

122. *Vat. 746, fol. 49r*

The inscription, which starts above the frame, reads: υἱοὺς θεοῦ νόμιξε τοὺς σῆθ ἐκγόνους ἐπιρρεπῶς βλέποντας εἰς θυγατέρας βροτῶν ἐχούσας τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ Καῖν.

Very close to *Ser.* and *Sm.*, and likewise flaked, especially in the lower left corner.

Located below Genesis 6:2.

Lit.: Kondakov, *Istoriia*, p. 189; Tikkanen, *Genesismosaiken*, p. 125, fig. 108; Kondakov, *Histoire*, vol. 2, p. 79; Uspenskii, p. 119, fig. 33; Hesselting, fig. 28; Diehl, *Peinture byz.*, pp. 93–94, pl. 81 no. 1; Hutter, "Übermalungen," pp. 140–41; Bernabò, "Laur. plut. 5.38," p. 156 n. 48; Walter, "Dextrarum Junctio," pp. 281–82, fig. 10; Bernabò, "Tradizioni siriache," pp. 304–5, fig. 4.

¹ Cf. Brock, "Jewish Traditions," p. 226, and P. S. Alexander, "The Targumim and Early Exegesis of 'Sons of God' in Genesis 6," *JJS* 23 (1972), pp. 60–71; L. R. Wickham, "The Sons of God and the Daughters of Men: Genesis VI.2 in Early Christian Exegesis," *OT* 19 (1974), pp. 135–47.

² *QuaestGen* 47 (PG 80, col. 150); cf. Walter, "Dextrarum Junctio," p. 281.

³ For this iconography in Byzantine art, see Walter, "Dextrarum Junctio," pp. 281–82, and G. Vikan, "Art and Marriage in Early Byzantium," *DOP* 44 (1990), pp. 145–63.

Genesis 6:5

GIANTS

Extraordinarily large in size, the giants are represented as armed wild men. In Christian texts the giants are described as sturdy, impious, or aged men, of above average build. On the other hand, the pseudepigrapha preserve an expanded narrative, handed down in 1 Enoch 6ff.,¹ where angels saw the "handsome and beautiful daughters" of men, desired them (6:1–2), and took them as wives (7:1); the women became pregnant and gave birth to great giants (7:2), from whom many sins originated. In that period the peoples learned the art of making swords, knives, shields, and breastplates (8:1). Besides this tale told in 1 Enoch, the Jewish tradition² considers the giants to be just warriors. These expansions of the Old Testament text fit the miniature more precisely than does the Septuagint text itself.

123. *Vat. 747, fol. 28r*

The inscription outside the frame in the upper left corner reads: σφαγεῖς γίγαντες τῶν κακῶν ἐφεύρεται.

The painter rendered the giants as a group of wild-looking hairy men of supernatural size. Four are shown in the front row, with one dressed in heavy armor, while the others wear mantles. The first carries sword and spear, and the second a double ax. The attribute in the left hand of the third is no longer recognizable but was most likely another axlike weapon, and the fourth holds a lance. Three more giants are visible in the second row, one of them likewise carrying a lance. All the figures have been overpainted and have flaked again in various spots.

Located in the catena; the text above is Genesis 6:2.

124. *Ser., fol. 54v*

The inscription reads: σφαγεῖς γίγαντες τῶν κακῶν ἐφεύρεται.

The giants are reduced to five in number, all of them lined up in a single row. They are stockier and clumsier in their proportions, whereby their supernatural size becomes even more pronounced. Moreover, their attitudes and weapons differ somewhat from those of the corresponding types in *Vat. 747*: the armed warrior at the left rests his weight on his right leg; the second giant holds an ax instead of a lance; the fourth, whose posture is similar to that of the fifth in *Vat. 747*, carries a lance in his right hand; and the fifth, who has no counterpart in the former miniature, holds a drawn sword like the first. The miniature, which never had a frame, is flaked in various places and torn and stained at the lower left-hand corner.

Located in the catena; the text above is Genesis 6:2.

125. *Sm., fol. 19r*

The miniature, which is close to *Ser.*, has been cut at the lower edge and is somewhat flaked.

126. *Vat. 746, fol. 50r*

The inscription reads: φονεῖς γίγαντες τῶν κακῶν ἐφεύρεται.

The miniature has been rubbed, perhaps intentionally by a pious hand, and is close to *Ser.* and *Sm.*

Located below Genesis 6:2.

Lit.: Kondakov, *Istoriia*, p. 189; Tikkanen, *Genesismosaiken*, p. 125, fig. 114; Kondakov, *Histoire*, vol. 2, p. 79; Uspenskii, p. 119, fig. 34; Hesselting, fig. 29; Repp, "Riesen," pp. 151–55; Henderson, "Influences," p. 175, pl. 33f; Henderson, "Sources," p. 12 n. 2; Dodwell, "Originalité," p. 321, pl. 2 no. 4; Hutter, "Übermalungen," p. 140; *Old English Hexateuch*, p. 66; Bernabò, "Laur. plut. 5.38," p. 150 n. 40; Bernabò, "Fonti testuali," p. 477, pl. 27 no. 1; Rickert, *Asbburnham Pent.*, pp. 144, 174.

¹ *OTP*, vol. 1, pp. 15ff.

² E.g., TargN on Gen 6:4 (*Neophyti 1: Targum Palestinense*, vol. 1, *Genesis*, ed. Díez Macho, Eng. trans. by McNamara and Maher, p. 511).

Genesis 6:10–14

GOD ORDERS NOAH TO BUILD THE ARK

127. *Vat. 747, fol. 28v*

Noah receives the order to build the ark from the hand of God and at the same time points to his three sons, Shem (LXX: Sem), Ham (LXX: Cham), and Japheth. The scene takes place before Noah's two-storied house and at the foot of a high mountain. The flower ornament painted on the golden background in suspended spandrels is apparently a later addition. Flaked in several spots.

Located below Genesis 6:19.

DESCRIPTION

128. *Ser.*, fol. 56v

The inscription reads: ἄνωθεν ὦ δίκαιε, τὴν θέσιν δέχῃ τὴν τῆς κιβωτοῦ τρισὶ σὺν τοῖς υἱέσιν.

The composition is the same as in Vat. 747, save that the postures and gestures of Noah and his sons are less differentiated and the architecture and landscape are omitted. Slightly flaked.

Located below Genesis 6:19.

129. *Sm.*, fol. 19v (see also text fig. 54)

The miniature, which is very close to *Ser.*, is somewhat flaked and appears to have been overpainted.

Located below Genesis 6:19.

130. *Vat. 746*, fol. 52r

The inscription reads: ἄνωθεν ὦ δίκαιε, τὴν θέσιν δέχῃ τὴν τῆς κιβωτοῦ τρισὶ σὺν τοῖς υἱέσιν.

Very close to *Ser.* and *Sm.* and slightly flaked.

Located below Genesis 6:19.

Lit.: Seroux d'Agincourt, *Histoire*, vol. 3, p. 68, and vol. 5, pl. 62 no. 3 (reproduced in the frontispiece of the present volume); Venturi, *Storia*, vol. 2, fig. 327; Uspenskii, p. 120, fig. 35; Hesselting, fig. 30; Henderson, "Sources," p. 23, pl. 13 no. 2; Kirigin, *Mano divina*, p. 137; Anderson, "Two Centers," p. 83; Crown, "Winchester Ps.," p. 30; Bergman, *Salerno*, p. 24, fig. 70; Rickert, *Ashburnham Pent.*, p. 143; Lowden, *Octs.*, pp. 13, 101, figs. 143, 144; Bernabò, "Studio," pl. 2.

