

# LES USAGES SOCIAUX DE LA BIBLE, XI<sup>E</sup>-XV<sup>E</sup> SIÈCLES

## CHETL, 3

THE ITALIAN GIANT BIBLES, LAY PATRONAGE, AND  
PROFESSIONAL WORKMANSHIP (11TH-12TH CENTURIES)

PAR LILA YAWN

MOTS-CLÉS : BIBLES GÉANTES. PRODUCTION D'ÉQUIPE.  
MÉCÉNAT. CODICOLOGIE.

Résumé : Les Bibles géantes ombro-romaines, commanditées par différents patrons ecclésiastiques et laïcs (et non par les seuls adhérents du parti réformiste romain), furent réalisées par des équipes d'artisans salariés spécialement constituées dans ce but. Ils utilisaient des techniques de copie synchronisée soigneusement calibrées pour réduire les temps de production de chaque commande.

*Abstract : Eleventh-century Umbro-Roman Giant Bibles were commissioned by varied church and lay patrons (and not only by Roman reform-party adherents) and crafted by ad hoc assemblies of paid craftsmen using methods of carefully calibrated, synchronous copying to reduce production time for the single commission.*

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## The Italian Giant Bibles, Lay Patronage, and Professional Workmanship (11th-12th centuries)

PAR LILA YAWN\*

Recent studies of the folio-format biblical manuscripts commonly known as the Italian Giant Bibles, or *Bibbie atlantiche*, have frequently proceeded from the premise that the earliest examples, and indeed much of the corpus, originated in Rome, under the papal *aegis*, as an arm of the eleventh-and early twelfth-century church reform. Articulated with particular clarity in the catalog of the double exhibition of *Bibbie atlantiche* held at Montecassino and in Florence in 2000-2001, this widely accepted model maintains that the first generations of the genre were produced during the third and fourth quarters of the eleventh century in Rome, and above all at St. John Lateran, to serve as vectors of reformed religious practice and as prestigious symbols of pontifical authority and alliance before and during the Investiture Controversy<sup>1</sup>. Everything about the codices, from their

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\* Professor at The American University of Rome, Department of Archeology and Classics.

1. M. MANIACI and G. OROFINO ed., *Le Bibbie Atlantiche. Il libro delle Scritture tra monumentalità e rappresentazione*, catalog of the exhibition, Abbazia di

oversize format to the version of the Vulgate Bible text that they contain, is perceived as constituent of a distinctive reform-motivated product, a new biblical edition manufactured at the reform's epicenter for strategic distribution in Italy and abroad<sup>2</sup>.

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Montecassino, 11 luglio – 11 ottobre 2000 / Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 1 marzo-1 luglio 2001, Milan, Centro Tibaldi, 2000 : in particular G. CAVALLO, « Le Bibbie atlantiche e Roma », p. 3-4 ; G. LOBRICHON, « Riforma ecclesiastica e testo della Bibbia », p. 15-26 ; L. AYRES, « Le Bibbie atlantiche. Dalla Riforma alla diffusione in Europa », p. 27-37 ; P. SUPINO MARTINI, « Origine e diffusione della Bibbia atlantica », p. 39-43; A. BARTOLI LANGELI, « Bibbie atlantiche e carolina ‘riformata’. Una nota », p. 45-46 ; M. CIARDI DUPRÉ, « Le Bibbie atlantiche toscane », p. 73-79 ; G. BRAGA, « I manoscritti del vescovo Guglielmo II. Significato di una scoperta », p. 87-90.

2. For avowals of the Roman reform hypothesis in addition to those listed in note 1, see G. DALLI REGOLI, « Per una storia del libro illustrato. Note sulla tipologia di alcune Bibbie miniate in Italia fra l'XI e il XII secolo », in *Atti del I Congresso Nazionale di storia dell'arte*, CNR, Roma, 11-14 novembre 1978, ed. C. Maltese, Rome, Consiglio Nazionale delle Richerche, 1980 (Quaderni della ricerca scientifica, 106), p. 521 ; L. AYRES, « The Bible of Henry IV and an Italian Romanesque Pandect in Florence », in *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunst 800-1250. Festschrift für Florentine Mütherich zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. K. Bierbrauer, P. Klein, and W. Sauerländer, Munich, Prestel-Verlag, 1985, p. 157 ; IDEM, « An Italian Romanesque Manuscript of Hrabanus Maurus' De Laudibus Sanctae Crucis and the Gregorian Reform », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 41, 1987, p. 13, 27 ; P. SUPINO MARTINI, « La scrittura delle Scritture (sec. XI-XII) », *Scrittura e civiltà*, 12, 1988, p. 102-108 ; L. AYRES, « The Italian Giant Bibles », in *The Early Medieval Bible : Its production, decoration, and use*, ed. Richard Gameson, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 125-29 ; G. BRAGA, G. OROFINO, and

Documented gifts of such Bibles by ecclesiastical dignitaries form one cornerstone of the hypothesis<sup>3</sup>. An inscription in the Giant Bible of Geneva (Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, lat. 1) commemorates its donation to the city's cathedral chapter by Archbishop Frederick (c. 1030-c. 1073), along with at least twenty-five other books, including works by Plato, Aristotle, Horace,

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M. PALMA, « I manoscritti di Guglielmo II, vescovo di Troia, alla Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli : primi risultati di una ricerca », in *Libro, Scrittura, Documento della Civiltà Monastica e Conventuale nel Basso Medioevo (secoli XIII-XV)*, ed. G. Avarucci, R. M. Borraccini Verducci and G. Borri, Spoleto, Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1999, p. 437-470 ; M. BASSETTI, « Per la storia dei manoscritti atlantici : scritture ai margini dei "Moralia in Iob" di Todi », *Bollettino della Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria*, 98/1, 2001, p. 275-276 ; P. SUPINO MARTINI, « Aspetti della cultura grafica a Roma fra Gregorio Magno e Gregorio VII », in *Roma nell'alto medioevo (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, XLVIII)*, vol. 2, p. 967-968 ; A. PETRUCCI, « Divagazioni paleografiche sulla Roma gregoriana », in *Studi sulle società e le culture del Medioevo per Girolamo Arnaldi*, ed. L. Gatto and P. Supino Martini, Roma, 2002, vol. 2, p. 471-478 ; M. BASSETTI, « Scritture e libri nella diocesi di Perugia », in *La Chiesa di Perugia nel primo Millennio*, Atti del convegno di studi, Perugia, 1-3 aprile 2004, ed. A. Bartoli Langeli and E. Menestò, Spoleto, Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2005, p. 122-123 ; E. CONDELLO, « La Bibbia al tempo della Riforma gregoriana : le Bibbie atlantiche », in *Forme e modelli della tradizione manoscritta della Bibbia*, ed. P. Cherubini, Città del Vaticano, Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 2005, p. 347-372 ; G. OROFINO, « La decorazione delle Bibbie atlantiche tra Lazio e Toscana nella prima metà del XII secolo », in *Roma e la Riforma Gregoriana. Tradizioni e innovazioni artistiche (XI-XII secolo)*, Actes du colloque de l'Université de Lausanne, 10-11 décembre 2004, ed. S. Romano and J. Enckell Julliard, Rome, Viella, 2007, p. 357-359 ; S. RICCIONI, « *Litterae et figurae*. Pour un art rhétorique dans la Rome de la Réforme grégorienne »,

Juvenal, Porphyry, Macrobius, and other ancient and medieval authors<sup>4</sup>. In roughly the same period, Frederick's younger counterpart in Salzburg, Archbishop Gebhard (1060-1088), presented an Italian Giant Bible to the abbey of Admont, in Styria (Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. C-D). That, at least, is the implication of an entry in a fourteenth-century inventory of Admont's library listing a *Biblia tota in duobus maximis voluminis quam dedit Gebehardus fundator* probably identifiable with a two-volume Bibbia atlantica still in the monastery's collection<sup>5</sup>. Gebhard founded the abbey in 1074 as an

in *Roma e la riforma gregoriana*, *op. cit.*, p. 143-146 ; M. BASSETTI, « La civiltà delle 'lettere.' Biblioteche e produzione letteraria a Todi nel medioevo », in *Todi nel Medioevo (Secoli VI-XIV)*, Atti del XLVI Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 10-15 ottobre 2009, Spoleto, Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2010, vol. 2, p. 773, 775.

3. See, for example, E. CONDELLO, « La Bibbia al tempo della Riforma gregoriana », *op. cit.*, p. 368.

4. M. de TRIBOLET, « La Bibliothèque de Frédéric, évêque de Genève (fin du xi<sup>e</sup> siècle) », *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève*, 14, 1970, p. 265-277 ; E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, Florence, L'Impronta, 1953-1962, vol. 1, p. 14-15 ; J.-E. GENEQUAND, « Un Acte de Géraud premier comte de Genève », *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 135, 1977, p. 127-129 ; L. BINZ, J. EMERY et C. SANTSCHI, *Helvetia Sacra*, Sect. 8, vol. 3, *Le Diocèse de Genève, l'Archidiocèse de Vienne en Dauphiné*, Berne, Éditions Francke, 1980, p. 73-74 ; H. BAUD ed., *Le Diocèse de Genève-Annecy*, Paris, Beauchesne, 1985, p. 30 (*Histoire des Diocèses de France*, dir. B. Plongeron and A. Vauchez, 19) ; B. BLIGNY, *L'Église et les ordres religieux dans le royaume de Bourgogne aux xi<sup>e</sup> et xii<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Grenoble, Imprimerie Allier, 1960, p. 41-42 ; L. AYRES, « 2. Genève, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, lat. 1 (Bibbia di Federico di Ginevra) », in *Le Bibbie Atlantiche*, *op. cit.*, p. 111-114.

5. P. BUBERL, *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Steiermark [Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Hndschriften in Österreich]*, vol. 4], Leipzig, Karl W.

archiepiscopal *Eigenkloster* and, according to his twelfth-century Admontine *Vita*, richly endowed it with relics, ornaments, liturgical vessels, vestments, and books<sup>6</sup>. Similarly varied largesse went to the Cathedral of Troia in Apulia each year between 1108 and 1137, courtesy of its bishop, William II<sup>7</sup>. Among William's many offerings were twenty-nine manuscripts, one of them a splendidly ornamented *Bibbia atlantica* presented to the cathedral in 1113 (Naples,

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Hiersemann, 1911, p. 111-113 ; E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 17 ; M. BASSETTI, « 1. Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, C-D [Bibbia di Gebhard di Salisburgo] », in *Le Bibbie atlantiche*, *op. cit.*, p. 108-111.

6. *Dedit etiam ornamenta complura auro, argento et serico valde preciosa, vestimenta scilicet sacerdotalia, libros, calices et quaeque divinis ministeriis necessaria.* (W. WATTENBACH ed., *Vita Gebehardi, Thiemonis, Chunradi, Eberhardi, Chunradi II Archiepiscorum cum Chronico Admuntensi*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ed. G. Pertz, *Scriptorum*, Hannover, Impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Hahniani, 1854, vol. 11, p. 36) ; R. AUBERT, « Gebhard, archevêque de Salzbourg, Gebehardus († 1088) », *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastiques*, ed. R. Aubert, Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1984, vol. 20, cols. 224-25 ; N. DEL RE, « Gebardo, arcivescovo di Salisburgo, beato », in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum, Rome*, Istituto Giovanni XXIII della Pontificia Università Lateranense / Grottaferrata di Roma, Tipografia « Mariopoli » di Città Nuova Editrice, 1964, vol. 6, p. 81 ; H. DOPSCHE, « Gebhard Ebf. v. Salzburg (1060) », in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Freiburg-Basel-Vienna, Herder, 2006, vol. 4, col. 325.

7. G. BRAGA, G. OROFINO and M. PALMA, « I manoscritti di Guglielmo II », *op. cit.*, esp. p. 441 and 443, n. 26 ; G. BRAGA, « I manoscritti del vescovo Guglielmo II », in *Le Bibbie Atlantiche*, *op. cit.*, p. 88. For further information about the manuscript, including color reproductions, see S. MAGRINI, « 22. Napoli, Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, Neapol. XV AA 1-2 (Bibbia di Troia) », in *Le Bibbie atlantiche*, *op. cit.*, p. 200-204.

Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, Neapol. XV AA 1-2)<sup>8</sup>.

Other prelates of the period likely made similar gifts. Gebhard's contemporary in Sion, Bishop Ermenfrid (c. 1055-1088), may have offered his cathedral a volume closely akin to the examples in Geneva and Admont. So Larry Ayres suggested in light of a fragmentary Giant Bible in Sion's Cathedral Chapter Library (Sion, Bibliothèque du chapitre, 15)<sup>9</sup>. Ayres also speculated that a former schoolmate of Gebhard's, the reform-party stalwart Altmann, archbishop of Passau, had given an Italian Giant Bible to a religious house in his archdiocese in approximately the same years. Altmann's Bible seems to have been lost, but Ayres discerned its echoes in the Italianate decorations of a codex owned by the community of Augustinian canons that Altmann founded at Sankt-Florian, near Linz, in 1071 (Sankt-Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, XI.1)<sup>10</sup>.

8. G. BRAGA, G. OROFINO and M. PALMA, « I manoscritti di Guglielmo II », *op. cit.*, p. 441-445.

9. L. AYRES, « Le Bibbie atlantiche. Dalla Riforma alla diffusione in Europa », *op. cit.*, p. 31. On the Sion Bible, see J. LEISIBACH and A. JÖRGER, *Livres séduinois du Moyen Age. Enluminures et miniatures, Trésors de la bibliothèque du Chapitre de Sion* (Société pour la Sauvegarde de la Cité Historique et Artistique, Sedunum Nostrum, Annuaire n. 10), Sion, 1985, p. 31-47, who do not mention Ermenfrid. Ermenfrid's career is discussed in E. COWDREY, « Bishop Ermenfrid of Sion and the Penitential Ordinance following the Battle of Hastings », *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 20, 1969, p. 225-242.

10. L. AYRES, « Le Bibbie atlantiche. Dalla Riforma alla diffusione in Europa », *op. cit.*, p. 36. On Gebhard's friendship with Altmann, see W. WATTENBACH ed., *Vita Gebehardi*, *op. cit.*, p. 37 ; on the manuscript and pertinent bibliography, W. CAHN, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, Ithaca (New

The Bibles of Geneva, Admont, Troia, and Sion are remarkably similar in many respects and thus invite the idea that they share a common origin linked to a particular cohort of patrons, albeit patrons of different generations. The Troia Bible was clearly made several decades after the others. Each of the manuscripts is a parchment codex in oversize folio format containing all or part of the Latin Vulgate Bible and a limited array of prefaces and chapter summaries arranged in two tall columns of writing per page. In each Bible, the texts are ornamented with large, painted initials composed of vividly colored patterns – stylized leaves, flowers, interlace – arranged in long rectangular or curving fields and bordered by fine yellow bands that typically bend into crown-like knots at the letter's extremities. Inspired by the decorative repertoire of Carolingian Tours, these “Geometrical” letters, as Edward Garrison baptized them, counterbalance the unadorned solemnity of the main script, a large-lobed late Caroline minuscule devoid of obvious regional or local traits (*minuscola carolina non-tipizzata*)<sup>11</sup>. Roman capitals occasionally mixed with uncial spell out the *tituli* and incipits in minium, black ink, or an alternation of the two.

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York), Cornell University Press, 1982, p. 257.

11. E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 18-32 ; P. SUPINO MARTINI, *Roma e l'area grafica romanesca (secoli X-XII)*, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 1987, p. 25-33. Cf. Bischoff, who called the script “reformed” (“reformierten” Minuskel), as had Garrison (B. BISCHOFF, *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters*, Berlin, Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1979, p. 161 ; E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 38-39 ; A. BARTOLI LANGELLI, « Bibbie atlantiche e carolina ‘riformata’ », *op. cit.*, p. 45.

Since Carlo Vercellone first posited the existence of the manuscript family in the 1860s on the basis of several unusual textual variants in the Pantheon, Fonte Avellana, and Todi Bibles (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [hereafter “BAV”], Vat. Lat. 12958, Vat. Lat. 4216, and Vat. Lat. 10405), such shared traits have normally been treated as evidence of a common geographic origin for the manuscripts, especially with respect to the many *Bibbie atlantiche* that Pietro Toesca, Garrison, and other art historians subsequently assigned to Rome or the Umbro-Roman region for reasons of pictorial style<sup>12</sup>. Garrison catalogued at least fifty-five Bibles and Bible fragments whose decorated initials he considered evidence of Umbro-Roman or Roman facture, in addition to fifty exegetical and liturgical books with similar formats, scripts,

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12. C. VERCELLONE, *Variae Lectiones Vulgatae Latinae Bibliorum editionis quas Carolus Vercellone sodalis Barnabites digessit*, Rome, Iosephum Spithöver, 1860-1864, vol. 1, p. xix, lxxxvii, xci, 291, 317, 395, 464 471 ; vol. 2, xviii and xx. Vercellone’s Roman group consisted of only three manuscripts (Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 12958, 10405, and 4216) and did not include the other Italian Giant Bibles that he examined (e.g. Vatican City, BAV, Pal. Lat. 3-5 ; Montecassino, Archivio dell’Abbazia, 515). For early, pictorially based identifications of Umbro-Roman Giant Bibles, see P. TOESCA, *La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia dai più antichi monumenti alla metà del Quattrocento*, Milan, Ulrico Hoepli, 1912, p. 78-79 ; IDEM, *Storia dell’arte in Italia*, I. *Il Medioevo*, Turin, Unione Tipografico Editrice, 1927, vol. 2, p. 927-928, 1052-1057 ; IDEM, « Miniature romane dei secoli XI e XII : Bibbie miniate », *Rivista del Reale Istituto d’Archeologia e Storia dell’arte*, 1, 1929, p. 69-96 ; E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, op. cit., passim, esp. vol. 1, p. 18-32, 37-67. Cf. A. BOECKLER, *Abendländische Miniaturen bis zum Ausgang der romanischen Zeit*, Berlin and Leipzig, Walter De Gruyter and Co., 1930, p. 67-71.

and decorated initials<sup>13</sup>. Since then, other *codices*, such as the Sion Bible, have been added to the catalog. Garrison regarded the Geometrical initial as a defining feature of the Giant Bibles and Rome as its natural birthplace, due to the city's special status as « the fountainhead of Catholic authority, Catholic doctrine, and Catholic dogma »<sup>14</sup>. At the same time, his ample experience of the *codices* in all their subtle variety prevented him from attributing them en bloc to a single workshop or city<sup>15</sup>.

From the exhibition of 2000-2001 onward, however, publications about the Bibles have affirmed, with surprising frequency, that all or most of Garrison's Umbro-Roman subgroup came from Rome and from what Larry Ayres called a « Romanesque 'Tours' », a mega-scriptorium that presumably churned out books for three-quarters of a century or more to aid the popes and their allies in reinvigorating clerical and monastic life across Europe and in asserting papal authority and the Church's liberty in the face of lay, and especially imperial, intervention<sup>16</sup>. Compact in its

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13. E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 68, 113-114, 176, 227 ; vol. 2, p. 69, 112, 158, 227 ; vol. 3, p. 80, 166, 299-300 ; vol. 4, p. 367-369, 371. These figures are derived from Garrison's various checklists, including volumes that he classified as "probably" or "possibly" Roman, Umbrian, or Umbro-Roman, and constitute an estimate. Garrison returned to specific manuscripts repeatedly over the course of his studies and occasionally changed his mind about their dates and places of origin.

14. *Ibid.*, esp. vol. 1, p. 24-25.

15. *Ibid., passim*.

16. Samuel Berger, who believed that the Bibles had come from the area of Milan, was the first to call the group an edition (*une véritable édition*) ; he

political logic, this guiding tenet of much recent literature on the *Bibbie atlantiche* provides a readymade interpretive framework and an *a priori* answer to the difficult questions of where and why manuscripts of the genre were produced. In effect, for adherents of the Roman reform hypothesis, the answer is nearly always the same. The Umbro-Roman *Bibbie atlantiche* were Roman-made weapons in the « arsenal of the Reform », crafted in concert with « a carefully considered and

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attributed the manuscript family to the area of Milan (S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du Moyen Âge*, Nancy, Imprimerie Berger-Levrault et Compagnie, 1893, p. 141-143). Larry Ayres later coined the phrase « Romanesque ‘Tours’ » (L. Ayres, « The Italian Giant Bibles », *op. cit.*, p. 127). Ayres was inspired by Heinrich Fichtenuau, who a half century earlier had posited the existence of a large export workshop associated with the reform papacy but located at S. Benedetto di Polirone, near Mantua, rather than in Rome, holding it responsible for only a part of the group (H. FICHTENAU, « Neues zum Problem der italienischen 'Riesenbibeln' », *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 58, 1950, p. 50-67 ; cf. P. BRIEGER, « Bible Illustration and Gregorian Reform », *Studies in Church History*, 2, 1965, p. 154-64). The Lateran hypothesis was proposed by Supino Martini and has since been taken up as an axiom, notwithstanding the doubts that Supino herself expressed about the possibility of localizing the scripts (P. SUPINO MARTINI, *Roma e l'area grafica romanesca [secoli X-XII]*, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 1987, p. 27-33 ; IDEM, « La scrittura delle Scritture », *op. cit.*, p. 106 ; IDEM, « Origine e diffusione della Bibbia atlantica », *op. cit.*, p. 41-42). Maniaci favors the idea of *una produzione policentrica seppur autorevolmente indirizzata e coordinata* (M. MANIACI and G. OROFINO, « L'officina delle Bibbie atlantiche : artigiani, scribi, miniatori. Problemi ancora aperti », in *Come nasce un manoscritto minciato*, ed. F. Flores d'Arcais and F. Crivello, Modena, Franco Cosimo Panini Editore, 2010, p. 203 ; M. MANIACI, « La struttura delle Bibbie atlantiche », in *Le Bibbie Atlantiche*, *op. cit.*, p. 58).

vast plan of editorial propaganda promoted by the reform pontificate »<sup>17</sup>.

