Introduction

The illustrated Octateuch is the most complex manuscript created in the Middle Byzantine period. In addition to the first eight books of the Old Testament it contains commentary that fills seven printed volumes in Genesis and Exodus alone and another printed volume of Theodoret's *Selected Questions Regarding Holy Scripture*. The margins additionally carry a critical apparatus of variant readings and notes that goes back to the time of Origen (ca. 184– ca. 253). Supplementing the collection of writings are many hundreds of miniatures painted in breaks left in the biblical text and occasionally in the commentary. Since the nineteenth century the Octateuchs have been studied by philologists and art historians, though on separate tracks that rarely intersected. For art historians the Octateuchs have served as a paradigm of the transmission of imagery in early and medieval Byzantium. Six illustrated examples are known. The earliest ones are the three made over a brief period around the middle of the twelfth century. They are the Smyrna Octateuch, destroyed in a fire that occurred in 1922,[1] the Seraglio Octateuch, which was left unfinished when the illuminators abruptly suspended work,[2] and Rome, BAV, gr, 746.[3] Two more Octateuchs were produced about a century later; they are Rome, BAV, gr. 747,[4] and the Vatopedi Octateuch, which, lacking Genesis and Exodus, was probably the second in a two-volume set.[5] A sixth

Octateuch, Florence, BML, Plut. 5.38,[6] stands apart from the others in lacking the marginalia and being illustrated with only the Creation and Fall of Man, but it remains a relevant work on account of its relationship with the illuminator of Vat. gr. 747. The entire group of manuscripts, including the Florence Octateuch, is illustrated in the recent work of Kurt Weitzmann and Massimo Bernabò, who include bibliography for each subject depicted and essays on the cycle of illustration.

What I seek to provide are answers to the questions when and how the model of the illustrated Octateuchs was produced. The first question can be answered with precision, and the second with considerable clarity. My focus is Vat. gr. 747, which, I argue, is the most accurate copy of the page layout of the model, though the illustrations have been revised throughout the manuscript. The when and how the model was created rely on the illustrations as only supporting evidence, though at critical moments. A stronger case for a single source comes from the texts in which the miniatures are embedded: the Septuagint, commentary, and philological notes. In the first chapter I offer an overview of the written content owing to its importance in later chapters. In the analysis of the relationships among the Octateuchs, only once in connection with a single miniature does the question of relative dates arise. Ever since the fifteenth century and the inventory of Vatican manuscripts drawn up by Bartolomeo Platina, the Vat. gr. 747 has been attributed to the eleventh century.[7] No attempt has been made to question the attribution even though the manuscript has no parallels in the eleventh century for the styles of script and illumination. In Chapter Five I examine the illustrations to show that it is a work of the Palaiologan era. A satisfactory reassessment of the date of Vat. gr. 747 contributes to our understanding of Palaiologan use of Middle Byzantine imagery and of the breadth of style practiced following the reconquest of Constantinople. A final note: the increasing availability of accurate digital images has begun to change the landscape of scholarship; every leaf of four of the Octateuchs discussed here is now available online through the websites of the Vatican Library, Laurentian Library, and the National Library of France. These sources allow the reader to pursue more comparisons than could be illustrated here.

1 İzmir (Smyrna), Εὐαγγελικὲ Σχολή, cod. A.1: A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς ἐν Σμύρνη βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς* (Smyrna, 1877), 4. The documentation consists of the photographs taken by Robert Eisler and published by Hesseling, *Octateuque de Smyrne*; a set of prints was also made from Eisler's negatives for Antonio Muñoz, and they are now in the Fototeca of the Fondazione Federico Zeri of the Università di Bologna. F. Uspenskij, *L'Octateuque de la Bibliothèque du Sérail à Constantinople*, IRAIK 12 (1907), pl. VI, and Josef Strzygowski, *Bilderkreis*, 113–26; a small number of photographs were taken by Paul Buberl and they are now in the Bildarchiv of the ÖNB. Strzygowski, *Bilderkreis*, 113–26. Lowden, *Octateuchs*, 15–21. Weitzmann-Bernabò, *Octateuchs*, 337–39. Perria, "Scrittura degli Ottateuchi," 215–17.

2 Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müsezi, cod. *GI* 8: F. Uspenskii, *L'Octateuque du Sérail*. A. Deissmann, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1933), 46–56. Anderson, "Seraglio Octateuch." Lowden, *Octateuchs*, 21–26. Weitzmann-Bernabò, *Octateuchs*, 334–37. Perria, "Scrittura degli Ottateuchi," 217, 218–20.

3 Rome, BAV, gr. 746: R. Devreesse, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codices Vaticani graeci*, 3, *Codices 604–866* (Rome, 1950), 261–62. Lowden, *Octateuchs*, 26–84. Weitzmann-Bernabò, *Octateuchs*, 339–41. Perria, "Scrittura degli Ottateuchi," 217–18.

4 Rome, BAV, gr. 747: Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani graeci*, 3: 263. Lowden, *Octateuchs*, 11–15. Weitzmann-Bernabò, *Octateuchs*, 331–34. Perria, "Scrittura degli Ottateuchi," 211–15.

5 Mt. Athos, Μονὴ Βατοπεδίου, cod. 602: S. Eustratiades and Arcadios, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos* (Cambridge, Mass, 1924), 118. P. Christou et al., *Οἱ θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους: Εἰκονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα*, vol. 4 (Athens, 1991), 4:253–86, figs. 47–185. J. Lowden, "The Production of the Vatopedi Octateuch," *DOP* 36 (1982), 115–26. Lowden, *Octateuchs*, 29–33. Weitzmann-Bernabò, *Octateuchs*, 341–43.

6 Florence, BML, Plut. 5.38: A. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae* (Florence, 1764), 1:69–70. M. Bernabò, "Considerazioni sul manoscritto laurenziano plut. 5.38 e sulle miniature della *Genesi* degli *Ottateuchi* Bizantini," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa,* Classe di lettere e filosofia, ser. 3, 8 (1978), 135–57. Weitzmann-Bernabò, *Octateuchs*, 330–31. Perria-Iacobini, "Ottateuchi in età Paleologa," 69–111. Perria, "Scrittura degli Ottateuchi," 222–23.

