

Università degli Studi di Salerno  
Dipartimento di Scienze del patrimonio culturale  
Corso di Dottorato di Ricerca in  
“Filosofia, scienze e culture dell’età tardo-antica, medievale e umanistica”  
(Coordinatore, Professore Giulio d’Onofrio)

Tesi di dottorato in ...

**The Encounter of Art and Language in  
Hrabanus Maurus’ *In honorem sanctae  
crucis* and the Communication of  
Philosophical and Theological Content**

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Anno Accademico 2012-2013

## Acknowledgments and Thanks

Acknowledgments and thanks go in first place to Dr. Giulio d'Onofrio, who first introduced me to the *carmina* of Hrabanus and without whose gentle prodding, kindly advice, and keen insights this thesis would never have been finished. Thanks are due likewise to Dr. Armando Bisogno, Dr. Michele Abbate and my colleagues, the fellow doctoral students of the *Corso di dottorato di ricerca in Filosofia, scienze e cultura dell'età tardo-antica, medievale, e umanistica* of the University of Salerno for their kind attention, reflections, comment, and companionship over the last three years.

Without the generous grant of a doctoral fellowship from the University of Salerno, the writing of this thesis would not have been possible.

I wish to thank also Dr. Renato de Filippis of the University of Salerno and Fr. Rocco Ronzani of the Pontificio Istituto Patristico Augustinianum for their assistance on administrative issues.

Thanks, likewise, to Dr. Robert Dodaro of the Augustinianum and Dr. Umberto Utro of the Musei Vaticani for their kind assistance and advice during the earliest stages of this research.

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# 1. Presentation of Thesis

## 1.1. *Carmen Figuratum*

### 1.1.1. An Unusual Relationship between Word and Image

Among the various ways in which text and image can be related, a particular genre called the *carmen figuratum* stands out. In the *carmen figuratum*, some elements of the text are emphasized or highlighted or selected by visual means from the rest of the text. These visually-selected elements of text form other texts and so function of two levels, as part of the base text and as part of the special texts, unlike the other, un-selected elements of text, which are only part of the base text. The visual element therefore divides the text into two sections and creates two levels of language by defining the second level. At the same time, the image is actually composed of those visually-selected text elements. So, image and text are bound together by an inextricable interweaving, the selected text creating the image and the image selecting the text.

### 1.1.2. Definition of the Genre and Descriptive Terminology

The genre has been the object of a magisterial and exhaustive study by Ulrich Ernst titled *Carmen Figuratum*. Ernst defines the genre as follows:

Im folgenden bezeichnet der Begriff Figurengedicht gattungstheoretisch eine intermedial konzipierte Text-Bild-Komposition, bei der ein in der Regel versifizierter und im weitesten Sinn lyrischer Text zu einer graphischen Figur formiert ist, die mimetischen Charakter aufweist und eine mit der verbalen Aussage koordinierte Zeichenfunktion übernimmt.<sup>1</sup>

An excellent definition of the *carmen figuratum* is given by Giovanni Pozzi.

Un'entità composta da un messaggio linguistico e da una formazione iconica, non giustapposti (come sono l'impresa e il fumetto) ma conviventi in una specie di ipostasi, nella quale la formazione iconica investe la sostanza linguistica. La lingua, pur producendo significati a lei congeniali, viene usata come medium per ottenere significati prodotti normalmente

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<sup>1</sup> Ernst, *Carmen Figuratum*, 1991, p. 7.

dall'altro ordine di rappresentazione. L'unione si fissa in un rapporto gerarchico nel quale la lingua si sottopone alla funzione rappresentativa iconica, ma conserva in primo piano l'intenzionalità di esprimersi col proprio mezzo. Non è quindi una semplice coabitazione, ma una simbiosi che si annida nelle radici medesime del ciclo produttivo e si fissa indissolubilmente nel prodotto.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, language is used on multiple levels along with art to create a complex whole. The *carmen figuratum* differs from other combinations of language and art in that the visual and linguistic elements are not juxtaposed but in symbiosis.

In the fully-developed form of the *carmen figuratum*, there are multiple texts created by the visual levels. The text which is selected by the visual elements is variously described as *intextus* by Hrabanus, *Intext* by Ernst, and *vers inscrits* by Perrin. Ferrari, however, points out that *intextus* derives not from a conjunction of *in-* with *textus*, as Ernst's German term might suggest, but from the verb *intexo*, *-ere*, "to weave in," and devotes considerable attention to explaining the relevance of the art of weaving to the *carmen figuratum*.<sup>3</sup> Following his insight, I refer to this as "interwoven" text. The letters which are selected and can be read in both basis text and interwoven text I call "bivalent," those which are read only in the basis text "monovalent."

Since scripts in the Western world normally run horizontally, it is very common for the interwoven texts to be vertical or diagonal. The terms "acrostich", "mesostich" and "telestich" indicate vertical interwoven texts which run through the first, middle or last column of the horizontally-oriented basis text.

### **1.1.3. History of the *Carmen Figuratum* Genre**

#### **1.1.3.1. Ancient parallels**

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<sup>2</sup> Pozzi, *La parola dipinta*, 1981, p. 25, cited in M. Ferrari, *Il 'Liber s. crucis' de Rabano Mauro: Testo-Immagine-Contesto*, 1999, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Ferrari, *ibid.*, p. 62-69. In fairness to Ernst, he sometimes uses the German equivalent, "eingewebt", e.g. p. 289.

Ernst traces the origins of the genre to enigmatic visual poetry in Egyptian and Near Eastern cultures.<sup>4</sup> An example from the grave of the priest of Amon-Re, Nebwenenef, “vermutlich aus dem ersten Regierungsjahr des Pharaos Ramses II. datiert,”<sup>5</sup> is a hymn addressed to Osiris and Amon-Re. The hymn is an eleven-line block of text, but the mesostich is marked off by two vertical lines, and the hieroglyphics within make an interwoven verse expressing the deceased priest’s hope for welcome in the underworld. A formally similar hieroglyphic text on a stele formerly in the temple at Karnak, dating from the 21st or 22nd dynasty (945-718 BC), has a hymn in the basis text but weaves descriptions of the titles and honors of the donors into the vertical axis.<sup>6</sup> A wall inscription from the tomb of Kheruef in Thebes, dated to 1375-1358 BC, forms a 14x13 grid of hieroglyphs, every one of which can be read horizontally and vertically.<sup>7</sup> A similar but better preserved inscription on a stele found in Karnak in 1817 and sold to the British Museum in 1820, consists of a chessboard-like grid with a hieroglyph in each square. It can be read in the normal, horizontal way, vertically, and also in a spiral inward from the edge. The dedication line above the grid includes the Egyptian hieroglyph for “crossword.”<sup>8</sup>

Examples of acrostich poetry also appear in the Near Eastern realm in cuneiform on clay tablets. These poems begin each stroph with a new letter, and when the initial letters are read in order, they produce an acrostich text.<sup>9</sup> There is also an inscription commissioned by Nebuchadnezar II (605-562 BC) whose telestich spells out “Nebo,” the name of his divine patron.<sup>10</sup> A variation of this acrostich poetry appears in the Hebrew literature preserved in the Old Testament (*Lamentations*, *Proverbs* 31:10-31, *Sirach* 51:13-29, *Psalms* 9, 10, 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 118, 145), in which the acrostich is not itself a coherent text but rather the letters of the alphabet.

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<sup>4</sup> Ernst, *op. cit.*, 1991, p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 13 and ill. p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>7</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 15 and ill. p. 18.

<sup>8</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p.17 and ill. p. 19.

<sup>9</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 22-23.

<sup>10</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 23 and ill. p. 24.

### 1.1.3.2. Hellenistic visual poetry

The first visual poetry in the Greek world appears in the Hellenistic era (although Ernst also considers the relationships between these poems and possible predecessors within the Greek world: figurative epigraphs, magical formulas, riddles, and metrical experimentations<sup>11</sup>). They are usually called by the name *technopaegnia*, although Ferrari objects to this nomenclature, since the word is only attested once as the title of a poem by Ausonius.<sup>12</sup> Six such poems survive, three from Simias of Rhodes, titled *Wings*, *Egg*, and *Axe*, two from Dosiadas of Crete, titled *Jason-Altar* and *Muse-Altar*, and one from Theocritus, titled *Pan-Pipes*. The words of these poems are arranged into a representation of the object it describes. Therefore, although there is no interweaving of texts, the text is intimately tied to the appearance on the page of the arrangement of the words.

### 1.1.3.3. Laevius

The *carmen figuratum* with interwoven texts was brought from the Greek- into the Latin-reading world by a certain Laevius, who wrote a visual poem named *Phoenix' Wing*. Ernst points out that he refers to the *Lex Licinia* as in force, which dates his poem to between the end of the 2nd century and 98 BC.<sup>13</sup>

### 1.1.3.4. Publilius Optatianus Porfyrius

The genre received further development from the 4th-century poet Publilius Optatianus Porfyrius, who composed figured poetry during a period of exile from Constantine's court in the hope of returning to favor. Porfyrius wrote visual poems in the manner of Hellenistic examples, including an *Altar*, a *Pan-Pipes*, and a *Water-Organ*.<sup>14</sup> However, he also innovated within the genre by incorporating interwoven

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<sup>11</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*. Figurative epigraphs, p. 26-33; magic formulas, p. 33-45; riddles, p. 45-50, metrical experiments, p. 50-53.

<sup>12</sup> Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 59.

<sup>13</sup> Ernst, *op. cit.*, 1991, p. 95.

<sup>14</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 98-108.

texts in many of his poems, creating the form which would determine medieval *carmina figurata*. Ernst says,

Als größte Leistung des Porfyrius ist zweifellos die von ihm geschaffene neue Form des Gittergedichtes anzusehen, welche die Produktion der optischen Dichtung in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit nachhaltig bestimmt hat.<sup>15</sup>

Ernst distinguishes the visual poems we have seen up to now, in which text fills a meaningful shape, as *Umrißgedichte* from those invented by Porfyrius, which he calls *Gittergedichte*.

In most of these poems, the interwoven texts run horizontally, vertically and diagonally to form simple geometrical patterns, as in his *carmina* 3, 6, and 10.<sup>16</sup> In certain of the poems, the figures created by the interwoven verses spell out letters, such as in *carmen* 5, composed for Constantine's *Vicennalia* as Augustus and the *Decennalia* of the Caesars, his sons Crispus and Constantine II, in which the figures spell out AVG XX CAES X.<sup>17</sup> *Carmina* 8 and 14 show the Chi-Rho monogram, *carmen* 8 also containing the name IESVS.<sup>18</sup> Finally, the interwoven texts of certain of Porfyrius' *carmina* depict objects (a palm tree in *carmen* 9 and a ship carrying the Chi-Rho monogram in *carmen* 19) through the simple patterns of single-line figures.<sup>19</sup>

#### 1.1.3.5. Venantius Fortunatus and Others in 5th-7th Centuries

In the late 6th century, Venantius Fortunatus carried on the genre and composed *carmina figurata* on Christian themes. His *carmen* II, 4 contains both interwoven text in the acrostich and telestich and the figure of a cross flaring into triangles at each end, formed by visually selecting single lines of text horizontally, diagonally and

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<sup>15</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>16</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 108-117.

<sup>17</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 118 and ill. 119.

<sup>18</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 122-125.

<sup>19</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, *carmen* 9, p. 127, ill. p. 128; *carmen* 19, p.129, ill. p. 121.



vertically.<sup>20</sup> The next poem, II, 5, is an unfinished *carmen figuratum* with interwoven text forming a cross out of the middle verse and mesostich, with the four ends of the cross joined by diagonal lines of interwoven text. The interwoven text has been written but only the first five lines of the basis text.<sup>21</sup>

It is notable that the only object represented on the figural level of Venantius' figured poetry is the cross. The poems are now fully engaged in the serious service of the theology of the cross and have lost the playful aspect of their Hellenistic origins, still partially present in Porphyrius.

The tradition of visual poetry was continued after Venantius in the Benedictine settings in Gaul, with Ansbert of Rouen's figured poem praising his predecessor as Bishop of Rouen, St. Ouen. The poem contains interwoven text in the acrostich and telestich and a figured cross on the mesostich and middle verse, with the interwoven text distinguished from the basis poem by the use of uncial script, green ink in the acrostich, red ink in the telestich, green underlines in every other letter of the mesostich, and an outline drawn through the middle of the textual field of the poem around the cross shape.<sup>22</sup>

In England, too, early medieval authors wrote figured poetry in the 7th and 8th centuries. Aldhelm of Malmesbury (640-709) employed acrostich and telestich structures in his poems.<sup>23</sup> Bede reveals knowledge of Porphyrius in his *De arte metrica*.<sup>24</sup> Boniface, prior to his missionary work in Germany, wrote a *carmen figuratum* on the cross, which is similar in form to those of Venantius and Ansbert, but differs from them in that the cross is figured in a small area in the center of the page rather than extending to the edges of the poem.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 151-2, ill. p. 153.

<sup>21</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 152, ill. p. 153.

<sup>22</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 157, ill. 158.

<sup>23</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 160.

<sup>24</sup> Bede, *De arte metrica*, ed. C. W. Jones, *Corpus Christianorum Latinorum* 123A, 1975, p. 61-141, cited in Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 160.

<sup>25</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 162, ill. 163.

### 1.1.3.6. Carolingian Authors

Ernst attributes the revival of the genre at the court of Charlemagne to the influence of the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin, who possibly brought a copy of Porfyrius with him to the continent.<sup>26</sup> Alcuin revived the Porfyrian intention of using *carmina figurata* in praise of a Christian emperor.

Einen Zyklus von sechs Gedichten, vier von Josephus Scotus und zwei von ihm selbst – zusammen mit den Porfyrius-Gedichten eine kleine Anthologie – hat Alcuin zusammengestellt und König Karl dem Großen dediziert. Auch Theodulf von Orléans wurde von Alcuin gebeten, sich dieser Gattung zu bedienen: Sein Probestück nahm Alcuin in seine private Sammlung der Figurengedichte auf.<sup>27</sup>

Thus, Alcuin transmitted and popularized the *carmen figuratum* genre to the highly-educated intellectual circles at the court of Charlemagne. A record of this activity survives in the Bern Burgerbibliothek manuscript 212, which includes the *carmina figurata* not only from Porfyrius, but also from the Carolingians Joseph Scottus, Theodulf, and Alcuin himself.<sup>28</sup> These *carmina* continue to contain single-line figures distinguished from a field of text by visual means, with some sort of cross shape at the center of the field.<sup>29</sup>

### 1.1.3.7. Hrabanus' *In honorem sanctae crucis* within the *Carmen Figuratum* genre

The genre was brought to its highest point of development by a youngish 9th-century Frankish monk, Hrabanus Maurus, while he was still a student. Between 810 and 814 he composed his first work, the *In honorem sanctae crucis*. He composed 28 *carmina figurata* in honor of the cross and a number of addition *carmina* as prefaces and dedications which accompany the main work. The *carmina figurata* of the *In honorem sanctae crucis* are of much greater formal complexity than anything written

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<sup>26</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 168.

<sup>27</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 168.

<sup>28</sup> Holter, *Buchkunst*, 1996, vol. 1, p. 159.

<sup>29</sup> Ernst, *op. cit.*, 1991, p. 170-197.

earlier. Hrabanus expands the repertory of figures from geometrical shapes, letters or representations made with simple lines only to include solid geometrical figures, Roman and Greek letters of varying sizes, letters used as number signs, and painted images. Some *carmina* combine different types of figures. The figures have a much closer relationship to the themes of the poems than was present in earlier examples of the genre. In addition, many *carmina* are influenced or structured by numerological meanings and references and numerological symbolism structures the work as a whole in various ways.

Hrabanus states that he learned to compose *carmina figurata* from Porfyrius, whom he quotes as a classic authority granting him *licentia* for some of his contractions.<sup>30</sup> The dedicatory image of Alcuin presenting Hrabanus and his book to St. Martin and the attached dedicatory poem, the *Intercessio Albini pro Mauro*, in which Hrabanus speaks in the person of his deceased teacher, also indicate the debt to Alcuin.

Hrabanus' *In honorem* is universally acknowledged as one of the, if not the, culmination of the genre in terms of both formal perfection and theological substance.<sup>31</sup>

## 1.2. Hrabanus Maurus

### 1.2.1. Life

Magnentius Hrabanus Maurus was born in Mainz to a Frankish noble family between 780 and 783.<sup>32</sup> He was presented as a child, a *puer oblatus*, to the Benedictine monastery at Fulda, founded a half-century before by Boniface, the evangelizer of Germany. He was ordained to the diaconate in 801 and to the priesthood in 814. As a young man he possibly visited the court of Charlemagne, but certainly was sent to

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<sup>30</sup> A7, 67-68. : "...quod idem et Porfyrius fecit, secundum cuius exemplar litteras spargere didici...."

<sup>31</sup> v., e.g., Ernst, *op. cit.*, 1991, p. 222. "Nach der Erneuerung des *carmen cancellatum* in der Hofschule Karls d. Gr. führt der Alcuin-Schüler Hrabanus Maurus mit seinem Zyklus artistischer Kreuzgedichte, die aus einer kunstvollen Fusion von Buchstabe und Wort, Vers und Bild, Figur und Zahl leben, die Gattung zu einem Höhepunkt in formaler Perfektion und theologischer Gedankensubstanz."

<sup>32</sup> The birth date is disputed among modern scholars but is relevant for the dating of the *In honorem*. The dispute is discussed below in §1.3.2.

the school of Alcuin at Tours for advanced study. Alcuin gave him the nickname *Maurus*, which is both a reference to Benedict of Norcia's favorite disciple and a word-play on Alcuin's Latin name *Albinus*. He returned to Fulda before Alcuin's death on May 19, 804 and was named head of the monastery school. He became abbot himself in 822. As abbot he played a role in imperial politics and was a partisan of the unity of the Empire: he supported both Louis the Pious and his son Lothar I in their conflicts with Louis' other sons. After the defeat of Lothar in 842, Hrabanus resigned as abbot and retreated to a hermitage belonging to the monastery, situated on a hill above Fulda. He reconciled with Louis the German, heir to the eastern part of the Empire, in 845. In June 847, Hrabanus was named archbishop of Mainz. He intervened in the predestination controversies centering on Gottschalk, who had been a *puer oblatus* and a student of Hrabanus at Fulda. Hrabanus died in Mainz on February 4, 856.<sup>33</sup>

### 1.2.2. Works

His works fill six volumes of Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (107-112). The *In honorem* was his first work. Later writings included *De institutione clericorum* on the training of priests, a number of treatises on educational topics such as *De computo* and *De arte grammatica*, and commentaries on nearly every book of the Holy Scripture. These are largely compilations of patristic sources, especially from Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory the Great, and Bede. He expanded Isidore's *Etymologiae* into *De rerum naturis*, also known since its *editio princeps* as *De universo*. He wrote essays *De oblatione puerorum* and *De praedestinatione* in controversy with Gottschalk. A number of hymns are attributed to him, but only the *Veni Creator Spiritus* with any degree of confidence.<sup>34</sup>

## 1.3. The *In honorem sanctae crucis*

### 1.3.1. Name of the Work

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<sup>33</sup> For general information on Hrabanus v. Kottje, *Raban Maur, Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 13, 1987, col. 1-13 and Kottje, *Hrabanus Maurus, Lexicon des Mittelalters* 5, 1990, col. 144-147.

<sup>34</sup> Kottje, *ibid.*, col. 146., judges this attribution "wahrscheinlich."

The name of the work is a matter of dispute among the most prominent modern scholars who study the work. In the *edition princeps* (by Jakob Wimpfeling in 1503), the work appeared under the title “De laudibus sanctae crucis,” by which name the work has usually been referred to in the modern period, but which is the one solution which is nowhere attested in medieval texts. The problem is complex, with a variety of names occurring throughout the work, in Hrabanus’ mentions of the work in his letters, and in contemporary annals and catalogues.<sup>35</sup> Spilling proposed the *explicit* found at the end of the first book, “Opus Magnentii Hrabani Mauri in honorem sancte crucis conditum,” as the title.<sup>36</sup> Perrin shortened this to “in honorem sanctae crucis,” and considers this solution as

... la mieux attestée dans les textes in prose où Raban donne explicitement un intitulé à son œuvre, et ne se contente pas de l’évoquer par une appellation transparente certes, mais qui n’est pas un titre au sens strict et moderne du mot (on peut d’ailleurs se demander si cette notion existait au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle).<sup>37</sup>

However, Michele Ferrari criticizes this solution severely, denies that “in honorem sanctae crucis” is attested in the majority of the manuscripts,<sup>38</sup> denies that *explicit* is a title,<sup>39</sup> and prefers the name “Liber sanctae crucis,” used by Hrabanus in the initial presentation of the work to his friend, fellow deacon and companion in the voyage to Tours to study with Alcuin, Hatto, although he does not consider this to be strictly speaking a title.<sup>40</sup> Different prominent scholars of the Carolingian period have chosen since to follow both practices. This thesis is intended to deepen the analysis rather than take a position on the historical controversy here discussed. Therefore,

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<sup>35</sup> v. Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, ed. by Perrin, 1997, p. xxvi-xxix and Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 229-239, for discussion.

<sup>36</sup> Spilling, *Opus Magnentii Hrabani Mauri*, 1992, p. 29 f., cited by Ferrari, *ibid.*, p. 237.

<sup>37</sup> Perrin, *op. cit.*, 1997, p. xxix.

<sup>38</sup> Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 237. “... questo ‘titolo’ non sia per nulla attestato dalla maggioranza dei codici come lo studioso francese vuol far credere<sup>765</sup>.” Ferrari’s note 765 quotes the same Perrin passage quoted above.

<sup>39</sup> Ferrari, *ibid.*, p. 237. “A mio modo di vedere ‘Opus Magnentii Hrabani Mauri in honorem sancte crucis conditum’ non è pero un titolo, bensì il riassunto del contenuto dell’opera. Non è la stessa cosa.”

<sup>40</sup> Ferrari, *ibid.*, 1999, p. 239. Non è un titolo perché l’opera di Rabano non si intitola ‘Libro della santa croce’, è un ‘Libro della santa croce’, nel quale non esiste distinzione tra la fisicità del supporto manoscritto e un piano testuale astratto. Non esiste insomma un ‘grado zero’ del testo ridotto ai suoi valori semantici, perché Rabano nel ‘Liber s. crucis’ realizza l’unione tra opera e libro.

without intending this choice to be a *prise de position* in the controversy, in honor of the labor of creating a critical edition I will refer to the work throughout this thesis as the *In honorem sanctae crucis*.

### 1.3.2. Date of the Work and Position within Hrabanus' *œuvre*.

There are two pieces of evidence for the date of the *In honorem*. In his letter presenting the work to his friend Hatto, he calls Hatto *conlevita*.<sup>41</sup> This gives a *terminus post quem* of Hrabanus' ordination to the priesthood on December 23, 814. The other piece of evidence is in the dedicatory poem written in the persona of Alcuin, the *Intercessio Albini pro Mauro*, in which Hrabanus' writing of the *In honorem* is described in the following verses:

Ast ubi sex lustra inpleuit, iam scribere temptans,  
Ad Christi laudem hunc edidit arte librum.<sup>42</sup>

Since a *lustrum* is a period of five years, Hrabanus had reached the age of 30 but presumably was not yet 35 when he completed the *In honorem* in some form or other.

There is some dispute as to the birth date of Hrabanus, which scholars situate between 780 and 783. Holter considered it in 1973 an open question, falling anywhere between 776 and 784.<sup>43</sup> Freise reexamined all the evidence in 1980, reevaluating a note published by Lehmann in 1925 which indicated a birth date of 780 as a frivolous reading and argued for a birthdate of 783.<sup>44</sup> Ernst takes this research as definitive<sup>45</sup> while Ferrari, although acknowledging criticisms of his work, also agrees with Freise.<sup>46</sup> Perrin, on the other hand, considers 780 or 781 to be the

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<sup>41</sup> Hrabanus Maurus, *Epistulae*, ed. Dümmler, *MGH, Epistulae 5*, 1898, p. 381-382. "Domino fratri et conlevitae Hattoni Hrabanus in Christo salutem."

<sup>42</sup> A2, 13-14.

<sup>43</sup> Holter, *Liber De Laudibus sanctae crucis: vol. 1, Kommentar*, 1973, p. 9.

<sup>44</sup> Freise, "Zum Geburtsjahr des Hrabanus Maurus", in R. Kottje, H. Zimmermann (eds.) *Hrabanus Maurus. Lehrer, Abt und Bischof*, 1982, p. 60.

<sup>45</sup> Ernst, *op. cit.*, 1991, p. 222.

<sup>46</sup> Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 12.

most likely dates, while not ruling out completely the later date.<sup>47</sup> The earlier date would result in a *terminus post quem* of 810, while the later would give 813.

Thus, considering the *terminus ante quem* of 814 and the *terminus post quem* of 810-813, the work was brought to some completed form between 810 and 814. There has been some debate among scholars as to whether the second book (containing the prose translations of the *carmina*) was a later addition to the *In honorem*, in response to the difficulties in understanding the *carmina* experienced by Hrabanus' fellow monks, or part of the original conception, but the consensus has swung recently to the latter opinion.<sup>48</sup>

### 1.3.3. Manuscripts

There are a great number of extant manuscripts of the *In honorem*. Perrin reported in the critical edition that Professor Raymund Kottje provided him with a list of 81 in 1987,<sup>49</sup> Kottje stated in 1990 that “mehrere zur Zeit H. in Fulda gefertigte und nahezu 100 weitere geograph. weit gestreute Hss. aus allen Jahrhunderten des MA ... existieren,”<sup>50</sup> and Ernst counted “nahezu 80” and published his list in *Carmen Figuratum*.<sup>51</sup>

Of these, six are of especial interest since they were created during the life of Hrabanus in *scriptoria* under his ecclesiastical authority, either in the abbey of Fulda or the diocese of Mainz. Only these manuscripts are considered in this thesis and the expression “all manuscripts” refers to these six. These six are identified by Perrin as *V*, *P*, *A*, *T*, *Q* and *W*. *V* is the *Reginensis Latinus 124* of the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* in Rome, *P* is the manuscript *latin 2423* of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris, *A* is manuscript *223* of the *Bibliothèque Municipale* of Amiens, *T* is

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<sup>47</sup> Perrin, *op. cit.*, 1997, p.v. “sans doute en 780 ou 781 – au plus tard en 783

<sup>48</sup> v. the *retractatio* in Perrin and his acceptance of Ferrari's position in “Les lectures de Raban Maur pour l'*In honorem sanctae crucis*: ébauche d'un bilan”, in *Raban Maur et son temps*, 2010, p. 219-245.

<sup>49</sup> Perrin, *op. cit.*, 1997, p. xxx. “La base manuscrite, prise dans son ensemble, est forte de quelque 81 témoins, d'après la liste que nous a aimablement envoyée le Professeur R. Kottje le 16.11.1987.”

<sup>50</sup> Kottje, *op. cit.*, 1990, col. 147.

<sup>51</sup> Ernst, *op. cit.*, 1991, p. 309-321.

manuscript *K.II.20* of the *Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria* in Turin, *Q* is the *manuscrit latin 2422* of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris, and *W* is manuscript 652 of the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek* in Vienna. According to the research of Perrin and Spilling,<sup>52</sup> *V*, *P*, and *A* were copied at Fulda during second quarter of the 9th century, and *T* was written at Fulda around the middle of the century, while *Q* and *W* were written around the middle of the century and show different hands from both Fulda and Mainz.<sup>53</sup> Since *Q* has lost its first folio with the first few prefaces, Perrin employed *R*, *manuscrit latin 2421* of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris, a copy of *Q* made in the 10th or beginning of the 11th century for those prefaces.

### 1.3.4. Divisions of the Work

#### 1.3.4.1. Prefaces (A)

The *In honorem sanctae crucis* begins with an introductory section which consists of dedications and other prefatory material. Because some sort of prefatory material is always present accompanying the 28 carmina, but is clearly separate in content and style from the main bulk of the *In honorem*, Ferrari names it the “paratext.”<sup>54</sup> Some of this material is found in all manuscripts and always in the same positions. In contrast, the dedications vary from manuscript to manuscript, with different manuscripts containing different subsets of all the dedications known. This leads Ferrari to define them as “variable” and “invariable” paratexts.

The variable paratext, the dedications, include a dedicatory poem for Otgar, archbishop of Mainz from 826-847 (present in manuscripts *V* and *W*), a poem and illustration in which Alcuin presents Hrabanus and his work to St. Martin of Tours (in manuscripts *V*, *T*, and *W*), a poem and illustration in which Hrabanus offers the work to Gregory IV, Pope from 827-844 (present in manuscripts *V*, *A*, *T* and *W*), a poem for the monks of the abbey of St. Denis (present in *R*), and an elaborate *carmen*

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<sup>52</sup> Spilling, *op. cit.*, 1992, cited by Perrin, *op. cit.*, 1997, p. xxx-xxxii.

<sup>53</sup>v. Perrin, *ibid.*, p. xxx-lviii, for a complete description of these manuscripts and his proposed stemma.

<sup>54</sup> Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 13.



*figuratum* with commentary depicting Louis the Pious, Emperor from 814-840 (present in all extant 9th-century manuscripts).

The invariable paratext, the prefatory materials, consist of a prologue in prose, an autobiographical *carmen figuratum* by which Hrabanus signs the work, and a table of contents listing the titles of the poems in the first book.

The critical editor, Perrin, identified the materials in this section with the letter A and a number. The list of *capitula*, for example, is A9, so a citation of its eighth line will be indicated with A9, 8.

#### **1.3.4.2. *Carmina* (B)**

The first book contains 28 *carmina figurata*, each placed on the left page in the manuscripts. Each *carmen* takes as its theme some aspect of existence and relates it to the cross. The *figurae* are always arranged into the shape of a cross, providing visual unity. Perrin names the *carmina* themselves with the letter B and a number. Thus, a reference to the fourth verse of the tenth *carmen* will be indicated B10, 4. The *carmina* are numbered in this way in the manuscripts.

#### **1.3.4.3. *Expositiones* (C)**

On the facing right page, Hrabanus gives a prose explanation of the *carmen*. He comments on the contents and themes of the poem, cites Scriptural and patristic sources, explains the figures and justifies their arrangement into a cross shape. At the end of this *expositio*, he explains how to read the *versus intextus* and reproduces them. In many cases the *versus intextus* are nearly impossible to decipher without this guide. Perrin identifies these commentaries with a C, so C12, 15 is a reference to the fifteenth line of the commentary on the twelfth *carmen*.

#### **1.3.4.4. Prose versions (D)**

The second book begins with a preface in which Hrabanus justifies writing in both poetry and prose. The book proper is divided into 28 chapters, each one a

translation into prose of the *textus* poem of the respective *carmen*. Perrin labels these prose translations with D and the number of the corresponding *carmen* and employs D0 for the preface, so that a citation of the tenth line of the prose translation of the fourth *carmen* will be indicated with D4, 10.

#### **1.4. Contemporary Texts about the *In honorem***

We enjoy a rare number of contemporary texts which describe the *In honorem* and cast light upon its production and intention. There is a letter which Hrabanus wrote to his friend Hatto at the moment of sending him an exemplar of the text, apparently so that Hatto could make a copy and then return it rather than as a gift. Also of interest is Hrabanus' poem "Ad Bonosum." One of Hrabanus' students, Brun Candidus, quotes his teacher's description of how he wrote the *In honorem* in his own hagiographic work, *Vita Aegil*. Another of the Hrabanus' students, Rudolf, describes the *In honorem* in both the *Annales Fuldenses* and the *Miracula sanctorum in ecclesias Fuldenses translatorum*, an account of Hrabanus' efforts to provide the monastery of Fulda and its possessions with holy relics.

##### **1.4.1. Hrabanus' Letter to Hatto**

The letter to Hatto reads as follows:

Domino fratri et conlevitae Hattoni Hrabanus in Christo salutem.

Librum sanctae crucis, quem te adhortante inchoavi, te conlaborante dictavi, teque opitulante perfeci, tibi, postquam consumavi, ad probandum direxi, deprecans, ut qui studiorum meorum solacium eras, quique laboris refrigerium, gaudii quoque sis particeps, gratanter officium accipiendo, quod sola caritas administrat, diligenter opus examinando, quod dilectio vera commendat, studioseque in eo corrigendo que necessitas expostulat. Dignum etiam arbitrabar, ut, qui in animo meo primatum tenes, et in amicis summam, primitias operis primus acciperes, ne alius tibi prepereret in officio quem nullus prevenit in diligendo. Recte quidem, quia memoratum opus in laudem sanctae crucis et in honorem redemptoris nostri, quantum potui, non quantum volui, confeci, ipsi vero ac summo pontifici per leviticum ministerium ad deferendum conscivi te socium, ut qui unius sumus propositi eiusdemque ordinis simili intentione parique voto idem officium completeremus. Ergo quod opto fiat, ut ambobus eadem remuneratio perpetrati operis ab ipso tribuatur piissimo largitore, qui parem voluntatem,

idem consilium, unum studium eandemque dilectionem in cordibus amborum tribuit.

Deus utique pacis Iesus Christus, qui pacem suam servis suis reliquit, quique dat, immo in finem dabit, et qui hanc suos filiolos quasi quoddam signum discipulatus sui inter homines habere decrevit, quando eis dixit: 'In hoc cognoscent omnes, quia discipuli mei estis, si dilectionem habueritis ad invicem', ipsamque et mandatum novum et suum preceptum nuncupavit, cum ait: 'Mandatum novum do vobis, ut diligatis invicem, sicut dilexi vos'; et item, 'Hoc est, inquit, preceptum meum, ut diligatis invicem, sicut dilexi vos,' – te servet.