As satisfyingly centralizing and taxonomically convenient as it may be to imagine that all or most of the Umbro-Roman Giant Bibles emanated from one workshop at the center of Latin Christianity during a pivotal period in church history, my own encounters with the manuscripts have convinced me that such thinking is unduly reductive. The Bibles are varied, much more so than their time-honored epithet of ‘edition’ implies. They are also stubbornly taciturn about the circumstances of their production. Inscriptions commemorating early donations – that of the Geneva Bible, for example – do not specify where the donated manuscripts were made, nor do they say whether the donors named were also the commissioners of the donated volumes. Some Bibles may have been second-hand gifts. The books that Archbishop Frederick gave to Geneva Cathedral are described in the commemorative note as *de suo*, which may mean that they came from his own library<sup>18</sup>. Conversely, an inscription in the Palatine Bible (Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 3, f. 167v) says that

17. *L'arsenale della Riforma* (G. LOBRICHON, « Riforma ecclesiastica e testo della Bibbia », *op. cit.*, p. 18) ; [...] un ben meditato e vasto piano di propaganda editoriale promosso dal pontificato riformatore (M. BASSETTI, « La civiltà delle ‘lettere’ », *op. cit.*, p. 775).

18. M. de TRIBOLET, « La Bibliothèque de Frédéric, évêque de Genève », *op. cit.*, p. 270, 274-275. Buberl believed that the Bible given to Admont by Gebhard had previously been in Salzburg (P. BUBERL, *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Steiermark*, *op. cit.*, p. 113). Cf. W. CAHN, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, *op. cit.*, p. 226, who offers other, similar examples.

its donor, Odalricus, had “acquired” it (*bunc Dei gratia id opitulante acquisivi librum*) before giving it to a monastery of St. Magnus, meaning the abbey of that name at Füssen in Allgäu, in southern Germany<sup>19</sup>. Whether Odalricus commissioned the Bible or obtained it from a previous owner is not clear, although his phrasing seems to imply the latter. Even more problematic for those of us who would like to know what sorts of people crafted the earliest Giant Bibles is the dearth of scribal colophons. The earliest such note to have survived in a *Bibbia atlantica* appears in a Tuscan manuscript, the Corbolinus Bible (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana [hereafter “BML”], Conv. Soppr. 630, f. 324v), and records the volume’s completion in 1140, many decades after Frederick of Geneva and Gebhard of Salzburg had made their offerings beyond the Alps<sup>20</sup>.

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19. E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian painting*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 10-11 ; L. SPECIALE, « 4. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Pal. lat. 3-4-5 (Bibbia Palatina) », in *Le Bibbie atlantiche*, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

20. K. BERG, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination*, Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, 1968, p. 12-13, 23, 104, 205-220, 259-260. A few undated but probably earlier scribal subscriptions survive in exegetical manuscripts closely related to the Giant Bibles, for example, in an Areteine manuscript of of Augustine’s Commentary on the Gospels copied by the scribe Gerardinus (Florence, BML, Mugel. 5, f. 213v, discussed by Berg at. P. 208 and 272) ; and in Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare, Cod. 116, f. 258v, by the Pistoiese scribe Cantarus, whose colophon Corbolinus drew upon in composing is own (L. YAWN, « The Italian Giant Bibles », in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, ed., Susan Boynton and Diane Reilly, New York, Columbia University Press, 2011, p. 140 ; E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian painting*, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 132, n. 2).

The partisan background of the episcopal gifts is also anything but certain. Like historians of medieval Italian art in general, students of the Italian Giant Bibles have tended to equate the church reform with the activities of the reform popes and their allies and to interpret virtually all Roman art of the era, including illuminated books, as an expression and instrument of the « Gregorian reform », a term that specialists in church history have long either avoided or used with great circumspection. As a description of the reform in a larger sense, « Gregorian reform » oversimplifies a development that began well before Gregory VII's pontificate and involved reforms and reformers on all sides – papal, imperial, imperial-episcopal, regal, monastic, popular<sup>21</sup>. Recent critiques by Dorothy Glass and Xavier Barral y Altet of an art history habitually focused upon the « Gregorian reform » and all too ready to subsume the entirety of Italian art of the period under that rubric indicate that the tide is turning and that historians of visual culture are beginning to view and

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21. On the complexity and heterogeneity of the reform : O. CAPITANI, « Esiste un'età gregoriana ? Considerazioni sulle tendenze di una storiografia medievistica », *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa*, 1, 1965, p. 454-481, esp. 480-481 ; C. VIOLANTE, 'Chiesa feudale' e riforme in occidente (secc. X-XII). *Introduzione a un tema storiografico*, Spoleto, Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1999, *passim*, esp. p. 6, 29-49, 163-171 ; G. CANTARELLA, « La riforma ecclesiastica in Romagna », in *Pier Damiani e il Monastero di San Gregorio in Conca nella Romagna del secolo XI*, Atti del Convegno di studio in occasione del primo millenario della nascita di Pier Damiani (1007-2007), ed. N. D'Acunto, Spoleto, Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2008, p. 31-33 ; and in the same volume, N. D'ACUNTO, « Pier Damiani e gli esordi del monastero di S. Gregorio in Conca di Morciano », p. 146.

probe the period in the fullness of its complexity<sup>22</sup>. I believe that the time is ripe for historians of the Giant Bibles to do the same, in concert with the increasing interest in palaeographic and codicological evidence manifest in the studies of Marilena Maniaci, Gabriella Braga, Giulia Orofino, Marco Palma, and Noemi Larocca<sup>23</sup>.

The biographies of our episcopal donors nicely illustrate the intricacies of the period and the fluidity of loyalties both before and during the outbreak of open antagonisms between Gregory VII and Henry IV in the mid-1070s. Like Ermefrid of Sion and Altmann of Passau, Frederick of Geneva, Gebhard of Salzburg, and William II of Troia visited Rome, attended Church councils, and served the popes in various capacities, but they were not uniformly associated with the Roman reform party and its programs, and their relations to Rome in some instances changed dramatically over time. Only with William of Troia, furthermore, do we know exactly at what point in a donor's career he made his respective gift of a *Bibbia atlantica*<sup>24</sup>.

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22. D. GLASS, *The Sculpture of Reform in North Italy, ca 1095-1130. History and Patronage of Romanesque Façades*, Farnham-Burlington, Ashgate, 2010, p. 1-24 ; X. BARRAL I ALTET, « Arte medievale e riforma gregoriana. Riflessioni su un problema storiografico », *Hortus artium medievalium. Journal of the International Research Center for Late Antiquity and Middle Ages*, Zagreb-Motorun, 16, 2010, p. 73-82.

23. M. MANIACI and G. OROFINO, « L'officina delle Bibbie atlantiche », *op. cit.*, p. 197-212 ; G. BRAGA, G. OROFINO, and M. PALMA, « I manoscritti di Guglielmo II », *op. cit.*, p. 437-470 ; N. LAROCCA, « I copisti delle Bibbie atlantiche più antiche : un caso di trascrizione simultanea », *Gazette du livre médiéval*, 48, 2006, p. 26-37.

Frederick of Geneva appears to have been a moderate, philo-imperial ecclesiastical reformer, an unsurprising profile for a prelate of his vintage. In 1050, he participated in the Roman council that condemned Berengar of Tours and later in the same year accompanied Pope Leo IX on a visit to Saint-Maurice d'Agaune, Romainmôtier, and Besançon. Besançon was both Frederick's native city – he was an archpriest of Besançon cathedral until at least 1041 – and the archiepiscopal seat of his friend, Hugh of Salins, an intimate of both Pope Leo IX and Emperor Henry III<sup>25</sup>. Like Hugh, Frederick undertook church reforms in his diocese and faithfully supported imperial power there, especially during the long period of unrest that followed the death of King Rudolf III and the addition of the Kingdom of Burgundy to the Empire during the early years of his episcopate. Conrad II was crowned king of Burgundy in Frederick's cathedral in 1034. The archbishop last appears in the documentary record in 1072-1073 and probably died before the events of 1076 pressed churchmen of his rank to align themselves with either the Gregorian party or the emperor and his allies<sup>26</sup>.

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24. On William's biography, see G. BRAGA, G. OROFINO, and M. PALMA, « I manoscritti di Guglielmo II », *op. cit.*, p. 448-450.

25. M. de TRIBOLET, « La Bibliothéque de Frédéric, évêque de Genève », *op. cit.*, p. 266-269.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 268-269 ; L. BINZ, J. EMERY and C. SANTSCHI, *Helvetia Sacra*, *op. cit.*, p. 73-74 ; H. BAUD ed., *Le Diocèse de Genève-Anney*, *op. cit.*, p. 30 ; B. BLIGNY, *L'Église et les ordres religieux dans le royaume de Bourgogne*, *op. cit.*, p. 42. The first allusion to Geneva's cathedral chapter appears in a document of 1052 and thus during Frederick's episcopate (J.-E. GENEQUAND, « Un Acte de Géraud premier comte de Genève », *op. cit.*, p. 130).

Writings about the Giant Bibles have usually emphasized Gebhard of Salzburg's close connections to the Gregorian party<sup>27</sup>. Yet Gebhard had older, intimate ties to the imperial court and was not always on the best of terms with Rome. He served as imperial chaplain and *cancellarius regiae aulae* in the 1050s and traveled to Constantinople as imperial ambassador in 1062. In 1073 he was reprimanded by Gregory VII for having failed to send his regards to the newly elected pope and for his disobedience in having neglected to enforce the principles against clerical marriage promulgated by the Roman synod of 1063 – a synod that Gebhard had attended, as Gregory crisply observed<sup>28</sup>. The archbishop sided definitively with Gregory VII only after the pope had excommunicated Henry IV in 1076<sup>29</sup>. Nothing in the Bible tells us whether he offered the manuscript to Admont after that date and thus as a *bona fide* Gregorian or at the time of the abbey's founding in 1074, prior to his definitive taking of sides.

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27. Cf. L. AYRES, « The Bible of Henry IV », *op. cit.*, p. 159, who describes Gebhard as « an ardent reformer who opposed Henry IV during the Investiture Conflict ».

28. E. CASPAR ed., *Das Register Gregors VII (Epistolae selectae in usum scholarum ex monumentis germaniae historicis separatim editae, tom. 2, fasc. 1)*, Berlin, Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1955, vol. 1, p. 50-51; H. COWDREY, *The Register of Pope Gregory VII 1073-1085 : An English Translation*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 35-36 ; IDEM, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 92, 111, 242, 599 ; R. AUBERT, « Gebhard, archevêque de Salzbourg », *op. cit.*, col. 225 ; N. DEL RE, « Gebardo », *op. cit.*, p. 82.

29. R. AUBERT, « Gebhard, archevêque de Salzbourg », *op. cit.*, col. 225 ; N. DEL RE, « Gebardo », *op. cit.*, p. 82. For Gebhard's opposition to Henry, see H. COWDREY, *Pope Gregory VII*, *op. cit.*, p. 208, 215-216, 229, 235-236.

Ermenfrid of Sion served the Roman church during the pontificates of Leo IX and his successors down to Alexander II, acting as papal legate on at least four occasions : in Normandy in 1054 or 1055 ; at Reims with Hugh of Salins (1059) ; and twice in England, once before the Norman Conquest (1062) and another time after it (1070). On this last occasion, as Alexander II's chief representative, he confirmed the ordinance that required penance of those who had fought in the invasion of England under William the Conqueror<sup>30</sup>. Later that decade, however, as H. E. J. Cowdrey put it, Ermenfrid appears in the documentary record « not in service of the papacy », but rather « as an active bishop of the imperial church »<sup>31</sup>. Ermenfrid attended Gregory VII's council of Turin in May of 1080, but his favor with Henry IV was waxing and culminated in his appointment in 1082 as chancellor of the kingdom of Burgundy<sup>32</sup>. His loyalties at the time of his putative donation of a Giant Bible are thus as obscure as the date of the gift itself<sup>33</sup>.

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30. E. COWDREY, « Bishop Ermenfrid of Sion and the Penitential Ordinance », *op. cit.*, p. 227-231 ; B. BLIGNY, *L'Église et les ordres religieux dans le royaume de Bourgogne*, *op. cit.*, p. 40 and 52 n. 159 ; D. BACHRACH, *Religion and the Conduct of War, c. 300-1215*, Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2003, p. 102.

31. E. COWDREY, « Bishop Ermenfrid of Sion and the Penitential Ordinance », *op. cit.*, p. 231-232.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 232-233 ; B. BLIGNY, *L'Église et les ordres religieux dans le royaume de Bourgogne*, *op. cit.*, p. 40 and 52, n. 159 ; M. READ, *Historic studies in Vaud, Berne, and Savoy ; from Roman times to Voltaire, Rousseau, and Gibbon*, London, Chatto and Windus, 1897, p. 56 ; L. AYRES, « Le Bibbie atlantiche. Dalla Riforma alla diffusione in Europa », *op. cit.*, p. 31.

One other instance speaks even more eloquently of the hazards of assuming that the *Bibbie atlantiche* were a Gregorian-party monopoly. At an unknown date before his imperial coronation in 1084, Henry IV presented an illustrated Giant Bible of the Umbro-Roman variety to the abbey of St. Aurelius at Hirsau in the Black Forest (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek [hereafter “BSB”], Clm 13001)<sup>34</sup>. In its current state, the Hirsau Bible begins with Psalms, having apparently lost the volume or gatherings that bore the Octateuch, Samuel, and Kings. This lacuna is especially unfortunate, given that early Umbro-Roman Bibles, including the Hirsau manuscript’s closest iconographic relative, the Palatine Bible, often have important illustrations in their opening gatherings, typically a Creation miniature with multiple scenes at the start of Genesis and author portraits at the heads of some other books. One example, the great illustrated Old Testament in Perugia (Perugia, Bibl. Com. Augusta, Ms. L. 59) even has a presentation page with images of the donors (fol. 3r)<sup>35</sup>.

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33. Ayres acknowledged that if the Bible had indeed reached Sion thanks to Ermenfrid, then *se ne potrebbe concludere che le Bibbie atlantiche fossero considerate da entrambi i fronti come strumenti utili e funzionali al progetto di riforma della vita religiosa del clero, e che la loro origine e ampia diffusione siano da collocare in un’atmosfera in cui le posizioni del papato e dell’Impero non erano ancora fortemente polarizzate* (*ibid.*, p. 31).

34. E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 12 ; L. AYRES, « 3. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13001 (Bibbia di Enrico IV) », in *Le Bibbie atlantiche*, *op. cit.*, p. 114-120 ; IDEM, « The Bible of Henry IV », *op. cit.*, p. 157-166.

35. For reproductions, see P. TOESCA, « Miniature romane dei secoli XI e XII », *op. cit.*, vol. 1, tav. X-XI ; E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of*

Although the Hirsau Bible in its current state has neither a Creation page nor a donor miniature, some of the surviving illustrations seem to indicate its royal patron by analogy. Paintings of biblical kings and queens, uncommonly imposing with respect to similar depictions in other early *Bibbie atlantiche*, underscore the sacred nature of kingship and of royal persons, both in biblical times and in Henry IV's day. At the start of Proverbs, two large, frontally positioned figures probably representing David and Solomon – father and son, like Henry III and Henry IV – greet the viewer from the facing pages of an opening (f. 24v-25r). These gatherings may have been rearranged in rebinding; David perhaps once preceded Psalms<sup>36</sup>. Farther along, at the beginning of Esther, a queen grasps an unfurled *rotulus* and stretches her arms wide in a gesture suggestive of both prayer and speech (f. 95v)<sup>37</sup>.

*Mediaeval Italian Painting*, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 155, 157. Color photographs are provided in *Le Bibbie Atlantiche*, *op. cit.*, p. 163-169, but the miniature on fol. 1v is reproduced in reverse. On the provenance, historiography, date, and origin of the manuscript see L. YAWN-BONGHI, *The Illustrated Giant Bible of Perugia (Biblioteca Augusta, Ms. L. 59). A Manuscript and Its Creators in Eleventh-Century Central Italy*, Ph.D. dissertation, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2004, *passim*; M. BASSETTI, « 14. Perugia, Biblioteca comunale Augusta, L. 59 » [pt. 1], *op. cit.*, p. 162-170; L. YAWN, « 14. Perugia, Biblioteca comunale Augusta, L. 59 [pt. 2] », in *Le Bibbie Atlantiche*, *op. cit.*, p. 170-173.

36. L. AYRES, « Le Bibbie atlantiche. Dalla Riforma alla diffusione in Europa », *op. cit.*, p. 118.

37. Photographs are provided in L. AYRES, « 3. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13001 (Bibbia di Enrico IV) », in *Le Bibbie atlantiche*, *op. cit.*, p. 116-117; L. AYRES, « The Bible of Henry IV », *op. cit.*, p. 157; L. YAWN, « The Italian Giant Bibles », *op. cit.*, p. 148; and E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 138, 141.

Crowns signify that these figures are earthly sovereigns. Meanwhile, their other attributes, *nimbi* and either books or scrolls, mark them as agents of divine revelation.

The painter of these miniatures seems to have taken special care with the clothing of the two male figures, dressing them not in the long, generically ancient robes worn by other biblical authors depicted in the manuscript and by King Solomon in the Palatine Bible (Vatican City, BAV, Pal. Lat. 4, f. 70r) but rather in calf-length tunics, gold-trimmed cloaks clasped at one shoulder, and crowns surmounted by three projecting cruciform or lily-like ornaments. Although rendered in a different pictorial style, these ensembles approximate the attire worn by Henry IV's imperial predecessors in Salian presentation miniatures : for example, by Conrad II in the Speyer Gospels, made at Echternach in 1045-1046 (Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Ms. Vitr. 17, f. 2v), and by Henry III in the Golden gospel book also written and decorated at Echternach for donation to the royal church of Sts. Simon and Jude at Goslar between 1047 and 1056 (Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, Ms C. 93, f. 3v-4r)<sup>38</sup>.

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38. H. MAYR-HARTING, *Ottonian Book Illumination. An Historical Study*, London, Harvey Miller Publishers, 1991, vol. 2, p. 188 ; A. BOECKLER, *Das goldene Evangelienbuch Heinrichs III.*, Berlin, Deutscher Verein für Kunsthissenschaft, 1953, Abb. 6-7 ; C. NORDENFALK, *Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis : an Echternach Gospel-Book of the Eleventh century*, Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksell, 1971, title page (facing) ; IDEM, *Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis : a facsimile edition of an Echternach Gospel-Book of the Eleventh Century*, Almqvist & Wiksell, 1971, f. 3v-4r. In the Escorial and Uppsala manuscripts, the crowns are peaked or mound-like, with three projecting ornaments at the top and a band-like frieze across the bottom. In the Hirsau Bible, they are abbreviated to the frieze and the projecting

Donor portraits are unknown in the *Bibbie atlantiche*, apart from the miniature in the Perugia Bible, which was probably made close in time to Henry's gift for Hirsau<sup>39</sup>. Now a fragment consisting mainly of the texts that the Hirsau Bible lacks, Perugia L. 59 begins with four full-page Creation miniatures (f. 1r-2v), followed by a fifth page showing an unnamed man and woman in lay dress presenting gifts to three equally anonymous saints (f. 3r)<sup>40</sup>. Two of the recipients, a bishop and an apostle, clutch decorated *codices*, which were probably meant to be understood as offerings already turned over to them by the male donor, whose hands are empty but

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ornaments (Cf. Henry II's frieze-like crown, with an arched element in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4456, f. 11r [H. MAYR-HARTING, *Ottonian Book Illuminaton*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 67]).

39. L. AYRES, « An Italian Romanesque Manuscript of Hrabanus Maurus' *De Laudibus Sanctae Crucis* and the Gregorian Reform », *op. cit.*, p. 15-27 ; L. YAWN-BONGHI, *The Illustrated Giant Bible of Perugia*, *op. cit.*, *passim*, esp. p. 274f.

40. The first twenty-six gatherings of the Perugia Bible contain exactly the biblical books that the Hirsau Bible lacks (i.e. the Octateuch and *Libri Regum*), while the Hirsau Bible has all of the scriptures missing in the Perugia codex, including those of the New Testament. We are spared the temptation of imagining the two manuscripts long lost mates – two halves of a single pandect Bible – by the presence of Chronicles and Prophets in both *codices* and by the slightly different styles of painting and of the Caroline minuscule practiced by their illustrators and scribes. The scripts of the Perugia Bible are generally more regular and refined and have elements typical of Tuscan Giant Bibles, for example the pre-Caroline *ri* ligature. The Perugia Bible also has two initials with metallic gold fillets and in that respect is unique among the Umbro-Roman *Bibbie atlantiche*. The two initials in question are at the beginning of the Bible (f. 4r and 7v) and so whether the Hirsau Bible had gold-bordered letters in similar positions is not known.

draped for gift giving. The portraits of the donors exactly face the creation of Eve across an opening, providing a visual analogy between the prelapsarian couple and the eleventh-century benefactors<sup>41</sup>.