7 R. Devreesse, *Le fonds grec de la Bibliothèque Vaticane des origines à Paul V* (Vatican City, 1965), 10.

I. Written Content and Format of the Octateuchs

The manuscript that will be the point of entry into the history of the Octateuchs is Vat. gr. 747. In the early chapters I refer to the supplementary writings in the Octateuch, and here I introduce them along with the reference works used to evaluate them. On fol. 16r the scribe has laid out a series of texts common to the entire group (fig. 1). Most of the page is taken up by reader's aids that are systematically arranged in a predictable pattern to facilitate use. The reader knows where to turn for different kinds of help. In the column toward the binding the scribe has copied twenty-four lines of biblical text, ten above the left half of the two-part miniature and fourteen below it, each block of text opening with a red initial. An informal title, *Day 3* (ʹΗΜΕΡΑ Γʹ), stands at the head of the column in red uncial. Framing the biblical text and illustration on three sides is the chain of comments drawn from the writings of the Church Fathers; this, the catena, the scribe has copied in fifty-five lines of much smaller script, and in the outside margin he has supplied, in red, the numbers 14 (ιδʹ) to 20 (κʹ) that link the comments to words or passages in the biblical text. Running down the left margin is the hexaplaric notation and one of the miniature inscriptions, all in red. There are also numbered chapter titles that run throughout the biblical text.[8] Directly above the passage on fol. 104v, for example, is Chapter 37: *Description of the first-fruits to take for outfitting the tabernacle*[9] (fig. 3), copied in the place where *Day 3* appears on fol. 16r. Each element on the page has its individual history, as do the front and back matter of the Octateuchs.

Prefaces and epilogues

The Octateuchs open with two prefaces and close with four brief epilogues (see Structure and Content of the Octateuch Vat. gr. 747). The prefaces and epilogues are found in many copies of the Octateuch, including ones without the catena;[10]

what sets apart the smaller family to which the illustrated Octateuchs belong is the absence of Gregory of Nyssa's *Explanation of Creation* from the prefaces.[11] The first prologue is the Letter of Aristeas, which purports to tell how the Hebrew text was translated into Greek under the auspices of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 B.C.E.), ruler of Egypt; that is, how the Septuagint came into being.[12] The lengthy text contains digressions, including philosophical dialogues Ptolemy conducted with the seventy-two learned translators over the course of seven banquets he hosted. To the Hebrew sages Ptolemy puts a series of questions regarding statesmanship, ethics, and conduct. The second prologue is the preface that Theodoret of Cyrus composed for his *Selected Questions Regarding Holy Scripture*, and it, too, might be thought of as a letter since it is addressed to his associate Hypatius.[13] The Letter of Aristeas to Philocrates tells the reader about the biblical translation, whereas Theodoret to Hypatius speaks of its interpretation, albeit briefly and far less colorfully. Of the short epilogues one gives a list of the other translations of the Hebrew into Greek,[14] helpful in putting the hexaplaric notation into perspective, and one lists the various Hebrew names of God. A third gives the times when the Israelites were led into captivity, and a fourth is on the obscurity of Scripture; this last is a brief extract from a work by Polychronius of Apamea usually found as a prologue to the catena on Job.[15]

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8   Verse designations "a" and "b" simply mean an opening phrase and a closing one. Note that the Greek of Vat. gr. 747 is transcribed as written; parentheses enclose letters denoted by an abbreviation sign or ones conventionally omitted, e.g., *nomina sacra* and proper names common to this text; square brackets enclose letters that are illegible or lost and supplied from other manuscripts; occasional interjections are within angle brackets. Proper names are capitalized and iota adscript is converted to subscript. Miniature captions are available in Greek in Weitzmann-Bernabò, *Octateuchs*, in their notes to the individual miniatures. I transcribe selected chapter titles, which are not widely available in the printed editions. English translations of Scripture are taken or adapted from L. Brenton, ed. and trans., *The Septuagint Version. Greek and English* (London and New York [1972]).

9   λζʹ διατύπωσις τοῦ λαβεῖν ἀπαρχὰς εἰς τὴν τῆς σκηνῆς κατασκευήν.

10   For example, the eleventh-century Octateuch Vienna, ÖNB, theol. gr. 57: H. Hunger and O. Kresten, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, 4 parts. (Vienna, 1961–94), 3.1:101–102.

11   G. Karo and H. Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse 1.3.5 (1902), 9–10, on the prefaces and epilogues. The extract from Gregory (PG 44: 69D5–72C13) found in Paris. gr. 128, p. 27, is a later addition in a different hand. The Vat. gr. 746 has lost gatherings at both the start and end (from Ruth 4:15); the Smyrna Octateuch was also defective at the start but preserved a leaf from the Letter of Aristeas: A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς (Smyrna, 1877), 4.

12   For references to the printed editions of the texts see Structure and Content, notes to quire XXXIII. The Letter of Aristeas is also available in a Greek text with an English translation and extensive discussion: *Aristeas to Philocrates (Letter of Aristeas)*, ed. and trans. M. Hadas (Eugene, Oregon, 1951).

13   How the Byzantines may have thought of it judging by the author portrait: Weitzmann-Bernabò, *Octateuchs*, figs. 13–15.

14   Two nearly identical lists are published by Migne, one attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria (PG 28:433–36) and the other by Theodoret (PG 84:28–32). The differences between them are inconsequential, but the title and in some cases a phrase found in the Octateuchs (Vat. gr. 747, Paris. gr. 128, Seraglio when legible) agree with the list attributed to Athanasius, whereas the text version numbered 6, a second (scroll) found in a jar in Nikopolis, near Actium ("Arktium" in Vat. gr. 747 and Paris. gr. 128; Seraglio is illegible), is mangled in the manuscripts but is not found in Athanasius.