Quapropter obsecro te, frater, ut si cui commissum tibi opus ad rescribendum tradideris, illum admoneas, ut figuras in eo factas et conscriptionis ordinem servare non negligat, ne forte, si formas figurarum variaverit, et scripturae ordinem commutaverit, operis precium perdat; et iam opus meum non meum esse faciat, quia non meum idem, sed nec suum, quia est vitiatum. Ille quidem facile rectitudinem in eo servare poterit, qui linearum numerum caute rimatur et litterarum dispositionem in eis diligentius custodit. Tu ergo et illum ammonendo eius es director et nostrum ius servando nostri censeberis fidus amator, cuius amoris ille sit perfectus finis qui in presenti est rectus trames, ut qui modo inter angustias illum servare non cessat, idem ergo remotis omnibus angustiis atque tribulationibus eum in semetipso in eternum stabiliet. Amen

Bene semper valeas in Christo, frater, meam infirmitatem orationibus adiuvans. Pax te conservet pacis mihi dona rogamem. Explicit epistola.<sup>55</sup>

Here are many key pieces of information. Hrabanus addresses Hatto as *conlevita*, and later in the letter expands on their common state, implying that this letter was written prior to his priestly ordination in December, 814. He calls the work *liber sanctae crucis* and later describes it as *opus in laudem sanctae crucis and in honorem redemptoris nostri*. He states that Hatto had encouraged him to begin and assisted him to realize the work (*te conlaborante dictavi*). There is documentation of Hatto's activity as a painter, leading scholars to debate if the figures in the first exemplar of the *In honorem* were painted by Hatto in collaboration with Hrabanus. He exhorts Hatto to see to it that any copyist scrupulously preserve the figures and their order (*ut figuras in eo factas et conscriptionis ordinem servare non negligat*) as any variation there would diminish the value of the work (*ne ... operis pretium perdat*). He offers a suggestion for preserving this order: the scribe should pay careful attention to the *linearum numerum* and *litterarum dispositionem*.

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<sup>55</sup> Hrabanus Maurus, *op. cit.*, 1899, p. 381-382.

#### 1.4.2. Hrabanus' Poem "Ad Bonosum"

In the fragmentary poem "Ad Bonosum" Hrabanus takes up a position on the relative value of art and writing. It is generally assumed that Bonosus represents this same Hatto.

##### Ad Bonosum

Nam pictura tibi cum omni sit gratior arte  
Scribendi ingrata non spernas posco laborem,  
Psallendi nisum, studium curamque legendi,  
Plus quia gramma valet quam vana in imagine forma  
Plusque animae decoris praestat quam falsa colorum  
Pictura ostentans rerum non rite figuras.  
Nam scriptura pia norma est perfecta salutis,  
Et magis in rebus valet, et magis utilis omni est,  
Promptior est gustu, sensu perfectior atque  
Sensibus humanis, facilis magis arte tenenda.  
Auribus haec servit, labris, obtutibus atque,  
Illa oculis tantum pauca solamina praestat.  
Haec facie verum monstrat, et fame verum,  
Et sensu verum, iucunda et tempore molto est,  
Illa recens pascit visum, gravat atque vetusta,  
Deficiet propere veri et non fide sequestra est.  
Perspice qui fuerint auctores atque sequaces  
Istarum rerum, tunc et certissimus inde  
Noscere iam poteris, tibi quae sint arte parandae.  
Primitus Aegyptus umbrarum lumina pinxit,  
Lumina tincturis varians formavit et umbris.  
Haec sonat 'angustans tribulatio', fit, sonat et quod  
Angustans tribulat, parum iuvat arte reperta.  
Ast petram dominus legis cum grammate sculpsit,  
Contulit insignia et populi mandata magistro.  
Mons sonat ille: 'Mea mensura atque amphora iusta':  
Amphora iustitiam, vitam mensura modestam,  
Iussa quoque ostendunt domino nos lege teneri.  
Quid labor est scriptis commenta edicere plura.<sup>56</sup>

For Weitmann, this poem shows a continuity of thought with the suspicion towards images in the *Libri Carolini* and their insistence on subordination of images to text.<sup>57</sup> Noble expresses much the same opinion in his study of the Carolingian role in the

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<sup>56</sup> Hrabanus Maurus, *Carmina*, 38, ed. Dümmler, *MGH, Poetae Latini karoli aevi II*, 1884, p. 196-7.

<sup>57</sup> Weitmann, *Sukzession und Gegenwart*, 1997, p. 208. Weitmann introduces a quotation of the first ten lines of this poem with, "Anderseits liest man bei ihm ganz im Sinne der Libri Carolini:".

image debates.<sup>58</sup> Ferrari is much more cautious about the use and interpretation of this poem, pointing out that its date is uncertain and that it is a fragment of uncertain context.<sup>59</sup>

### 1.4.3. Hrabanus' Description reported in Brun Candidus' *Vita Aegil*

One of Hrabanus' students, Brun Candidus, has left us an account of an episode in which Hrabanus gave advice to him, during which Hrabanus described the *In honorem* to his student:

De caetero quoque notum facio tuae caritati quod anno praeterito domnus abbas Hrabanus, cum illi querebar, quia non haberem quemquam mecum consociorum cum quo in Diuina lectione disputando et legendo proficere potuissem, tale mihi responsum referebat: 'Exerce, inquit, temet ipsum legendo et aliquid utilitatis adde dictando. Nam dum ego ibidem, ubi nunc ipse moraris, quondam commanerem librum prosa et uersibus in laudem sanctae crucis Diuina gratia inspirante incepti atque fidelibus legendum studioso labore consummaui.'<sup>60</sup>

Hrabanus' student here reports him as making five statements about the *In honorem*. First of all, it is interesting that Hrabanus describes it primarily in terms of it being an *opus geminum – prosa et versibus* – rather than a combination of text and images. The work is described as being in praise of the cross: *in laudem sanctae crucis*. Hrabanus attributes the inspiration to write the *In honorem* to divine grace. The work is meant to be read by the faithful *fidelibus legendum*, and, of course, its composition required considerable effort, something no one anywhere, to my knowledge, has ever disputed.

### 1.4.4. Description in the *Annales Fuldenses*

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<sup>58</sup> Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians*, 2009, p. 348. "Hrabanus' words and actions are not in contradiction, as I shall argue presently. For Hrabanus uses the old medium of the figured poem to subordinate images to words, indeed to make words into images."

<sup>59</sup> Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 18-21 and p. 314-315.

<sup>60</sup> Brun Candidus, *Vita Aegil*, ed. Becht-Jördens, p. 3, l. 8-15, cited by Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 17.

Hrabanus' student Rudolf, the annalist of the *Annales Fuldenses*,<sup>61</sup> called him second to none among poets of his time. For the year 844, during therefore the period after Hrabanus' resignation as abbot of Fulda and before his reconciliation with Louis the German and subsequent appointment as archbishop of Mainz, while he was living as a hermit on the Petersberg near Fulda, Rudolf records:

Rhabanus quoque, sophista, et sui temporis poetarum nulli secundus, librum quem de laude sanctae crucis Christi, figurarum varietate distinctum difficili et mirando poemate composuit, per Aschricum et Ruotbertum monachos monasterii Fuldensis, Sergio papae sancto Petro offerendum transmisit.<sup>62</sup>

Ferrari comments, "Non è certo usuale che una notizia di tal genere venga inserita tra tradimenti, pugne e conversioni miracolose di barbari popoli,"<sup>63</sup> and slightly later, "L'invio di un'opera al papa da parte di uno scrittore attivo al nord delle Alpi è tutt'altro che un fatto corrente. Per quanto io sappia nessuno osò tanto prima di Rabano ...".<sup>64</sup> It is possible but not certain that the copy of the *In honorem* described here as being presented to Sergius II was in fact that intended for Gregory IV, for whom a dedication was written.

#### 1.4.5. Description in Rudolf's *Miracula sanctorum*

Rudolf also wrote, sometime between 842 and 847, the *Miracula sanctorum in Fuldenses ecclesias translatorum*, also known as *Vita Hrabani*, in which he describes Hrabanus' efforts to acquire relics for the monastery and its dependancies. The text ends with a list of Hrabanus' works. The description of the *In honorem* reveals Rudolf's thorough familiarity with the work.

Erat enim in scripturis a pueritia valde studiosus et secundum donum sibi caelitus datum lectionem divinorum librorum plurimum adamavit atque in his saepius meditatus est. Unde etiam hortatu fratrum suorum atque amicorum adgressus est scribere expositiones divinorum librorum tam Veteris quam

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<sup>61</sup> Dümmler, *Hrabanstudien*, 1898, p. 2.

<sup>62</sup> Rudolf, *Annales Fuldenses*, ed. Pertz, *MGH, Scriptores I*, 1876, p. 364, l. 12-16.

<sup>63</sup> Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 28.

<sup>64</sup> Ferrari, *ibid.*, p. 29.

Novi Testamenti. Nam, ut ipse testatus est, primum scripsit anno aetatis suae circiter trigesimo in laudem sancte crucis duos libellos, hoc est unum metrico stylo cum figuris mysticis, quae in divinis libris longe ante praenotatae sunt, ut in his manifestaretur Christi passio et redemptio nostra in figura sanctae crucis esse prenunciata; in quo etiam soluta oratione subiecta est uniuscuiusque figurae explanatio et sic 28, excepta superliminari pagina, videntur in ea contineri figurae simul cum expositionibus suis. Sequentem autem libellum ideo conficiendum putavit quem etiam in 28 capitulis breviavit ut locutionem metri prioris libelli in eo lucidiorem faceret.<sup>65</sup>

Rudolf gives a very detailed description of the *In honorem*. He points out here the combination of verse and images (*metrico stylo cum figuris mysticis*), identifies the purpose of the work as an analogical reflection on the cross as a symbol (*ut in his manifestaretur Christi passio et redemptio nostra in figura sanctae crucis esse prenunciata*), describes the use of both verse and prose to form the basic units of the work, (*soluta oratione subiecta est uniuscuiusque figurae explanatio*), points to the structurally important number 28, divides the work into the macrotext and the paratext (*excepta superliminari pagina*), and gives the purpose of the prose translations in the second book as aiding comprehension of the first book (*ut locutionem metri prioris libelli in eo lucidiorem faceret*). Considering that Rudolf was Hrabanus' student and shared monastic life with him in Fulda for years, it seems likely that Rudolf's confirmation that Hrabanus was about 30 when he finished the *In honorem* is not merely based on the statement in A2, 13 but was confirmed by Hrabanus in person.

## 1.5. Critical Responses prior to Modern Scholarship

### 1.5.1. Medieval Reception

The work continued to enjoy a high reputation throughout the Middle Ages, long after the generation of Hrabanus' contemporaries. Mention of it is made in sermons, in chronicles, and in encyclopedias. Odilo, Abbot of Cluny from 994-1049, in a sermon *De Sancta Cruce*, in which he denies his own ability to praise the mystery of the

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<sup>65</sup> Rudolf, *Miracula sanctorum in ecclesias Fuldenses translatorum*, ed. Waitz, *MGH, Scriptores XV*, p. 340, l. 18-29, cited by Ferrari, *ibid.*, p. 32.

cross sufficiently, mentions the many *catholici doctores Ecclesiae* who have praised it, singling out John Chrysostom and Hrabanus:

Hic tale de laude crucis orditus est opus et texuit, et texendo perfecit, quo pretiosius ad videndum, amabilius ad legendum, dulcius ad retinendum, nec laboriosius ad scribendum potest inveniri nec poterit.<sup>66</sup>

The variety of the work was mentioned in the *Chronicon* of Ademar of Chabannes, a monk of St-Cybard in Angoulême, at the beginning of the 11th century, in the following terms: “Imperatori ipsi porrexit librum valde mirabilem de theologia sanctae crucis Rabanus Magnentius monachus,” although Ademar’s information about Carolingian chronology is quite imprecise, making Hrabanus out to be the instructor of Alcuin.<sup>67</sup> A later 11th-century witness, a Benedictine monk of Gembloux named Sigebert (1028-1112), in the entry on Hrabanus in his catalogue *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, mentioned the *In honorem* first, before listing some of Hrabanus’ exegetical and practical works:

Cap LXXXIX. Rabanus, qui et Maurus, sive Magnetius. ex abbate Fuldensi archiepiscopus Moguntiae, scripsit librum de laude sanctae crucis, mira varietate depictum, quem misit Romae S. Petro offerendum.<sup>68</sup>

Sigebert gives the information that a copy of the *In honorem* had been sent to Rome. Possibly he based this remark on having seen a copy with the dedication to Gregory IV.

Hugh de Fleury, who died sometime between 1118 and 1135, writes in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* primarily of military and political events, but inserts a brief mention of Hrabanus, in which he is present exclusively as the author of the *In honorem*, with no mention of his offices as abbot or archbishop, his other writings or controversies.

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<sup>66</sup> Odilo of Cluny, *Sermo XV de sancta cruce*, PL 142, col. 1034B.

<sup>67</sup> Ademar, *Chronicon*, 3, 5, PL, 141, 50BC; ed. Waitz, *MGH, Scriptores* IV, p. 119; ed. P. Bourgain, *CCCM* 129, 1999, p. 119, l. 14-23.

<sup>68</sup> Sigebert of Gembloux, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, PL 160, 567C.



“Floruit etiam hoc eodem tempore vir quidam Rabanus nomine, qui et ipse de laude crucis librum diversis scematibus decoratum metricè composuit.”<sup>69</sup>

The obscure 12th-century writer Honorius Augustodunensis compiled his own catalogue circa 1130, *De Luminaribus Ecclesiae vel De Scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*. He explained in the preface that his work derives from Jerome, Gennadius, Isidore, Bede and others.<sup>70</sup> He described Hrabanus in *Libellus IV, De Variis Collectus*, which examines illustrious ecclesiastical writers from Bede onwards. He describes the *In honorem* as “mirabilem” and mentions Hrabanus’ exegetical work in general terms:

Cap. IV. Rabanus ex monasterii Fuldensis abbate Moguntinensis episcopus, scripsit mirabilem librum De mysterio sanctae crucis, et totum Vetus et Novum Testamentum exposuit. Sub Ludovico claruit.<sup>71</sup>

Vincent of Beauvais, ~1200-1264, a Dominican of the first generation, said in his encyclopedic *Speculum historiale*:

Rabbanus sophista, et sui temporis nulli secundus, qui multa de Scripturis sanctis disseruit, qui etiam librum de laude s. crucis figurarum varietate distinctum difficili et mirando poemate composuit.<sup>72</sup>

According to Ferrari, Vincent would have had a copy of the *In honorem* available as he wrote his work.<sup>73</sup> The verbal similarity to the report of the *Annales Fuldenses* suggests that Vincent might have been relying on a tradition going back to that source.

### 1.5.2. Diffusion of Manuscripts

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<sup>69</sup> Hugh de Fleury, *Historia ecclesiastica*, PL 163, 854B.

<sup>70</sup> Honorius Augustodunensis, *De Luminaribus Ecclesiae*, PL 172, 197A. “In hoc libello omnes ecclesiasticos scriptores a tempore Christi usque ad nostra tempora nominatim expressi, quos ex Hieronymo, Gennadio, Isidoro, Beda et aliis cognoscere potui.”

<sup>71</sup> Honorius Augustodunensis, *De Luminaribus Ecclesiae*, PL 172, 230A.

<sup>72</sup> Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, 24, 28 cited by de Lubac, *Exégèse Médiévale*, vol. 1, 1959, p. 163.

<sup>73</sup> Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 38, note 108.

The extant manuscripts range from the time of composition in the early 9th century to the end of extensive manuscript production in the 16th century and are spread over a wide geographical range. This demonstrates the continued interest and esteem for the work over this period. Ferrari points out how unusually large this distribution is for an early medieval work.<sup>74</sup>

### 1.5.3. First Printed Editions

Humanist Jakob Wimpfeling wrote about the *In honorem* in a letter of 1492 to Trithemius, abbot of Spanheim:

Non defuerunt Caroli magni filiorumque eius temporibus Germanie doctissimi viri...Testis est, qui sanctum et admirabile opus 'de dominice crucis laudibus' carmine sine cuiusquam imitatione conscripsit.<sup>75</sup>

In 1503 he printed the *editio princeps* at Pforzheim, giving it the title, "Magnencii Rabani Mauri de laudibus sanctae crucis opus eruditione versu prosaque mirificum."<sup>76</sup> The *In honorem* is one of the few medieval works to have been printed by the humanists and it was reprinted almost immediately, in 1505.<sup>77</sup> This shows that this work continued to be appreciated in the changed cultural environment of the humanistic and early Renaissance periods.

### 1.5.4. Rejection from 18th to early 20th Century

However, 18th-, 19th-, and early 20th-century critics were severe. "Rien au monde n'est moins poétique; ce n'est qu'une prose plate, assujettie à un certain nombre de syllabes," says Crevier in the 18th century.<sup>78</sup> Ebert judged it, "Travail aussi extraordinairement artificiel et pénible que peu poétique,"<sup>79</sup> and Dom Remy Ceillier

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<sup>74</sup> Ferrari, *ibid.*, p. 7. "...ma è pure, se si esclude l'agiografia e l'ambito liturgico (inni e sequenze), il testo carolingio in versi latini più diffuso nel medioevo."

<sup>75</sup> Herding, Mertens, *Jakob Wimpfeling. Briefwechsel*, München, 1990, letter 33, vol. 2,1, p. 201-209, cited by Perrin, *op. cit.*, 1997, p. xcii.

<sup>76</sup> Perrin, *ibid.*, p. xciv.

<sup>77</sup> Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 7.

<sup>78</sup> Crevier, *Histoire de l'université de Paris*, 1761, vol. 1, p. 51-52, cited by de Lubac, *op. cit.*, 1959, p. 163.

<sup>79</sup> Ebert, *Histoire générale de la littérature du moyen âge en Occident*, trad. J. Aymeric et J. Condamin, 3 vol. Paris, 1883-1889, vol. 2, 161, cited by de Lubac, *ibid.*, p. 163.

called it “plus singulier qu’utile.”<sup>80</sup> Despite the enormous size and scope of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, the editor Ernst Dümmler actually left the *In honorem* out of Hrabanus’ section in the collection of Carolingian poets, saying, “Ex Hrabani operibus poeticis librum de laudibus sanctae crucis compositum hic omittendum duxi, ne ambagibus eius vastis atque insulsis lectores taedio afficerentur,”<sup>81</sup> and judged elsewhere that, “Als Dichter ist Hraban überaus schwach.”<sup>82</sup> He described the *carmina* of the *In honorem* as “diese unerhörte Kunststücke, die mit der Poesie nichts gemein haben und durchweg die mystische und symbolische Bedeutung des Kreuzes feiern sollen.”<sup>83</sup> The anonymous article on Hrabanus in the famous 11th edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, published in 1911, comments briefly on the *In honorem* with, “... the most popular has been a comparatively worthless tract *De laudibus sanctae crucis*.”<sup>84</sup> Raby’s *Christian Latin Poetry*, published in 1927, does not even mention the *In honorem* and says of Hrabanus,

He created nothing, and what he collected from Jerome, from Isidore, or from Bede, he did not attempt to stamp with the mark of his own personality. It can, therefore, be hardly expected that he should show any great aptitude for poetry.<sup>85</sup>

Ghellinck’s 1939 *Littérature latine au moyen âge* has just the brief dismissal, “Son *De laudibus sanctae crucis*, avec son raffinement de présentation propre aux *Carmina figurata*, a joui d’un succès inouï, immérité par ce genre tout artificiel.”<sup>86</sup>

## 1.6. Modern Scholarship

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<sup>80</sup> Cellier, *Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques*, 17 vol., Paris, 1865-9, cited by de Lubac, *ibid.*, p. 163.

<sup>81</sup> Dümmler, *MGH, Poetae Latini aevi carolini*, Berlin, 1884, vol. 2, p. 157.

<sup>82</sup> Dümmler, *op. cit.*, 1898, p. 2.

<sup>83</sup> Dümmler, *ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>84</sup> Anonymous, *Hrabanus Maurus Magentius*, in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1911, vol. 13, p. 842, col. 2.

<sup>85</sup> Raby, *Christian Latin Poetry*, 1953, p. 180.

<sup>86</sup> Ghellinck, *Littérature latine au moyen âge*, 1939, p. 104.

### 1.6.1. de Lubac

The revival of scholarly interest in the *In honorem* began with Henri de Lubac, who published a more favorable opinion in his 1959 work *Exégèse Médiévale*. Although he agreed with those earlier critics that the poem is of a “*lourde ingéniosité*” and believed that if one looks only to the form, it is nothing but “*un pastiche monstreusement pesant*”,<sup>87</sup> De Lubac rejected the charge of unpoetic, Mannerist virtuosity levelled by previous critics.<sup>88</sup> De Lubac appreciated the structure, content and ambition of the work. He drew attention to Hrabanus’ cosmological intention of demonstrating in poetry that the Cross is the central event of all existence.<sup>89</sup>

### 1.6.2. German Debate on *zahlensymbolische Tektonik*

In the 60s and 70s of the previous century, a polemic arose in the German-speaking world, primarily among scholars of literature, concerning the role of numerological symbolism in the structure of medieval works. They began with the appearance of Johannes Rathofer’s *Heliand-Buch* in 1962, which provoked both polemical criticism and support. The *In honorem* was taken into consideration in these debates. Some of the scholars involved were wrote specifically on the *In honorem* were Heinz Klingenberg and Burkhard Taeger. The final fruit of these polemics is Heinz Meyer and Rudolf Suntrup’s *Lexikon der mittelalterlichen Zahlenbedeutungen*,<sup>90</sup> in which all of the numerological processes used by medieval authors are cataloged and the meanings attached to each number are systematically listed and categorized with their sources, including Hrabanus.

### 1.6.3. Increasing Interest in the German-speaking World

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<sup>87</sup> de Lubac, *op. cit.*, 1959, p. 162.

<sup>88</sup> de Lubac, *ibid.*, p 164. ...le jeune moine qui conçut et construisit une telle œuvre ne s’est pas livré maladroitement à quelque fantaisie pieuse; il n’a pas cédé non plus à quelque engouement littéraire.

<sup>89</sup> de Lubac, *ibid.*, p.163-164. “...elle est le signe d’une haute ambition, qui suppose elle-même une haute pensée. Ce chrétien, qui entreprend une sorte de nouveau *De natura rerum*, a profondément réalisé les dimensions cosmiques de sa Foi. Il veut montrer l’univers entier assumé par le Christ, recréé dans le Christ...Il plante la Croix du Christ au centre de toutes choses...L’espace et le temps, la terre et le ciel, les anges et les hommes, l’Ancien Testament et le Nouveau, l’univers physique et l’univers moral, la nature et la grâce: tout est embrassé, lié, noué, ‘structuré’, unifié par cette Croix, comme tout est dominé par elle.”

<sup>90</sup> Meyer, Suntrup, *Lexikon der mittelalterlichen Zahlenbedeutungen*, 1987.

The increased interest in the *In honorem* in the 1970s can also be seen in the pioneering efforts in publishing manuscript facsimiles: in 1973 a facsimile of the Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek manuscript 653 (W) was published under the care of Kurt Holter, whose *Kommentar* included brief descriptions, not only of the details of the manuscript, but also the forms of the figures in the *carmina*, paying special attention to the direction of reading the interwoven texts.<sup>91</sup> Hans-Georg Müller began the work of textual criticism,<sup>92</sup> carried on by Herrad Spilling.<sup>93</sup> At about the same time, unlike earlier historians of medieval literature who rejected or ignored the *In honorem*, Franz Brunhölzl devoted a page of his 1975 *Geschichte der lateinische Literatur des Mittelalters* to the *In honorem*. In formal terms, he points out the innovation which Hrabanus accomplished by adding images to the genre of the *carmen figuratum* and points to the perfect linkage of verse and image as the cause which renders Hrabanus' verses so difficult that the second book was rendered necessary:

Die Verbindung von Vers und Bild ist vollkommen. Die Verse selber sind dadurch so schwierig geworden, daß Hraban es für geraten hielt, die einzelnen Bilder bzw. Figurengedichte in Prose paraphrasierend zu erläutern, wodurch eine regelrechte Zweitfassung zustande kam.<sup>94</sup>

He believed that the theological content of the work was not particularly important.

Der theologische Gehalt dieser Gedichte ist, versucht man sich den Sinn eines so schwierigen Werkes klarzumachen, wohl nicht das Wesentliche. Es geht auch nicht um ein eigentlich künstlerisches Prinzip. Hraban schreibt zur Ehre Gottes. ... man wird annehmen müssen, daß Hraban die kunstreichste Form auch als die kostbarste galt.<sup>95</sup>

Brunhölzl continued later to see the prayerful intention as more important than either form or content. He wrote in 1982:

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<sup>91</sup> Holter, *op. cit.*, 1973.

<sup>92</sup> Müller, *Hrabanus Maurus – De laudibus sanctae crucis*, 1973.

<sup>93</sup> Spilling, *op. cit.*, 1992.

<sup>94</sup> Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, vol. 1, 1975, p. 327.

<sup>95</sup> Brunhölzl, *ibid.*, p. 327.

Sein Anliegen war nicht die kunstvoll verschnörkelten Worte und Zeilen. Sein Anliegen war der Lobpreis des Kreuzes, war Gebet. Nichts anderes, daran läßt der Autor keinen Zweifel, ist und will dieser Zyklus. Damit aber rückt das Formale, die gesamte Kunst des Figurengedichts mit allen seinen verschlungenen Worten, mit allen seinen Bildern, vom Eigentlichen in den zweiten Rang, wird zum dienenden Zierat des tieferen Sinnes und empfängt von ihm seine Würde,<sup>96</sup>

For Brunhölzl, then, the purpose of the work lies entirely in the praise of God entailed in constructing the most complicated work possible. Its value consists in the devotion displayed by Hrabanus in the effort of writing it.

#### 1.6.4. Ulrich Ernst's *Carmen Figuratum*

Ulrich Ernst devoted considerable effort to the study of visual and figured poetry in general. His magistral 1991 *Carmen Figuratum* is a definitive study of the history of the genre, of which he sees Hrabanus' work as one of the most important examples if not the most important *tout court*.<sup>97</sup>

Ernst is keenly aware of the relationship between number and the structure of the *In honorem* as explored earlier by other German-speaking scholars. He describes Hrabanus, in the act of writing, as "von der Idee einer Symbiose von tektonisch-zahlensymbolischer Struktur und theologischer Aussage beseelt".<sup>98</sup>

He links the images in the *In honorem*, which he considers of no independent aesthetic value, to the Frankish church's position in the contemporary debates on the use of images. He does not, however, explore this topic in any depth.

Wie bei der Frontstellung der fränkischen Kirche gegenüber dem Ikonodulendum nicht überraschend, gewinnen die *imagines* keinen

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<sup>96</sup> Brunhölzl, "Zur geistigen Bedeutung des Hrabanus Maurus", in Kottje, Zimmerman, Eds. *Hrabanus Maurus: Lehrer, Abt und Bischof*, 1982, p. 11.

<sup>97</sup> Ernst, *op. cit.*, 1991, p. 222-331, "Die künstlerische Ausgestaltung der Gattung," is dedicated to the *In honorem*.

<sup>98</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 224.

ästhetischen Eigenwert, sondern stehen in Dienst der verbalen Heilsbotschaft.<sup>99</sup>

In Ernst's view, Hrabanus is trying to show the cross as a symbol of the cosmic rulership of the Logos and the ordering principle of the world:

Im Kielwasser patristischer Kreuzfrömmigkeit deutet Hraban das Kreuz vor allem als Sinnbild der kosmischen Herrschaft des Logos, des *rex regum*, und exemplifiziert durch eine facettenreiche Pluralität von Perspektiven die Relevanz des Kreuzes als Ordnungsprinzip der Welt und universale Heilssignatur, die alle Seinsformen umspannt und prägt.<sup>100</sup>

The bulk of Ernst's work is devoted to formal analysis of the twenty-eight *carmina* of the *In honorem*. He establishes categories based on the typology of the figures, which are partially taken over from Alcuin and Porphyrius and partially created by Hrabanus. The formal analysis of figures in this thesis is based on his work. He also provides secondary sources for examining the traditions concerning the topic of each individual *carmen*.

### 1.6.5. Michel Perrin and the Critical Edition

Michel Perrin has devoted much of his professional effort to the study of the *In honorem*, from the late 1980s until today. He has published numerous articles exploring historical, literary, technical, political, and intellectual aspects of the work. To Perrin is due the credit for the critical edition of the *In honorem*, published by Brepols as *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 100 (the text itself) and 100A (facsimiles of the images of the Vatican manuscript) in 1997. He continues to publish through the present day, having recently released a book dealing with the iconography of the *In honorem*.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 225.

<sup>100</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 225. Continuation of previous quotation.

<sup>101</sup> Perrin, *L'iconographie de la Gloire à la sainte croix de Raban Maur*, 2009.

### 1.6.6. Literary and Theological Analyses from Italian-speaking Scholars

The Swiss scholar Michele Ferrari published an important monograph dedicated to the *In honorem* under the title *Il 'Liber s. crucis' di Rabano Mauro. Testo - Immagine - Contesto*. Ferrari's primary interest is the nature and position of the *In honorem* as a literary work. He criticizes the earlier critical rejection of the work and shows how it was based on an incoherent mixture of classical and romantic ideals.<sup>102</sup> He points out the massive positive contemporary reception and likens a history of medieval literature which ignores the *In honorem* to a history of 13th-century Italian or Elizabethan English literature without Dante or Shakespeare respectively.<sup>103</sup> His goal, he says, is to reinsert the *In honorem* in its rightful place within the panorama of Carolingian and medieval literature.<sup>104</sup>

In the first half of his book, he devotes particular attention to literary analysis of the work. He provides some useful terminological distinctions adopted in this thesis, such as "macrotext," and, "variable and invariable paratext." He studies the literary mechanisms by which the *In honorem* functions. These include the process of decomposition into separate elements and recomposition into a higher unity, accomplished by the cross in each *carmen*; the use of numerological symbolism to structure the work; the mechanisms in use in the individual *carmina*; and the connections between poems in a macrotextual structure.

In the second half of the book, he examines the place of the *In honorem* in the intellectual and cultural context of its time. He traces the history of the use of mixed works that alternate verse and prose and the use of auto-commentary. He examines the Carolingian role in the image debates of the 8th and 9th centuries. He sees the *In honorem* as a *prise de position* within those debates, articulating a position different from that of the *Libri Carolini*, one that allows a greater space for

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<sup>102</sup> Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 3-5.

<sup>103</sup> Ferrari, *ibid.*, p. 6-7.

<sup>104</sup> Ferrari, *ibid.*, p. 7-8. "Il fine di questo lavoro è quello di restituire al 'Liber s. crucis' il posto che gli compete nella letteratura europea del IX secolo e, in generale, medievale. Intendo illustrare gli aspetti di novità e interesse che il 'Liber s. crucis' comporta su diversi piani, senza per questo negarne, anzi mettendone in evidenza i legami con i filoni letterari e intellettuali cui il 'Liber s. crucis', come credo, si rifà costantemente."



collaboration between text and image. He also sees the *In honorem* as the part of the great Carolingian effort to recover the heritage of late Christian antiquity of the time of Constantine.

In the 1990s and 2000s, Italian scholars began exploring the theological implications of the *In honorem*. In the 1996 *Storia della Teologia nel Medioevo*, Giulio d'Onofrio saw in the composition of the *In honorem* the construction of a theological system.

[Nell'opera Rabano ha] modo di dare concretezza ad una precoce vocazione di sistematore della sapienza teologica appresa presso il maestro, che egli fonde in una sintesi ricca di inventiva e di simmetrie concettuali, ma anche insieme, di profonda spiritualità e di un certo spirito ludico dell'intelligenza....<sup>105</sup>

He also remarked how the doctrinal content of each poem is the link between a certain subject and the cross as cosmic mediatory symbol.

...esplicitandone il contenuto dottrinario, sempre collegabile al principio simbolico centrale della croce che è elemento di mediazione, cosmico ed extra-storico, tra il divino e l'umano.<sup>106</sup>

D'Onofrio contributed further to the understanding of the *In honorem* with a 1999 conference presentation, published in 2007.<sup>107</sup> D'Onofrio does not share the earlier rejection of the *In honorem* as an aesthetic product: purely on the formal level, he considers the *In honorem* to be "un prodotto intellettuale di alto livello".<sup>108</sup> He calls the work "una organica e altisonante sinfonia di parole, pensieri e immagini, rigorosamente iscritta, con uno sfoggio di abilità compositiva che desto ancor oggi meraviglia, sul pentagramma rigido della struttura metrica di 28 carmi "figurati" ...".<sup>109</sup> He explicitly refers to the common opinion of critics that compositions subject to such

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<sup>105</sup> d'Onofrio, *Storia della Teologia nel Medioevo*, 1996, vol. 1, p. 156.

<sup>106</sup> d'Onofrio, *ibid.*, p. 157.

<sup>107</sup> d'Onofrio, "La teologia della croce in epoca carolingia", in *La croce, Iconografia e interpretazione (secoli I - inizio XVI)*, (Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Napoli, 6-11 dicembre 1999), Elio de Rosa, Naples, 2007, p. 271-319

<sup>108</sup> d'Onofrio, *ibid.*, 274.

<sup>109</sup> d'Onofrio, *ibid.*, 274-275.

formal constraints can rarely be considered of much poetic value, and suggests that the *In honorem* represents a “eccezione significativa”<sup>110</sup> to this rule. He explains why:

forza espressiva risultante in questo caso dalla virtuosistica concatenazione di versi evidenti e versi evidenziati, immagini e simboli interni, costantemente alimentata da un’ispirazione religiosa potente che cementa la conpenetrazione di rigidità formale e densità di contenuto, consente al linguaggio poetico di raggiungere vertici di espressività lirica e, insieme, di suggestione mistica, che fanno del *Liber* un documento di grande valore, assolutamente atipico nella civiltà mediolatina.<sup>111</sup>

D’Onofrio is the first scholar to deal in depth with the theological content of the *In honorem*. He places it into its theological context by examining other Carolingian writings which dealt with the role of veneration of the cross, including the *Quaestio de adoranda cruce* of Eginhard, documents from the debates between the iconoclast bishop Claudius of Turin on the one side and Dungal of St-Denis and Jonas of Orléans on the other, the disputes between Agobard of Lyons and Amalarius of Metz concerning the latter’s liturgical reforms and theories, the *Libri Carolini*, and the *De rebus ecclesiasticis* of Walafred Strabo. In short, d’Onofrio proposes that Hrabanus intended to

operare una sublimazione filosofico-religiosa della sua origina natura di immagine, per risalire dall’aspetto materiale delle rappresentazione del crocifisso a un recupero, sul piano dello spirito, della loro più genuina funzionalità anagogica.<sup>112</sup>

Thus, the *In honorem*, by employing images exclusively within a strictly-defined anagogical purpose, is a fulfillment of the program of the *Libri Carolini*.

Alluding to the arrival of the works of pseudo-Dionysius the Aeropagite in Paris in 827, d’Onofrio offers his final judgment on the *In honorem* and indicates its importance within the broadest panoramas of thought and theology:

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<sup>110</sup> d’Onofrio, *ibid.*, p. 276.

<sup>111</sup> d’Onofrio, *ibid.*, p. 276.

<sup>112</sup> d’Onofrio, *ibid.*, p. 289.