Genesis 6:14–22

BUILDING OF THE ARK

After the directive to Noah, the cycle of the Flood proceeds with the construction of the ark and the calling of the animals to the ark. The next illustration is the first of a sequence of three miniatures (nos. 131–142) with two separate depictions of the ark painted rather schematically with scarce concession to any landscape background. The labors of Noah's sons in constructing the ark are not detailed in Genesis, and their activities here depend instead on representations of carpenters in ancient art.¹

131a. *Vat. 747*, fol. 29r

The inscription above the frame reads: ἡ κατασκευὴ τῆς κιβωτοῦ.

Noah sits in the upper left corner on a low bench, holding in one hand a strange tool composed of a sort of great wooden square with an upper axlike metal part, and in the other a plank. Each of his three sons performs a specialized task: the one at the lower left squares a plank which he holds upright, while other planks lie around him in the hilly landscape; the second holds a curved plank over an open fire; and the third drives thick nails into the roof of the ark, which is shaped like a rectangular casket. The scene is heavily flaked in many places.

Located below Genesis 7:9.

132a. *Ser.*, fol. 57v

The inscription written in the left margin reads: ἡ κατασκευὴ τῆς κιβωτοῦ.

Although the miniature is composed in a manner similar to that of the preceding one, the details vary greatly. The landscape is omitted, so that the figures of the upper zone seem to be suspended in midair. Noah is represented standing, not working but giving instructions to his sons. The son before him uses an ax on the curved bow of the ark, which is shaped like a ship rather than a casket, and he turns his head around, eagerly listening to his father's orders. The two sons in the lower zone have been interchanged, and the one at the left holds a plank over a fire, while the other squares a plank lying on the ground. Nearly two-thirds of the surface is flaked, but the traces still left indicate clearly that the composition was more or less identical to that of Vat. 747.

Located below Genesis 7:9.

133a. *Sm.*, fol. 20r

The scene is very close to *Ser.* and appears to have been largely overpainted, although it is now flaked heavily again.

Located below Genesis 7:9.

134a. *Vat. 746*, fol. 53v

The inscription is written in the margin to the left and, as far as it relates to the present scene, reads: ἡ κατασκευὴ τῆς κιβωτοῦ.

Very close to *Ser.* and *Sm.*

Located below Genesis 7:9.

Lit.: Uspenskii, p. 120, fig. 36; Hesselting, fig. 31; Redin, *Koz'my Indikoplova*, pp. 56–75, fig. 36; Troje, *AΔAM und ZΩH*, p. 70 n. 2; Neuss, *Katalan. Bibelill.*, p. 43; Der Nersessian, *Barl. et Joas.*, p. 104; Pijoán, *Summa artis*, vol. 7, p. 401, fig. 561; Menhardt, p. 301; Stern, "Sainte-Constance," p. 179 n. 99; Galavaris, *Gregory Naz.*, p. 135; Buschhausen, "Archemosaiks," p. 68 n. 54; Anderson, "Two Centers," p. 83; Bergman, *Salerno*, p. 25, fig. 70; Rickert, *Ashburnham Pent.*, p. 143, figs. 99, 100.

¹ See J. Weitzmann-Fiedler, "The Ivory of a Carpenter in the Art Museum, Princeton University," in *Ars Auro Prior: Studia Ioanni Bialostocki Sexagenario Dicata* (Warsaw, 1981), pp. 105–8.

Genesis 7:7–9

NOAH AND HIS FAMILY AND THE ANIMALS ENTER THE ARK

131b. *Vat. 747*, fol. 29r

The inscription above the frame reads: ἡ εἰς τὴν κιβωτὸν εἰσελευσῖς.

In the right half of the miniature Noah and his family (his three sons, his wife, and his three daughters-in-law) are assembled on the ark and looking over the side. In his left hand Noah holds a thick board, a detail appearing only in this manuscript; its shape, the holes at the visible end, and the way in which it is

held recall features of a *semantron*, which is struck with a mallet. According to Jewish and Christian tradition,¹ Noah used such an instrument to call the animals together. The lower story of the ark has a door on either side, through each of which one quadruped is disappearing while other animals approach. To the left are two snakes, an ass, a camel, a giraffe, and a rabbitlike creature, and to the right a stag. The scene has been overpainted and is partly flaked again, particularly in the upper zone.

Located below Genesis 7:9.

132b. *Ser.*, fol. 57v

The inscription that ran below the upper zone is completely destroyed except for a few strokes, but it apparently was worded like that in Vat. 747 and read: ἡ εἰς τὴν κιβωτὸν εἰσέλυσσις.

The surface of this miniature is severely flaked. Only a few traces are left of Noah and his wife standing next to him, while the figures of his sons and daughters-in-law are comparatively better preserved. In the lower part, which is particularly heavily damaged, not a single trace remains of the animals to which Noah points with his extended arm. Whereas in Sm. and Vat. 746 birds fill the sky around the ark, none seem to have been included in Ser., judging from the remains of the sky, and in this regard the miniature agrees with Vat. 747.

Located below Genesis 7:9.

133b. *Sm.*, fol. 20r

The shape of the ark and the grouping of Noah's family thoroughly agrees with Ser. Compared with Vat. 747, the number of quadrupeds is larger, but reptiles are entirely lacking. Two sheep, a pair of horses, and an ass approach the ark's left entrance, while a lion, an elephant, a unicorn, a griffin, and an ox move toward the right door. Numerous differentiated birds are grouped around the ark: a peacock, a parrot, and a partridge are easily recognizable at the left, and a dove and heraldic eagle at the right. The miniature is somewhat damaged.

Located below Genesis 7:9.

134b. *Vat. 746*, fol. 53r

The inscription referring to this scene is a continuation of that of the preceding scene and reads: ἡ εἰς τὴν κιβωτὸν εἰσέλυσσις.

Very close to Sm. and only slightly flaked.

Located below Genesis 7:9.

Lit.: De Grüneisen, *Ste. Marie Ant.*, p. 354; Uspenskii, p. 120, fig. 36; Heselung, fig. 31; Der Nersissian, *Barl. et Joas.*, p. 104; Pijoán, *Summa artis*, vol. 7, p. 401, fig. 561; Menhardt, p. 301, fig. 7; Buschhausen, "Archemosaïks," p. 68 n. 54; Stichel, "Ausserkanon. Elemente," p. 171 n. 47, fig. 9; Vileisis, "S. Maria Ant.," pp. 22-23; Weitzmann and Kessler, *Cotton Gen.*, p. 42; Rickert, *Ashburnham Pent.*, p. 143, figs. 99, 100; Prigent, *Judaïsme*, p. 306.

¹ Stichel, "Ausserkanon. Elemente," p. 171, and, on the presence of a *semantron* in Byzantine cycles of Noah, id., "Jüdische Tradition in christlicher Liturgie: Zur Geschichte des *Seamantrons*," *CahArch* 21 (1971), pp. 213-28.

