Christian Art* 69: "This text is of the tenth century; the drawings can be assigned, in the writer's opinion, to the end of the seventh century or the beginning of the eighth;" and Ippel, "Josuarolle" 152: "Mit Bestimmtheit läßt sich jetzt sagen, daß sie [the verse excerpts] nicht zu gleicher Zeit geschrieben worden sein können, in der der Rotulus gemalt wurde."

10 Lietzmann, "Josuarolle" 181: "Diesen Text pflegt man ziemlich allgemein als späteren Zusatz anzusehn [*sic*] und keiner weiteren Beachtung zu würdigen."

11 Lietzmann, "Josuarolle" 183: "Er hat genau den Text vor sich gehabt, den er kopierte. Oder, um es schärfer zu fassen: nicht unser Schreiber war der Schöpfer dieses Exzerpttextes, sondern er fand ihn bereits in seiner Vorlage fertig."

12 Lazarev, *Storia* 172, note 46: "Era previsto fin dal principio che le illustrazioni del rotulo sarebbero state corredate da un testo, per la qual cosa, in basso, fu lasciata una fascia vuota, alta da quattro e mezzo a sei centimetri e mezzo;" and Weitzmann, *Joshua Roll* 46: "the lower edge varies between three and a half and six and a half centimeters. This clearly indicates … that free space for a short text underneath was calculated in the initial layout. Consequently … the much more natural assumption of the contemporaneity of text and pictures." Cf. Mazal, *Josua-Rolle* 25: "Dieser Umstand zeigt, daß der Bildfries nicht in die Mitte des Rotulus zentriert ist, sondern daß freier Raum für kurze Texte in der Konzeption des Layout einkalkuliert gewesen sein dürfte."

13 Morey, "Castelseprio" 188. Cf. Morey, "Notes" 46: "the text sometimes describes incidents not represented by the drawing above it."

14 Weitzmann, *Joshua Roll* 33–34.

1. "In the first scene the stele-like monument is hopelessly distorted" (Scene 2)
2. "[I]n the scene of the passing through the Jordan the topographical aspect is obscured by the omission of the streams of water, and confusion has resulted from the cutting up of the group of stone carriers and the insertion of one part of it in the preceding scene" (Scenes 5 and 6).
3. "In the fall of Jericho the city is burnt when it should collapse by itself" (Scene 10).
4. "Achan incongruously holds a lance while he is a prisoner" (Scene 17).
5. "[T]he destruction of the city of Ai is reduced to the attacking army and the capture of one prisoner, while both groups, reduced in scale and relegated to a place high up in the mountains, are fused without making sense" (Scene 23).
6. "[I]n the scene below, the executioner who is to hang the captured king is a Longinus type borrowed from a crucifixion scene" (Scene 25).
7. "The emissaries of the Gibeonites are reduced in number and their attributes, so essential to the understanding of the text, are omitted" (Scenes 27 and 28).
8. "[I]n the defeat of the kings of the Amorites, their flight into the cave is relegated into a corner of the parchment sheet and its connection with the Joshua scene below thereby impaired" (Scene 31).
9. "Sometimes lavish with the space available, the artist not only expands, but even inserts a new scene, as in the case of the bringing of the captured kings" (Scene 33).
10. "[I]mmediately thereafter he economizes by condensing the composition of the hanged kings, superimposing them upon one another and reducing their scale" (Scene 35).

It was generally agreed that artist and author worked independently. Dimitri Tselos, for instance, rejected "the theory of collaboration between artist and scribe" as well as "the view that the text was added at the time the drawings were made."[15] Likewise, Morey concluded that the "assumption, of a close cooperation between artist and scribe, is impaired by the discrepancies between the excerpts and the illustration noted by both Tselos and Weitzmann."[16]

In large part, it has been the case that previous scholarship, focusing on the miniatures, dismissed the related primary sources explaining the imagery, on occasion even those written alongside the illuminations. For this reason past authors felt free to overlook the selections drawn from the Septuagint and even to associate the depictions on the Roll with different citations from the book of Joshua, as for example in the case of verse excerpts 3, 4, 5, 11, and 19, and in one instance even challenging the correctness of the identifying legend in Scene 28. It has been said that Weitzmann "completely ignored the text of the Roll as an indication of what its picture frieze represented."[17] It seems remarkable that scholars of the late nineteenth and twentieth-century presumed a better understanding of the work than the medieval scribe who wrote it. The premise of this study is that the verse excerpts provide the clearest and most accurate description of the illuminations, a point suggested in recent studies of the Rotulus.[18]