Il *Liber* di Rabano sulle lodi della santa croce segna forse il limite più audace che la teologia umana poteva toccare prima di scoprire appieno la forza trascendente del dinamico confronto di sapienza affermativa e negativa che l'areopagismo era sul punto di introdurre in Occidente a supporto di ogni ulteriore tentativo di spinta anagogica perseguibile da parte della razionalità umana.<sup>113</sup>

Armando Bisogno, investigating the propriety of speaking of the Carolingian age as a distinct intellectual period with its own intellectual identity, attempted to find a common theological method for the Carolingian period as a whole in his 2008 book, *Il metodo carolingio: Identità culturale e dibattito teologico nel secolo nono*.<sup>114</sup> He used the image in A2 showing Alcuin presenting Hrabanus and his book to St. Martin as a symbol of the entire period, dominated intellectually by these two great figures in succession.<sup>115</sup>

It is clear that Bisogno appreciates the *In honorem* on an aesthetic level, describing it with terms such as, “celebra in modo straordinariamente efficace,” and, “le complesse ed emozionanti pagine.”<sup>116</sup> He sees it as a celebration of the Carolingian idea, which I call epistemological optimism in §1.7.1.1., that “nel creato sussista una struttura intelligibile perché posta in essere da un supremo ente razionale.”<sup>117</sup> He analyzes the role of the cross within the work as not only a “simbolo evocativo della passione di Cristo” but also the “segno riassuntivo della efficacia perfetta dell’ordine numerologico posto a fondamento del creato.”<sup>118</sup> Thus, Bisogno relates the earlier understanding of the numerological structure of the work with the Carolingian theological understanding of the cosmos as ordered according to a numerical structure which human signs can trace or indicate. The cross is the universal form which allows one to trace the order present in creation.<sup>119</sup> In this way, the assiduous

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<sup>113</sup> d’Onofrio, *ibid.*, p. 319.

<sup>114</sup> Bisogno, *Il metodo carolingio: Identità culturale e dibattito teologico nel secolo nono*, 2008.

<sup>115</sup> Bisogno, *ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>116</sup> Bisogno, *ibid.*, p. 275.

<sup>117</sup> Bisogno, *ibid.*, p. 275.

<sup>118</sup> Bisogno, *ibid.*, p. 276.

<sup>119</sup> v. Bisogno, *ibid.*, p. 278.

meditation on the *In honorem* which Hrabanus calls for can become the mechanism for the faithful to realize their salvation.

## 1.7. The Carolingian Intellectual Context

### 1.7.1. Intellectual Context Prior to the Composition of the *In honorem*

#### 1.7.1.1. Carolingian Epistemological Optimism

Alongside Charlemagne's constant military and political efforts on behalf of the unity of his empire, the intellectuals of his court aspired to a *unanimitas* of all the Christians included within it. Their intellectual vision of the universe made such a hope reasonable. They were confident that men could learn the truth and share their subjective awareness of it with their fellows. Bisogno sketches the epistemological optimism of their intellectual approach in his description of Alcuin's method of Biblical exegesis:

La reperibilità delle motivazioni («rationes») della fede costituisce nelle *epistolae* il presupposto di una piena condivisione della verità rivelata tra i diversi membri della comunità dei fedeli. Il riconoscimento delle «rationes fidei» nella parola della Scrittura consente il radicarsi nella coscienza del credente di quella medesima certezza evidente del vero che, come mostra la competenza nello studio delle arti liberali, è possibile all'intelligenza umana scoprire e apprendere indagando l'ordine voluto da Dio per il creato. L'epistolario è il luogo nel quale Alcuino annota gli esiti del suo costante impegno per diffondere e far condividere ai credenti questa certezza; le opere esegetiche invece sono dedicate a mostrare l'assoluta omogeneità dei diversi piani di lettura offerta dalle Scritture, così come le opere tecniche tentano di presentare le «regulae» che fondano il ragionamento umano, a loro volta ricavate dalla razionalità infusa nell'universo dal Creatore.<sup>120</sup>

We see here the reasons for the confidence of the Carolingian intellectuals. First of all, they believed that God had created the universe according to a rational order. Second of all, they believed that the rules of the liberal arts were reflections of that same divinely-willed rational order, discovered and not invented by the human mind. That human mind, after their discovery, was capable of using them to find the truth

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<sup>120</sup> Bisogno, *ibid.*, p. 101-102.

concerning the universe. The same rational order of the universe was revealed in the Holy Scripture, inspired by the universe's Creator. The Church Fathers served as a sure guide to interpreting those Scriptures. Thus, by a balanced and harmonious use of the rules of the liberal arts and the guidance of the Fathers in studying God's word in the Holy Scriptures, the faithful could reach certainty of the truth, and thus the entire community of the faithful could share fully in the one certain truth: *unanimitas*.

The cosmological ambition of the *In honorem* obviously fits into such a vision of the world. Likewise, its use of numbers as a structuring principle also reflects this Carolingian confidence in the rational structure infused into the universe by the Creator. Hrabanus is contributing to this vision of *unanimitas* by demonstrating that the cross is the ultimate principle uniting all the different aspects of the universe among themselves and with each other. As d'Onofrio expresses the matter:

... nel *Liber* è possibile rintracciare della sua radicata adesione all'idea agostiniana (introdotta anch'essa da Alcuino nel mondo carolingio) dell'ordine imposto all'intero universo della razionalità assoluta del Verbo, principio e fine a un tempo della creazione.<sup>121</sup>

### 1.7.1.2. The Carolingian Role in the First Phase of the Image Debates

There is no mention of the 8th-century polemics and debates concerning images in the *In honorem*, although Hrabanus does raise the possibility of a hostile reception at the end of his prologue.<sup>122</sup> With its unique relationship between word and image, the *In honorem* has been seen as a *prise de position* by the young Hrabanus, writing almost two decades after the council of Frankfurt. Writers such as Weitmann and Noble see the *In honorem* as a realization of the anti-iconic program of the *Opus contra Synodum*, a submission of images to the word, allegiance to which program Hrabanus expressed in his poem "Ad Bonosum."<sup>123</sup> Weitmann even sees in the structure of B1 a specific response to Byzantine concerns about whether Christ can

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<sup>121</sup> d'Onofrio, *op. cit.*, 2007, p. 303.

<sup>122</sup> A7, 84-90.

<sup>123</sup> v. discussion in §1.4.2.

be circumscribed.<sup>124</sup> Ferrari,<sup>125</sup> d’Onofrio<sup>126</sup> and Perrin<sup>127</sup> all point out a very important aspect of this continuity: the *Opus contra Synodum*, while hostile to the veneration of images, does not consider the cross to be an *imago* but as a *signum*. D’Onofrio emphasizes that for the *Opus*, the cross, like the Eucharist, it belongs to the *res sacratissimae* which participate in the reality of the Incarnation and Redemption and are therefore worthy of adoration. Therefore Hrabanus’ vast paean of praise to the cross as a mystic, extra-temporal and extra-spatial *signum* is a fulfillment and expression of this theological position. Perrin points to Hrabanus’ careful instructions to the reader to preserve the order of reading and observe the figures and also sees Hrabanus as subordinating images to text; “les images ne sont donc pas autonomes.”<sup>128</sup> Ferrari differs from most other scholars in seeing the *In honorem* as departing somewhat from the lines of the *Opus contra Synodum*, by affirming the potential for a collaboration between text and image,<sup>129</sup> although d’Onofrio also points out the significant departure from prior Carolingian theories in favor of the cross as a non-pictorial symbol in the depiction of Christ in an *imago* in B1.<sup>130</sup>

### 1.7.1.3. Adoptionism

The role of Adoptionism in the formation of the *In honorem*, in contrast, has received little attention until recently. Alcuin was one of the primary Carolingian writers engaged in discussion with and polemic against Elipandus and Felix, and these issues appear even in his late work *De fide sanctae et individuae Trinitatis*.<sup>131</sup> Perrin points out that certain of Hrabanus’ comments reinforce the role of Christ within the

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<sup>124</sup> Weitmann, *op. cit.*, 1997, p. 247.

<sup>125</sup> Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 319-321.

<sup>126</sup> d’Onofrio, *op. cit.*, 2007, p. 284-285.

<sup>127</sup> Perrin, *op. cit.*, 2009, p. 25.

<sup>128</sup> Perrin, *ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>129</sup> Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 316-317.

<sup>130</sup> d’Onofrio, *op. cit.*, 2007, p. 294-295.

<sup>131</sup> v. discussion in Bisogno, *op. cit.*, 2009, p. 169 ff.

Trinity and so counter Adoptionist theses.<sup>132</sup> Likewise, the fact of creating a work which shows the cross as the central structuring principle of the universe also tends to put the Incarnate Christ, not merely the Word of God, is at the center and dominates all things.<sup>133</sup>

#### **1.7.1.4. *Filioque***

Perrin also points out that Charlemagne added the *Filioque* to the Creed sung at the liturgies in Aachen in 806 as a polemical step during a moment of conflict with Constantinople. Perrin surveyed Hrabanus' exegetical works and found no cases of Hrabanus using the phrase *ex Patre procedens* and multiple cases of the use of the *Filioque*.<sup>134</sup> In addition, Hrabanus describes the Holy Spirit in the final prayer of C28 as "procedens ab utrisque."<sup>135</sup>

### **1.7.2. Controversies after the Composition of the *In honorem***

#### **1.7.2.1. The Second Phase of the Image Debates**

The discussion concerning images in the Frankish area revived noticeably during the 820s and 830s. Agobard of Lyons in his *De picturis et imaginibus* condemned veneration of images, including sculpted crucifixes, and rejected the argument that veneration transfers from the image to one represented; he accepted this transfer only for the *vexillum crucis*.<sup>136</sup> A council called by Louis the Pious in 828 condemned the *Apologeticum* of the iconoclast bishop Claudius of Turin, and two of the intellectuals of the Imperial court, Dungal of St.-Denis and Jonas of Orléans, responded to his arguments. For them, the *vexillum crucis* was a *signum* and the efficacious instrument of our sanctification.<sup>137</sup> Finally, in 836 Eginhard sent to Lupus

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<sup>132</sup> Perrin, *op. cit.*, 2009, p. 45.

<sup>133</sup> Perrin, *ibid.*, p. 45-46.

<sup>134</sup> Perrin, *ibid.*, p. 46-47.

<sup>135</sup> C28, 36.

<sup>136</sup> v. discussion in d'Onofrio, *op. cit.*, 2007, p. 282.

<sup>137</sup> v. d'Onofrio, *ibid.*, p. 279-280.

of Ferrière the *Quaestio de adoranda cruce*,<sup>138</sup> in which he distinguished between *orare*, prayer with mind and words alone, appropriate for God, and *adorare*, prayer involving corporal movement, gesture and posture as well, carried out in the presence of a holy person or thing.

During these debates, Hrabanus, by now abbot of Fulda, was sending copies of his work combining text and images in praise of the holy cross across the Empire, to such important recipients as Otgar, archbishop of Mainz and the Emperor Louis the Pious himself. Art historian Roger Hinks states that Carolingian artists hardly ever treated the Crucifixion in the first half of the ninth century, but that the theme became increasingly popular afterwards, as in the Metz ivories, and attributes this to the influence of the *In honorem*.<sup>139</sup>

In light of Eginhard's later distinction, it is interesting to note that Hrabanus uses *oro* of the cross in the interwoven palindrome of his final *carmen*,<sup>140</sup> but translates this as *adoro* in prose.<sup>141</sup> Hrabanus seems unaware of the distinction proposed by Eginhard.

### 1.7.2.2. Predestination

Late in life Hrabanus was one of the initial protagonists in the controversies provoked by Gottschalk's preaching of double predestination. In 840, Noting, bishop of Verona, wrote to Hrabanus, then abbot of Fulda, concerning it. Six years later, Gottschalk was resident in Friuli and the count, Eberhard, consulted Hrabanus again on this troublesome preaching. In reply, Hrabanus sent him a long florilegium of Augustinian passages to show the true teaching on predestination. With the very same letter, he included a copy of the *In honorem*.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Eginhard, *Quaestio de adoranda cruce*, ed. K. Hampe, in *MGH, Epistolae* 5, p. 146-149.

<sup>139</sup> Hinks, *Carolingian Art*, 41974, p. 121-122.

<sup>140</sup> C28, 57.

<sup>141</sup> D28, 24.

<sup>142</sup> Hrabanus Maurus, *Epistola* 42, ed. Dümmler, *MGH, Epistolae* 5 (*Karoli Aevi* 3), p. 481-487.



I believe that the presentation in this thesis of Hrabanus' clear and precise doctrine concerning grace in the *In honorem* is a novelty. At numerous points throughout the *In honorem*, in particular in *carmina* 1, 6, 16, 22 and 28, Hrabanus expresses a nuanced and subtle view: the faithful truly acquire merit through their own actions, but it is only because of the sacrifice of Christ on the cross that they are able to do so.

Is it merely coincidence that Hrabanus' theological effort to contrast Gottschalk's preaching and the gift of the *In honorem* to count Eberhard come in the same letter? Or did Hrabanus consider his student work an effective means of instructing the local secular authority on the dangers posed by Gottschalk's heresies?

### **1.8. Status Quaestionis**

The virtuosity of its composition and the use of artistic figures provoked admiration throughout the Middle Ages and the *In honorem* was copied in great numbers across a wide range of geographical areas. The artificiality involved in the complex constraints of the *carmen figuratum*, however, led to disgust among critics from approximately 1700-1950. The revived scholarly interest since then first brought out the way in which the work attempts to systematize a Christian cosmology by relating all aspects of existence to the cross and suggested that this ambition marks it as a Christian version of Lucretius' *De rerum natura*: an attempt both to account for the whole of things and to communicate this account to others. It has been pointed out that the work functions as an anagogic spiritual exercise for both Hrabanus himself, in the difficult labor of composition, and for his readers, in the difficult labor of reading, ruminating and contemplating the work. The importance of numerology for both its content and form caused the *In honorem* to be considered in debates, primarily in German, on the structural role of numerological symbolism, which have led to a greater understanding of the numerology contained within. There has been research and debate on its unusual literary structure, the way it combines verses and images into indissoluble units, the way it combines multiple textual fields in both verse and prose, and the mechanisms by which it achieves its effects, primarily one of decomposition and recomposition into a unity a higher level. It has been

considered as an aesthetic and spiritual production combining words and image in the context of the image debates of the end of the eighth century and beginning of the ninth century, with some scholars seeing it as entirely in the lines of the theoretical positions of the *Libri Carolini* and others evaluating it as the realization of an independent position on Hrabanus' part. Only recently have scholars, primarily d'Onofrio and Bisogno, both currently professors at the University of Salerno and moderators of this thesis, begun to focus attention on the work as communicating an independent and specific theological message.

### 1.9. Statement of Thesis

In his monograph, Ferrari identifies the absence of a thorough analysis of the theological content:

Non sarà possibile entrare nei particolari di ognuna delle ventotto *figurae*. L'estrema complessità segnica dei carmi rende forzatamente difficile un sommario dei temi trattati e il commento esteso e puntuale che sarebbe necessario non può essere fornito in questa sede.<sup>143</sup>

Up until now, scholars have noticed, reflected and commented on the remarkable interaction of word and image in the *In honorem*. They have identified various examples of these interactions as significant for the meaning and message of the work. However, these observations have been similar to the pioneering efforts in textual criticism of the Renaissance: dependent on the *ope ingenii* of the individual scholar. In the second section of this thesis, I propose a methodology for a systematic analysis of the philosophical and theological content of the *In honorem*. I attempt to sketch an approach which is able to deal with the unparalleled complexities of the form adopted by Hrabanus and provide a coherent structure for discussions of its content.

The third section applies this method of analysis to each *carmen* of the *In honorem* in an attempt to elucidate the philosophical and theological content. Here this thesis hopes to offer to the scholarly world a first attempt at that "commento esteso e puntuale" which Ferrari mentions.

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<sup>143</sup> Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 131.

The thesis concludes with an examination of what this analysis has revealed about the contents of the work and a consideration of the relationship between form and content in the *In honorem sanctae crucis* understood as a theological work. I argue that Hrabanus created a unique method of writing theology. I suggest that the unique form conveys to the attentive reader the basic insight of negative theology, that God infinitely surpasses the capacities of our minds and language, in an aesthetic and emotional way, rather than the straight-forward linguistic methods by which most theologians and mystics have attempted to express this insight.

## 2. Method

### 2.1. Introduction

#### 2.1.1. The Need for Method in Approaching the *In honorem*

The basic unit of the *In honorem* is a complex whole, consisting of a *carmen figuratum* and several closely-associated and subordinated prose texts (discussed below in §2.2.1.2.). The *carmen figuratum* itself consists of both multiple levels of text and figures. Since the work is so complicated, it is necessary to consider the form of the work in general in order to grasp how the *In honorem* communicates its contents to its readers.

#### 2.1.2. The Purpose of the *In honorem*

##### 2.1.2.1. The Original Audience

Hrabanus originally intended his work for his fellow monks as a fruitful object for their meditation. In the prologue which accompanies the *In honorem*, he explains his intention:

Nec enim arbitror me posse aliquid sanctae cruci decoris conferre, quae claritate sua cuncta clarificat; sed claritatem eius et maiestatem perpetuam, laudibus quibuscumque possum, conseruis meis praedico, ut saepius eam legentes ac sedulo conspicientes, nostram in ea redemptionem assidue cogitemus, Redemptorique nostro incessanter gratias agamus.<sup>144</sup>

Hrabanus states the work is directed to his fellow monks (*conservis meis*) who should read the work (*eam legentes*) over and over (*saepius*) and look at its visual elements (*conspicientes*) carefully (*sedulo*). Therefore he expected educated readers, with a grasp of Latin and some knowledge of the various religious symbols and ideas which he employs. He expected them to return again and again to the work and meditate upon it. This repeated meditation would have allowed Hrabanus' intended readers to penetrate slowly into the complex structure, understanding more and more of it over time.

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<sup>144</sup> A7, 17-22.

### 2.1.2.2. Hrabanus' Gift Policy

The personages to whom dedications of the *In honorem* were written make up an exalted list. It seems that Hrabanus made use of his student work throughout his ecclesiastical career as a gift to win favor with important and powerful figures. Perrin has collated all mentions of recipients of the *In honorem*.<sup>145</sup> They were his fellow student and successor as abbot of Fulda, Hatto; the archbishops of Mainz Haistulf (813-826) and Otgar (826-847); archbishop Raoul of Bourges (840-866); the popes Gregory IV (827-844) and Sergius II (844-847); the abbeys of St. Martin at Tours and St. Denis near Paris; the margrave Eberhard of Friuli († 865) and the Emperor Louis the Pious (814-840). Such leading secular and religious figures would hardly have the time for the deep meditation that Hrabanus contemplates in the preface. Most likely they would have glanced through the work, admired the figures and interwoven texts, and appreciated the splendor of the conception.

### 2.1.3. Approach to the *In honorem*

In attempting to understand these multiple elements interwoven into a complex whole, I believe it is best to approach them in order of perception. First of all, the reader perceives purely visual elements. These form the basis for the texts. Finally, while reading texts the reader becomes aware of certain elements which are neither visual nor textual, but derive from both and consist entirely in information about the work. A relationship between a textual element and a visual element is not precisely textual nor entirely visual. Where is it situated? It seems to be more something the reader notices or becomes aware of during his more or less profound study than something he sees or reads. I call this the cognitive aspect. I propose a systematic approach to the *In honorem* according to these three categories, visual, textual and cognitive.

This method of analysis also allows us to elucidate the different depths of understanding of different readers. As is clear from the fact that Hrabanus wrote a

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<sup>145</sup> Perrin, *op. cit.*, 1997, p. xx-xxvi.

second book to elucidate the base poems of the *carmina* further, even among his intended audience not everyone was able to devote the time, energy and mental perspicuity necessary to a full and thorough study. So, as different readers invest different amounts of time and energy, they reach different levels of understanding. Certain elements can be recognized with a brief glance through the book. Others become clear after a bit of study of one *carmen*. Still others require a deep study of a medieval monk meditating on the text as part of his religious duties.

## **2.2. Fields and Elements of Meaning**

The broad categories identified in §2.1.3 can be broken down further into fields of meaning and their elements. The different textual and visual levels of the *carmina* and the subordinated associated texts are all individual fields, within which particular texts and figures convey meaning. This concept can also be extended to the cognitive area. Much of the meaning of the *In honorem* derives from this cognitive aspect and I attempt in the following section to analyze cognitive factors in the same way as the visual and textual factors, as fields of meaning and meaningful elements located within those fields.

### **2.2.1. Fields of Meaning**

#### **2.2.1.1. Visual Fields of Meaning**

There are three different visual fields of meaning present in the *carmina*. They are arranged in a hierarchical order so that all three are present simultaneously on different levels in each *carmen*. These fields are the background, the figures, and the pattern.

##### **2.2.1.1.1. Background**

The background of each *carmen* consists of letters of various colors arranged in a rectangle or square of various colors. In almost all cases this background is filled in completely with letters and the space between them, although in several *carmina* Hrabanus leaves some spaces open.

### **2.2.1.1.2. Figure Level**

From this background stand out either images or geometrical figures. They stand out because the colors used for the letters and the space between them is different than the colors used for the rest of the background.

### **2.2.1.1.3. Pattern**

The figures are not scattered randomly on the background; rather, they are arranged in a pattern. Within the genre of the *carmen figuratum* as a whole, the patterns formed are very diverse. In the *In honorem*, the pattern is always some kind of cross shape. In some *carmina*, the pattern corresponds to one of the figures, because there is a figure in the shape of a cross occupying the center of the field. In others, the pattern is formed by arranging figures of completely different shape into a cross. Thus, the cross formed on the pattern level could be either solid or formed from discrete elements.

### **2.2.1.2. Textual Fields of Meaning**

There are between two and four textual fields of meanings that make up each *carmen*. Also, each *carmen* has another four textual fields intimately associated with it, although these additional fields are clearly subordinated to the *carmen* itself.

The textual fields that constitute the *carmen* are arranged in a hierarchical order and are present simultaneously in the same space. Two of these fields are present in every *carmen*, the basis poem and the interwoven verses. In the seven cases (B3, B12, B14, B19, B20, B22, and B25) where the figures themselves are letters, these letters make up a figure-text of just a few words. In one particular case, B22, the pattern made by the letter figures is not the usual cross shape but the Constantinian monogram composed of the Greek letters X and P. In this case alone the pattern creates a fourth level of language, the pattern-text, consisting of just those two letters. Hrabanus discusses those letters independently in the commentary.

The four associated fields, which are independent of the *carmen* but subordinated to it, are the commentary, the prose translation, and the two titles. The commentary is always on the facing page in the manuscripts, while the prose translations are in a separate second book after the *carmina*. The two titles will be considered together in one section (§2.2.1.2.7.).

#### **2.2.1.2.1. Basis Poem**

The basis poem is the lowest level of language in each *carmen*. Normally all letters present in the *carmen figuratum* are part of the basis poem.<sup>146</sup> The basis poems are all written in dactylic hexameters. They range in verse length from 35 to 41 letters. Hrabanus makes use of abbreviations as necessary to fit into this constraint, so that, for example, *-que* is sometimes spelled out fully, sometimes just written *-q*.

#### **2.2.1.2.2. Interwoven Verses**

Some of the letters of the basis poem are distinguished from others by script and color contrast. These letters can also be read on a second level of language as “interwoven” verses (*versus intexti*). These verses are related to both the overall theme of the basis poem and to the individual figure within which they are written. These verses are in various meters. They are sometimes difficult to read due to the convoluted order in which the letters appear in the figures.

#### **2.2.1.2.3. Figure-Text**

In the cases where the figures are themselves letters, the cross shape itself contains a short text. In some cases the letters are taken as such, and in some cases they are interpreted as numbers, according to both the Roman and Greek letter-number systems. In two cases, B12 and B22, the figures are read both as letters and numbers.

#### **2.2.1.2.4. Pattern-Text**

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<sup>146</sup> The exception is B16, in which Hrabanus suspends the basis poem in the area that includes the flowers inscribed with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.



In one *carmen* only, B22, the figures, while spelling out words themselves, are arranged into a pattern which makes up two letters, the X and P of the Constantinian monogram.

#### **2.2.1.2.5. Commentary**

Unless the order of pages has been disturbed in the later history of the manuscript, the *carmen figuratum* is always on the *verso* of a page and Hrabanus' prose commentary is on the *recto* of the next page, so that with the *In honorem* open the *carmen* stands to the left and the commentary stands to the right, both available for the reader to consult without flipping pages.<sup>147</sup> In the commentary, Hrabanus offers additional information or exegesis or commentary on the poem. He almost always gives the interwoven verses here; in the case of the more difficult interwoven verses, consulting this commentary is necessary for reading them. He sometimes also points out the meaning of the figures here and comments on the relationships between textual and visual elements.

#### **2.2.1.2.6. Prose Translation**

In the second book, Hrabanus gives a prose translation of each basis poem. Occasionally Hrabanus makes use of the freedom in translation which he vindicates in the preface to this book, but the bulk of the prose version corresponds exactly to a section of its corresponding poem. Usually the compressed expressions of the *carmen* are expanded in this section, occasionally cryptic passages are rephrased.

#### **2.2.1.2.7. Titles**

One of the unvarying prefaces is the list of *capitula*, chapter headings (A9). In addition, the prose translations in the second book all have a title at the head of the individual translations. Every carmina has therefore two titles, which are always similar and never identical.

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<sup>147</sup> Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 242, criticizes the *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* critical edition because this feature of the text, in his view essential, is not respected. Perrin explains reasons behind his compromises at Perrin, *op. cit.*, 1997, p. cxviii.

### **2.2.1.3. Cognitive Fields of Meaning**

I believe I have articulated five fields where elements or aspects that convey a purely cognitive meaning can be located. They too, like the visual and textual fields, display a hierarchical arrangement. At a first level, these are the references between text and image, references between texts, and references between images. These are present in every *carmina* and they go to create the next cognitive field, the microstructure, i.e. the structure of each individual *carmen* created by the different visual and textual elements and their mutual references. All the *carmina* together, the commonalities among them, and the organization of the whole *In honorem* create the macrostructure.

#### **2.2.1.3.1. Relationship between Texts**

The very complex structure of the *In honorem* means that there are numerous different kinds of relationships between texts and sections of texts.

#### **2.2.1.3.2. Relationship between Images**

There are also relationships between different images in the *In honorem*, both within individual *carmina* and from one *carmen* to another. Thus, these relationships participate in the formation of both the microstructure and the macrostructure.

#### **2.2.1.3.3. Relationship between Text and Image**

Relationships between text and image are fundamental to the *In honorem*. The entire structure of the work is created by them. The complex interweaving of text and image differentiates the *In honorem* from other text-image combinations such as illuminated manuscripts, church frescoes and icons in the medieval context and such phenomena as advertisement and comic books in the modern one.

#### **2.2.1.3.4. Microstructure**

By microstructure I mean the structure of an individual *carmen* created by the multiple interweavings and relationships of texts and images. In fact, these

relationships create smaller units within each *carmen*. Generally each figure corresponds to one interwoven verse and the textual and visual planes are related. I call these entities, created out of the text-figure interweaving, visual-textual units. The same process of recomposition on a higher plane applies to the *carmen* as a whole. It has a structure made up out of the basic planes of meaning and their elements and the smaller units which are intermediate between the planes of meaning and the *carmen* as a whole.

#### **2.2.1.3.5. Macrostructure**

By macrostructure (here modifying slightly Ferrari's usage, who normally expresses the same concept as "struttura macrotestuale") I mean the structure of the *In honorem* as a whole, considering all the individual *carmina* and their relationships to each other and the work itself. A complication or ambiguity of the macrostructure is the clear division between the 28 units of the *In honorem* proper and the paratext, which is clearly separate and prefatory yet always accompanies the main text.

#### **2.2.2. Meaningful Elements**

Within each field, certain elements may be present which convey meaning. Each element may function on multiple fields. I attempt to identify the elements within the visual fields first, followed by the textual and the cognitive fields.

##### **2.2.2.1. Visual Elements**

###### **2.2.2.1.1. Color**

The most basic visual element is color. There are multiple colors present in each *carmen*. They are present in the background field. Color creates all the other meaningful elements.

Does the particular color of a frame, figure, letter, or background have an independent meaning? In one case, C16, 107-110, Hrabanus explains exactly what the colors used in that *carmen* mean. Some of the figures, such as those

representing the four elements in B7, seem likely to have a particular color associated with them. My research sought to determine whether colors are meaningful in the following way. If the colors of a particular feature vary from manuscript to manuscript, I take that as evidence that the color does not have any meaning beyond delineating the feature from the other elements; whereas if the same color is used for a particular element across manuscripts, I assume that the color is meaningful and attempt to identify its meaning. Since the manuscripts besides *V* all have uncolored parchment as their background and color only the bivalent text, the figures and the frame, while the Vatican manuscript is much richer and has colored backgrounds, if only the Vatican manuscript differs, I also consider the agreement of *PATQW* as establishing meaning.

In general, the results of this investigation were disappointing. In most cases the colors bear no meaning. Only those few cases where color does seem to bear some meaning are discussed in the analytical section below. If there is no discussion of colors, the reader may assume that the colors vary from manuscript to manuscript without rhyme or reason that this researcher can detect.<sup>148</sup>

#### **2.2.2.1.2. Color Contrast**

A color contrast between background and script defines all the letters that make up the various texts: the basis text, the prose commentary and the prose translation. The use of different color contrasts creates the geometrical figures and marks letters as belonging to the interwoven verses. Color contrast, therefore, is present in the background visual field and creates the figure visual field.

In all the manuscripts besides *V*, the background of the monovalent areas is not colored and the letters are written in black ink on the parchment. The most common color contrast employed for the figures in these manuscripts has yellow figures with red letters. This color contrast appears in the figures of B2 (for the cross, not the square, except in *W*), B5 (for the cross; the squares are the opposite, red with yellow letters), B6, B8 (except in *P*, where the figures are red with yellow letters), B9, B11,

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<sup>148</sup> Consult Perrin, *op. cit.*, 2009, p. 53-96 for descriptions of the colors in each manuscript.

B17, and B24. However, I have not been able to identify any significance to this wide use of yellow and red.

The Vatican manuscript shows an interesting set of color contrasts. With the exception of *carmina* 1, 15 and 28, the color scheme of the monovalent areas alternates between two patterns: the first pattern has a red background with white letters and the field is almost always surrounded by a green frame, while the second pattern has a purple background with white letters surrounded by a gray-blue frame. Furthermore, these patterns are used alternatively for pairs of successive *carmina*. B1, as stated, is an exception, and B2 falls into the first scheme; then B3-B4 follow the second, B5-B6 the first, B7-B8 the second, B9-B10 the first, B11-B12 the second and B13-B14 the first. B15 is an exception, and then the pattern resumes with B16-B17 of the second pattern, B18-B19 the first, B20-B21 the second, B22-B23 the first, B24-B25 the second, and B26-B27 the first. B28 uses the same color contrasts as B15: brownish background with yellow letters. Meanwhile, there is no trace of this pattern in the other manuscripts

### **2.2.2.1.3. Script**

Most but not all of the ancient manuscripts employ a contrast in script to aid in creating the figural field and defining the difference between the letters which are read only in the basis text and the bivalent letters in the interwoven verses. The monovalent areas are written in rustic capitals and the bivalent in uncials. This is the case in manuscripts *A*, *Q*, *W* and *T*, whereas *P* uses uncial everywhere and *V* in every *carmina* except the first, the only *carmen* in *V* which distinguishes text inside figures from that outside in this way.<sup>149</sup>

### **2.2.2.1.4. Field**

Each poem is on a rectangular or square grid, with the same number of letters per line. Each line has the same number of letters, with some variations within that

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<sup>149</sup> Perrin, *op. cit.*, 1997, p. xxxiv. “Troisième point: la plupart des manuscrits anciens différencient le texte des vers inscrits (en onciales) de celui du “champ” du poème (en capitales rustiques); c’est ce que l’on constate en *A*, *T*, *Q*, *W*, *S*, *Z*. Mais *P* et *L* utilisent partout l’onciale, de même que *V*, dont l’usage n’est cependant pas complètement cohérent.”

constraint, such as abbreviating “que” within a single spot in the field as "q:," as in B1, 1. In some cases the field is a square, i.e. the number of lines equals the number of letters in each line. Generally, the field of the poem is completely filled with letters. In a few cases (in B1 and B4), the imaged figure extends beyond the field and this extension seems meaningful.

#### **2.2.2.1.5. Frame**

Every *carmen* has a thick frame which encloses it and separates it from the rest of the page. This frame is colored a variety of colors. In some cases the interaction between frame and figures is meaningful.

#### **2.2.2.1.6. Figures**

Ulrich Ernst has categorized the 28 *carmina* of the *In honorem* according to the form of the figures. His first group consists of simple line figures (“einfache linienförmige Kreuzfiguren”).<sup>150</sup> In this group fall B2, B8, B13, B23, B26 and B27. The second group are geometrical figures (“Kreuzfiguren aus geometrischen Formen”).<sup>151</sup> Ernst includes B5, B6, B7, B9, B10, B11, B17, B18, B21 and B24. Ernst’s third group, letter figures (“Kreuzfiguren aus Buchstaben”),<sup>152</sup> includes B3, B12 and B25, while his fourth group, number figures (“Kreuzfiguren aus Zahlzeichen”)<sup>153</sup> includes B14, B19, B20 and B22. Finally, Ernst classifies five *carmina* (B1, B4, B15, B16 and B28) include as image figures (“Kreuzfiguren aus Bildern oder Bildelementen”).<sup>154</sup>

A number of *carmina*, however, actually are combinations of two of these groups. B5 and B23 combine geometrical figures and a simple line cross. In B12 and B22 the figures are taken both as numbers and as letters. B4 and B28 combine image figures with a simple line cross figure. Meanwhile, B13 stands out from the other

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<sup>150</sup> Ernst, *Carmen Figuratum*, 1991, p. 226.

<sup>151</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 239.

<sup>152</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 261.

<sup>153</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 267.

<sup>154</sup> Ernst, *ibid.*, p. 277.

members of Ernst's "simple line cross" group because all the other crosses are only a single letter thick, whereas in B13 the figures are crosses three letters thick and thirteen letters long each. Thus, they are full surfaces, similar to most of the geometrical figures.