Genesis 7:11

THE FLOOD

Different events of the flood are depicted in Vat. 747 than in Ser., Sm., and Vat. 746. The former illustrates the beginning of the cataclysm with "the flood-gates of heaven" (Gen 7:11) opened and rain falling down; the latter present the water covering mountains and the wicked sinking.

135a. *Vat. 747*, fol. 29v

The inscription above the upper frame reads: ὁ κατακλυσμός.

In the left half of the miniature rain is seen pouring down through the open valves of a gate forming the entrance to a segment of heaven. The ark is so completely enveloped by the heavy rain that it appears completely submerged in the water. Slightly flaked.

Located below Genesis 7:23.

Lit.: Muñoz, "Rotulo," p. 477; Gerstinger, *Wiener Gen.*, p. 74; Der Nersissian, *Barl. et Joas.*, p. 104; Vileisis, "S. Maria Ant.," pp. 25, 27; Koshi, *Genesisminiaturen*, p. 32; Werckmeister, "Pain and Death," p. 603 n. 161; Kötzsche-Breitenbruch, *Via Latina*, p. 53, pls. 4d, 4e; Rickert, *Ashburnham Pent.*, p. 144.

Genesis 7:18-23 and 8:4

THE FLOOD AND RAVEN PERCHED ON A CORPSE

The text of the Septuagint gives no cue for the representation of the raven perched on a corpse in Sm. and Vat. 746. According to one legend the raven did not return to the ark because it saw the corpse of a dead man and set about devouring it. This legend is also known in uncanonical writings,¹ in Christian Fathers of the fourth century, such as John Chrysostom,² and in later Jewish writings from the eighth century on.³

136a. *Ser.*, fol. 58v

Only in this manuscript is the scene treated as an independent framed pictorial unit separate from the following one. In contradistinction to Vat. 747, the earth, the water, and the pouring rain are clearly distinguished from each other, and the ark floats on the rising tide which is about to cover the summit of the highest mountain. Possibly the painter intended to represent a peak of the mountains of Ararat, where the ark came to rest according to Genesis 8:4. Slightly flaked.

Located below Genesis 7:23.

137a. *Sm.*, fol. 20v

Close to Ser., but with the addition of some of the victims of the deluge. A raven is settling on a floating human corpse, a second drowned figure floats head down, while only the heads or

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limbs of others are visible. The corpses of a horse, a lion, and birds are also submerged in the water, and near the lower frame the top of a city tower appears as a reminder of what was once a human settlement. Flaked in several places.

Located below Genesis 7:23.

138a. Vat. 746, fol. 54r

The inscription $\acute{\omicron}$ κατακλυσμός is written above the frame of the next scene.

Very close to Sm. and flaked in various spots.

Located below Genesis 7:23.

Lit.: De Grüneisen, "Cielo," p. 489; Uspenskii, p. 120, fig. 37; Hesselting, fig. 32; De Grüneisen, *Ste. Marie Ant.*, p. 355; Neuss, *Apokalypse*, p. 73, fig. 97; Der Nersessian, *Barl. et Joas.*, p. 104; Buberl, *Byz. Hss.*, p. 87; Pijoán, *Summa artis*, vol. 7, p. 401, fig. 562; Hempel, "Traditionen," p. 56 n. 18; Mouriki-Charalambous, "Cosmas," pp. 36–39; Koshi, *Genesisminiaturen*, pp. 32–33; Werckmeister, "Pain and Death," p. 603 n. 161; Weitzmann, *Ill. Mss. at St. Catherine's Monastery*, p. 19; Stichel, "Ausserkanon. Elemente," p. 171, pl. 10; Kötzsche-Breitenbruch, *Via Latina*, p. 53; Gutmann, "Noah's Raven," pp. 67, 70–71, fig. 6; Vileisis, "S. Maria Ant.," pp. 25, 27; Anderson, "Seraglio," fig. 23; Rickert, *Ashburnham Pent.*, pp. 144, 174, fig. 101.

¹ Such as the *Palaea historica (Anecdota)*, ed. Vasil'ev, p. 199).

² *HomGen* 26:8 (PG 53, col. 234): "Perhaps, with the waters subsiding, the bird, being unclean, happened upon corpses of men and beasts and, finding nourishment to its liking, stayed there" (John Chrysostom, *Homilies on Genesis 18–45*, ed. Hill, p. 153).

³ Such as PRE 23 (*Pirkê*, ed. Friedlander, p. 168); for a list of authors, see R. Stichel, "Naturwissenschaftliche Kenntnis des Romanos im Noe-Hymnus," *Hermes* 100 (1972), pp. 249–50, and Stichel, "Ausserkanon. Elemente," p. 171; Gutmann, "Noah's Raven," pp. 70–71; Rickert, *Studien*, p. 125.

Genesis 8:6–7

NOAH SENDS FORTH THE RAVEN

135b. Vat. 747, fol. 29v

In the right half of the miniature the flood has subsided and the mountain peaks are again emerging behind the ark. Noah has opened the window and has just released a raven that is going to search for dry land. The surface surrounding the ark is considerably flaked.

Located below Genesis 7:23.

136b. Ser., fol. 58v

The inscription reads: $\acute{\omicron}$ νῶε προκύπτων ἀπὸ τῆς κιβωτοῦ; a more recent hand has added εἰ παύσ(εν) ὕδωρ ἄπιθι βλέψον, κόραξ.

No window is represented in the ark and Noah instead leans over the side, still holding the raven which he intends to release. No dry land is yet visible, but a segment of heaven appears in the sky. Slightly flaked.

Located below Genesis 7:23.

137b. Sm., fol. 20v

The miniature is very close to Ser. and is flaked, particularly in the upper zone.

Located below Genesis 7:23.

138b. Vat. 746, fol. 54r

The inscription reads: $\acute{\omicron}$ νῶε προκύπτων ἀπὸ τῆς κιβωτοῦ.

The miniature, which is very close to Ser. and Sm., is badly torn and flaked in the lower right corner. A sort of square blue window with a handle is painted in the right part of the ark; it is depicted again on fol. 55v (figs. 142a, 142b).

Located below Genesis 7:23.

Lit.: De Grüneisen, "Cielo," p. 489; Uspenskii, p. 120, fig. 38; Hesselting, fig. 32; De Grüneisen, *Ste. Marie Ant.*, p. 355; Neuss, *Apokalypse*, fig. 97; Der Nersessian, *Barl. et Joas.*, p. 104; Buberl, *Byz. Hss.*, p. 87; Pijoán, *Summa artis*, vol. 7, p. 401, fig. 562; Koshi, *Genesisminiaturen*, p. 32; Kötzsche-Breitenbruch, *Via Latina*, pl. 4d; Anderson, "Seraglio," p. 99, fig. 23; Rickert, *Ashburnham Pent.*, fig. 101.

Genesis 8:10–11

NOAH SENDS FORTH THE DOVE AND RETURN OF THE DOVE

139a. Vat. 747, fol. 30r

As in the preceding scene, Noah appears at the open window of the ark. In his hands he holds a dove which he is about to release. Much of the surface around the ark is flaked.

Located below Genesis 8:14.

140a. Ser., fol. 59v

The inscription is written outside the frame in the left margin and, as far as it pertains to this scene, reads: νῶε πέμπ(ων) τὴν περιστερὰν.