The possibility that the Hirsau Bible once had a similar presentation miniature with a portrait of Henry IV, perhaps accompanied by his wife Bertha of Turin, is worth pondering. Henry had tried to divorce Bertha in 1069 but was reconciled to her through the intervention of Peter Damian, acting as papal legate<sup>42</sup>. Henry's Ottonian and Salian predecessors Otto II, Otto III, Henry II, and Conrad II all appear in religious manuscripts commissioned for presentation, and Henry IV's father, Henry III, is especially well represented, on more than one occasion together with his wife, Agnes of Poitou<sup>43</sup>. A miniature in the Speyer Gospels shows Henry III

41. L. YAWN, « 14. Perugia, Biblioteca comunale Augusta, L. 59 [pt. 2] », *op. cit.*, p. 170-173 ; L. YAWN-BONGHI, *The Illustrated Giant Bible of Perugia*, *op. cit.*, p. 239-273 ; L. YAWN, « The Italian Giant Bibles », *op. cit.*, p. 137f., 143-145. The previous miniatures show the sequential days of the Hexaemeron through the creation of the quadrupeds. Thus, Creation of Eve acts as a surrogate for the Creation of Man and Woman in God's Image from Gn. 1 : 26-28 (E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 150).

42. J. TANNER, C. PREVITÉ-ORTON, and Z. BROOK eds., *The Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. V, *Contest of Empire and Papacy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1957, p. 117 ; H. COWDREY, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085*, *op. cit.*, p. 85-86.

43. Examples : Otto II enthroned, Single leaf from the Letters of St. Gregory, c. 983/987 (Chantilly, Musée Condé) ; Liuthar presenting his Gospel book to Emperor Otto III in the Aachen Gospels of c. 996 (Aachen Cathedral Treasury, f. 15r) ; Otto III in majesty in the Gospel book of Otto III, 998-1001 (Munich, BSB, Clm 4453, f. 24r) ; Otto III

offering the gospel book to the Virgin Mary (Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Ms. Vitr. 17, f. 3v), who places her hand upon the head of the empress. Mentioned above, another picture in the same volume (f. 2v) portrays Henry III's father and mother, Conrad II and the empress Gisela, adoring Christ in majesty. In the Goslar Gospels, we find Henry III, again with Agnes, crowned by Christ in majesty (Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, Ms. C. 93, f. 3v) and on another page presenting the codex to Sts. Simon and Jude (f. 4r)<sup>44</sup>.

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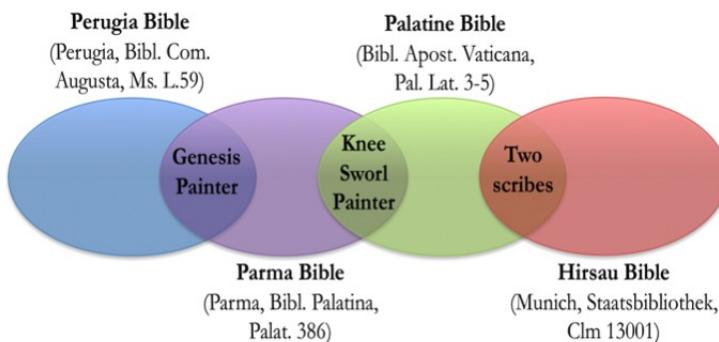
crowned by the Virgin Mary in the Sacramentary of Bishop Warmund of Ivrea, c. 1000 (Ivrea, Bibl. Cap., Cod., LXXXVI, f. 160v) ; Henry II crowned by Christ (f. 11r) and enthroned (f.11v) in the Regensburg Sacramentary, 1002-1014 (Munich, BSB, Clm 4456) ; Henry II and Kunigunde crowned by Christ in the Pericopes of Henry II, 1002-1012 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4452, f. 2r) ; Henry II with his arms supported by two bishops in the Pontifical of Henry II, Seeon, 1012-1014 (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lit. 53, f. 2v) ; (H. MAYRHARTING, *Ottoman Book Illumination*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 66-67, 233, Pl. XXI, XXIV ; vol. 2, p. 88, 187-188, 199 ; A. BOECKLER, *Das goldene Evangelianbuch Henrichs III*, *op. cit.*, Pl. 6-7 ; C. NORDENFALK, *Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis : an Echternach Gospel-Book of the Eleventh century*, *op. cit.*, title page (facing) ; idem, *Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis : a facsimile edition*, *op. cit.*, f. 3v-4r ; P. BERGHAUS, N. GUSSONE and F. MÜTHERICH, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, Munich, Prestel Verlag, 1983, *passim*, esp. p. 215-216, 231-235, 374-377, 394, 404-405 ; S. WEINFURTER, « Authority and Legitimation of Royal Policy and Action : the Case of Henry II », in *Medieval Concepts of the Past : Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. G. Althoff and J. Fried, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 24-26 ; and the *Mnemosyne Visual Culture Database*, online, <http://www.learn.columbia.edu/dbcourses/publicportfolio.cgi?view=1258>).

44. Henry also appears in a book of Pericopes made at Echternach in 1039-1043 (Bremen, Staats- und Universitaetsbibliothek, Ms. b. 21, f. 3v,

The Hirsau and Perugia Bibles share an indirect concatenation of personnel (fig. 1). Only one other miniature by the illustrator of the Perugia Bible seems to have survived, the Genesis frontispiece of a Giant Bible now in Parma (Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Palat. 386, f. 1r)<sup>45</sup>.

**Figure 1**

Diagram illustrating the chain of shared personnel in the Perugia, Parma, Palatine, and Hirsau Bibles (Perugia, Bibl. Com. Augusta, Ms. L. 59 ; Parma, Bibl. Palatina, Palat. 386 ; Vatican City, Bibl. Apost. Vaticana, Pal. lat. 3-5 ; and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl. Clm 13001).



125r) (P. BERGHAUS, N. GUSSONE and F. MÜTHERICH, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, *op. cit.*, p. 232, 404-405. H. MAYR-HARTING, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 233 ; vol. 2, p. 88, 187, 199-200 ; A. BOECKLER, *Das goldene Evangelianbuch Heinrichs III*, *op. cit.*, Pl. 6-7 ; C. NORDENFALK, *Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis : an Echternach Gospel-Book of the Eleventh century*, *op. cit.*, title page (facing) ; IDEM, *Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis : a facsimile edition*, *op. cit.*, f. 3v-4r ; and the Uppsala University Library website: <http://www.ub.uu.se/en/Collections/Manuscript-Collections/Western-medieval-manuscripts/Emperors-Bible>.

45. E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting*, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 89.

The Parma Bible had several other illustrators, however, and one of them, a master whom I call the Knee-Swirl Painter after the artist's most notable modeling device, also executed some of the miniatures in the Palatine Bible<sup>46</sup>. Two of the Palatine Bible's twelve scribes, in turn, also wrote parts of the Bible of Hirsau, as discussed further below<sup>47</sup>.

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46. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 90-100. For examples of the Kneel-Swirl Painter's work in the Parma Bible, see L. AYRES, « 9. Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 386 (Bibbia di San Valentino in Piano) », in *Le Bibbie atlantiche*, *op. cit.*, p. 144 ; and E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 92-93, 96. For the same hand in the Palatine Bible (Pal. lat. 5, f. 22v, 108v), see L. SPECIALE, « 4. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Pal. lat. 3-4-5 (Bibbia Palatina) », in *Le Bibbie atlantiche*, p. 123-124 ; L. YAWN, « The Italian Giant Bibles », *op. cit.*, p. 146.

47. For a catalog of the hands, see the **appendix** of this article (attached file). As the bright red fields indicate, Scribe Clm-c, who is definitely the same as VL4217A-c and probably identical with Pal3/5-j, as well, wrote a single quaternion in the Hirsau Bible containing the book of Job (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13001, f. 17r-24v) ; one gathering of Prophets and all of John, Jude, and Revelations in the Palatine Bible (Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 3, f. 157r-164v ; Pal. lat. 5, f. 16r-22v) ; and substantial portions of Samuel and Kings and all of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel in the Civitella Bible (Vat lat. 4217A, f. 67r-146v). Another scribe, Clm-d (=Pal3/5-b), highlighted in green in the appendix, wrote f. 25r-113v (gatherings IV-XV : Proverbs to Maccabees) in the Hirsau Bible and scattered segments of the Palatine Bible, including the single quaternion containing Job (Pal. lat. 3, f. 41-43 ; Pal. lat. 4, f. 101-124, 129-148). The hand of scribe Clm-d=Pal3/5-b does not appear in the Civitella Bible, which is highly fragmentary. Cf. Larocca, who identified one shared scribal hand in the Palatine and Hirsau Bibles, corresponding to my Clm-d=Pal3/5-b (N. LAROCCA, « I copisti delle Bibbie atlantiche più antiche », *op. cit.*, p. 26-37). It is possible that the two manuscripts share one further

We may never know whether this chain of relations once closed back upon itself in the form of a presentation page or donor portrait in the Hirsau Bible, perhaps even a miniature painted by the Perugia Bible illustrator, who seems to have specialized in producing showy frontispieces while leaving the internal decorations of a manuscript to other artists. What is clear, on the other hand, is that someone in the eleventh century wanted to make it as conspicuous as possible to the monks of St. Aurelius that the Hirsau Bible had been given to their monastery by Henry IV. Henry's name appears no fewer than fifty-eight times in the volume, in marginal rubrics added in an eleventh-century hand near the beginning of nearly every book of the Bible, imitating the lettering of the small *tituli* in the main writing columns<sup>48</sup>. The phrasing is always identical (*Heinricus IIII Rex Dedit Hunc Librum Sancto Aurelio*) even if the words are often abbreviated to their first letters,

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hand, that of Pal3/5-d, whose writing has many traits in common with Clm-i. They include the various forms of the letters g, e, x, y, and z and the shape and inclination of majuscule S. I am persuaded to classify them as different hands by a few divergences, for example in the different abbreviations for –q(ue) and the slightly but consistently different angles and shading of the letter h.

48. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13001, f. 1r, 17r, 25v, 32v, 35r, 36v, 42v, 56r, 64v, 76v, 84v, 88r, 92v, 97r, 108r, 114r, 129v, 147r, 149v, 167v, 175r, 177v, 178v, 180v, 181r, 182r, 183v, 184v, 185v, 186v, 187v, 190r, 195r, 205r, 212r, 221r, 228r, 239v, 240v, 242r, 243r, 244r, 244v, 245v, 252r, 256v, 260v, 263v, 265r, 266v, 267v, 268v, 269r, 270v, 271v, 272r, 273r/a, 273r/b. The quality of the minium in these marginal rubrics, which in places has darkened to a purplish grey, differs from the brighter, better preserved reds of the initials, *tituli*, and incipits in the main writing column.

apart from Henry's name and royal title : *Heinricus IIII Rex D.H.L.S.A.* Given the placement of these inscriptions near the beginnings of biblical texts, it seems quite possible that they were intended to serve as cues for a *lector*, to be pronounced aloud along with the *tituli* and incipits in preparation for the reading of a given book during the Night Office or in the refectory<sup>49</sup>. Copious glosses and interlinear corrections in different hands, some of them pertinent to the practice of the Office, confirm that the volume was not merely put on a shelf and ignored<sup>50</sup>.

From the performative character, profusion, and phrasing of the inscriptions referring to Henry IV, we might plausibly infer that Henry's gift had purposes beyond a simple accumulation of spiritual merit. At the very least, the marginal rubrics would have made it laborious for anyone to delete his name from the volume – more taxing, say, than the removal of a donor portrait. As with other Giant Bibles whose

49. L. YAWN, « The Italian Giant Bibles », *op. cit.*, p. 149. A roughly contemporary marginal entry beside the initial of Jerome's preface to the Pentateuch in the Giant Bible of Parma (Parma, Bibl. Palatina, Palat. 386, f. 3v) suggests that these *tituli* were intended for reading aloud : *Lectio prima in septuagesima. Sed capitula non leg[untur]. Ita incipit optimus lector Incipit prologus sancti hieronimi presbyteri in libro genesi. Quo completo incipiat In principio creauit deus celum et terra [sic]. Vsque in signum secunde lectionis postea per ordinem.*

50. See, for example, the reference to John Cassian on the desert fathers and the singing of Psalms in the left margin of fol. 3v. The annotations are especially dense in Psalms (the Gallican Psalter), where someone writing in a Caroline minuscule hand emended the text via comparisions to other versions of the Psalter and to older manuscripts (fol. 5v), accounting for them in learned glosses. Neumes were also added thickly to Lamentations (fol. 149v-150v).

eleventh-century donors are known, there is no certainty about the gift's exact date and with it the state of Henry's relationship to the abbey or to the pope. After abbot Wilhelm of Hirsau's visit to Rome in 1075, St. Aurelius became one of the chief transalpine outposts of the Roman reform movement and soon developed into a hotbed of pro-Gregorian, anti-imperial preaching<sup>51</sup>. With respect to possible dates for the donation, the path of least resistance and the one favored by advocates of the Roman-reform hypothesis is therefore to suppose that Henry presented the Bible after the refounding of the monastery in 1059 but before the Synod of Worms in January of 1076, which marked his definitive break with Gregory VII<sup>52</sup>.

The gift could just as well have taken place at some other moment, however. One intriguing possibility is that Henry presented the manuscript after March of 1077, when a group of German princes elected Rudolf of Rheinfelden, duke of Swabia, as king of Germany, anti-king, from Henry's perspective, notwithstanding Henry's recent penance and absolution by Gregory VII. Significantly for our purposes, Rudolf was a generous supporter of Hirsau. The monastery

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51. K. FRANK, « Hirsau », in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Berlin-New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1986, vol. 15, p. 388-390 ; K. FRANK, « Hirsau », in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, ed. W. Kasper et alii, Freiberg-Basel-Wien, 1996, vol. 5, p. 151 ; S. LORENZ, « Hirsau », in *Religion Past & Present*, ed. H. Betz, D. Browning, B. Janowski and E. Jüngel, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2009, vol. 6, p. 156 ; H. COWDREY, Pope Gregory VII, *op. cit.* p. 145, 234.

52. K. FRANK, « Hirsau », in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, *op. cit.*, p. 388-390 ; S. LORENZ, « Hirsau », in *Religion Past & Present*, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, p. 156 ; L. AYRES, « The Bible of Henry IV », *op. cit.*, p. 157-158.

lay in the duchy that had been given to him by Agnes of Poitou during Henry's minority, and its preaching monks would have been an obvious asset in the civil war that followed Rudolf's election<sup>53</sup>. If we imagine that the Bible went to Hirsau during the struggle between Rudolf and Henry, then the dozens of iterations of *Heinricus IIII Rex* in the Bible's margins take on both a strong polemical resonance and a compelling *raison d'être*<sup>54</sup>.

Henry's gift of a Giant Bible, a costly object highly valued in reform circles, may have been an attempt to win over powerful enemies, the monks and abbots of Hirsau, while giving Henry's royal status and sacral authority palpable form in the monastery's collective devotional life<sup>55</sup>. For an eleventh-century lector, the solemn, frontally positioned figures of David and Solomon, with their prominent crowns and royal dress, might have brought to mind descriptions of Henry's ceremonial crown-wearings, as at Ulm at Pentecost of 1077, while seeming to refute, vis-a-vis biblical precedents, the explicit rejection of the principle of hereditary monarchy that

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53. H. VOLLRATH, « The Western Empire under the Salians », in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Volume IV, c. 1024-c. 1198, Part II, ed. D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 52, 60-61, 63.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 60-61, 63.

55. Both dates hypothesized for the donation (before 1076 ; after March 1077) nevertheless leave us with a perplexity. If the monks of Hirsau were such ardent Gregorians, then how did the rubrics commemorating Henry's donation survive ? Why was there no attempt to cancel them ? Marginal glosses and interlinear inscriptions (e.g. f. 1v-2v) written in multiple hands make it clear that the Bible was used early in its life both for study and for reading out loud.

had been articulated by Rudolf of Rheinfelden's electors. Lineal succession was a major concern for Henry, as it had been for his father and his father's father<sup>56</sup>. During the Christmas festivities at Goslar in 1075, Henry had secured an oath from the princes whom he had convoked there to elect no one king other than his son, just as Henry III had done during Henry IV's infancy<sup>57</sup>. In the salutation of the text informing Gregory VII that he had been deposed, issued only a month after the Goslar oaths, Henry IV made a sharp rhetorical sword of his royal birthright : « Henry, king not by usurpation, but by the holy ordination of God, to Hildebrand, not pope, but false monk »<sup>58</sup>. In light of these concerns, it seems possible that the long, pointed, vertically positioned scepter held by the king on fol. 24v of the Hirsau Bible represents an attempt on the miniaturist's part to represent the Holy Lance, which by Henry's time had become one of the most revered and potent symbols of the transmission of royal power<sup>59</sup>.

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56. I. ROBINSON, « Pope Gregory VII, the Princes and the *Pactum* 1077-1080 », *The English Historical Review*, 94/73, Oct. 1979, p. 721-723 ; J. TANNER, C. PREVITÉ-ORTON and Z. BROOK eds., *The Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. V. *Contest of Empire and Papacy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1957, p. 117.

57. I. ROBINSON, « Pope Gregory VII, the Princes and the *Pactum* », *op. cit.*, p. 722.

58. H. ADELSON, « The Holy Lance and the Hereditary German Monarchy », *The Art Bulletin*, 48/2, 1966, p. 189.

59. *Ibid.*, *passim*, esp. p. 183, 188-191, and eleventh-century images of the lance (figs. 26-28, 29b, 30a). Of especial interest is a *bulla* from the time of Henry III (fig. 30a) portraying Conrad II and Henry III together with the lance and the inscription *Heinricus Rex*.

While I find the idea that the Bible went to Hirsau in the context of Henry's war against Rudolf of Rheinfelden compelling, I offer it as only one possible scenario. Henry's reasons are ultimately lost to us. My point is that the Hirsau Bible, with its marginal rubrics and kingly miniatures, urges us to think more flexibly about what sorts of people commissioned and donated *Bibbie atlantiche* of the Umbro-Roman variety in the eleventh century, together with their possible reasons for doing so. To the extent that such manuscripts appear to have been a favored item of elite gift-giving during the last third of the eleventh century, I believe that we would be wise to consider them not so much exclusive tools of the reform papacy and its supporters as gifts amenable to a spectrum of religious, personal, and political purposes, including those of both the reform and imperial parties, just as the Bible text itself fuelled the bilateral rhetoric of the *Libelli de lite*<sup>60</sup>.

This proposal leads me back to the hypothesis that the earliest Italian Giant Bibles, and indeed much of the genre, were created at St. John Lateran in Rome. Paola Supino Martini's attribution of the early *Bibbie atlantiche* to the Roman cathedral *scriptorium* responded to two seemingly contradictory considerations : on the one hand, the origin of the Bibles as hypothesized in earlier scholarship ; on the other, the apparent anomalousness of the manuscript family in the

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60. J. LECLERCQ, « Usage et abus de la Bible au temps de la réforme grégorienne », in *The Bible and Medieval Culture*, ed. Willem Lourdaux and Daniel Verhelst, Louvain, Leuven University Press, 1979, p. 89-108.

Roman context<sup>61</sup>. Oversize pandect Bibles are otherwise unknown in Roman book production of the period, while the characteristic Giant Bible scripts, with their rounded, upright letters, diagonal serifs, short hastas, and disciplined module are distinct from the *minuscola romanesca* normal in Roman books of the period<sup>62</sup>. As Supino Martini observed, some evidence survives for the practice of non-*romanesca* Caroline scripts at the Lateran in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a fact that encouraged her to connect the *Bibbie atlantiche* with the cathedral, but – and this seems to me a major obstacle – none of the minuscules definitely attributable to the cathedral match the specific brand of *minuscola carolina non tipizzata* found in the Bibles<sup>63</sup>.

61. P. SUPINO MARTINI, *Roma e l'area grafica romanesca (secoli X-XII)*, *op. cit.*, p. 23-30 ; IDEM, « La scrittura delle Scritture (sec. XI-XII) », *op. cit.*, p. 101-118 ; IDEM, « Origine e diffusione della Bibbia atlantica », *op. cit.*, p. 39-43.

62. P. SUPINO MARTINI, *Roma e l'area grafica romanesca (secoli X-XII)*, *op. cit.*, p. 23-30 ; IDEM, « La scrittura delle Scritture (sec. XI-XII) », *op. cit.*, p. 101-108. Supino found only one hand with *romanesca* tendencies in the Giant Bibles, that of a scribe who wrote portions of BAV, Archivio di S. Pietro A 1 (*Roma e l'area grafica romanesca (secoli X-XII)*, *op. cit.*, p. 28, n. 14). More recently, Emma Condello has pointed to traces of *romanesca* in a few other hands, including some in the Palatine and Hirsau Bibles (E. CONDELLO, « La Bibbia al tempo della Riforma gregoriana: le Bibbie atlantiche », *op. cit.*, p. 365).