Therefore I propose a slight modification of Ernst's classification system, distinguishing the *carmina* which fall into two categories further into the *carmina* in which the same figures are read in two different ways ("joint") and the *carmina* which have two distinct types of figures ("combined"):

Geometrical figures: 10 (B6, B7, B9, B10, B11, B13, B17, B18, B21, B24)

Line figures: 4 (B2, B8, B26, B27)

Image figures: 3 (B1, B15, B16)

Number figures: 3 (B14, B19, B20)

Letter figures: 2 (B3, B25)

Joint Letter-Number figures: 2 (B12, B22)

Combined Image-Line figures: 2 (B4, B28)

Combined Geometrical-Line figures: 2 (B5, B23)

Some of the geometrical figures are solid (i.e. they occupy continuous blocks of text), others are hollow (i.e. only the outside defining line of the shape is bivalent), and still others have individual bivalent letters distributed within a certain area, which I call "discrete." The geometrical figures include hollow squares (B5), equilateral triangles (B6), and circles (B7); solid squares (B11), pentagons (B24), hexagons (B9), heptagons (B21), octagons (B17), and crosses (B13); and discrete triangles (B18, B23) and circles (B10), which Hrabanus calls *spherulae*.

These shapes are chosen according to a number of constraints. For the squares and circles, the primary constraint is the verse length of the interwoven verses, which determines their size. For the other polygons, Perrin has discovered that Hrabanus is drawing on the arithmetical teachings of Boethius.<sup>155</sup> In *De Arithmetica*, Boethius analyzes numbers according to the geometrical shapes that include them and the process by which they are generated from the natural numbers; thus there are "triangular," "quadrangular," "pentagonal," "hexagonal," and "heptagonal" numbers.

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<sup>155</sup> Perrin, *op. cit.*, 2009, p. 37-38.

This connection between arithmetical and geometrical aspects appears in Hrabanus' work as well. In every case but one, Hrabanus chooses the shape according to which series a given number falls into. Thus, 36 is both a "triangular" and a "quadrangular" number, and we have triangles with 36 letters in B6 and squares with 36 letters in B11. 91 is a hexagonal number and B9 gives us hexagons of 91 letters. 6 and 10 are "triangular" numbers and we find B18 with triangles of 10 letters and B23 with triangles of 6. B21 has heptagons of the heptagonal number 18, and B24 has pentagons with the pentagonal number 35 of bivalent letters. Only B17, with eight octogons of 37 letters each, departs from this scheme. At this point I would like to propose a simple explanation for this departure: Boethius does not carry his analysis to the point of octogonal numbers. His final chart in *De Arithmetica* 2, 17 and his discussion beforehand only go as far as the heptagonal numbers. For this reason, perhaps, Hrabanus did not feel constrained to follow the arithmetical scheme any further.

The simple line figures include two very simple crosses, just the middle verse and the mesostich, in B26 and B27. Similar crosses are elements in more complicated figural levels in B2, B4, B5, B23, and B28, while B8's figure is a line cross each arm of which branches out into three branches to make a twelve-branched figure. B2 also includes a square line figure composed of the first and last verses, acrostich and telestich.

The image figures show Christ in B1, the Lamb of God and the four Evangelists in their animal symbols in B15, and thirteen flowers representing the gifts of the Holy Spirit in B16. In the combined image-line figures, we see the Cherubim and Seraphim in B4 and Hrabanus himself, the *opifex* of the *In honorem*, in B28.

The number figures are from both Roman and Greek systems. In the Greek system, B12 uses A, Δ, and M, B14 includes Γ, M, T, and Z, B20 uses only Λ, while B22 includes A, E, H, Θ, I, Λ, O, P, C, Y and X, and in the analysis of the pattern level also makes use of the Greek numerical value of Δ and the Roman value of I. *Carmen* 19 uses the Roman value for X.



The *carmina* containing letter figures spell out words on the third textual field, the figure-text. B3 spells out CRVX SALVS, B12 AΔAM, and B25 ALLELVIA AMEN. Meanwhile, B22 abbreviates its words “secundum morem graece conscriptionis”,<sup>156</sup> with O C[OT]HP IH CYC AΛHΘIA Θ[EO]C XP[HCTY]C IEC[YC].

#### 2.2.2.1.7. The Cross-Shape

The figures are arranged in a pattern, which creates the third visual field, the figure-pattern. In Hrabanus' model, Optatianus Porphyrius, there is no distinctive or recurrent pattern, but in the 28 *carmina* of the *In honorem* Hrabanus arranges his figures into the same pattern, a cross shape. This is the first thing which a reader perceives about the *In honorem*. This unvaried repetition of cross on the highest visual field is one factor which gives unity to the *In honorem* as a whole. He does not do so in the *carmina* of the paratext, which is an important factor clearly dividing the paratexts from the *In honorem* itself: the dedication to Louis (A5) shows the emperor standing with shield and staff with a cross at the top, while the author's signature is present in a figure-pattern of single letters distributed in an exactly regular grid across the field of the *carmen* (A8). Naturally the cross present in the figure-pattern visual level is the very first thing perceived by the reader and expresses Hrabanus' purpose of praising the holy cross and leading his readers to meditate on the Passion of the Savior.

#### 2.2.2.2. Linguistic Elements

The basis poem, when considered alone, is a straightforward poem which employs the various meaningful elements of poetry, including meter, metaphor, apostrophe, etc.<sup>157</sup> The contents of each poem describes how Christ's cross is central to some aspect of existence. All the basis poems are dactylic hexameters. One peculiarity is that all the verses have the same number of letters, granted a certain *licentia* in

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<sup>156</sup> C22, 48-49.

<sup>157</sup> For a discussion of the use of apostrophe in B2, see Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 132-133.

orthography which Hrabanus justifies, in accordance with good rhetorical theory, by an appeal to the "auctoritas maiorum"<sup>158</sup> in his prologue.

The interwoven verses are, of course, much shorter than the basis poem and contain the same poetic elements. However they use a variety of different meters. This was a typical feature of the *carmen figuratum* genre from Porfyrius onward.

The figure-text is of course only a few words, in either Latin or Greek. These include CRVX SALVS (B3), ΑΔΑΜ (B12), Ο C[OT]HP IH CYC ΑΛΗΘΙΑ Θ[EO]C ΧΡ[HCTY]C IHC[YC] (B22), and ALLELVIA AMEN (B25). The words "Alleluia Amen" are of course originally Hebrew but they were received without alteration into Christian Greek and Latin. The only other trace of Hebrew in the *In honorem* are the interpretations of Hebrew names taken from Isidore's *Etymologies*.

The prose commentaries contain all manner of meaningful elements, including commentary on the poems themselves, philosophical arguments on the contents, Biblical citations, exegesis of Biblical passages, Patristic citations, rhetorical questions, and numerological considerations.

In the prose translation Hrabanus employs similar literary and rhetorical devices to those in the basis poem, with the obvious exception of meter. Here, free from the technical constraints, the meanings are much more obvious.

The paratexts include the elements used in both prose and poetry according to form of the various elements. It also contains the list of *capitula*, a text whose function is to elucidate the macrostructure and the theme, which guides the microstructure, of each *carmen*.

### **2.2.2.3. Cognitive Elements**

#### **2.2.2.3.1. Cognitive Elements in Relationships between Texts**

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<sup>158</sup> A7, 65.

There are a number of different kinds of relationships between texts. I identify the following: *expansion*, *rephrasing*, *explanation*, *addition*, *clarification*, *valence*, *interweaving*, *convergence*, and *structuring*. The usual relationship between D and B is one of expansion; where B will have a single, possibly cryptic, noun, D will expand with an adjective. Sometimes a section of D is a complete rephrasing of the corresponding text in B. The commentary often explains the contents of the *carmen*. Sometimes it adds additional material which is directly or indirectly relevant to the theme but is not an explanation of anything in particular in B. Almost always a final and somewhat separate section of the commentary clarifies the interwoven verses, which are often very difficult to read unaided, depending on the complexity of the figures. The difference between clarification and explanation is that explanation offers additional commentary or depth on a text, while clarification aids the reading of the other text. Considering the relationships between the hierarchical textual fields present in B, the first is the valence of the letters of the basis poem, either monovalent if not used in any higher textual field, normally bivalent if read in both basis poem and interwoven verse, sometimes trivalent if the interwoven verses use the letter twice. The reciprocal relationship from the interwoven verse to the basis poem is that of interweaving. In some cases, the different textual fields, both the *carmen* proper and the subordinated textual fields, all deal with the same theme in differing degrees of depth. Like rays, they converge on the same theme without other relationship to each other. The titles and some of the remarks in the *expositiones* refer to and in fact create the structure of the work as a whole.

#### **2.2.2.3.2. Cognitive Elements in Relationships between Images**

Meaning is also conveyed within the relationships between images. I identify *coordination* and *repetition* and subdivide repetition according to its context. Images within a single *carmen* can be related members of a single symbolic system, and so coordinated with each other, as in the use of the four Evangelist symbols in B15. Colors and forms are also repeated from one *carmen* to another on both large and small scale. Usually in the *carmina* with multiple figures, all or most of the figures are identical, so that repetition is employed within the individual *carmen*. Sometimes visual aspects are repeated from one *carmen* to another to establish a connection

between them, as in the use of the particular line-cross form of B26 and B27 and possibly also from B4 to B5. Meanwhile, the repetition of the cross-shape on the highest visual level, the pattern, of every *carmen* of the *In honorem* is one element creating the unity of the work and distinguishing it from earlier *carmen figuratum* and more conventional texts.

#### **2.2.2.3.3. Cognitive Elements in Relationships between Text and Image**

There are different kinds of relationships between text and image in the *In honorem* which have different functions. I identify these relationships as *constitution*, *reference*, *explanation*, *semantization* and *expression*.

All text, not just that of the *In honorem*, is actually created by a contrast on a visual field. Without a color contrast between letters and the space around them, there is no text. Naturally all of the textual fields of the *In honorem* take part in this universal nature of text. The visible color contrasts is what constitutes the textual field.

In the *carmen figuratum*, the use of differing color contrasts differentiates the basis poem and the interwoven verses, constituting the second textual field of the *carmina*. In the cases in which these figures are letters spelling out words, the figures constitute the third textual field, the figure-text. However, the constitutive relationship does not go only in the direction from visual to textual. Part of the fascination of the *carmen figuratum* is that it also works the other way. The text of the interwoven verses goes to create the figures.

In some cases, the interwoven verses explicitly refer to the figures or some aspect of the figures that they constitute, describing or justifying them. For example, in B6, on the four cardinal virtues, the four interwoven verse describing the virtues refer to their figures and their position of their figures in relationship to the field and each other.

The commentary does not limit itself to explaining the textual contents of the *carmen*, as described in the previous section but one, but also explains the visual fields and

the meaning of the figures (and in one case , B16, the colors used). Here too the relationship is an explanation.

In some cases the commentary simply creates meaning for some aspect of an image. For example, in B6, there is no obvious meaning to the fact that the isosceles triangles which represent the four cardinal virtues have stepped sides , respecting the grid pattern, instead of borders crossing the grid pattern as Hrabanus has painted in other *carmina*. The commentary gives this aspect meaning by pointing out that there are seven sides and asserting that this shows that every progress in virtue is a gift of the Holy Spirit. I call this semantization.

Images can also express the content of the text. For example, in the dedicatory *carmen* to Louis the Pious, the verses interwoven into the image of Louis himself begin "Iesu Criste, tuum vertice signum / Augusto galeam conferat aliam" (A6, 75-6). The words "Iesu Criste" stand precisely on Louis' forehead (his *vertice*) in the image, expressing visually the textual content of the interwoven verses.

#### **2.2.2.3.4. Cognitive Elements in the Microstructure**

On the level of the structure of each *carmen*, I identify *combination*, *representation*, *disposition*, *reading*, *recomposition*, and *numerology*.

The relationships between texts, between images and between text and image combine together to create textual-visual units. Sometimes these textual-visual units are a precise matching of one interwoven verse with one figure, at other times they are less precise.

The textual-visual units represent different aspects of the theme of the *carmen*, whether through analysis of the theme into its constituent parts or through theological symbolism. An example of the former is the four circles representing the four elements in the seventh *carmen*. An example of the latter is in the first *carmen*, where one aspect of the image, Christ's loincloth, discusses and represents the hypostatic union and Incarnation in which divinity was veiled with humanity. At the

same time, the catalogue of names focusing on Christ's divine nature are above the loincloth, while the catalogue of names using human or animal metaphors, thus referable to Christ's human nature, are below the loincloth, thus representing in a different way His two natures.

The arrangement of these textual-visual units on the field of the poem is often a meaningful element. Hrabanus refers to the arrangement of the figures on the page as *dispositio*.<sup>159</sup> He occasionally also uses the term *situs*, but referring to the arrangement of the phenomena he is describing rather than the figures themselves.<sup>160</sup> In many *carmina* (B2, B3, B4, B5, B6, B15, B17, B28) there is a clear sense that the vertical axis of the field represents a spiritual dimension of increasing proximity to God. In B7, the vertical axis corresponds with the vertical arrangement of the physical world. Also, Hrabanus throughout the *In honorem* refers to the right and left sides of the *carmina*. He always does so from the perspective, not of the reader, but of Christ looking out from the cross, so that he calls “*dextera*” the figure on the reader’s left and “*sinistra*” the figure on the reader’s right. I follow his usage throughout this thesis. Sometimes (B1, B4, B5, B6, B11, B15) the position on the right arm of the cross expresses something of strength, victory or miracle-working power, while the position on the left arm of the cross expresses weakness, sacrifice or suffering. However, often there is no meaning to the location on the horizontal axis.

The order in which the various elements of the *carmen* are read is sometimes meaningful. When the figures are letters, the short figure-text created is the first thing the reader can read. In all cases in which the figure-text consists of complete words, the order of the letters causes the reader’s eyes to trace the cross, and the same is true in many cases for the interwoven verses. For example, in B12, the *carmen* about Christ as the second Adam, in which the figures are the letters A Δ A M, those letters are arranged with Δ at the bottom and M on the right, so that the

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<sup>159</sup> e.g. at C3, 45, C7, 12, C17, 99, etc.

<sup>160</sup> e.g. at D4, 52, the posture of the Cherubim, C4, 25, the position of the six wings of the Seraphim, C15, 21, the arrangement of the four animals around the throne in the visions of Ezechiel and John.

reader's eyes move down and then across, in a cross pattern, rather than in a circle as they would in other possible arrangements.

These units which express different aspects of the theme are recomposed into a higher unity by means of the cross shape into which they are inevitably arranged. This is the relationship on which much scholarly interest on the uniqueness of the *In honorem* has focused; the use of the cross as the ordering and structuring principle of the universe.

In many cases a numerological consideration guides the creation of many diverse aspects of the microstructure of a *carmen*. The number gives the contents to be analyzed in the poems. It creates the number of bivalent letters. It determines, via the arithmetical analysis of Boethius, the shape of the figures. In one case (B9) the number of angles of the figures is judged significant. Different aspects of a given number are taken as meaningful. Hrabanus considers the sum of the factors in his frequent references to the perfection of the number 6. He sometimes assigns meaning to the particular factors, as in C21, where the meanings of two different pairs of factors, 24 and 3 and 8 and 9, are considered to make up the meaning of 72. Sometimes, also, he assigns meaning to particular sums which make up a number, as in *carmen* 19, where 10 is considered as the sum of 7 and 3 and *carmen* 20, where 15 is considered as the sum of 7 and 8.

#### **2.2.2.3.5. Cognitive Elements in the Macrostructure**

Within the macrostructure, we can identify *repetition*, *convergence*, *expansion*, *continuity*, *recomposition*, and *numerology* as meaningful elements. Some of these elements are similar to those existing at lower cognitive levels.

Repetition of the visual pattern of the cross shape in every *carmina* is the most obvious unifying factor in the *In honorem*. Numerous verbal expressions reoccur throughout, such as *ara crucis*, as do thematic contents such as the idea of the parallel between creation and redemption.

Every *carmen*, regardless of the variety of its individual themes, is occupied, finally, in praising the cross, so taken as a whole each one converges on the idea of the cross as the fundamental structuring principle of the entire universe. Ferrari proposes the image of a sunburst as the best metaphor for the structure.

Ogni carme si riferisce direttamente al tema centrale dell'opera, al quale è legato strettamente, e per questa ragione l'immagine più appropriata per descrivere la struttura del 'Liber s. crucis' è forse quella di una serie di raggi con convergono verso un centro tematico comune.<sup>161</sup>

Ferrari has identified the expansion in one *carmen* of an idea or theme mentioned briefly in the previous one as an important part of the internal structure of the *In honorem*.<sup>162</sup> For example, the third *carmen* deals with all nine angel choirs, then the fourth expands on the first two, the most dignified and closest to God, the Seraphim and Cherubim.

What Ferrari calls “thematic blocks” are visible, in which the contents of a series of *carmina* reveal a logical continuity progressing through a theme. This connection on the level of content exists in *carmina* 7-8-9, e.g. (day, month, year), 16-17 (gifts of Holy Spirit and Beatitudes), 22-23-24-25 (aspects of the *Apocalypse*), and 26-27 (Old Testament and New Testament witnesses to the Passion).

The same process of analysis and recomposition which characterizes the structures of individual *carmina* can also be seen at work in the *In honorem* as a whole. Each of the *carmina*, with all its hierarchical and subordinated textual and visual and cognitive fields, makes up a unit, an synthetic expression of the unity created by the cross concerning a certain aspect of existence. The work as a whole, by the use of repetition on the highest visual field, recomposes these units into a celebration of the role of the cross as the structuring and ordering principle of the entire cosmos. This is the cosmological ambition identified by de Lubac.

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<sup>161</sup> Ferrari, *ibid.*, p. 139.

<sup>162</sup> Ferrari, *ibid.*, p. 158-165.



Numerological considerations appear in the field of the macrostructure as well. In some cases the numerological element relates one *carmen* to another, as in the pair 18-19, where the numerological operation of summing the factors of a number, normally used to explain the perfection of the number 6 within an individual *carmen*, is used to derive the number 50 from the number 40 and thus join the two themes. A much greater role is played by the perfect number 28 and its factors. Hrabanus organized the lengths of the verses of the individual carmina according to the structure of the factors of 28. This was discovered by Burkhard Taeger in 1970.

Insgesamt 14 Gedichte weisen Hexameter zu 37 Buchstaben auf, 7 haben Zeilen mit 35, 4 mit 39, 2 mit 36 Buchstaben; ein einziges enthält 41 Buchstaben je Vers. 14, 7, 4, 2 und 1 sind aber die sämtlichen möglichen Divisoren der Zahl 28, die, zusammen gezählt, wieder 28 ergeben. Hraban hat also nicht nur die Gesamtzahl seiner Gedichte nach dem numerus perfectus bestimmt, sondern die besondere perfectio dieser Zahl auch in der Einteilung des Werks verwirklicht.<sup>163</sup>

Therefore, the meter of the basis poems is itself imbued with meaning: it participates in building up the perfection of the structure of the *In honorem* expressed through the perfect number 28. In this way Hrabanus builds his entire work according to the idea of an underlying numerical structure which informs all the phenomena of the visible universe, as suggested by *Wisdom 21:11, omnia pondere et mensura et numero disposuisti*, and by Carolingian epistemological optimism.

### **2.3. Method of Analysis**

The third section of this thesis will apply the following method of analysis to each *carmen*. I will go through the different planes of meaning, presenting first the visual ones, then I will proceed to the textual planes and do likewise and finally analyze the cognitive planes. I will attempt to trace the relationships which build up the microstructure of each *carmen*. Finally I will attempt to synthesize these observations with the textual passages in order to elucidate the philosophical and theological content expressed in each *carmen*. After the analysis of the individual *carmina* is complete, I will examine the macrostructure made up out of all these

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<sup>163</sup> Taeger, "Zahlensymbolik bei Hraban, bei Hincmar und im 'Heiland'?", in *Studien zur Zahlensymbolik im Frühmittelalter*, 1970, p. 55-57, cited by Ernst, *op. cit.*, 1991, p. 292.

complex unities and see what further theological and philosophical content can be gleaned from the *In honorem* as a whole.

Due to the importance of the visual aspect, I include an appendix with images of B1-B28. Since facsimile images have already been published for *V*,<sup>164</sup> *W*,<sup>165</sup> and *A*,<sup>166</sup> I have employed the images from *Q*, available for non-commercial uses from the manuscript facsimile website of the Bibliothèque Nationale, gallica.bnf.fr. In addition, the images from *Q* are more representative of the 9th-century manuscripts than the richly colored images from the luxurious *V*.

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<sup>164</sup> Perrin, *op. cit.*, 1997, *CCCM* 100A.

<sup>165</sup> Holter, *op. cit.*, 1973, vol. 2.

<sup>166</sup> Perrin, *op. cit.*, 2009, p. 177-215.

### 3. Commentary on the *In honorem sanctae crucis*

#### 3.1. Analysis of Variable and Invariable Paratexts

##### 3.1.1. Dedications (A1-A6)

###### 3.1.1.1. Dedication to Otgar, Archbishop of Mainz (A1)

The first of the variable paratexts is a dedication to Otgar, Archbishop of Mainz from 826 to 847. Thus, the gift which this dedication accompanied was almost certainly made while Hrabanus was abbot of Fulda, between 822 and 842. It is found in manuscripts *V* and *W* only. The poem suggests that a copy was also sent to Otgar's predecessor, Haistulf.<sup>167</sup> In it, Hrabanus describes the work as follows:

Accipe, sancte pater Otgari, summe sacerdos,  
Librum quem dudum mente dedi et calamo,  
Qui laudem Christi resonat crucis ardua facta,  
Munere quae Christi dona beata dedit.<sup>168</sup>

Hrabanus emphasizes the two sources of his work as the mind and the pen, in an echo of Suidas' description of Aristotle's *De Interpretatione* as transmitted to the Middle Ages by Isidore: "Aristoteles quando perihermeneias scriptabat, calamum in mente tingebat."<sup>169</sup> He further identifies the work as singing the praise of Christ and the arduous deeds of the cross. D'Onofrio points out the anagogic character of this double description, in accordance with the Augustinian-Alcuinian conception of the *artes liberales* as instruments of the ascent of the mind from sensible to intelligible.<sup>170</sup>

###### 3.1.1.2. *Intercessio Albini pro Mauro* (A2)

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<sup>167</sup> A1, 8-9. "Hoc opus ergo tuus decessor semper amandus / Expetit Haistolfus cui quoque hoc dederam."

<sup>168</sup> A1, 2-5. This is the beginning of the poem; A1, 1 is the title.

<sup>169</sup> Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 2, 27, PL 82, 145C, ed. Lindsay, Oxford, 1911.

<sup>170</sup> d'Onofrio, *op. cit.*, 2007, p. 292.

The next variable paratext, present in *V*, *T* and *W*, consists of an image of St. Martin of Tours, Alcuin and Hrabanus, accompanied by a poem narrated by Alcuin but written by Hrabanus long after the former's death in 804. The image shows St. Martin, dressed as an archbishop and seated on a throne, facing forward, except for the eyes which turn towards the approaching pair. Both Martin and Alcuin are balding with white beards to show their age and wisdom, while the young author is tonsured, beardless and brown-haired. Hrabanus, dressed as a monk, carries a book to represent the *In honorem* and looks toward Alcuin, who has one hand wrapped protectively around Hrabanus' shoulder and gestures towards St. Martin with the other. Alcuin, dressed as a deacon, looks towards St. Martin but with his eyes cast downwards in humility.<sup>171</sup>

The poem, written as the speech which Alcuin addressed to St. Martin, contains a description of the teacher-student relationship between Alcuin and Hrabanus, and then introduces the work. It gives important information about the *In honorem* in addition to the valuable indication of Hrabanus' age at the time of composition, discussed above in §1.3.2. Immediately afterward that description of the book, the poem continues:

Quo typicos numeros, tropicas et rite figuras  
indidit, ut dona panderet alma Dei,<sup>172</sup>

Thus, Hrabanus uses *typicos numeros* and *tropicas figuras* to cause the sweet gifts of God to be apparent to all. He accents the unusual form of the *In honorem* here, while setting this form into the context of its anagogical purpose.

### 3.1.1.3. Dedication to Pope Gregory IV (A3)

A similar juxtaposition of image and text is found the next dedication, to Pope Gregory IV (reigned 827-844), which is present in *V*, *A*, *T* and *W*. It is possible but not certain that the copy intended for him was received by Sergius II (844-847).<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> For discussion of the dress of the figures, v. Perrin, *op. cit.*, 2009, p. 54.

<sup>172</sup> A2, 15-16.

<sup>173</sup> v. Perrin, *op. cit.*, 1997, p. xxiii, note 34, for discussion of the issue.

The image shows Hrabanus, dressed as a monk, offering his book to the Roman pontiff, while two (in *V* and *W*) or one (in *A*) attendant looks on. Gregory leans toward Hrabanus to accept the gift. In the Vatican manuscript Hrabanus casts his eyes demurely downward, while in *A* he gazes at the Pope; in *V* and *W* he is shown with the brown hair of a young man, while in *A* his hair is white.

In the poem, Hrabanus laments the dangerous times and appeals for the good-will and protection of the Pope (suggesting it may have been written after his demission as abbot in 842). He describes the purpose of his gift and of the *In honorem* in v. 31-34.

Vt per te alma crucis laus nunc acceptior exstet  
Principi apostolico munere missa Petro.  
Quae Christi ad laudem conscripta est tempore prisco  
Ludere dum libuit carmine uersifico.<sup>174</sup>

Hrabanus implies that the protection of the Pope will make the praise of the cross *acceptior* – more widely accepted. He uses the phrase *Christi ad laudem* to describe his work, and sounds a nostalgic note for his happier student days, when, it was possible to play – *ludere* – by creating such poetry.

#### 3.1.1.4. Dedication to monks of St. Denis (A4)

This dedication is only present in manuscript *R*. It is a poem dedicating a copy to the monks of the abbey of St. Denis near Paris. The poem describes the prior gifts of copies to Emperor Louis the Pious and to the Apostolic See. Hrabanus begins the poem with a description of the work:

Martyribus sanctis placuit mihi mittere donum,  
Tempore quod prisco uersibus edideram.  
Nam crucis ad laudem Christi prosaque metroque  
Confeci librum mente manoque simul.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> A3, 31-34.

<sup>175</sup> A4, 5-9.

Here we see some of the elements which have already appeared in previous dedications. The same phrase as in A3, *tempore prisco*, is used to refer to the time of composition, and the composition is ascribed to *mente manūque*, a similar combination of mind and matter as the *mente ... et calamo* of A2. The work is described as being *ad laudem Christi* just as in A3.

### 3.1.1.5. *Carmen Figuratum* of Emperor Louis the Pious (A5)

The final dedication to the Emperor Louis the Pious, which is found in all six extant manuscripts made under Hrabanus' supervision, also serves as an introduction to the work on the formal level, since it imitates the form of the basic unit of the *In honorem*, a *carmen figuratum* with a facing text. However, unlike in the *In honorem* itself, the facing text is not an *expositio*. Rather, it combines a prose translation of the *carmen* (reserved to the second book for the main *carmina*) with an explanation of the interwoven verses (as in the *expositiones* proper). We see the Emperor Louis depicted, not in the majesty of his earthly position, but as *miles Christi* – he holds a shield in one hand and a staff topped with a cross in the other. A halo surrounds his head and a cape is draped over one shoulder and the arm which holds the shield. Perrin has explored the meaning of the blue color of the cape, suggesting an intentional connection with King David.<sup>176</sup>

In the poem, Hrabanus speaks of the gift of the *In honorem*.

Conscripsi dudum nam Christi laude libellum  
Versibus et prosa, tibi quem nunc, induperator,  
Offero, ...<sup>177</sup>

Here again Hrabanus emphasizes that the work is in both verse and prose. Here he describes it as a *Christi laude libellum*. The composition is sometime in the past – *dudum* – without further qualification.

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<sup>176</sup> Perrin, "Regards croisés sur la couleur, de l'Antiquité au Moyen Age, autour de quelques notes de lecture" in *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* 2, 2001, p. 153-170.

<sup>177</sup> A5, 48-50.

### 3.1.1.6. Prose Translation of *Carmen Figuratum* of Emperor Louis (A6)

Hrabanus translates the above passage as follows: “Nam libellum, quem in honorem sanctae crucis dudum prosa metroque composui, nunc tuae serenitati supplex offero, ...”.<sup>178</sup> Here he makes use of Perrin’s preferred title for the work, *in honorem sanctae crucis*, and repeats the emphasis on the double style of the work in prose and verse.

### 3.1.2. Invariable Paratexts

#### 3.1.2.1. *Prologus* (A7)

In all manuscripts, whichever dedications they contain, the dedications are then followed by an invariable set of paratexts, beginning with the prologue in prose, identified as such in the title *Prologus*. Hrabanus begins with a citation of *Exodus* 25:2, “loquere filiis Israhel, ut tollant mihi primitias,” in order to offer this work, his first-fruits, to God. He describes the *In honorem* here as “has primitias, in laudem sanctae crucis expensas.”<sup>179</sup>

He describes his intentions at greater length in this prologue. The passage in which he describes his hopes that the *In honorem* can serve as the support and object of monastic meditation has been discussed in §2.1.2.1. He protests his desire to write only *catholice* and *recte* and requests that readers attribute anything *minus recte* or *inconsiderate* to his inexperience rather than heretical malice.<sup>180</sup> He even asks his readers to send him word of any errors so that he may correct the text.

Furthermore he exhorted the reader to follow the work in order and to observe carefully every figure, lest the work lose its value and the reading its utility.

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<sup>178</sup> A6, 65-67.

<sup>179</sup> A7, 10.

<sup>180</sup> A7, 33-37.

De cetero autem moneo lectorem, ut huius conscriptionis ordinem teneat, et figuras in eo factas ubique servare non negligat, ne operis pretium pereat, et utilitas lectionis minuatur.<sup>181</sup>

He explains that he has also written *expositiones* in prose – *prosaico stylo* – to ease the reader’s task.

Hrabanus then discusses the *licentiae* which he has taken as a poet to meet the difficult constraints of the *carmen figuratum* genre. He cites Porfyrius and Titus Lucretius as his *auctoritates* for these departures. In all this he follows classical rhetorical theory, which justifies certain usages through the examples of great poets who have done the same.<sup>182</sup> At the end of this section, Hrabanus points out the greater constraints under which he operates, compared with most poets, namely having an identical number of letters per verse and the figures containing interwoven texts: “Qui non solum genera certa metrorum et pedes legitimos, sed etiam seriem et numerum litterarum et figurarum modum diligentius seruare curauit.”<sup>183</sup>

The last paragraph indicates a certain caution concerning potential critics or opponents. He attributes this potential opposition to the stings of envy: “Ante omnia quoque obsecro unumquemque qui hoc opus legerit, ne inuidiae stimulis contra me excitetur, ut laborem meum dissipare contendat, ...”<sup>184</sup> and warns those opponents that they are only harming themselves, and even risking their own salvation: “... et dum sanctae crucis gloriam per meam humilitatem audire non sustinet, crucifixi regis offensam incurrens redemptionis gratiam quae in cruce est non consequatur.”<sup>185</sup> Possibly this is just part of the humility incumbent in a *captatio benevolentiae* appropriate to a preface or the genuine nervousness of a young, unknown author offering such an ambitious work to the world. On the other hand, this passage might mean that Hrabanus was concerned that his work would be seen as departing from

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<sup>181</sup> A7, 53-56.

<sup>182</sup> cf. Lausberg, *Handbuch der Literarischen Rhetorik*, 1960, p. 256.

<sup>183</sup> A7, 81-83.

<sup>184</sup> A7, 84-86.

<sup>185</sup> A7, 88-90.



the lines on images laid down two decades before in the *Opus contra Synodum* and excite iconophobe opposition.

### 3.1.2.2. Signature *Carmen* (A8)

The next paratext is a *carmen figuratum quadratum* of 36 verses of 36 letters each. 36 letters, distributed evenly across the *carmen* in a grid pattern, are picked out as bivalent by inclusion in a colored square. In this interwoven text Hrabanus claims authorship of the work, including with his given names the nickname given him by Alcuin: *Magnetius Hrabanus Maurus hoc opus fecit*. The second verse includes a description of the *In honorem* as “pariter carmine et alloquiis,”<sup>186</sup> once again showing the work as an *opus geminum*. Hrabanus compares his own work to the two mites of the poor widow of *Luke 21:1-4*, which is inspired by the identical comparison in the Alcuin’s preface to the *Vita Willibrordi*, also written in elegaic couplets.<sup>187</sup> In addition, Hrabanus refers in v. 17-23 to the many different kinds of gifts acceptable to God, listed in *Exodus 25:3-7*, the same passage referred to by Jerome in his *Prologus in libro Regum*.<sup>188</sup>

### 3.1.2.3. List of *Capitula* (A9)

The last paratext prior to the *In honorem* proper is a list of titles for the *carmina*. This list is titled *Capitula*, and each *carmen* is identified by number and given a title, always in the form, “De ...”. The contents of the individual titles will be considered in the analysis of each individual *carmen*. This text stands in a structuring relationship to the *carmina*, giving them their numerical place within the whole and assigning them themes.

### 3.1.2.4. Introduction to Prose Translation (D0)

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<sup>186</sup> A8, 2.

<sup>187</sup> Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi*, 2, preface, l. 13-16, *PL* 101, 713B-C. v. Perrin, “La pauvre veuve et le poil des chèvres”, 1994.

<sup>188</sup> Jerome, *Prologus in libro Regum*, Weber, p. 365, l. 58-61, cited by Perrin, *op. cit.*, 1997, A8, note l. 17-23 (p. 20).

The second book of the *In honorem*, containing the prose translations of the twenty-eight *carmina*, begins with a preface. Hrabanus opens this preface with a justification for his use of both prose and verse by an appeal to the practice of the ancients, “Mos apud ueteres fuit ut gemino stylo propria conderent opera,”<sup>189</sup> who did this in order to make their works both *iucundiora* and *utiliora*. The variety prevents *fastidium* and the prose version makes anything which might be obscure easier to understand. Hrabanus cites *beatus Prosper* and *uenerandus uir Sedulius* as two ancient examples.

Hrabanus describes how he followed these examples and translated his verse work into prose for precisely the same reason.

Opus quod in laudem sanctae crucis metrico stylo condidi, in prosam uertere curauit, ut quia ob difficultatem ordinis et figurarum necessitatem obscura locutio minusque patens sensus uidetur metro inesse, saltem in prosa lucidior fiat.<sup>190</sup>

In describing how he translated, Hrabanus follows Jerome’s famous *Epistula 57* to Pammachius, *de optimo genere interpretandi*. Hrabanus makes the same distinction between using the same words, “eisdem uerbis,”<sup>191</sup> and expressing the same sense, “eodem sensu,”<sup>192</sup> and states his intention to pursue the latter goal. Hrabanus then copies Jerome’s quotation from Horace’s *Arte Poetica* on translation.<sup>193</sup> Of course, Horace and Jerome are talking about translation from one language to another, but Hrabanus applies it here to translating from verse into prose, as he himself points out in the next lines.