In contradistinction to the other Octateuchs, this scene is not joined to the next by a common frame, but is treated as an independent pictorial unit. The composition resembles that of Vat. 747 very closely, except that Noah does not hold the dove. By analogy to the better-preserved copy in Vat. 746, it may be assumed that the dove was depicted flying, and most likely shown twice. Noah and the ark are very badly damaged by flaking, and the water and sky around the ark are almost completely destroyed.

Located below Genesis 8:14.

141a. Sm., fol. 21r

The miniature is very close to Ser. and somewhat damaged and cut at the lower edge.

Located below Genesis 8:14.

142a. *Vat. 746, fol. 55v*

The inscription in the left margin reads: *νῶε πέμπ(ων) τὴν περιστεράν.*

Close to *Ser.* and *Sm.* but better preserved. One can clearly recognize the dove departing and then returning with an olive branch in its beak, signifying the merging of two different episodes.

Located in the catena; the text above is Genesis 8:15.

Lit.: Uspenskii, p. 121; Hesselung, fig. 33; Muñoz, "Rotulo," p. 477; Der Nersessian, *Barl. et Joas.*, p. 104; Pijoán, *Summa artis*, vol. 7, p. 401, fig. 563; Diringer, *Illuminated Book*, fig. I-16b; Crown, "Winchester Ps.," p. 31; Koshi, *Genesisminiaturen*, p. 32; Bergman, *Salerno*, pp. 26-27; Rickert, *Ashburnham Pent.*, fig. 102.

Genesis 8:13-19

NOAH REMOVES THE COVERING OF THE ARK
AND ANIMALS LEAVE THE ARK

139b. *Vat. 747, fol. 30r*

The ark has settled on dry land, its covering has been removed, and Noah looks at the high mountains behind it. He is joined by his three sons, his wife in the center of the group, and the three daughters-in-law. The scene has been overpainted and is partly flaked again, particularly the face of Noah and the ground around the ark.

Located below Genesis 8:14.

140b. *Ser., fol. 59v*

The inscription, a continuation of the one accompanying the preceding scene, is written in the left margin and reads: *καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων τὴν στέγην.*

Noah raises the cover of the ark with his left hand and in his right holds a stick, probably to prop open the cover. Very badly flaked, particularly the ground around the ark.

Located below Genesis 8:14.

141b. *Sm., fol. 21r*

Whereas *Vat. 747* and *Ser.* illustrate only the opening of the ark described in verse 13, *Sm.* and *Vat. 746* add the content of verse 19, in which all the wild beasts, the cattle, the birds, and the reptiles emerge from the ark. The miniature has been cut at the lower edge and is badly damaged in the lower section, but the details, still recognizable from a few surviving traces, agree with *Vat. 746*.

Located below Genesis 8:14.

142b. *Vat. 746, fol. 55v*

The inscription is a continuation of that for the preceding scene and reads: *καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων τὴν στέγην.*

While Noah opens the cover, as in *Ser.* and *Sm.*, the animals leave the ark through three openings. A lion emerges from the

one at the right through which two doves have just flown, a horse is leaving through the central door, while an ox, a small quadruped, and two birds are already peacefully resting on the dry ground below. Finally, through the third opening at the left a bear, a sheep, a camel, and a huge bird emerge.

Located in the catena; the text above is Genesis 8:15.

Lit.: Uspenskii, p. 121; Hesselung, fig. 33; De Grüneisen, *Ste. Marie Ant.*, p. 354; Muñoz, "Rotulo," p. 477; Der Nersessian, *Barl. et Joas.*, p. 104 n. 1; Pijoán, *Summa artis*, vol. 7, p. 401, fig. 563; Diringer, *Illuminated Book*, fig. I-16b; Hutter, "Übermalungen," p. 140; Koshi, *Genesisminiaturen*, p. 32; Stichel, "Ausserkanon. Elemente," p. 171 n. 47; Bergman, *Salerno*, p. 27; Rickert, *Ashburnham Pent.*, p. 144, fig. 102; Prigent, *Judaïsme*, p. 306.

[Genesis 8]

NOAH AND HIS SONS DISMANTLE THE ARK

The first scene of the following tripartite miniature has no reference to the text at this point of the narrative. No dismantling of the ark is described in Genesis 8; we may only envision that it happened perhaps before Noah's sacrifice and, hypothetically, in order to employ the wood of the ark as fuel for the fire of the sacrifice. The miniature duplicates the Building of the Ark (figs. 131-134), yet here the activities of Noah and his sons are different, and Noah himself vigorously participates in the job.

143a. *Vat. 747, fol. 30v*

The inscription above the frame reads: *ἐνταῦθα θυσιάζων νῶε δέχεται τὴν ἐντολὴν τῆς τ(ῶν) κρε(ῶν) μεταλήψεως.*

Noah and his three sons are occupied dismantling the ark. Two of the sons are tearing apart the wooden planks, while Noah uses a hammer, assisted by his third son, who is portrayed as a seated shepherd dressed in an exomis and holding a stick.

Located below Genesis 9:7.

144a. *Ser., fol. 60v*

The inscription above the frame reads: *ἐνταῦθα θυσιάζων νῶε δέχεται τ(ὴν) ἐντολ(ὴν) τ(ῆς) τῶν κρε(ῶν) μεταλ(ή)ψεως.*

The lower edge of the miniature is torn and the remainder is very badly flaked. Enough is still visible to ascertain that the details agreed thoroughly with *Sm.* and *Vat. 746*.

Located below Genesis 9:7.

145a. *Sm., fol. 21v*

Very close to *Vat. 747*.

Located below Genesis 9:7.

146a. *Vat. 746, fol. 57r*

The inscription below the picture reads: *ἐνταῦθα θυσιάζων νῶε δέχεται τὴν ἐντολὴν τῆς τῶν κρεῶν μεταλήψεως.*

Very close to *Sm.*

Located below Genesis 9:7.

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Lit.: Strzygowski, *Sm.*, pp. 74, 115, pl. 35; Uspenskii, p. 121; Hesselting, fig. 34; Bernabò, "Caverna," pp. 725-26, fig. 10.

Genesis 8:20-9:1

SACRIFICE AFTER THE FLOOD

The two following sections of the tripartite miniature, showing the Sacrifice after the Flood, are strictly connected with each other and relate respectively to the consecutive verses Genesis 8:20-22 and 9:1. The covenant between Noah and God will be represented a second time in the following miniature with the Covenant after the Flood (figs. 147-150). The scenographic setting, dominated by the imposing arch of the rainbow in the miniature of the covenant, contrasts strikingly with the simple disposal of characters in the sacrifice, where no elaborate pictorial formula is employed, except for the landscape in Vat. 747. These divergences between two successive miniatures representing a very similar or the same subject suggest that they originated in different artistic milieus.