15   It is not included in the printed edition of P. Young (London, 1637). Judging from Vat. gr. 749, fols. 2r–v, the prologue is copied verbatim by Photios in Amphilochia 152. For the extract found in the Octateuchs

Biblical text

The translation of the Hebrew text of Scripture into the version known as the Septuagint, during the third and second centuries before the common era, is a foundation laid too early to have direct relevance to the medieval manuscripts. Similarly, the gathering, by at least the sixth century, of the Pentateuch and three books of history into the Octateuch has no bearing on the works discussed here.[16] Still, small differences in the biblical text yield information about the medieval copies. The text of Vat. gr. 747 has been categorized by John Wevers as a member of a subgroup (cI) of the much larger Catena group, which is "not a recension but rather a late text form popular in Byzantium."[17] "Late text form" is vague, but the other members of the subgroup, Vat. gr. 746 and gr. 383, the Seraglio Octateuch, and Paris. gr. 128, are all manuscripts of the twelfth century.[18] Wevers notes that of the cI Octateuchs only Vat. gr. 747 is continuous throughout Exodus; the others I have listed rely on a manuscript from a different group for Ex 32:28 to 33:19.[19] But there is something unusual about the others, too; the Vat. gr. 746 and Paris. gr. 128 both have an interruption in the catena at this point in Exodus. The Vat. gr. 747 has no immediately apparent break, and it also has a miniature not found in the other illustrated Octateuchs. There is a second example of a gap in the commentary of the Octateuchs and it, too, coincides with a miniature unique to Vat. gr. 747. Together, the instances of discontinuity within a group of otherwise closely related manuscripts shape how we understand the formation of the Octateuch family, and for this reason they are examined in detail in Chapter III.

Hexaplaric notation

The inner margins mainly contain philological notes for scholarly use, and their importance for close study is borne out by the number of times the commentator Theodoret refers to them in his *Selected Questions*. The core is the hexaplaric notation of Origen, which is combined with material that has been called "hexaplaric by association."[20] The hexaplaric notes consist of different readings, often single words, that Origen selected for his *Hexapla* from the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion and aligned with the Septuagint readings and the Hebrew; among the associated notes are additional variants taken from a Greek version of the Pentateuch used by the Samaritans, the *Samareitikon*, as well as explanatory notes drawn from authors later than Origen, and anonymous glosses that clarify obscure words and names. The hexaplaric notes have, in part, been edited by Frederick Field and selected notes appear in the critical apparatus of Wevers' Göttingen edition of the Septuagint and Françoise Petit's editions of the catena.[21]

The miniature on fol. 16r (fig. 1), like the one in the twelfth-century Octateuchs (e.g., fig. 2), shows the ocean draining from the heavens to surround the earth and flow into it as the earth becomes verdant; to the left and right are the captions to the illustration: "The water that is under the heavens" and "Ocean, that is, the gathering of the waters into one."[22] In the inner margin the scribe has copied the first miniature caption (directly to the left of the illustration) and seven hexaplaric notes, all of which I transcribe in the accompanying footnote.[23] Before each note the scribe adds a symbol; that to the first one, an S with dots on either side, also appears above the last word in the first line (*sunachtheto*). The system using symbols differentiates the notes from the numbered comments. The first inner note (§1) informs the reader that in the phrase "God said, Let the water which is under the heaven *be collected* into one place, and let the dry land appear… (Gen 1:9)," Aquila and Symmachus used a different verb in their translations of "be collected," a form of *sunistemi* for the Septuagint *sunago*. It may have been the connotation of condensing liquids that prompted Origen to note the use of *sunistemi* by the two translators. The following note (§2) explains the obelos (÷) next to lines four to six, "and the water which was under the heaven was collected into its places" (Gen 1:9b); the obelos denotes that a passage is problematic. The accompanying note says that

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see V. Laourdas and L. Westerink, *Photii patriarchae Constantinopolitani epistulae et Amphilochia* (Leipzig, 1986), 5:195 ll. 23–26 (who identify the source); see also PG 101:816C2–7. This tenth reason why obscurity is advantageous is demonstrated during the Babylonian captivity, when the books sent from Jerusalem were incomprehensible to the captors because, in the view of the Christian commentator, of the use of symbolism (typology?). The extract seems more relevant as a historical note than a critical one, since Polychronius gives nine other reasons for obscurity.

16 Lowden, *Octateuchs*, 1, notes the first known use of the word by Procopius of Gaza (c. 465–528).

17 J. Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Genesis*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, ser. 3, 81 (1974), 228.

18 Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Genesis*, 89. Vat. gr. 383 (R. Devreesse, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codices Vaticani graeci*, 2, *Codices 330–603* [Rome, 1937], 78–79) contains Genesis and Exodus, probably as the first of a two-volume set; see the Introduction and the Vatopedi Octateuch as the second volume of a set.

19 J. Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Exodus*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, ser. 3, 192 (1992), 65.

20 R. Barend ter Haar Romeny and P. Gentry, "Towards a New Collection of Hexaplaric Material for the Book of Genesis," in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, ed. B. Taylor (Atlanta, 2001), 287.

21 The still useful preface to Frederick Field's edition of the Hexapla has been translated into English with annotations and bibliography: G. Norton with C. Hardin, *Frederick Field's Prolegomena to Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt: sive veterum interpretum graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta* (Paris, 2005).

22 τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑπὸ κάτω <i.e., ὑποκάτω > τοῦ οὐ(ρα)νοῦ, directly to the left of the miniature; and above the second part of the miniature, ὠκεανός, ἤτοι ἡ τῶν ὑδάτων μία συναγωγή.

23 §1 το συναχθήτω (Gen 1:9): Α(κύλας) Σ(ύμμαχος), συστήτω (Field, *OrigHex*,1:9).

§2 adjacent to Gen 1:9–10: ÷ ἔνθα κεῖται ὀβελό(ς), οὐ κεῖτ(αι) ἐν τῶ Ἑβραϊκῶ, παρὰ μόνοις δὲ φέρετ(αι) τ(οῖς) ἑβδομήκοντα (ibid., 1:9 n 22).

§3 το ὁμοιότητα (Gen 1:11): Α(κύλας), σπερματίζοντα (ibid., 1:9).

§4 το καρπόν (Gen 1:11): εἰς τὸ γένο(ς) αὐτῶν (ibid., 1:9).

§5 το οὗ (Gen 1:11): οὗτινος.

§6 το κάρπιμον (Gen 1:12): σπερματίζοντα (ibid., 1:9; Petit, *ChGen*, 1:76).

§7 το οὗ (Gen 1:12): οὗτινος.

Gen 1:9b is obelized in the Septuagint but not in the Hebrew. The scribe's use of the inner margin for the text critical notes cannot be attributed to his initiative, since parallel examples are found in much earlier manuscripts. Hexaplaric notation appears in the margins of the sixth- or seventh-century Octateuch, Paris, BnF, Coislin 1.[24] It is also copied in the interior margins of the Vatican Job, BAV, gr. 749, attributed to a scribe working in Rome in the ninth century and employing a format similar to that of the Octateuch (fig. 69).[25] From the same period dates a copy of Theodoret's *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*, Rome, BAV, Barb. gr. 549.[26] Here Theodoret's text occupies the main block, surrounded by a second, numbered commentary and the hexaplaric notes written in the margin, but in uncial to match the biblical passages.