15 Tselos, "Joshua Roll" 281, note 49.

16 Morey, "Castelseprio" 178.

17 Lowden, "Illustrated Octateuch" 142

18 Lowden, *Octateuchs* 110: "Considering the scenes in relation to their accompanying texts … The composition in the Joshua Roll is perfectly satisfactory as an illustration of its accompanying text;" and Kresten, "Parerga" 197: "Dazu noch eine methodische Vorbemerkung, obgleich sie an sich so banal ist, daß es sich

With regard to the miniatures, it has been recognized before that "in these and other scenes a number of successive episodes belonging to the same narrative are shown by means of the continuous method of representation against the background of an unbroken landscape. Other episodes, however, are composed as genuinely isolated pictures each of which is a unit in itself."[19] Corresponding to the divisions of the miniatures, verse excerpts are sometimes limited to a single vignette (numbered here as Scenes 1 through 36, following Mazal's commentary to the *Josua-Rolle* facsimile).[20] At other times the writing crosses underneath two or three, linking the various events together into a single narrative, matching Kresten's total for the number of scenes (here labeled verse excerpts 1 through 27).[21]

Regularly dividing an individual episode and its corresponding verse excerpt from its neighbors are decorative elements, what Weitzmann termed 'the inserted motifs', such as small-scale constructions and landscaping—trees, rock formations and steeply sloping hills.[22] When multiple scenes are grouped above a single verse excerpt, the episodes may be relegated to different sections of the parchment, but they are never physically separated one from another. So above verse excerpt 3 there is a cliff behind but not between Joshua and the priests carrying the Ark of the Covenant. Likewise, at the fall of Jericho (verse excerpt 9 – Scene 10), the seizure and execution of Achan (verse excerpt 17 – Scenes 18 and 19), the battle at Ai (verse excerpt 20 – Scene 22), the execution of the king of Ai (verse excerpt 21 – Scenes 23, 24 and 25), and the Gibeonites' initial visit to Joshua (verse excerpt 23 – Scenes 27 and 28), no architectural or landscape features isolate the successive groupings of figures. The capture and execution of the Amorite kings (verse excerpt 26 – Scenes 31, 32 and 34), divided by a tree and a volute-mounted pedestal, is the one striking exception where the sequence of episodes, discussed below, may have been disturbed {DIAGRAM 1}. In this way with the aid of 'the inserted motifs', the verse excerpts signal the boundaries of the different miniatures. Correspondingly, the passages from the Septuagint order the illuminations, determining how the

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bei ihr im Grunde um eine Selbstverständlichkeit handelt: Es sollte an sich klar sein, daß die Interpretation jeder Szene im Josua-Rotulus in erster Linie von jenen Begleittexten auszugehen hat, welche die einzelnen Ausschnitte begleiten und die den Wortlauf der entsprechenden Verse des Buches Josua mehr oder weniger stark kürzen beziehungsweise paraphrasieren." Already in the early sixteenth-century it had been noted by Marcantonio Michiel (1484–1552) that the rotulus was provided with "the explanation of the story in Greek" ("cum la explicatione della istoria in grecco") (Pontani, "Postille a Niccolò Leonico Temeo e Giovanni Ettore Maria Lascaris" 338). Cf. Zimmermann, "Erzählte Geschichte:" "Zwischen den Einzelszenen und dem paraphrasierten Bibeltext ist eine Harmonie erreicht, die die Entstehung des Zyklus in vorliegender Friesform auch nur zugleich mit der Redaktion des respektiven Textes zulässt."

19 Buchthal, *Paris Psalter* 63.

20 Mazal, *Josua-Rolle* 12: "Auf dem etwa 10 Meter langen erhaltenen Stück der Josua-Rolle sind 35 Szenen verschiedener räumlicher Ausdehnung und der Rest einer 36." Cf. Kresten, *Il Rotolo di Giosuè (BAV, Pal. gr. 431) e gli Ottateuchi* 11, note 4: "Sulla classificazione delle scene e sulla loro ripartizione sui 15 fogli conservati ('Segmente') cfr. ad es. le indicazioni (purtroppo non sempre esatte) in Mazal, *Josua-Rolle* 27–28; per una rettifica della numerazione e della suddivisione delle scene cfr. Kresten, *voce* 'Giosuè' 645."

21 Kresten, "Giosuè" 643: "Le ventisette scene, singole e a gruppi, sono di regola allineate l'una con l'altra in forma di fregio continuo." Cf. Kresten, "Biblisches Geschehen" 2: "die Ausdehnung des biblischen Textes markiert dabei sehr genau die jeweiligen Szenengrenzen;" and Weitzmann, *Joshua Roll* 52: "it will be observed that each pictorial unit corresponds with the text column below, so that the spectator is enabled, after viewing a scene, to read the accompanying passage before passing on to the next picture."

