

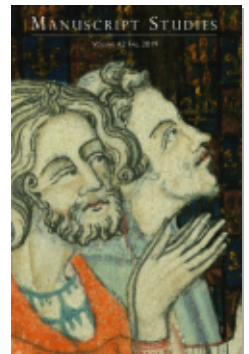


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Breaking and Remaking Scripture: The Life, Death, and Afterlife of the Hornby-Cockerell Bible

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THE DELIBERATE FRAGMENTATION OF Bible manuscripts is nothing new. Canon 68 of the Council of Trullo decried the popular practice of cutting up Bibles for use as ritualized amulets as early as 692 CE, prohibiting such “corruption” or destruction unless the biblioclast was sure the text had been “rendered useless either by bookworms, or by water, or in some other way.”¹ Those who persisted unlawfully in the practice by breaking serviceable manuscripts were to be excommunicated for one year, regardless of the fact that their actions were based on a profound faith in the efficacy of Scripture as a physical emblem, and not just as a divine or ideological text.² Unfortunately for the survival rate of medieval Bibles in modern times, this early recognition of the power of the material biblical text is alive and well today. Modern collectors, whether motivated by aesthetic, commercial, social, or spiritual appreciation, have participated in the

1 Canons of the Council in Trullo, no. 68. In *Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, series 2, vol. 14 (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons; Oxford & London: Parker & Company, 1900), 396.

2 For a full discussion of early-medieval belief in the iconicity of the Bible, see Dorina Miller Parmenter, “The Iconic Book: The Image of the Bible in Early Christian Rituals,” in *Iconic Books and Texts*, ed. James W. Watts (Sheffield, UK: Equinox, 2013), 63–92.

ongoing fragmentation of Bible codices, and dealers around the world from New York to Tokyo have eagerly trafficked in broken manuscripts to feed this demand.³ One fragmented codex, the so-called Huth-Hornby-Cockerell-Haddaway Bible (hereafter Hornby-Cockerell), a deluxe early thirteenth-century manuscript that survived intact for over 750 years until its deliberate breaking in 1981, testifies powerfully to the modern commercial and fiscal motivations behind biblioclasm.⁴ Simultaneously, it also illustrates the important—and tragic—scholarly ramifications of book-breaking and the impact such acts of cultural vandalism have on our ability to reconstruct the complex textual, artistic, and material contexts of once intact manuscripts now distributed across countless collections as smaller fragments.⁵

3 Some of the better-known examples include Otto Ege, Erik van Scherling, the eminent firms Maggs and Quaritch, Folio Fine Art, H. P. Kraus, Bernard Breslauer, Philip Duschne, the Society of Foliophiles, Francis Edwards, Alan Thomas, Kenneth W. Rendell, Philip J. Pirages, and Bruce Ferrini (of whom, more later). This is by no means a complete list, and I do not mean to imply here that each of the mentioned agents dealt (or, indeed, deals) exclusively in broken manuscripts. For a broad discussion of fragment selling in the mid-twentieth century, see Christopher de Hamel, “Selling Manuscript Fragments in the 1960s,” in Linda L. Brownrigg and Margaret M. Smith, eds., *Interpreting and Collecting Fragments of Medieval Books* (Los Altos Hills, CA: Anderson Lovelace, 2000), 47–55. In recent years, online outlets such as the auction site eBay have helped extend the trade in fragments to a much wider clientele.

4 The lion’s share of the surviving traceable leaves—197 of the original 440—reside in Columbus, Ohio, at The Ohio State University Libraries, Rare Books & Manuscripts Library, Spec.Rare.MS.MR.Frag.74. For a codicological description of the manuscript and a full list of its identified leaves, their locations, textual and artistic contents, and individual provenance histories, as well as information about untraced leaves known through dealer and auction descriptions or other sources, see Appendixes I and II below.

5 Various online efforts exploring collaborative ways for scholars to reconstruct broken manuscripts have emerged in recent years, including the University of South Carolina’s now shuttered Manuscriptlink project; University College, London’s Medieval Manuscript Fragment Project, available at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/library/digital-collections/collections/msfrag> (accessed 27 September 2019), which aims to make UCL’s collection of fragments more widely available to international scholars; the consortial effort Books Within Books: Hebrew Fragments in European Libraries, available at <http://hebrewmanuscript.com> (accessed 18 December 2018), an intriguing project that highlights the recovery of medieval Hebrew fragments, largely from historic book bindings; the Broken Books project, currently consisting of a single fragment reconstruction effort modeled through an Omeka exhibit focusing on the famous Llangattock Breviary and demonstrating the central utility to online fragment

In the pages that follow I will trace the history of the remarkable Hornby-Cockerell Bible from its early thirteenth-century origins through its current dispersal as individual leaves in collections around the world. In addition to reviewing its known history as an intact codex, I will reveal the specific motivations behind its acquisition and breaking by the codex's final owners, as well as explore the path many of its disjunct leaves have taken in the secondary market. I also will examine the manuscript's textual and illuminated contents and significance, and the material evidence hinting at how one of its medieval owners might have used it. Broken and scattered though they may be, the Hornby-Cockerell Bible's surviving and locatable leaves nevertheless bear important and fascinating witness to how the careful analysis of the construction, destruction, and reconstruction of fragmentary manuscripts can be an important occasion for discovering more about their original medieval contexts, as well as the modern conditions of their destruction and dispersion.

Scattering Scripture

Scott Gwara and I originally recounted the provenance of the Hornby-Cockerell Bible as a complete codex in a 2016 series of case studies retracing the histories of six now-broken medieval manuscripts.⁶ As we reported there, (known) descriptions of the complete Hornby-Cockerell Bible were

reconstruction of the International Image Interoperability Framework (IIIF) and the Shared-Canvas data model, available at <http://brokenbooks.org/brokenBooks/home.html?demo=1> (accessed 18 December 2018); and *Fragmentarium: Digital Research Laboratory for Medieval Manuscript Fragments*, available at <http://www.fragmentarium.unifr.ch> (accessed 18 December 2018), to date the most robust, flexible, and productive digital initiative providing users around the world with a viable collaborative space for reconstructing manuscripts. A particularly helpful offshoot of this initiative is its associated peer-reviewed, open-access online journal, *Fragmentology: A Journal for the Study of Medieval Manuscript Fragments*, available at <http://fragmentology.ms> (accessed 18 December 2018), an invaluable publication providing a formal scholarly venue for reporting on the work that *Fragmentarium* facilitates.

6 Eric J. Johnson and Scott Gwara, "The Butcher's Bill: Using the Schoenberg Database to Reverse-Engineer Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Books from Constituent Fragments," *Manuscript Studies* 1, no. 2 (2016): 235–62 at 240–46.

printed in five different catalogues between 1880 and 1981. The earliest account appears in the five-volume inventory of the library of the famous nineteenth-century English book collector Henry Huth (1815–1878), where it is described in the barest of terms as a fourteenth-century manuscript featuring a seven-chambered initial introducing Genesis and additional unspecified historiated initials for each successive book of the Bible.⁷ Upon Huth's death, the manuscript, along with the rest of his library, passed to his son, Alfred Henry Huth (1850–1910), after which it was consigned to Sotheby's for auction in 1911 in the wake of the younger Huth's own death. Although no earlier description of the manuscript has yet been found, in a pair of April 2017 entries to his blog *Medieval Manuscripts Provenance*, Peter Kidd revealed important information allowing us to trace the manuscript backward to Henry Huth's own source, the noted London bookseller Joseph Lilly (1804–1870). Using Alfred Henry Huth's own personally annotated copy of the 1880 catalogue of his father's collection, Kidd was able to determine that the younger Huth's marginal notes recorded his father's purchase of the manuscript from Lilly in 1856 for the sum of £18 18s.⁸ Unfortunately, the provenance trail runs cold here, and we cannot yet trace the manuscript's ownership back any further.⁹

The 1911 Sotheby's catalogue added a bit more descriptive detail to the original 1880 listing, maintaining the incorrect dating of the manuscript to the fourteenth century, but providing more information about its script, textual layout, rubrication, and, notably, its illustrated content, describing

7 *The Huth Library: A Catalogue of the Printed Books, Manuscripts, Autograph Letters, and Engravings, Collected by Henry Huth, with Collations and Bibliographical Descriptions*, vol. 1 (London: Ellis & White, 1880), 159.

8 "Henry Huth (1815–1878)," 1 April 2017, available at <https://mssprovenance.blogspot.com/2017/04/henry-huth-18151878.html>; and "Henry Huth (1815–1878): An Addendum," 2 April 2017, available at <https://mssprovenance.blogspot.com/2017/04/henry-huth-18151878-addendum.html> (both posts accessed 19 December 2018). Kidd acknowledges the important contribution of William Stoneman, Curator of Early Books and Manuscripts at Harvard University Library, for identifying and supplying him with the younger Huth's copy of his father's catalogue, now at Harvard's Houghton Library.

9 In his 2 April 2017 blog post, Kidd notes that the largest collection of Lilly's sales catalogues, formerly the property of Sir Thomas Phillipps, is located at the Bodleian. A further link could, possibly, await discovery here.

its “richly painted and brilliantly illuminated historiated and decorative initials . . . of very high artistic merit” and the “thick and brilliant” gold and colors used to execute these graphic elements.¹⁰ The differences between these two earliest descriptions of the manuscript are striking. Whereas the Huth catalogue provides a relatively condensed description that highlights not the item itself, but its subsidiary place within a larger, predominantly printed book collection that prioritizes their owner’s own intellectual and collecting conceits rather than the details of the manuscripts themselves, the Sotheby’s listing highlights the Bible’s own unique artistic qualities. The manuscript moves from being a complementary and dependent unit within a larger whole to a solitary, unique object that stands out on its own artistic and commercial merits. In short, the auction listing’s focus on the manuscript’s illustrative features separates the Hornby-Cockerell Bible from the bibliographic herd, so to speak, unwittingly setting it on the road to be cut apart seventy years later.

The renowned bookselling firm Quaritch acquired the manuscript from Sotheby’s for £300 on behalf of C. H. St. John Hornby (1867–1946), founder of the legendary Ashendene Press and prominent collector of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts. Hornby commissioned Katherine Adams to remove the manuscript from its earlier (but not original) brown morocco binding and rehouse it in fine, blind-tooled white pigskin, retaining it as a prized possession until his bequest of the manuscript upon his death in 1946 to Sir Sydney Cockerell (1867–1962). Cockerell eventually sold the Bible back to Quaritch on 18 January 1957 for £1,500, with Quaritch quickly selling it on 7 February to Heinrich Eisemann (1890–1972) for £2,250.¹¹ The manuscript then disappears for five years before resurfacing in Catalogue 58 of the California-based dealer Harry A. Levinson

10 *The Famous Library of Printed Books, Illuminated Manuscripts, Autograph Letters and Engravings: First Portion* (London: Sotheby’s, 15 November 1911), 180, lot 645. See *Schoenberg Database of Manuscripts* (hereafter *SDBM*), 7667.

11 *Manuscripts, Including Important Volumes from the Collection of Sir Sydney Cockerell, Litt. D.: Deed and Documents, Books Printed Before 1700* (London: Quaritch, 1957), item 767. See *SDBM*_119112–119114. Christopher de Hamel, “Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts from the Library of Sir Sydney Cockerell (1867–1962),” *British Library Journal* 13, no. 2 (1987): 186–210 at 208.

(1904–1995), presumably languishing in stock until its sale in 1965 to the Texas attorney and book collector Arthur Haddaway (1901–1981) on 8 November 1965 for \$17,000.¹² Haddaway likely was intrigued by Levinson’s fulsome description of the manuscript, which re-dates it to the thirteenth century and adds substantial itemized and narrative detail to the 1911 Sotheby’s description, further qualifying its illuminated content as being of the “highest quality” and in the “finest state of preservation.”¹³ Haddaway later loaned it to the University of Texas for display in its April–June 1971 exhibition *Gothic and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts from Texas Collections*, where it featured prominently in the show’s accompanying catalogue.¹⁴ In contrast to earlier commercial descriptions, this catalogue recognized the manuscript’s scholarly value and interest, paying particular attention to the potential historical production milieu of its illuminations (of which, more below).

The Hornby-Cockerell Bible changed hands one final time as a complete codex after Haddaway’s death, when it was sold at Christie’s for \$23,100 on 25 September 1981 to a trio of investors comprising Bruce Ferrini, an Akron-based manuscript and antiquities dealer; Dr. Michael Greenberg, a Chicago-area dermatologist; and Philip Sills, Greenberg’s uncle and a New York City-based women’s clothier. As Gwara and I mentioned in 2016, the Christie’s catalogue description effectively serves as both an obituary for the manuscript and a shopping list for would be book-breakers.¹⁵ The description accurately re-dates the manuscript to the early thirteenth century, provides general details about its codicological and illuminated features, and, most importantly to this story of biblioclasm, an itemized list of eleven

12 Grolier Club Library. Arthur Haddaway Book collection records, ca. 1959–1980, series I (Collection of Bibles). My thanks to Lucy Daniel Anderson at the Grolier Club for supplying me with access to the relevant files.

13 *Catalogue 58: A Selection of 104 Rare Books and Manuscripts* (Beverly Hills, CA: Harry A. Levinson, ca. May 1962), 12–13, item 20.

14 *Gothic and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts from Texas Collections* (Austin: Miriam Lutchter Stark Library, University of Texas at Austin, 1971), 13–14, item 1, pp. 13–14. See *SDBM*_48968.

15 Johnson and Gwara, “The Butcher’s Bill,” 243.

of the manuscript's most impressive historiated initials.¹⁶ I have in my possession Ferrini's own copy of the 1981 auction catalogue, with manuscript annotations drawing attention to the total number of historiated and illuminated initials (seventy-one and eighty-one, respectively), and a note recording an upper amount of \$35,000 to be bid in the event of stiff competition. Clearly the syndicate was keenly interested in securing this manuscript.

In contrast to John Ruskin's and Otto Ege's frequently cited arguments for the altruistic breaking of manuscripts on egalitarian and educational grounds, or Christopher de Hamel's devil's-advocacy for the utility of deliberate fragmentation as an agent of preservation and conservation, the breaking of the Hornby-Cockerell Bible was never about encouraging learning or increasing the chances that at least some small part of it would survive despite unforeseen and yet-to-come catastrophe.¹⁷ Rather, it was simply about the art of the deal. Within a month of the manuscript's purchase, what had once been a complete, deluxe early thirteenth-century Bible had been reduced to a stack of 440 individual leaves ready to be dispersed around the world. Philip J. Pirages's *Catalogue 11* (1986) is perhaps the earliest appearance of single leaves.¹⁸ Quaritch offered an additional three folios in its *Catalogue 1036* (1984), another two in *Catalogue 1056* (1985), as well as a pair in *Catalogue 1270* (2000).¹⁹ Ferrini listed some of his own cut of the

16 *Early Printed Books and Manuscripts Including Important Bibles* (New York: Christie's, 25 September 1981), 11, lot 2.