At the end of the preface Hrabanus reiterates that his motivation in writing the *In honorem* is not a desire for *superfluitas* – i.e. the mere novelty, and technical poetic virtuosity of which he has so often been accused by later critic – but for *utilitas*, and

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<sup>189</sup> D0, 2-3.

<sup>190</sup> D0, 13-17.

<sup>191</sup> D0, 17.

<sup>192</sup> D0, 18.

<sup>193</sup> Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 133-134, quoted by Jerome, *Epistula 57*, 5, *PL 22*, 571, quoted by Hrabanus, D0, 20-23.

that he writes not out of envy for anyone, but seeks out of *fraterna caritate* to write whatever he can, with the help of divine grace, for the benefit of others: “quicquid diuina gratia possum, ad utilitatem proximi scribendo uelle conferre.”<sup>194</sup>

### 3.1.3. Summary

Throughout the paratexts, Hrabanus repeatedly adopts a humble stance, proclaiming that he is offering his first fruits to God, who accepts the widow’s mite and goats’ hair, as part of the *captationes benevolentiae* found frequently in this section. However he does also decisively revindicate the authorship of the work. He also imagines opponents and attempts to ward off their criticism, both with appeals to the authority of ancient authors and the high dignity of his subject.

It is notable that of the six surviving dedications, only one of the dedications mentions the figures, while four of them speak of the work as an *opus geminum* written in verse and prose simultaneously, whereas for modern readers it is the combination of verse and figure which is striking and unusual about the *In honorem*. Possibly this emphasis was due to the greater familiarity of the *opus geminum*. With great late-antique precedents such as Sedulius and earlier Carolingian works such as Alcuin’s *Vita Willibrordi*, it was perhaps more familiar to the Carolingian world in general than the *carmen figuratum*, practiced largely by the intellectuals in Charlemagne’s court.

The theme of the work is consistently identified as the praise of the cross, so that the *In honorem* falls into the general category of prayer or spiritual literature rather than a philosophical treatise or Biblical exegesis. Hrabanus frequently indicates also his anagogical purpose, or at least the hope that this work will benefit the faithful by leading them to a more fruitful relationship with the cross and ultimately contributing to their salvation.

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<sup>194</sup> D0, 33-34.

## 3.2. Analysis of the *Carmina*

### 3.2.1. *Carmen* 1

#### 3.2.1.1. Form

##### 3.2.1.1.1. Visual Elements

The field is a rectangle, 39 letters across and 47 verses high. The field of monovalent areas is uncolored in *PATQW*, while it is bright yellow in the Vatican manuscript. However, this bright yellow seems not to be original. Perrin describes the yellow as “une épaisse couche de peinture jaune sur laquelle on a peint tardivement et grossièrement les lettres du “champ” du poème.”<sup>195</sup>

A single figure fills the field: Christ, standing with his eyes open and his arms stretched straight outwards to create the cross shape which unites every *carmen* of the *In honorem*. Hrabanus emphasizes this posture in the title and describes it as *in modum crucis*. In the figure, there are no wounds or nails, no representation of the cross itself, and Christ is shown alive. The loincloth is bright red in all manuscripts, Christ’s hair is light to dark brown. His halo is a yellow circle all manuscripts but *V*, and a green circle against the yellow background of *V*. There is a cross inscribed within the halo: with brown background and black letters (almost illegible) in *V*, and white letters on red background in the other manuscripts. In all the manuscripts these letters – A M and ω – are emphasized by greater size.

The two higher visual planes of meaning, that of the figures and that of the arrangement of the figures into a pattern, blur together, since there is only one figure. In this case alone in the entire *In honorem*, the figure includes text which is not used in any interwoven verse and is therefore monovalent.

Christ’s body is defined by several different interwoven verses traced along the outer edge of the body. His loincloth is clearly a distinct unit, with an independent poem for its text and a bright red coloring which makes it stand out boldly. The red color, repeated in all manuscripts, indicates the suffering of the Incarnation and Passion.

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<sup>195</sup> Perrin, *op. cit.*, 1997, p. li.

His hair is set off as a separate figure by its interwoven verse and a color contrast distinct from that used elsewhere. The same is true for his halo. By showing Christ alive and emerging or floating within the field of the poem, Hrabanus depicts Christ as a cosmic figure, the creative Word. But by showing him in the form of the cross, Hrabanus points also to his humiliation and suffering by which he redeemed the world.

The figure of Christ floats in the exact center of the field and fills it. His halo rises slightly above the top edge of the field while his fingers extend just beyond the two side edges by a letter or two. This configuration which is rare among the *carmina* of the *In honorem*: in only one other *carmen* (B4) do the figures extend beyond the edges. His feet extend to the bottom edge, ending just above it. Christ is shown, therefore, at the center of the created universe but greater than it and enclosing it.

This is also one of the few *carmina* with gaps in the evenly spaced and completely filled field of text created by the letters of the basis poem. Verse 14 includes two letters within Christ's right ring finger and then continues with the letters within his littlest finger, and in the same way ends with the two letters of his left ring finger, read after the last finger on the left hand. The line also includes one letter around the armpits. This means that there are four extra letters jammed into the line, but Hrabanus leaves empty space in Christ's chest so as to cause the two letters placed over Christ's nipples to stand out visually.

### 3.2.1.1.2. Textual Elements

This first *carmen* bears two slightly different titles in the list of *capitula* (A9) and in the book of prose translations (D1). The following title appears in the list of *capitula*: “De imagine Christi in modum crucis brachia sua expandentis et de nominibus eius ad diuinam seu ad humanam naturam pertinentibus.”<sup>196</sup> The title of the prose translation is not so complete: “DE PRIMA FIGVRA, IN QVA CHRISTI IMAGO MANVS IN MODVM EXPANDIT CRVCIS.”<sup>197</sup> Common to both are the expressions *Christi*

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<sup>196</sup> A9, 2-4.

<sup>197</sup> D1, 1-2.

*imago, in modum crucis* and a form of *expando, -ere* with *brachia* in A9 and *manus* in D1. The primary discrepancy is that the *capitula* title includes an entire phrase concerning Christ's names, pertaining to both his divine and human nature, which is missing from the prose translation title. The primary theme of this *carmen* is thus the image of Christ spreading his arms in the manner of a cross, while the various Christological names, organized and divided according to Christ's two natures, is the secondary theme.

The basis poem begins with a fourteen-line section (B1, 1-14) which presents Christ as king of kings. This section moves from the worship of the Church through the Scriptural witness to Christ to Hrabanus' personal devotion, and then tells the story of Christ's passion. It finishes with the redemption and God's gift of a crown from Heaven to the faithful.

The second section of the basis poem consists of a seven-line catalogue (B1, 15-21) of twenty-five names referred to Christ. Almost all of these names are in the nominative case and stand in apposition to the subject, "hic".

The third section, of nine lines (B1, 22-30), discusses the meaning of the loincloth with which Christ appears clothed in the image. It also corresponds with the loincloth, which stretches across precisely these nine lines. The loincloth includes between nine and seven letters of each line, forming a roughly square figure.

Next comes a second list of Christological names, occupying twelve lines (B1, 31-42), which is, just like the first list, almost completely a series of nominatives in apposition. The poem closes with a five-line section (B1, 42-47) stating the double generation of Christ, one *ab aeterno* from the Father, one *in tempore* from Mary.

The commentary, on the page facing the *carmen* in the manuscripts, begins with a statement of the relationship between the image of the *carmen* and the overall purpose of the *In honorem*, followed by a summary of the redemptive action of Christ (C1, 1-15). There follows an indication of the Christological epithets, some related to the divine nature and some to the human nature of Christ (C1, 16-23). The bulk of

the commentary consists of explanations of these Christological names (C1, 24-106), taken from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiarum Libri* (v. §3.2.1.3.1.). The commentary closes with the clarification and explanation of the interwoven verses (C1, 107-140).

Hrabanus first explains the five interwoven verses that outline Christ's body. From the middle finger of the right hand running up the arm to the crown of the head, the first verse reads: "DEXTRA DEI SVMMI CVNCTA CREAUIT IESVS."<sup>198</sup> From the crown of the head down to the middle finger of the left hand, the second verse goes: "CHRISTVS LAXABIT E SANGVINE DEBITA MVNDO."<sup>199</sup> The third verse, running from the ring finger of the right hand down Christ's side, skipping the loincloth, and continuing to the ankle of the right foot, is: "IN CRVCE SIC POSITVS DESOLVENS VINCLA TYRANNI."<sup>200</sup> The fourth runs around the feet and up the inside of the legs, then jumps down to the left foot and continues around it to the ankle, and goes: "AETERNVS DOMINVS DEDVXIT AD ASTRA BEATOS."<sup>201</sup> The final verse runs from the left ankle up the left side, again skipping the loincloth, and finishes at the ring finger of Christ's left hand: "ATQVE SALVTIFERAM DEDERAT DEVS ARCE CORONAM."<sup>202</sup> The first verse describes Christ's role in the creation as the right hand of the Most-High God. The other four verses describe the redemption in four phases: the payment of the debt, breaking the tyranny of the devil, leading to saved to Heaven and giving the blessed a crown. In this way the creation and the redemption are present as two alternate and parallel aspects of Christ's activity towards the universe. The redemption is a second creation.

Meanwhile, Christ's loincloth contains a dystich:

VESTE QUIDEM PARVA HIC TEGITVR QVI CONTINET ASTRA,

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<sup>198</sup> C1, 112.

<sup>199</sup> C1, 115.

<sup>200</sup> C1, 121.

<sup>201</sup> C1, 125.

<sup>202</sup> C1, 129.

ATQVE SOLVM PALMO CLAVDIT VBIQVE SVO.<sup>203</sup>

This dystich summarizes the themes introduced in the section of the basis poem within which the loincloth is depicted. Christ as the Logos-Creator, who encloses all the visible universe in the palm of his hand (just as the image shows him doing with the basis poem itself), is hidden by a small piece of clothing.

The other interwoven verses turn upon the themes of Christ's kingship and the worship which is rightly due to him from the world. In his hair stands, "ISTE EST REX IVSTITIAE,"<sup>204</sup> linking the themes of kingship and justice expressed separately in the basis poem. The halo also emphasizes Christ's kingship with the Isaian epithet, "REX REGVM ET DOMINVS DOMINORVM."<sup>205</sup> The verse with the oddest arrangement, with the individual letters scattered across Christ's body, running from his eyes through his nose and mouth to his nipples and belly-button, indicates the worship rightly due to him as God: "ORDO IVSTVS DEO."<sup>206</sup>

Finally the halo surrounding Christ's head is inscribed with the cross, creating three cross-arms each with one letter. These letters, A M Ω, the first, middle, and final letter of the Greek alphabet, express Christ's ontological totality, in accordance with Christ's own words as reported in the *Apocalypse* of John (*Apoc.* 21,6).

### 3.2.1.1.3. Cognitive Elements

In general the prose translation follows the basis poem in an exact manner, with expansion of the terms employed to clarify their Biblical or theological context. In some cases it paraphrases to make their meaning easier to grasp than the convoluted Latin of the basis poem, made necessary by the constraints of the *carmen figuratum*. Just to offer a few examples, where the basis poem reads, *hunc unum grex iustificat colit atque*, (B1, 3) the prose translation offers, *hunc unum*

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<sup>203</sup> C1, 132-133.

<sup>204</sup> C1, 134-135.

<sup>205</sup> C1, 137.

<sup>206</sup> C1, 136.



*pastorem grex sacer Ecclesiae iustum colit* (D1, 6-7). The idea of justice is transferred from the verb *iustificat* to the adjective applied to Christ *iustum* and the *hunc unum* is expanded with *pastorem*; *grex* is explained as the *grex sacer Ecclesiae*. The succinct statement in the basis poem, *probo quod rex* (B1, 7), is expanded into, *credo quod ipse est Rex regum* (D1, 11), in the prose translation.

There are only a couple serious discrepancies between the basis poem and the prose translation. Between the basis poem and the commentary, however, there are much larger differences. Since Hrabanus draws on Isidore's *Etymologiae* and follows the order of his source, the order does not match at all. This causes his commentary to be a mix of explanations of epithets which appear in the basis poem and addition of material concerning epithets which do not. He weaves his own commentary into the first of the explanations of Christological terms, that of the name *Christus* itself, but otherwise simply selects from Isidore's text, leaving out material as he sees fit, possibly because it seemed superfluous for his readers.

The figures work together to present Christ as the Creator, King and Redeemer of the universe. In the first place, Christ's hands extend beyond the field of the basis poem. In this way he is shown as surpassing and surrounding the universe. The figures at the top of his head, the shining yellow halo and the hair, speak of his kingship. His loincloth hides his intimate regions from view and is red in memory of the Passion. His arms are stretched as if on a cross, but no wounds or cross are visible. In this way Hrabanus presents Christ in his super-temporal reality, abstracting him from the actual Passion.

The union of the interwoven verses and the figures creates four visual-textual units: Christ's body, Christ's loincloth, Christ's hair and Christ's halo. As we have seen, the hair and halo symbolize and state Christ's kingship; his body emphasizes both visually and textually his dual role as creator and redeemer, particularly by the exactly parallel position on the upper edge of Christ's arms of two verses about his role in creation and his passion in order to redeem mankind; and his loincloth has a double meaning, referring both to the Holy Scriptures and to the Incarnation.

There are also some smaller relationships. A number of points in the text explicitly describe or refer to the image. The first sentence of the basis poem (B1, 1-3), *Ast soboles Domini et Dominus dominantium, ubique hic / Expansis manibus, morem formantis habendum en / Perdocet*, refers to the image, describes it and explicates its activity. Verse 14 also refers to the visual field to illustrate its description of the God on the cross: *In cruce sic positus dederat Deus arce coronam*. The *sic* refers to the image displayed here in the *carmen*. The first line of the commentary both refers to the image and explains its function (C1, 1-3): *Ecce imago Saluatoris membrorum suorum positione consecrat nobis saluberrimam, dulcissimam et amantissimam sanctae crucis formam*.

There are also two expressive relationships. Lines 23-25, within which the loincloth is inscribed, explain its meaning: *Legem parua haec quoque uestis / Significat, namque hic tegitur in grammate raro / Summipotens auctor*. The loincloth is explicitly identified (*parua haec vestis*) and its meaning stated (*legem significat*) and justified (*namque hic tegitur in grammate raro Summipotens auctor*). Christ's right hand contains a verse beginning, *dextra Dei summi*, "as the right hand of God the Highest," with the word *dextra* written in the right hand.

### **3.2.1.2. Content**

#### **3.2.1.2.1. The Purpose of the *In honorem***

The first paragraph of the commentary is an excellent summary of the purpose of the entire *In honorem* (C1, 1-15):

Ecce imago Saluatoris membrorum suorum positione consecrat nobis saluberrimam, dulcissimam et amantissimam sanctae crucis formam, ut in eius nomine credentes et eius mandatis oboedientes, per eius passionem spem uitae aeternae habeamus; ut quotiescumque crucem aspiciamus, ipsius recordemur, qui pro nobis in ea passus est, ut eriperet nos de potestate tenebrarum, *deglutiens quidem mortem, ut uitae aeternae heredes efficeremur*, profectus in caelum subiectis sibi angelis et potestatibus et uirtutibus; utque recogitemus, quod non corruptibili argento uel auro redempti sumus de uana nostra conuersatione paternae traditionis, sed pretioso sanguine quasi agni incontaminati et immaculati Christi, ut simus sancti et immaculati in conspectu eius, in caritate, ut per haec efficiamur diuinae consortes naturae, fugientes eius quae in mundo est concupiscentiae corruptionem.

The image of our Saviour consecrates for us the most healthy, sweet and beloved form of the holy cross. Hrabanus states three purposes for this consecration. First, so that, believing in his name and obeying his commandments, we may have hope of eternal life through his passion. Second, so that as often as we see the cross, we may remember him who suffered on it for us in order to rip us from the power of darkness. Third, so that we may recognize that we have been redeemed not by corruptible silver or gold but by the precious blood of the flawless and immaculate lamb, Christ, in order that we may be holy and immaculate in his sight, so that we may become consorts of the divine nature, fleeing the concupiscence of corruption. The purpose of this consecration for us of the form of the holy cross, then, is our redemption, which partially requires our belief, partially our obedience, partially our remembrance and gratitude, and partially our flight from corruption and our purity in his sight, which purity is in fact created by the redemption by his precious blood. This matches closely with the anagogic purpose of the entire work as stated in the Prologue (cf. §3.1.2.1.)

### 3.2.1.2.2. The Kingship of Christ

Christ's kingship is stated in the basis poem and also expressed by the visual-textual units of his hair and halo. In the first section of the poem, Christ is referred to as King on several occasions. The very first line refers to him as *soboles Domini et Dominus dominantium*. Verses 7-8 calls him king twice:

... et oro aliorum culmine lesum  
Et probo quod rex. Ast Iudea inventa malorum est  
Quae occidit regem, ...<sup>207</sup>

and Hrabanus emphasizes his personal devotion to Christ the King with the first-person verbs *oro* and *probo*. The first section finishes with the kingship-related image of the crown of eternal felicity which God on the cross grants from the Heavens: *In cruce sic positus dederat Deus arce coronam* (B1, 14).

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<sup>207</sup> B1, 6-8.

The figure of Christ's body is also involved in the idea of the just worship owed him on earth through the interwoven verse scattered across his face and torso: "ORDO IUSTUS DEO." The idea is also reinforced by the textual-visual unit created by the interwoven verses within his hair and halo, as described above, §3.2.1.1.2.

### 3.2.1.2.3. Christ's Ontological Totality

The two lists of Christological names are a feature of the poem specifically pointed out by the title in A9. The first list of names contains the following names: *Principium, Deus, Emmanuel, finis, origo, lux et imago Patris, os, splendor, gloria, Christus, Homousion Patri, sol, Verbum, ex lumine lumen, aequa manus Domini seu uirtus, dux, propheta, unigena, primigena, Nazareus, offensio ac scandalum iniquis, angulus lapis, ianua scansuro mundo.* The second list contains the following names: *angelus sponsus, devotio plebi, docens sapientia, pacificus custos, fons, brachium, panis, divina petra, magister, stella oriens, cura potens, intenta medela, clavis David, laeta via, agnus honestus, serpens sanctificans, inlustris mediator, vermis, homo, is retraxit ab hoste et vita rapinam, mons, aquila, paraclytus, leo, pastor, haedus, fundamentum, ovis, sacerdos, vitulus, aries, victima.* It is notable that the majority of the names in the first list are abstract and philosophical or theological terms, such as *Deus, origo, finis, Emmanuel, imago Patris, homoousion Patri, Verbum*; a number of terms are metaphors of light such *ex lumine lumen, sol, splendor*; and only a handful are metaphors from the physical world, such as *lapis angulus, ianua, scandalum iniquis*, etc. In contrast, all of the terms in the second list are metaphors taken from the material world such as *fons, panis, stella, clavis, mons, pastor*, etc. Although this correspondance is not exact, we are still justified in taking the two sets as distinct in character, both because of the explicit distinction in the title and because of Hrabanus' explanation of the poem in the commentary (cf. § 3.2.1.1.2).

These long lists of nominatives probably serve the technical purpose of making Hrabanus' task of fitting the basis poem text to the constraints created by the interwoven verses easier. They also pass in review a great selection of the names with which Christ is named in the Scriptures and creeds, ranging from the highest (*Deus, Homousion Patri*) to the lowest (*vermis, serpens, lapis*) metaphors. It serves as a reminder to the reader of all the different roles and functions of Christ in the

complex system of Christian theology. This panoply of names reminds the reader of Christ's central role in the universe.

When Hrabanus reaches in his prose translation the sections of the basis poem filled with Christological epithets, he takes advantage of the opportunity to expand and clarify them by putting the names within their Biblical context. Thus, just to offer a few examples, *principium* (B1, 15) in the basis poem becomes *principium omnium rerum* (D1, 23) in prose, *sol* (B1, 17) becomes *sol iustitiae* (D1, 26), and *leo* (B1, 38) becomes *leo de tribu luda* (D1, 52). Generally the Christological epithets in the basis poem receive a word or two of additional clarification in the prose translation.

A couple of terms are quite difficult to grasp in the basis poem and are completely rephrased in the prose translation. We can be quite certain of the identification of the correspondences between the basis poem and the prose translation, because Hrabanus in the prose version follows exactly the order of appearance in the basis poem. For example, the verses at B1, 36-38 run:

serpens sanctificans, inlustris fit mediator,  
vermis homo isque retraxit ab hoste et uita rapinam,  
Mons, aquila, paraclytus, sic leo, pastor et haedus.

To this section corresponds the following passage from D1, 49-51:

... serpens qui exaltatus morituros uiuificat, mediator Dei et hominum,  
uermis et homo, captivam ducens captivitatem, mons Dei, aquila alta  
petens, aduocatus pro nobis. Leo de tribu luda, pastor bonus et haedus  
peccata nostra portans, ...

The exact correspondance between terms and the strict preservation of the order in B1 is obvious. Therefore, it is clear that the phrase, *is ... retraxit ab hoste et uita rapinam*, corresponds with *captivam ducens captivitatem*. This not very clear phrase, which means something like, "he has dragged away from the enemy and life has dragged away the booty," or, "and he, who is life, has also dragged the booty away from the enemy," is much clearer in the Biblical echo, "leading captivity away captive," in prose.

Another example of this kind of complete rephrasing is in B1, 39-40: ... *reddens pie uota sacerdos / Melchi pontificis satech uinum quoque panem*. Note also, in this example, the kind of extreme tmesis – *Melchi ... satech* – to which the technical constraints of the *carmen figuratum* sometimes drive Hrabanus. The prose text which corresponds to this epithet is much clearer, *sacerdos secundum ordinem Melchisedech, offerens panem et uinum* (D1, 54-55).

Christ's ontological totality is conveyed impressionistically by the two lists of Christological names. The repetition of extremely numerous and varied epithets works poetically to convey the multitude of aspects united in Christ. The discrepancy between the commentary and the actual names used in the basis poem further heightens this impression; it gives the impression that there are so many names that Hrabanus can neither comment all that he lists nor list all that he comments, but they all converge on the one Christ. The commentary and translations link all these different aspects to the Scriptures. Finally, the cross-pieces of his halo state this totality explicitly through the symbolic letters Alpha, Mu and Omega.

#### **3.2.1.2.4. The Parallel between Creation and Redemption**

Christ's body in particular expresses the dichotomy Creation – Redemption. This theological theme emerges from the basis poem in the first few verses. There is an interesting juxtaposition of two very similar expressions, *morem formantis* in B1, 2 and *more fatigantis* in B1, 4. These two participles describe Christ as forming the world and Christ suffering in the world. This theme is taken up again in the last few verses. (B1, 46-47):

Atque hominem ut serualet, ad aram hic crucis iuit,  
Qui est sator aeternus, Christus benedictus in aeuum.

The same Christ who went "to the altar of the cross" is presented simultaneous as the "eternal creator". The redemption is presented by Hrabanus in this poem as a second creation. Both were accomplished by Christ, the creation as the Logos through which God created all things and the redemption as Jesus Christ, the incarnated Word, suffering on the cross. In fact it is this identity between God the

Creator and Christ on the cross, denied by Arians, which saves us by giving meaning and dignity to human suffering, no longer a meaningless torture inflicted by a cruel Creator but a terrible mystery shared by the Creator himself.

The prose translation here departs in a significant way from the basis poem. The phrase, *morem formantis habendum* (B1, 2), stands in the basis poem and, *speciem restaurantis honorandam* (D1, 5), in the prose text. Now, *formans* points to Christ's role as Creator – Logos, forming the universe at the beginning of time, while *restaurantis* refers to Christ's role as redeemer, restoring to mankind the friendship with God which was lost at the Fall. Also, *habendum* does not mean the same thing as *honorandam*. *Perdocet [eum] habendum* means, "...teaches that he should be thought of as...," while *Perdocet speciem honorandam* means, "...shows the appearance that should be honored." The prose translations probably express Hrabanus' intention more clearly since they are inherently freer than the basis poems and teaching that the appearances of Christ should be honored is one of the purposes of the *In honorem*. However, it is also interesting to note that the discrepancy between *formantis* and *restaurantis* subtly points to the juxtaposition of Christ's activity in the creation and Christ's activity in the redemption.

### 3.2.1.2.5. The Incarnation

Another striking feature of the basis poem is the section which separates the two lists of Christological names. Here, Hrabanus again addresses the reader directly, stating that he will explain the meaning of Christ's loincloth ("quid dogmate Christus / Indicet exponam."<sup>208</sup>). The loincloth indicates the law (*legem*). Hrabanus is referring here to the Holy Scriptures, it seems, for he continues on to state: "namque hic tegitur in grammate raro / Summipotens auctor, qui continet omnia rector".<sup>209</sup> Yet Hrabanus immediately adds another meaning: the loincloth also symbolizes and shows the Incarnation, "nam auctorem haec illum... / obtegit humano aut claudit visu ...."<sup>210</sup> Just as Christ's human nature wraps and protects his divine nature from

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<sup>208</sup> B1, 22-23.

<sup>209</sup> B1, 24-25.

<sup>210</sup> B1, 28-29.

human sight, so this small loincloth wraps and protects him in this image. Both the Scriptures and Christ's Incarnation are expressions of God's Word: the first clothed in human language by inspiration and the second clothed in human flesh.

The poem closes with an exposition of the double generation which gave rise to Christ's two natures:

... Patreque cum bene sit satus absque caduco.  
Qui dampna sensit et lignea; qui omnibus ante est,  
Qui astra est siderea editus omnia luciferum ante,  
Virgine hic est natus matre tum tempore in arto;<sup>211</sup>

This is a natural extension of the theme of the Incarnation and the two natures of Christ. It focuses on the marvellous contrast between the origins of those two natures.

The prose translation here introduces a second major discrepancy. A striking image is present in the prose translation without anything corresponding to it in the basis poem. The section which corresponds to the passage quoted above reads, "Hic utique ante luciferum et ante omnem creaturam, ex Patris est genitus utero; et temporaliter in momento processit ex matris aluo."<sup>212</sup> This startling image of the *Patris uterus* is not present in the basis poem, which has only *astra sidera*.

The second paragraph of the commentary is important for the interpretation of this aspect of the *carmen*. Hrabanus states explicitly that some of the Christological names are taken from Christ's divine nature and some from his human nature: *Sunt quippe et in ipsa pagina nomina eiusdem Redemptoris nostri uersibus comprehensa, quaedam ex diuinitatis eius substantia, quaedam uero ex dispensatione susceptae humanitatis assumpta...* (C1, 16-19). In fact, this explicit statement, combined with the reference to the two natures in the title in A9, allows us to identify the first list of Christological names, those above Christ's loincloth, as referring generally to his divine nature, and the second list, those below the loincloth, as referring to his

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<sup>211</sup> B1, 42-45.

<sup>212</sup> D1, 58-60.



human nature. This correspondance is suggested by the names themselves but is not so consistent as to allow us to assert it with great confidence without this explicit confirmation.

The loincloth, as we have seen, has a dual meaning, expressing both the idea of God hidden in the Holy Scripture just as Christ is hidden by the loincloth and the idea of the Incarnation, with human nature hiding the divine nature from view just as the loincloth protects Christ's body from view. It also visually separates the list of Christological epithets above the loincloth, which apply mostly to Christ's divine nature, from the list of epithets below the loincloth, which apply exclusively to Christ's human nature. D'Onofrio calls it the "fulcro simbolico" of the *carmen*.<sup>213</sup> In my terminology, it represents the Incarnation of God's Word.

Perrin points out a connection between the form of the *carmen* as a whole and this theme of the Incarnation. "... le *carmen figuratum* est totalement texte et totalement image, et il évoque le Christ, totalement Dieu et totalement homme."<sup>214</sup>

### **3.2.1.3. Sources**

#### **3.2.1.3.1. Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 7, 2**

Aside from an introductory sentence and a closing quotation of *John* 1, 14, *Verbum caro factum est*, almost the entirety of C1, l. 24-106 is copied from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, 7, 2, 1-45, although Hrabanus does not mention this fact. Book 7 of Isidore's *Etymologiae* is an investigation of the meaning of various names used in Sacred Scripture and church tradition. The chapters deal with, in order, God, the Son of God, the Holy Spirit, the Trinity, the angels, the earliest Old Testament figures, the Patriarchs, the Prophets, the Apostles, other New Testament figures, the martyrs, the different kinds of clerics, monks, and finally names applied to the lay faithful.

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<sup>213</sup> d'Onofrio, *op. cit.*, 2007, p. 295.

<sup>214</sup> Perrin, *op. cit.*, 2009, p. 61.

Hrabanus does not copy blindly; he makes selections from Isidore's text. However, because he follows Isidore's order, this creates a discrepancy between the names explained in the commentary and the names that actually appear in the basis poem. The names do not appear in the commentary in the order in which they appear in the basis poem, and some names are explained which do not appear at all in the basis poem, while some names in the basis poem are left without explanations.

The phrase quoted in §3.2.1.2.5. concerning the applicability of different names to the two natures of Christ is a slight paraphrase of what Isidore says in *Etymologiae*:

Multis enim modis Christus appellari in Scripturis invenitur divinis. Nam ipse Dei Patris Unigenitus Filius, dum esset aequalis Patri, propter salutem nostram formam servi accepit. Proinde quaedam nomina in illo ex divinitatis substantia, quaedam ex dispensatione susceptae humanitatis assumpta sunt.<sup>215</sup>

For another example of how Hrabanus uses Isidore's text, consider the third paragraph of the commentary, the beginning of the explanation of the Christological names:

Qualitas autem eorum facile per rationem subternexam potest cognosci utrum ad diuinam uel ad humanam eius pertineant naturam. Christus namque graece a chrismate est appellatus, hoc est, unctus. Sacerdotes ergo et reges apud Iudeos sacra unctione in Vetere Testamento ungebantur, et ideo Christus unctus appellatur, qui rex et sacerdos est, quia non oleo materiali, sed oleo laetitiae, hoc est, Spiritu Sancto unctus est prae omnibus participibus suis. Christus uero hebraice Messias dicitur.<sup>216</sup>

Compare this with the corresponding paragraph in Isidore (Isid., *Etym.*, 7,2,2 PL 82, 264B):

Christus namque a chrismate est appellatus, hoc est, unctus. Praeceptum enim fuerat Iudaeis ut sacrum conficerent unguentum quo perungi possent ii qui vocabantur ad sacerdotium, vel ad regnum; et sicut nunc regibus indumentum purpurae insigne est regiae dignitatis, sic illis unctio sacri

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<sup>215</sup> Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 7, 2, 1, PL 82, 264A-B.

<sup>216</sup> C1, 24-32.

unguenti nomen ac potestatem regiam conferebat, et inde christi dicti a chrismate, quod est unctio.<sup>217</sup>

Hrabanus asserts a dichotomy among the Christological epithets, that every name can be applied to either the human or divine nature. He then quotes Isidore exactly for the exact meaning of *Christus*, but paraphrases freely Isidore's explanation of the ancient Jewish customs. He adds a further comment of his own, not found in Isidore, *quia non oleo materiali, sed oleo laetitiae, hoc est, Spiritu Sancto unctus est prae omnibus participibus suis*, and finishes with further information taken from Isidore: *Messias autem Hebraice dicitur, Graece Christus, Latina autem locutione unctus.*<sup>218</sup> Hrabanus is careful to specify that the unction which gives rise to the epithet *Christus* derives from a spiritual unction, with the oil of gladness, which is actually the Holy Spirit.

On some occasions Hrabanus simply drops part of Isidore's explanations. He leaves out certain epithets which do not appear in the carmen and also Biblical explanations which Isidore uses to justify certain epithets. For example, Hrabanus explains, "Deus dicitur propter unitam cum Patre substantiam, Dominus propter seruientem creaturam, Deus autem et homo quia uerbum et caro. Unigenitus autem...."<sup>219</sup>

The corresponding passage in Isidore is:

Deus autem dictus, propter unicam cum Patre substantiam. Dominus, propter seruientem creaturam. Deus autem et homo, quia uerbum et caro. Unde, et bis genitus dicitur, sive quia Pater eum genuit sine Matre in aeternitate, sive quia Mater sine Patre in tempore. Unigenitus autem....<sup>220</sup>

Hrabanus simply drops the epithet *bis genitus* and its explanation, although that is a theme of the last few lines of the basis poem.

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<sup>217</sup> Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 7, 2, 2, PL 82, 264B.

<sup>218</sup> Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 7, 2, 6 PL 82, 264C.

<sup>219</sup> C1, 37-39.

<sup>220</sup> Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 7, 2, 11-13, PL 82, 265A.

A few lines later, Hrabanus explains the Greek term *Homousion Patri*: “Omousion Patri ob unitate substantiae appellatur, substantia enim uel essentia graece *usia* dicitur, *omo-* unum; utrumque enim coniunctum sonat una substantia.”<sup>221</sup> This is a quotation, but only a partial one, of Isidore's paragraph 14:

*Homousios Patri ab unitate substantiae appellatur. Substantia enim, vel essentia Graece οὐσία dicitur, ὄμιος unum. Utrumque igitur coniunctum sonat una substantia. Hoc enim vocatur homousion, quod est: Ego et Pater unum sumus, hoc est, ejusdem cum Patre substantiae.*<sup>222</sup>

In this case, Hrabanus drops Isidore's citation of *John* 10:30, one of the key texts of the Arian debates. Hrabanus closes the whole section on Christological names with a quotation of *John* 1:14 which is not found in Isidore. The *Verbum caro factum est* is, indeed, the key to the whole list of Christological names, each of which is applied to either the human or divine natures.

### 3.2.1.3.2. *Isaiah* 40:12

One of Hrabanus' lines in the prose translation, l. 36-37, “qui pugillo caelum metitur et terram palmo concludit,” is an echo of *Isaiah*, 40:12, “quis est pugillo aquas, et caelos palmo ponderavit?” This prophetic expression of God's inconceivable superiority to the created world was much used in the Patristic tradition, appearing in Novatian, Augustine, Jerome, John Cassian, Venatius Fortunatus, and Gregory the Great.<sup>223</sup> For example, Venatius Fortunatus uses it in his *carmen* 3, 9, in the same way as Hrabanus: to create a poetic contrast between the greatness of God and the humility of the Incarnation, by introducing the reference in the context of Christ's Passion, in the case of Fortunatus' poem the deposition of Christ's body in the tomb.