Following Exodus, the frequency and position of the notes change. Instead of being copied in the inside margins in red, they often appear in the catena, numbered and in brown ink, as they do in Theodoret's *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*. In addition, they decrease in frequency. Roughly seventeen verses in Leviticus are annotated. Eleven leaves have notes in Numbers, ten have notes in Deuteronomy and only two in Joshua have them.[27] There are no hexaplaric notes in the margins of Judges and Ruth.[28] The uneven distribution does not reflect Origen's *Hexapla*, but neither can it be said to be the editorial work of the Vat. gr. 747 scribe or his patron. The notes create an opportunity for a comparison with the twelfth-century Vat. gr. 746 and Seraglio Octateuch, useful because the ones in Vat. gr. 747 seem to be isolated clusters scattered randomly through the text of Numbers through Joshua.[29] When the manuscripts are compared, the content of the notes and their placement in relation to the biblical text are essentially identical. When checked against Field's edition they share a number of common divergences, especially in the translator to whom the reading is attributed (e.g., Num 16:3, 25:4, 7, 8 c, Deut 4:19), but also in the readings themselves (e.g., Num 9:2, Josh 7:26). In two instances (Num 11:8 and Deut 32:8), the readings of two different translators are conflated. As for differences among the illustrated Octateuchs, they are insignificant, a dropped word (Deut 4:19), a changed ending, article,

or pronoun (Deut 1:1, 31); one set of readings suggests that the note in the source was only partly legible (Num 25:8). As for Vat. gr. 747 specifically, the scribe changes the plural *klimata* to the singular *klima to* with the article following the noun (Num 21:17). This is a transparent slip of the pen. Although mistakes diminish their value for the medieval reader, the notes and their blemishes demonstrate the manuscripts' proximity to a common model. Finally, the inner margin can also accommodate miniature captions, as on fols. 16r and 179r (figs. 1, 82), numbered chapter titles when a page requires several (fig. 8), and overflow from the catena, the last differentiated by being copied in the brown ink of the text.[30] The hexaplaric notation is unlikely to bear on the illustration, but it tells us something about the book's reader and the history of a manuscript family.

Catena

The catena is copied in one, two, or three parts of the outside margins (figs. 1, 49). It is a composite, though not one assembled by the scribe or an editor working with him. At the start of the twentieth century, Georg Karo and Hans Lietzmann did primary work classifying the Octateuch catenae, giving Vat. gr. 747 the designation of type III (b²) based on the content as well as the associated biblical prologues and epilogues.[31] A more detailed history and critical edition of the catena for Genesis and Exodus have since been established by Françoise Petit. The foundation of the catena is a selection called the *Collectio Coisliniana*, which is known from the ninth- or tenth-century Paris, BnF, Coisl. 113, fols. 287r–435v, and two other works of the same era.[32] The *Collectio* is not organized along the lines of a commentary, a book in which Scripture is cut into passages that are followed by the comments, as in the Vat. Barb. gr. 549 or Paris. gr. 128 (fig. 65), or one in which the commentary frames the body of Scripture, as in Vat. gr. 747. The *Collectio Coisliniana* does not contain biblical passages (other than snippets quoted by the commentators). The format derives from the foundation work, Theodoret's *Selected Questions*, which is not a comprehensive commentary. Theodoret (c. 393–c. 466) simply took up passages that raised issues he felt needed clarification. In the *Collectio* each numbered Question is followed by a selection of additional extracts, which Petit characterizes as a "dossier" of comments assembled from other writers in support of Theodoret's theological perspective.[33] In the Paris. Coisl. 113 the extracts are signaled by the author's name written in uncial, sometimes accompanied

24   J. Leroy, "La description codicologique des manuscrits grecs de parchemin," in *Paléographie grecque et byzantine*, 32 n 33.

25   M. Bernabò, *Le miniature per i manoscritti greci del libro di Giobbe* (Florence, 2004), 146–54. S. Papadaki-Oekland, *Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts of the Book of Job. A Preliminary Study of the Miniature Illustrations, its Origin and Development* (Athens, 2009), 323–30.

26   E. Follieri, "La minuscola libraria dei secoli IX e X," in *Paléographie grecque et byzantine*, 140 n 3.

27   See Appendix to this chapter.

28   The exception is a handful of leaves in Judges, discussed in Chapter Three, that accompany a disruption in the catena restored from another manuscript source.

29   F. Petit, *Catenae graecae in Genesim et in Exodum*, 2, *Collectio Coisliniana in Genesim*, Corpus christianorum, Series graeca 15 (Turnhout-Louvain, 1986), cvi, observes that the notes are often associated with the comments of Diodorus; the ones on fol. 134 are (CatNikephori, 1:1031Z–1032Z, where given to Theodoret), but those on the other leaves discussed here are not.

30   Miniature inscriptions appear on fols. 14v, 15r, 16r, 28r, 29r, 29v, 30v, 31r, 32v (x2), 33v, 34r (lower), 35v, 36v, 79v, 168r, 168v, 170r, 176r, 176v, 178v, 179r, 181v, 183r, 212v. The inscriptions are discussed in Chapter Five.

31   Karo-Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 7–11. Some of the listed manuscripts, e.g. London, BL, Burney 34, and Paris, BnF, gr. 130, contain the extract from Gregory of Nyssa, which is not found in the Octateuch group under discussion here; see above n 11.

32   Petit, *Catenae graecae,* xxi–xxviii.

33   Petit, *Catenae graecae*, xix.

by the name of his work being cited. The date of the original compilation cannot be earlier than the last quarter of the fifth century based on Theodoret's dates and those of the latest authors used. The importance of this source to the Octateuchs may be reflected by the prominence afforded Theodoret's Gen Q 1, placed at the very top of fol. 13r of the Vat. gr. 747, the beginning of the biblical text.