17 See Ruskin, "Passages from the MS. of the Intended Continuation of 'The Laws of Fesole,'" in *The Works of John Ruskin*, vol. 15 (London: George Allen; New York: Longman's, Green, and Co., 1904), 496; Ege, "I Am a Biblioclast," *Avocations* 1 (1938): 516–18; and de Hamel, "Cutting Up Manuscripts for Pleasure and Profit," *The 1995 Sol Malkin Lecture in Bibliography* (Charlottesville, VA: Book Arts Press, 1996).

18 *Catalogue 11* (McMinnville, OR: Pirages Fine Books, 1986), items 10–12, with all three leaves illustrated in black and white on plate 1B.

19 *Catalogue 1036: Bookhands of the Middle Ages, Medieval Manuscript Leaves Principally from a Collection Formed in the 19th Century* (London: Quaritch, 1984), items 64–66, with black-and-white illustrations of two leaves on pp. 52 and 54. *Catalogue 1056: Bookhands of the Middle Ages, Pt. II: Medieval Manuscript Leaves with a Selection of Charters* (London: Quaritch, 1985), items 6–7, with a black-and-white illustration of a single leaf on p. 10. *Catalogue 1270: Bookhands of the Middle Ages Pt. VI: Medieval Manuscripts: Leaves and Bind-*

leaves in his *Catalogue One* (1987) and in sales exhibitions he organized at London's Schuster Gallery (1987) and Tokyo's Maruzen International, Ltd. (1988).²⁰ Edward R. Lubin listed four folios in his 1988 catalogue, and Maggs also got in on the action, offering a leaf in its *European Bulletin 21* (1997).²¹ An illuminated leaf featuring the opening of Daniel appeared in Pirages *Catalogues 47* and *49* (ca. 2002–03), and twice at auction by Sotheby's.²² Other leaves have continued to appear at additional Sotheby's and Christie's auctions and in the lists of dealers around the world.²³ Prices for

ing *Fragments* (London: Quaritch, 2000), items 16–17, with a full-color illustration of one leaf on p. 15.

20 *Catalogue One: Important Western Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts* (Akron: Ferrini Rare Books, 1987), items 9–11 with full-color and black-and-white illustrations on pp. 20 and 28, respectively; *Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Schuster Gallery, 1987), items 4–7, with black-and-white illustrations of two leaves on p. 15; *Cloister, City, and Court: Miniature Painting in the Later Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Tokyo: Maruzen International, 1988), items 2–4.

21 *European Illuminated Manuscripts* (New York: Edward R. Lubin, 1988), items 2–5, with black-and-white and full-color illustrations of two folios on pp. 17 and 34, respectively.

Catalogue 1227: Illuminated Leaves and Mediaeval Miniatures (London: Maggs Bros., 1997), item 10–11, with a full-color illustration of a single leaf on p. 7.

22 *Catalogue 47* (McMinnville, OR: Philip J. Pirages Fine Books and Manuscripts, ca. 2002), item 5, with a black-and-white illustration of the entire leaf on plate 3, and a full-color detail of the historiated initial on plate B; *Catalogue 49* (McMinnville, OR: Philip J. Pirages Fine Books and Manuscripts, ca. 2003), item 6, with a black-and-white image of the folio identical to that in *Catalogue 47* on plate 3, and a slightly cropped full-color version of the historiated initial on plate J. *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures* (London: Sotheby's, 6 December 2001), lot 10, with a full-color illustration of the historiated initial; *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures* (London: Sotheby's, 22 June 2004), lot 14, with a full-color detail of the historiated initial.

23 For instance, Sotheby's, *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, 17 December 1991, lot 11a (fol. 61), part of a lot of fragments from different Bibles sold to Sam Fogg; *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, 5 December 2006, lot 60 (fol. 197); *The History of Western Script: Sixty Important Leaves from the Schøyen Collection*, 10 July 2012, lot 57 (fol. 61); *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts and Continental Russian Books*, 23 May 2017, lot 2 (fol. 172); Christie's, *Valuable Books & Manuscripts*, 1 December 2015, Lot 5 (fols. 332, 376, 379, 381, 389, and 397); Quaritch, *Catalogue 1270, Bookhands of the Middle Ages VI* (2000), item 16 (fol. 172); Marc Antoine du Ry Medieval Art, *Gothic Genius* (Marlborough, Wiltshire, UK, 2001), item 1 (fol. 68?); and, most recently, six leaves offered by the San Francisco dealer John Windle in February 2018 (fol. 365), previously sold by du Ry, and northeastern Ohio

individual folios through the years have ranged between \$200 and \$1,500 for text leaves, and \$1,400 and \$9,000 for illuminated folios.

The dispersal of the Hornby-Cockerell Bible's parts, however, involved more than just the systematic marketing of leaves for sale. While a large portion of the manuscript's folios did quickly find their way into the commercial market, the syndicate had a different plan for more than half of them: they would be donated institutionally for a substantial tax benefit. Dr. Greenberg shared details of this idea with me when we met in January 2016 at a suburban Chicago restaurant to discuss the breaking of the manuscript.²⁴ He told me that his syndicate had deliberately targeted the Hornby-Cockerell Bible for breaking. Ferrini, he related, chose the manuscript because it "was a known Bible" and because it was something "that could be compartmentalized" into individual units of value. Greenberg recalled that Ferrini cut up the Bible himself shortly after the sale, after which the two met in Akron, where together they divided the now disjunct leaves as if they were "splitting up pieces of candy on Halloween." While Ferrini clearly intended to sell his share of the leaves, Greenberg and Sills would combine theirs and donate them institutionally. The Ohio State University, Greenberg revealed, was "pre-chosen" in advance of purchasing the Hornby-Cockerell Bible, in large part because of an already existing donor relationship between Sills and the university. A manuscript note on the first page of Ferrini's copy of the Christie's auction catalogue offers some potential support for this statement: "Stillman Hall on O.S.U." Although the note does not outline any specific plans for distributing the leaves, it does suggest that Ohio State was, indeed, on Ferrini's mind in relation to this auction. Additionally, Stillman Hall is the home of the university's Office for Arts and

dealers C. E. Puckett in August 2018 (fol. 179), Thomas French in April 2019 (fols. 177 and 280), Andrew Leckie in June 2019 (fol. 110), and King Alfred's Notebook in August 2019 (fol. 411).

24 I first spoke with Dr. Greenberg about the Hornby-Cockerell Bible in a telephone conversation in spring 2012, later reconfirming information shared in that original discussion and learning more details about his involvement in the breaking of the manuscript in our in-person meeting on 24 January 2016. I would like to thank Dr. Greenberg for his candidness and his willingness to go on the record with these details.

Sciences Advancement, the very department that would have overseen and approved any donations of manuscript leaves to Ohio State.

Surviving donor records help paint a more complete picture of the syndicate's "generosity." In a 2 March 1982 letter to Jonathan Green, director of the Ohio State University Gallery of Fine Art, Greenberg described himself as "the driving force" behind a family consortium that would pool their resources to create a "major collection" of manuscript leaves. They had chosen Ohio State as the target for their philanthropy, he explained, "because of the special feeling other relatives, especially Mr. Philip Sills, has [*sic*] for your institution."²⁵ Altogether, four individuals would deposit a total of 251 folios from the Hornby-Cockerell Bible in the university's newly established art museum. In March 1982, Greenberg, Sills, and Greenberg's father-in-law, Abraham Pelunis, officially placed their leaves on deposit. Greenberg contributed a total of fifty text leaves and a pair of illuminated folios; Sills offered sixty-six text and seventeen illuminated leaves (retaining two text leaves and the illuminated folio featuring the historiated initial opening the book of Daniel later listed for sale multiple times by Pirages and Sotheby's); and Pelunis presented sixty-six text and eighteen illuminated folios (also keeping two text leaves and a single illuminated folio featuring the opening of the *Interpretationes nominorum hebraicorum*). Greenberg and Sills finalized their donation in November 1982, but Pelunis retained title to his folios, allowing Ohio State to keep them on deposit. A fourth benefactor, Charles Hoff, donated an additional fifteen text and two illuminated folios in the same month, with subsequent donations each year through 1986 totaling another twelve text and three illuminated leaves.²⁶ Ohio State acknowledged each of the November 1982 donations with gratitude, noting that together these materials represented a "significant addition" to the university's

25 Letter from Dr. Michael Greenberg to Jonathan Green, Director, University Gallery of Fine Art, 25 March 1982. Prior to depositing his leaves at Ohio State, Sills had already donated to the university's Jerome Lawrence and Robert E. Lee Theatre Research Institute a large collection of posters, lobby cards, and photographs from Hollywood films produced between 1914 and 1972 (SPEC.TRI.PS).

26 The donors of individual leaves to Ohio State are recorded in the appendix below.

holdings of fine arts resources and that the leaves' arrival on campus had "generated a good deal of immediate scholarly interest from both the departments of Art History and Classics."²⁷ The scholarly utility of the leaves was a definite boon to the university, but surviving appraisals submitted with each deposit or donation reveal the financial advantage each donor obtained by transforming an intact codex into its constituent leaves. All told, Ferrini and other appraisers valued the 251 leaves deposited at Ohio State at \$223,700, with text leaves assigned a value of \$300 to \$400 each, and illuminated leaves ranging from \$1,750 to \$5,000.²⁸ All in all, a not insignificant return for a little over half of a codex that had been sold for just over \$23,000 not long before.²⁹

Unfortunately, not all of the folios deposited at the university in 1982 would remain in its collections. On 29 April 1985, Pelunis wrote to Ohio State requesting that all eighty-four of his leaves be returned to him "for a few weeks" for reappraisal and stating that his intention was "still to donate them to the University at the most auspicious time." Jonathan Green dutifully returned them via FedEx courier on 17 May 1985. No mention is made of the leaves in surviving correspondence at Ohio State for more than four years, until a university development officer named Linda Bowers wrote Pelunis on 8 August 1989 to discuss plans for a non-manuscript donation.

27 Letter from Jonathan Green, Director, University Gallery of Fine Art, to Dr. Michael Greenberg, 1 April 1982. Letters incorporating the same language were also sent to Philip Sills and Abraham Pelunis on 26 March 1982.

28 In his appraisal of Sills's leaves issued on 25 January 1982, Ferrini explained that he had based his valuations on recent realized prices for the Aulne Abbey Bible, a heavily illuminated ca. 1215–25 manuscript produced in Paris or northern France and sold at Sotheby's, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts and Miniatures* (London: Sotheby & Co., 8 December 1981), lot 70, and "for similar though inferior leaves offered for sale in an unidentified ca. 1978 catalogue of illuminated manuscripts offered for sale by Kenneth Rendell of Massachusetts." Rendell Catalogue 146, *The Medieval World* (Newton, MA: The Rendells, 1979), lists thirteenth-century French illuminated Bible leaves for between \$1,500 and \$2,750, and text leaves from \$100 to \$750 each (items 21–31).

29 Appraisals for donations and deposits by Greenberg, Sills, and Pelunis were provided by Bruce Ferrini on 25 January 1982. Hoff's leaves were appraised by Ferrini (20 November, 16 December 1983, and 17 September 1984), Thomas French Fine Art (1 December 1985), and the Denis Conley Gallery (19 December 1986).

Later in the letter she mentions the “set of leaves—these from an historic Bible” appraised by Ferrini and once on deposit at the university, notes that the materials were never returned, and asks whether Pelunis still intended to donate them to Ohio State. No written response from Pelunis remains on file, but a handwritten addendum on a copy of the letter sent to him records the result of a 21 August 1989 phone conversation between Pelunis and Bowers: “Pelunis gave the lvs. to his son-in-law (Greenberg) to sell. These were sold for \$30,000.”³⁰ Quaritch’s inclusion of Pelunis’s illuminated Psalm 26 leaf (fol. 170) in its 1985 *Catalogue 1056* reveals that despite his stated intention to donate the leaves to Ohio State, Pelunis must have sold them very soon after their return to him in May that year. Other Pelunis leaves appeared in the 1987 Schuster Gallery show and 1988 Edward R. Lubin catalogues mentioned above.³¹ Ironically, the only illuminated leaf Pelunis once owned that ultimately was donated to Ohio State was folio 404, featuring the historiated initial “A” opening the *Interpretationes nominorum hebraicorum*, the only leaf he held back from his 1982 deposit. At some point, he gave or sold the leaf to Charles Hoff, who then presented it to the university in 1985.³²

Whether sold commercially or donated for tax credit, the comprehensive dispersal of the Hornby-Cockerell Bible’s leaves provided its 1981 purchasers with great profits. In “The Butcher’s Bill,” Scott Gwara and I presented an estimated total cost of \$887,700 for the reconstruction of the Hornby-Cockerell Bible in today’s market, based on a per-item cost of \$450 for each of the manuscript’s text leaves and \$6,500 for each of its 114 illuminated folios. While these figures represent a staggering 1,380 percent return on investment over the \$23,100 (approximately \$60,000 adjusted for inflation)

30 Letter from Linda B. Bowers, Campaign Director for University Libraries and California Regional Campaign, to Abraham D. Pelunis, 8 August 1989. The reported sale price of \$30,000 includes the eighty-four leaves formerly on deposit at Ohio State, as well as the three leaves Pelunis retained in 1982, altogether appraised by Ferrini in 1982 at \$91,000.

31 Specifically, fols. 15–(?) from Job featuring a pair of illuminated letters, and 286 including historiated initials for the Minor Prophets Abdiah and Jonah. See appendix for full information.

32 In addition to this leaf, Hoff also donated at the same time fol. 353 featuring a twenty-six-line illuminated initial “L” opening the prologue to the Acts of the Apostles.

Ferrini, Greenberg, and Sills paid for the Bible in 1981, these numbers, in all likelihood, are too conservative.³³ Recent auction sales, dealer listings, and professional appraisals of leaves donated to Ohio State since the publication of our article in 2016 suggest that text leaves realistically could fetch anywhere between \$750 and \$1,500 depending on their textual content and density of rubrication, while many folios featuring substantial historiated and illuminated initials might command retail prices or appraised values between \$9,000 and \$20,000 per leaf. Whatever the exact figures might be, the financial motivation that inspired the manuscript's destruction is clear.

Defining Scripture

While the profits Ferrini, Greenberg, and Sills realized by cutting apart this manuscript were high, the cost of its breaking to scholarship was even greater. In the remainder of this essay I will discuss what the surviving and traceable leaves can tell us about its original textual content and organization, art historical context, and how at least one of its medieval owners might have used it. Although this analysis of more than 200 of the Bible's original 440 folios might allow us to reconstruct some of the material, historical, and artistic contexts that have been lost as a result of its fragmentation, the number of leaves that are still missing make any observations and conclusions only provisional, at best. Nevertheless, a careful examination of the Hornby-Cockerell Bible's leaves can still yield interesting and illuminating results.