Indignum est, cuius clauduntur cuncta pugillo,  
Ut tegat inclusum, rupe vetante, lapis.<sup>224</sup>

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<sup>221</sup> C1, 43-45.

<sup>222</sup> Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 7, 2, 14, *PL* 82, 265B.

<sup>223</sup> v. discussion in Perrin, “Les lectures de Raban Maur”, 2010.

<sup>224</sup> Venatius Fortunatus, *Carmina*, 3, 9, l. 68-69. *PL* 87, 132C.

Hrabanus uses it in the section describing the Incarnation and how God clothed himself in human flesh, hiding His true glory. The passage of the basis text which is translated here is included in the loincloth which symbolizes the Incarnation.

## 3.2.2. *Carmen 2*

### 3.2.2.1. Form

#### 3.2.2.1.1. Visual Elements

The field is a perfect square: all 35 lines consist of 35 letters.

There are two figures, the cross formed from the middle verse and mesostich and the square formed from the outermost lines of the field. Here, in a way similar to *carmen 1*, the cross pattern corresponds with one of the figures. Hrabanus emphasizes in his titles (v. §3.2.2.2.1) that these figures are separate, rather than forming one large pattern, by speaking of the *crux* and the *tetragonus*. The cross figure fills the space entirely, extending to the edges of the field, but is only one letter wide. The square, likewise just one letter wide, bounds the field. Every junction point between the two figures, the central point of the cross and the four corners of the square all contain a letter "O".

The two figures enclose the entire field. The square marks the edges of the field and the cross runs all the way across the space of the field. The figures are at geometrically significant points: the outermost edges and the exact center.

The bright "O"s attract attention first of all. After that, the reader notices that every interwoven verse (i.e. the first, middle and last verse, and the acro-, meso- and telostichs) begins with "O Crux".

#### 3.2.2.1.2. Textual Elements

The two titles of *carmen 2* run, "De crucis figura quae intra tetragonum est scripta et omnia se comprehendere manifestat,"<sup>225</sup> in the list of *capitula* and, "DE SECUNDA FIGURA, IN QUA SANCTA CRUX INTRA TETRAGONUM DEPICTA EST,"<sup>226</sup> at the head of the prose translation in the second book. The titles correspond closely but the *capitula* title includes the additional remark that the figure of the cross reveals

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<sup>225</sup> A9, 5-6.

<sup>226</sup> D2, 2-3.

itself as containing all things. We will see that this remark is relevant to the *carmen* as a whole.

The basis poem begins with an address to the cross, emphasizing how the cross rules over Heaven (verses 1-5). The next section points out how the cross joins all the worshippers of Christ in Heaven and in Earth (v. 6-10). The poem proceeds to show different parts of the inanimate creation praising the cross (v. 11-14) and how the cross communicates the gifts of God from Heaven to Earth (v. 15-17). At this point the poem returns to addressing the cross directly in praise (v. 18-19). The next section describes how the cross defeats and frustrates the evil plans of the devil (v. 20-24). There is another interlude of praise addressed directly to the cross (v. 25-27) following by a catalogue of trees, in which Hrabanus describes how all other trees give glory and honor to the cross (v. 28-32). The poem concludes by summarizing the cross's superiority to other trees and grounding it in the fact that the cross allows us to earn merit before the tribunal of Christ and so allows the redeemed people to escape from the broken gates of Hell (v. 33-35).

In the first part of the commentary, Hrabanus discusses the four realms of the universe: Heaven, Earth, Hell, and the mysterious realm above the Heavens hinted at by the Psalmist's mention of waters above the Heaven. The next paragraph turns to the four manners of existence of creatures, those which simply exist, those which live, those which sense and those which think. The bulk of the commentary is taken up with a consideration of the four emotions experienced by rational creatures, which Hrabanus presents as being fear, pain, desire and rejoicing. At the end of the commentary, Hrabanus relates these three four-fold divisions – of the entire universe, the created world, and the human soul – to the cross. He concludes as always with an explanation of the interwoven verses, but in this commentary he adds an explanation of a visual aspect of the basis poem, the "O" letters.

All of the interwoven verses begin "O CRVX." The impression created is that of a multiple separate voices offering praise from points on every corner of the world. Within the cross, they are simple expressions of praise: "O CRVX QVAE SVMMI ES

NOTO DEDICATA TROPAEO,<sup>227</sup> in the mesostich and, “O CRVX QVAE CHRISTI ES CARO BENEDICTA TRIVMPHO,”<sup>228</sup> in the middle verse. The verses of the tetragon, however, also include an obvious meaning to their position. The interwoven verse at the top of the field describes the cross ruling Heaven and the interwoven verse at the bottom speaks of the cross breaking the faithful out of Hell. The top interwoven verse, identical with the first verse of the basis poem, runs, “O CRVX QVAE EXCELLIS TOTO ET DOMINARIS OLYMPO,”<sup>229</sup> where *toto Olympo* stands for Heaven. The bottom interwoven verse, identical with the 35th and last verse of the basis poem, reads, “O CRVX QVAE DEDERAS RUPTO PLEBEM IRE AB AVERNO,”<sup>230</sup> where *rupto Averno* stands for Hell. The acrostich reads, “O CRVX DVX MISERO LATOQVE REDEMPTIO MVNDI,”<sup>231</sup> and the telestich is, “O CRVX VEXILLVM SANCTO ET PIA CAVTIO SAECLIO.”<sup>232</sup>

### 3.2.2.1.3. Cognitive Elements

The relationship between translation and poem is slightly freer than in other *carmina*. The commentary diverges enough from the text that it brings in whole other areas of meaning. Three entire verses of the basis poem are bivalent and correspond to three of the interwoven verses. Every interwoven verse starts with the same words.

The "O"s seem to nail the figures together. The two visual-textual units created by the figures and the interwoven verses are named in the titles, the cross and the tetragon. The tetragon which is the outermost lines of the text, enclosing the entire field of the poem, corresponds to the universe; this interpretation is confirmed by the repeated statements that the cross includes all things. The upper part of the field indicates Heaven and the lower part indicates Hell. Hrabanus' exegesis of the bright

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<sup>227</sup> C2, 89.

<sup>228</sup> C2, 91 (identical with B2, 18).

<sup>229</sup> C2, 95 (identical with B1, 1).

<sup>230</sup> C2, 97 (identical with B1, 35).

<sup>231</sup> C2, 100.

<sup>232</sup> C2, 102.



white "O"s indicates them as elements, almost like nails, binding together the cross and the universe, showing the cross joining together all things in the universe.

The structure of the *carmen* is built up out of the figures, the references in the titles, and the explanations in the commentary. The background and tetragon figure, indicating the universe, is held together by the cross and the white "O"s, just as the cross joins and unites all things, as the commentary repeatedly explains. The universe is analyzed in four-fold divisions that reflect the cross shape because the creator of the universe suffered on the cross. The wood of the cross is unique among the creatures for being the holy machine by which the Creator intended to reunite and redeem all things. The cross also joins Heaven, Earth and Hell by uniting the worshippers of Christ in Heaven and on Earth into praise and frustrating the designs of the devil. The cross broke Hell and allowed man to earn merit and salvation.

### **3.2.2.2. Content**

#### **3.2.2.2.1. The Cross within the Cosmos**

Although far less spectacular visually than many other *carmina*, *carmen 2* introduces the program of the rest of the *In honorem sanctae crucis*. In its imagery and commentary, *carmen 2* moves the attention of the reader from Christ's role as Creator and Redeemer, explored in *carmen 1*, to the position of the cross in the Creation itself, embracing within its four arms the whole of things.

The cross is located within a series of divisions of ever-sharpening focus. One is the division of the universe into the waters above the Heaven, Heaven, Earth and Hell, which appears in full in the commentary, and in part in the basis poem, which includes three of the regions of the universe, Heaven in verses 1-10, the Earth in verses 11-17 and again in verses 25-34, and Hell in verses 20-24 and again in verse 35.

The basis poem also juxtaposes Heaven and Earth in verses 6-10:

Dumque humana tibi exquiris diuinaque tactu  
Unius altithroni deuoto, in laudis honore  
Christicolas socias; at sacro fame uiuax  
Multiplices laudes en das a culmine caeli,  
In terris cantus quos offert orbis et exul.<sup>233</sup>

Verses 6-7 speak of how the cross bore the humanity and divinity of Christ (...*humana tibi exquiris divinaque...*), verse 7-8 explain how the cross unites the worshippers of Christ (...*Christicolas socias...*), and verses 8-10 attributes to the cross the praises offered by the inhabitants of Heaven (*a culmine caeli*) and the inhabitants of Earth (*in terris*), clarifying that the worshippers of Christ are not just Christians on Earth but Christians and angels in Heaven.

The commentary to *carmen* 2 then diverges widely from the basis poem. It goes on to discuss the four modes of being – existence, life, sensation, thought – which distinguish creatures; there is no trace of this division in the poem. The majority of the text of the commentary is devoted to discussing four emotions; they, also, do not appear in the basis poem. It seems that Hrabanus in the commentary is not really commenting on the poem so much as adding four-fold divisions to correspond to the four-fold shape of the cross. His justification for all of this, *Omnia ergo haec sanctae cruci conveniunt, quia in ea / omnium Creator passus est Christus* (C2, 75-76), reveals his intention of dividing the entire Creation according to these four-fold schemes since the Creator suffered on the cross, and in this the last paragraph of the commentary he relates each member (except the waters above the Heaven!) of all three four-fold divisions to the cross.

There is an interesting discrepancy between poem and translation concerning this aspect of the *carmen*. When discussing the natural world, the poem is quite specific and poetic, while the prose translation, departing further from the verse text than usual, giving us the general sense of the passage. Let us compare verse and prose:

Sanctificat mundus, uentus, te pontus; et hic sol  
Exaltat iubilans cum montibus, arida cantum  
Rura canunt, stellis motu tu carmina donas,

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<sup>233</sup> B2, 6-10.

Ortus et occasus, aquilo, sic auster et aura.<sup>234</sup>

Te generaliter totus orbis, aer, mare et ignea caelorum sidera sanctificant,  
ac specialiter unaquaeque species creaturae ex quattuor mundi partibus  
magna deuotione celebrat.<sup>235</sup>

The basis poem lists various parts of the inanimate world – *mundus, uentus, pontus, sol, montes, rura, stellae, ortus, occasus, aquilo, auster, aura* – while the prose translation clarifies in philosophical language that the created world – listed in a more obvious division according to the traditional four elements as *orbis, aer, mare* and *ignea caelorum sidera* – sanctifies the cross *generaliter*, while each species celebrates the cross *specialiter*.

The cross is also inserted into the cosmos in another way. Hrabanus emphasizes here the physicality of the cross. This theme is first introduced in verses 4-5, *rubeas cum sanguinis usu / Christi*, in which the cross is described as reddening with the blood of Christ. It is developed much further with the catalogue of trees:

Taxus dira fugit, calamus se et pinus honori  
Inclinant humiles; et cedros, myrra, melyro,  
Olfactum pauitant; nardus et mira cypressus,  
Maxtix, tus, gutta, ammomum, balsama, bidella,  
Victae maiestate super sua uota ferunt te.<sup>236</sup>

This long list of different trees places the cross firmly into the same genus and so brings our attention to the physical material, the wood, of the cross.

The kind of expansion which we can see in comparing the verse and prose versions of the Christological lists of *carmen 1* also appears in the list of trees in *carmen 2*. Here is the prose translation:

...Taxus mortifera longe a te fugit, calamusque aromaticus et pinus semper uirens honori tuo se subiciunt. Cedrus quoque diuturna et uermibus imperforabilis, myrra guttiflua et meliro odoris iucundissimi ad odorem tuum

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<sup>234</sup> B2, 11-14.

<sup>235</sup> D2, 16-18.

<sup>236</sup> B2, 28-32.

stupent; nardus spicoma et cypressus odoris boni, maxtix quoque, gutta lentisci et thus arabica, gutta Indiae et amomum syriacum, balsamum ludeae, bidellium Physonis, maiestatem tuam uerentes, super se uotis exaltant.<sup>237</sup>

Most of the trees which are simply listed by name in the poem, receive a colorful epithet in prose: *calamus* - *calamus aromaticus*; *pinus* - *pinus semper uirens*; *cedros* - *cedrus diuturna et uermibus imperforabilis*; *myrra* - *myrra guttiflua*; *melyro* - *meliro ordoris iucundissimi*; *nardus* - *nardus spicoma*; *tus* - *thus arabica*; *gutta* - *gutta lentisci*; *ammomum* - *amomum syriacum*; *balsama* - *balsamum ludeae*; *bidella* - *bidellium Physonis*. The poem's *taxus dira* becomes the stronger *taxus mortifera*.

### 3.2.2.2. The Praise of the Cross

The continuous repetition of the beginning "O CRVX" in the interwoven verses gives the impression of numerous different voices praising the cross, in accordance with the repeated theme of the poem. These interwoven verses are an realization of what Hrabanus describes in B2, 10, "In terris cantus quos offert orbis et exul," and in general, his hope that the *In honorem* will lead the faithful to praise the cross.

### 3.2.2.2.3. The Cross as *Machina* of Grace

In the last paragraph of the commentary Hrabanus applies an interesting epithet to the cross, calling it a *machina*.

... Omnium quippe auctor hanc sanctam sibi praeuidebat machinam; hanc construi uoluit, ut in ipsa restauraret et coadunaret omnia per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum.<sup>238</sup>

Hrabanus here conceives of the cross as the holy machine for men to learn to use well their emotions and for God to unite all things.

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<sup>237</sup> D2, 34-42.

<sup>238</sup> C2, 83-86.

It is rare to have an explicit exegesis of a visual aspect in the commentary after the description of the interwoven verses – usually such things come at the beginning. Here, Hrabanus draws attention to the "O" letters.

Notandum autem quod O litteram, quae circuli habet similitudinem, idcirco in quattuor angulis tetragoni et in quattuor cornibus crucis, nec non et in media cruce posuimus, ut ostenderetur omnia sanctam crucem sua potentia concatenare, et in ueneratione Christi copulare quae sursum et quae deorsum sunt.<sup>239</sup>

Hrabanus asserts that these "O"s are placed in order to show that the holy cross "chains together" everything by its power and joins in the veneration of Christ the things above and the things below. So one is quite justified by this mechanical metaphor to take the "O"s as intended to resemble nails or bolts.

This description of the cross as a *machina* for salvation corresponds with the strikingly concise and precise formulation of a doctrine of grace in the last few verses:

... piis hoc  
Donas, cum mercede meent Christi ante tribunal:  
O crux quae dederas rupto plebem ire ab Auerno.<sup>240</sup>

It is the cross which allows the faithful to earn merits before the judgment of Christ. In principle the faithful would be able to do nothing on their own, but now that the cross has broken the gates of Hell, the faithful are able to truly earn their just reward.

The prose translation brings significant clarification to the doctrine of grace in the last few lines of the poem.

...quae concedis fidelibus ante Christi tribunal bonorum operum fructus percipere. O crux sacra, quae, diruptis claustris inferni, plebem sanctorum eriperas et caelo collocaueras!<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> C2, 103-108.

<sup>240</sup> B2, 33-35.

<sup>241</sup> D2, 44-47.

The *mercede meent* of the basis poem is expanded into *concedis fidelibus ... bonorum operum fructus percipere*. The cross appears much more active in the prose translation; instead of allowing the people to depart from broken Avernus, it pulled out the people of the saints and placed them in Heaven!

#### 3.2.2.2.4. The Cross Redeems Human Emotion

An important theme of the second *carmen* is the role played by the cross in the redemption of the emotions. As we shall see in §3.2.2.3.3., Hrabanus here is adopting a reflection from aesthetical-monastic literature, in which ascetic practices to overcome worldly emotions were an important activity. However, he presents this teaching in his own name.

In introducing the discussion of the emotions, Hrabanus appeals to a tradition of thinkers: the *antiqui* and the *poster*.

Sunt et ipsius animae quattuor affectiones, quibus animantia uel ad bona utuntur uel ad mala. Has et antiqui subtiliter inuenerunt, et eorum inuenta probantes posterius susceperunt, id est timere ac dolere, cupere ac laetari. (C2, 24-27)

The ancients cleverly discovered that the soul has these four affectiones, and the later thinkers received this doctrine because they approved of what had been discovered. In the context of the other four-fold divisions of the universe in *carmen* 2, Hrabanus therefore presents this four-fold division as a complete division of the movements of the soul.

Most of his argument concerning these emotions consists of refuting unnamed philosophical adversaries. The above-quoted paragraph continues:

... Hae ergo si sanctae crucis praesidio ordinantur atque muniuntur, in religiosis hominibus salutifera esse probantur, licet eas uitia esse, stultitia quorundam sapientium huius mundi existimarit. Quod si ita esset, et eas nisi peccatores omnino habere non possent aut perdit, recte non affectus aliqui possent dici, sed morbi. At cum tales animorum motus inueniantur in

sanctis apostolis et prophetis, quis ita desipiat, ut eos uitia credat? Ex quibus Deo placuerunt illi, qui uitii plus quam ceteri homines restiterunt.<sup>242</sup>

The first sentence introduces in a word-play the opinion of these adversaries, calling it a *stultitia* and them [*quidam sapientes*] *huius mundi*, namely that these emotions are vices. The first counter-argument is based on the name of these emotions, which he gives here as *affectus*, in the previous sentence as *affectiones*. If they were purely vices, they would be called *affectus* falsely, being rather diseases. The second counter-argument is that these emotions were found in the holy apostles and prophets. If the prophets and apostles, who pleased God precisely because they resisted vices more than other men, experienced these emotions, they cannot be vices. Hrabanus then goes on to a long list of Biblical citations in which he shows that David and Paul both felt each of fear, pain, desire and joy, based on the exact appearance of that word in a Biblical passage. He concludes that the emotions are virtues in those who use them well and *passiones* or even bitternesses in those who use them badly.

### 3.2.2.3. Sources

#### 3.2.2.3.1. Aldhelm, *De virginitate*

The 7th-century English abbot and bishop Aldhelm wrote a praise of virgins and virginity. Its preface is a relatively simple *carmen figuratum*, with an interwoven verse describing the work, “Metrica tirones nunc promant carmina castos,” appearing twice, being read vertically down the acrostich and up the telestich. In verse 21 of the second carmen, “Et bene te extulerat, dire ne dicere puppup,” Hrabanus ends in a very similar way to verse 20 of Aldhelm’s preface, “Regalis vastans caulas bis dicere puppup.”<sup>243</sup> The use of this mocking expression “puppup” seems to be a case in which Hrabanus copies from an earlier author a solution to a particular technical difficulty, getting the letter “P” into the telestich, given the extreme rarity of Latin words which end in that letter.

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<sup>242</sup> C2, 27-36.

<sup>243</sup> Aldhelm, *De virginitate*, preface, v. 20, PL 89, 253C.

### 3.2.2.3.2. Gregory the Great, *XL Homiliarum in evangelia*, 2, 29

The section of the commentary (l. 12-23) in which Hrabanus divides all creatures according to their mode of being – *esse*, *vivere*, *sentire*, or *intelligere* – is a slight paraphrase of a section of Gregory the Great’s 29th homily from *XL Homiliarum in evangelia*. The subject of Gregory’s homily is the Marcan version of Jesus’ commission of the disciples after the Resurrection to go forth and preach the Gospel, *Mark* 16:14-20. The Roman pontiff pauses over Jesus’ command, “praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae,” and asks rhetorically if Jesus intends the disciples to preach to rocks or brute animals. He states that, “omnis creaturae nomine significatur homo,” and explains the four modes of being – using the examples of *lapides*, *herbae et arbustae*, *bruta animalia*, and *angeli* – before returning to man, who has something in common with all creatures and therefore is the fitting object of the Apostolic preaching: “Si ergo commune habet aliquid cum omni creatura homo, juxta aliquid omnis creatura est homo.”<sup>244</sup>

Hrabanus uses the examples of *lapides*, *arbusta et omnia germanina terrae*, *bruta animalia*, and *angeli et homines*. He follows the structure of Gregory’s list of the four modes of being, but his purpose is different. Instead of showing man as a microcosm that includes all the possible modes of being, and so reflects all creation in himself, Hrabanus is trying to show the cross as a cosmic symbol whose four *cornua* reflect the four-fold divisions of the universe.

### 3.2.2.3.3. Julian Pomerius, *De vita contemplativa*, 3, 31

The sections of the commentary dealing with the four emotions are based on the discussion of the four affections in an ascetic tract of late antiquity, *De vita contemplativa*, 3, 31, *De quattuor affectionibus*, which was long believed to have been written by Prosper of Aquitaine but now is universally ascribed to Julian Pomerius, a reknown teacher of rhetoric and priest or abbot in Arles in the second half of the 5th century.<sup>245</sup> Hrabanus rearranges the text to fit his own purposes.

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<sup>244</sup> Gregorius Magnus, *XL Homiliarum in evangelia*, 2, 29, 2, PL 76, 1214AB.

<sup>245</sup> Julian Pomerius, *De vita contemplativa*, 3, 31, *De quattuor affectionibus*, PL 59, 514A-515A.



Hrabanus introduces the discussion with an unattributed quotation from another part of Julian's *De vita contemplativa*, 3, 18, stating the existence of the four emotions and giving the scientific tradition about them. Thus, he orients this discussion within the broader context of showing the four-fold divisions of the universe, within which context he is now turning to the human soul. He points out that these emotions, when ordered and fortified by the stronghold (*praesidium*) of the cross, have been found to be life-giving in holy men. He begins the quotation from *De vita contemplativa* at this point, raising the Stoic (whom Hrabanus never names, although Julian does) position that these emotions are vices. He quotes Julian's discussion and Julian's list of examples take from Paul, although he does shorten Julian's quotation of *Romans*.

At this point Hrabanus disregards Julian's order. Julian inserts here a general statement in defense of emotions based on Paul alone, and then turns to the Old Testament, pointing out that the "propheta" also had these emotions and quoting two Psalm texts for *laetitia* and *tristia*, and then adding "alius dicit" to introduce quotes from Ecclesiastes in favor of *timor Domini* and *Wisdom for concupiscentia sapientiae*. Hrabanus, apparently judging these quotations inadequate, substituted four of his own, all attributed explicitly to David and taken from the Psalms. After that he inserts Julian's defense, adding "vel propheta" where Julian mentions only the Apostle Paul.

Hrabanus thus takes Julian's discussion of the emotions out of its context of the ascetic life in general and relates it to the need for the cross to purify and solidify the emotions.

### 3.2.3. *Carmen* 3

#### 3.2.3.1. Form

##### 3.2.3.1.1. Visual Elements

The third *carmen* is one of the most striking on a visual level both because of its beautiful colors and because its structure is both complicated and readily apparent, due to the unusual ease with which the interwoven text can be read.

The cross figure is formed by nine figures arranged in two lines centered within the field of the poem. Two verses separate each figure vertically and one or two columns separate each figure horizontally. Two lines of monovalent letters separate the last figure of each cross arm from the edge of the field. Therefore, the cross pattern is not continuous and does not fill the space of the poem.

The figures, in addition to containing interwoven text as in all the *carmina*, are themselves letters, whose lines are one basis-poem letter thick. The curves are fit into the quadratic grid of the basis poem by painting curved lines to include the necessary letters. Hrabanus calls these figures *litterae maiores*.<sup>246</sup> The fact that these figures are themselves letters creates a third level of language for *carmen* 3, the figure-text.

In all the manuscripts the figures have a blue background with black letters.

The reader sees the figure-text first, with its simple two-word content. The interwoven text is particularly easy to read, since it consists, not of verses as usual, but simply of the names of the nine angel choirs, which we can assume to be familiar to almost any reader of the *In honorem*. In fact, Hrabanus does not bother to spell out the interwoven text in the commentary, in contrast to his normal practice.

##### 3.2.3.1.2. Textual Elements

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<sup>246</sup> C3, 92.

The two titles of the *carmen* are “De novem ordinibus angelorum et de nominibus eorum in crucis figuram dispositis”<sup>247</sup> and “DE TERTIAE FIGURAE SPECIE, IN QVA NOVEM ORDINES ANGELORVM DESCRIPTI SVNT.”<sup>248</sup> Both point our attention to the nine angel choirs; the first title also emphasizes the importance of their names, a matter which was important in the theological tradition leading up to Hrabanus’ discussion here.

The basis poem begins with a salutation addressed to the cross in verses 1-10. The next section, verses 11-16, describe the Archangel Michael. Eight verses, 17-24, form an interruption. These verses are a justification of applying the cross form to the discussion of the angels. Verses 25-27 return to the angels, describing Archangel Gabriel, and verses 28-30 deal with Raphael and his healing of Tobias’ blindness. In the last section, verses 31-36, Hrabanus speaks about the angelic choirs in general and then addresses them directly, exhorting them to pray for mankind.

For *carmen* 3, the prose translation is particularly useful in understanding the cryptic verses of B. A number of interesting ideas are simply mentioned in B and explained in greater detail in D. The most important is Hrabanus’ comment on the act of writing the *In honorem*, which is quite cryptic in B. Hrabanus also greatly expands in the translation upon his cursory justification of his typological interpretation of the angelic appearances in the Old Testament.

As usual, Hrabanus begins the *expositio* by explaining why a cross is appropriate for expressing the theme of the *carmen*. There follows a long discussion, in lines 11-44, of the nine angel choirs, much of it quoted from Gregory the Great’s *Homily in Evangelia* 34. Hrabanus then relates each of the nine choirs to the cross by citing, for almost all of the angelic choirs, a Biblical verse or two which both clearly refers to Jesus and in which the name of the choir appears. However, in the case of the first two choirs, Angels and Archangels, his procedure differs slightly, proceeding by Biblical allusion rather than quotation. The commentary ends with a profession of

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<sup>247</sup> A9, 9-10.

<sup>248</sup> D3, 2-3.

faith, warning the reader not to regard the angels as equal to Christ. Hrabanus explains the *litterae maiores* of the figure text but does not spell out the names of the angelic choirs, both since they have already been named multiple times in the commentary and because Hrabanus assumes that anyone who can read will know the names: “habentque singulae [litterae maiores] singulos ordines angelorum, quod facile cuilibet patebit qui litteras nouit et nomina nouem ordinem non ignorat.”<sup>249</sup>

These nine names of the angel choirs are every so slightly deformed, apparently in order to fit the technical constraints of the *carmen figuratum* genre. The names as they appear in the *intextus* are *Seraphin*, *Cherubin*, *Virtutes*, *Potestates*, *Throni*, *Principatus*, *Dominationes*, *Arcangeli*, *Angeli*. The use of “N” for “M” in *Seraphin* and *Cherubin* is determined by the bivalence of these letters. In the basis poem these “N”s appear in the words *inclyta* and *numinis*. Very likely Hrabanus was unable to fit a word with “M” into his verse at this point. A different problem led to dropping the “H” from *Archangeli*, which never occurs in the commentary or prose translation. This angelic name is the interwoven text contained within the figure-letter “V” of CRVX. As such, it must contain an odd number of letters so that the arms of the “V” can be of equal length and meet at a point of a single letter. Therefore the ten-letter *Archangeli* was replaced with the nine-letter *Arcangeli* in this spot alone. The opposite problem occurred in the figure-letters “C” - *Seraphin*, “R” - *Cherubin* and “X” - *Angeli*, that is, there were too many spaces included in the figure for the number of letters in the interwoven text. Therefore Hrabanus, once each in the “C” - *Seraphin* and “R” - *Cherubin* and twice in “X” - *Angeli*, stretches a letter (“E”, “E”, and “A” and “N”, respectively) over two spots inside the figure, reading it in both of the verses of the base poem in which it appears but only once in the interwoven text.

The *litterae maiores* of the figure-text spell out CRVX SALVS. Hrabanus explains briefly, “Novem ergo litterae maiores, quae in hac pagina speciem crucis faciunt, hoc sonant CRVX SALVS”.<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>249</sup> C3, 93-95.

<sup>250</sup> C3, 92-93.

### 3.2.3.1.3. Cognitive Elements

In the third *carmen* we see all the usual relationships between texts which serve to create the *In honorem*. The most important ones for the analysis of this individual *carmen* are the existence of three levels of language simultaneously in the *carmen figuratum* proper, the major expansions in the prose translation and the additional light shed on the basis poem by the commentary.

The figures are coordinated to create the figure text and by being arranged into the *forma crucis*. Each figure represents one of the nine angelic choirs. Thus *carmen* 3 is one of the *carmina* in which, because the figures are simultaneously letters, there is a third level of language. The figures are joined together by the act of reading.

The vertical axis of the field is used by Hrabanus to indicate proximity to or distance from God. He places the Seraphim and Cherubim in the upper bar of the cross and the Archangels and Angels in the lower bar.

In the commentary, Hrabanus explains certain visual aspects of the *carmen*. The four verses in which he explains and justifies writing the *In honorem* as he has – the *actus iste formationis litterarum*<sup>251</sup> – make up the first four of the five verses within which the figures of the horizontal cross arm are inscribed (B3, 17-20). Within that section, he refers to the fact that the cross floats away from the edges of the field when he describes it as *suspensam*.<sup>252</sup>

The importance of verses 17-20 are shown both by the fact that they are constitutive of five of the figures and by the fact that the prose translation expands on and clarifies them greatly. The three levels of language, the discontinuous nature of the cross form and the brilliant color contrast are the other key elements of the microstructure of the third *carmen*.

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<sup>251</sup> D3, 25.

<sup>252</sup> B3, 17; D3, 28.

### 3.2.3.2. Content

#### 3.2.3.2.1. The Names of the Angelic Orders

Already the title itself directs our attention to the names of the angels, juxtaposing the orders themselves and their names on a plane of equality. It would seem that their names are an important aspect of the angels, perhaps the most important. Further emphasis on the names themselves is given by the fact that these names constitute the interwoven text which creates the figures. Turning to the commentary, we find that Hrabanus makes a number of key statements. At the very beginning, he asserts:

Merito quippe sanctorum angelorum ordines et caelestis militiae exercitus,  
nomine et numero sanctae cruci concordant...<sup>253</sup>

The rest of the commentary is devoted to showing how exactly the orders of angels harmonize with the holy cross in terms of their names. However, at no point in the various texts associated with *carmen* 3 does Hrabanus discuss how they harmonize *numero*.

After listing the nine names of the angelic orders, “ut sanctae Scripturae nobis commendat auctoritas,”<sup>254</sup> Hrabanus leaves off commenting in his own name, and explicitly cites the words of Pope Gregory the Great: “sed ad haec exponenda beati papae Gregorii uerba ponamus.”<sup>255</sup> This kind of explicit citation of a source is quite rare in the *In honorem*.

The citation from Gregory (*In Evangelia*, 34,7) justifies and expands on Hrabanus’ comment that the angelic names are given to us by the authority of the Holy Scripture. In fact, Gregory proceeds systematically through the nine names and shows where they may be found in the Scriptures: angels and archangels on almost every page, cherubim and seraphim particularly in the books of the prophets. Paul

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<sup>253</sup> C3, 1-3.

<sup>254</sup> C3, 11-12.

<sup>255</sup> C3, 14-15.

lists four orders in the letter to the Ephesians – Principalities, Powers, Virtues, and Dominations – and a different set of four in the letter to the Colossians – Thrones, Dominations, Principalities, and Powers – giving five names total from the Pauline corpus, which, “dum Angeli et Archangeli, Cherubim atque Seraphim adiuncta sunt, procul dubio nouem esse angelorum ordines inueniuntur.”<sup>256</sup> It is interesting that Hrabanus does not stop the quotation at this point, the logical one if his only purpose were to demonstrate the Biblical foundation for the angelic names. He continues with a long paragraph about the “angelus qui primus conditus est.”

In resuming the commentary, Hrabanus begins with an explanation of the *dispositio* of the angelic orders into the shape of the cross. After this explanation, he returns immediately to the theme of the names: “Quae etiam nomina ad Domini nostri Iesu Christi gloriam praedicandam satis conueniunt, eiusque magnificentiam et potentiam narrandam decenter competunt.” It is the names which preach the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ and narrate his power and magnificence.

This comment serves as an introduction to the next section of the commentary, in which Hrabanus demonstrates how each angelic order does so. The Angels and Archangels announce Christ who came down from Heaven to Earth, the *magni consilii angelus* of *Isaiah* 9:6. For the other angelic orders, Hrabanus finds in each case a Biblical verse which both speaks about Christ and in which the name of the angelic order appears. The connections can be quite forced. For example, for the Virtues Hrabanus cites *Ps.* 118,6, “Dextra Domini fecit uirtutem,” implying by this connection that this verse indicates that Christ, the right hand of the Lord, made the Virtues, which is a rather extravagantly decontextualized interpretation of the Psalm text. For Hrabanus, the mere appearance of the name of the angelic order in a text which clearly applies to Christ is enough for his purpose here.

The importance of the names re-occurs in the next section of the commentary. After finishing his Biblical exegesis, Hrabanus adds a cautionary note that he is not saying these things to set the angels on the same level as Christ. Rather, “per subiectae

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<sup>256</sup> C3, 29-31.

creaturae officia et nomina dispensationis, illius sacramenta ueneramur.”<sup>257</sup> We venerate the secrets of Christ through the *officia* and the *nomina*. Hrabanus has just used above the word *dispensatio* to refer to the arrangement of the angelic orders on the page of the *carmen*. Does it retain that meaning here? In that case, the *In honorem* itself with its arrangement of the angelic orders is an instrument through which we venerate the secrets of Christ.

The situation is different when we turn from the angelic choirs to the individual angels named in the Holy Scriptures. While Hrabanus does not discuss them in the commentary, the names and their meaning play a major role in the basis poem and translation. Michael enjoys the longest section, verses 11-17, Gabriel is restricted to the three verses 25-27, while verses 28-30 are dedicated to Raphael. Michael’s name are the words spoken by the archangel. This idea appears in verses 11-13

At Michael princeps habitantum dux et in alto  
Te memorat virtute Dei simul aethera cuncta  
et regere et tegere, stes numinis alma quod ara.<sup>258</sup>

and the corresponding prose text:

At Michael, dux et princeps plebis Dei, te confessione memorat cuncta  
caelorum sidera et virtute regere et potestate tegere.<sup>259</sup>

The key words are *memorat* and *confessione memorat*, which show that Michael plays his role by the words he speaks. Gabriel, meanwhile, is presented solely as the messenger of the Annunciation, while Raphael is described in verse 28 as “*medicina Dei*” for his action in restoring Tobias’ sight.