63. P. SUPINO MARTINI, *Roma e l'area grafica romanesca (secoli X-XII)*, *op. cit.*, p. 23-33, 46-56 ; IDEM, « La scrittura delle Scritture (sec. XI-XII) », *op. cit.*, p. 28. Petrucci offered as a further confirmation of the Roman origin of the Bibles the majuscule letters of Roman inscriptions in stone from Gregory VII's time, which resemble those used in the Bibles for large *tituli* and incipits (A. PETRUCCI, « Divagazioni paleografiche sulla Roma regoriana », in *Studi sulle società e le culture del Medioevo per Girolamo Arnaldi*,

Supino Martini appears to have accepted the received, mainly art-historical wisdom that the earliest Giant Bibles were Roman, as had others before her<sup>64</sup>. Even the biblical-textual scholar Henri Quentin, one of the fathers of the Roman localization, had cited mainly pictorial, formal, and graphic evidence in support of the idea, acknowledging that

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ed. Ludovico Gatto and Paola Supino Martini, Roma, 2002, II, 471-478 ; S. RICCIONI, « *Litterae et figurae. Pour un art rhétorique dans la Rome de la Réforme grégorienne* », *op. cit.*, p. 142-46). Such letters were not unique to Gregorian epigraphy, however, nor were they specific to Rome. Very similar characters, including the telltale “G a ricciolo,” are found in earlier manuscripts, most notably in the golden Gospel book that Henry III commissioned at Echternach in 1045-1046 for donation to the Cathedral of Speyer (Cf. A. BOECKLER, *Das goldene Evangelianbuch Henrichs III*, *op. cit.*, pl. 7, 14, 99 ; H. MAYR-HARTING, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 233 ; vol. 2, p. 188).

64. See P. SUPINO MARTINI, « La scrittura delle Scritture (sec. XI-XII) », *op. cit.*, p. 102 ; IDEM, *Roma e l'area grafica romanesca (secoli X-XII)*, *op. cit.*, p. 27-29, especially the bibliography in the footnotes, which is almost entirely art historical. Cf., more recently, G. BRAGA, G. OROFINO and M. PALMA, « I manoscritti di Guglielmo II », *op. cit.*, p. 459-460. As noted above, the Roman attribution began with Carlo Vercellone, a textual historian, who cited two reasons for his opinion : the presence of the *Psalterium romanum* in the Pantheon Bible (cf. G. LOBRICHON, « Riforma ecclesiastica e testo della Bibbia », *op. cit.*, p. 17, who observes that most Italian Giant Bibles contain the Gallican Psalter) ; and his discovery that a few variants in the Pantheon Bible (Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 12958) and its textual relatives (BAV, Vat. lat. 4216 and 10405) correspond to unusual readings in the biblical citations of St. Peter Damian. From these shared variants Vercellone concluded that Peter Damian must have habitually read from such Bibles, which must therefore, he surmised, be Roman (C. VERCELLONE, *Variae Lectiones Vulgatae Latinae Bibliorum editionis*, *op. cit.*,

the place of origin of the textual type needed further study<sup>65</sup>. Conceiving of the Bibles as Roman seems to have caused Supino, a palaeographer, some cognitive dissonance. « In my judgment », she wrote in her monograph *Roma e l'area grafica romanesca (secoli X-XII)*, « it is not possible, via study of the scripts, to verify the attributions of these witnessses [i.e. the

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vol. 1, p. xix, lxxxvii, xci, 291, 317, 395, 464, 471 ; vol. 2, xviii and xx). Ayres later inverted Vercellone's hypothesis, popularizing the idea that Peter Damian was the *ispiratore principale* of the Giant Bibles and of similar folio-format liturgical and exegetical books (L. AYRES, « Le Bibbie atlantiche. Dalla Riforma alla diffusione in Europa », *op. cit.*, p. 27-28). Ayres' hypothesis, together with that of Vercellone, is long overdue for critical reconsideration. If, as Vercellone believed, Peter Damian had been accustomed to reading from Italian Giant Bibles, then the chances are good that he acquired that habit somewhere other than in Rome. While it is true that Peter Damian was one of the spiritual fathers of the Roman reform movement and served as cardinal bishop of Ostia, he was neither Roman born nor Roman educated but rather a native of Ravenna, educated at Faenza and Parma, and spent much of his adult life either at S. Croce di Fonte Avellana or traveling outside of Rome (O. BLUM, *St. Peter Damian: His Teaching on the Spiritual Life*, Washington, DC, Catholic University of America Press, 1947, p. 5-35 ; J. LECLERCQ, *Saint Pierre Damien, ermite et homme d'église*, Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1960, p. 19-22 ; J. LAUDAGE, « Petrus Damiani », in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Herder, Freiburg-Basel-Vienna, Herder, 2006, vol. 8, col. 119-120 ; N. D'ACUNTO, « Pier Damiani e gli esordi del monastero di S. Gregorio in Conca di Morciano », *op. cit.*, p. 146). Peter Damian corrected a Bible for Fonte Avellana, « albeit hastily », he wrote, « and for that reason not exactly » (*Bibliothecam namque omnium veteris et novi testamenti voluminum licet cursim ac per hoc non exacte robis emendare curarimus*), although whether it was a Giant Bible he did not say (*Petri Damiani Epistulae/Pier Damiani Lettere*, ed. K. Reindel, G. I. Gargano, and N. D'Acunto, Congregatio Camaldulensis

Giant Bibles] to our area »<sup>66</sup>. Although Supino continued to affirm the Lateran hypothesis in later publications, to my knowledge she never explicitly disavowed this frank palaeographic assessment.

Bookhands similar to those of the *Bibbie atlantiche* appear in oversize Bibles of the period from other parts of Europe, however, while full Bibles were rarely penned in local and

OSB/Rome, Città Nuova, 2000, vol. 1, p. 338). The manuscript in question appears to have been lost and is not to be confused with the Bible from Fonte Avellana (Vatican City, BAV, Vat. Lat. 4216), some of whose texts Vercellone collated. Vat. lat. 4216 was commissioned for Fonte Avellana by the monk Atto, perhaps partly funded by the prior Savinus, and completed in 1146 in southern Tuscany, probably in the area of Arezzo (K. BERG, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination*, *op. cit.*, p. 175-181, 315).

65. H. QUENTIN, *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate*, Rome, Desclée, 1922, p. 384. Cf. P. SUPINO MARTINI, « La scrittura delle Scritture (sec. XI-XII) », *op. cit.*, p. 107 who claimed erroneously, that Quentin had confirmed *l'adozione della recensione di Pier Damiani... per tutte le Bibbie giganti italiani*. In his *Mémoire* (p. 362), Quentin considered selected chapters of the Octateuch in only seven Giant Bibles, and only four members of this *groupe italien* were regularly collated as part of recension  $\Psi$  in the critical edition of the Vulgate Bible published by the Vatican beginning in 1926 (BAV, Vat. Lat. 10510, 10511, 12958 ; and Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, B. 47 inf.). Several other Giant Bibles (e.g. BAV, Pal. lat. 3 ; Barb. Lat. 587) were examined for their prefatory material, mainly the *capitula*, which were drawn from multiple traditions and often vary in kind from Bible to Bible (e.g. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam Vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem, iussu Pii PP. XI, cura et studio monachorum Sancti Benedicti, Commissionis Pontificale a Pio X institutae sodalium praeside Aidano Gasquet S.R.E. Cardinale edita, I. Librum Genesisi*, ed. H. Quentin, Rome, Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1926, p. xxxv-xxxvii, 2, 74, 137). The textual homogeneity of the *Bibbie atlantiche* is generally overestimated, as is the clarity of its supposed regional

regional hands, such as *minuscola romanesca*. These details encouraged Supino Martini to propose that the giant format and geographically indefinite scripts of the Giant Bibles had been instituted by a high church authority to render the Bible appropriately non-local and thus universal, even in its physical and graphic aspects, as suited the most fundamental and all-embracing of books. As the seat of the papacy, she believed, the Lateran was the natural hub of this development<sup>67</sup>.

With the Lateran hypothesis, deductive political logic overrides the absence of explicit material corroboration, an imbalance that may leave some of us uneasy. Yet what are the alternatives? The scribes who wrote the surviving eleventh-century Giant Bibles and related exegetical and liturgical manuscripts numbered in the many dozens, perhaps in the

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implications (cf. S. BERGER, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant le premiers siècles du Moyen Âge*, *op. cit.*, p. 1). Lobrichon has attempted to reconcile the Roman reform hypothesis with the considerable textual variations that his collations uncovered by proposing multiple textual “editions” within the overall edition (G. LOBRICHON, « Riforma ecclesiastica e testo della Bibbia », *op. cit.*, p. 20-22).

66. P. SUPINO MARTINI, *Roma e l'area grafica romanesca (secoli X-XII)*, *op. cit.* : [...] a mio avviso non è possibile verificare, attraverso lo studio della scrittura, le attribuzioni di tali testimoni alla nostra area, e d'altra parte penso, dopo averne esaminato la maggiore parte, che l'analisi paleografica potrebbe forse compiere un passo avanti nella loro localizzazione soltanto alla luce di una conoscenza più approfondita della carolina usata nel secolo XI, sia Oltralpe, sia nell'Italia centrosettentrionale (p. 27) ; [...] è del tutto fallito il tentativo di giungere a qualche ipotesi di localizzazione sulla base di uno spoglio del sistema abbreviativo impiegato in ciascun esemplare (p. 27, n. 10).

67. P. SUPINO MARTINI, « La scrittura delle Scritture (sec. XI-XII) », *op. cit.*, p. 101-118.

hundreds, and no complete census of their hands yet exists<sup>68</sup>. They also worked anonymously, writing in a narrow range of graphic idioms that are remarkably resistant to localization, if also unexpectedly varied in the subtleties of abbreviation and letter formation. Mentioned above, the earliest scribal colophon in a *Bibbia atlantica* is that of Corbolinus, who also calls himself Corbolus, and who upon completing the volume with at least one other scribe in 1140, took credit for the manuscript in a pious, poetic pastiche, parts of which he adapted from the colophon of an exegetical volume in the Pistoia Capitular Library (Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare, Cod. 116, f. 258v)<sup>69</sup>. Corbolinus was at work well along in the history of the genre, when Tuscan scribes and artists clearly played a major role in the industry, and whether he was a priest or a laymen is uncertain. He calls himself only a *scriptor* but also asks readers to pray for his soul<sup>70</sup>. Garrison believed

68. Braga, Orofino, and Palma have catalogued the hands of the Troia manuscripts and Larocca those of six eleventh-century Bibles (G. BRAGA, G. OROFINO and M. PALMA, « I manoscritti di Guglielmo II », *op. cit.*, p. 437-470 ; N. LAROCCA, « I copisti delle Bibbie atlantiche più antiche », *op. cit.*, p. 26-37).

69. L. YAWN, « The Italian Giant Bibles », *op. cit.*, p. 140. On the manuscript in Pistoia, which contains Bruno of Segni's *Expositio super Pentateuchum*, see M. MURANO, G. SAVINO and S. ZAMPONI, *I manoscritti medievali della provincia di Pistoia*, Tavarnuzze (Firenze), SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998 (Biblioteche e Archivi, 3), p. 47 and tav. LXVIII ; E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 132 n. 2.

70. K. BERG, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination*, *op. cit.*, p. 260, provides the following transcription : *Ut vitiis bellum gerit ingens iste libellus / sic tua pax vera crimina nostra terat / sub nixe rogo ex corde toto legis librum sub audis istum / preces vestras corde fundas ad nostrum dominum me collocet secum / gratia cunctorum referatur grata tuorum / Christi tibi psallant operum pia cantica*

that the illustrators of the Giant Bibles were monks, but Knut Berg subsequently found significant evidence for the existence of commercial lay scribes and painters in late eleventh- and twelfth-century Tuscany, some of whom wrote and decorated Giant Bibles and other manuscripts of similar format and graphic style<sup>71</sup>.

My own direct experience of the manuscripts has gradually led me to believe that the production of Giant Bibles in eleventh-century Italy was far less centralized than the common wisdom holds and that the sorts of professional labor that Berg detected in late eleventh- and twelfth-century Tuscany also played an important role in the creation of the early *Bibbie atlantiche* of the Umbro-Roman type<sup>72</sup>. If we suspend our attachment to the Roman-reform hypothesis for a moment and attend carefully and comparatively to the earliest Giant Bibles as material objects, with attention to elements that have rarely receive sustained attention, then a new picture begins to emerge : a panorama in which such

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*plaudant / fec (sic) laudetur cui Corbolus auctor habetur / valereque eum faciat  
Christus cui regit omnia virtus / finito libro donum deserte magistro / oro te lector  
istius scriptoris semperque memento / ego Corbolinus pistoriensis scriptor cepi istum deo  
annuente explevi / in anno MCXL et luna erta XVIII et indictione tertia / quarto  
nonas octobris in feria VI.*

71. E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 132 ; vol. 3, p. 89.

72. Cf. Dalli Regoli, who hypothesized that professionals came into the picture only in the twelfth century, with *l'affermarsi di professionisti laici – miniatori, grafici, calligrafi – che cominciano a porsi in alternativa rispetto agli scriptoria monastici* (G. DALLI REGOLI, « Per una storia del libro illustrato. Note sulla tipologia di alcune Bibbie miniate in Italia fra l'XI e il XII secolo », *op. cit.*, p. 31-32, n. 20).

manuscripts were made not as components of a unified, reform-directed edition but rather as one-of-a-kind objects crafted upon demand by changing constellations of scribes and painters. Although the anonymity of the scribes rules out any certainty about whether they were clerics or laymen, a variety of evidence suggests that like Berg's Tuscan *scriptores*, they may have been professionals who worked itinerantly or locally – possibly, but not only, in Rome – and who contributed to a small revolution in the scribal arts in eleventh-century Italy, a significant ratcheting up of the speed with which large and imposing books could be crafted.

Supino Martini's Lateran hypothesis has many adherents, but there have also been a few dissenters. Recently, Marilena Maniaci has expressed misgivings about the possibility of Giant Bible production at the Lateran for palaeographic and codicological reasons and because of the turbulent state of the Roman Curia in the latter half of the eleventh century. As she notes, among other things, the various papal schisms would seem to rule out the continuity « of rhythms and of intentions » necessary for the functioning of a substantial, long-lived export scriptorium<sup>73</sup>. In 2002, Michael Gorman suggested an alternative cradle for the Bibles: S. Salvatore di Monte Amiata in southern Tuscany<sup>74</sup>. As Gorman observed,

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73. M. MANIACI and G. OROFINO, « L'officina delle Bibbie atlantiche : artigiani, scribi, miniatori », *op. cit.*, p. 203.

74. M. GORMAN, « Manuscript Books at Monte Amiata in the Eleventh Century », *Scriptorium*, 56, 2002, p. 276-277. esp. n. 160 : « it would be dangerous if the trend of attributing giant Bibles to Rome (the Lateran ?) were to continue, since there is no evidence that any giant Bible was

Monte Amiata lay outside of the area *grafica romanesca*, in a region where other varieties of Caroline minuscule were practiced, including variants similar to those found in the Giant Bibles. The abbey also owned the *Codex Amiatinus*, a likely inspiration for folio-format pandect Bibles. In the eleventh century, S. Salvatore had a growing and important library, which sometimes lent books to other religious houses and whose holdings were actively augmented by an in-house scriptorium capable of producing large patristic and liturgical manuscripts<sup>75</sup>. Codices clearly based on Amiatine exemplars, such as Ms. 3 in Perugia's Biblioteca Capitolare, an illustrated exegetical volume, went to centers where Giant Bibles also appeared at an early date<sup>76</sup>.

My own research has turned up very early, and sometimes very impressive, Giant Bible production in the general region of Monte Amiata – the Perugia Bible is an example ; but thus far I have found only one *Bibbia atlantica* definitely traceable to the abbey, an Old Testament fragment now in the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome (Cod. 470)<sup>77</sup>. The scripts of Casanatense

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produced there or could have been produced there ».

75. *Ibid., passim* and p. 243-245 ; M. GORMAN, « The Oldest Lists of Latin Books », *Scriptorium*, 58, 2004, p.49.

76. L. YAWN, « The Italian Giant Bibles », *op. cit.*, p. 137-138 ; L. YAWN-BONGHI, *The Illustrated Giant Bible of Perugia*, *op. cit.*, p. 56-95, 125-87, 218-36. On the Amiatine manuscripts in Perugia's Biblioteca Capitolare, see M. GORMAN, « Manuscript Books at Monte Amiata », *op. cit.*, p. 245-246, 253-254, 261-264, 269-271, 275-277.

77. Casanatense 470 contains the Octateuch and Kings and so must be the volume mentioned by Ughelli and Fatteschi for which Gorman was searching (cf. M. GORMAN, « Manuscript Books at Monte Amiata », *op. cit.*, p. 276). On the volume's relation to other Giant Bibles, see L. YAWN, « The

470 are generally of the Giant Bible kind, albeit with corrections entered in hands not far from those of Amiatine monk-scribes (e.g. at f. 30r)<sup>78</sup>. The blue and brown coloring of its most elaborate initial (f. 1r) recalls the palette favored in books definitely written at the monastery (e.g. BAV, Barb. Lat. 573, f. 1v, 245r), while its writing blocks come close in size to those of the Perugia Bible and to the *Codex Amiatinus*<sup>79</sup>.

Italian Giant Bibles », *op. cit.*, p. 137-138 ; L. YAWN-BONGHI, *The Illustrated Giant Bible of Perugia*, *op. cit.*, p. 218-238 ; T. CHASSON, *The Earliest Illustrated Tuscan Bible (Edili 125/126)*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Berkeley, University of California, 1979, p. 128. Gorman hypothesized that the Barberini Bible (Vatican City, BAV, Barb. lat 588) may have come from Monte Amiata (M. GORMAN, « Manuscript Books at Monte Amiata », *op. cit.*, p. 276-277). The scripts of the Barberini Bible differ from those of known Amiatine scribes, but several of its most unusual decorated letters (f. 57v, 58v) closely resemble initials in a manuscript of St. Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* in the Perugian Capitular library (Perugia, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. 42, f. 59v, 74r, 97v), which Gorman has shown to be the twin of a volume that once belonged to Monte Amiata (BAV, Barb. lat. 591). Other initials in the Barberini Bible closely resemble decorated letters in the Badia d'Arezzo Passionary (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, F.N.II.I.412), whose hagiological program, according to Berg indicates that it was made for southern Tuscan use, as does Florence, BML, Amiat., 2, which was made for Monte Amiata (K. BERG, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination*, *op. cit.*, p. 26-28, 247-248 ; M. GORMAN, « Manuscript Books at Monte Amiata », *op. cit.*, p. 261). Cf. E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, vol. 2, p. 132, who regarded the Hirsau and Palatine Bibles as Umbrian.

78. Cf. BAV, Barb. lat. 573, 1r-244v.

79. The writing blocks of Rome, Bibl. Casanatense, Cod. 470, measure c. 386 x 240 mm ; those of the Perugia Bible c. 400 x c. 240 mm. Cod. 470 has only one initial with the typical brown-and-blue Amiatine coloring (f. 1r).

Casanatense 470 has no Early Geometrical initials, however, which probably accounts for its omission from the standard handlists and catalogs of *Bibbie atlantiche*<sup>80</sup>. If the Casanatense manuscript was not written in at Monte Amiata, then it was probably made somewhere nearby.

The latter option strikes me as the more credible of the two, since in books for which eleventh-century Amiatine monastic scribes take credit in colophons or inscriptions, the Caroline scripts are generally more minute, less uniform, and more personal and whimsical than those of the Giant Bibles, including Casanatense 470. Brother Bonizo, whom Gorman identified as head of the abbey's scriptorium in the mid-eleventh century, wrote in a capable but personal Caroline hand, which he occasionally laced with amusing descenders and calligraphic ornaments. Examples include a letter *p* whose lower stem becomes the head of a flamingo-like bird or an *s* whose stem swells into the forequarters of an earless dog (a seal?) vomiting vines<sup>81</sup>. Bonizo names himself in the

80. Cod. 470 has only one initial with the typical brown-and-blue Amiatine coloring (fol.1r). The manuscript was discussed briefly by Chasson and examined in the critical edition of the Vulgate Bible for its unusual *capitula* but it was not mentioned by Garrison or Berg and did not appear in the exhibition of Giant Bibles in 2000 (R. CHASSON, *The Earliest Illustrated Tuscan Bible (Edili 125/126)*, *op. cit.*, p. 128 ; *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam Vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*, *op. cit.*, p. 74 ; E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, *op. cit.* ; K. BERG, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination*, *op. cit.* ; M. MANIACI and G. OROFINO, ed., *Le Bibbie Atlantiche*, *op. cit.*).