22 Weitzmann, *Joshua Roll* 51ff.

scenes should be read, either as a single event or as a continuous narrative comprised of sequential happenings. Usually the verse excerpts are placed only at the foot of the parchment, but where the text is divided top and bottom, as in Scenes 9 and 16, the break occurs at a meaningful juncture. When examined carefully, the selections from the book of Joshua reveal that they were coordinated closely with the illustrations.

Both the layout of the writing and the choice of wording are particularly revealing. Although generally unnoted in the past, there are small but meaningful deviations from the Septuagint text, for example, alterations in verse excerpts 4 (ἀνέλαβον for ἀνέλεσθε) and 26 (ἀπήγγειλον for ἀπηγγέλη), omissions in verse excerpts 23, 24 and 25 (εἰς Γάλγαλα twice and ἐκ Γαλγάλων once), and additions in verse excerpts 5 (τὸν Ἰορδάνην), 9 (ἕκαστος ἐξ ἐναντίας ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κατελάβετο τὴν πόλιν), 14 (Γαΐ), 20 (οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ), 23 (αὐτὰ τὰ ἱμάτια), 25 (φωνῆς ἀνθρώπου), 26 (τὸ στόμα τοῦ σπηλαίου), and 27 (μετὰ τὸ θανατῶσαι αὐτοὺς), both place names and other phraseology, to accord the wording of the passages with the illuminations. Frequently readings, especially those changes unique to the Joshua Roll, are significant, indicating how the adjoining picture should be viewed. On numerous occasions the emendations to the biblical passages reflect how the writer—whether author, editor or simply copyist—intended the scene to be understood. In other words, the changes suggest that the selections from the book of Joshua were adjusted to suit the pictures. As one might expect, the texts chosen to accompany the scenes are an integral and significant part of the work. What has been said of the illuminations in a related group of manuscripts, the Byzantine Octateuchs, applies equally to the Joshua Roll: "the short legends, which themselves come from the maker of the corresponding manuscripts, are more important for the interpretation of the content of the pictures than any modern iconographical description."[23]

It is now generally recognized that the surviving Rotulus is a copy of a similar work of earlier date. For example, "The text below the drawings in the Joshua Roll contains blank spaces, which can only be explained by the faintness or disappearance of parts of the writing in the ancient model before the eyes of the scribe."[24] Likewise, with regard to the Roll's illuminations Lietzmann previously made clear, "These pictures are, as doubtless established, not possibly original compositions but copied out of an older version."[25] For Kresten, the character of the depictions suggests it follows its predecessor carefully.[26]

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23 Parpulov, "Review Weitzmann and Bernabò, *Byzantine Octateuchs*" 425: "die kurzen Legenda, welche von den Herstellern der entsprechenden Handschriften selbst stammen, für die Inhaltsdeutung der Bilder wichtiger sind als jede moderne ikonographische Beschreibung."

24 Schapiro, "Joshua Roll" 49–50. Cf. Mazal, *Josua-Rolle* 26: "Daraus schloß Lietzmann zuletzt, daß der Schreiber eine ältere Josua-Rolle vor sich gehabt habe, eine Bilderrolle mit begleitendem Text;" Tselos, "Joshua Roll" 276–77: "the nature of the multitude of errors in the miniatures of the Roll should have been sufficient proof that it was copied from another similar roll;" Mango, "Cod. Vat. Regin. Gr. 1" 126: "I think it is equally certain that the Joshua Roll is a copy of a similar roll of much earlier date;" and Lowden, *Octateuchs* 107: "the implication is that the Roll is a careful reproduction of a similar object."

25 Lietzmann, "Josuarolle" 181: "Diese Bilder sind, wie unzweifelhaft feststeht, nicht etwa Originalkompositionen, sondern aus einer älteren Vorlage kopiert."