The *Collectio Coisliniana* was later combined with an existing catena that Petit calls the "primary catena," which covered at least Genesis and Exodus.[34] She attributes the creation of the primary catena to an anonymous compiler who worked, at the earliest, in the second half of the fifth century, a conclusion again based on the dates of the authors cited, ending with Theodoret. The catenist's objective was to lay before the reader a range of exegetical positions, as well as to clarify chronological or geographical issues raised by the biblical text.[35] A *terminus ante quem* for the early stage of the resulting catena is provided by Procopius of Gaza (c. 465– 528 or 538), who wrote an Octateuch commentary based on the primary catena.[36] The primary catena is known from four manuscripts, the three earliest attributed to the tenth century, one of them containing extensive hexaplaric notation.[37] The tradition of the Octateuchs – the Karo-Lietzmann type III and Petit's "secondary tradition" P – incorporates comments by Severus of Antioch (c. 459–538) that were unknown to Procopius and absent from the primary catena.[38] The second editor took selectively from the primary catena, sometimes shortening and rewriting its comments or omitting some, and he also added the Letter of Aristeas, a text found only in the type III manuscripts.[39] It was at this stage that Theodoret's preface to the *Selected Questions* was added after the Aristean letter as a second Octateuch prologue. The resulting text survives in approximately twenty-five Byzantine manuscripts dating from the tenth century to the end of the Palaiologan era, although by the eleventh century the text of the P catena had split into three branches; Petit assigns Vat. gr. 747 to the Pr subgroup.[40]

The catena subgroup Pr coincides with Wevers' cI text of Genesis, to which the illustrated Octateuchs belong (Smyrna is not included because it cannot be examined).[41] In the il-

lustrated Octateuchs a numbering system allows the reader to easily move between the biblical text and the commentary. The scribe writes a number above the phrase or word in the biblical text and then adds it at the side of the comment. The number 15 (ιε´) appears on fol. 16r before the first line of Scripture (Gen 1:9), and again next to the second comment at the top of the leaf (fig. 1). The first comment on the leaf, number 14 (ιδ´), is an orphan here and in Vat. gr. 746 since it has no corresponding number in the biblical text (Petit, *ChGen*, 1:65; it is by an unknown author to Gen 1:8, found on fol. 15v). The numbers in the text of Genesis are consecutive to 681, but there are many more individual comments since all the ones on a given passage often use the same number; for example, the phrase "And God said, Let us make man according to our image and likeness" (Gen 1:26) has the scribe repeating the number 32 eighteen times on fol. 18r alone (such repeated numbering also occurs in the Vatican Job, gr. 749: fig. 69). Similarly, in Exodus there are more comments than the 692 numbered passages. The catena to Leviticus through Ruth contains comments by comparable authors, and includes comments attributed to Severus of Antioch, a defining characteristic of Petit's P catena.[42] There is, however, a noteworthy difference between the Genesis-Exodus catena and that of the rest of the Octateuch. Unlike the consecutive numbering in Genesis and Exodus, the scribe numbered the catena of the remaining books in groups of one hundred; after comment 100 he begins the numbering again at 1. This system is found in the Codex Zacynthius (Luke's gospel surrounded on three sides by catena in smaller uncial), dated around 700, as well as in the Vatican Job, gr. 749.[43] In addition, the comments in the books following Exodus seem to be less frequently attributed to a particular author or one whose name is unknown (*adelos*) or for which the inscription was lacking in the source (*anepigraphos*). On fol. 167v, for instance, the scribe copied Num 16:23–17:3, and adds seven numbered comments (87–93), one, given to Apollinaris, linked to the text with a sign; the others have no author recorded. In the CatNikephori, an early modern edition of commentary based on more than one manuscript source, two of the comments are attributed and the others given as author "unknown."[44]

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34 The combination of two sources is, to some extent, reflected by the disposition of comments on the pages of Paris. gr. 128 (figs. 63–65): Petit, *Catenae graecae*, lxxviii, lxxxii.

35 Petit, *ChGen*, 1:xv–xvi.

36 Petit, *ChGen*, 1:xvii–xx. See also B. ter Haar Romeny, "Procopius of Gaza and his Library," in *From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron*, eds. H. Amirav and B. ter Haar Romeny (Louvain, 2007), 178–90.

37 Petit, *ChGen*, 1:xxi–xxiii; Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, 1 (A.N. III.13), ibid., xxxi.

38 Petit, *ChGen*, 2:xiii. Petit, *Catenae graecae*, lxxviii, notes that the hybrid character of the Paris. gr. 128, a body of biblical text and commentary with marginal comments (figs. 63–65), may reflect the incomplete combination of the sources.

39 Karo-Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 9. Petit, *ChGen*, 1:xxiv. A. Pelletier, ed., *Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate* (Paris, 1962), 9.

40 Petit, *ChGen*, 1:xxiv–xxv.

41 Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Genesis*, 89.

42 Karo-Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 8.

43 Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 10062: J. Greenlee, "The Catena of Codex Zacynthius," *Biblica* 40 (1959), 997. D. Parker and J. N. Birdsall, "The Date of Codex Zacynthius (Ξ): A New Proposal," *Journal of Theological Studies* 55 (2004), 117–31.

44 πζ´ = CatNikephori, 1:1274E as unknown; πη´ = ibid., 1:1275B unknown; πθ´ = ibid., 1:1275Γ unknown; ϙ´ = ibid., 1:1276A as Procopius (Procopius of Gaza, *Commentaries on Numbers*: PG 87.1:841 A4–6); ϙα´ = CatNikephori, 1:1276H–1277A unknown; ϙβ´ = ibid., 1:1277Γ unknown; ϙγ´ = ibid., 1:1278A as Origen (Origen, *Selecta in Numeros*: PG 12:577 A4–7); Apollinaris = ibid., 1:1277Δ. Vat. gr. 746, fol. 340r+v has the same notes, identically numbered and without attributions, save that of Apollinaris. Petit, *ChGen*, 1:xxxiv–xxxv. Petit rightly dismisses the historical value of this compilation of sources, but it retains its usefulness as a printed edition for the books after Exodus that have not been critically edited; it is available in a digital version online.

The basis for the Octateuch commentary did not grow by accretion, but rather resulted from several, concentrated scholarly efforts that were combined. The main work is fixed in the second half of the fifth century and first half of the sixth, when the catenists worked excerpting texts, some from authors as early as the first century (Philo Judaeus).