81. Vatican City, BAV, Barb. Lat. 573, f. 211r and 193v. Other examples in the same manuscript : f. 27r-28v, 179v, 181v, 182r, 185v, 189v, 194v-195r, 197v-198v, 202r, 210r, and *passim*. On Bonizo and his oeuvres, see

decorated opening *titulus* of a large manuscript of Gregory's *Moralia in Job* (Vatican City, BAV, Barb. lat. 573, f. 1v) and again at the end of the segment of the volume that he wrote (f. 244v)<sup>82</sup>. This sort of personal taking of credit appears to have been as commonplace at Monte Amiata as it was uncommon among Giant Bible scribes. In Bonizo's *Moralia in Job*, a certain *frater Petrus subdiaconus et monachus scriptore [sic]* took over the work at f. 245r and named himself in his own subscription (f. 551r), parroting Bonizo's colophon and perhaps meant to replace it. As Gorman noted, someone (Petrus?) attempted to modify Bonizo's subscription on f. 244v and cancelled it with a horizontal line<sup>83</sup>.

Bonizo also inscribed his monogram in several manuscripts written by other scribes and added an index to one large exegetical volume, a commentary on Matthew attributed to Remigius of Reims (BAV, Barb. Lat. 604, f. 1v-2v), noting his authorship of the *capitula* in a Latin inscription penned in Greek letters across the bottom of the two writing columns (f. 2v)<sup>84</sup>. He did not write the rest of the volume,

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M. GORMAN, « Manuscript Books at Monte Amiata », *op. cit.*, *passim*.

82. Vatican City, BAV, Barb. Lat. 573, f. 1v : *In xp̄i nomine incipit liber moralia job cenobium ad eximii merito uenerabilis Salvatoris Bonizo indignus leuita et monachus hoc scripsit opus In caelis memorem semper habere locum*. Bonizo adapted some of his phrasing from abbot Ceolfrid's dedication in the *Codex Amiatinus* (M. GORMAN, « Manuscript Books at Monte Amiata », *op. cit.*, p. 254-256).

83. M. GORMAN, « Manuscript Books at Monte Amiata », *op. cit.*, p. 255. Like Bonizo, Petrus was fond of whimsical descenders (e.g. f. 287v, 289r-289v).

84. *Frater Bonizo indignus sacerdos et monachus ordinavit sic ista capitula (ibid., p. 253-255)*.

however. Its main texts were instead executed by four other scribes in scripts roughly similar to Bonizo's but less idiosyncratic, without the flamingo's heads, monograms, or self-referential inscriptions<sup>85</sup>. Gorman seems to imply that the volume was written in the scriptorium of Monte Amiata<sup>86</sup>. Yet on f. 255v, we find Bonizo's monogram followed by the inscription in his hand : *Rogauit scribere istum libellum & emit XLIII sol*<sup>87</sup>. The copyists worked for pay. We might be tempted to imagine that the payment was for parchment alone, but the forty-three *soldi* that Bonizo disbursed almost certainly included wages for the scribes. As we shall see further along, this conclusion follows from the similar per-folio cost of another church book written in eleventh-century Tuscany by a hired, paid scriptor (Lucca, Bibl. Capitolare, Cod. 68), where the price definitely included both parchment and scribal labor.

Bonizo likely commissioned his copy of the Commentary on Matthew from the same sorts of *scriptores* that Gerbert d'Aurillac had in mind when he wrote to Rainardus, a monk of Bobbio, half a century or more earlier, asking him to have various texts copied out on his behalf and observing that in

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85. A first scribe wrote f. 3r ; a second f. 131r-212v/b (to line 24, *-nus*) ; the third f. 212v/b (from line 24, starting with *qui nichil*) ; 216v and 217r-255v.

86. M. GORMAN, « Manuscript Books at Monte Amiata », *op. cit.*, p. 248, 253-254.

87. Vatican City, BAV, Barb. Lat. 604, f. 255v. The name “bonizo” is also inscribed four times in the outer margin, at the level of the monogram. Gorman mistranscribed “sol.” as “fl.” (M. GORMAN, « Manuscript Books at Monte Amiata », *op. cit.*, p. 254).

Italy scribes were available both in the city and in the countryside<sup>88</sup>. What I would like to suggest is that, like the mid-eleventh-century exegetical book to which Bonizo added an index, at least some, and perhaps many, of the eleventh-century Giant Bibles were written by professional *scriptores* hired and remunerated for the project, in combinations that varied from commission to commission<sup>89</sup>.

Some twelfth-century Giant Bibles were certainly produced this way. In 1168 a widow, Mattilda Veckii, gave a hundred *solidi* to the church and monastery of S. Vito in Pisa, stipulating that the abbot and brothers use it to purchase parchment for a Bible. The parchment would eventually become part of the four-volume giant pandect now known as the Bible of Calci (Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo)<sup>90</sup>. Five dozen other townspeople – fishermen, bakers, wives, widows, and one mason – made smaller donations, accruing about half of the money that would eventually be spent on the project. Gerardus, a priest of S. Vito, served as general financial administrator and wrote a lengthy account of the contributions and expenses at the end of the manuscript.

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88. Gerbert D'Aurillac, *Lettres (983-997)*, ed. J. Havet, Paris, Alphonse Picard, 1889, p. 117-118.

89. Similar proposals have been made for twelfth-century Tuscany : G. DALLI REGOLI, « Per una storia del libro illustrato », *op. cit.*, p. 31-32, n. 20 ; K. BERG, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination*, *op. cit.*, p. 205-330 ; W. CAHN, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, *op. cit.*, p. 224-226 ; P. SUPINO MARTINI, *Roma e l'area grafica romanescia (secoli X-XII)*, *op. cit.*, p. 31-32, n. 20.

90. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Bibbia di Calci, IV. The inscription is on f. 230r (marked 231) (K. BERG, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination*, *op. cit.*, p. 151-157, 205-206, 224-227 ; L. YAWN, « The Italian Giant Bibles », *op. cit.*, p. 126-128).

From his long note, we learn that six payments went to the craftsmen, who included a scribe, two illuminators, and two men whose roles are not specified. Two other disbursements went to a presbyter Gregorius, whose contributions are uncertain but which may have involved checking and correcting the texts<sup>91</sup>. One of the mystery workers, Vivianus, received a whopping fifteen lira (3600 *denarii*), about three times that of the next highest paid craftsman. For that reason I suspect that he was responsible for organizing the labor and possibly for purchasing the pigments, glues, and gold, which are not listed among the expenses. Vivianus did not pay the other craftsmen, however, a fact which suggests that they were free agents who contracted separately with Gerardus, as Berg and De Hamel have noted<sup>92</sup>. Like the other scribes and illuminators, Vivianus was apparently a layman, and his engagement with S. Vito appears to have been temporary. Contemporary acts from the archive of S. Vito refer repeatedly to a *Vivianus magister*, who is also called both *scriptor* and *scriba*. In May and July of 1171, he served as a witness to several notarial acts concerning the monastery's property, alongside some of the donors to the Bible project. On one occasion, he also acted as the monastery's proxy in the receipt of a donation of land, but afterward, he disappears from the documents<sup>93</sup>. By then the Bible was perhaps complete, and

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91. K. BERG, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination*, *op. cit.*, p. 227 ; C. DE HAMEL, *The Book : A History of the Bible*, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

92. K. BERG, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination*, *op. cit.*, p. 153 ; C. DE HAMEL, *The Book : A History of the Bible*, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

93. L. YAWN, «The Italian Giant Bibles», *op. cit.*, p. 127. The pertinent documents are transcribed in M. ORLANDI, *Carte dell'archivio della Certosa di*

Vivianus and its other craftsmen had moved on to other projects<sup>94</sup>.

Vivianus lived roughly a century after Bonizo of Monte Amiata and the scribes of the Hirsau Bible, in a city with a thriving merchant culture and money economy. Extrapolating from his experience to that of the earlier scribes would therefore be imprudent, if not for inscriptions, such as Bonizo's note in the commentary on Matthew, which confirm that already in the eleventh century, professional *scriptores* were sometimes hired on an as-needed basis to copy and decorate church books. Following the trail backward in time from the Bible of Calci, we first encounter the *Bibbia atlantica* completed in 1146 for S. Croce di Fonte Avellana. The manuscript bears a versified note giving a certain brother Atto and the prior Savinus credit for the work, not as scribes, according to the most plausible interpretation, but rather as paying sponsors<sup>95</sup>. Multiple lay patrons appear to have commissioned another Giant Bible probably of somewhat earlier date (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Cod. 722), whose subsidizers were commemorated across the bottoms of the

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*Calci (1151–1200)*, Ospedaletto (Pisa), Pacini, 2002, p. 90–93, 95–99.

94. A sacramentary made for the monastery in the same period (Florence, BML, Certosa di Calci, 2) was decorated by different painters (K. BERG, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination*, *op. cit.*, p. 155–157; cf. A. D'ANIELLO, « 55. Pisa, Museo nazionale di San Matteo, deposito provvisorio [Bibbia di Calci] », in *Le Bibbie atlantiche*, *op. cit.*, p. 310). Whether the two manuscripts share any scribal hands, to my knowledge, has not been determined.

95. K. BERG, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination*, *op. cit.*, p. 175–181, 315.

first pages of several gatherings<sup>96</sup>. The first note (f. 121r) names a family group, that of Petrus of Albona, his brother, and their wives, who together are said to have « built » the quaternion (*Albonense[s?]* *petru[s?]* *cum iacculo germano suo et uxorib[us]/ eo[rum]* *bedificauer[unt]* *quat[er]num istu[m]*). The second inscription (f. 129r) instead commemorates an individual, Zicarus Martinus, who « wrote » a quaternion in the book (*Zicar[us] Martin[us]* *quat[er]nu[m]* *scripsit in libro*), while a third (f. 137r) specifies that someone « took care to compose » the quaternion in question ([...] *custod[iuit?]* *quater[num]* *ex suis re[bus]* *componere toto animi affectu studiu*). A fourth (f. 242r) inscription in a similar position is too fragmentary to read, and I suspect that others were cut away when the book was rebound. From the verbs *bedificauerit*, *scripsit*, and *custod[iuit]...componere*, we might be tempted to conclude that the persons named were the artists and painters, including a family workshop, who worked by the gathering. The terms pertinent to *labor* were almost certainly intended figuratively, however, since the scribe who wrote the gathering that *Zicarus Matinus... scripsit* also penned twenty-three others, including the one « built » by Petrus and company and « composed » by the donor whose name was cut away at

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96. Rome, Bibl. Casanatense, cod. 722, f. 121r, 129r, 137r, 242r. For descriptions of the manuscript, photographs of some of its initials, and transcriptions and discussions of the inscriptions, see E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 131-133 ; L. SPECIALE, « 57. Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, Casanat. 722 (+ Casanat. 723 = seconda Bibbia della Casanatense) », in *Le Bibbie Atlantiche*, *op. cit.*, p. 312-315 ; P. SUPINO MARTINI, *Roma e l'area grafica romanesca (secoli X-XII)*, *op. cit.*, p. 31-32, n. 20.

fol. 137r<sup>97</sup>. The most reasonable reading is that the inscriptions indicate donors who sponsored the purchase of parchment and/or the work of the scribes for one gathering each and thus who indirectly built, wrote, or saw to putting together their respective quaternions<sup>98</sup>. The team that executed the work consisted of three scribes and one painter, who seems to have been illiterate, careless, or both. The large initial of Jerome's epistle to Paulinus at the beginning of the volume should have been an F (for *Frater*), but the illuminator instead painted an elaborate H, rendering a nonsense word, *Hrater*. Elsewhere, we find an ornate P where the text calls for a T and an A in place of an I<sup>99</sup>.

These complications with the work call to mind the earliest, most interesting instance of professional craftsmanship in medieval Tuscan manuscripts noted by Berg, that of a late eleventh-century manuscript of Cassiodorus' Commentary on the Psalms (Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. 68)<sup>100</sup>. The manuscript is inscribed with a

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97. Three scribes wrote the Bible. A first penned f. 1r-49v/b (to line 47, *eius*) and f. 50v/a-51r/a ; a second f. 50r and f. 51r/b-96v ; and a third f. 97r-287v. All of the inscriptions appear in gatherings written by the third scribe. Speciale recognized only one scribal hand in the codex and concluded that it belonged to Zicarus Martinus (L. SPECIALE, « 57. Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, Casanat. 722 », *op. cit.*, p. 314).

98. L. YAWN, « The Italian Giant Bibles », *op. cit.*, p. 139-140 ; E. CONDELLO, « La Bibbia al tempo della Riforma gregoriana : le Bibbie atlantiche », *op. cit.*, p. 371.

99. On the scribes, see note 76 above; on the mistaken initials, L. SPECIALE, « 57. Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, Casanat. 722 », *op. cit.*, p. 315.

100. For the various other cases that Berg found, see K. BERG, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination*, *op. cit.*, p. 205-220.

message addressed to the recipients of the book, *Senioribus L. &ceteris*, written by someone who refers to himself only as « I »<sup>101</sup>. The recipients had entrusted I. with seeing to the volume's execution, and I. specifies that he had hired a *scriptor* of good reputation (*scriptorem acquisivi ut asserebatur bonus*) who proved unreliable (*sed fraude me circumvenit dum non tale opus quale preposui fecit*)<sup>102</sup>. Under pressure from I., the scribe did eventually copy out forty-one quaternions and decorated them with the Early Geometrical letters, initials of the kind also found in the Perugia and Hirsau Bibles and in other early *Bibbie atlantiche* in Garrison's early Umbro-Roman subgroup<sup>103</sup>. I. corrected the scribe's work against the exemplar, another feature that correlates well with the Bibles, which sometimes have corrections in hands contemporary with those of their main scribes. I.'s notes specifies the expenses for the project. Presumably, the recipients were to reimburse him. Twenty

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101. *Ibid.*, p. 206-208.

102. *Ibid.*, p. 206.

103. K. BERG, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination*, *op. cit.*, p. 207. From the style of its initials, Garrison placed Lucca, Bibl. Capitolare, Cod. 68, in the same chronological subcategory as the Hirsau Bible (E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 52-53, 68). Dalli Regoli discussed the volume as one member of a group of atlantic-format manuscripts in the Capitular Library of Lucca probably donated to the cathedral chapter by Bishop Anselmo II during the years following his consecration in 1070 (G. Dalli Regoli, « La miniatura lucchese tra la fine dell'XI e gli inizi del XII secolo : forme di decorazione « umbro romana » e cultura grafica francese », in *Romanico padano, Romanico europeo*, Convegno internazionale di studi, Modena-Parma 26 ottobre-1° novembre 1977, intro. A. Quintavale, Parma, Artegrafica Silva, 1982, p. 275-277).

and a half *solidi* were paid out for the parchment and twenty-seven and a half *solidi*, the equivalent of three hundred thirty *denarii*, for the work of the *scriptor*. Since the scribe wrote a total of three-hundred twenty-eight folios, it follows that he received exactly one *denarius* per folio, plus two *denarii*, perhaps as a tip or for folios now lost<sup>104</sup>. The total expense for the manuscript was thus forty-eight *solidi* (five hundred seventy-six *denarii*) and the cost per folio for both parchment and labor just over one and three-quarters *denarii*. The Commentary on Matthew commissioned by Bonizo of Monte Amiata commissioned cost slightly more, about two *denarii* per folio, which we can therefore infer with some confidence must have covered both materials and labor<sup>105</sup>.

No monetary figures survive for the cost of Perugia Bible, but with its five full-page miniatures and gold-trimmed initials (Perugia, Bibl. Com. Augusta, Ms. L. 59, fol. 4r and 7v) the price was likely higher. The miniatures occupy their own gathering (f. 1r-3v) and are of exceptionally high quality. A specialized painter was apparently engaged to execute them separately from the texts, which were also written and decorated by *scriptores* of considerable skill. An inscription at the end of the volume (f. 251v), penned in a Caroline minuscule of about the same module as the Bible text but difficult to date due to its deplorable condition, seems to refer to someone involved in the project : *Hunc librum biblie sancte... sognauit petrus de m...nec non canonicus plebis...* The verb *sognauit*

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104. K. BERG, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination*, op. cit., p. 206-208.

105. Bonizo spent forty-three *solidi* (five hundred sixteen *denarii*) for two hundred fifty-five folios.

is probably a variant spelling of *soniavit*, a synonym of *curavit*, and so it may be that the canon Petrus, in the manner of Berg's I. or of a Gerardus of S. Vito, coordinated the creation of the Bible on behalf of the two lay donors, perhaps for use by his own *canonica*<sup>106</sup>. The Bible shows signs that it was written in or near Perugia, and other epigraphic evidence suggests that it was at that city's cathedral in the early fourteenth century<sup>107</sup>. If Petrus belonged to the Perugian cathedral chapter, as seems probable, then the Bible may have been made for that institution<sup>108</sup>.

The apparent division of *labor* between the *virtuoso* scribes and *illustrator* of the Perugia Bible brings us to one last body of evidence that I believe is best explained by the participation of professional craftsmen working in temporary formations assembled for specific projects by individual patrons or their intermediaries. As I described in a public lecture at the American Academy in Rome in 1998, and as Marilena Maniaci observed in the Giant Bibles exhibition catalog of 2000 and subsequent publications, many *Bibbie atlantiche* were written using a system of textual units, or separable modules : clusters of contiguous gatherings each

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106. On *soniare*, see C. DU CANE, *C. Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, Paris, Firmin Didot Frères, 1846, vol. 6, p. 297 ; J. NIERMEYER, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus*, Leiden, Brill, 1976, p. 979.

107. M. BASSETTI, « 14. Perugia, Biblioteca comunale Augusta, L. 59 », *op. cit.*, p. 162-163, 166 ; L. YAWN, « 14. Perugia, Biblioteca comunale Augusta, L. 59 [pt. 2] », *op. cit.*, p. 170-173 ; L. YAWN-BONGHI, *The Illustrated Giant Bible of Perugia*, *op. cit.*, p. 57-95.

108. *Ibid.*, p. 66-70. Cf. M. BASSETTI, « 14. Perugia, Biblioteca comunale Augusta, L. 59 », *op. cit.*, p. 162-163, 166.

containing exactly one discrete sequence of whole texts – all of the *Libri Regum*, for example, or of the Minor Prophets and their prefaces<sup>109</sup>. These units are not the *pecia* of late-medieval university books but rather bundles of gatherings, mostly quaternions, that vary in length and which, as far as I have found, were never written in identical multiple copies by the same scribe<sup>110</sup>. Studied together with the texts and the single scribal hands, which for much of the group are still an uncharted territory, these variable modules offer further reasons to imagine that the creators of many early Giant Bibles were highly trained professionals on the order of Vivianus and his crew and prone to collaborations suggestive of something other than a stable scriptorium, if with that word we mean a body of scribes and painters who worked together more or less continuously over the course of multiple projects.

An initial objection to this proposal could be that the separable modules in question were the hallmark of one workshop. Yet the scribal hands in the Bibles are many and only occasionally reappear in multiple manuscripts. More importantly, they rarely reappear *together* – that is, simultaneously in more than one codex. In page-by-page studies of nine of the principal *Bibbie atlantiche* with initials of

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109. M. MANIACI, « La struttura delle Bibbie atlantiche », *op. cit.*, p. 54-58 ; M. MANIACI and G. OROFINO, « L'officina delle Bibbie atlantiche », *op. cit.*, p. 197-212.

110. M. MANIACI, « La struttura delle Bibbie atlantiche », *op. cit.*, p. 57. Cf. Larocca, who noted some cases of scribes copying some of the same texts in more than one Bible (N. LAROCCA, « I copisti delle Bibbie atlantiche più antiche », *op. cit.*, p. 26-37).

Garrison's Early Geometrical variety, I have encountered at least seventy different scribes, writing in the characteristic *minuscola carolina non tipizzata*, but only two of those hands appear together in more than one of the nine Bibles<sup>111</sup>. Of the forty-eight scribal hands identified by Larocca in her more graphically and pictorially homogeneous sample of six early *Bibbie atlantiche*, nine hands, by her report, crop up in more than one Bible<sup>112</sup>. While this figure may at first sound high, it is important to note that thirty-nine of the forty-eight hands – that is, eighty-one percent of the total – appear in only one

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111. The Bibles with Early Geometrical initials whose hands I have also catalogued in full are Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, B. 47 inf. ; Munich, BSB, Clm 13001 ; Perugia, Bibl. Com. Augusta, Ms. L. 59 ; Vatican City, BAV, Barb. lat. 587, Barb. lat. 588, Vat. lat. 4217A, Pal. lat. 3-5, Vat. lat. 10405, and Vat. lat., 12958. I have partial catalogues of the hands of Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. C-D ; Perugia, Archivio di S. Pietro, Cod. 1 ; Rome, Bibl. Angelica, Ms. 1273 ; and Toledo, Archivio Capitular, Ms. 3. Discerning the different scribal hands in the early Umbro-Roman Giant Bibles is a veritable *lavoro da certosino* because of the care with which the scribes coordinated the overall appearance of their work and also due to the variability of abbreviations, sigla, and letter forms within the writing of individual calligraphers. The only reliable method that I have found for individuating the hands is to observe the most informative characters and combinations (especially *g*, *b*, *y*, *z*, *e-cedilla*, *-b[us]*, *c[es]*, *-m[us]*, *-o[rum]*, *-q[ue]*, and the *ri* ligature, where present) over the course of many pages and to draw them attentively as if copying details from an Old Master painting. Once discerned, the hypothesized duplicate hands can then be tested via photographic comparisons. Sometimes even this slow process yields only approximate results, as the ambiguities noted in the appendix for the Hirsau Bible attest. An even more extreme example are the breathtakingly well-matched hands in parts of the S. Cecilia Bible, especially fol. 1-180.