### 3.2.3.2.2. The Relationship between the Angels and Christ

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<sup>257</sup> C3, 79-80.

<sup>258</sup> B3, 11-13.

<sup>259</sup> D3, 16-18.



Hrabanus justifies his ordering towards Christ of the angelic choirs and particularly their names by the fact that the angels were present at key moments in the life of Jesus. In the basis poem, this idea appears in late in the poem:

Credimus ergo crucis antiqua in laudibus esse;  
Cum noua consonuit psallentum cantio laudem,  
Angeli in officium et ueniebat iure ministri.<sup>260</sup>

The prose version of this runs:

Credendum ergo nobis est quod facta angelorum quae Vetus Testamentum narrat, aduentum et gloriam significant redemptoris nostri, cum Nouum Testamentum statim in primordio natiuitatis eius eos *gloriam* in excelsis *Deo* magno tripudio cecinisse, et *pacem hominibus* adoptasse describat.<sup>261</sup>

Here Hrabanus refers to the angels praising God at the Nativity, in *Luke* 2:9-13, and their presence as ministers after the temptation, as reported in *Mark* 1:13. The prose translation, in contrast, leaves out the angelic ministry to Christ in the desert. When he speaks of the deeds of angels narrated in the Old Testament, Hrabanus seems to be referring to his immediately prior descriptions of Michael, Gabriel and Raphael's activities, although only Raphael's is strictly speaking described in the Old Testament and only for Raphael does Hrabanus make a firm typological connection.

The commentary adds two moments not mentioned previously,

cum non solum in hora natiuitatis Christi laudasse, et post in deserto illi ministrasse sacer Euangelii textus commemoret, uerum etiam in tempore passionis ac resurrectionis eius, debito ei officio ipsos affuisse manifestissime narret;<sup>262</sup>

... namely, the passion and resurrection. The sentence structure here shows the link to the basis poem – those moments mentioned there are in the *non solum* clause, the new moments in the *uerum etiam* clause.

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<sup>260</sup> B3, 31-33.

<sup>261</sup> D3, 47-51.

<sup>262</sup> C3, 4-8.

We have discussed above the relationship created by Hrabanus in the commentary between the names of the angelic orders and Christ by searching the Bible for verses referring to Christ in which those names appear.

Several references to the Incarnation in the third *carmen* emphasize a particular aspect of the fundamental event of Christian history: Christ's defeat of the wicked angel. The verses 21-24 of the basis poem describe the Incarnation and Passion, but in very general terms:

Christus se ad petram fidei nimium auctaque se nos  
Duceret inclinans humilis, tum uenit ab arce,  
Et docuit uerbis, factis documenta reliquit,  
Ac cruce sacra pia compleuit cuncta creator.<sup>263</sup>

The prose version of this runs:

...ideoque Christus semetipsum humilians descendit de caelorum arce, ut ad se solidum fundamentum fidei augmentumque omnium bonorum ualide nos duceret: et docuit uerbis factisque suis nobis documenta reliquit, et sic demum in sancta cruce nos redimens, facta sua consummauit.<sup>264</sup>

Here Hrabanus speaks of Christ's purpose of setting himself as the foundation stone of the faith and drawing us to him. He describes what Christ accomplished on the cross only as *cuncta complevit* or *facta sua consummavit*.

However, in the discussion of how the names "Angel" and "Archangel" indicate the Christ, Hrabanus describes Christ's mission in the following terms:

Quem enim Angeli et Archangeli in infima parte crucis positi denuntiant, nisi eum qui de caelo in terram descendit, magni uidelicet consilii angelum, ad annuntiandum mansuetis missum, ut fortior fortem alligaret, eiusque uasa diriperet?<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> B3, 21-24.

<sup>264</sup> D3, 32-37.

<sup>265</sup> C3, 56-59.

Here the Incarnation (*qui de caelo in terram descendit*) is characterized by two purposes: announcing to the meek and binding the devil while taking his possessions. Hrabanus is echoing a saying of Jesus, reflected in three Gospel narratives. The words *alligaret et vasa diriperet* echo the versions of Matthew and Mark, “Aut quomodo potest quisquam intrare in domum fortis, et vasa eius diripere, nisi prius alligaverit fortem?” in *Matthew* 12:29 and “Nemo potest vasa fortis ingressus in domum diripere, nisi prius fortem alliget,” in *Mark* 3:27. On the other hand, the *fortior* comes from *Luke* 11:21-22, “Cum fortis armatus custodit atrium suum, in pace sunt ea quae possidet. Si autem fortior eo superveniens vicerit eum, universa arma eius auferet, in quibus confidebat, et spolia eius distribuet.”

In a later Christological passage Hrabanus describes Christ’s mission in the following terms: “ad debellandum scilicet mundi principem missus, ut exspoliaret Principatus et Potestates, palam triumphans eos in semetipso,” that is, exclusively in terms of defeating the devil. Hrabanus then quotes *Ephesians* 1:20-22, cited by Gregory as a source for names of angelic orders:

Quem Pater suscitavit a mortuis, et constituens ad dextram suam in caelestibus, supra omnem Principatum et Potestatem et Virtutem et Dominationem, et omne nomen quod nominatur non solum in hoc saeculo, sed etiam in futuro. Omnia subiecit sub pedibus eius, et ipsum dedit caput supra omnia Ecclesiae, quae est corpus ipsius.

The context of this citation of *Ephesians*, immediately after stating the purpose of the Incarnation exclusively as being that of defeating the wicked angels, suggests the interpretation that in this passage Paul is speaking of the resurrected Christ’s dominion over the wicked angels as well.

A further point concerning this theme is the odd fact that Hrabanus quotes an entire paragraph from Gregory’s homily which does not contribute to his purpose at that point in the commentary and which contains an image – that of the nine stones in *Ezechiel* 28,13 – of which Hrabanus takes no notice. This paragraph concerns the figure of the *angelus qui primus conditus est*. If this is the angel who through pride fell to become the devil, then this passage, too, would converge on Christ’s

redemption of mankind, by focusing on the theme, especially appropriate here, of His defeat of the rebel angels.

Although the phrase from *Isaiah* 9:6, *magni consilii angelus*, is applied to Christ at C3, 58, Hrabanus warns his reader not to take Christ and the angels on the same level. He firmly rejects any kind of equality between them: “Sed haec non ita praedicamus de ordinibus angelorum, quasi unigenito illos coaequemus;...”<sup>266</sup> before going on to the passage, cited above, explaining how we venerate Christ through the offices and names of the angelic orders.

### 3.2.3.2.3. The Relationship between the Angels and the Cross

Having discussed how Hrabanus establishes the relationship between the angels and Christ, let us examine more precisely how he relates them to the cross. First of all is the interaction between text and image. The angelic names create the figures which make the cross form of this *carmen* and thus constitute the image of the cross. In addition, these figures spell out, in their very nature as letters, the grand assertion that the cross *is* salvation.

The opening of the basis poem provides further support for this idea. The first verses of the poem are addressed to the cross. In the first line, the cross is called *sancta salus Christi*, while the second line begins with *crux*. The two expressions are in apposition. Thus is repeated, in the very first lines, the assertion of the figure-text, which leaps out as the first element of the *carmen* to be perceived by the reader.

This address continues with one of the lists of epithets in the nominative or vocative which are common throughout the *In honorem*. The particular epithets chosen here merit our attention. Hrabanus calls the cross the following names: *sancta salus Christ, passio laeta, crux veneranda Dei, doctrix, sapientia, lumen, laus veri, cara virtus, philosophia clara*. Notice that these epithets are also appropriate to the angelic intelligences which the *carmen* treats. As conveyors of the messages of

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<sup>266</sup> C3, 78-79.

God, the angels are *doctores*; inhabiting in the glory of eternal light, as Hrabanus describes them, they certainly could be described as *lumen*; *sapientia* and *philosophia clara* are certainly appropriate to the Cherubim, glossed as *plenitudo sapientiae*, *virtus* is the name of one of the orders, and all the orders are engaged in giving *laus veri* to God and Christ, as Hrabanus explains in multiple locations. In this way, Hrabanus indicates the Cross as the supreme expression of these angelic attributes of wisdom, instruction, light and praise.

In the final part of this exhortation, Hrabanus echoes Paul in *Phil.* 2:10, but applies his words to the cross, “Omne genu per te caelestum et flectier ambit / Terrestrum atque infer iuxta sua uincula norum.”<sup>267</sup> Here appears the Biblical assertion that every rational creature will bow to Jesus, whether man, good angel or rebel angel.

In his description of the archangel Michael, Hrabanus states that Michael confesses that the cross rules all the angels because it is the altar of Christ (v. quotation in §3.2.3.2.1.) The prose translation expands this to “eo quod ara Dei sis, in qua immolatus est agnus qui abstulit peccata mundi.”<sup>268</sup> The Passion has placed the cross at the head of the angelic creation.

In describing the deed of the archangel Raphael, Hrabanus uses a typological consideration. In verse, it runs:

O Raphael, medicina Dei, num te dedit haec crux  
Reddere posse iubar, cuius tunc rite figuram  
Monstrabas caeco, quae lumina reddidit orbi.<sup>269</sup>

And in prose:

Quid et tu, o Raphael, medicina Dei? Numquid in illo mystico opere quo  
Tobias oculos aperuisti, felle orbum liniens, sanctae crucis potentiam

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<sup>267</sup> B3, 8-9.

<sup>268</sup> D3, 18-19.

<sup>269</sup> B3, 28-30.

significasti, quae per amaritudinem mortis Christi, peccatorum tenebris remotis, aeternam lucem humano generi reddidit?<sup>270</sup>

The cross granted to Raphael the power to open Tobias' eyes; and he anointed his eyes with gall that indicates the bitterness of the cross, and he showed Tobias the figure of the cross which restored light and vision to the world.

#### **3.2.3.2.4. The Relationship between the Angels and Mankind**

Men and angels are united in praise of the cross in the early part of the basis poem. Hrabanus writes,

“[The cross is salvation, teacher, wisdom, etc.] his  
quos dant arua soli, uel culmen condit Olympi,  
Sidereosque choros, et candida scepra diei.<sup>271</sup>

Men and angels are united by their relationship to the cross, teacher and giver of light and wisdom to both. He nuances this relationship in the prose translation; after all, the relationship to the salvific cross is not identical for man, in need of redemption, and the good angels. He writes,

... apud caelicolas terrigenasque indesinenter uiges, etiam apud exercitus angelorum, qui in claritate lucis aeternae manent, et apud homines, quibus salus et pulchra renouatio post diutinam infirmitatem et antiquam peccatorum uetustatem exstitisti.<sup>272</sup>

... making explicit the contrast between angels who remain always in the glory of eternal light, and man who needs the renewal of the cross after the long sickness of sin.

Hrabanus exhorts the angelic orders to bless (in the basis poem) or to thank (in the prose translation) Christ for the salvation of mankind: “qui cruce saluauit mundum,

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<sup>270</sup> D3, 42-46.

<sup>271</sup> B3, 3-5.

<sup>272</sup> D3, 7-11.

dans regna beatis.”<sup>273</sup> This line points to the communication between men and angels. First of all, men may address prayers to the spiritual intelligences. Secondly, the angels are asked to express blessing or thanks in charitable solidarity with mankind.

The communicative function of the angels, implicit in the etymology of their name, although made explicit in works of Gregory and Augustine, appears in a minor way in the *In honorem*. Michael announces his own name, but primarily defeats the devil and joins in the praises of Christ; Raphael works the miracle of healing Tobias’ eyes as a figure of the cross’s illumination of mankind. Only Gabriel actually communicates anything to mankind, and only to its most perfect and holy member outside Christ himself, the Virgin Mary. In two of the angelic appearances in the New Testament explicitly discussed by Hrabanus, the Nativity and the Resurrection, he ignores the aspect in which they communicate to men (i.e. the messages to the shepherds and the holy women) and only speaks about their role in praising God (*gloriam in excelsis Deo magno tripudio cecinisse et pacem hominibus adoptasse*, D3, 50-51) and attending to the Christ (*debito ei officio ipsos adfuisse*, C3, 7-8).

In addition, the figure-text, CRVX SALVS, is an address to men. It is from Hrabanus as the author, of course, but the good angels themselves constitute this salvific message through the visual-textual units which represent them. The cross, shown here among the angels, allows man, long sick from sin, to take a blessed place among the angels in Heaven, completing their number.

The colors used in this *carmen* and the nature of the cross figure seem particularly appropriate for spiritual intelligences which communicate with man. Hrabanus accents the fact that the form is disjointed and suspended by calling it *suspensam* in the self-referential section dedicated to justifying how he has written the *In honorem*.<sup>274</sup> The ghostly blue color of the figures shines brilliantly, an appropriate

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<sup>273</sup> B3, 35.

<sup>274</sup> B3, 17; D3, 28.

color for angelic intelligences which manifest briefly in the material world to communicate God's messages to man.

In the very last line of the basis poem appears the idea of a numerical relationship between angels and mankind. The line runs, “[Christus] Et uestrum numerum conpleuit in arce polorum.” In the prose version, Hrabanus expands this to “[Christus] et uestrum numerum (ne diminutus propter perditores angelos remaneret) sanctis animabus conpleuit in arce caelesti.”<sup>275</sup> Here in a single line, Hrabanus asserts a complex set of ideas: that the angels were originally created in an exact number; that this number was reduced by the fall of the rebel angels; and that Christ restores and completes this number with the men saved through the cross. This seems to be a departure from Hrabanus' immediate source. Gregory's sermon contains the idea that an equal number of men will be saved as the number of angels that remained faithful to God,<sup>276</sup> but we look in vain for this idea in Hrabanus, while here Hrabanus is stating that the number is *completed* – that is, instead of the number of saved men and faithful angels corresponding, as in Gregory, the number of saved men corresponds to the number of fallen angels. The salvation of man is intended to fill the gaps in Heaven, as it were. This conception fits with the Carolingian view of a universe ordered according to the rational principles in the mind of the Creator.

### 3.2.3.2.5. The Function of the Angels is Praise

Let us consider Hrabanus' various assertions about the role or function played by the angels. The central section of the basis poem, Hrabanus' justification of his own writing (v. §3.2.3.2.6.), includes a somewhat cryptic reference to *sors* in verse 18, but in the prose translation this is explained as the Creator's intention in creating the angelic orders: “sors ipsa qua primitus ad laudandum Redemptorem sacra angelorum agmina ordinantur.”<sup>277</sup> In the commentary, he states that they harmonize

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<sup>275</sup> D3, 56-57.

<sup>276</sup> Gregorius Magnus, *XL Homiliarum in euangelia* 2, 34, 11. “Quia enim superna illa civitas ex angelis et hominibus constat, ad quam tantum credimus humanum genus ascendere, quantos illic contigit electos angelos remansisse, sicut scriptum est: *Statuit terminos gentium secundum numerum angelorum Dei (Deut. 32, 8)*... Quia enim tanta illuc ascensura creditur multitudo hominum, quanta multitudo remansit angelorum,...

<sup>277</sup> D3, 27.



in number and name with the holy cross, “ut aeterni regis victoriam collaudent et magnitudinem laetitiae suae honesto officio praedicent...”<sup>278</sup>. At Christ’s passion and resurrection, the Holy Scripture narrates that they “debito ei officio ipsos affuisse...”<sup>279</sup>, and Hrabanus exhorts his reader, “maximeque illos credi oportet huius rei esse deuotos, quia quanto dignius in eius milita militant, tanto deuotius eius triumphum laudant.”<sup>280</sup> A bit later, Hrabanus states, as mentioned above, “Quae etiam nomina ad Domini nostri Iesu Christi gloriam praedicandam satis conueniunt, eiusque magnificentiam et potentiam narrandam decenter competunt.”<sup>281</sup>

One notices the abundance of military metaphors. The angels are the *exercitus*, *militia*, etc. and they praise the *triumphum* or *victoriam* of Christ. However, the most striking feature of this list is that every one of these statements is concerned with praise. The angels exist, in Hrabanus’ eyes, primarily and almost exclusively to praise the Redeemer. The greater their dignity in his army, the more devotedly they do so. The angels’ praise and Hrabanus’ own converge, therefore, on the cross of Christ, uniting the author of the *In honorem* with the angel choirs he depicts.

### 3.2.3.2.6. The Purpose of the *In honorem*

In the middle of the basis poem is an extremely interesting digression. The first verse of it, verse 17, is also the first verse in which the figures of the cross arm are painted and their interwoven texts begin. As often, this situation renders the Latin somewhat cryptic, and we must turn to the prose translation for greater clarity.

Nam iure hanc statuit suspensam actusque modusque  
Sorsque crucem talem hanc aram, uera quibusque  
Virtutum ut testans promat uita ipsa senatum.  
Scripta bona iuste consurgunt in cruce uita.<sup>282</sup>

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<sup>278</sup> C3, 3-4.

<sup>279</sup> C3, 7-8.

<sup>280</sup> C3, 8-10.

<sup>281</sup> C3, 53-55.

<sup>282</sup> B3, 17-20.

What are the *actus*, *modus* and *sors* which (as Hrabanus asserts) have decreed the suspended cross we see here? What is the *vera vita ipsa* doing, exactly? What are the *scripta bona*? Let us examine the prose translation for answers.

Igitur actus iste formationis litterarum, et hic modus positionis nouem ordinum, nec non et sors ipsa qua primitus ad laudandum Redemptorem sacra angelorum agmina ordinantur, taliter suspensam iure statuit hanc crucem, aram scilicet pontificis et redemptoris nostri; ut ipsa uera uita in se contestans, ostendat laudantem uirtutum uenerabilem senatum, sicut decet, ut in cruce, quae est uera salus nostra, appareant bona et salubria scripta;<sup>283</sup>

The *actus* is the act of forming letters, while the *modus* is the mode of positioning the nine orders. That is to say, Hrabanus is here referring to the act of composition, both literary and pictorial, of the *In honorem* itself. The *sors* is the decree of the Creator who ordered the angel choirs so that they might praise the Redeemer. These things have rightly created the suspended cross form which we see in *carmen* 3, so that (*ut*) true life (i.e. Jesus Christ), making known within himself, can show the venerable and praising assembly of the powers (i.e., the angelic choirs), as it should be. All this so that (*ut*, again) good and health-giving writings may appear in the cross.

Hrabanus asserts here that the third *carmen* is a vehicle for the true life, Jesus Christ, to show the angelic choirs praising him, and that He does so in order that life-giving and good writings may appear in the cross. The *In honorem* is on the one hand a project in which Hrabanus is guided by Jesus Christ himself and on the other is itself the realization of Jesus' wish to show forth the angelic praise and that life-giving writings may appear in the form of a cross, as indeed the salvific message that the cross is salvation appears in the form of a cross here in *carmen* 3, formed by the angels and directed to the readers of the *In honorem*.

### 3.2.3.3. Sources

#### 3.2.3.3.1. Gregory the Great, *XL Homiliarum in euangelia*, 2, 34

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<sup>283</sup> D3, 25-32.

The homily of Gregory the Great quoted by Hrabanus is *In Evangelia* 34. In it the Roman pontiff comments on Luke 15:1-10, the parable of the lost sheep and lost drachma. In this first section of this sermon, Gregory explains that the lost sheep and lost drachma represent the human race, lost to sin after the Fall, and that the ninety-nine sheep which never went astray and the nine drachmas still in the possession of the woman of the parable represent the angels. In particular, the nine drachmas are asserted to represent the nine orders of angels, which is the occasion for Gregory's discussion of them quoted by Hrabanus.

Perhaps this is the reason why Hrabanus asserts that the angels harmonize in number with the cross. Gregory states immediately before the cited passage that man was created to complete the number of the elect:

Sed inter haec nequaquam relinquere negligenter debemus cur ista mulier, per quam Dei sapientia figuratur, decem drachmas habuisse perhibetur, ex quibus unam perdidit, quam cum quaereret invenit. Angelorum quippe et hominum naturam ad cognoscendum se Dominus condidit, quam dum consistere ad aeternitatem voluit, eam procul dubio ad suam similitudinem creavit. Decem vero drachmas habuit mulier, quia novem sunt ordines angelorum. Sed ut compleretur electorum numerus, homo decimus est creatus, qui a conditore suo nec post culpam periit, quia hunc aeterna sapientia per carnem miraculis coruscans ex lumine testae reparavit.<sup>284</sup>

So, the number 9, which characterizes both the drachmas and the angelic orders, is related in Gregory's exegesis with the need of God's wisdom – i.e., Christ – to go in search of the lost drachma, mankind.

Hrabanus' discussion of the names of the nine angelic choirs adds extensive Biblical citations. There is nothing of this kind in Gregory's sermon, in which only one of the Biblical verses cited here by Hrabanus appears, that of *Psalms* 9:5, "Sedes super Thronos, qui iudicas aequitatem." Perhaps this papal interpretation of the Psalm text as a reference to the angelic order of Thrones suggested the method which Hrabanus extended to demonstrate the relationship of each angelic name to the Savior.

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<sup>284</sup> Gregorius Magnus, *In Evangelia* 2, 34, 6, PL 76, 1249CD.

The juxtaposition of *officia* and *nomina* occurs also in Gregory's homily, which continues beyond the section quoted by Hrabanus with the line, "Sed cur istos persistentium angelorum choros enumerando perstrinximus, si non eorum quoque ministeria subtiliter exprimamus?" using *ministeria* instead of *officia*, with however a very similar meaning. Gregory continues:

Graeca etenima lingua angeli nuntii, archangeli vero summi nuntii, vocantur. Sciendum quoque quod angelorum vocabulum, nomen est officii, non naturae. Nam sancti illi coelestis patriae spiritus semper quidem sunt spiritus, sed semper vocari angeli nequaquam possunt, quia tunc solum sunt angeli, cum per eos aliqua nuntiantur; unde et per Psalmistam dicitur: *Qui facit angelos suos spiritus* (Ps. 103, 4). Ac si patenter dicat: Qui eos quos semper habet spiritus, etiam cum voluerit, angelos facit.<sup>285</sup>

This thought is not original with Gregory. If we turn to Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, a text widely read in Benedictine circles, and the comment on this verse, we find the same phrase, *nomen est officii non naturae*, repeated:

Spiritus autem sunt angeli; et cum spiritus sunt, non sunt angeli: cum mittuntur, fiunt angeli. Angelus enim officii nomen est, non naturae. Quaeris nomen huius naturae? Spiritus est. Quaeris officium? Angelus est. Ex eo quod est, spiritus est; ex eo quod agit, angelus est. Vide illud in homine. Nomen naturae homo, officii miles; nomen naturae vir, officii praeco. Homo ergo fit praeco, id est qui erat homo fit praeco, non qui erat praeco fit homo. Sic ergo qui erant iam spiritus conditi a creatore deo, facit eos angelos, mittendo eos nuntiare quod iusserit.<sup>286</sup>

Augustine puts a similar comment into his reflection, in the course of commenting *Psalm* 135, on the phrase *Deo deorum*. In this reflection he discusses places in the Scriptures which seem to refer to other gods, or places in which men are called gods. Turning to the angels, he remarks that angels do not seem to be called gods anywhere.

Si ergo nusquam in divinis eloquiis reperitur sanctos angelos appellatos deos, ea mihi causa potissimum occurrit, ne isto nomine homines ad hoc aedificarentur, ut ministerium vel servitium religionis, quae Graece liturgia vel latria dicitur, sanctis angelis exhiberent, quod nec ipsi exhiberi ab

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<sup>285</sup> Gregorius Magnus, *In Evangelia* 2, 34, 8 PL 76, 1250C.

<sup>286</sup> Augustinus, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 103, 15, PL 44, 1348-1349.

hominibus volunt, nisi illi deo qui et ipsorum et hominum deus est. Unde multo utilius angeli vocantur, qui Latine nuntii nuncupantur, ut per nomen non substantiae, sed officii, satis intellegamus illum deum a nobis eos colli velle, quem nuntiant.<sup>287</sup>

Here Augustine uses the phrase *nomen non substantiae sed officii* – a minor variation. Augustine’s thought, that the angels “illum deum a nobis ... colli velle, quem nuntiant,” could serve as a motto for Hrabanus’ disposition of the angels in the third *carmen*.

An important difference between Hrabanus and his source is the development of the character of the individual angelic choirs based upon these names. Gregory discusses the *ministerium* of each individual order, basing his discussion on the name and its etymology. Hrabanus does not attempt to do so: his treatment of any special character of the different orders is limited to finding their names in Biblical passages linked with Jesus.

Gregory’s sermon also treats the three angels named in the Scriptures. The influence of Gregory’s discussion of the meaning of Raphael as “*medicina Dei*” is clear in the identical description of Raphael in verse 28 as “*medicina Dei*.” Gregory discusses Michael as “*quis ut Deus*” and states that his name and his action are identical in effect: “*Et quoties mirae virtutis aliquid agitur, Michael mitti perhibetur, ut ex ipso actu et nomine detur intelligi quia nullus potest facere quod facere praevallet Deus.*”<sup>288</sup> Gregory’s etymology of Gabriel as “*fortitudo Dei*,” however, does not seem to appear in Hrabanus’ *carmen*.

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<sup>287</sup> Augustinus, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 135, 3, PL 44, 1757.

<sup>288</sup> Gregorius Magnus, *XL Homiliarum in evangelia*, 2, 34, 9, PL 76, 1251A.

### **3.2.4. *Carmen 4***

#### **3.2.4.1. Form**

##### **3.2.4.1.1. Visual Elements**

*Carmen 4* combines images and a line-cross. The poem is a perfect 37 x 37 square. The middle verse and the mesostich are differentiated to create a one-letter thick cross dividing the square field into four square quadrants. At the center of each quadrant is the image of an angel.

The upper two squares contain Seraphim each with a head, two tiny hands and feet, and six wings, which hide any possible torso the Seraphim may or may not have. A single column of letters separates the tip of their horizontal wings from the edge of the field and the vertical arm of the cross figure and a single verse separates their feet from the horizontal arm. Meanwhile, their upper wings reach the top of the field to include one letter from the first verse and are painted out beyond the field in most of the 9th-century manuscripts (*A* stretches the frame upward, leaving empty space above the text field, to avoid this). The lower two square contain Cherubim, depicted as human figures in tunic with two wings. One column of letters separates their outer hand from the edge of the field, while two columns separate the inner wingtip from the vertical arm of the cross figure. The outer arm of each Cherub (extending to within one letter of the edge) is longer than both their inner arm (separated by three letters from the cross figure) and their wings (separated by two letters from both edge and cross figure). Three verses separate the Cherubim from the horizontal arm and they rest one verse above the bottom of the field.

All manuscripts show the Seraphim with a bright reddish color and the Cherubim more of an orangish-yellow.

The simplicity of the cross figure makes it very easy to read the interwoven verses contained within. The angel figures, being a single compact block on the page, albeit of irregular outline, are also relatively easy to read.

### 3.2.4.1.2. Textual Elements

The titles of the fourth *carmen* are very similar. In A9 Hrabanus gives the title, “De Cherubim et Seraphim circa crucem scriptis et significatione eorum,”<sup>289</sup> while in D4 it reads, “DE FORMA QUARTI SCEMATIS, UBI CHERUBIM ET SERAPHIM SUNT IUXTA CRUCEM DEPICTA.”<sup>290</sup> Just as in *carmen* 3, we see a double title in A9 and only one element appearing in D4, but here the expression is more varied – according to the A9 title the subjects of the *carmen* are the angels themselves and their meaning, while in D4 it is the form of the fourth *schema* where the angels are depicted. It is interesting that Hrabanus uses *scriptis* in A9 and *depicta* in D4.

The basis poem begins with an exhortation to the angels to praise the name of Jesus (v. 1-9). It then describes how first angels (v. 9-15) praise the Redemption accomplished by Jesus on the cross, going into considerable detail on the individual steps of this process, and then how men (v. 16-23) do the same. The last section of the basis poem expounds how the forms of both the Cherubim (v. 24-29) and the Seraphim (v. 29-37) prefigure the cross.

The commentary as usual starts with a description of the *carmen* as a whole. It continues with a reference to tradition and Hrabanus’ approach to it in his theological interpretation. He then quotes the Scriptural passage which describes the form of the Seraphim, *Isaiah* 6:1-3, and then gives his exegesis of how this form prefigures the cross. He concludes the commentary with the same treatment of the Cherubim, although he starts in on the interpretation for a sentence before introducing the Scriptural basis, *III Kings* 6:23-24. As always, the final paragraph of the commentary clarifies the interwoven verses.

The interwoven verses consist of two verses praising the cross and giving it four epithets – *arx alma*, *fabbrica sancta salutis*, *thronus regis*, and *conciliation mundi* – which are positioned in the four cross arms. The interwoven verses in the Seraphim and Cherubim take up and restate the arguments Hrabanus has made concerning

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<sup>289</sup> A9, 9-10.

<sup>290</sup> D4, 1-2.

how the form of these angels proclaims and prefigures the cross shape. Thus, the interwoven verses in the angelic figures explain their own shape.

### 3.2.4.1.3. Cognitive Elements

The relationships between texts in *carmen* 4 fall into the normal complex parameters of the *In honorem*. In several passages, the prose translation expands massively on the cryptic basis poem. The first of these passages is B4, 8-9 which corresponds to D4, 18-22, in which Hrabanus asserts that the Seraphim indicate with the position of their wings that the cross is the altar of God. The next is the description of the Redemption contained in the section describing the angelic praise of the cross (B4, 11-15 and D4, 25-32); the following is the corresponding description in the human praises (B4, 16-22 and D4, 35-48). There are a few cases of *licentiae* in the basis poem and interwoven verses which Hrabanus corrects without mention in his description of the interwoven verses in the commentary, namely *thriumphum* and *coondunt*, both in verse 27. The two titles respectively describe the Cherubim and Seraphim as written (*de Cherubim et Seraphim ... scriptis*) and as painted (*Cherubim et Seraphim ... depicta*), while the commentary begins by describing the *carmen* as a whole using both words for the cross (*crux Domini... depicta conscriptaque*). Hrabanus suggests by this usage that in the *In honorem* there is no real difference between painting and writing.

The images of this *carmen* are coordinated in the arrangement of the angel figures around the cross figure and the repetition of similar fiery colors for the bodies of the angels.

An element repeated from *carmen* 3 is the position of the Seraphim at the top of the page and the Cherubim just below them. The arrangement of epithets describing the cross in the interwoven verses within the cross figure also reflect their position on the page: the upper cross arm calls the cross *arx alma* – reflecting the usual position of an *arx* – while the bottom arm calls the cross by the more humble title, from the world of every-day work, of *fabrica salutis*. The right arm gives the cross the forceful



and politically significant title of *thronus* while the left arm offers the more gentle epithet *conciliatio mundi*.

### 3.2.4.2. Content

#### 3.2.4.2.1. Nature of Angels and their Relationship with Men

Certain of the views which Hrabanus expresses in *carmen* 4 concerning the nature of the angels are repeated from those in *carmen* 3. Just as in *carmen* 3, he depicts them here as bright, numinous beings emerging from the background of matter by showing them separate from the edges of their frame and using bright colors for the angel bodies. In addition, there is a similar view of the relationship between men and angels (v. §3.2.3.2.4.). Hrabanus does not hesitate to address the angels in the imperative mood and exhort them to praise the name of Jesus at the beginning of the poem, “O Cherubim, Seraphim, de caelo nomen Iesus iam / Exaltate: ...”,<sup>291</sup> while the angels later address moral exhortations to men:

... Pandunt  
Pennis osque suum Seraphim ut iam prope tempus  
Quo carnalis eat luxus dicant uitiaque hinc.<sup>292</sup>

Men and angels are also united by praising the cross. He describes the praises offered by angels and men to the cross in two parallel sections, introduced by “... quoque voto / edunt ...”,<sup>293</sup> and, “... quae ora probant ...”,<sup>294</sup> with *ora* pointing to the corporeality of men as compared to angels. The prose translation makes this meaning of *ora* quite clear by expanding it to “Hocque omnium fidelium ora probant.”<sup>295</sup>

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<sup>291</sup> B4, 1-2.

<sup>292</sup> B4, 29-31.

<sup>293</sup> B4, 9-10.

<sup>294</sup> B4, 16.

<sup>295</sup> D4, 33.

The angel figures and Hrabanus are in their way united as well. In his commentary, Hrabanus makes certain arguments about the form of the angels, discussed in the next section. The angel figures state the same thing in their constitutive interwoven verses, thus establishing a unity of praise and thought between the angels and the faithful.

### 3.2.4.2.2. The Forms of the Seraphim and Cherubim prefigure the Cross

It is clear from the wealth of discussion focusing on this one particular point is that the primary purpose of *carmen* 4 is to demonstrate the forms of the Seraphim and Cherubim, as described in various passages of the Old Testament, are prefigurations of the cross. Every textual element in the carmen contains some discussion of this point. Hrabanus states his purpose in the first paragraph of his *expositio*.

Quae [*i.e. Seraphim et Cherubim*] ideo in hoc opus hic introducta sunt, ut ostenderetur quanta prouisione ac dispensatione diuina clementia humano generi semper salutem suam procurauerit, cum et in ipsis spiritibus angelicis per prophetica reuelationem, speciem redemptionis nostrae ante uideri uoluit, et per opera prophetica in tabernaculi templique aditis constructa, id est, in ipsis Cherubim iuxta arcam ultra uelum positis, aeternam propitiationem mundo intimare decreuit.<sup>296</sup>

He contrasts the *prophetica reuelatio* by which we learn the form of the Seraphim and the *opera prophetica* by which we learn the form of the Cherubim, since the Cherubim were actually sculpted and placed in the Temple of Solomon. Hrabanus' stated purpose for this is to show the greatness of God's foreknowledge and dispensation in doing so.

Hrabanus devotes a whole section of the basis poem to the form and position of the Cherubim in the Temple.

Stant Cherubim, haecque arae assistunt arcaeque;  
Hic haec labbara dant signo rite, et satis ora  
Sancta ara sapiunt, una quoque sacra ope fiunt;  
Vncta triumphum quae conatus fercula condunt,  
Laetaque distensis ducunt haec facta beando,

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<sup>296</sup> C4, 3-10.

En alis sensim tradunt alma altaque....<sup>297</sup>

The first line indicates their position in the Temple between the ara and the arca. In the prose translation, Hrabanus explains more fully, “Cherubim ergo illa, quae in tabernaculi templique constructione iuxta arcam post altare thymiamatis stabant ....”<sup>298</sup> He goes on to explain that the extended wings – *distensis...alis* – indicate the high, happy and sweet deeds of Christ: *Laeta ... haec facta ... tradunt alma altaque.*

Immediately afterwards, beginning with last word of verse 29 quoted above, Hrabanus associates the shape of the Seraphim, too, to the cross.