143b, c. Vat. 747, fol. 30v

Flames on a stone altar consume some slaughtered animals offered by Noah, while God's hand sends down rays toward the altar from a segment of heaven, indicating that the sacrifice pleases God. At one side of the altar Noah and his wife stand with gestures of prayer; at the other side are his three sons but only one of their three wives. God's promise that henceforth "seed and harvest, cold and heat, summer and spring shall not cease by day and night" (Gen 8:22) is illustrated to the right of the sacrifice scene by an oval which includes a representation of the four seasons.¹ Spring is represented at the upper left by a farmer cutting a meadow (cf. June in the series of the months in fig. 115); opposite him is another farmer, this one cutting grain and naked to indicate the heat of summer (cf. July in fig. 115). At the lower left a farmer personifies autumn by tilling the earth with a spade, a type which alongside the sower (cf. fig. 115) is used in other Byzantine sets of months for November. Finally, winter is rendered as an old man clad in a skin and warming his hands over an open fire (cf. February in fig. 115). The three sections of this miniature are held together by a range of high, craggy mountains with interspersed decorative houses painted in grisaille. Slightly flaked in various spots.

Located below Genesis 9:7.

144b, c. Ser., fol. 60v

Very close to Sm. and Vat. 746.

Located below Genesis 9:7.

145b, c. Sm., fol. 21v

Several differences from Vat. 747 may be noticed in the details and, moreover, the landscape is omitted altogether. Noah stands

to the left of the central altar with his three daughters-in-law, his wife being omitted. At the right his three sons stand with several quadrupeds, among them a lion and a camel, which of course do not represent the animals to be sacrificed, but merely some of those which have just left the ark. The illustrator changed the order of the four seasons and in two cases chose different types. Spring is represented at the lower left by a youth in a long robe holding a flower in his left hand (cf. May in the series of months in fig. 117); the farmer at the upper right, who is cutting grain in the summer, is clad in a tunic, not naked as in Vat. 747; at the upper left autumn, in agreement with November in fig. 117, is personified by a sower, and winter, as usual, by a man warming himself by a fire. The four personifications selected by the painter correspond with the text of the Septuagint (Gen 8:22), which reads "seed and harvest, cold and heat"; in Vat. 747 the sower is supplanted by a farmer cutting a meadow. The oval enclosing the four seasons is held by the personifications Day and Night, represented as nudes and distinguished only by their color, Day being white and Night black. The miniature is flaked in several spots.

Located below Genesis 9:7.

146b, c. Vat. 746, fol. 57r

The miniature agrees in every respect with Sm. The animals behind Noah's sons are badly rubbed and the personifications of the four seasons are slightly damaged.

Located below Genesis 9:7.

Lit.: Strzygowski, *Sm.*, pp. 74, 115, pl. 35; Uspenskii, p. 121; Hesselting, fig. 34; De Grüneisen, *Ste. Marie Ant.*, p. 356; Demus, *Norman Sicily*, p. 253; Willoughby, *McCormick Apocalypse*, vol. 1, p. 332; Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus*, p. 93 n. 387; Stern, "Poésies," p. 175 n. 1, figs. 18, 19; Vileisis, "S. Maria Ant.," pp. 33-34; Bergman, *Salerno*, p. 28; Rickert, *Ashburnham Pent.*, p. 144, figs. 103, 104; Bernabò, "Caverna," p. 726, fig. 10.

¹ Ample commentaries on this mention of seasons are found in John Chrysostom, *HomGen 27:11* (John Chrysostom, *Homilies on Genesis 18-45*, ed. Hill, p. 171, reported in Σειρά, ed. Nikephoros, vol. 1, col. 154), and in Theodore's *QuaestGen* (PG 80, col. 95) and *QuaestPs* (PG 80, col. 1463; commentary on Ps 73:16-17). See also Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus*, vol. 2, p. 93 n. 387.

Genesis 9:12-14

COVENANT AFTER THE FLOOD

The covenant between God and Noah is represented by a picture arranged with a keen feeling for spatial depth uncommon in the Octateuchs, and most evidently transmitted by the impressionistic landscape in Vat. 747 and by the arrangement of the procession of people on the right, which resembles a group approaching a priest for communion.

147. Vat. 747, fol. 31r

The inscription above the picture reads: ἡ τοῦ τόξου ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀνάδειξις.

God makes a covenant with Noah who stands isolated opposite his family, composed of his sons, wife, and daughters-in-law. They raise their hands in prayer and look up to the blessing hand of God which appears within a segment of heaven. As a sign of the covenant God sets a "bow in the cloud." The illustrator, following an interpretation handed down in *Genesis Rabbah* 35:2-3,¹ painted the bow as a natural, iridescent rainbow resting upon two ponds of water, i.e., the ocean surrounding the earth (cf. figs. 2, 3, 29-37, 40-42). The rainbow separates the earth, bordered by high mountains, from the waters above the firmament (which are connected with the waters below, i.e., the ocean) filling the lower part of the spandrels, the golden sky above them, and the blue segment of heaven intersected by the rainbow. The segment thus cut off is painted in gold. A house painted in grisaille is visible on the mountains.

Located below Genesis 9:15.

148. *Ser.*, fol. 62r

The inscription above the picture reads: ἡ τοῦ τόξου ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀνάδειξις.

The compositional scheme in general is the same as in Vat. 747, but some of the details differ: the grouping and postures of Noah and his family vary slightly, the mountains are omitted, and the divine hand does not appear in the segment of heaven, whose lower, intersected portion is painted in a darker blue studded with stars; attached to it are the disks of sun and moon, their averted heads in profile. Furthermore, the clouds fill the spandrels entirely without leaving any space for a separate zone of sky. The miniature is heavily flaked, particularly the ground around the figures.

Located below Genesis 9:16.

149. *Sm.*, fol. 22r

Very close to *Ser.* The segment of heaven is particularly badly flaked.

Located below Genesis 9:15.

150. *Vat.* 746, fol. 57v

The inscription, written in the left margin, reads: ἡ τοῦ τόξου ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀναδείξις.

Very close to *Ser.* and *Sm.*

Located below Genesis 9:15.

Lit.: Kondakov, *Istoriia*, p. 189; Kondakov, *Histoire*, vol. 2, p. 79; De Grüneisen, "Cielo," p. 493; Uspenskii, p. 121, fig. 39; Hesselting, fig. 35; Gerstinger, *Wiener Gen.*, p. 77, fig. 49; Buberl, *Byz. Hss.*, p. 88; Demus, *Norman Sicily*, p. 253; Menhardt, p. 302; Henderson, "Influences," p. 187 n. 44; Henderson, "Sources," p. 14 n. 1; Vileisis, "S. Maria Ant.," pp. 31, 33-34; Bergman, *Salerno*, p. 28; Rickert, *Ashburnham Pent.*, p. 145, fig. 105; Lowden, *Octs.*, p. 13, fig. 179; Bernabò, "Caverna," p. 726, fig. 14.

¹ *Genesis Rabbah*, ed. Freedman and Simon, pp. 282-83.

Genesis 9:20-21

NOAH GETS DRUNK

151a. *Vat.* 747, fol. 31v

In the left half of the miniature, Noah sits on a chair at the foot of a high mountain and drinks some of the wine his sons are pressing. Two of the sons, one supporting the other, stand in a vat treading the grapes, while the third, with a spadelike ladle in his hands, is busy stirring the wine flowing from the vat into a large marbled tub. The wine flows through a spout shaped like a lion's head into one of the four big clay vessels in the foreground. The pictorial arrangement is based on a classical representation of putti pressing wine.¹ Partly overpainted and flaked again in various spots.

Located below Genesis 9:24.

152a. *Ser.*, fol. 62v

The inscription is written in the left margin and reads: ἡ τοῦ οἴνου μετάληψις καὶ γύμνωσις νῶε.