112. N. LAROCCA, « I copisti delle Bibbie atlantiche più antiche », op. cit. p. 26-37.

manuscript, while eight hands (c. 17%) crop up in two Bibles and only one hand (2%) surfaces in three. No single hand appears in more than three of the six Bibles. According to Larocca's findings, furthermore, only two pairs of copyists worked together on more than one of the six Bibles, one pair on the Palatine and Geneva Bibles and another on Mantua, Bibl. Comunale, 131 (A V 1), and S. Daniele del Friuli, Bibl. Guarneriana, I-II<sup>113</sup>. Similar studies of other manuscripts of the group, including liturgical and exegetical works, are needed before any firm conclusions are possible, but for now the density of repetitive collaborations in the early Umbro-Roman Giant Bibles appears to be too low to permit us to conclude that the *scriptores* who wrote them belonged to a unified workshop with a fixed personnel. A more plausible scenario is that of *ad hoc* collaborations undertaken for specific projects, meaning for the copying of single manuscripts or of small groups under the impetus of a particular patron, whether individual or collective.

The rarity of recurrent scribal teamwork makes the one additional instance that I have found especially intriguing, and here we return to Henry IV's gift to Hirsau. As Larocca noted, one scribe of that codex also wrote parts of the Palatine Bible, but I believe that the two manuscripts also had a second copyist in common: a *scriptor* of distinctive if mutable habits whose work is most readily identifiable from the letter *g*, with its plump and sometimes flaccid lower lobe closing broadly upon the upper.<sup>114</sup> It may be significant that this calligrapher shared that *mannerism* with the other duplicate

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113. *Ibid.*

scribe in the Hirau and Palatine Bibles but not with most of the other copyists who worked on either of the two projects, who tended to close the lower lobe of *g* in different ways.

As mentioned above, the Palatine Bible contains a note (Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 3, f. 167v) written not long after the main texts of the manuscript, specifying that it was presented by a certain Odalricus *summis principibus notus* to a monastery of St. Magnus, meaning St. Magnus at Füssen<sup>115</sup>. Odalricus says that he offered the Bible for the perpetual tranquility of his soul and the souls of his loved ones and to give comfort to the monastery, which had recently been destroyed by a fire<sup>116</sup>. Although the exact date of the inscription is uncertain, it seems very possible that Henry IV was one of the « supreme princes » to whom Odalricus was known, but whether they were friends or enemies is another matter. Füssen sits at the foot of the Alps, along the Lech River and the ancient Via Claudia Augusta, the main thoroughfare from southern Germany through the Brenner

114. On the scribes of Palatine and Hirsau, see note 47 above and the appendix.

115. Pal. lat. 3, f. 167v ; E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 10 ; L. SPECIALE, « 4. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. Pal. Lat. 3-4-5 [Bibbia Palatina] », *op. cit.*, p. 126. Garrison speculated that Odalricus might have been an abbot, but Speciale rightly pointed out that the references to family members in the inscription make it more credible that Odalricus was *il ‘patrono’ laico di una piccola comunità o di un priorato benedettino, forse un autorevole personaggio della corte tedesca* (p. 126).

116. E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 10-11 ; L. SPECIALE, « 4. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. Pal. Lat. 3-4-5 [Bibbia Palatina] », *op. cit.*, p. 126.

pass and into northeastern Italy. The monastery thus occupied a crucial spot for transalpine communications, and there are signs that its abbot or monks, and probably both, were favorably inclined toward the Gregorian party. Late in 1077, Master Henry, a canon of Augsburg cathedral and a known Gregorian sympathizer, was expelled from Augsburg along with the recently elected bishop Wigold – Wigold had been supplanted in favor of Henry IV's preferred candidate Siegfried – and took refuge at St. Magnus at Füssen, where he remained until his death six years afterward<sup>117</sup>.

While this detail might discourage us from imagining Odalricus an imperial partisan, an anti-imperial monastery was not necessarily allergic to gifts from donors on the imperial side, as the Hirsau Bible reminds us. The reasons that Odalricus states for his gift are personal, but the manuscript could also have done diplomatic duty at a higher level as a token of favor and a bid for alliance to an important religious house on the emperor's behalf. The coincidence of scribal hands in the two Bibles might add weight to this conjecture if not for the fact that Odalricus says he «acquired» the manuscript *Dei opitulante*. These words leave the possibility open that he was not an imperial associate after all but rather an unaffiliated but aspiring local donor, whence perhaps the generic reference to «highest princes», or a friend of Henry's enemies: a loyalist of Rudolf of Rheinfelden and Welf IV of Bavaria who managed to buy

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117. T. J. H. McCARTHY, «The Identity of Master Henry of Augsburg (D. 1083)», *Revue Bénédictine*, t. 114/1, 2004, p. 141. Cf. E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, *op. cit.*, p. 10-11.

(pillage ?) a Giant Bible that had been crafted in an imperial milieu or written by free-lance scribes, two of whom had worked on an imperial commission (i.e. the Hirsau Bible) or would do so at a later date.

The hypothesis that the Palatine Bible was crafted in an imperial context is perhaps strengthened somewhat by a third companion in shared personnel: the Civitella Bible, a fragmentary Giant Old Testament of uncertain but possibly significant provenance (BAV, Vat. lat. 4217A), parts of which were written by Scribe Clm-c=Pal3/5-j (appendix, bright red fields)<sup>118</sup>. As already noted, this hand is fluid in certain respects, and small differences between its exercise in the three manuscripts – for example, in the shape of majuscule *C* and in the dotting or non-dotting of the *-b(us)* and *-q(ue)* abbreviations – suggest that the Civitella and Hirsau Bibles were written close together in time and at some remove from the manuscript from Füssen.

From two inscriptions on the first folio of Vat. lat. 4217A, Supino Martini proposed that the manuscript had been at Civitella di Romagna, near Forlì, in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century<sup>119</sup>. One of the inscriptions, a list of payments, contains the phrase *de civitella*, apparently indicating the home town of one of the persons mentioned, while a longer, more formal note, datable to either 1308, 1293, or 1278, refers to the settlement of a debt in *denarii* of Ravenna

118. The scribe in question (Scribe Clm-c= VPal3/5-j =VLat4217A-c) wrote surviving portions of Samuel and Kings in Vat. lat. 4217A (fol. 67-90) as well as the Major Prophets minus Daniel (fol. 91-146).

119. P. SUPINO MARTINI, *Roma e l'area grafica romanesca (secoli X-XII)*, *op. cit.*, p. 32, n. 20.

between a notary of the Camera Apostolica and the chamberlain and treasurer of an unnamed *marchio*. Supino believed that the margrave in question was the papal *rector* of Romagna and that the Civitella mentioned must therefore be Civitella di Romagna<sup>120</sup>.

Supino's hypothesis is of especial interest for our purposes, given the relationship between Civitella di Romagna and Wibert, archbishop of Ravenna. Imperial chancellor beginning in 1058, Wibert was a principal agent of imperial interests in Italy from the minority of Henry IV onward, and in 1080 he was elected pope – imperial anti-pope, from the Gregorian perspective – by the synod of Brixen and assumed the name Clement III<sup>121</sup>. Civitella di Romagna was a *castello* of S. Ellero di Galeata, an important monastery with historic ties to the archbishops of Ravenna, including to Wibert<sup>122</sup>. In 1076 the abbot of S. Ellero, Mainfredus, with the consensus of his monks, confirmed Wibert's possession of Civitella, although the rights of the archbishop of Ravenna over Galeata and its lands had already been confirmed in 1063 by Henry IV and would be confirmed yet again in 1080<sup>123</sup>. Since

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120. P. SUPINO MARTINI, *Roma e l'area grafica romanesca (secoli X-XII)*, *op. cit.*, p. 32, n. 20.

121. C. DOLCINI, « Clement III, antipapa », in *Enciclopedia dei Papi*, [Rome], Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana fondata da Govanni Treccani, 2000, vol. 2, p. 212.

122. G. CENCETTI, « L'autenticità di alcuni privilegi della Chiesa ravennate e la giurisdizione sull'Abbazia di S. Ellero in Galeata », *Studi Romagnoli*, 10, 1959, p. 73-96 ; A. TORRE, « Gli arcivescovi di Ravenna e il monastero di S. Ellero di Galeata », *Studi Romagnoli*, 10, 1959, p. 97-107.

123. J. MITTARELLI and A. COSTADONI, *Annales Camaldulenses ordinis sancti Benedicti, Quibus plura interseruntur tum veteras Italico-monasticas res, tum historiam*

the Civitella Bible shares a scribe with Henry IV's Bible for Hirsau, Supino's hypothesis that the former manuscript was near Civitella di Romagna in the later Middle Ages makes it tempting to speculate that it may already have been at S. Ellero di Galeata in the eleventh century, perhaps having gone there as a gift of Henry, of Wibert, or of some other member of the imperial or archepiscopal party.

The evidence does not invite such a conclusion, however. Civitella is a common toponym, and the inscriptions mentioning it and the mysterious *marchio* were written two centuries after Wibert's era. More importantly, in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the rectors of Romagna were not called margraves, as Supino Martini thought, but rather counts<sup>124</sup>. Marchio was the usual title given

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*Ecclesiasticam remque Diplomaticam illustrantia*, Venice, Aere Monasterii Sancti Michaelis de Muriano, 1756, vol. 2, p. 377-378 and col. 255-256 ; vol. 3, 1758, col. 22-23 ; cf. P. KEHR, *Regesta Pontificum romanorum, Italia Pontifica*, Vol. 5, *Aemilia sive Provincia Ravennas*, Berlin, Weidmann, 1961, p. 56 ; A. TORRE, « Gli arcivescovi di Ravenna e il monastero di S. Ellero di Galeata », *op. cit.*, p. 107; G. CENCETTI, « L'autenticità di alcuni privilegi della Chiesa ravennate », *op. cit.*, p. 79-80.

124. P. FALASCHI, « Berardo I da Varano Signore di Camerino », in *Camerino e il suo territorio fino al tramonto della signoria*, Atti del XVIII Convegno di Studi Maceratesi, Camerino, 13-14 novembre 1982 (Studi Maceratesi, 18), Macerata, Centro di Studi Storici Maceratesi, 1983, p. 21-23. On the titles of the papal rectors in the Duecento, see G. ERMINI, « I rettori provinciali dello stato della chiesa da Innocenzo III all'Albornoz », *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano*, 4, 1931, p. 29-40. The chronicles of Leone Cobelli report that *li osimani et ricanatensi et fermani s'erano rebellati contro el marchese dela Marca anconitana* in 1322, but for Forlì the chronicle refers to a *ligato e conte de Romagna un nobile homo chiamato misser Ildrobandinus episcopo eritino...e governatore forliniense per lo papa* against whom the magnates of Forlì rebelled

instead to the *rector* of the March of Ancona, an area where there was more than one Civitella. The most promising match for the locality named in the inscription is the now-abandoned *castrum* of Civitella located near the abbey of S. Salvatore di Valdicastro in the territory of Camerino, about halfway between Fabriano and Apiro<sup>125</sup>. It was at Valdicastro, I believe, that the present Vat. lat. 4217A resided in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. San Salvatore di Valdicastro was founded in 1009-1010 by St. Romuald of Ravenna, who, according to St. Peter Damian's *Vita Beati Romualdi*, also returned there to die<sup>126</sup>. Romuald's remains

in 1292 (*Cronache forlivesi di Leone Cobelli dalla Fondazione della Città sino all'anno 1498*, ed. Giosuè Carducci & Enrico Frati, con notizie e note del conte Filippo Guarini, Bologna, Regia Topografia, 1874, p. 72, 76, 98 ; cf. D. WALEY, *The Papal State in the Thirteenth Century*, London, MacMillan & Co. / New York, St. Martin's Press, 1961, p. 316).

125. R. BERNACCHIA, *Incavallamento e distretti rurali nella marca anconitana (secoli X-XII)*, Spoleto, Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2002, p. 113, 367. The location of Valdicastro is indicated in F. FEI, « Note sulla viabilità e sugli insediamenti abbaziali nelle Marche », in *Le Abbazie delle Marche, storia e arte*, Atti del Convegno internazionale, Macerata, 3-5 aprile 1990, ed. E. Simi Varanelli, Rome, Viella, 1992, map preceding p. 241. For other places in the Marches called Civitella, see G. AMADIO, *Toponomastica marchigiana*, vol. V, *Provincia di Ancona*, Ascoli Piceno, Società Tipolitografica Editrice, 1955, p. 21 n. 102 ; G. AMADIO, *Toponomastica marchigiana*, vol. IV, *Provincia di Macerata*, Ascoli Piceno, Società Tipolitografica Editrice, 1955, p. 22 n. 134 ; p. 29, n. 148 ; p. 149 n. 1116 ; p. 183, n. 1437 ; p. 189, n. 1511.

126. A. CHERUBINI, « Territorio e abbazie nelle Marche », *op. cit.*, p. 304-305 ; G. TABACCO ed., *Petri Damiani Vita Beati Romualdi*, Roma, Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1957 (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, n. 94), p. 79, 86, 111.

were at Valdicastro through the high and later Middle Ages, making it an important center of pilgrimage, until the relics were stolen by two monks of S. Apollinare in Classe in 1480<sup>127</sup>. Located in a well-watered mountain valley, S. Salvatore di Valdicastro rapidly amassed lands, castles, and churches after its founding, turning it into an important local power and a desirable ally to those seeking a foothold in the region<sup>128</sup>. Valdicastro's association with St. Romuald correlates nicely with one element of a third inscription in the Civitella Bible, a list of books alienated in the thirteenth century by a certain *Dompnus Martinus sacristarius*<sup>129</sup>. The manuscripts included, among others, a Bible, the rule of an unspecified religious order, a lectionary, a passionary, two missals, and one hagiographic monograph : a *Vita S. Romualdi*<sup>130</sup>.

The Civitella Bible's location in the thirteenth century does not tell us where it resided in the eleventh, but the scribal

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127. A. CHERUBINI, « Territorio e abbazie nelle Marche », *op. cit.*, p. 304-305 ; G. TABACCO, « Romualdo, santo », in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, Istituto Giovanni XXIII della Pontificia Università Lateranense / Grottaferrata-Rome, Città Nuova Editrice, 1968, vol. 9, p. 374-375.

128. On Valdicastro's lands and possessions, see A. CHERUBINI, « Territorio e abbazie nelle Marche », *op. cit.*, p. 304-305, 355 n. 175 ; J. MITTARELLI and A. COSTADONI, *Annales Camaldulenses ordinis sancti Benedicti*, *op. cit.*, 1762, vol. 7, col. 40-44.

129. Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 4217A, f. 1r.

130. A. CHERUBINI, « Territorio e abbazie nelle Marche », *op. cit.*, p. 304. For the text and manuscript tradition of the *Vita*, see G. TABACCO ed., *Petri Damiani Vita Beati Romualdi*, *op. cit.* From the presence of the *Vita* in the list of alienated books, Garrison concluded that the Civitella in the inscription was a settlement near Arsoli in the diocese of Tivoli, whose protector was St. Romuald (E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 50, n. 3.)

hands that it shares with the Hirsau and Palatine Bibles make the possibility that it was at Valdicastro in the Duecento at least as suggestive as Supino's Romagnole hypothesis. In the era of Henry IV and Clement III, the episcopal see of Camerino and its territories were controlled by philo-imperial families, in particular the Attoni-Alberici, the Gislieri, and the Grimaldi, and during the papal schism of the 1080s, the bishops of Camerino recognized Clement III, rather than Gregory VII, as pope<sup>131</sup>. Clement III was also acknowledged in territory controlled by the monastery of S. Vittore delle Chiuse, not far from Valdicastro<sup>132</sup>. The lands to the south of Ravenna, both in the Apennines and to the east, were of significant interest to the emperor and to the archbishops of Ravenna. In 1063, Henry granted to Wibert's predecessor diocesan sees in the Pentapolis that were traditionally conceded to the pope, and Henry's reconfirmation of those possessions in 1080 specifically names terrains in the territory of Camerino<sup>133</sup>. Forgeries turned out by the archepiscopal chancery of Ravenna in Wibert's time asserted the archbishop's jurisdiction over various sees, to the north of

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131. E. ARCHETTI GIAMPAOLINI, *Aristocrazie e Chiese nella Marca del Centro-Nord tra IX e XI secolo*, Roma, Viella, 1987, p. 289-291 ; G. DAMERON, « Elisabetta Archetti Giampaolini, *Aristocrazia e Chiese nella Marca del centro-nord tra IX e XI secolo*, Roma : Viella, 1987 [Review] », *Speculum*, 64/4, 1989, p. 949-950.

132. E. ARCHETTI GIAMPAOLINI, *Aristocrazie e Chiese nella Marca del Centro-Nord*, *op. cit.*, p. 283, 289.

133. E. ARCHETTI GIAMPAOLINI, *Aristocrazie e Chiese nella Marca del Centro-Nord*, *op. cit.*, p. 291 ; G. CENCETTI, « L'autenticità di alcuni privilegi della Chiesa ravennate », *op. cit.*, p. 79-80 ; J. MITTARELLI and A. COSTADONI, *Annales Camaldulenses ordinis sancti Benedicti*, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, col. 22-24.

Camerino, including those of Gubbio and Cagli, apparently in an attempt to neutralize the activity of Fonte Avellana, an important outpost of Gregorian interests, and to ensure imperial control over the main axes of communication<sup>134</sup>. In 1086, Clement III reconfirmed to the archbishop of Ravenna, and thus to himself, all territories previously granted by the emperors and pontiffs<sup>135</sup>. These actions, aimed at securing tactically important lands, are of interest with respect to the Civitella Bible. If S. Salvatore di Valdicastro already owned the Bible in Henry IV's time, a plausible if not provable proposition, then it may have arrived there as a gift parallel to those of Hirsau and perhaps Füssen – that is, as a prestigious imperial or philo-imperial donation to a powerful monastery in strategically critical territory.

All of this leads to a novel question. Could the Hirsau, Palatine, and Civitella Bibles, with their shared copyist, amount to a discrete imperial subgroup within the Giant Bible family? Might they even be the fruits of an imperial Giant Bible workshop, an anti-scriptorium to the Roman Romanesque 'Tours' of the Roman reform hypothesis? The answer to the first question may be yes, although the evidence is still too preliminary for confident proposals. The second interrogative, on the other hand, brings us back to the textual units and to the difficulty of reconciling their respective

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134. E. ARCHETTI GIAMPAOLINI, *Aristocrazie e Chiese nella Marca del Centro-Nord*, *op. cit.*, p. 289-293.

135. G. CENCETTI, « L'autenticità di alcuni privilegi della Chiesa ravennate », *op. cit.*, p. 80 ; J. MITTARELLI and A. COSTADONI, *Annales Camaldulenses ordinis sancti Benedicti*, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 39-40.

scribal hands with the image of a single writing workshop staffed by a stable corps of calligraphers.

What we will find is that the Palatine and Hirsau Bibles show some intimate relations at a structural level. Yet we will also see that these kinships betray not so much a commonality of personnel, the mark of a scriptorium in the traditional sense, as similar ways of organizing labor aimed at a common goal: faster production. To date, literature on the writing units of the *Bibbie atlantiche* has emphasized the common points of division of the units from manuscript to manuscript and interpreted them either as a holdover from early medieval models and practices or as evidence for the standardization and mass production of the Giant Bible «edition»<sup>136</sup>. However, just as no two of the eleventh-century *Bibbie atlantiche* analyzed to date share more than three scribes and many other pairs share none at all, no two manuscripts of the group are subdivided in exactly the same ways from start to finish.

What quite a few do have in common, on the other hand, is a tendency toward internal symmetry, a carefully calibrated carving up of the Bible text that allowed an array of scribes or of small scribal teams to work simultaneously and independently on different textual segments of a given Bible and to complete their assignments at in approximately the same span of time. Again, although many Bibles share at least one common point of division and some have multiple ones

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136. M. MANIACI and G. OROFINI, »L'officina delle Bibbie atlantiche», *op. cit.*, p. 197-212; N. LAROCCA, «I copisti delle Bibbie atlantiche più antiche», *op. cit.*, p. 26-37, esp. p. 36; M. MANIACI, «La struttura delle Bibbie atlantiche», *op. cit.*, p. 54-58.

in common, each *Bibbia atlantica* is ultimately unique in its overall segmentation. For that reason, I believe that streamlined production process that the writing units betray was aimed not so much at turning out a unified edition of Bibles in record time as at hastening the completion of single volumes or, at most, small groups of *codices* commissioned one or two at a time by individual patrons.

**Figure 2<sup>137</sup>** shows the writing units that make up the first half of the Hirsau Bible. Each scribe has been assigned a color. Where a gathering contains multiple hands, the color indicates either the scribe who wrote the most text in the gathering or, where the work was divided equally between two scribes, the copyist who initiated the quire. Different superscript numerals following the same hand designation (e.g. Clm-e1, Clm-e2) signal subtle variations of form and abbreviation that may represent the work of two scribes writing in intimately similar veins or of one scribe in a new mood.