Commentary and illustration

The marginal content of the manuscripts provides invaluable evidence for the history of the Octateuch family, but it raises a question that needs to be considered at the outset. When we speak of the relationship between the text and images, should we take the commentary into account? Episodic narrative like that of the Octateuchs largely depends on compositional clichés that capture simple acts and events: a man and woman marry (fols. 27v, 49v), they lie in bed (fol. 178v), a child is born (fol. 26r), friends or relatives embrace (figs. 34, 40), one person addresses another (fig. 22) or a group (fig. 42), people eat a meal alone or in the company of others (figs. 32, 8), they pray and sacrifice (fig. 74), and God speaks to them (fig. 4), they commit solitary acts of violence (fig. 80) and wage war (fig. 72), an old person lies in bed (fig. 88), dies, and is buried (fig. 71). Throughout, the compositions and poses betray the inherent sensitivity to power relationships shown by people who live under an imperial government with a well-defined hierarchy: who stands while another sits (figs. 16, 36), who bows slightly or deeply before whom (figs. 77, 30), who writes letters that are delivered by courier (fol. 2r), whose birth is accompanied by a host of servants (fig. 8) and whose is attended, at best, by a midwife (fol. 46v). The compositions are simple, versatile, easy to recognize, and adequately capture moments in the biblical text. The commentators' concerns, though, run from the meanings of difficult words or passages to meaning in a wider sense, the significance of an event within the divine plan or its typological import, matters often irrelevant to the illuminators or beyond their capacity to communicate in pictures. Occasionally, an image may be difficult to reconcile with the biblical text, and in these instances Kurt Weitzmann and Massimo Bernabò bring deep erudition to bear, often citing written works beyond the Septuagint and catena as ways to understand unusual depictions. The specific question here, though, is Does the commentary available in the margins of the Octateuchs have any role in the illustration.

A case of difficult words that might prompt an illuminator to turn to the commentary is that of "first-fruits" used in Exodus Chapter 37: *Description of the first-fruits to take for outfitting the tabernacle* (Ex 25:1–9). The passage opens in Vat. gr. 747 on fol. 104v and concludes on 105r, where the miniature sits in the catena below Ex 25:9 (fig. 4). The text, with the words that draw comment italicized and the comment numbers above them following in brackets, is:

> And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, "Speak to the children of
> Israel, and take first-fruits of all who may be disposed in their

heart to give, and you shall take my first-fruits. And this is the *offering* [460] which you shall take of them; gold and silver and brass, and blue, and purple, and double scarlet, and fine spun linen, and *goats' hair* [461], and rams' skins dyed red, and *blue skins* [462], and incorruptible wood, and oil for the light, incense for anointing oil, and for the composition of incense, and sardian stones, and stones for the *carved work* [463] of the breast-plate, and the full-length robe. ||105r And you shall make me a sanctuary, and *I will appear* [464] among you (Ex 25:1–8)."

In all the Octateuchs (figs. 4–7) the miniature is divided into two registers. In the upper one the people, headed by Joshua, stand to one side as God speaks to Moses. In the lower one Moses is seated with Joshua beside him as a man bends deeply to lay things at Moses' feet while others look on. In the twelfth-century Octateuchs (figs. 5–7) the two parts are inscribed:[45] "Moses commanded in regard to the first fruits," and, in verse, "The people offering as commanded." In the miniatures of the twelfth-century examples the foremost figure leans over to drop some uneven, brown stones and what appears to be a handful of scarlet wool. In Vat. gr. 747 there are variously shaped objects, all a tan color and outlined in black, but none are stones; one is a round plate and another looks like a wide, hinged cuff or bracelet (fig. 4).[46] Can the difference be attributed to the commentary? Of all the comments on the page, the only one that might bear on the choice made by the illuminator of Vat. gr. 747 is by Cyril of Alexandria (no. 460); commenting on "offering," Cyril writes that since God commanded the Israelites to take gold, silver, and so forth from the Egyptians – see Ex 3:22 and Ex 11:2, illustrated in Exodus with an Egyptian holding a bracelet or necklace[47] – the things they brought to Moses were these, their first-fruits.[48] The illuminator of Vat. gr. 747, who uses gold leaf liberally, painted the objects in this miniature. But as a comparison: the golden stamnos into which Aaron deposited the manna is represented once in gold leaf (fol. 107v) and again in tan pigment (fol. 93r, fig. 53), so the color of the objects could signify gold.[49] The biblical text itself speaks of "gold and silver and brass, and blue, and purple, and double scarlet, and fine spun linen, and goats' hair… and stones," and these words alone may be sufficient guidance for the illuminator of Vat. gr. 746. Invoking the comment in the case of gr. 747 might explain the shapes its illuminator gave to the objects and possibly the color, but it remains uncertain to me if it is necessary to look beyond

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45   Fol. 105: Weitzmann-Bernabò, *Octateuchs*, figs. 746–49.

46   See the hinged bracelet in Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Collection, acc. no. 59.53: M. Ross, with addendum by S. Boyd and S. Zwirn, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, 2, *Jewelry, Enamels, and Art of the Migration Period* (Washington, 2005), 80–81, pl. LVIII.

47   Weitzmann-Bernabò, *Octateuchs,* figs. 681, 683.

48   The printed edition of the comments: 460: Petit, *ChEx*: 4:751. Also on the folio are 461: ibid., 4:752, 753; 463: ibid., 4:754; and 464: ibid., 4:755. For the miniature Vat. gr. 747, fol. 84, see Weitzmann-Bernabò, *Octateuchs,* fig. 680.

49   Weitzmann-Bernabò, *Octateuchs,* figs. 762, 720.

the biblical passage for the solution. In another case Doula Mouriki suggested that the catena prompted the illuminator of Vat. gr. 747 to add the golden stamnos to the illustration of the tabernacle on fol. 107v.[50] If such comments are of any value in understanding the images, it will likely be in the realm of minor details and not major themes or even individual subjects. Massimo Bernabò even points out instances in which a comment and miniature disagree. But from his observations it is not, I believe, possible to conclude, as he does, that the illustrations were in existence before the fifth century and the time of Theodoret's *Selected Questions*.[51] The catena, in fact, predates the illustrations, since I show, in the Conclusion, how the illuminator turned to the commentary when he needed to convert a simple two figure composition into one spanning a long column of text. In a study of this kind, the value of the extra-biblical material mainly lies in its contribution to text history.

The Octateuchs by format

Over the course of the Octateuchs, the constituent elements of the page – Scripture, commentary, notes, and illustrations – are in constant flux. Genesis 1:26, "And God said, Let us make man according to our image and likeness," has the scribe repeating the verset five times over as many leaves to accommodate the amount of commentary it generates (fols. 17v–19v). But nearly a dozen leaves in Joshua and Judges lack catena, allowing the scribe to fill them with forty-seven lines of biblical text. Two of the elements of the page are critical to its format. One is the position of the illustration and the other that of the catena in relation to Scripture.