26 Kresten, "Giosuè" 645: "Egli [l'artista del rotulo] dovette adempiere questo incarico tanto fedelmente da non inserire nulla di proprio in quei punti dove il suo modello era danneggiato, bensì riprodurre pedissequamente ciò che vedeva, o credeva di vedere, come per es[empio] nel caso della fune mancante

Evidence for the fidelity of the Roll to its lost model comes from three ivory panels showing the battle at Ai, the execution of the king of Ai, and the Gibeonite ambassadors before Joshua, which once belonged to the same Rosette casket and are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (17.190.137a–c; formerly 17.190.135–137) {FIGURE 10}.[27] These three panels, in particular, closely resemble the corresponding scenes on the Joshua Roll with regard both to their imagery and inscriptions. The exact nature of this relationship has been a matter of discussion.[28] Leaving aside the specific details they share, which are mentioned together with the related episodes from the Rotulus, it is clear that these ivories contain information necessary for the understanding of the scenes that is absent from the manuscript, namely what the hangman at the execution of the king of Ai held in his hands (verse excerpt 21 – Scene 25) and what the Gibeonite envoys are presenting to Joshua (verse excerpt 23 – Scene 28). These additional details are essential to the meaning of the two episodes so it seems unlikely they could be the invention of the ivory carver. These features must still have been visible on the model or at least capable of being deciphered by a craftsman who, as witnessed by the inscriptions he added, wanted his carvings to be understandable. Their presence implies that the sculptor of the reliefs copied not the Roll itself, where they are no longer seen, but its predecessor. With the three ivories, it seems, dependent upon the model for the Rotulus, rather than the Rotulus itself, then the striking similarities shared with the cor-

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nell'immagine dell'esecuzione del re di Ai;" Kresten, "Parerga" 209: "der Künstler der vatikanischen Rolle mit fast schon sklavisher Treue all das wiedergab, was er in seinem Modell noch sehen konnte;" and Kresten, "Biblisches Geschehen" 5: "Der Meister des Josua-Rotulus kopierte nun, seinem Auftrag folgend und in absoluter Analogie zu dem Vorgehen des Schreibers des Bibeltextes der Rolle, des καλλιγράφος Basileios, getreu all das, was er in seiner Vorlage noch erkennen konnte, ohne sich auf interpretierende Zusätze oder Veränderungen einzulassen."

27 Included in the Morgan bequest to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1917, the three panels were purchased as part of a lot of 8 pieces for £11,000 from "G[odefroy] Brauer, 57 Rue Pigalle, Paris … 8 Mai 1912 … 3 Plaques ivoire sujet profane avec inscription greque du IX siecle encadrement du XI siecle en os provenant de la Cathedrale de Lucca Italie" (New York, Morgan Library, *Morgan Collections Correspondence, 1887–1948,* [File] *B*, *Brauer, G*, "Receipted bill, 1912").

28 Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpturen* 23: "Dennoch scheint nicht diese Handschrift das direkte Vorbild gewesen zu sein, sondern eine ihr nahestehende, heute nicht mehr erhaltene, da auf der Elfenbeindarstellung Einzelheiten sich finden, die vom Rotulus abweichen und die in späten Oktateuchen vorkommen;" and Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology.* 152: "It could be shown, e.g., that several scenes of the Vatican Joshua Roll were copied [on Byzantine ivory 'rosette caskets'], sometimes even with text passages, which show the same lacunae as the short text that runs along the bottom of the parchment sheets of the Vatican Rotulus." Morey, "Review" 589: "the reliefs are not derived from the Rotulus directly."
On the other hand, Schapiro, "Joshua Roll" 61: with the recognition of a relationship between the New York ivories and "themes which occur in the Vatican Roll in closely related compositions." For Connor, "New Perspectives" 104: "a close connection between ivory and manuscript must be assumed;" and Lowden, "Illustrated Octateuch" 132–33: "The ivories, whose manufacture would appear to be approximately contemporary with that of the (surviving) roll, … were probably based directly and independently on the roll (rather than on its model)." For Kresten, "Giosuè" 645: "Inoltre, andrebbe meglio chiarita anche la questione delle relazioni del rotulo di G[iosuè] con l'iconografia, praticamente identica, di diverse scene tratte dal libro di G[iosuè] presenti su due cassettine d'avorio," concluding in Kresten, *Il Rotolo di Giosuè (BAV, Pal. gr. 431) e gli Ottateuchi* 34, note 45: "Che queste cassette discendano direttamente dal modello dell'attuale Rotolo Vaticano (e non da quest'ultimo stesso) si desume dalla circostanza che in uno dei tre pezzi del Metropolitan Museum di New York, ossia nell'avorio con la scena dell'esecuzione del re di Ai … , l'iconografia originale (con la fune nella mano del boia) viene riprodotta in maniera lievemente più completa di quanto non si riscontri nel Rotolo Vaticano." Cf. Speck, "Rosettenkästchen."

responding scenes of the surviving manuscript—both in word and image—demonstrate that the Roll as well follows its source carefully. While differences in important details indicates that neither is a copy of the other, the close overall resemblance between the ivories and the manuscript confirms that each—independently—is a faithful rendering of the lost original.