So what exactly is the Hornby-Cockerell Bible? In terms of its size, script, textual content and organization, and illuminated features, we can confidently describe the manuscript as one of a handful of examples of what Laura Light has described as transitional or proto-Paris Bibles. As Light and other scholars have explained, the first quarter of the thirteenth century was a dynamic period in the textual and material evolution of Bible manuscripts. New academic and pastoral concerns and practices dictated

33 Johnson and Gwara, "Butcher's Bill," 245–46.

the need for a new type of Bible that could encompass the entire canon of Scripture in a single, more portable volume. Additionally, in order to facilitate ease and consistency in accessing and referencing the biblical text for scholarly, liturgical, and pastoral purposes, a new order of the Bible's books was imposed, a set of standardized ancillary prologues prefacing each book began to emerge, each book's chapter structure was revised and standardized, new paratextual elements were added to assist readers in accessing and interpreting the text, and the design and content of the Bible's illustrated features changed. In short, the entire look, feel, and utility of the Bible altered drastically between 1200 and 1225.³⁴

The Hornby-Cockerell Bible embraces all of these changes. Measuring 220 × 145 millimeters (mm), with some slight variation from leaf-to-leaf, and including the entire corpus of biblical books from Genesis to Apocalypse, it is easily portable, as opposed to most earlier eleventh- and twelfth-century pandects that could stretch to more than 500 mm in height, yet not as small as the later pocket Bibles that would emerge by the mid-thirteenth century.³⁵ Christopher de Hamel has noted that the gradual shrinking of Bibles began systematically in the third quarter of the twelfth century, with

34 For more detailed discussions of these developments in the structure and content of Bible manuscripts, as well as possible motivations for these changes, see Laura Light, "The New Thirteenth-Century Bible and the Challenge of Heresy," *Viator* 18 (1987): 275–88; idem, "French Bibles c. 1200–30: A New Look at the Origin of the Paris Bible," in *The Early Medieval Bible*, ed. Richard Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 155–76; and idem, "The Bible and the Individual: The Thirteenth-Century Paris Bible," in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity*, ed. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 228–46. For useful, but more general, discussions, see chapter 5, "Portable Bibles of the Thirteenth Century," in Christopher de Hamel's *The Book: A History of the Bible* (London: Phaidon, 2001), 114–39, and Frans van Liere, *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 89–98.

35 For detailed overviews of large-format pandects, often called Atlantic or Giant Bibles, see Larry M. Ayres, "The Italian Giant Bibles: Aspects of Their Tournonian Ancestry and Early History," in Gameson, *The Early Medieval Bible*, 125–54; Nadia Togui, "Italian Giant Bibles: The Circulation and Use of the Book at the Time of the Ecclesiastical Reform in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *Writing Europe, 500–1450: Texts and Contexts*, ed. Aidan Conti, Orietta Da Rold, and Philip Shaw (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015), 59–82. For a more general overview of Giant Bibles, see de Hamel, *The Book*, 64–91.

many “decreasing to perhaps 250 mm tall” by about 1200.³⁶ He goes on to provide a series of examples demonstrating this gradual decrease, citing four Bible manuscripts likely made in Paris from circa 1200 (335 × 230 mm), 1210 (217 × 152 mm), 1215 (210 × 140 mm), and 1225 (160 × 110 mm).³⁷ This demonstrated progression, though hardly scientific or definitive, is largely consistent with the sizes of other Bibles produced during the same period.³⁸ It also suggests that based solely on its size we might provisionally date the Hornby-Cockerell Bible to circa 1210–15.

Other features also support a dating to this period. Beginning around 1200, a new scholarly and theological emphasis on the importance of the literal, or historical, sense of Scripture as the foundation for allegorical, tropological, and anagogical interpretation inspired the imposition of a new order on the books of the Bible.³⁹ By about 1230, this new order clearly marking the conceptual divisions between history, doctrine, and prophecy had emerged, comprising the Octateuch (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth), I–IV Kings, I–II Chronicles (followed by the apocryphal prayer of Manasses), I–III Ezra (II Ezra = Nehemiah), Tobit, Judith, Esther, Job, Psalms, the Sapiential books (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus), the Major Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah and Lamentations, Baruch, Ezekiel, and Daniel), the Minor Prophets (Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi), I–II Maccabees, the Gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John), the Pauline Epistles (Romans, I–II Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, I–II Thessalonians, I–II Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and Hebrews), Acts,

36 De Hamel, *The Book*, 117.

37 De Hamel, *The Book*, 118.

38 See, for instance, Light’s brief catalogue of fourteen Bible manuscripts in “French Bibles c. 1200–30,” 173–76, and Branner’s list of codices produced in the early thirteenth century in *Manuscript Painting in Paris*, 201–7.

39 For informative accounts of the growing emphasis placed on the historical understanding of Scripture in the twelfth century, see Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), 214–42; and G. R. Evans, *The Language and Logic of the Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 67–71.

the Catholic Epistles (James, I–II Peter, I–III John, and Jude), and Apocalypse.⁴⁰ This new order nested the Old Testament doctrinal and prophetic books between the historical accounts of Genesis–Esther and I–II Maccabees, introduced the Christian era through the Gospels’ historical accounts of Christ’s life, espoused proper Christian doctrine through the Epistles, and brought history to a close with John’s prophecy in Apocalypse. Along with imposing this new order, scholars also added a series of sixty-four prologues to the canonical biblical text.⁴¹ Many of these supplementary paratexts were the work of St. Jerome, or derived from his writings, but others were the product of theologians writing between the Patristic era and the twelfth century.⁴²

The Hornby-Cockerell Bible’s traceable leaves reveal that the manuscript largely adheres to the new order of biblical books and includes a relatively full range of associated prologues. However, it also departs from the standard model in some significant ways. For instance, rather than appearing between the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, Acts falls between the Gospels and Pauline Epistles, reinforcing the historical link between the biography of Christ and the later activities of his disciples. Also included in the manuscript, but left out of the ordinary contents of the later Paris Bible, is Paul’s apocryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans (fol. 389v), a text not commonly included in Bibles after the twelfth century. The manuscript’s biblical prologues deviate more significantly. Altogether, I have been able to

40 In one of the earliest systematic studies of the formation of the modern Vulgate, Samuel Berger listed no fewer than 212 different orders to the books of the Bible preserved in manuscripts copied by about 1200; see *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge* (Paris: Hachette et C^{ie}, 1893; repr. Hildesheim, 1976), 301–6.

41 For the canonical Parisian order of the books of the Bible and the standard prologues that accompanied them, see Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris*, 154–55.

42 For fundamental information about the historical development of these prologues, see Samuel Berger, *Les Préfaces jointes aux livres de la Bible dans les manuscrits de la Vulgate* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902), and Donatien de Bruyne, *Prefaces to the Latin Bible*, with introductions by Pierre-Maurice Bogaert and Thomas O’Loughlin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), originally published as *Préfaces de la Bible Latine* (Namur: A. Godenne, 1920). The standard list of the various biblical prologues is Frederick Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Francisco Suárez, 1940), 253–306.

trace twenty-nine Hornby-Cockerell Bible folios preserving text from thirty-five prologues representing thirty-three biblical books.⁴³ Of this total, sixteen, or nearly half, diverge from the standard set of prologues that circulated with the later Paris Bible, including those for Job (166v), all four of the Minor Prophets whose leaves I have been able to trace, Acts (353r), the prologue to the Pauline Epistles (365v), Ephesians (381r), Hebrews (389v), the Catholic Epistles, and Apocalypse (397v) (fig. 1).⁴⁴ Textual disparity between manuscripts, of course, is not unusual, but these significant variations nevertheless clearly reveal the Hornby-Cockerell Bible's transitional nature and the relatively early place it occupies in the textual evolution of the Bible between 1200 and 1230.⁴⁵

This period also witnessed a thorough revision of the Bible's chapter numbering arrangement. Many Bible manuscripts composed before 1230, and most before 1200, included long *capitula* lists outlining the structure and summarizing the contents of each biblical book. The number of chapters assigned to a given book could vary from manuscript to manuscript and differed radically from the revised and standardized system imposed on the Bible beginning in the late twelfth century and roundly accepted by the end

43 These prologues are listed alongside their appropriate folios in Appendix II below. Also included in the Hornby-Cockerell Bible is Gilbert de la Porrée's prologue to the Psalms (Stegmüller 370). I have not yet been able to trace this leaf (fol. 167), but reference is made to the prologue in both Levinson's *Catalogue 58* (item 20) and the 1971 exhibition catalogue *Gothic and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts from Texas Collections*, 13. I am also grateful to Christopher de Hamel for confirming that the notes about the Psalms prologue inscribed on one of the manuscript's pastedowns and cited in Levinson's description are written in Sir Sydney Cockerell's hand.

44 Minor Prophets: Jonah (286v), Micah (287v), Sophonias (290r), and Haggai (290v). Catholic Epistles: Epistle of James (393r), II Peter (395r), I John (396r), II–III John (397r), and Jude (397r). See the appendix for specific identifications of each prologue.

45 The variant prologues for Ephesians and Hebrews, for instance, as well as the inclusion of the Pelagian preface to the Pauline Epistles, would seem to place the manuscript's composition definitively before 1226, and likely somewhat before 1220; see Luba Eleen, *The Illustration of the Pauline Epistles in French and English Bibles of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 46–50. Additionally, the Hornby-Cockerell Bible lacks at least three of the six "new" prologues (Amos, Maccabees, and Apocalypse) derived from the glossed Bible tradition described by Light as standard components of the fully formed Paris Bible; see Light, "The Bible and the Individual," 233.



FIGURE 1. Fol. 393r, featuring an anthropomorphic initial of St. James opening the Epistle of James, and preceded by three prologues and the *capitula* list.

of the third decade of the thirteenth.⁴⁶ Until recently, this new system of chapter numbering had been attributed to Stephen Langton (1150–1228), the famous biblical scholar active in the scholastic milieu of Paris until his installation as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1207.⁴⁷ The influence of twelfth-century biblical commentaries and the need to create a reliable system of reference to access both the Bible and these scholastic works, so the argument goes, inspired Langton and his followers to repackaging the Bible's chapter structures. Paul Saenger, however, has questioned this traditional view, arguing that the origins of the Bible's modern chapter divisions can instead be traced to monastic, liturgical, and Hebraic influences.⁴⁸

Whatever the motivation behind the adoption of this new system might have been, both traditional and revised orders were being used during the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Sometimes, as in the Hornby-Cockerell Bible, a manuscript will preserve both old and new chapter numbering arrangements. *Capitula* lists appear throughout the manuscript (fig. 2), with Roman numerals penned in alternating red and blue (sometimes overwriting or lying next to earlier guide letters in plummet) corresponding to each division consistently placed in the margins adjacent to the appropriate passages. In her detailed survey of fourteen transitional Bibles featuring both old and new chapter arrangements, Laura Light notes that it often can be very difficult to verify whether the new numbers were added as part of the manuscript's original production process or by later readers.⁴⁹ Certain pieces of evidence in the Hornby-Cockerell manu-

46 See Light, "French Bibles," 168–72, and de Hamel, *The Book*, 124–25.

47 This supposed attribution rests largely on the Dominican scholar Nicholas Trivet's (ca. 1258–1328) statement that Langton not only commented on the Bible, but divided it into modern chapter numbers; see Trivet's *Annales*, ed. Thomas Hog (London: Sumptibus Societatis, 1845; repr. Kraus, 1964), 216.

48 Paul Saenger in collaboration with Laura Bruck, "The Anglo-Hebraic Origins of the Modern Chapter Division of the Latin Bible," in *La fractura historiográfica: las investigaciones de Edad Media y Renacimiento desde el tercer milenio*, ed. Javier San José Lera, Francisco Javier Burguillo, and Laura Mier (Salamanca: Seminario de Estudios Medievales y Renacentistas / Sociedad de Estudios Medievales y Renacentistas, 2008), 177–202.

49 Light, "French Bibles," 171. Of the fourteen proto-Paris Bibles Light examines, she concludes that five "were definitely copied with original indications of modern chapters, and

FIGURE 2. Fols. 257c–258r, the *capitula* list to Ezekiel.

script seem to suggest that its new chapter numbers likely were added as part of its original composition.

Throughout most of the manuscript, new chapter numbers supersede the old system through a multi-layered system of revision. Wherever a new chapter division begins, its revised number is added in the margin, often twice, once in plummet (presumably the earlier of the two numbers) and again in brown ink. Additionally, the earlier rubricated chapter number associated with the passage is usually crossed out, typically in ink, but occasionally in plummet (fig. 3). Infrequently and when possible, elements of the earlier rubricated chapter number might be erased or added to in order

that an additional five very probably were.” The remaining four include what may have been later additions.

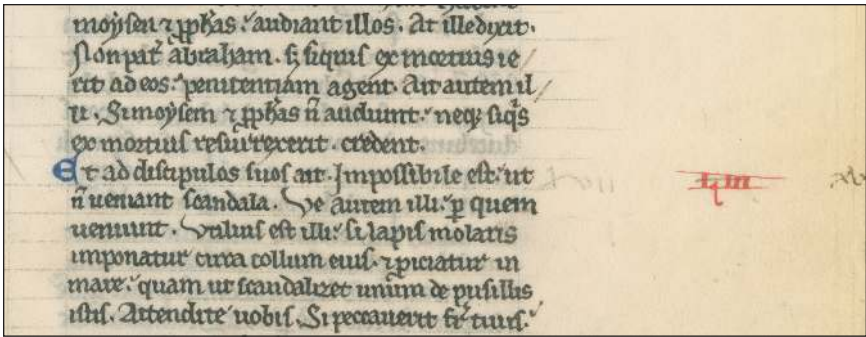


FIGURE 3. Fol. 340r, detail of revision of the old chapter number “LIII” to the new number “XVII” in plummet and ink in the Gospel of Luke.

to render the new chapter number instead.⁵⁰ While the revised numbers rendered in ink are likely later additions to clarify the revisions, I strongly suspect that the associated revised numbers in plummet are original to the manuscript’s creation and were, in fact, added as part of the general correction process in the scribal workshop.⁵¹ Plummet guide letters for running titles and illuminated initials survive on numerous folios.⁵² Additionally, a scribal error resulting from dittography in Daniel 3:3 (fol. 276r, col. A) is signaled in the adjacent marginal space with the corrector’s note “sup(er)-fluu(m)” written in plummet and the error corrected via strikethrough and subpunction of nearly five lines of text. The revised plummet chapter

50 See, for instance, fol. 8r, where the final “XVIII” of the old chapter number Genesis “XXXVIII” is erased to render the new number “XX,” and the first and final “X’s” of the old chapter number for Genesis “XXXIX” are erased to render the revised chapter number “XXI.” Similarly on fol. 347r, old chapter “XIII” in the Gospel of John is erased completely, and the scribe altered the old chapter number “XIII” by erasing the lower portion of the right diagonal stroke of “X” and the final “II” to create the new chapter number “VII.”