The text of the ninth-century Vatican Job, gr. 749, employs the same basic format as the Octateuchs, except the illustrations mainly appear at the bottoms of the leaves (fig. 69), affecting neither the biblical text nor the commentary; the layout is an undisciplined form of marginal illustration. The Octateuch illustrations are in the text. As is clear from Weitzmann's and Bernabò's study of the manuscripts, the scribes responsible for the Octateuchs left space in the biblical text for miniatures at the same points. The degree of regularity in this regard is remarkable, albeit hardly perfect.[52] On fol. 42r of the Vat. gr. 747 (fig. 8) the entire block of Scripture contains Gen 21:1–12a, in two parts corresponding to Chapter 61: *Sarah's birth of Isaak* (Gen 21:1–8), and 62: *The things between Sarah and Hagar and Abraham on account of Isaac and Ishmael* (Gen 21:9–12a).[53] Between the first and second miniatures is

Gen 21:5. The first scene is the birth and circumcision of Isaak, the second Abraham's feast when the child was weaned, and the third, beneath the beginning of Chapter 62, Sarah's demand that Hagar and Ishmael be sent away. The photograph that Paul Buberl took of fol. 33v of the Smyrna Octateuch shows the exact same lines of text around the miniatures and, at the top right corner, the same hexaplaric note, to Gen 21:2 (fig. 9).[54]

The second factor affecting the page layout is the relationship of the catena to Scripture. The ideal would be for the comments to appear on the same page as the biblical text they clarify, though the numbering system provides flexibility. Evidence of the ideal is provided by the mid-tenth-century Paris Psalter, BnF, gr. 139, and the early eleventh-century Psalter of Basil II, Venice, BNM, gr. 17, both heavily annotated with the same catena.[55] In the latter, the scribe begins the numbering at 1 on every leaf since he is virtually always able to fit the comments on the same page as the text to which they refer, as does the scribe of the Paris Psalter as well. The scribe of Vat. gr. 747 strives to meet this ideal. Occasionally he extends the text, for example by shaping it, as on fol. 104v (fig. 3), or he compresses the text, as he does with the lower block of Scripture on fol. 16r (fig. 1), where he copies both the lines and letters closer together than they are in the upper block. The scribe also copies the comments in a considerably smaller hand than the one he uses for Scripture and he employs a relatively wide range of abbreviations when necessary. The scribes of the Vat. gr. 746 and the Seraglio Octateuch also copy the catena in a smaller hand than the biblical text, but one that is not much smaller (figs. 2, 51); the result is that the comments can spill over on sheets without Scripture. In Vat. gr. 746 the commentary to Gen 1:26 requires nine sides, versus five in Vat. gr. 747. On the folio showing the waters flowing into the earth, the scribe of Vat. gr. 746 writes Gen 1:9 above the first part of the miniature (fig. 2), leaving the rest and much of the commentary found in Vat. gr. 747 for the verso. Below the miniature the scribe of gr. 746 has copied a comment from Basil and part of the following comment (Petit, *CatGen*, 1:67, 70 ll. 1–2). The commentary begins at roughly the same place, but what is copied in Vat. gr. 746 takes up only the first twenty-two lines of commentary in Vat. gr. 747 (figs. 1, 2). As a result of the larger scale of the script used for its catena, the length of Vat. gr. 746 is 508 folios (39 ½ x 31 cm) and the Seraglio 569 folios (42 x 32 cm). The Vat. gr. 747 (36 x 28 ½ but severely trimmed) requires just over 260 folios.

Keeping the comments on the same page as the relevant Scripture is an ideal that cannot always be realized, even by the scribe of Vat. gr. 747. It is not unusual for lines of commentary to carry over to the top of the next page, and at the end of Genesis the increased commentary creates a series of poorly coordinated pages (cf. 68r–70v). In the text, commentary, and illustration of the chapter on the first-fruits, we can see the

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50   D. Mouriki-Charalambous, *The Octateuch Miniatures of the Byzantine Manuscripts of Cosmas Indicopleustes* (PhD diss: Princeton University, 1970), 125. For illustrations: Weitzmann-Bernabò, *Octateuchs*, figs. 762–65.

51   Weitzmann-Bernabò, *Octateuchs*, 314–15.

52   Weitzmann-Bernabò, *Octateuchs*, give the breaks following each miniature description.

53   Εα΄ περὶ Σάρρας τεκούσης τὸν Ἰσαάκ. Εβ΄ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Σάρραν (καὶ) τὴν Ἄγαρ (καὶ) τὸν Ἀβρ(α)ὰ(μ) διὰ τὸν Ἰσαὰκ (καὶ) τ(ὸν) Ἰσμαήλ.

54   Field, *OrigHex*, 1:36.

55   Karo-Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 25–27.

scribe of Vat. gr. 747 mitigating the degree of displacement caused by the amount of commentary generated by Ex 25. He begins the chapter on fol. 104v (fig. 3) with the number and title – 37: *Description of the first-fruits to take for outfitting the tabernacle* – and copies Ex 25:1–7a, adding in the margin comments 459 (υνθ̓) to 464 (υξδ̓), the last continuing on the facing leaf. The Scripture here is written in lines of decreasing length to force the phrase "You shall make me a sanctuary, and I will appear among you" over to the next folio, where above the word "I will appear" is the number 464. The passage is the subject of a long comment, Theodoret Ex Q 60.[56] The scribe is thus able at least to keep the verset and its commentary together on facing pages. This degree of close coordination is not attained in Vat. gr. 746 or the Seraglio Octateuch. In Vat. gr. 746 Theodoret Ex Q 60 begins on fol. 227v, and the miniature falls on fol. 229r.