The scene differs in several details from that in Vat. 747, although its general compositional scheme is in agreement. This copy is the only one in which, strangely enough, Noah does not drink from a vessel but raises his hands and looks up at the huge vine growing on a tree behind the winepress. While two sons tread the grapes as in Vat. 747, the third holds a vessel with which he seems to be emptying the marble tub and pouring the wine into the five vessels placed in front of it; the tub has no spout. The entire surface of this miniature is very heavily flaked.

Located below Genesis 9:24.

153a. *Sm.*, fol. 22v

Very close to *Ser.*, except that Noah holds a drinking vessel as in Vat. 747. However, he does not hold it firmly, and since the miniature apparently has been much overpainted, the possibility cannot be excluded that this vessel was added by the restorer.

Located below Genesis 9:24.

154a. *Vat.* 746, fol. 58r

The inscription in the left margin reads: ἡ τοῦ οἴνου μετάληψις καὶ γύμνωσις νῶε.

The scene agrees with *Ser.* and *Sm.*, but Noah drinks greedily from a big bowl.

Located below Genesis 9:24.

Lit.: Kondakov, *Istoriia*, p. 189; Kondakov, *Histoire*, vol. 2, p. 79; Strzygowski, *Sm.*, p. 116, pl. 36; Uspenskii, p. 121; Hesselting, fig. 36; Gerstinger, *Wiener Gen.*, p. 78, fig. 48; Buberl, *Byz. Hss.*, p. 89; Menhardt, p. 302; Hutter, "Übermalungen," p. 140, fig. 3; Kötzsche-Breitenbruch, *Via Latina*, p. 55, pl. 5d; Bergman, *Salerno*, p. 29; Brubaker, "Gregory of Naz.," pp. 392, 462 n. 168; Korol, *Cimitile*, p. 151 n. 634; Sed-Rajna, *Hebraic Bible*, p. 23 n. 21.

¹ See, e.g., the season sarcophagi investigated by Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagi*, figs. 31, 45, 52, 66, 148.

DESCRIPTION

Genesis 9:22–23

HAM INFORMS HIS BROTHERS AND
SHEM AND JAPHETH COVER NOAH

151b. *Vat. 747, fol. 31v*

In the right half of the miniature Noah lies drunk and asleep on a couch; the lower part of his tunic is pulled up, exposing his naked legs and penis. At the foot of the couch stand his three sons: Ham is represented hurriedly departing and at the same time turning around to his two brothers, telling them of their father's nakedness. Shem and Japheth turn their backs to Noah and carry a mantle over their shoulders, the himation of Genesis 9:23, with which they are going to cover their father. In the background is Noah's two-storied house where the event is supposed to take place; beyond it emerge high mountains with a decorative house in classical style cradled on its slopes. Most of the scene has been overpainted, particularly the sons' garments and the head of the son on the right; it is flaked again in various spots.

Located below Genesis 9:24.

152b. *Ser., fol. 62v*

The figural composition is the same as in *Vat. 747*, but the mountains and house are omitted, Noah's couch is reduced to a mattress, and the sons are represented in calmer postures. Moreover, a slightly later moment in the episode is chosen, in which Shem and Japheth have already covered their father's nakedness with a sleeved tunic, replacing the himation mentioned at Genesis 9:23 and represented in *Vat. 747*. These details are still recognizable though the whole miniature is very badly flaked and entire sections are completely lost.

Located below Genesis 9:24.

153b. *Sm., fol. 22v*

The scene is very close to *Ser.* and was largely overpainted before flaking again.

Located below Genesis 9:24.

154b. *Vat. 746, fol. 58r*

Very close to *Ser.* and *Sm.*

Located below Genesis 9:24.

Lit.: Kondakov, *Istoriia*, p. 189; Kondakov, *Histoire*, vol. 2, p. 79; Strzygowski, *Sm.*, p. 116, pl. 36; Uspenskii, p. 121; Hesseling, fig. 36; Gerstinger, *Wiener Gen.*, p. 78, fig. 48; Buberl, *Byz. Hss.*, p. 89; Demus, *Norman Sicily*, p. 253; Menhardt, pp. 302–3; Hutter, "Übermalungen," pp. 140–42, 144, fig. 3; Koshi, *Genesisminiaturen*, p. 14; Kötzsche-Breitenbruch, *Via Latina*, p. 55, pl. 5d; Weitzmann, *SP*, pp. 38, 50; Bergman, *Salerno*, pp. 29–30; Korol, *Cimitile*, p. 151 n. 634; Weitzmann and Kessler, *Cotton Gen.*, p. 42; Sed-Rajna, *Hebraic Bible*, p. 23 n. 21; Ferrua, *Catacombe sconosciute*, p. 146 n. 9.

Genesis 9:24–27

NOAH BLESSES SHEM AND JAPHETH

155a. *Vat. 747, fol. 32r*

Aroused from his intoxication, Noah sits on a chair opposite his sons and raises his hand in a gesture of blessing toward Shem and Japheth who stand devotedly and with appreciative gestures before him. Ham, having heard the curse of his son Canaan, hurriedly leaves his father and brothers. For Noah the painter used the usual formula of an ancient philosopher teaching his pupils.¹ The scene, which takes place in the open in front of a high mountain, has been thoroughly overpainted and is flaked again in several spots.

Located below Genesis 10:1.

156. *Ser., fol. 64r*

At variance with *Vat. 747*, Ham holds his hand against his cheek as a sign of grief, while his brothers more hurriedly approach their father who holds a scroll in his left hand. The landscape is omitted, but otherwise the scene agrees with *Vat. 747*. Large sections of the surface, particularly the figure of Ham, are flaked and the ground and Noah's chair are completely destroyed.

Located below Genesis 9:29.

158a. *Sm., fol. 23r*

This scene, which is very close to *Ser.*, is likewise very badly flaked, and the figure of Ham is almost completely lost.

159a. *Vat. 746, fol. 59v*

Very close to *Ser.* and *Sm.*

Located below Genesis 9:29.

Lit.: Uspenskii, p. 122; Hesseling, fig. 37; Gerstinger, *Wiener Gen.*, p. 78, fig. 50; Buberl, *Byz. Hss.*, p. 89; Weitzmann, *RaC*, pp. 156–57, fig. 146; Hutter, "Übermalungen," p. 140, fig. 6; Revel, "Textes rabbin.," p. 119 n. 1; Anderson, "Seraglio," p. 95, fig. 22.

¹ Weitzmann, *RaC*, pp. 156–57.

Genesis 9:29

BURIAL OF NOAH

155b. *Vat. 747, fol. 32r*

For the representation of Noah's death the illustrator has chosen a conventional burial scheme: two young men, apparently Shem and Japheth, lower their father's corpse, which is wrapped like a mummy, into a sarcophagus while three women watch the scene and weep as a sign of deep mourning. The son holding the feet of the corpse is depicted as if standing in the sarcophagus, as in *Vat. 746*. Parts of the sky, the mountains, and the ground around the sarcophagus are flaked.

Located below Genesis 10:1.

157. *Ser.*, fol. 64r

Close to Vat. 747, but Noah is being buried in his clothes and is lowered into a marble sarcophagus whose shape is adjusted to the reclining position of the deceased. Two other figures are visible behind the three daughters-in-law, whose grief is far less pronounced than in Vat. 747; they are probably meant to represent Noah's wife and Ham. Flaked in several places.