51 Indeed, an ink revision providing the new number for Mark chapter 8 is in the same hand as a later marginal note indicating a possible liturgical use for the text written in ink beneath the chapter number (fol. 327v).

52 I have found no fewer than thirty-four examples of guidewords and letters left for running titles, and fifteen marginal guide letters for illuminated and historiated initials. Additionally, I have located a single plummet or silverpoint illuminator’s guide sketching the design for the historiated initial opening for Baruch (fol. 255r).

numbers added in the margins throughout the manuscript appear to be in the same hand as the one used to write this call for correction and the helpful guide letters.

The folios preserving I–IV Kings and text from the Minor Prophets Amos, Jonah, and Micah also provide clues suggesting that the Hornby-Cockerell Bible’s scribes may have been working from a copy text that included the new chapter numbering scheme. While I–III Kings all feature *capitula* lists and their associated early marginal chapter numbers, each revised to reflect the new numbering system, IV Kings has no *capitula* list and includes no marginal rubricated chapter numbers.⁵³ Instead, plummet numbers corresponding to the modern system have been written in the margins. The leaves for Amos (285), Jonah (287r), and Micah (287v) reveal the same apparent original composition of the text according to the revised chapter numbering structure, rather than the old. The lack of color on these folios is startling after seeing repeated margins sprinkled with the old chapter system’s red and blue numbers. These leaves, in contrast, are bare, with no color in the margins or in the text to mark the beginning of new chapters. Although all of these features might point persuasively to the conclusion that both old and new chapter numbering systems were added to the Hornby-Cockerell Bible during its original composition, the examination of additional, still missing, leaves is necessary before we can accept this deduction securely.

A final significant textual feature reflecting the manuscript’s status as a transitional Bible is its inclusion of the *Interpretationes nominorum hebraicorum* (hereafter *INH*) as an original paratextual element of its composition, a fact testified to by this section’s pricking marks, ruling pattern, textual layout, and scribal hands, all of which match those used throughout the rest of the manuscript. The *INH* is a text with a long and complex history, and like the revised order of the biblical books, their accompanying standardized set of prologues, and the new chapter numbering system,

53 *Capitula* lists for I–III Kings appear on fols. 78r, 88v, and 97r, respectively. IV Kings begins without a list on fol. 107v. Similarly, I Chronicles also lacks a *capitula* list (fols. 11–?) and rubricated marginal chapter numbers. It does, however, include a plummet Roman numeral II marking the modern opening of the book’s second chapter.

it was created to facilitate the use of the Bible in pastoral, scholarly, and liturgical contexts and had become a standard component of most Bibles after about 1230. The text originally derived from Jerome's work on the Vulgate and his attempt to create a guide to the meanings of the Bible's Hebrew and Aramaic names. By the end of the twelfth century, the *INH* circulated in three major versions, the *Adam*, *Aaron*, and *Aaz* rescensions.⁵⁴ The Hornby-Cockerell Bible includes the largest and most advanced and popular of these, the *Aaz* version.⁵⁵ Surviving in over 900 manuscripts, it provides definitions for approximately 5,250 words, all arranged in a single alphabetical order encompassing the entire Bible (in contrast to *Adam*'s 1,050 and *Aaron*'s 1,425, which were arranged alphabetically and partitioned according to each biblical book).⁵⁶ Prior to 1230, the *INH* principally circulated independently of the biblical text, with a manuscript produced in 1234 so far being the earliest securely datable instance of the text, having been copied as part of a Bible's original production process.⁵⁷ As the various textual features described above reveal, the Hornby-Cockerell Bible was clearly completed before this date, consequently making it one of the earliest known Bibles to include the *INH* as one of its integral parts.⁵⁸ Further testifying to the likelihood of an early thirteenth-century date for the manuscript's composition is the fact that the version of the *INH* it includes represents one of the many minor variants that characterized

54 For detailed introductions to the history of the *INH*, see Giovanna Murano, "Chi ha scritto le *Interpretationes hebraicorum nominum*?" in *Etienne Langton: bibliste, prédicateur et théologien*, ed. L.-J. Bataillon, N. Bériou, G. Dahan, and R. Quinto (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 353–71; and Eyal Poleg, "The *Interpretations of Hebrew Names* in Theory and Practice," in *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible*, ed. Eyal Poleg and Laura Light (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 217–36. Poleg also includes a detailed example of how the *INH* was used in practice, 228–35.

55 Fols. 404–40. Ohio State holds twenty-two of the *INH*'s thirty-seven folios.

56 Murano, "Chi ha scritto le *Interpretationes hebraicorum nominum*?" 355; Poleg, "The *Interpretations of Hebrew Names* in Theory and Practice," 222.

57 Light, "French Bibles," 156.

58 Light, "The Bible and the Individual," 234. Light cites another pre-1230 biblical manuscript with the *INH* likely compiled around the same time as the Hornby-Cockerell Bible: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 65.



FIGURE 4. Fol. 404r, opening of the *Interpretationes nominum hebraicorum*.

the *Aaz* version before it settled into its final form by about 1225.⁵⁹ The Hornby-Cockerell version begins *Aad testificans*, going on to include entries for *Aalma*, *Asio*, *Aaron*, *Aars*, and *Aath* before finally arriving at the more typical first entry, *Aaz apprehendens* (fol. 404r), found in later versions of the text (fig. 4).⁶⁰

59 Poleg, "The *Interpretations of Hebrew Names* in Theory and Practice," 236.

60 Stegmüller's *Repertorium* does not include this variant.

Each of the textual or organizational features described above—the order of the biblical books, their prologues, the presence of both old and new chapter numbering systems, and the inclusion of a variant form of the *INH*—all signal that what Ferrini, Greenberg, and Sills cut apart in 1981 was an intact early thirteenth-century “transitional” Bible. As we shall see in the discussion below, the Hornby-Cockerell Bible’s illuminated and decorated content also reflects a range of features illustrating the transition from Romanesque to Gothic modes of Bible production that took place between 1175 and 1225.

Illuminating Scripture

At the same time that new scholastic, pastoral, and liturgical requirements were driving the textual and scribal reorganization of the books of the Bible, the revision of their chapter structure, and the imposition of new standardized paratextual elements such as prologues and the *INH*, artists were also developing a more normalized approach toward illustrating the biblical text. The full-page illustrations and complex schemes of illumination commonly found in early-medieval Bibles gave way in the Romanesque period to the systematic use of historiated initials as signals of textual division.⁶¹ Eventually, artists working in the emerging Gothic style would employ such initials on an industrial scale in the new, smaller format pandects that were beginning to emerge beginning around 1200.⁶² Illuminators’ workshops that earlier had been located in urban and monastic centers across a wide geographical area gradually followed their scribal colleagues in great numbers to Paris to meet the city’s rapidly growing demand for books. Once there, these workshops frequently found themselves working together to keep up with ever-increasing quantities of commissioned work. All this cooperative activity resulted in the creation of a dynamic milieu of collabo-

61 Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts of the Twelfth Century*, 2 vols., ed. François Avril and J. J. G. Alexander (London: Harvey Miller, 1996), 1:23.

62 Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 101.

ration and shared influence, with multiple illuminating hands and various artistic workshops all potentially working together to create a single manuscript.⁶³ These would seem to be the conditions under which the Hornby-Cockerell Bible's illuminations were executed.

Unfortunately, we cannot identify with absolute certainty a single, dominant workshop that would have been responsible for executing or overseeing the creation of the Hornby-Cockerell manuscript's seventy-one historiated and eighty-one illuminated initials (of which Ohio State currently holds leaves featuring thirty historiated and thirty-one illuminated initials). Thus far, the only mention of the possible milieus in which the manuscript's illuminations might have been produced have appeared in dealer and auction descriptions of single leaves, and, briefly, in the catalogue for the 1971 University of Texas exhibition that prominently featured the manuscript. This latter description credits the manuscript's illuminations to a trio of artistic hands. One, it says, "is typical of work done under Byzantine influence," while a second strongly evokes the work produced by Paris's Moralized Bible workshops between about 1235 and 1250. A third hand, which the description's author dubs the "Master of the Old Testament Ladies," is responsible for a series of female figures illustrating Ruth, I Ezra, Judith, Esther, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs.⁶⁴ Later commercial catalogues offering individual leaves ascribe the illuminations to a number of different workshops, including the Blanche and Almagest ateliers, the artists responsible for the Vienna Moralized Bibles, and the Morgan 92 group, with many descriptions simultaneously citing multiple ateliers.⁶⁵ Upon close examination, none of these attributions is a perfect fit, though each group's

63 For the standard overview of the rise of Paris as a center for manuscript illumination in the thirteenth century, see Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of Saint Louis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 1–22. Additional details can be found in Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500* (Turnhout, Belgium: Harvey Miller, 2000), 1:25–33.

64 *Gothic and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts from Texas Collections*, 13, item 2.

65 Pirages (ca. 1983), Quartich (1984 and 1985), and Lubin (1988) all ascribe the work to multiple workshops.

work does share at least some affinity with the Hornby-Cockerell Bible's illuminations.

The most common attribution by far is to the Vienna Moralized Bible workshop, but this ascription seems rote, at best, as none of the listings offer any descriptive details supporting this possible provenance.⁶⁶ Given the immense number of illuminations produced by this workshop (approximately 13,000 for a single Bible, for instance) and the influence of Robert Branner's focused work on this atelier's distinct hands and their individual output, I suspect that many dealers have credited the creators of the Moralized Bibles with the Hornby-Cockerell manuscript's creation simply as a matter of convenience.⁶⁷ When compared with the many Moralized Bible illustrations reproduced in Branner's study, any similarities seem to be of the more general variety common to most illuminated output of the first half of the thirteenth century, such as the use of black pen lines and ink shading to render drapery effects.⁶⁸ Overall, however, the tone of the Hornby-Cockerell illuminations is more varied, relying on a more diverse color palette than the heavy reliance on red and blue evident throughout the Moralized Bibles and so many other Bible illuminations produced in Paris after about 1225.

The next most popular ascription is to the atelier identified by Branner as the Morgan 92 group.⁶⁹ Among the characteristic qualities of this group are figures with undulating hair, long noses with bulbous ends, fleshy cheeks spotted in red, small mouths, and rounded jaws, all of which appear to greater or lesser degree in the Hornby-Cockerell Bible. In particular, dealers have likened the manuscript's illumination to New York, The

66 Thirteen different auction and dealer catalogues attribute the manuscript to the illuminators of the Moralized Bibles, including Pirages (ca. 1983, 2002–03), Quaritch (1984, 1985, and 2000), Ferrini (1987), the Schuster Gallery (1987), Maruzen, Ltd. (1988), Lubin (1988), Sotheby's (5 December 2006 and 10 July 2012), and Maggs (1997).

67 Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris*, 32–65.

68 Figures 26–87.

69 Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris*, 58–59. Four auction and dealer catalogues suggest this attribution, including Pirages (ca. 1983), Quaritch (1984 and 1985), and Christie's (1 December 2015).

Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.269.⁷⁰ A close comparison of the two, however, reveals more differences than similarities. Each manuscript's ruling pattern and line count differs, and the rubricated marginal chapter numbers in the Morgan manuscript are each preceded by a pilcrow that Hornby-Cockerell's numbers lack. Decoratively, MS M.269 features red and blue multi-line textual initials with flourishes that extend, often extravagantly, into the margins, whereas Hornby-Cockerell's are unembellished, single-line initials. Additionally, MS M.269's text is uniformly divided according to modern chapter numbers. Admittedly, all of these might be small differences, but in codicological and textual matters, fine details are often revealing.

A careful comparison of each Bible's illuminations reveals further discrepancies. MS M.269's figures are squat with thick hands and feet, in contrast to the more elongated figures, hands, and feet found in the Hornby-Cockerell Bible. The faces of the figures in the Morgan manuscript feature little coloration and only occasional fine detail, and they include little to no application of graded color or shading in their modeling. Hornby-Cockerell's figures, in contrast, are carefully modeled to render subtle, frequently ochre-shaded, contours in their faces, necks, hands, and feet. Finally, like illuminations attributed to the Vienna Moralized Bible workshop, MS M.269's compositions rely heavily on red and blue as their dominant colors, as opposed to the Hornby-Cockerell manuscript's regular use of green, orange, pink, and maroon in addition to the red and blue that dominates so much later Bible illumination. Altogether, MS M.269's codicological, textual, decorative, and illuminated features suggest a date of composition at least a generation later than the Hornby-Cockerell Bible's own production.

This brings us to the final two workshops to which the manuscript's illuminations have been credited: the *Almagest* and *Blanche ateliers*.⁷¹ To

70 For instance, see Quaritch Catalogue 1036, item 64, which declares that the Hornby-Cockerell Bible's illumination "bears a striking resemblance" to Morgan MS M.269.

71 Overall, three catalogues mention these early workshops. See Pirages (ca. 1983), Quaritch (1984), and Lubin (1988).

these, we might also possibly add the Alexander atelier.⁷² According to Branner, each of these workshops originally was active outside Paris but had migrated to the growing city sometime during the first decade of the thirteenth century.⁷³ The Hornby-Cockerell Bible's illuminations share a number of distinct features indicating a close connection between it and these affiliated workshops. On the more decorative side of things, for instance, the manuscript incorporates the stepped, square terminals around each initial that appear commonly in works produced by the Almagest and Alexander ateliers.⁷⁴ Similarly, the manuscript also incorporates into its initials the "tentacular," spiraling vines terminating in thick, meaty foliage characteristic of the "Channel Style" of ornamentation so popular in southeast England and northern France between 1175 and 1225.⁷⁵ The Hornby-Cockerell Bible's large twenty-seven-line initial "P" opening the Acts of the Apostles, with its winding, multicolored foliage both comprising and extending from the letter's body, provides a fine later example of this style and its playful effect (fol. 354r). Another early decorative feature is the inclusion of distinctive and carefully executed tooling around the perimeter of most initials' burnished gold fields. Consisting of a hollow circular punch that leaves a small round impression in the gold with a small dot at its center, this embellishment was derived from Byzantine artistic influences that were being adapted by illuminators beginning in the late twelfth century.⁷⁶ Other examples of Byzantine influence are apparent in the Bible's

72 For more information on this workshop and its activities, see Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers*, 1:35–36 and 39–46.

73 Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris*, 26–32.

74 See figs. 21 and 24 in Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris*, for examples. This decorative feature continued in use well into the thirteenth century, including in Morgan MS M.269, a fact that might help explain why so many dealers have linked the Hornby-Cockerell Bible to this clearly later manuscript.