If it is agreed that the scribe who maintains a close relationship between Scripture and its commentary follows the design of the model, then Vat. gr. 747 is a superior witness to it when compared with Vat. gr. 746 and the Seraglio Octateuch. The Smyrna Octateuch remains but is difficult to assess from the photographic record. Josef Strzygowski proposed that the Vat. gr. 747 and Smyrna Octateuch agree almost exactly in the distribution of images in the text.[57] John Lowden has exploited the limited evidence to argue that it and Vat. gr. 747 are virtually identical in terms of their content page-by-page, and he has noted that they share a quire division (quire XXIX in Vat. gr. 747 and Smyrna fols. 226–33).[58] I wish to examine the correspondence in terms of the catena at its densest. Two entire leaves from the beginning of the Smyrna Octateuch have been published, and subsequent illustrations that contain bits of text allow us to survey the catena near the start of Genesis in the two manuscripts. The leaves available in their entirety are Smyrna fols. 4r and 5r, and they are nearly identical to fols. 14v and 15v of the Vatican manuscript (figs. 10–13). We can follow six points of reference:

§1. Vat. gr. 747, fol. 14v, and Smyrna fol. 4r (figs. 10, 11). The two agree exactly in the passage from Scripture copied (Gen 1:2b), the comments placed around it, and the overall shape of the catena in relation to both Scripture and illustration.

§2. Vat. gr. 747, fol. 15v, and Smyrna fol. 5r (figs. 12, 13). The two manuscripts have the same page layout and biblical passage (Gen 1:8), but if we compare the catena opening the two leaves it is clear that the scribe of the Smyrna Octateuch has fallen behind. He writes the last thirteen lines of Theodoret Gen Q 11, whereas the scribe of Vat. gr. 747 copies only four lines.[59] The discrepancy continues to the end of the leaves. The scribe of the Smyrna Octateuch ends with the passage from

Chrysostom's *Exegetical Homilies on Hebrews* two lines from the bottom, leaving no room for the lengthy extract from Gennadius that follows in Vat. gr. 747.[60] It must be on the verso.

§3. Vat. gr. 747, fol. 16r (fig. 1), and Smyrna fol. 5v. Both leaves contain Gen 1:9–13. The catena in Vat. gr. 747 ends on Theodoret's Gen Q 13, followed by four more comments,[61] whereas that of Smyrna stops partway through Theodoret Gen Q 13.

§4. Vat. gr. 747, fol. 17r (Gen 1:20–25), and Smyrna fol. 6v (Gen 1:20–23). Beneath the miniature in Smyrna the scribe copied two lines from Theodoret and three from a comment by Eusebius of Emesa;[62] the comments must be in the middle of the leaf if not somewhat lower. In Vat. gr. 747 the miniature appears below Gen 1:20–23 and the same comments are toward the top of the leaf, in lines 8–13, 13–32. In addition, the Vatican Octateuch has Gen 1:24–25, a second illustration, the creation of the animals, and forty-seven more lines of commentary.

§5. Smyrna, fol. 7r. The miniature showing the creation of the animals appears on this leaf, as presumably does Gen 1:24–25.[63] In Vat. gr. 747 it is the second miniature on fol. 17r. The makers of the Smyrna Octateuch have moved the biblical passage, its commentary, and the miniature to the following leaf to coordinate text and commentary.

§6. Vat. gr. 747, fol. 19r (Gen 1:26a), and Smyrna fol. 9r. Below the Smyrna miniature of the enlivement of Adam, is a phrase from Theodoret, Gen Q 20, to Gen 1:26. The same phrase is five lines above the bottom corner of the miniature in Vat. gr. 747, fol. 19r.[64] The correlation confirms that by this point the two manuscripts again agree in the amount of Scripture and, probably, commentary on the page. A comparison of the last lines of text on Vat. gr. 747, fols. 62v and 63r with Smyrna fols. 54v and 55r shows the scribes ending at the same points (figs. 28, 29 and 30, 31). The scribe of the Smyrna Octateuch may have made other adjustments over portions of the text with extensive commentary, but the folio count suggests that they must not have been frequent, and he must have seized opportunities to keep pace with the model.

The Vat. gr. 747 is missing 19 folios, so its original length was 279 folios. The original length of the Smyrna Octateuch can only be estimated. It was defective at the start. Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus writes that one leaf with the end of the Letter of Aristeas survived (fol. 1), but he does not mention the short preface of Theodoret, so it seems that only a single

56   Theodoret Ex Q 60: Petruccione-Hill, *Questions*, 1:312–25.

57   Strzygowski, *Bilderkreis*, 121.

58   Lowden, *Octateuchs*, 62–63.

59   Smyrna: Petruccione-Hill, *Questions*, 1:28 l. 19–end. Vat. gr. 747: ibid., 1:30 l. 38–end.

60   Chrysostom, CatNikephori, 1:22E–Z. Gennadius, ibid., 1:22Z–23H (to fol. 16r l. 6).

61   Theodoret, Gen Q 13 (to Gen 1:11): Petruccione-Hill, *Questions*, 1:32. Petit, *ChGen*, 1:67, 70, 69. Theodoret Gen Q 14: Petruccione-Hill, *Questions*, 1:32 to roughly l. 9 or 10. Visible in Weitzmann-Bernabò, *Octateuchs*, fig. 31.

62   Petit, *ChGen* 1:104, 105. Visible in Hesseling, *Octateuque de Smyrne*, fig. 7.

63   Weitzmann-Bernabò, *Octateuchs*, fig. 42.

64   τὰς δὲ ἐνεργείας οὐκ ἔχει, ἐστέρηται γὰ[ρ]: Petruccione-Hill, *Questions*, 1:52 l. 69 Visible in Weitzmann-Bernabò, *Octateuchs*, fig. 49.

fragment of the opening quires survived.[65] Papadopoulos-Ker-ameus also cites the four epilogues, the last one followed by later entries, including the dedication on fol. 261r–v, indi-cating no loss at the end of the manuscript; the later dedi-cation and death notices were probably written in space left blank by the scribe, where we often find them. Four additional folios are said to be lost.[66] If the prefaces required the same number of leaves as they do in Vat. gr. 747, fourteen folios, and one of them survived, then seventeen folios in all were lost; Papadopoulos-Kerameus reports that the manuscript had 261 leaves and Strzygowski 262, so the original folio count

would be either 279 or 280 folios. The agreement between Vat. gr. 747 and the Smyrna Octateuch is more evidence that they copy the same model, a conclusion supported by the notes and catena discussed. The parallels in the notes found in all the manuscripts and the uniform placement of the minia-tures, means that the Seraglio Octateuch and Vat. gr. 746 are also from that source, but their scribes did not set out to repro-duce its page format, which was designed to keep the biblical text and catena coordinated as closely as possible, but which required considerable effort.

65 Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων ἐν Σμύρνῃ*, 4.
66 Strzygowski, *Bilderkreis*, 116–17, 118; Lowden, *Octateuchs*, 17; Weitzmann-Bernabò, *Octateuchs*, 338.