The Hirsau Bible is composed of eight units in all : two quaternions containing Psalms and its prefaces (Unit A) ; a single quaternion of Job and its preface (Unit B) ; a much longer third unit (Unit C) encompassing the remaining wisdom and historical books, excluding Samuel and Kings ; another long unit containing Prophets (Unit D) ; and four units making up the New Testament (units E-H). Most of the units consist entirely of consecutive quaternions, except toward the end, which the scribes either shortened or lengthened the final one or two gatherings to make the final

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137. See attached file.

words of the last text in the unit coincide with the end of the unit's last gathering. Unit C, for example, consists of ten quaternions, followed by a ternion and an irregular binion, a gradual diminution carefully orchestrated to ensure that the end of 2 Maccabees coincided with the end of the unit. Unit F, on the other hand, ends with a quinion minus one, with the last verses of the Gospel of John falling in the final column of the final page (Munich, BSB, Clm 13001, f. 227v/b).

The breakdown of the work between scribes was elegant. Units B, C, E, F, and H were each written by a different solo scribe, while Units A and D seem to have been executed by small groups or pairs of workers who occasionally passed the pen, resulting in sudden shifts of module and letter formation within a unit, a gathering, or a page. Some of the changes in Units A and D are subtle, rendering it uncertain whether what seems to be the work of more than one scribe was in reality penned by a lone, protean calligrapher.

The copyists of Hirsau Units B and C (Scribes Clm-c and Clm-d) also executed parts of the Palatine Bible. Their work is indicated in the appendix, where the Palatine Bible's units, listed in the left section of the chart, has been rearranged to facilitate comparison with those of the Hirsau and Civitella Bibles, shown to the right. As the lines highlighted in bright red indicate, scribe Clm-c wrote Hirsau Unit B, as well as two gatherings of the Palatine Bible : a quaternion minus one with the Epistles of John and Jude and Revelation (Unit M) ; and the penultimate quaternion of a long unit of the Four Major Prophets (Unit D), the rest of which was written by four other scribes (Pal3/5-e, Pal3/5-c, Pal3/5-k, and Pal3/5-d). Clm-c's moment of glory came in the Civitella Bible,

where we find that scriptor as the solo writer of a now-fragmentary unit containing Samuel and Kings (Unit D), and of most of a unit of the Prophets (Unit E).

None of the surviving parts of the Civitella Bible contain any work by Clm-c's colleague, scribe Clm-d, shown in green in the appendix, but the Palatine Bible definitely does, as mentioned above. There, instead of copying one long unit, as in the Hirsau Bible (Unit C), scribe Clm-d skipped around, penning two short units – Job (Unit I) and Maccabees (Unit K) – and parts of other units otherwise written by different scribes : the last gathering of Unit A, which ends with Leviticus ; and two quaternions of a unit containing Ezra and Nehemiah, Tobit, Judith, and Esther (Unit A).

Several units of the Hirsau and Palatine Bibles correspond to one another closely in both length and textual span, although in all cases they were written by different scribes. Job and its prologue occupy a full quaternion in Hirsau and a quaternion minus one in Palatine, while Psalms and their prefaces take up two quaternions in both manuscripts (Palatine Unit Q ; Hirsau Unit A). A unit of four gatherings (three quaternions and a quinternion minus its second folio) was used for the Gospels, from Matthew through the end of John (Palatine Unit P ; Hirsau Unit F), but the prefatory materials to Matthew fall in the preceding binion (Palatine Unit O ; Hirsau Unit E), along with Jerome's epistle to Pope Damasus, the canon tables, and a full-page illustration. There, as in Job, we might have the impression that two scribes with similar graphic habits sat side by side and copied from the

same exemplar, imitating both its texts and its fascicular form<sup>138</sup>.

Elsewhere the parallelisms between the two Bibles are less exact. In general, the Palatine Bible was more minutely subdivided for copying. This greater segmentation is illustrated nicely by a comparison with Hirsau Unit C, which encompasses the same texts as five separate Palatine units (G, H, F, J, and K), two of them largely or entirely written by the same scribe (Clm-d)<sup>139</sup>. Prophets in the Hirsau Bible make up one unit (Unit D), while in the Palatine Bible the same texts are divided between two units, one each for the Major and Minor Prophets (Units D and C). None of the scribes responsible for this section of the Bible contributed to both manuscripts.

Together with the shared scribes, the sometimes very close correspondences in the unit divisions, and even the mere use

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138. This idea may be borne out by the texts, as well. Lobrichon placed those of both Bibles in the « second edition » of his Italian Giant Bible version of the Vulgate, together with those of the Admont and S. Cecilia Bibles (G. LOBRICHON, « Riforma ecclesiastica e testo della Bibbia », *op. cit.*, p. 20-21).

139. As Larocca noted, some texts written by Scribe Clm-d=Pal3/5-b in the Palatine Bible correspond to passages that the same scribe wrote in long Unit C of the Hirsau Bible (N. LAROCCA, « I copisti delle Bibbie atlantiche più antiche: un caso di trascrizione simultanea », *op. cit.*, p. 30-31). The correspondence is incomplete, however. Palatine Unit J was completed by Pal3/5-f, and of the twelve biblical books, with their respective prefaces and capitula, that Clm-d wrote in Hirsau Unit C, six were penned in the Palatine Bible by other scribes, Pal3/5-g and Pal 3/5-f, who divided these texts between several shorter units and who did not participate in the writing of the manuscript from Hirsau.

of them, might appear to confirm that the Hirsau and Palatine Bibles, as well as the Civitella fragment, were manufactured in the same scriptorium. However, that inference would compel us to consider carefully what we mean by « scriptorium ». All told, between twenty-one and twenty-five different scribes wrote the Caroline minuscule texts of the three Bibles, and the count would probably be higher if the Hirsau and Civitella manuscripts were whole. As Garrison established, the iconographies of Palatine and Hirsau manuscripts resemble one another closely, but the actual painting of the miniatures was carried out by entirely different painters, two in the Palatine Bible and one in Hirsau<sup>140</sup>. As we learned from the Lucca Cassiodorus, the painters of the decorated letters were sometimes the scribes themselves, and so I have not included them separately in the headcount. As we shall see shortly, moreover, the Palatine Bible's two miniaturists may also have been scribes.

The reliably countable artisans who participated in more than one of the projects, in short, amounted to a small minority. Only one scribe (c. 4-5% of the attested scribal team) worked on each of the three Bibles, while that only copyist and one other (c. 8-10% of the total) collaborated on both Hirsau and Palatine. Otherwise, the scribes and miniaturists for the two projects were entirely different people. As already noted, Larocca discerned a greater number of duplicate hands in the six manuscripts that she examined

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140. E. GARRISON, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 139-145. Cf. Ayres, who sees at least two distinct miniature styles in the Hirsau Bible (L. AYRES, « 3. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13001 (Bibbia di Enrico IV) », *op. cit.*, p. 115).

– our samples have only the Hirsau and Palatine Bibles in common ; but of the total of forty-eight hands that she discerned, she found only ten, slightly more than 20% of the total, in more than one of the six Bibles and many fewer duplicate hands working repeatedly in tandem.<sup>141</sup>. Unless we are willing to imagine a truly immense scriptorium staffed by dozens of scribes during the limited period when the Bibles under scrutiny were made, then we need to find a different way to conceive of the organization of labor for these projects.

Here, I believe that Berg's professional scribes hired for specific commissions may be of help, especially when considered alongside further codicological evidence. In the first place, the occasional shortening of the final gatherings of units in the Hirsau and Palatine Bibles implies that the scribes exercised a certain liberty – an individual know-how – in laying out their respective modules. Scribe Pal3/5-f calibrated Palatine Units F and H to conclude with regular ternions, while scribe Pal3/5-g ended in two cases with a quinternion minus its second folio (Palatine Units G and P). Scribe Pal3/5-d finished twice with a binion (Palatine Units D and J) and once with a ternion (Palatine Unit N) and on one occasion (Unit O) wrote a binion that constituted its own unit. The scribes of the Civitella Bible, in contrast, seem to have been skilled at working in quaternions alone. The ending of a unit with binions, either regular or with one folio excised,

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141. N. LAROCCA, « I copisti delle Bibbie atlantiche più antiche », *op. cit.*, p. 26-37.

was a special trademark of Scribe Pal3/5-b=Clm-d, who did so both in Hirsau Unit C and in Palatine Units A and K.

These different approaches to managing the gatherings indicate distinct personal preferences at the very least and may betray diverse trainings, the habits of different workshops, or both, ideas corroborated to some extent by the scripts, which vary in subtle but distinctive ways – for example in the shape of the cedilla, of the *-q(ue)* and *-b(us)* abbreviations, and of the letter *ȝ*. More importantly, these diverse ways of making the end of a unit coincide with the conclusion of a whole text suggest that the scribes worked semi-independently : that they were assigned their respective units, along with specifications for the mise-en-page, and then left to manage the writing on their own. In some cases, they subdivided the work further by the gathering and only rarely into smaller segments, as with Baruch in the Palatine Bible, the only text written by Scribe Pal3/5-k.

A second reason to believe that the use of these units was not the hallmark of one workshop is the considerable number of other *Bibbie atlantiche* composed in the same way but written by different scribes. **Figure 3** illustrates the writing units in five examples. Each text has been given a separate line and each unit a different color. (Nota bene that the colors do not indicate scribal hands.) Maniaci has emphasized the shared points of division, for instance the tendency to begin a new unit with Matthew or to end with Malachi, and suggested that it may be an effect of early medieval practices or models, since in the early Middle Ages some major divisions of the biblical text – the Pentateuch, Prophets, Psalms, and

Gospels – tended to be written and bound in separate volumes<sup>142</sup>.

At first glance, this hypothesis seems apt for the Palatine Bible, with its succinct units, which generally correspond to either coherent textual ensembles (e.g. Prophets) or single books, such as Psalms, with their respective prefatory texts.

The early medieval hypothesis does not explain some of the most interesting points of division, however, particularly if, in identifying the starting and end points of the units we consider only texts written in Caroline minuscule and ignore the rubricated *tituli*, which in most cases seem to have been added after the Caroline minuscule writing was finished. Consider, in particular, the Ambrosiana, Todi, and Toledo Bibles (fig. 3), each of which has a unit concluding with Leviticus and another, bizarrely, with the *capitula* of 1 Samuel. In all three, the text of 1 Samuel falls in a separate and subsequent unit, effectively separating the prefatory text from the biblical book to which it pertains.

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142. M. MANIACI, « La struttura delle Bibbie atlantiche », *op. cit.*, p. 54-58 ; M. MANIACI and G. OROFINO, « L'officina delle Bibbie atlantiche », *op. cit.*, p. 202.

**Figure 3**Unit divisions in the Octateuch and *Libri regum* in 5 early Giant Bibles<sup>143</sup>.

Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 3-5	Milan, Ambrosiana, B. 47 inf.	Admont, Stiftsbibl., Cod. C	Vatican City, BAV, Vat. Lat. 10405	Toledo, Arch. Cap. 3
JerDam (Frater)	JerDam (Frater)	JerDam (Frater)	JerDam (Frater)	JerDam (Frater)
GnPref (Desiderii)	GnPref (Desiderii)	GnPref (Desiderii)	GnPref (Desiderii)	GnPref (Desiderii)
GnCap	GnCap	GnCap	GnCap	GnCap
Gn	Gn	Gn	Gn	Gn
ExCap	ExCap	ExCap	ExCap	ExCap
Ex	Ex	Ex	Ex	Ex
LvCap	LvCap	LvCap	LvCap	LvCap
Lv	Lv	Lv	Lv	Lv
NmCap	NmCap	NmCap	NmCap	NmCap
Nm	Nm	Nm	Nm	Nm
DtCap				
Dt	Dt	Dt	Dt	Dt
Tandem	Tandem	Tandem	Tandem	Tandem
IosCap	IosCap	IosCap	IosCap	IosCap
IosPref (Tandem)	IosPref (Tandem)	IosPref (Tandem)	IosPref (Tandem)	IosPref (Tandem)
IdcCap	IdcCap	IdcCap	IdcCap	IdcCap
Idc	Idc	Idc	Idc	Idc
Rt	Rt	Rt	Rt	Rt
ProlGal (Viginti)	ProlGal (Viginti)	ProlGal (Viginti)	ProlGal (Viginti)	ProlGal (Viginti)
1SmCap	1SmCap	1SmCap	1SmCap	1SmCap
2SmCap	1Sm	1Sm	1Sm	1Sm
1Sm	2SmCap	2SmCap	2SmCap	2SmCap
2Sm	2Sm	2Sm	2Sm	2Sm
3Rg	3Rg	3Rg	3Rg	3Rg
4Rg	4Rg	4Rg	4Rg	4Rg

143. Note that the colors in this chart were added to make the unit divisions more visible and do not indicate scribe hands.

Another apparently illogical unit break occurs in the Palatine Bible, between the chapter summaries to 1 John and the text of the relevant epistle (Palatine Units L and M), while yet another surfaces in Hirsau between the *argumentum* and *capitula* to Romans (Hirsau Units G and H). Note also the mini-unit of Leviticus in the Todi Bible and those of 2 Kings in the Admont and Toledo manuscripts.

What could be the reason for these strange units divisions, which interrupt logical textual ensembles and in most cases separate prefatory materials from the biblical books to which they pertain? There appear to be three possible responses, none of them mutually exclusive. First, a specific dividing point, for example, after the capitula to 1 Samuel, could have been the idiosyncrasy of one workshop or – better – of one *magister operis*, an earlier counterpart of Vivianus, who worked by the project, assembling temporary workforces of scribes and dividing the texts as needed to facilitate their copying. The Todi, Toledo, Admont, and Ambrosiana Bibles have scripts of familiar kinds and may have come from the same general environment, although I have yet to find any such clear evidence in them of shared personnel as in the Palatine, Hirsau and Civitella Bibles.

A second possible reason for the peculiar division after the *capitula* to 1 Samuel concerns the exemplars that the scribes worked from, at least some of which, I suspect, were working copies organized in pamphlets of lengths corresponding to the smallest units. This scenario is especially probable for those Bibles that have units ending with the *capitula* to 1 Samuel. Who made the pamphlets, if they existed, is a question for another study, but the proposal is borne out to

some extent by the correlation between unit divisions and prefatory texts, which vary from Bible to Bible. **Figure 4** summarizes the unit divisions and chapter summaries of fourteen Bibles from Garrison's Umbro-Roman group.

**Figure 4**  
Chapter summaries for the Octateuch and Libri regum in fourteen Italian Giant Bibles in relation to points of unit division<sup>144</sup>.

Manuscript			Chapter Summaries for the Octateuch, Samuel, and Kings												Points of unit division (final texts in units)	
City	Library	Shelfmark	Gn	Ex	Lv	Nm	Dt	Ios	Ide	Rt	1Sm	2Sm	3Rg	4Rg		
Perugia	Arch. Di S. Pietro	Cod. 1	[ ]	Aa/Δ	Δ	Fā	Δ	Δ	Aa	...	B	Ba1+Bb2			Lv-Rt-4Rg	
Perugia	Com. Augusta	Ms. L. 59	Ab	Aa/Δ	Aa	Aa	...	Aa	Aa	...	B1	B2	Ba1	Bb2	Rt-4Rg (=AmEx)	
Milan	Ambros.	B. 47 inf.	Ab	Ao	Ao	Ao	...	Ao	Ao	...	B1	B2	...	...	Lv-1RgCap-4Rg	
Admont	Stiftsbibl.	Cod. C	Ab	Ao	Ao	Ao	...	Ao	Ao	...	B1	B2	...	...	Lv-1RgCap-3Rg-4Rg	
Toledo	Arch. Capitular	Ms. 3 (1-2)	Ab	Ao	Ao	Ao	...	Ao	Ao	...	B1	B2	...	...	Ex-IosCap-1RgCap-3Rg-4Rg	
Vatican	Vaticana	Vat. lat. 10405	Ab	Ao	Ao	Ao	...	Ao	Ao	...	B1	B2	...	...	LvCap-Lv-Dt-1RgCap-4Rg	
Rome	Angelica	Ms. 1273	Ab	Aa	A	Ao	...	Ao	Ao	...	B1	B2	...	...	Lv-4Rg	
Parma	Palatina	Pal. 386	Ab	Aa	A	Ao	...	Ao	Ao	...	B1	B2	...	...	4Rg	
Cividale	Mus. Arch. Naz.	Cod. 1	Ab	Aa	A	Ao	...	Ao	Ao	...	B	...	...	...	Lv-Rt-4Rg	
Vatican	Vaticana	Pal. lat. 3	Ab	Ao	Aa	Ao	Ao	Ao	Ao	...	B	...	...	...	Lv-Rt-4Rg	
Vatican	Vaticana	Vat. lat. 4217A	Ab	[ ]	[ ]	M	...	Aa	Aa	...	B	...	...	...	Nm-Rt-4Rg	
SDanièle Friulano	Guarneriana	Ms. 1	Ab	Aa	A	M	...	Aa	Aa	...	B1	B2	...	...	Lv-Rt-4Rg	
Vatican	Vaticana	Vat. Lat. 12958	Ab	Aa	A	M	...	Aa	Aa	...	B1	B2	...	G	Dt-4Rg	
Vatican	Vaticana	Barb. Lat. 587	(Ge)	Aa	A	M	...	Aa	Aa	...	B1	B2	...	...	1RgCap-4Rg	

The Greek and Latin letters in the chart are those used in the critical edition of the Vulgate Bible published by the Vatican beginning in 1926 to designate the various series of

144. Each variety of summary is highlighted in a different color.

Vetus Latina and Vulgate-based chapter summaries found in medieval and early printed Bibles. I have assigned each series a different color in the chart for greater legibility ; as in figure 3, the colors do not indicate scribal hands<sup>145</sup>.

As the righthand column of figure 4 shows, some points of division of the units are constant, the end of 2 Kings, for example ; but the smaller divisions are less predictable, as are the kinds of *capitula* that the units include. At the same time, note that Bibles with a division after the *capitula* to 1 Samuel (fig. 4 : Ambrosiana, Admont, Toledo, and Todi [Vat. lat. 10405]) have identical arrays of *capitula* in the Octateuch and *Libri regum*. The presence of the strange unit division, in summary, seems to be correlated to the kinds of *capitula* that a manuscript contains. The Palatine Bible provides the exception that confirms the rule (fig. 4 : Vatican, Pal. lat. 3-5). It has one more set of chapter summaries in the Octateuch and a different placement for the *capitula* of 1-2 Samuel, which are united in one long series near the beginning of a long unit containing Samuel and Kings. Further collations are needed before anything can be said with conviction about the reasons for these divergences, but it seems likely that the scribes of the Palatine Bible used a different set of exemplars with respect to the other scribes : either early medieval Bible manuscripts of the subdivided sort – which, however, would not account for the divisions after Leviticus ; or exemplar pamphlets that already had the prefaces, *capitula*, and chapter

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145. For the *sigla* and the *capitula* that they designate, see the various volumes of the Vulgate beginning with *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam Vulgatam versionem ad codicium fidem*, *op. cit.*, p. 73-133.

summaries built into them. The copyists of Ambrosiana, Admont, Toledo and Todi almost certainly worked from such exemplar pamphlets, with a caesura built in at the end of the *capitula* to 1 Samuel<sup>146</sup>.

Some texts may have circulated alone or in thematic collections. This was perhaps the case with 2 Kings, as the mini-unit in the Admont and Toledo Bibles suggests (fig. 3). It may also have been true of the *capitula* to Exodus in Perugia L. 59 and in another Giant Bible from Perugia (Perugia, Archivio di S. Pietro, Cod. 1) (fig. 4), which were drawn from a model whose traces turn up in only a few other *Bibbie atlantiche*, most notably the spectacularly illustrated Edili Bible (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Edili 125-126). The scribes of the Edili Bible and of Perugia Ms. L. 59 also copied prefaces to the Prophets from a manuscript very similar to the Theodulf Bible of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 11937) or perhaps from a working copy drawn from it<sup>147</sup>.

If the hypothesized exemplar pamphlets existed, then they probably circulated in variable combinations and must have been of multiple kinds that made the writing of the Bibles faster. This is my third and main response to the puzzle of the peculiar unit divisions, and it corresponds to an idea

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146. A few peculiarities in the Hirsau and Palatine Bibles, for example the writing of Ezra and Nehemiah as one long text (1-2 Esdras) with no demarcation between them, suggests that such exemplar-pamphlets also have existed for books beyond the Octateuch.

147. L. YAWN, « 14. Perugia, Biblioteca comunale Augusta, L. 59 [pt. 2] », p. 170-172 ; L. YAWN-BONGHI, *The Illustrated Giant Bible of Perugia*, *op. cit.*, p. 117-132.

affirmed on different terms by Maniaci – that is, that the units were designed to facilitate rapid production<sup>148</sup>. What figures 3 and 4 add to the argument is the apparently illogical splitting up the capitula and their respective texts into separate units, which almost certainly answered a need for greater velocity.