75 For an overview of the qualities and development of the Channel Style, see Walter Cahn, "St Albans and the Channel Style in England," in *The Year 1200: A Symposium* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975), 187–230, esp. 196–201. Cahn provides further details about the style in relation to a number of particular manuscripts in his *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982).

76 For an introduction to the development and technique of applying tooling to burnished gold in Western manuscript illumination, see Mojmir Franta, "Punchmarks in the Ingeborg

figural illumination, including the aforementioned ochre shading of faces, necks, hands, and feet.⁷⁷ Additionally, we see the incorporation of the newly emerged *muldenfalten* style's fine black pen lines to render the hairpin contours of drapery (see fig. 1), and the application of shaded colors or white dry brush accents to provide additional depth suggesting the shape of the human body underneath garments (figs. 5 and 6).⁷⁸ Each of these features were employed by the artists of the Alexander, Almagest, and Blanche ateliers in their work, including a number of Bibles they produced that Branner has identified as possibly the earliest illuminated copies of what would become the standardized Paris Bible.⁷⁹ It would seem, then, that the Hornby-Cockerell manuscript most likely was produced within the same artistic milieu as these workshops (if not by one, or some combination, of them) between about 1210 and 1220, either in Paris or, perhaps, another northwestern French center of manuscript production such as Amiens or Rouen.⁸⁰

Psalter," in *The Year 1200*, 251–60. Frinta, in collaboration with Eva Hugová, has also compiled a catalogue raisonné of more than 16,000 different punch motifs used in medieval panel and manuscript painting, *Punched Decoration on Late Medieval and Miniature Painting* (Prague: Maxdorf, 1998). For an overview of the characteristics of Byzantine influence on manuscript painting of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, see Otto Pächt, *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages: An Introduction* (London: Harvey Miller, 1986), 136–43.

77 For instance, see the initials for Judith (150v), Luke (332v), II Peter (395r), and the opening of the *INH* (404r), to name only a few.

78 The openings of Psalms 38 (172r), Ecclesiastes (194v), I Maccabees (295v), and the Epistle of James (393r) feature garments enlivened by fine black penwork (393r); shaded color is used in initials for III and IV Kings (97r and 107v), Amos (285r), II Maccabees (306r), and the second Epistle of John (396r); and the white dry-brush technique can be seen in initials for Ecclesiasticus (204r), Micah (287v), I Corinthians (372r), the Epistle of Philemon (389r), and the Epistle of Jude (397v).

79 Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris*, 29.

80 Although the manuscript includes some decorative features similar to those used in English illumination of the same period, the blue pigment used in the Hornby-Cockerell Bible entirely lacks the greenish tinge often characteristic of English blues of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, a detail that lends additional support for the manuscript's Parisian or northwestern French origin. For another near-contemporary French manuscript with some illuminated features similar to Hornby-Cockerell, such as the use of a white three-dot pyramid motif used occasionally to decorate garments and a comparable color palette, see New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.163, dated 1229 and attributed to Corbie.



FIGURE 5. Fol. 204r, historiated initial inhabited by Sirach opening Ecclesiasticus.

The iconographic content of the manuscript’s historiated initials is not overly unique, although a few features do require mention here. The magisterial opening initial to Genesis includes one element not often found in Bibles of the period. The initial “I” (of “In principio”) extends down the length of the center of the page, its seven separate chambers depicting a different scene, including the creation of the world, the creation of Eve, God instructing Adam and Eve, the temptation in the garden, the expulsion



FIGURE 6. Fol. 332v, historiated initial inhabited by Luke opening the Gospel of Luke.

from Eden, Adam digging while Eve spins, and the murder of Abel. As a survey of contemporary illuminated Bibles reveals, the initial's inclusion of Cain's murder of his brother is very unusual.⁸¹

81 Branner's survey of historiated initials included in twenty-eight illuminated Parisian Bibles produced between 1200 and 1275 records only one as depicting Cain and Abel, though it is unclear if it represents the offering or the murder scene; Branner, *Manuscript Painting in*

Perhaps more interesting in helping to define the Hornby-Cockerell Bible's significance is the cycle of illuminations illustrating the Pauline Epistles. As Luba Eleen has noted, the iconography of Paul changed fundamentally in the twelfth century. The traditional depiction of him as "the apostle of doctrine" portrayed with a book or scroll rapidly gave way to the visualization of him as an embodiment of Christian militant qualities. This change occurred in part, Eleen argues, as a response to the Crusading ideal and as a symbolic representation of the Church's paired secular and spiritual powers, but it also reflected a new understanding of the apostle to the Gentiles as a warrior in his own right. Taking the text of Hebrews 4:12 as its model ("The word of God is alive and active. It cuts more deeply than any two-edged sword"), this interpretation inspired a new iconographic representation of Paul: the now familiar image of him wielding a sword.⁸² This image, however, would remain quite rare until about 1240. Based on her analysis of 286 Bible manuscripts produced between 1100 and 1250 in the University of Toronto's *Corpus of Bible Illustrations*, Eleen recorded a total of four depictions of Paul holding both a book and sword, and six of him with only a sword.⁸³ Although I have not yet located each of the Hornby-Cockerell Bible's folios illuminating the Pauline Epistles, I have been able to examine eight of them and have found dealer records describing two more, as yet untraced, leaves. Of these, two depict him in the traditional way, holding only a book (Philippians [382v] and I Thessalonians [385r]), three others depict him holding

Paris, 178–91. Nigel Morgan records one Bible preserving an illuminated Genesis initial depicting the murder of Abel, though this scene is part of a much more ambitious cycle of illumination that includes the seven days of Creation, multiple scenes from the life of Christ, the temptation and expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, and multiple scenes from the Passion of Christ (London, Lincoln's Inn MS Hale 123, fol. 3v), *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, 2 vols., ed. J. J. G. Alexander (London: Harvey Miller and Oxford University Press, 1982), 1:108, item 62. Walter Cahn records a single manuscript in his survey of Romanesque Bibles preserving a Genesis initial featuring the murder of Abel, the so-called Manerius Bible of ca. 1175–1200 (Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève MS 8, fol. 7v); Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts of the Twelfth Century*, 1:99–101, item 81. The inclusion of this scene could, perhaps, suggest possible English influence on the manuscript's iconographic program.

82 Eleen, *Illustration of the Pauline Epistles*, 38–42.

83 Eleen, *Illustration of the Pauline Epistles*, 53.

a sword (Romans [367r] and I-II Corinthians [372r and 376v]), and five show him holding both book and sword (Galatians [379v], Ephesians [381r], Philemon [389r], Laodiceans [389v], and Hebrews [390r]) (fig. 7). Eleen cites the Lothian Bible, dated to the first quarter of the thirteenth century, as containing the earliest examples of this motif used as the



FIGURE 7. Fol. 381r, historiated initial inhabited by St. Paul opening the Epistle to the Ephesians.

subject for illuminated initials.⁸⁴ As its textual features and artistic styles have shown, the Hornby-Cockerell Bible dates to this same period. Undoubtedly there are other, as yet unexplored manuscripts that could include early examples of the militant Paul, but the fact that the Hornby-Cockerell manuscript includes illuminations that nearly double Eleen's recorded figures helps testify to its unusualness and importance as one of the first illuminated witnesses to the evolving Paris Bible.

Reading Scripture

Despite the Hornby-Cockerell Bible's current fragmentary state, its textual, organizational, and artistic features all argue for its production in or near Paris sometime during the first quarter of the thirteenth century as scholars, scribes, and illuminators worked together to create the standardized contents and features of the emerging Paris Bible. In addition to making our analysis of its origins and context of production more challenging, the manuscript's breaking and the subsequent dispersal of its leaves have also made it more difficult to assess exactly how its medieval readers might have used it. In this brief section, I will examine a small number of marginal

84 Eleen, *Illustration of the Pauline Epistles*, 53. The Lothian Bible is New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.791. The manuscript's catalogue description suggests Canterbury as a possible locus for this Bible's production, but the style of its illuminations is somewhat evocative of the Hornby-Cockerell Bible. The artists use a similar color palette, execute figures' hands and feet in an elongated fashion, and render facial features and hair in a similar manner. Measuring 470 × 324 mm, the Lothian Bible is nearly double the size of the Hornby-Cockerell manuscript, it lacks the *INH*, and the order of the biblical books is radically different. And unlike the Hornby-Cockerell Bible's historiated initials, the Lothian Bible's illuminations feature more complex, narrative scenes (as opposed to more simple, representative single figures) and often extend ambitiously into the lower margins (a relatively common feature of English manuscripts beginning in the 1220s). Nevertheless, a close comparison of the Lothian and Hornby-Cockerell Bibles' illuminated contents does suggest at least a partial reliance on similar models, with the influence of the Channel Style clear in each. Taken together, these two manuscripts each reveal how English and northern French illuminators adapted a common, cross-Channel style for more local tastes and purposes.

annotations that point out the topical preoccupations and possible context of use by one of the manuscript's early users.

Altogether, direct evidence for medieval reader interaction with the Hornby-Cockerell Bible appears on sixteen of the 213 individual folios I have been able to trace and examine closely. Although most of the manuscript lacks annotations, the *nota bene* marks and short comments that do appear are suggestive. The marked folios preserve a total of thirty-five separate entries that typically act in a prescriptive or exhortatory fashion, rather than offer any explanatory or expansive commentary. Nine are simple *manicula*—or small illustrated hands—pointing out passages of particular interest to the reader; twenty-four provide short textual annotations highlighting the content of certain passages; one simply reproduces Psalms 2:7 in microscopic script in the lower margin of the leaf bearing Ecclesiasticus 27:6–29:5 (211r); and the final specimen is a simple, yet fascinating ink line drawing that graphically evokes its accompanying passage's lesson. Together they demonstrate their maker's preoccupation with proper and improper moral behavior, the salvific power of faith and prayer, and the punishment of sin.

The surviving *manicula* point to passages exhorting the reader to cleave to a good wife (Prov. 18:22, 191r), have mercy on the poor (Prov. 19:17, 191r), provide proper care for the cattle in one's keeping (Ecclus. 7:24, 206r), seek and call upon the Lord in times of trial (Isa. 55:6, 231r), and flee from fornication (I Cor. 6:18, 373v). Others point out passages on larger topics, such as the obedience of children (referring to the old chapter 18 of Ephesians in the book's *capitula* list, 381r), the power of true prayer (III Kings 8:46; 101r), and the consequences of following ill counsel (III Kings 12:13–14, 102v). Folio 46r preserves perhaps the most interesting combination of annotations, a *maniculum* pointing to Numbers 24:17 and the prophecy of the coming of Christ, and, a bit further down the column, a simple doodle of a hangman's gibbet drawn next to Numbers 25:3–6 and its description of God's instructions to hang idolators in punishment for their sin (fig. 8). The reader adds no verbal commentary to this page, instead using the *maniculum* to highlight Christ's role as judge and punisher and the gibbet as a visual illustration and mnemonic of the wages of improper faith and worship.

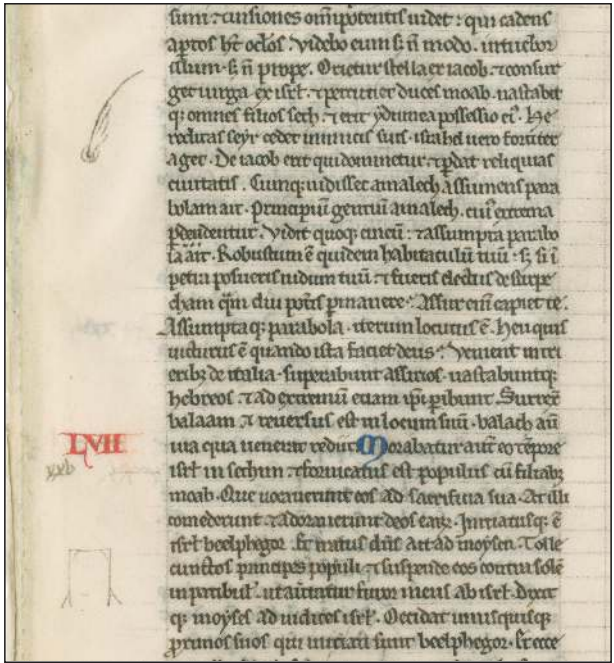


FIGURE 8. Fol. 46r, featuring a *maniculum* and a drawing of a hangman's gibbet highlighting the text of Numbers 25:3–6. Also note the revision of the old chapter number “LVII” to the new number “XXV” in both plummet and ink.

Like the illustrated *manicula* and gibbet, the manuscript’s textual annotations also serve a simple mnemonic purpose. A series of notes offering very short topical summaries of particular verses in III Kings 8:35–54 (101r) invokes the tribulations through which proper supplication to God shall deliver sinners: through storms (8:35) and pestilence (8:37), as a stranger and convert (8:41), through captivity (8:46), and in emulation of Solomon’s mode of prayer (8:54). Other annotations call attention to Solomon’s later descent into idolatry at the urging of his wives and concubines (III Kings 11:203, 102r), the punishment of the house of Jeroboam for its idolatry (III Kings 14:10), and the role of the Holy Spirit in the creation of wisdom (Ecclus. 1:9, 204v). Additional notes advise caution in pursuing wealth (Prov. 23:4, 192v), discourage the repetition of erroneous teaching (Ecclus.

7:15, 206r), and recommend marital faithfulness (Ecclus. 7:21, 206r). And a series of six textual *nota bene* references on folio 205r emphasizes several moral topics discussed in Ecclesiasticus, including humility (3:20), hardness of heart (3:27), the power of alms (3:33), the power of the tongue in promoting wisdom (4:29), the need to fight for justice until death (4:33), and the manner in which one should govern one's household justly (4:35).

Of all the reader-added marks in the manuscript, only two provide any potential indication of an active use of its text for a specific purpose. Written in the margins immediately adjacent to Matthew 7:15 (fol. 316r) and Mark 8:2 (fol. 327v) are the words “dominica viij” and “dominica vij,” respectively, simple notes indicating some sort of affiliation between this verse and the eighth and seventh Sundays of an undisclosed liturgical period. Each passage did serve as an antiphon for the celebration of the Divine Office on the seventh and eighth Sundays after Pentecost.⁸⁵ More likely, it is possible that these notes could refer to the verses' use within a different service context, for instance as liturgical prompts for lections during the celebration of Mass on these days. Additionally, and perhaps more likely given the moral-theological focus of the manuscript's other marginal notes and marks, they may serve a pastoral purpose by designating particular Sundays for which these Gospel passages would have served as the doctrinal themes of the days' sermons. Without the evidence of additional reader-added marginalia, however, this conclusion can only be speculative. All we can say with certainty is that one of the Hornby-Cockerell Bible's medieval owners was particularly interested in examples of morally correct and sinful behavior, with an emphasis on the bitter consequences of idolatry and the need to worship God properly. This emphasis on moral theology and its possible application within a pastoral context aligns perfectly with the way that many readers used their Bibles from the early thirteenth century on.⁸⁶ Perhaps additional leaves waiting to be discovered will reveal

85 *Cantus Index: Online Catalogue for Mass and Office Chants*, “Attendite a falsis prophetis . . .,” Cantus ID 001511, <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/chant/460859>; “Misereor super turbam quia ecce iam triduo sustentent me . . .,” Cantus ID 003770, <http://cantusindex.org/id/003770> (accessed 9 September 2019).