Located below Genesis 9:29.

158b. *Sm.*, fol. 23r

The scene is very close to *Ser.*, except that the foremost woman turns around to the other mourners. The miniature has been crudely overpainted and is flaked again, particularly in the upper left corner.

159b. *Vat.* 746, fol. 59v

Only the three daughters-in-law mourn at the foot of the sarcophagus. Both sons stand inside the sarcophagus while they lower the corpse, rather than bending over the rim, but otherwise the scene agrees with *Ser.* and *Sm.*

Located below Genesis 9:29.

Lit.: Uspenskii, p. 122; Hesselting, fig. 37; Buberl, *Byz. Hss.*, p. 89; Der Nersessian, *Barl. et Joas.*, p. 173; Hutter, "Übermalungen," pp. 140, 142-44, fig. 6; Anderson, "Seraglio," p. 95, fig. 22.

Genesis 10

DESCENDANTS OF NOAH

Chapter 10 of Genesis enumerates Noah's descendants in three groups, corresponding to his three sons. The illustration in the left part of the miniature offers a novel depiction of the earth colonized by Noah's descendants, represented divided into sections or islands by large interior rivers or arms of the sea. There are five of these sections in Vat. 747, while the other manuscripts reduce them to three, unifying the two lowest sections. This map of the earth has no discernible resemblance to the maps depicted in the miniatures of the Creation (see figs. 29-42): it stems from a different tradition. The illustrator located specific races in the separate sections of the map not according to the list of tribes in chapter 10 of Genesis, but probably based on beliefs and established maps of his time.¹ Notably, this tripartite miniature has no resemblance to the following miniature with the five tribes of Noah's genealogy (figs. 164-167), which avoids any cartographic aim and depicts the races differently with more variegated facial types and dresses.

160a. *Vat.* 747, fol. 32v

On the upper left island four men are sitting on the ground. The one distinguished by his posture and his beard might be one of Noah's descendants who talks to his tribe and looks back at them, at the same time pointing to the young inhabitants of the

opposite island. On the central island and on the lower left one, the groups are engaged in lively conversation, whereas the last group at the lower right faces the right border. Apparently the illustrator intended them to be looking at the neighboring scene, which represents Nimrod.

Located below Genesis 10:10.

161a. *Ser.*, fol. 64r

The inscription, which was placed outside the frame in the margin and is now partly destroyed, reads: ἡ οἰκησις τῶν [νήσων].

The lower part of the miniature is torn away and the sons of Ham are entirely lost, while only the heads are left of the sons of Cush. The remainder, heavily stained and flaked, agrees essentially with Vat. 747, except for a slightly different arrangement of the figures in each group.

Located below Genesis 10:10.

162a. *Sm.*, fol. 23v

This copy preserves the compositional scheme best, but it is less reliable in the finer details since the whole surface has been very crudely overpainted. The sons of Ham in the lower left corner wear strange pointed hats.

163a. *Vat.* 746, fol. 60r

The inscription, placed in the outer margin and very faded, reads: ἡ οἰκησις τῶν νήσων.

The miniature is very badly flaked, but enough remains to ascertain that the compositional arrangement agreed closely with *Sm.*

Located below Genesis 10:10.

Lit.: Uspenskii, p. 122, fig. 40; Hesselting, fig. 38; Bernabò, "Fonti testuali," pl. 27 no. 2; Bernabò, "Caverna," pp. 726-27, fig. 11.

¹ A list of tribes is given in the catena in our manuscripts, in an anonymous passage reported, e.g., in Vat. 746 on fols. 60r-60v. Also, Prokopios of Gaza in his Octateuch catena (PG 87, cols. 308-12) gives a complete register of the tribes stemming from Noah's descendants.

Genesis 10:9

NIMROD THE HUNTER

160b. *Vat.* 747, fol. 32v

Nimrod (LXX: Nebrod) is rendered as a giant hunter aiming an arrow at a stag high up on a mountain. Considerably flaked.

Located below Genesis 10:10.

161b. *Ser.*, fol. 64r

The inscription reads: ἡ τοῦ νεβρωδ ἀνάδειξις.

Close to Vat. 747, except that Nimrod carries a quiver over his shoulder. The miniature is partly torn at the bottom and the remainder is stained and very flaked.

Located below Genesis 10:10.

DESCRIPTION

162b. *Sm.*, fol. 23v

Very close to Ser. The miniature has been overpainted and has flaked again.

163b. *Vat.* 746, fol. 60r

The inscription reads: ἡ τοῦ νεβρωδ ἀνάδειξις.

Very close to Ser. and Sm. The miniature is badly flaked and the stag is rubbed.

Located below Genesis 10:10.

Lit.: Uspenskii, p. 122, fig. 40; Hesseling, fig. 38; Vzdornov, "Illustraciia," pp. 213-14, fig. 6; Bernabò, "Fonti testuali," pp. 477-78, pl. 27 no. 2; Livesey and Rouse, "Nimrod," p. 237 n. 88; Bernabò, "Caverna," pp. 726, 737, fig. 11.

Genesis 10:11

NIMROD BUILDS A TOWER

Nimrod is building a tower, either the Tower of Babel, from which his kingdom started according to Genesis 10:10,¹ or of one of the cities he founded according to Genesis 10:11. Nimrod was believed to be the mythical founder of some of the greatest towns in Mesopotamia, i.e., Seleukeia/Ktesiphon, Edessa, and Nisibis;² related legends might be the source that led the painter to reserve for Nimrod these two scenes in the cycle.

160c. *Vat.* 747, fol. 32v

Nimrod, building a tower, holds a large stone in his hands and is about to add it to a wall alongside an already finished tower. A landscape of high mountains forms the background.

Located below Genesis 10:10.

161c. *Ser.*, fol. 64r

The inscription, written by a much later hand, reads: θηρῶν διώκτης Νεβρωδ ὁ πρῶτος γίγας.

Close to Vat. 747, except that the landscape is missing. The lower part of the miniature is torn away and the rest is stained and almost completely flaked, so that only the preliminary drawing reveals the original composition.

Located below Genesis 10:10.

162c. *Sm.*, fol. 23v

Nimrod, instead of carrying a stone in his hands, appears to be touching the wall of the completed tower. However, the omission of the stone may very well be attributable to the later restorer who crudely overpainted the composition. Somewhat flaked.

163c. *Vat.* 746, fol. 60r

Very close to Ser. Partly flaked.

Located below Genesis 10:10.

Lit.: Uspenskii, p. 122, fig. 40; Hesseling, fig. 38; Bernabò, "Fonti testuali," pp. 477-78, pl. 27 no. 2; Bernabò, "Caverna," pp. 726, 737, fig. 11.

¹ A connection between Nimrod and a tower or the Tower of Babel appears in various Jewish writings; see P. van der Horst, *Essays on the Jewish World of Early Christianity* (Freiburg, 1990), pp. 220-32.