The Ambrosiana Bible illustrates the ideal (**figure 5**). Note that it has a unit ending with the *capitula* to 1 Samuel. As the chart indicates, the number of gatherings and folios per unit in the segments of the manuscript containing the Octateuch and *Libri regum* are of exactly the same length. Each unit consists of five gatherings of thirty-seven folios each, and each was written by a different scribe or group using similar ruling and a fairly constant module. If the scribes or small teams responsible for these three units worked more or less at the same rate, each copying from a different exemplar, then they would have finished their work more or less simultaneously. In this case, at least, any unit divisions already present in the exemplars would seem to have been selected with just such simultaneous copying in mind.

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148. M. MANIACI, « La struttura delle Bibbie atlantiche », *op. cit.*, p. 57. Cf. N. LAROCCA, « I copisti delle Bibbie atlantiche più antiche », *op. cit.*, p. 26-37, whose ideas about simultaneous copying and its purposes differ.

**Figure 5**

Unit divisions, gathering lengths, and scribal hands in the opening units of the Ambrosiana Bible.

Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, B. 47 inf.			
Unit	Total gatherings	Total folios	Scribes
A	5	37	Amb47-a
B	5	37	Amb47-b
C	5	37	Amb47-c Amb47-d Amb47-e Amb47-f Amb47-g

In further comparisons (fig. 6), it may look initially as if the crystalline partitioning of labor apparent in the Ambrosiana Bible was exceptional, even if the balancing of unit size and quantities of text was not. **Figure 6** indicates the gatherings and folios per unit in the Octateuch, Samuel, and Kings in the Ambrosiana, Palatine, and Todi Bibles.

**Figure 6**

Unit divisions, gathering lengths, and scribal hands in the Octateuch and *Libri regum* in the Ambrosiana, Palatine, and Todi Bibles<sup>149</sup>.

Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, B. 47 inf.				Vatican City, BAV, Pal lat. 3				Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10405			
Unit	Gatherings	Folios	Scribes	Unit	Gatherings	Folios	Scribes	Unit	Gatherings	Folios	Scribes
A	5	37	Amb47-a	A	6	43	VPal3/5-a VPal3/5-b	A	4	32	VL10405-a
B	5	37	Amb47-b	B	6	48	VPal3/5-c VPal3/5-c' VPal3/5-d	B	1	8	VL10405-b
C	5	37	Amb47-c Amb47-d Amb47-e Amb47-f Amb47-g	E	6	47	VPal3/5-c VPal3/5-e	C	3	21	VL10405-c VL10405-d
								D	2	16	VL10405-e VL10405-f VL10405-e VL10405-b
								E	5	36	VL10405-e

The units differ in length from manuscript to manuscript but are nicely balanced within each Bible, provided that in the Todi Bible (Vat. lat. 10405) we amalgamate very short units, especially those of only one gathering, to the longer units that they adjoin (e.g. Units A and B). In the Ambrosiana Bible, the scribes divided the work into writing units of exactly thirty-seven folios (five gatherings) each. The creators of the

149. Scribal hands appearing in more than one unit of a given manuscript are indicated in red.

Palatine Bible instead worked in units of between forty-three and forty-eight folios (six gatherings) per scribe or team. Not all of the content there is text ; the first unit in the Palatine Bible includes three miniatures, including a full-page illustration to Genesis. In the Todi Bible, where there are similar illustrations, the work was partitioned even more minutely. The manuscript opens with four units forming two pairs (A-B, C-D) of thirty-seven and forty folios, respectively, followed by a fifth unit (E) of roughly same length : five gatherings, of thirty-six folios total. It probably is not a random coincidence that that this last unit is only one folio shorter than the corresponding unit in the Ambrosiana Bible : both manuscripts have a unit – the previous unit – ending with the *capitula* to 1 Samuel. The Palatine Bible does not, and its units are longer ; and yet there, as in the other two manuscripts, the approximately equal number of folios per segment indicates that the divisions served to apportion the labor evenly among the scribes, who were copying from exemplars carefully predivided for that purpose.

If we consider the scribal hands, the possibility of perfectly synchronous work by multiple copyists, and with it the optimal time efficiency, appears to be somewhat less in the Todi and Palatine Bibles than in Ambrosiana, given that those two manuscripts some scribes, indicated in red letters in figure 6, participated in the writing of more than one unit. Even with these repetitions of hand, however, with multiple scribes copying from physically separate exemplar pamphlets a Bible would have taken significantly less time to produce than books written in a more traditional manner, such as the great *Moralia in Job* penned at Monte Amiata by the monks

Bonizo and Petrus, where Bonizo wrote two hundred forty-four sequential folios and Petrus the remaining three hundred and six<sup>150</sup>.

Pulling back the lens for a broader view of the Palatine Bible (appendix), we find the outlines of a grand arrangement that apparently did permit nearly synchronous copying of different parts of the manuscript, a net partitioning of labor that may have diminished the writing time for the bulk of the Bible by a factor of seven. A first sign of this method resides in the identical lengths of units in some parts of the Bible not represented in figure 6. Units F and N consist of twenty-two folios each and were inscribed by copyists Pal3/5-d and Pal3/5-f with the prefaces, capitula, and texts of Chronicles and Pauline Epistles. Similarly, Units H and Q were copied by scribes Pal3/5-f and Pal3/5-i, who wrote Sirach and Psalms with their prefatory materials, each in a unit of fourteen folios.

If we go further still and sort the units by scribe (figure 7<sup>151</sup>), an even more remarkable equilibrium emerges. The lion's share of the Vulgate text – all of it but Major Prophets, Acts, Catholic Epistles, and Revelation – was written by eight copyists (Scribes Pal3/5-a, b, c, d, e, f, g, and i), most of whom executed more or less same number of folios, organized in units of varying lengths. Apart from Pal3/5-i, who was responsible for only fourteen folios, and Scribes Pal3/5-j and Pal3/5-h, who wrote isolated gatherings,

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150. Barb. Lat. 573, *passim*; M. GORMAN, « Manuscript Books at Monte Amiata », *op. cit.*, p. 254-255.

151. See attached file.

each calligrapher dominated an array of predivided segments of between thirty-six and fifty folios in the principal writing campaign hypothesized in figure 7. In the segments dominated by Scribes Pal3/5-b, Pal3/5-c, and Pal3/5-e, the total folio count is exactly forty-seven or forty-eight, a coincidence too remarkable to attribute to chance.

Although the situation is slightly more complicated than in the first part of the Ambrosiana Bible (fig. 5), the scribes of these clusters of units wrote their assigned segments entirely or almost entirely by themselves. Scribes Pal3/5-d, Pal3/5-f, and Pal3/5-g worked solo (Units C-O-N, H-F, and G-P), as did Pal3/5-c for the most part, except for a brief passing of the pen to a copyist of lesser skill (Scribe Pal3/5-c1), who wrote the last two lines of Pal. lat. 3, fol. 52r/a. In other places, where a scribe contributed to units otherwise written by a colleague, the contribution was always small and limited either to the first folio of a unit (Unit E) or to a binion at the end (Units A and D). The only exception surfaces in the penultimate gathering of Unit B, where Scribe Pal3/5-d wrote the outer bifolium (fol. 72 and 79) of a quaternion which was otherwise executed by Scribe Pal3/5-c (fol. 73-78). This curious contribution suggests that Scribe Pal3/5-d played a special role in the project, one that involved assembling the units once the various other scribes had finished their work. Probably originally penned by Pal3/5-c, bifolium 72/79 was apparently lost or damaged before the manuscript was initially bound and required a replacement, which Pal3/5-d provided.

Note that Pal3/5-d also finished Units J and D, whose other gatherings were written by different people. Those gatherings are among the richest in miniatures in the Palatine

Bible, a possible signal that Scribe Pal3/5-d was not only a coordinator of the project but the principal painter, as well. Mentioned above, one of the manuscript's two miniaturists, the Knee-swirl painter, executed only four figures or figure groups, all of them in columns or on versos left blank at the end of a unit (Units A, I, G, and M). These paintings are indicated in the third column of the appendix. The contributions of this artist to the manuscript seem to have been something of an afterthought involving little or no prior coordination with the scribes.

For the other painter, the one whom I believe is identical with Scribe Pal3/5-d, the opposite is true. Recognizable from the less emphatic definition of facial features and from the habitual modeling of red drapery with grey-blue pigment, the paintings by this second artist occupy spaces deliberately left blank at the beginnings of texts. Among them are the Bible's two full-page miniatures, as well as several multi-figure compositions placed in the central openings of gatherings (e.g. Pal. lat. 3, fol. 5r ; Pal. lat. 4, 120v, 141v). This artist, the Red-on-blue painter, worked at an early stage in the crafting of the manuscript. In places, the rubricated *tituli* and Geometrical initials either overlap the miniatures or were painted so as to avoid encroaching upon them (e.g. Pal. lat. 3 fol. 95r ; Pal. lat. 4, fol. 70r), and so the miniatures in those cases must have come first<sup>152</sup>.

Equally remarkable is the fact that in the units richest both in the Blue-on-red painter's miniatures and in other

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152. In some other places (e.g. at Pal. lat. 3, fol. 144r), the rubricated *tituli* preceded the miniature.

kinds of painted ornament, especially Geometrical initials and canon tables, we find Scribe Pal3/5-d at work either as the copyist of the final binion (Units J and D) or as the solo scribe (Units C, O). A plausible sequence of events for Units J and D is that Scribe Pal3/5-d took over the units when they were nearing completion ; wrote the remainder of the text in a binion; and then painted illustrations in spaces left blank for that purpose by the other scribes, perhaps according instructions provided by Pal3/5-d at the outset.

Another scribe, Pal3/5-b, may also have doubled as a miniaturist. As the appendix indicates, that copyist took over Unit A from Pal3/5-a and completed it with an irregular binion, which ends with a miniature by the Knee-swirl painter. So does Unit I, for which Pal 3/5-b was the solo scribe, as well as Unit M, which was written by the only other Palatine Bible calligrapher who also worked on the Hirsau Bible, Pal3/5-j. On the other hand, we might be discouraged from identifying Pal3/5-b with the Knee-swirl painter by the absence of any miniatures by that artist in the Hirsau Bible, despite Pal3/5-b's important calligraphic contributions there as Scribe Clm-d. The Hirsau Bible is fragmentary after all – perhaps it once had some Knee-swirl paintings ; but from the surviving miniatures it seems more likely that the commissioning patron or *magister operis* opted for uniformity in the decorative program by assigning the work to one master whose style surpasses that of the Blue-on-red and

Knee-swirl painters in refinement, if not always in originality<sup>153</sup>.

One other scribe of the Palatine Bible also stands out for unusual responsibilities : Scribe Pal3/5-c, who wrote more text than another of the other copyists (fig. 7). In addition to executing much of Unit B, Scribe Pal3/5-c also penned the bulk of the single longest unit in the Bible, Unit D, in collaboraiton with scribes e, k, j, and d. Unit D is the only major segment of the manuscript in which the principles of synchronous work are not evident. Its several scribes took over from one another within the unit and even once within a gathering, a procedure that we might liken to a relay race, as opposed to the concurrent sprinting of multiple scriptores in the hypothesized main campaign.

Scribe Pal3/5-e began Unit D. Pal3/5-c then wrote four sequential gatherings and part of a fifth, which was then given temporarily to Pal3/5-k, who inscribed it with Baruch. After that, Pal3/5-c took up work again, writing another quaternion and then passing the unit to Scribe Pal3/5-j, who also wrote a quaternion before turning the works over to Pal 3/5-d for completion. Unless scribes e, c, k, j, and d wrote Unit D simultaneously in *pīcia* of single gatherings, an arrangement for which I have found no evidence at all in the Palatine Bible or in any Italian Giant Bible for that matter, then the writing of Unit D was internally sequential and probably took more calendar days than the simultaneous copying of the entire

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153. The Knee-swirl painter was responsible for one of the most amusing passages in the *Bibbie altantiche*, a priapic Ezekiel in the Parma Bible (Parma, Bibl. Palatina, Palat. 386, fol. 141r), reproduced in L. YAWN, « The Italian Giant Bibles », *op. cit.*, p. 132.

three-hundred-twenty-six folios of the principal campaign, where each scribe copied a maximum of fifty folios. Indeed, if the scribes of Unit D worked at approximately the same speed as the scribes of the main campaign, then Unit D, which bears only the Major Prophets, took one and two-fifths times as long to write as nearly all of the rest of the Bible combined.

While we may never know the reason for this aberration in the arrangements for synchronous copying in the Palatine Bible, it is tempting to conclude that Unit D was the first part of the manuscript to have been written and that a desire for greater speed as the work progressed prompted the foreman to divvy up the rest of the work more or less equally between multiple scribes, who were called in along the way. An alternative explanation, albeit one that would not have changed the minimum time required to write the full Bible, is that Unit D and the collective opus of Scribe Pal3/5-g (Units G, P, and L) formed a second distinct campaign in which two teams worked simultaneously to write sixty-eight and sixty-six folios each.

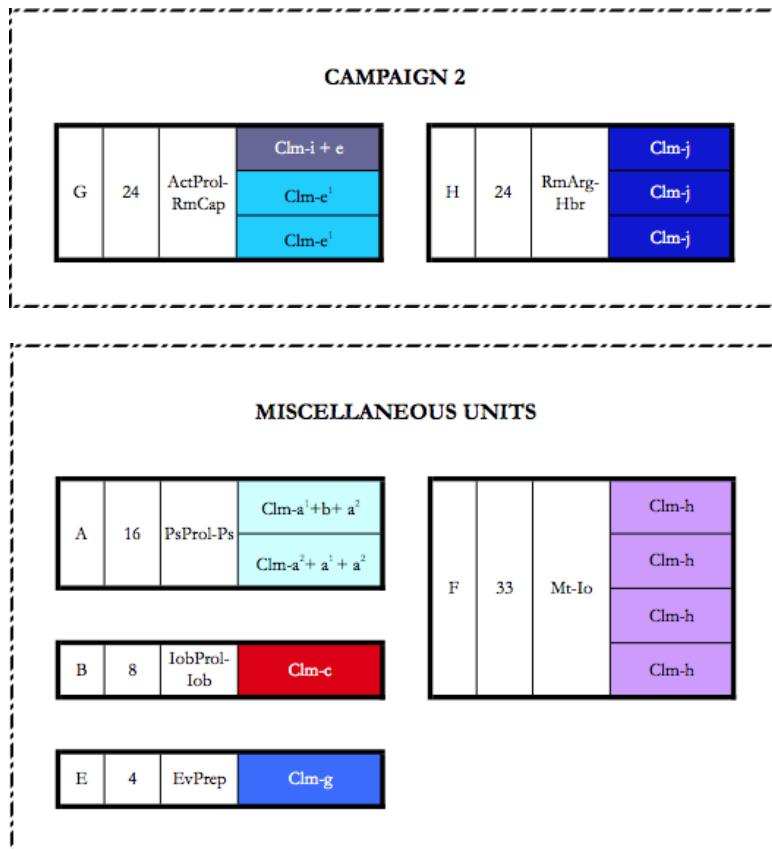
The loss of the Octateuch and *Libri regum* in the Hirsau Bible (**figure 8**) precludes any such minute hypotheses about the production process there, but one thing is clear: the scribes of that manuscript were in less of a hurry.

**Figure 8**

Writing units in the Hirsau Bible (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., Clm 13001) grouped by scribe and probable writing campaign<sup>154</sup>.

CAMPAIGN 1 (hypothesis)				
Unit	Folios per unit	Textual range	Scribes by gathering	
C	89	PrvProl- 2McC	Clm-d (=Pal3/5-b)	
			Clm-d (=Pal3/5-b)	
D	77	IsProl- Mal	Clm-e <sup>1</sup>	
			Clm-e <sup>1</sup>	
			Clm-e <sup>1</sup>	
			Clm-e <sup>1</sup> +e <sup>2</sup>	
			Clm-e <sup>1</sup>	
			Clm-e <sup>1</sup> + e <sup>2</sup> +f	
			Clm-f	
			Clm-f	
			Clm-f	

154. The principal scribal hands are highlighted in different colors, as in the appendix.



They did know how to subdivide for speed, as the New Testament shows, but two of the surviving units (C and D) are significantly longer than any in the Palatine Bible and would have taken longer to complete. If the various copyists of the two Bibles wrote at approximately equal rates, then Hirsau Unit C, with the wisdom and historical books from

Proverbs to Maccabees, must have taken almost twice as many successive calendar days to complete as the same books in the Palatine Bible, together with the entire Octateuch, Prophets, Gospels, Job, Psalms, and the Pauline Epistles (fig. 7). The difference lay in the more minute parceling out of the work in the Palatine Bible, which permitted multiple scribes to copy different segments of the Bible text at the same time.

The tensions between like and unlike in the production processes of the Palatine and Hirsau Bibles are difficult to interpret. Given how similar the manuscripts are in certain respects, it is conceivable that they came from the same workshop. The small number of shared personnel, however, and the slightly different working methods, especially in the Old Testament, more strongly suggest that they were made by different ad hoc teams using some of the same models but probably under the direction of two different master scribes. I find it significant that Scribe Pal3/5-d – one of the coordinators of the Palatine Bible project (perhaps *the* coordinator) and probably its principal miniaturist, did not execute any of the surviving parts of the Hirsau Bible. Scribe Pal3/5-b=Clm-d did, on the other hand, and indeed penned the longest extant parts of Hirsau by any individual scribe. While the fragmentary evidence allows for no certainties, it may be that Pal3/5-b=Clm-d served as foremen for the Hirsau Bible project, bringing to it some of the textual exemplars used for Palatine, together with a knowledge of the principles of simultaneous copying perhaps acquired through participation in the Palatine Bible endeavor.

The converse – that the technology travelled in the other direction – is equally possible and perhaps ultimately more satisfying. Pal3/5-b=Clm-d may have acted as a vector of transmission of the principles of synchronous work and, in collaboration with Pal3/5-d, as an agent of their improvement. Subdividing the texts into smaller simultaneous writing units allowed for the faster execution of a Bible from start to finish, and the Palatine Bible, with its greater segmentation, may represent a perfecting of the method. If this inference is true, then Scribe Clm-j=Pal3/5-j likely played a similar disseminatory role in conveying the method to yet another project, that of the Civitella Bible, whose opening units were even shorter than those of Palatine and thus faster to write. Each project was unique in exactly how the work was organized and who was on hand to do it, but the idea of synchronous copying and its objective of speedier production of the single Bible were constant.

Advocates of the Roman-reform hypothesis may prefer to interpret these time-saving devices as a part of the ecclesiastical hierarchy's program to diffuse an important instrument and emblem of the Roman reform movement as rapidly as possible, and the interpretation may be true of some Bibles but not, probably, for Palatine, Hirsau, and Civitella. If the imperial and philo-imperial gift-giving patterns that I have conjectured for the Palatine and Civitella Bibles are correct, then a rapid output would have been at least as advantageous to Henry IV's propaganda machine as to Gregory VII's, especially during the crises of the 1070s, when those manuscripts were likely produced.

Faster methods may also have appealed to the scribes and especially to the organizing master scribes and painters, eleventh-century counterparts of Vivianus, who by subdividing the texts for simultaneous copying could, in the best-organized cases, reduce the production time for a given codex several times over and perhaps, thereby, increase their incomes. Instead of taking four years to make a *bibliotheca*, as the monk Goderannus and his associates did when they wrote and decorated the Bible of Stavelot in the 1090s, a well-managed crew of paid, semi-independent collaborators working simultaneously on separate textual units may have been able to turn out a Giant Bible in a matter of months<sup>155</sup>. The colophon that Goderannus inscribed in the Lobbes Bible in 1084, the year of Clement III's papal consecration and enthronement, of Henry IV's imperial coronation, and of Gregory VII's flight into exile, also remind us that in northern Europe, as in Italy, the creation of oversize decorated Bibles was not necessarily a activity exclusive to the Roman reform party and its advocates. For Goderannus, Gregory VII was not the supreme pontiff of the universal church but rather «the rebel Hildebrand»<sup>156</sup>.

If the unit divisions and hastily painted initials of the Hirsau, Palatine, and Civitella Bibles are an accurate index, then time was of the essence both to the creators of the manuscripts and to those who hired them. Where the scribes and painters did their work remains uncertain, but given the

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155. On Goderannus, see W. CAHN, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, *op. cit.*, p. 126-136, 217, 245-255.

156. W. CAHN, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

differing hands and the small proportion of repetitive collaborations, it seems that the assemblies were fluid, the labor at least partly itinerant, and the loci of creation probably movable according to the commission. The scribes and miniaturists may have gone where there was work, more in the manner of masons than of monks, and in the process helped to spread the methods of rapid production, with its requisite models, geographically. In some cases, calligraphers may have accepted piecemeal commissions at a distance or carried out their assignments in their own workshops, having been charged with them by literate managers or master scribes of the sort represented by Bonizo of Monte Amiata, Berg's I., and the much later Vivianus and Gerardus of S. Vito. It was free-lance *scriptores* of this kind, I believe, who cultivated three of the chief hallmarks of the Italian Giant Bibles – the characteristic *minuscola carolina non tipizzata*, the Geometrical initial, and practice of simultaneous copying – and who made a currency of those practices across central Italy and beyond while working in variable formations for paying customers on all sides of the reform.