86 See, for instance, De Hamel, *The Book*, 131–36; Light, “The New Thirteenth-Century Bible and the Challenge of Heresy”; Eyal Poleg, “A Ladder Set Up on Earth: The Bible in

more information about the medieval use of the manuscript, just as they could reveal more about the manuscript's textual and artistic contexts of production.

Revaluing Scripture

Tragic though the breaking of the Hornby-Cockerell Bible may have been, the unfortunate day in late 1981 when Bruce Ferrini and Michael Greenberg erased its more than 750 years' worth of codicological, textual, and artistic integrity did not define this book. Rather, their simple—but profoundly impactful—act of biblioclasm provided the manuscript with a new way to tell its story. While the dispersal of its leaves makes recovering its full history more difficult, it also has drawn attention to the manuscript that it might otherwise not have received. This attention, in turn, has resulted in the discovery of another rare transitional or proto-Paris Bible bearing important witness to the dynamic evolution of the Bible as text, artistic work, and material artifact in the early thirteenth century.⁸⁷

But the attempt to reconstruct and analyze the Hornby-Cockerell Bible has done more than just provide valuable historical context for the manuscript. It also enables us to tell a deeper story about the moral and intellectual cost of biblioclasm in the face of commercial profit. When I interviewed Dr. Greenberg about his role in the breaking of the manuscript, I asked him what he thinks now about the part he played in its destruction. He paused for a moment, acknowledged the Hornby-Cockerell Bible's historical significance, and then answered that the manuscript's breaking and my current attempt to reconstruct it tell a deeper story about the recognition and price

Medieval Sermons,” in Boynton and Reilly, *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 205–27; and Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse, “The Development of Research Tools in the Thirteenth Century,” in their *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), 221–55.

87 Laura Light examined twenty-eight manuscripts produced between 1200 and 1230, of which she identifies fourteen as transitional Bibles. She goes on to estimate that perhaps twice this number still survive. See “French Bibles,” 157, n. 13.

of greed and the consequent effort required to right what he described as “a profound wrong.” Ultimately, Dr. Greenberg comes across as a genuinely repentant biblioclast. Breaking the Hornby-Cockerell Bible, he explained, “made me more aware of doing what was right in life, no matter the profit level.” He went on to say that he “should have done the right thing, not the expedient thing,” and that “the story of this Bible can teach us that.” He paused, took a sip of coffee, and concluded, “Something of great importance was destroyed in pursuing a gold calf. That’s the gift of this Bible.”⁸⁸ In addition to their historical and commercial worth, then, it would seem that the Hornby-Cockerell Bible’s dispersed, but slowly reunifying, leaves also have profound ethical value and tell an important cautionary tale about the real cost and lasting effect of biblioclasm.

88 Personal conversation with Dr. Greenberg, 24 January 2016.

Appendix I: Codicological Description of the Hornby-Cockerell Bible

Paris or northwestern France, circa 1200–25. “Ultrafine” vellum.⁸⁹ Originally 440 folios (244 traced or described). Folios measure 220 × 145 mm (with some slight variation due to uneven trimming); written space measures 147 × 100 mm. Two columns of 55 lines ruled in plummet w/ pricking marks along the interior margin. Each column is 45 mm wide, with a vertical bounding line bisecting the 10 mm-wide intercolumnar space. Written above top line in a fine, early gothic bookhand based on the script developed for the Glossed Bibles of the twelfth century. Running titles and one-line versal initials in Lombard capitals alternating in red and blue, and with marginal chapter numbers in red and blue. Opening initials for each Psalm are predominantly of two lines in alternating red and blue, often with extensive penwork decoration in the contrasting color. Historiated initials are described in the table below; all illuminated initials are rendered in burnished gold on blue and pink or burgundy grounds accented with white or black pen work. At least two post-medieval rebinding efforts, along with their trimming of each folio’s upper, lower, and exterior margins and the final disbinding of the manuscript, have made it difficult to reconstruct the exact sewing structure of the original codex. However, folio 280v preserves the lone surviving quire mark I have discovered so far (“xxviii”), suggesting that the original codex was gathered in quinions. Also written in the lower margin in the same hand and ink is the word “Emendat(us),” indicating that the gathering passed through a formal process of scribal correction. At the extreme lower margin of folio 150v, the remains of the abbreviation symbol for “us” survive, providing further evidence of the manuscript’s quinion structure and a consistent process of scribal review. Modern foliation has been added in pencil at the top right corner of each leaf’s recto, presumably by the manuscript’s breakers.

89 The DNA makeup of eighteen folios of the manuscript was tested as part of a larger survey of seventy-nine medieval pocket and portable Bibles to determine the animal origin of their writing supports, with the survey’s results determining that calfskin was used to assemble the Hornby-Cockerell Bible. See Sarah Fiddymment et al., “Animal Origin of 13th-Century Uterine Vellum Revealed Using Noninvasive Peptide Fingerprinting,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences (PNAS)*, 112, no. 49 (2015): 15066–71, available at <https://www.pnas.org/content/112/49/15066.full> (accessed 26 December 2018). Fols. 2, 30, 46, 78, 94, 107, 183, 190, 205, 231, 285, 300, 352, 354, 372, 403, 426, and 440 were tested, with the thickness of each leaf measuring between 0.1 and 0.2 mm.

Appendix II: Contents, Locations, and Provenance Histories of Recorded Individual Hornby-Cockerell Bible Leaves⁹⁰

<i>Folio #</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Current Location</i>	<i>Previous owners and donation notes</i>
2	Portion of the <i>Epistola</i> to Genesis through beginning of St. Jerome's <i>Praefatio in Pentateucum</i> (Stegmüller 285), with a ten-line historiated initial "D" on the verso inhabited by St. Jerome	OSU	Acquired from C. E. Puckett (Akron, OH), 11 August 2010
3	End of St. Jerome's <i>Praefatio in Pentateucum</i> (Stegmüller 285) and <i>capitula</i> list for Genesis—1:22, with seven-chambered historiated initial "I" extending the entire length of the intercolumnar space on the verso with scenes depicting the creation of the world, creation of Eve, God instructing Adam and Eve, the expulsion from Eden, Adam digging and Eve spinning, and Cain murdering Abel	Tokyo, Ueno Park, Taito, National Museum of Western Art	Donated to the museum in 2017 by Mr. Hiroshi Naito ¹
8	Genesis 19:37–24:14	OSU	Donated by Mr. Charles Hoff, January 1984
13, 15	Genesis 36:17–40:4 / 42:37–46:2	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982 ²
17	Opening of Exodus, with historiated initial "H" on verso depicting the finding of the infant Moses	Current location untraced	Described in Christie's (New York), <i>Early Printed Books and Manuscripts including important Bibles</i> , 25 September 1981, lot 2

⁹⁰ A total of 241 folios, 197 of which reside at The Ohio State University's Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, are described in this table. OSU's leaves are scheduled to be uploaded to the University Libraries' new digital content system by the end of 2019, and once these leaves are digitized, I will combine them with other identified leaves through an online reconstruction project. I would like to extend both professional and personal thanks to J. C. Hanks and his family, Tahlman Krumm, and Nancy and William McGrath for their ongoing support of Ohio State's efforts to reconstruct this manuscript.

<i>Folio #</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Current Location</i>	<i>Previous owners and donation notes</i>
19, 23	Exodus 6:12–9:22 / 20:4–23:28	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
28	Exodus 37:1–40:26	OSU	Donated by Mr. Charles Hoff, January 1984
29	Opening of Leviticus, with historiated initial “V” on recto depicting God appearing to Moses	Current location untraced	Described in Christie’s (New York), <i>Early Printed Books and Manuscripts including important Bibles</i> , 25 September 1981, lot 2
30	Leviticus 4:7–7:31	OSU	Donated by Mr. Charles Hoff, January 1984
31, 35	Leviticus 7:31–14:18 / 20:25–24:1	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
38	Numbers 1:2–3:39	Private collection, Columbus, OH	Acquired by current owner in September 2015 from A. G. & S. Gillis Ancient Coins and Antiquities (Wombwell, Barnley, S. Yorkshire)
41	Numbers 8:15–11:31	OSU	Donated by Mr. Philip Milburn in June 2015; formerly the property of Milburn’s aunt, Mrs. Marcia Preston, who purchased it from Bruce Ferrini in the 1990s
43, 46	Numbers 15:9–18:9 / 24:14–27:20	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
47	Numbers 27:20–31:17	Current location untraced	Sold by C. E. Puckett (Akron, OH) to unknown buyer on eBay, 27 November 2008
50(?)	End of Numbers and opening of Deuteronomy (with possible <i>capitula</i> list and prologue), with six-line historiated initial “H” on verso inhabited by Moses	Current location untraced	Edward R. Lubin (New York), <i>European Illuminated Manuscripts</i> (1988), item 2
52	Deuteronomy 4:34–8:2	OSU	Acquired from C.E. Puckett (Akron, OH), 1 April 2010

<i>Folio #</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Current Location</i>	<i>Previous owners and donation notes</i>
53	Deuteronomy 8:2–11:26	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
54	Deuteronomy 11:26–15:9	OSU	Acquired from C.E. Puckett (Akron, OH), 10 March 2010
55	Deuteronomy 15:9–19:10	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
61	End of <i>capitula</i> list for Joshua through Joshua 4:21, with six-line historiated initial “E” on the recto inhabited by God speaking to Joshua	OSU	Acquired from Sotheby’s (London), <i>The History of Western Script: Sixty Important Leaves from the Schøyen Collection</i> , 10 July 2012, lot 57. Formerly Schøyen MS 1564. Originally consigned by Ferrini to Sotheby’s (London), <i>Western Manuscripts and Miniatures</i> , 17 December 1991, lot 11a
63	Joshua 8:5–10:21	Toronto, Library of the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Joseph Pope Rare Book Room	Purchased by or donated to the University of Toronto (UT) in the early 1980s, and then presented by UT on 30 June 1984 to the Reverend Peter Swan, C.S.B., President and Vice-Chancellor of St. Michael’s College, in honor of his retirement. The leaf passed to PIMS upon Rev. Swan’s death. ³
64, 66	Joshua 10:21–13:21 / 17:6–20:9	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
67	Joshua 20:9–23:15	The Sims Collection (Sims 39), Maryland	
68	<i>Capitula</i> list to Judges and thirteen-line historiated initial “P” inhabited by Judah(?) opening Judges	Current location untraced	Sold by Marc Antoine du Ry Medieval Art (Marlborough, Wiltshire, UK), <i>Gothic Genius</i> catalogue (2001), item 1

<i>Folio #</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Current Location</i>	<i>Previous owners and donation notes</i>
72	Judges 9:31–11:40	OSU	Donated by Dr. Helge Frank, January 2017
75	Judges 18:27–20:38	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
76	Opening of Ruth, with historiated initial inhabited by Ruth	Private collection, London	Description in Harry Levinson (Los Angeles), <i>Catalogue 58</i> , item 20
77	Ruth 2:22 through prologue to Kings (Stegmüller 323), with six-line illuminated initial “V” on the verso	OSU	Donated by Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
78	End of prologue to Kings (Stegmüller 323) through I Kings 2:27, with <i>capitula</i> list to I Kings and sixteen-line initial “F” on the recto inhabited by a bird with blue and red feathers	OSU	Donated by Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
84–85	I Kings 17:38–23:7	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
88	I Kings 29:1–II Kings 1:15, with <i>capitula</i> list to II Kings, a two-line initial “D” in blue and nineteen-line zoomorphic initial “F” formed by a dragon and enclosing a blue bear with a red head, both on the verso	OSU	Donated by Mr. Tahlman Krumm (New Albany, OH), April 2018; previously the property of Mr. J. C. Hanks (Upper Arlington, OH), who acquired it from Thomas French Fine Art (Fairlawn, OH), October 2012; previously the property of Mrs. Sandra Miesel (Indianapolis, IN)
89, 94	II Kings 1:15–4:4 / 16:22–19:11	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
97	II Kings 24:14–III Kings 2:5, with <i>capitula</i> list to III Kings, two-line illuminated initial “D” opening the <i>capitula</i> list, and eight-line historiated initial “C” featuring David and Abisag greeting each other and holding hands, both on the recto	OSU	Donated by Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982

<i>Folio #</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Current Location</i>	<i>Previous owners and donation notes</i>
101	III Kings 8:33–10:14	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
102	III Kings 10:14–12:21	OSU	Acquired from C. E. Puckett (Akron, OH), 10 March 2010
103	III Kings 12:21–15:2	OSU	Donated by Mr. Charles Hoff, September 1984
106–107	III Kings 20:2–IV Kings 2:13, with a seven-line historiated initial “C” inhabited by a figure (Ochozias or Elias?) bending over and reaching to the ground opening IV Kings on fol. 107v	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
110	IV Kings 7:9–9:35	OSU	Acquired from Andrew Leckie, litterascripta.au.com (Victoria, Australia), 20 June 2019
112	IV Kings 12:13–15:15	The Sims Collection (Sims 5), Maryland	
115	IV Kings 19:34–23:5	OSU	Donated by Mr. Charles Hoff, September 1984
11–(?)	IV Kings 25:21–30 through I Chronicles 1:1–2:29, with prologue to I Chronicles (Stegmüller 328), a nine-line illuminated “S” opening the prologue, and ten-line historiated initial “A” inhabited by a pointing figure (Ezra?) holding a book	Private European collection	
123	I Chronicles 18:11–22:12	OSU	Acquired from Bruce T. Martin, HistoricBibles.com (Albany, OR), April 2010
12–(?)	II Chronicles 12:5–13:21	Current location untraced	Phillip J. Pirages (McMinnville, OR), <i>Catalogue 11</i> (ca. 1983), item 12
132	II Chronicles 21:5–24:15	OSU	Acquired from Andrew Leckie, Leckie Gallery (Maldon, Australia), 9 June 2010