² Cf. J. B. Segal, *Edessa: "The Blessed City"* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 1-3; H. Drijvers, "Syriac Christianity and Judaism," in *The Jews among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire*, ed. J. Lieu, J. North, and T. Rajak (London and New York, 1992), p. 138. Edessa, Nisibis, and Seleukeia/Ktesiphon were founded by Nimrod according to TargN and TargPs-J on Gen 10:10 (*Targum Genèse*, ed. Le Déaut, pp. 136-37), GenR 37:4 (*Genesis Rabbah*, ed. Freedman and Simon, p. 297), and the Chronicle of Michael the Syrian, bk. 2, chap. 2 (*Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche [1166-1199]*, ed. J.-B. Chabot, vol. 3 [Paris, 1910], p. 20).

Genesis 10

DESCENDANTS OF NOAH

As previously remarked (see the introduction preceding no. 160a), this miniature apparently illustrates the same chapter 10 as the previous one (figs. 160-163), Noah's genealogy after the flood, but it displays a different selection of races. An origin of this miniature in a separate milieu should thus be assumed.

164. *Vat.* 747, fol. 32v

The inscription outside the margin above the picture reads: οἱ τῶν τοῦ νόε υἱῶν ἀπόγονοι.

Noah's descendants are shown in five groups standing in front of a mountainous background. The whole miniature is badly flaked, but the following details are still discernible. The first group at the left consists of six people, two of whom wear the chlamys and a third raises a lacerna in his left hand. In the second group two of the five men stand in the foreground: one, a black-skinned man, is clad in a short mantle draped to leave half his chest bare, and the other, a youth, is dressed in a short embroidered tunic. The central group is composed of three youths in short tunics and himations. The two in front, though their eyes meet, turn their backs to each other and point to the flanking groups. The fourth group comprises two soldiers in the front row carrying lances and talking to each other, while the head of a third appears above their shoulders. Beside the left soldier, but now almost entirely destroyed, a black-skinned and half-naked man is discernible, similar to the one at the left in the second grouping. At the extreme left, the fifth group also includes a black-skinned man wearing a kind of turban, and beside him still another figure of the same type, though his skin is dark brown instead of violet-black. Finally, at the extreme right, a fair-skinned youth in a short tunic is visible. The whole miniature was overpainted in the Palaiologan period, and in the process many of the ethnographical details, which, to judge from the other copies, must have been a major concern of the painter of the archetype, were apparently lost, particularly the headdresses. Nevertheless, it is still very obvious that, with the exception of the three youths in the central group, the painter combined representatives of different races in each group. The central group is

apparently meant to represent the homogeneous nation of the Greeks in contrast to the barbarians of the four flanking groups. The black-skinned men can be identified as Ethiopians, and those with dark brown skins as Egyptians, in analogy to many similar figures in illustrations of the Joseph story.

The miniature, which roughly cuts the text in the middle of Genesis 10:24 (apparently without logical explanation), is located below ἐγέννεσεν τὸν Σαλά and above Σαλὰ δὲ ἐγέννεσεν τὸν Ἐβερ. The other Octateuchs break the text at the same words.

165. *Ser.*, fol. 64v

The inscription outside the margin above the picture reads: οἱ τῶν τοῦ νῶε υἱῶν ἀπόγονοι.

Many of the figures agree with Vat. 747, but, with the exception of the central group, their number is reduced, while within each group a unification of types has taken place. Only in the first group at the left are the representatives of two different nations still combined: a soldier wearing a high-crested helmet and holding a sword in his hand is associated with three youths whose caps characterize them as Persians. In the second group three dark-skinned Ethiopians converse among themselves; they are clad in loincloths, wear fillets in their hair, and are armed with lances and swords. The fourth group is entirely different than in Vat. 747: here all three men wear high hats, and one is clad in a garment with long sleeves extending beyond the hands. This sort of costume was worn by high dignitaries of the Byzantine court and thus seems characteristic of rank rather than nationality. In the fifth group three dark-skinned Egyptians wearing turbans are grouped together, one of them armed with a spear and shield.¹ The miniature is flaked in several spots.

Located in the middle of Genesis 10:24, exactly like no. 164.

166. *Sm.*, fol. 24r

The inscription outside the margin above the picture reads: οἱ τῶν τοῦ νῶε υἱῶν ἀπόγονοι.

Very close to *Ser.* The miniature has been overpainted and is partly flaked again.

167. *Vat.* 746, fol. 60v

The inscription outside the margin above the picture reads: οἱ τῶν τοῦ νῶε υἱῶν ἀπόγονοι.

Close to *Ser.* and *Sm.* Partly flaked; the heads at the left are rubbed away.

Located in the middle of Genesis 10:24, exactly as no. 164.

Lit.: Uspenskii, pp. 122–27, figs. 41, 42; Hesseling, fig. 39; De Grüneisen, *Ste. Marie Ant.*, p. 193, fig. 145; Koukoules, *Vie et civilisation*, vol. 5, pl. 7 no. 3; Garidis, "Représentation," p. 89, fig. 5; Hutter, "Übermalungen," pp. 140, 144, fig. 4; Bernabò, "Laur. plut. 5.38," p. 149 n. 39; *Image du noir*, fig. 65; Mütherich, "Darstellungen," p. 728; Bernabò, "Caverna," p. 727, fig. 15.

¹ Uspenskii, p. 122, advances the following identification of the groups, left to right: Venetians, Arabs from Egypt and Syria, Greeks, nomads from southern Russia (Pechenegs), and Arabs from Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine.

Genesis 11:3

MANUFACTURE OF BRICKS FOR THE TOWER OF BABEL

168. *Vat.* 747, fol. 33r

The miniature is very badly flaked, and at the center and the left the surface is nearly completely destroyed. Nevertheless, it is clear from the remaining traces that the composition essentially agreed with that of the other manuscripts. Two men at the left are piling up bricks in an open fire, and in the foreground a row of bricks, apparently already baked, is pictured. A third man approaches the fire from the right, bringing more unbaked bricks which he has taken from the pile in the lower right corner. The background is formed by a landscape of high mountains. Large areas of the surface are flaked.

Located below Genesis 11:3.

169. *Ser.*, fol. 65r

Close to Vat. 747, except that the bricks are being baked in a regular furnace and behind the two men at the left the head of a third is visible. Moreover, the miniature never included a landscape setting. Major parts of the surface are so completely flaked that little more than the preliminary drawing remains.

Located below Genesis 11:3.

170. *Sm.*, fol. 24r

Very close to *Ser.* One of the workers is stirring the fire with a stick. This miniature is also partly flaked.

171. *Vat.* 746, fol. 61r

The inscription reads: ἡ τῶν πλίνθων ἔκκαυσις ὡς ὀρᾶς ἦδε. Very close to *Ser.* and *Sm.* Only slightly flaked.

Located below Genesis 11:3.

Lit.: Uspenskii, p. 127; Hesseling, fig. 40.

Genesis 11:8–9

COLLAPSE OF THE TOWER OF BABEL AND CONFOUNDING OF LANGUAGES

The destruction of Babel and the confounding of the languages are represented in the form of a triptych. The central panel shows the wall of Babel collapsing around the still erect tower, while the smaller wing panels contain the confounding of languages, showing four groups of men fleeing at the corners of the miniature, evidently corresponding to the four cardinal points;¹ the men walk away from Babel addressing each other unsuccessfully. The central panel has only a weak tie to the Septuagint, which relates that God, having confounded the tongue of the sons of men, "scattered them thence over the face of all the earth, and they left off building the city and the tower." The pictorial creation must be based on more embellished accounts,