<i>Folio #</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Current Location</i>	<i>Previous owners and donation notes</i>
137	II Chronicles 35:5 through prologue to I Esdras (Stegmüller 330), with the <i>Oratio Esdre</i> and a pair of seven-line illuminated initials, “D” and “U,” respectively, on the verso	OSU	Donated by Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
138	Featuring historiated initial inhabited by Joshua	Current location untraced	Description in Harry Levinson (Los Angeles), <i>Catalogue 58</i> (1962), item 20
14–(?)	Opening of I Ezra, with a historiated initial inhabited by a standing queen	Private collection of Mr. Robert McCarthy ⁴	
144	I Ezra 10:9–II Ezra (Nehemiah) 3:19, with seven-line illuminated initial “E” on the recto	OSU	Donated by Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
150	Tobias 10:1–Judith 1:1, including prologue to Judith (Stegmüller 335), six-line illuminated initial “A” and six-line historiated initial “A” inhabited by Judith holding the head of Holofernes, both on the verso	OSU	Donated by Mr. Charles Hoff, January 1984
152	Judith 6:5–9:16	OSU	Donated by Mr. Charles Hoff, January 1984
154	Opening of Esther, with historiated initial inhabited by Esther	Current location untraced	Description in Harry Levinson (Los Angeles), <i>Catalogue 58</i> (1962), item 20; image in <i>Gothic and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts from Texas Collections</i> (Austin: Miriam Lutcher Stark Library, University of Texas, 1971), 4
155	Esther 1:12–5:5	Private collection, Columbus, OH	Acquired by current owner in November 2014 from eBay seller “finehistory”/Bill Marger (St. Petersburg, FL)

<i>Folio #</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Current Location</i>	<i>Previous owners and donation notes</i>
15-(?)	Opening of Job, with illuminated initials “C” on the recto and “S” on the verso	Current location untraced	From 1982–85, property of Mr. Abraham D. Pelunis; description in The Schuster Gallery (London), <i>Illuminated Manuscripts</i> (1987), item 4
161–162	Job 12:8–23:3	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
164–166	Job 30:3–42:16, with prologue to Job (Stegmüller 350) and partial <i>capitula</i> list on 166	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
167	Opening of Psalms, with Gilbert de la Porrée’s prologue to the Psalms (Stegmüller 370), and with historiated initial “B” on the verso inhabited by King David playing his harp	Current location untraced	Described in Christie’s (New York), <i>Early Printed Books and Manuscripts Including Important Bibles</i> , 25 September 1981, lot 2
170	Psalms 21:30–30:19, with eleven-line illuminated initial “D” on recto	Private European collection	From 1982–85, property of Mr. Abraham D. Pelunis; description in Quaritch (London), <i>Catalogue 1056: Bookhands of the Middle Ages Pt. II</i> (1985)
171	Psalms 30:19–36:24	Current location untraced	Quaritch (London), <i>Catalogue 1036: Bookhands of the Middle Ages</i> (1984), item 66
172	Psalms 36:24–43:7, with twenty-two-line historiated initial “D” on the recto inhabited by King David pointing to his mouth opening Psalm 38	OSU	Acquired for OSU at Sotheby’s (London), <i>Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts and Continental Russian Books</i> , 23 May 2017, lot 2 by King Alfred’s Notebook (Cayce, SC). Previously listed in Quaritch (London), <i>Catalogue 1270: Bookhands of the Middle Ages Pt. VI</i> (2000), item 16; Phillip J. Pirages (McMinnville, OR), <i>Catalogue</i> 11 (ca. 1983), item 10

<i>Folio #</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Current Location</i>	<i>Previous owners and donation notes</i>
174	Psalms 50:14–59:6, with twenty-three-line historiated initial “D” on recto inhabited by the <i>insipiens</i> , or fool, mentioned in the opening verse of Psalm 52	Current location untraced	The Schuster Gallery (London), <i>Illuminated Manuscripts</i> (1987), item 5; Maggs Bros., Ltd. (London), Catalogue 1227, <i>European Bulletin</i> 21 (1997), item 10
177	Psalms 73:8–78:2	Private collection, Columbus, OH	Acquired from Thomas French Fine Art (Fairlawn, OH), 19 April 2019
179	Psalms 87:10–93:17	OSU	Acquired from C. E. Puckett (Akron, OH), 30 August 2018
181	Psalms 102:22–106:12	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
182	Psalms 106:12–113:20, with historiated initial “D” on the verso inhabited by Christ offering a blessing	Current location untraced	Described in Christie’s (New York), <i>Early Printed Books and Manuscripts Including Important Bibles</i> , 25 September 1981, lot 2
183–184	Psalms 113:20–126:5	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
187(?)	Opening of Proverbs with seventeen-plus-line historiated initial “P” on the verso inhabited by King Solomon holding a book and scepter	Private collection of Mr. Robert McCarthy ⁵	
189–193	Proverbs 6:30–29:13	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
194	Proverbs 29:13—Ecclesiastes 2:4, with <i>capitula</i> list for Ecclesiastes and eight-line historiated initial “V” on the verso inhabited by King Solomon holding a book	OSU	Donated by Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
196	Ecclesiastes 6:11–11:8	OSU	Acquired from C. E. Puckett (Akron, OH), 1 April 2010

<i>Folio #</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Current Location</i>	<i>Previous owners and donation notes</i>
197	Ecclesiastes 11:8–12:14 and the opening of the Song of Songs, with seven-line historiated initial “O” on the recto inhabited by the figure of Ecclesia as queen	Current location untraced	From 1982–85, property of Mr. Abraham D. Pelunis; sold at Sotheby’s (London), <i>Western Manuscripts and Miniatures</i> , 5 December 2006, lot 60
200(?)	Includes opening of Wisdom, with historiated initial “D” inhabited by King Solomon holding a scepter and book	Current location untraced	From 1982–85, property of Mr. Abraham D. Pelunis; Edward R. Lubin (New York), <i>European Illuminated Manuscripts</i> (1988), item 3
204	Partial <i>capitula</i> list for Ecclesiasticus through Ecclesiasticus 3:8, with seven-line historiated initial “O” on the recto inhabited by Sirach	OSU	Donated by Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
205–207, 209–212	Ecclesiasticus 3:8–15:17 / 19:25–34:29	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
217	Ecclesiasticus 50:28–52:12 through portion of <i>capitula</i> list for Isaiah (I–XLVII), with prologue to Isaiah (Stegmüller 482) and eight-line illuminated initial “N” on the recto	OSU	Donated by Mr. Charles Hoff, November 1982
218	Partial <i>capitula</i> list (XLVIII–CLXXX) to Isaiah and opening to Isaiah, with ten-line historiated initial “U” on the verso inhabited by Isaiah holding a book	Current location untraced	Phillip J. Pirages (McMinnville, OR), Catalogue 11 (ca. 1983), item 11; Maruzen International Co., Ltd. (Tokyo), <i>Cloister, City, and Court: Miniature Painting in the Later Middle Ages and Renaissance</i> (1988), item 4
221–227, 229, 231–232	Isaiah 9:20–41:10 / 44:18–49:1 / 53:3–63:1	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
235	Partial <i>capitula</i> list to Jeremiah–Jeremiah 1:1–2:2, with prologue (Stegmüller 487), seven-line illuminated initial “H,” and ten-line historiated initial “U” inhabited by Jeremiah, both on the verso	Private European collection	From 1982–85, property of Mr. Abraham D. Pelunis; Quaritch (London), <i>Catalogue 1056: Bookbands of the Middle Ages</i> (1984)

<i>Folio #</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Current Location</i>	<i>Previous owners and donation notes</i>
237	Jeremiah 2:2–4:18	The Sims Collection (Sims 12), Maryland	
238, 240	Jeremiah 7:11–10:7 / 13:19–17:3	OSU	Donated by Mr. Charles Hoff, September 1984
241	Jeremiah 17:3–18:20	Ann Arbor, MI, University of Michigan, Special Collections Library, Mich. MS. Leaf 38	
245	Jeremiah 29:24–32:7	OSU	Acquired from C. E. Puckett (Akron, OH), 1 April 2010
250, 252	Jeremiah 44:14–48:21 / 50:17–51:59	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
253	Jeremiah 51:59–Lamentations 2:7, with four-line illuminated initial “E” on the verso and infilled with Channel Style vine-work	OSU	Donated by Mr. Charles Hoff, December 1986
255	Lamentations 5:6–Baruch 3:23, with five-line historiated initial “E” on the recto inhabited by Baruch sitting and holding a book, and with silverpoint illuminator’s guide for the historiated initial in the margin	OSU	Donated by Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
257	Baruch 6:47 through partial <i>capitula</i> list to Ezekiel, with prologue to Ezekiel (Stegmüller 492)	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
258	Partial <i>capitula</i> list to Ezekiel through Ezekiel 3:1, with eight-line historiated initial “E” on the verso inhabited by Ezekiel holding a book	OSU	Donated by Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982

<i>Folio #</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Current Location</i>	<i>Previous owners and donation notes</i>
263–266	Ezekiel 17:8–28:10	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
270–273	Ezekiel 37:7–48:11	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
274	Ezekiel 48:11 through prologue to Daniel (Stegmüller 494), with partial <i>capitula</i> list to Daniel and eleven-line illuminated initial “D” on the recto; on the verso: offsetting of the historiated initial opening Daniel on fol. 275r	OSU	Donated by Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
275	Partial <i>capitula</i> list to Daniel through Daniel 1:1–3:2, with nineteen-line historiated initial “A” on the recto inhabited by Daniel and three lions	Current location untraced	Formerly the property of Mr. Philip Sills; Phillip J. Pirages (McMinnville, OR), Catalogue 47 (ca. 2002), item 5 and Catalogue 49 (ca. 2002–2003), item 6; Sotheby’s (London), <i>Western Manuscripts and Miniatures</i> , 6 December 2001, lot 10; and <i>Western Manuscripts and Miniatures</i> , 22 June 2004, lot 14
276–279	Daniel 3:2–11:9	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
280	Daniel 11:9–13:37, with original quire mark (“xxviii”) preserved at bottom center of verso, along with a note in the same hand that the quire was corrected (“Emendat(us)”)	Private collection, Columbus, OH	Acquired from Thomas French Fine Art (Fairlawn, OH), 19 April 2019
285	Amos 1:1–6:2, with seven-line historiated initial “U” on the recto inhabited by the figure of Amos holding a tablet and a scroll	OSU	Donated by Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982

<i>Folio #</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Current Location</i>	<i>Previous owners and donation notes</i>
286	Amos 6:2–9:15, Abdias 1:1–21, prologue to Jonah (Stegmüller 522), Jonah 1:1–2, with nine-line historiated initial “U” inhabited by Abdias, seven-line illuminated initial “I” opening the prologue to Jonah, and seven-line historiated initial “E” inhabited by Jonah, all on the verso	Private collection of Mr. Robert McCarthy	From 1982–85, property of Mr. Abraham D. Pelunis; The Schuster Gallery (London), <i>Illuminated Manuscripts</i> (1987), item 6; Edward R. Lubin (New York), <i>European Illuminated Manuscripts</i> (1988), item 4
287	Jonah 1:2–Micah 3:4, with prologue to Micah (Stegmüller 525), four-line illuminated initial “M” and nine-line historiated initial “U” inhabited by Micah holding a scroll, both on the verso	OSU	Donated by Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
290	Habbakuk 3:4–19; Sophonias 1:1–3:20; Haggai 1:1–6, with prologues to Sophonias (Stegmüller 532) and Haggai (Stegmüller 535) and four-line illuminated initial “S” opening prologue to Sophonias, a nine-line historiated initial “U” inhabited by Sophonias, both on recto, and four-line illuminated “A” opening prologue to Haggai and fifteen-line zoomorphic initial “I” formed by a winged dragon, both on verso	Private European collection	
291	Opening of Zechariah, with a zoomorphic initial of a man-headed reptile	Private collection of Mr. Robert McCarthy	From 1982–85, property of Mr. Abraham D. Pelunis; Description in Harry Levinson (Los Angeles), <i>Catalogue 58</i> (1962), item 20
295	Partial <i>capitula</i> list for I Maccabees through I Maccabees 1:30, with four-line illuminated “M” and eight-line historiated initial “E” inhabited by Judah Maccabee, both on the verso	OSU	Donated by Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982

<i>Folio #</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Current Location</i>	<i>Previous owners and donation notes</i>
297–302	I Maccabees 3:6–11:47	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
305	End of I Maccabees and the opening of the <i>capitula</i> list to II Maccabees	Current location untraced	Description in Quaritch (London), <i>Catalogue 1270: Bookbands of the Middle Ages Pt. VI</i> (2000), item 17
306	Partial <i>capitula</i> list to II Maccabees through II Maccabees 2:18, with twenty-nine-line historiated initial “F” on the recto inhabited by Judah Maccabee	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg, November 1982
310–312	II Maccabees 8:30–15:11	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
314	Partial <i>capitula</i> list to Matthew through Matthew 1:1–2:21, with a thirty-four-line zoomorphic initial “L” on verso composed of a trio of biting dragons	Private European collection	
315–317	Matthew 2:22–12:32	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
318	Matthew 12:32–14:28	OSU	Acquired from C. E. Puckett (Akron, OH), 10 March 2010
322–323	Matthew 24:2–27:57	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
324	Matthew 27:57–28:20 through prologue to Mark (with <i>capitula</i> list?), with decorated initial “M” on the recto	Current location untraced	Possibly the property of Mr. Abraham D. Pelunis from 1982 to 1985; The Schuster Gallery (London), <i>Illuminated Manuscripts</i> (1988), item 7
325	Mark 1:1–3:23, with thirty-nine-line zoomorphic initial “I” on the recto composed of a pair of dragons facing each other with intertwined tongues	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg, November 1982

<i>Folio #</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Current Location</i>	<i>Previous owners and donation notes</i>
326–329	Mark 3:23–12:42	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
331	Mark 14:65 through partial <i>capitula</i> list for Luke, with prologue to Luke (Stegmüller 620), and twenty-two-line illuminated initial “L” on the recto	OSU	Donated by Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
332	Partial <i>capitula</i> list for Luke (end of V–LXXV) through Luke 1:1–50, with thirty-seven-line zoomorphic and historiated initial “Q” on the verso with long descender formed by a dragon and inhabited by St. Luke writing at a lectern	OSU	Donated by Mr. Tahlman Krumm (New Albany, OH), April 2016; Christie’s (London) Sale 10457, <i>Valuable Books & Manuscripts</i> , 1 December 2015, Lot 5 (with fols. 376, 379, 381, 389, and 397)
333	Luke 1:50–3:24	Private collection, Columbus, OH	Acquired by current owner in November 2014 from eBay seller “hisbooks” in June 2010; Quaritch (London) <i>Catalogue 1056: Bookbands of the Middle Ages Pt. II</i> (1985), item 7
336–341	Luke 7:44–20:35	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
345, 347–352	John 1:40–4:35 / 6:31–21:6	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
353	John 21:6–partial <i>capitula</i> list for Acts, with prologue to Acts (Stegmüller 640) and twenty-six-line illuminated initial “L” on the recto	OSU	Donated by Mr. Charles Hoff, December 1985
354	Partial <i>capitula</i> list for Acts (end of LXIII–LXXVI) through Acts 3:4, with twenty-eight-line illuminated initial “P” on the recto featuring Channel Style vinework	OSU	Acquired from Boyd Mackus (Springfield, IL), 28 May 2012

<i>Folio #</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Current Location</i>	<i>Previous owners and donation notes</i>
356–361	Acts 6:28–19:33	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
362, 364	Acts 19:33–22:1 / 24:24–27:26	OSU	Acquired from C.E. Puckett (Akron, OH), 10 March (362) and 1 April (364) 2010
365	Acts 27:26–28:31, with beginning of the prologue to the Pauline Epistles (Stegmüller 670) opening with a twenty-five-line illuminated “P” on the verso	OSU	Acquired from John Windle (San Francisco), 7 March 2018; previously in the private collection of Robert Villareal (San Francisco), who acquired it from Marc Antoine du Ry Medieval Art (Marlborough, Wiltshire, UK) in October 2000
366	End of prologue to the Pauline Epistles, with prologue, an <i>argumentum</i> , and partial <i>capitula</i> list to Romans, six-line illuminated “R” opening the prologue to Romans, four-line illuminated initial “R” opening the <i>argumentum</i> , and four-line historiated initial “E” inhabited by St. Paul, all on the recto, and with a silverpoint sketch for the historiated initial in the margin	Current location untraced	Description (but not pictured) in Bruce P. Ferrini (Akron, OH), <i>Catalogue 1: Important Western Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts</i> (1987), item 9
367	Partial <i>capitula</i> list to Romans through opening of Romans, with ten-line historiated initial “P” on the recto inhabited by St. Paul holding a sword	Current location untraced	Bruce P. Ferrini (Akron, OH), <i>Catalogue 1: Important Western Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts</i> (1987), item 10
368	Romans 3:7–7:6	New Brunswick, NJ, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, Special Collections and University Archives, MC 0886:13	Acquired from Phillip J. Pirages (McMinnville, OR) in 1990

<i>Folio #</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Current Location</i>	<i>Previous owners and donation notes</i>
369–371	Romans 7:7–16:27, with <i>capitula</i> list for I Corinthians on 371	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
372	Partial <i>capitula</i> list for I Corinthians through I Corinthians 1:1–4:2, with prologue (Stegmüller 685), six-line illuminated initial “C,” and forty-one-line zoomorphic and historiated initial “P” composed of three dragons and inhabited by figure of St. Paul holding a sword, both on the recto	OSU	Donated by Mrs. Nancy and Mr. Bill McGrath (Akron, OH), May 2012; Mrs. McGrath purchased the leaf directly from Bruce Ferrini in ca. 1987; Bruce P. Ferrini (Akron, OH), <i>Catalogue 1: Important Western Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts</i> (1987), item 11
373–375	I Corinthians 4:2–15:32	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
376	I Corinthians 15:32–16:24 through II Corinthians 1:1–17, with <i>capitula</i> list and prologue (Stegmüller 699), eight-line illuminated initial “P,” and forty-one-line historiated initial “P” inhabited by St. Paul holding a sword, both on the verso	OSU	Donated by Mr. Tahlman Krumm (New Albany, OH), April 2018; previously the property of Mr. J.C. Hanks (Upper Arlington, OH); Christie’s (London) Sale 10457, <i>Valuable Books & Manuscripts</i> , 1 December 2015, Lot 5 (with fols. 332, 379, 381, 389, and 397)
377–378	II Corinthians 1:17–11:26	OSU	Donated by Mr. Charles Hoff, January (377) and September (378) 1984
379	II Corinthians 11:26–13:13 through Galatians 1:1–16, with <i>capitula</i> list and prologue to Galatians (Stegmüller 707), eight-line illuminated initial “G,” and thirty-nine-line zoomorphic and historiated initial formed by two dragons and inhabited by St. Paul holding a book and sword, both on the verso	OSU	Donated by Mr. Tahlman Krumm (New Albany, OH), April 2018; previously the property of Mr. J. C. Hanks (Upper Arlington, OH); Christie’s (London) Sale 10457, <i>Valuable Books & Manuscripts</i> , 1 December 2015, Lot 5 (with fols. 332, 376, 381, 389, and 397)

<i>Folio #</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Current Location</i>	<i>Previous owners and donation notes</i>
381	Galatians 6:5–18 through Ephesians 1:1–4:11, with <i>capitula</i> list (I–XXI) and prologue to Ephesians (Stegmüller 716), two-line initial “D,” nine-line initial “E,” and thirty-six-line zoomorphic and historiated initial “P” formed of three dragons and inhabited by St. Paul holding a book and sword, all three on the recto	OSU	Donated by Mr. Tahlman Krumm (New Albany, OH), April 2016; Christie’s (London) Sale 10457, <i>Valuable Books & Manuscripts</i> , 1 December 2015, Lot 5 (with fols. 332, 376, 379, 389, and 397)
382	Ephesians 4:11–Philippians 1:19, with <i>capitula</i> list and prologue (Stegmüller 728) to Philippians (Stegmüller 728), nine-line illuminated “P,” and atwenty-eight-line historiated initial “P” inhabited by St. Paul holding a book, both on the verso	Current location untraced	Described in Edward R. Lubin (New York), <i>European Illuminated Manuscripts</i> (1988), item 5
383	Philippians 1:19 through opening of prologue to Colossians (Stegmüller 736), with <i>capitula</i> list and seven-line illuminated initial “C” on the verso	OSU	Donated by Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
385	Partial <i>capitula</i> list to I Thessalonians through I Thessalonians 1:1–5:28, with prologue to II Thessalonians (Stegmüller 752), a nineteen-line historiated initial “P” on the recto inhabited by St. Paul holding a book, and eight-line illuminated initial “A” on the verso	Private European collection	
386	Opening of Thessalonias on recto and I Timothy on verso, each with historiated initials	Private collection of Mr. Robert McCarthy	

<i>Folio #</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Current Location</i>	<i>Previous owners and donation notes</i>
389	Titus 2:4–Philemon 1:25, with <i>capitula</i> list and prologue to Philemon (Stegmüller 783), the apocryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans, and the beginning of the <i>capitula</i> list and prologue to Hebrews (Stegmüller 794), with eight-line illuminated initial “P,” and thirty-six-line historiated initial “P” inhabited by St. Paul holding a book and sword, both on the recto; thirty-three-line zoomorphic and historiated initial “P” formed by three dragons and inhabited by St. Paul holding a book and sword opening Laodiceans; and nineteen-line illuminated initial “I,” both on the verso	OSU	Donated by Mr. Tahlman Krumm (New Albany, OH), April 2018; previously the property of Mr. J. C. Hanks (Upper Arlington, OH); Christie’s (London) Sale 10457, <i>Valuable Books & Manuscripts</i> , 1 December 2015, Lot 5 (with fols. 332, 376, 379, 381, and 397)
390	Partial <i>capitula</i> list to Hebrews through Hebrews 1:1–5:12, with nine-line zoomorphic initial “M” on the recto with the second arch of the letter formed by a winged dragon, inhabited by St. Paul holding a book and sword	Cleveland, OH, Cleveland Museum of Art, The Jeanne Miles Blackburn Collection 2011.51 ⁶	Donated by Jeanne Miles Blackburn in 2011
393	Prologue to the Catholic Epistles (Stegmüller 809) through Epistle of James 5:10, with two additional prologues (Stegmüller 807 and 806), a twelve-line illuminated initial “I,” and thirteen-line anthropomorphic initial “I” composed of the standing figure of St. James, both on the recto	OSU	Acquired from Thomas French Fine Art (Fairlawn, OH), 20 April 2012; previously the property of Sandra Meisel (Indianapolis, IN)
394	Opening of I Peter, with historiated initial inhabited by St. Peter holding a key	Current location untraced	Description in Harry Levinson (Los Angeles), <i>Catalogue 58</i> (1962), item 20

<i>Folio #</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Current Location</i>	<i>Previous owners and donation notes</i>
395	I Peter 4:3–II Peter 3:18, with <i>capitula</i> list and prologue to II Peter (Stegmüller 818), ten-line illuminated initial “S,” and ten-line historiated initial “S” inhabited by St. Peter holding a book, both on the recto	OSU	Donated by Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
396	Prologue to I Epistle of John (Stegmüller 822), <i>capitula</i> list, and I John 1:1–5:14, with prologue, eight-line illuminated initial “R,” and fourteen-line historiated initial “Q” inhabited by John, both on the recto	OSU	Donated by Mr. Tahlman Krumm (New Albany, OH), February 2015; acquired from Thomas French Fine Art (Fairlawn, OH)
397	I Epistle of John 5:14 through Jude 1:25, with <i>capitula</i> list and prologue to II John (Stegmüller 823), <i>capitula</i> list and prologue to III John (Stegmüller 824), <i>capitula</i> list and prologue to Jude (Stegmüller 825), and the beginning of the <i>capitula</i> list and the prologue to Apocalypse (Stegmüller 835), with an eight-line illuminated initial “U,” a ten-line Channel Style vinework “S” on burnished gold grounds, a six-line illuminated initial “G,” an eleven-line initial “S” inhabited by a goat standing upright and playing a lute, all on the recto; a twenty-two-line gymnastic initial “I” formed by the standing figure of St. Jude; and seventeen-line illuminated initial “I,” both on the verso	OSU	Donated by Mr. Tahlman Krumm (New Albany, OH), April 2018; previously the property of Mr. J. C. Hanks (Upper Arlington, OH); Christie’s (London) Sale 10457, <i>Valuable Books & Manuscripts</i> , 1 December 2015, Lot 5 (with fols. 332, 376, 379, 381, and 389)

<i>Folio #</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Current Location</i>	<i>Previous owners and donation notes</i>
398	<i>Capitula</i> list, an <i>argumentum</i> to, and the opening of Apocalypse, with a four- to five-line illuminated initial “A” opening the <i>argumentum</i> and thirteen-line historiated initial “A” on the recto inhabited by St. John holding a book and with two suspended swords pointed at his mouth	Private collection of Mr. Robert McCarthy ⁷	
400–403	Apocalypse 9:20–22:21, with second half of the Exodus <i>capitula</i> list on 402v–403r	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
404	Opening of the <i>Interpretationes nominorum hebraicorum (INH)</i> , Aad-Accrethi, with fourteen-line historiated initial “A” on the recto inhabited by a figure (Jerome?) with pointing finger	OSU	Donated by Mr. Charles Hoff, December 1985; previously owned by Mr. Abraham D. Pelunis
405–407,	<i>INH</i> Achela–Appollophanes	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982
411	<i>INH</i> Badscha–Belsephon	OSU	Acquired from King Alfred’s Notebook (Cayce, SC), 1 August 2019; previously held by Quaritch (London)

<i>Folio #</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Current Location</i>	<i>Previous owners and donation notes</i>
414–419, 424–427, 429, 434– 440	INH Carioth–Fison / Iechnan– Mazuroth / Madaba–Nephsa / Sames–Zuzim	OSU	Donated by Dr. Michael Greenberg / Mr. Philip Sills, November 1982

91 Thanks to Toshiyuki Takamiya for providing me with the current location and provenance information about this folio.

92 Altogether, Greenberg and Sills donated 116 text leaves (fifty by Greenberg and sixty-six by Sills) to OSU in November 1982. No record was kept of which donor gave which leaves.

93 Thanks to Fr. James Farge of the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies for providing me with details about this leaf and its path to the Joseph Pope Rare Book Room, and to Scott J. Gwara for bringing this leaf to my attention.

94 I extend my hearty thanks to Peter Kidd for sharing information about the six illuminated leaves of this manuscript owned by Mr. McCarthy. For further particulars of these folios (in addition this one, also see the entries for fols. 187, 286, 291, 386, and 398 in the table below), see Kidd's forthcoming catalogue, *The McCarthy Collection*, Vol. 2 (London, 2019).

95 For an image of this leaf, see Peter Kidd's *Medieval Manuscripts Provenance* blog post for 2 April 2017: <https://mssprovenance.blogspot.com/>.

96 See <https://www.clevelandart.org/art/2011.51> (accessed 24 April 2019). For a printed description and illustration of this folio, see Stephen N. Fliegel, *The Jeanne Miles Blackburn Collection of Manuscript Illuminations* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1999), 12.

97 For an image of this leaf, see Peter Kidd's *Medieval Manuscripts Provenance* blog post for 2 April 2017: <https://mssprovenance.blogspot.com/>.

Appendix III: Untraced Folios Formerly the Property of Abraham D. Pelunis from 1982 to 1985 and Not Described in Other Sources

The descriptions below are quoted from the 25 January 1982 appraisal by Bruce P. Ferrini:

- Leaf from Book of Numbers, small illuminated letter V in gold on blue and red background.⁹⁸
- Leaf from Book of Deuteronomy with initial T; illumination has two dragons entwined. Tooled gold background.
- Leaf with letter R in heavy gold on salmon filigreed border.
- Leaf from Book of Hebrews; large attractive initial N in heavy gold. Blue background with pink and white inner area.⁹⁹
- Leaf with letter M very heavy gold on red and blue background.
- Leaf from Book of Hosea with historiated initial E showing prophet receiving the voice of God. Blue with gold background, rubbed a bit, but excellent.¹⁰⁰
- Prophet Hosea with scroll of prophecy in letter A on leaf with additional large gold letter N.
- Leaf with fine illuminated letter H, geometric painting on blue letter. Fine tooled gold background. Unknown saint in middle of historiated initial.
- Leaf with prophet holding a page of his prophecy. Lovely work on robes. Fabulous gold border.
- Leaf from Book of Job with fine historiated initial. Job is shown in letter V. Tooled gold border.
- Leaf from opening of Book of Tobias. Historiated T with Tobias and Tobit. Additional gold initial C on this leaf.
- Leaf with large historiated figure used as letter I possibly a queen. Fine blue robes and red scepter with fleur-de-lys.¹⁰¹

98 Possibly fol. 37.

99 Possibly fol. 391 or 392.

100 This leaf, and the one immediately following, are likely misidentified and probably represent other figures from the Minor Prophets.

101 Possibly the opening to Ruth (fol. 76) or Esther (fol. 154).

Appendix IV: Other Untraced and Undesignated Leaves

“Illuminated leaf from a Latin Bible. Paris, c. 1220” featuring a “fine illuminated 8-line initial in burnished gold on a deep blue ground and infilled with curling white stems on a pink base.” Current location untraced; Maggs Bros., Ltd. (London), Catalogue 1227, *European Bulletin* 21 (1997), item 11.

Two undesignated leaves from the Pauline Epistles, each bearing historiated initials featuring St. Paul (possibly accounted for in the leaves listed above, but the catalogue description offers no specific details for either leaf). Maruzen International Co., Ltd. (Tokyo), *Cloister, City, and Court: Miniature Painting in the Later Middle Ages and Renaissance* (1988), items 2 and 3.