... Pandunt  
Pennis osque suum Seraphim ut iam prope tempus  
Quo carnalis eat luxus dicant uitiaque hinc.  
Tensa ac brachia saluantis hic officio dant,<sup>299</sup>

The Seraphim open their mouth to sing that it is time to reject carnal luxury and vices, which, as is clear from the prose translation,

Ipsa quoque Seraphim ad hoc pandunt os suum ut cum caelos et terram  
plenos esse gloria Dei praedicent, iam prope esse tempus quo carnalis hinc  
abeat luxus et uitia recedant dicant.<sup>300</sup>

... is Hrabanus' summary of the Seraphim's song about the glory of the Lord filling heaven and earth. The angels repeat in their form the arms of the Savior stretched forth on the cross.

Hrabanus goes into far more detail in explaining how exactly the forms of the angels described in the Old Testament prefigure the form of the cross in his commentary.

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<sup>297</sup> B4, 24-29.

<sup>298</sup> D4, 49-50.

<sup>299</sup> B4, 29-32.

<sup>300</sup> D4, 57-60.

He begins, in the opposite order from the basis poem, with the Seraphim. Using his favored method of interpretation, the rhetorical question, he writes:

Quid ergo situs iste senarum alarum Seraphim praefigurat, nisi crucis Christi imaginem? Illae quippe alae quae superiorem partem crucis sui, id est faciem uelabant, quod sursum ad caput erectae sint, necesse est ob hoc superiorem partem crucis demonstrent manifestum est. Illae autem quae infimam partem, id est pedes uelabant, quomodo nisi deorsum demissas esse credendum est, et ob hoc inferiorem partem crucis significare. Illae autem duae quae ad uolandum extensae sunt, quid alium quam transuersum sanctae crucis lignum, in quo brachia et manus extensae sunt Domini, significant?

Et proinde in positione sex alarum Seraphim, manifeste totius crucis Christi signaculum expressum esse nemo sapiens dubitat.<sup>301</sup>

Here Hrabanus gives a simple geometrical identification of the three sets of wings with the parts of the cross.

When it comes to the Cherubim, Hrabanus makes a similar argument that the geometric shape of the Cherubim – described in the passage of *III Kings* which he cites, *decem cubitorum altitudinis et decem cubitos haberent a summitate alae usque ad alae alterius summmitatem*<sup>302</sup> – and the extension of their wings reflect the form of the cross, but in contrast to his argumentation concerning Seraphim, he does not make any reference to the etymology or meaning of the name Cherubim. Instead he adds a reflection based on the position of the Cherubim in the Temple.

Haec ergo iuxta arcam et propitiatorium stabant, quia ueram propitiationem in incarnatione Saluatoris humano generi demonstrabant. Haec et in modum crucis alas extensas semper habebant, quia perpetuam nostram redemptionem in passione Christi saluandorum rite intimabant.<sup>303</sup>

Their position near the *propitiatorium* is right, since they indicate the true propitiation of Jesus for the human race.

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<sup>301</sup> C4, 25-37.

<sup>302</sup> C4, 52-54. The passage is *III Kings* 6:23-24.

<sup>303</sup> C4, 59-64.

The interwoven verses that make up the angelic figures repeat this same argumentation. The Seraph above the right cross arm states,

SIGNA CRVCIS CHRISTI AST SERAPHIM CAELESTIA MONSTRANT  
PENNARUM ATQVE SITV HAC CVNCTA SACRATA PROBANT.

while the other contains the following verses:

NAM HAEC SOCIA EXSVLTANT CELEBRANDO HAC LAVDE SVPERNVM  
CONCLAMANTQVE TRIBVS SCEPTRA SABAOTH VICIBVS.

The first Seraph repeats the assertion that the form of the wings indicates the cross of Christ, while the second refers to the triple acclamation discussed in the commentary.

The Cherubim, also take up the arguments Hrabanus has made in the commentary, with the right Cherub asserting that their extended wings reflect the arms of Christ stretched on the cross:

HINC SIGNANT CHERVBIM HAEC LABBARA SANCTA TRIVMPHVM,  
DISTENSISQVE ALIS BRACHIA TENSA NOTANT

and the left Cherub focusing on their position in the Temple and its indication of Christ's propitiation.

QVAE LATERE ASSISTVNT ARCAE ET SACRA OPERCVLA CONDVNT  
FACTAQVE PROPITIA OFFICIO IPSA PROBANT

Finally, the very arrangement of the angelic images around the cross figure points to the relationship of these entities to the cross of Christ. They appear on both sides of the cross, above and below. They turn their heads inward towards the cross in adoration.

#### **3.2.4.2.3. Role of Fire in Redemption.**

Hrabanus devotes a number of aspects of this *carmen* to the theme of fire, and so pays homage to the fiery nature indicated by the name Seraphim. In contrast, although he gives the etymology of the Cherubim in *carmen* three, in *carmen* four there is almost no mention of it. First of all, the images of the four angels are painted in red and orangish-yellow, evoking the colors of fire. Hrabanus refers to the meaning of the word *Seraphim* as “burning” in the second verse of the basis poem, as he tells the angels that their fire shines forth by means of their utterance: “... ignis nam hinc vester fame lucet”<sup>304</sup>. The corresponding prose translation adds the rare indication of the etymology of Cherubim: “quia ignis amoris et sapientiae vestrae ita bene ardet, si puro fame in Redemptoris laude splendeat...”<sup>305</sup> There is also a later reflection on the meaning of the name Seraphim and the appropriateness of fire to the cross, both because the adversarial powers have been defeated and all the sins of the world are consumed in the cross and because the cross reminds the elect of God of the fire which the Lord said he wished to send into the earth.

Bene quoque ipsa incendentes uel ardentis interpretantur, quia illam formam demonstrant, in qua superatae sunt omnes aduersariae potestates, et totius mundi peccata consumpta atque deleta sunt, immo ignem illum electis Dei commendant, quem se Dominus in terram mittere et ut arderet se uelle testatus est.<sup>306</sup>

Hrabanus relates the fire of the Seraphim both to the purging fire of the cross, destroying enemy powers and burning up sins, and to the fire which Jesus describes himself as coming to bring and wishing were already burning.

This idea of Christ’s passion effecting the redemption of sinful mankind by burning up their sins finds an echo in the description of the redemption in the basis poem, in the section which describes the angelic praises. Hrabanus writes at the beginning of this passage, in verse 11, “cum [Christus] combussit iniqua.” As usual he makes his thoughts clearer in the prose translation, which runs: “cum in hac ara secundum suum propositum passus, consumpsit flamma passionis suae iniquitates et peccata

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<sup>304</sup> B4, 2.

<sup>305</sup> D4, 5-6.

<sup>306</sup> C4, 37-42.

scelerum nostrorum;<sup>307</sup> the passion of Christ is the flame through which our iniquities and sins are burned away, freeing us from the power of the devil.

#### **3.2.4.2.4. Redemption as Victorious Warfare against Devil**

In the rest of Hrabanus' description of redemption here, military metaphors abound. This theme begins in verse 5 of the basis poem, "Vicit tristia tunc rex,..." but is fully developed in the continuation of the passage cited concerning the role of fire in redemption.

En passus cunctosque fugavit calce potentes;  
Et districta rupit excussi claustra celidri.  
Et ueteres actus tersit, dedit ipsa benignus  
Quis steterat Adam sons regna Sabaoth in arce.<sup>308</sup>

Here Christ is described as the military victor, driving powers to flight with his heel, breaking the gates of Hell, and granting kingdoms in the fortress (of Heaven).

The cross itself is called in verses 20-21, as in many other places in the *In honorem, vexillum*, but also *framea*, *sors belli* and *insigne decorum*, and it drives out the enemy and breaks his unjust weapons. The use of the metaphor of the *vexillum crucis* is widespread in Christian authors before Hrabanus, but in this poem it receives particular prominence.

#### **3.2.4.3. Sources**

##### **3.2.4.3.1. Juvencus, *Evangelicae Historiae***

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<sup>307</sup> D4, 25-27.

<sup>308</sup> B4, 11-15.

Perrin<sup>309</sup> sees an echo of Juvencus, *Evangelicae Historiae*, 4, 701, “Liberet et miserum confixum stipite regum,”<sup>310</sup> in verse 18 of the fourth carmen: “In cruce factorem, confixum in stipite regum.”<sup>311</sup>

### 3.2.4.3.2. Etymologies of the name *Seraphim*

The interpretation of the Hebrew name *Seraphim* as *incendentes vel ardentis* is part of a long tradition which begins with Jerome’s treatise *De Hebraicis nominibus*.<sup>312</sup> These translations appear in Isidore of Seville<sup>313</sup> and in Gregory the Great’s homily concerning the nine angel choirs, *Homelia in Evangelia* 34, discussed under *carmen* 3. The tradition is also attested among earlier Carolingian authors, appearing in the *Opus Caroli Regis contra Synodum* in book 3, where the Seraphim are described as *eius amore ardentis*,<sup>314</sup> and in *De divinis officiis*, a work uncertainly attributed to Alcuin,<sup>315</sup> and Sedulius Scotus’ *Collectanea in omnes B. Pauli Epistolas*.<sup>316</sup>

### 3.2.4.3.3. Traditions on the Form of the Cherubim and Seraphim

Before giving his explanation of the meaning of the Cherubim and Seraphim, Hrabanus has a very interesting reflection on the role of tradition in his interpretations.

Proinde, licet multa multi de habitu et situ horum animalium interpretati sint, et alia atque alia diuerso stylo non diuersa fide scriptitarint; mihi tamen non incongrue uidetur, salua maiorum traditione, ipsa animalia habitu suo, sanctae crucis exemplari figuram, cum et interualla ipsius localiter seruent,

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<sup>309</sup> In Perrin, “Les lectures de Raban Maur,” *op. cit.*, 2010.

<sup>310</sup> Juvencus, *Evangelicae Historiae*, 4, 701, *PL* 19, 337A.

<sup>311</sup> B4, 18.

<sup>312</sup> Jerome, *De Hebraicis nominibus*, *PL* 23, col. 830.

<sup>313</sup> In Isidore’s *De ordine creaturarum*, *PL* 83, col. 917C.

<sup>314</sup> Incertus (Theodulf of Orléans?), *Opus contra Synodum (Libri Carolini)*, *PL* 98, 1141B.

<sup>315</sup> Incertus (Alcuin?), *De divinis officiis*, *PL* 101, 1254D.

<sup>316</sup> Sedulius Scotus, *Collectanea in omnes B. Pauli epistolas*, *PL* 103, 198A.



et sursum atque deorsum, in dexteram atque sinistram situ suo similiter portendant.<sup>317</sup>

Hrabanus begins by accenting the existence of a complex tradition: many people have written many different things about the angels. He emphasizes that the discrepancies are due to style and not differences in faith. He takes personal responsibility for the interpretation he is about to propose, while maintaining that it is compatible with the tradition he has received: *salva maiorum traditione*.

A brief glance through the tradition reveals these *multa* that the *multi* have said. Ambrose commented on the six-winged form of the Seraphim and sees the pairs of wings covering the heads and feet of the Seraphim and the apparent contradiction between standing and flying as an indication of the nature of time and the inaccessibility of the past and future, especially when thinking of God who has no beginning nor end.<sup>318</sup>

Jerome, who comments on this passage in his letter to Pope Damasus, reports that Marius Victorinus saw in this passage, with two Seraphim with six wings each, a reference to the twelve apostles. He adds the suggestion that we can also count the twelve stones of the altar and the twelve gems of the high priest.<sup>319</sup> Jerome asserts explicitly that the Seraphim are hiding not their own heads and feet, but those of God. Obviously this understanding of their posture is not compatible with that understood by Hrabanus.

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<sup>317</sup> C4, 11-17.

<sup>318</sup> in Ambrose, *De Spiritu Sancto*, 3, 21, 161, *PL* 16, col. 813C-814A.

<sup>319</sup> Jerome, *Epistula ad Damasum*, 6, *PL* 22, col. 365.

Concerning the Cherubim, although Hrabanus repeats in his commentary *In Libros II Paralipomenon*<sup>320</sup> Jerome's off-hand remark in his *Commentariorum in Ezechielem Prophetam* concerning the two statues of Cherubim in the Temple: "Alii vero qui philosophorum stultam sequuntur sapientiam, duo hemisphaeria in duobus templi Cherubim, nos et Antipodas, quasi supinos et cadentes homines suspicantur,"<sup>321</sup> but this does not appear in the *In honorem*. The source would be Bede's *De Templo*. The description of the large statues of Cherubim in the Temple of Salomon appear in *3 Kings* 6:23. Bede comments on this passage thus:

Alae cum in sanctorum hominum figura ponuntur, virtutes significant eorum quibus ad coelestia volare semper, atque in his conversationem delectantur habere. Cum vero in significatione angelorum ponuntur alae, quid apertius quam gratiam demonstrant perpetuae et indefectivae felicitatis eorum qui semper in coelestibus in ministerio sui persistunt auctoris? Vel certe quia levitate spiritalis naturae sunt praediti, ita ut ubicumque voluerint, statim quasi volando perveniant; et hic cum alis figurati, et prophetae cum alis sunt ostensi. Bene autem dicitur quia quinque cubitorum fuerit alia Cherub una, et quinque cubitorum ala Cherub altera: quia virtutes angelicae legem Dei, quae in quinque libris descripta est, indefessa devotione custodiunt: diligendo videlicet Deum et Dominum suum ex omnibus viribus suis, diligendo et proximos tamquam seipsos: plenitudo enim legis est charitas. Proximi autem eorum, et ipsi ad invicem sunt angelici spiritus et homines electi, eorum aequae concives. Unde utraque alia ejusdem esse mensurae perhibetur, quia videlicet eadem ipsa devotione, qua se alterutrum in Deo diligunt, nostram quoque ad se ascendentium societatem desiderant;<sup>322</sup>

He describes the wings as symbols of the grace of perpetual felicity of the angels and also the lightness of their spiritual nature, able to appear immediately wherever they wish to be, as if they were flying. The five cubits of each wing are referred to the five books of Moses; their position near each other shows that the saved and the angels are near to one another; and their identical proportions show their desire for an equal devotion to God and one's neighbor.

The fact that the Jews had two Cherubim standing in the Temple, in obedience to divine command, appears in the discussions provoked in the West by the iconoclast

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<sup>320</sup> Hrabanus Maurus, *In Libros II Paralipomenon*, PL 109, col. 409C.

<sup>321</sup> Jerome, *Commentariorum in Ezechielem Prophetam*, PL 25, col. 22A.

<sup>322</sup> Bede, *De Templo Salomonis*, PL 91, col. 764C-765A.

controversy. Pope Hadrian I mentions them in his important letter 56 to the Emperor Constantine and Empress Irene, celebrating the ascension of these iconodoule rulers to the throne in Constantinople. He asserts, citing the authority of Jerome, that just as God gave the Jews the tables of the Law and the two Cherubim statues, so He has given the Christians the cross and the sacred images.<sup>323</sup>

The *Opus Caroli Regis contra Synodum* takes up a position against this statement, while carefully avoiding any mention that it is that of a Roman pontiff. All of chapter nineteen in the first book is dedicated to arguing against this idea,<sup>324</sup> by incorporating the use of images in the Old Covenant among the other aspects which the arrival of the New Testament spiritualized or abrogated. The author of the *Opus* denies that these Cherubim were present *ad adorandum*. The twentieth chapter provides an exhaustive exegesis of every detail of both these Cherubim, made by Solomon for the Temple, and the Cherubim carved on the orders of Moses for the tabernacle.<sup>325</sup> Primarily, the two Cherubim represent the two Covenants, as the author summarizes at the end of chapter twenty: “Uterque enim cherub, ut diximus, et angelos et Testamenta designant.”<sup>326</sup>

After this review of the traditional interpretations of the forms of the Seraphim and Cherubim, it is clear that Hrabanus’ interpretation of their form as a prefiguration of the cross of Christ, as explored above in section 2, is entirely original. There is no trace of it in earlier writings, even though the presence of veneration of the cross in the everyday life of Christians is clear from the various voices in the Carolingian-Byzantine image debate which compare the ancient images of Cherubim in the Temple with the crosses and images of Christian churches.

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<sup>323</sup> Hadrian I Papa, *Epistula 56*, PL 96, col. 1233A.

<sup>324</sup> Incertus (Theodulf of Orléans?), *Opus Caroli Regis contra Synodum (Libri Carolini)*, 1, 19, PL 98, col. 1047C-1049A.

<sup>325</sup> Incertus (Theodulf of Orléans?), *ibid.*, 1, 20, PL 98, col. 1049B-1052C.

<sup>326</sup> Incertus (Theodulf of Orléans?), *ibid.*, 1, 20, PL 98, col. 1052C.

### 3.2.5. *Carmen 5*

#### 3.2.5.1. Form

##### 3.2.5.1.1. Visual Elements

*Carmen 5*, just as the previous *carmen*, combines two typologies, but the fifth poem surrounds the single-line cross figure with geometrical shapes rather than images. The central line-cross is centered, so that the middle verse and the mesostich make up its interwoven verses, and divides the field into four equal quadrants. The poem is thirty-five lines by thirty-five columns, so that each quadrant is seventeen verses by seventeen columns. Within each quadrant is a hollow square. The four squares are each ten letters long on each side and one letter thick. Therefore they enclose thirty-six letters each.

In all the manuscripts except *V*, the cross is yellow with red letters while the squares are red with yellow letters, a color coordination which implies visually a relation between the figures.

The hollow squares are slightly off-center with respect to their quadrants. If they were eleven letters per side, they could be centered within the quadrants. On the other hand, that would mean that each would include forty letters. In reality, they are separated by four letters from the outer edges of the field and by only three letters from the cross figure. They edge slightly towards the cross figure.

The middle verse and the mesostich are identical, so that the same interwoven verse is read across the horizontal cross arm and up and down the vertical cross arm. Hrabanus takes a certain licence here by having a letter read “Y” in the interwoven verse and “U” in the basis verse (in verse 5). The order of reading of the figures is from upper left corner across and then down, and then starts again from the upper left corner down and across the bottom. This moderately complicated order is carefully clarified in the commentary.

### 3.2.5.1.2. Textual Elements

The two titles are, “De quattuor figuris tetragonis circa crucem positis et spiritali aedificio domus Dei,”<sup>327</sup> and, “DE QVINTAE FIGVRAE FORMA, VBI QVATTVOR TETRAGONI CIRCA CRUCEM CONSISTVNT.”<sup>328</sup> Both state the importance of the four squares but the first title adds the *spiritalis* (sic) *aedificium*. Here, as we shall see, these two aspects are the parts and the whole of one theme.

The basis poem begins with an appeal to the cross, modelled on the appeals to the Muses of classical poets, to grant to Hrabanus to sing rightly the praises of the cross and how it joins heavenly and earthly beings (v. 1-4). Hrabanus then addresses the apostles and martyrs, praising them for placing the foundation of the House of God, of which the cross is both foundation and column (v. 5-13). Next the poet addresses Christ directly as the one who placed the cross erect in the world as a new trophy (v. 14-16). He returns in verses 17-21 to speaking to the cross, calling it the foundation and hall of Christ, and praising it as more beautiful than any flowering plant, taller than cedar and more precious than Parian marble, since it joins the faithful as living stones into the *spiritalis aedificium*. Hrabanus describes how the patriarchs and prophets also laid the foundations of the faith and the House of God (v. 22-30). The poem finishes with an auto-reflection on how the arrangement of cross-figure and squares both shows and states the way to Heaven (v. 31-35).

In his commentary, Hrabanus begins as usual by describing the *carmen* as a whole and stating its purpose, *ad ostendendum caelestis aedificii structuram, Ecclesiae uidelicet Dei uiui, quae et domus eius est, columna et firmamentum ueritatis*.<sup>329</sup> This summary of the entire *carmen* is an obvious echo of 1 Tim 3:15, *domus Dei ... quae est Ecclesia Dei uiui, columna et firmamentum ueritatis*, which, curiously, Hrabanus does not actually cite anywhere. He proceeds by demonstrating, via Biblical citations, how the good angels, Christ and men all belong to this Temple. Christ is the cornerstone and the faithful are the living stones built over this foundation. As the

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<sup>327</sup> A9, 11-12.

<sup>328</sup> D5, 2-3.

<sup>329</sup> C5, 3-5.

first stones in this foundation, Hrabanus takes the patriarchs, prophets, apostles and martyrs, and lists the activities by which they laid the foundations of the House of God: by acting, by preaching, and by suffering. He discusses how the metaphor of cut and dressed stones is appropriate for the hearts of the faithful, who cannot be moved from their faith by adversity, even death. The cross is the foundation of the entire Temple and House of God, since the due worship of God would not be completed if the true Priest had not become the victim on the cross.

The interwoven verses in the cross-figure are identical horizontally and vertically and simply state that the cross of the Lord are the foundation and hall of Christ. The description of the interwoven verses in the squares goes into great detail to point out that there are thirty-six letters, which is six squared. Hrabanus does not mention here his considerations of six as a perfect number, the number of days of Creation, but that is surely present in the background of his choice. Each interwoven verse identifies one square with one of the four founding groups he has discussed in the commentary.

### **3.2.5.1.3. Cognitive Elements**

The prose translation is particularly useful in understanding the last section of the basis poem, where Hrabanus reflects on the *carmen* itself.

The positioning of the squares representing the four founding groups of the House of God around the cross, but more especially the fact that they are slightly off-center in the direction of the cross, expresses visually what Hrabanus states at the end of the commentary, that the cross is the true foundation of the entire House of God. The figures from the New Testament are placed above those from the Old Testament, a superiority which is also reflected in the greater intimacy of address: Hrabanus addresses them directly while simply describing the Old Testament figures from the *priore populo*.<sup>330</sup>

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<sup>330</sup> C5, 46.

The sections of the basis poem which deal with the apostles and martyrs, on the one hand, and the patriarchs and prophets on the other, begin with the first verse which includes bivalent letters incorporated into the figures representing these groups – a set of constitutive relationships. Verse 6 explains the choice of placing the apostles and martyrs *culmen in ipsum* of the poem.

The overall structure of the poem is particularly coherent. The square foundation stones of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles and martyrs are slotted in to the ultimate foundation of the cross, where Christ the corner-stone suffered as both priest and victim to create the true House of God, on which the faithful are built as living stones.

### **3.2.5.2. Content**

#### **3.2.5.2.1. The Church as Spiritual Building**

The grand message of *carmen* 5 is devoted to presenting the church as the house of God. The theme is aptly introduced by the mention of the *spiritale aedificium* in the title. The basis poem abounds with metaphors drawn from the world of architecture and construction: *culmen* (v. 6), *fundamine summo* (v. 8), *insita, constructa* (v. 9), *firmata columna* (v. 11), *aeternam formam tegminis* (v. 12-13), *aulam regis et sponsi* (v. 13), *fundamen et aulae* (v. 18), *quadratas petras* (v. 21), *fundamenta fundo domatis* (v. 23), *tectum* (v. 25), *uiuam aulam* (v. 26), *haec aula* (v. 29), *structio vitae* (v. 30), *templo* (v. 33), *quattor ... rupibus istis* (v. 34), *perfectam domum* (v. 35), *angulus ipse* (v. 35).

The commentary puts good angels, men and Christ into this one building and clarifies the special roles. Hrabanus cites Biblical passages to establish that each group is part of the House of God. For men and Christ, he naturally has a verse at hand calling them *templum* – 1 Cor 3:16 and John 2:19,21, respectively, although for angels he has to resort to the promise that in the resurrection from the dead men will be like angels, which is not the strongest connection imaginable. Christ is of course the cornerstone and the foundation of the House; Hrabanus cites *1 Cor.* 3:11, “Fundamentum enim aliud nemo potest ponere praeter id quod positum est, qui est Christus Jesus,” and *Acts* 4:12, “Non est aliud sub caelo datum nomen hominibus in

quo oporteat nos saluos fieri.” The four groups of patriarchs, prophets, apostles and martyrs are the first foundation stones; the faithful are the living stones built on top of the same foundation of Christ and his cross that these leading groups are built on. All of these entities are united by the cross, the foundation and also the column and trophy of the house.

The role of this spiritual building is clarified by typology. The material Temple built by Solomon in Jerusalem is taken as a type for this spiritual building, which is revealed as the true Temple of God. The cross is both its base and its supporting column, because the purpose of the building is to offer worship to God, and the supreme worship was the act of sacrifice on the cross when Christ the supreme high priest became the victim.

All of the visual elements contribute to this teaching as well. The poem appears to be the foundation of a building with its squares set into the cross which serves to regulate their position. The inner relationship of the founding groups to cross is expressed by the use of inverted colors for them in all manuscripts but V. The viewers can consider themselves as living stones to be inserted into the spiritual building built upon this foundation.

#### **3.2.5.2.2. Internal Differences of the Four Founding Groups**

Within the four groups singled out by Hrabanus as the foundations of the Church, there are certain elements of identity and certain differences. Their equal role in founding the faith and the Church is expressed by the equality of the squares which represent them. But the figures from the period of the Gospel are placed above the cross, while the figures from the period of the Law are placed below it. Hrabanus addresses the apostles and martyrs directly while only describing the prophets and patriarchs; he seems to feel a distance or gap in the latter case. He speaks of the *priore populo* to which they belonged.

He further differentiates these groups by identifying the activities by which they laid the foundations of the Church, and then assigning the activities to individual groups,



both in the basis poem and in the interwoven verses. He specifically associates action with the patriarchs, preaching with the prophets, and suffering with the martyrs, while concerning the apostles he merely states, “AGMEN APOSTOLICVM PANDIT TVA RITE TROPAEA.”<sup>331</sup> The apostles engaged in all three of the actions: working miracles, preaching Christ and in most cases suffering martyrdom.

### 3.2.5.3. Sources

#### 3.2.5.3.1. Bede, *De Templo*

The key source for Hrabanus is Bede’s *De Templo Salomonis*. This text is worth quoting in full.

*Praecipitque rex ut tollerent lapides grandes, lapides pretiosos in fundamentum templi, et quadrarent eos. Fundamentum templi nullum est aliud intelligendum mystice, quam illud quod ostendit Apostolus, dicens: Fundamentum enim nemo potest ponere, praeter id quod positum est, Christus Jesus. Qui propterea recte fundamentum domus Domini potest vocari, quia, sicut ait Petrus: Non est aliud sub caelo datum hominibus nomen, in quo oporteat nos salvos fieri. In quod fundamentum lapides grandes et pretiosi ponuntur cum praecipui factis ac sanctitate viri familiari mentis sanctitate suo adhaerent Conditori, ut quo firmiter in illo spem suam ponunt, eo fortius aliorum vitam dirigere, quod est altitudinem portare sufficiant. Lapidem ergo qui in fundamentum templi ad portandum aedificium omne ponebantur, proprie sunt propheta et apostoli, qui verbum et sacramenta veritatis sive visibiliter sive invisibiliter ab ipsa Dei sapientia perceperunt. Unde et nobis qui eorum vitam sive doctrinam studemus pro nostro modulo imitari, fundatos dicit Apostolus super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum. Sed et generaliter perfecti quique qui fideliter ipsi Domino adhaerere, et impositas sibi fratrum necessitates fortiter ferre didicerunt, hi possunt lapidibus grandibus ac pretiosis indicari; qui bene lapides primo quadrari, ac sic in fundamento poni iubentur; quadratum namque omne quocumque vertitur, fixum stare consuevit. Cui nimirum figurae corda assimilantur doctorum, ut nulla occurrentium rerum adversitate, nec ipsa etiam sua morte a sui status rectitudine possint inclinari, quales videlicet doctores Ecclesia non solum de Iudaea, verum etiam de gentibus per plures suscepit.* <sup>332</sup>

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<sup>331</sup> C5, 93.

<sup>332</sup> Bede, *op. cit.*, PL 91, col. 744B-C.

Here the various elements of the prior tradition (see §3.2.5.3.2.) have flown together into a single account. It begins with citations of *1 Cor* 3:11 and *Acts* 4:12 to establish Christ as the foundation of the true spiritual Temple of which the Temple of Solomon is the type. The foundation stones are *proprie* the prophets and apostles. Those of us who seek to learn from their life and teaching (*vita* and *doctrina*) are founded on the same foundation as the prophets and apostles. The foundation stones are also *generaliter* everyone who faithfully adheres to the Lord and bears his brothers' burdens. There follows a philosophical observation on the nature of squareness: the squareness of the stones is applied to the hearts of the faithful, rather than the customs and mind of the teachers of the Church. Mention is made of martyrdom, which not only Christians of Jewish origin but also Gentiles have suffered.

Bede's *De Templo* was widely read in the Carolingian period and many authors repeat this account in almost identical words. Claudius of Turin,<sup>333</sup> Angelomus Luxovensius,<sup>334</sup> and Hrabanus himself,<sup>335</sup> in their commentaries on *3 Kings*, reproduce his text.

Hrabanus' account of the House of God in *carmen* 5 is indebted to Bede, but departs from its source significantly. He reuses the traditional text when citing *1 Cor* 3:11 and *Acts* 4:12 (C5, 26-30), but then adds a citation of *1 Pt.* 2:4-5 which is lacking in Bede's exegesis. Later in the commentary he cites *3 Kings* 5:17 and also reuses Bede's text, in C5, 52-64, quoting the philosophical dictum about the solidity of square things and indicating that the squared-off stones of *3 Kings* 5:17 are types of the hearts of the faithful, who are solid in the faith even unto martyrdom.

However, he also makes two important changes in this tradition. He cuts the distinction between the meaning of the stones *proprie* and *generaliter* and moves his discussion of the first stones in the foundation of the House of God outside the sections of the commentary where he immediately explains biblical verses (to C5, 35-51). The account he had received spoke only of apostles and prophets, and he

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<sup>333</sup> Claudius of Turin, *XXX Quaestiones super Libros Regum*, PL 104, col. 731C.

<sup>334</sup> Angelomus Luxovensius, *Enarrationes in Libros Regum*, PL 115, col. 410C.

<sup>335</sup> Hrabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in IV Libros Regum*, PL 109, col. 138C-139A.

adds the two groups, the patriarchs and the martyrs, one each from the Old and New Covenants. Likewise, the tradition spoke of learning from the life (*vita*) and teaching (*doctrina*) of these wise teachers; Hrabanus transposes these nouns into gerunds (*operando* and *praedicando*), emphasizing their activity, and adds a third activity, suffering, *patiendo*.

### 3.2.5.3.1. Tradition of the House of God

The idea of the Church as a house built by God on the foundations of certain great leaders is the fruit of a long Patristic tradition. Suggested by the various metaphors in the Holy Scripture taken from the world of construction, the idea is developed in the first Christian generations in Vision 3 of the *Shepherd of Hermas*. Within the Latin-speaking world, the seed of Hrabanus' exposition is found in Hilary of Poitiers' sermon *De Dedicatione Ecclesiae*. Hilary makes two key points: first, that both the tabernacle of Moses and the temple of Solomon are types of the Holy Church;<sup>336</sup> second, the Pictavian doctor explains the squared-off foundation stones of *3 Kings* 5:17 are the "eximios sanctae Ecclesiae doctores" and that they are squared off to indicate the firmness of morals and mind of the teachers of the Church: "ut magistros Ecclesiae compositos moribus et immobiles animo esse debere signaret."<sup>337</sup> He adds a philosophical observation which was destined for great success in the tradition of commentary on this and other passages: "Sicut vero quadratum, quocumque vertitur, stabit, ita nimirum vita perfectorum quae ad veritatis lineam sollicite directa est, nullis tentationum impulsibus a sua novit stabilitate dejecti."<sup>338</sup>

The *Commentarius in LXXV Psalmos*, uncertainly attributed to Rufinus, takes up in its commentary on *Psalms* 5 the idea of the House of God being the Holy Church. It adds an important novelty which will from this point on be a feature of this tradition: the idea that this House is built of the living stones of the faithful with referal to *1 Pt.* 2:5, "et vos tamquam lapides vivi supraedificamini," etc.<sup>339</sup>

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<sup>336</sup> Hilary, *De Dedicatione Ecclesiae*, PL 10, col. 880D; col. 881C.

<sup>337</sup> Hilary, *ibid.*, PL 10, col. 881C.

<sup>338</sup> Hilary, *ibid.*, PL 10, col. 881D.

<sup>339</sup> Incertus (Rufinus?), *Commentarius in LXXV Psalmos*, 5, 8, PL 21, col. 661B.

Augustine makes use of the general idea of the living stones of the faithful making up a spiritual edifice, but in ways that are only loosely connected with Hrabanus' exposition. When commenting on *Psalms* 121 in the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, he cites *1 Pt. 2:5* while discussing verse 3, "Jerusalem, quae aedificatur ut civitas, cuius participatio eius in idipsum," but he does so only to describe the faithful as living stones of the celestial Jerusalem and does not call it the House of God nor go into any explanation of the structure.<sup>340</sup>

In addition to the patristic tradition described above, Perrin has also pointed out that a possible liturgical source for the division of the house of God into these four groups in the *Officia per ferias*, which in a litany lists them in the same order at PL 101, 591.<sup>341</sup>

### 3.2.5.3.3. Anonymous Carolingian Prayer Book

Perrin has identified an echo between a phrase of the prose translation, "quomodo caelestia simul ac terrena uno foedere coniungas"<sup>342</sup> and a phrase in the *De corona virginis* of Pseudo-Hildefonse: "Tu caelestia et terrena uno foedere conjungis,"<sup>343</sup> with the important difference that Pseudo-Hildefonse applies this phrase to the Virgin Mary rather than the cross. The connection is most likely due to both works drawing on a common source, a hypothesized Carolingian prayer book which survived into the 12th century to be the source for Pseudo-Hildefonse as well as Hrabanus.

There are a number of other passages in the *In honorem* where similar echoes in much later works which are very difficult to put in relationship with Hrabanus suggest the persistence of some kind of common source (cfr. §3.2.6.3.3., §3.2.21.3.2., and §3.2.28.3.1.).

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<sup>340</sup> Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 125, PL 37, col. 1621.

<sup>341</sup> v. Perrin, *op. cit.*, 2009, p. 68.

<sup>342</sup> D5, 6-7.

<sup>343</sup> Pseudo-Hildefonse of Toledo, *De corona virginis*, PL 96, 292D.

## 3.2.6. *Carmen* 6

### 3.2.6.1. Form

#### 3.2.6.1.1. Visual Elements

The cross pattern in *carmen* 6 is formed by four hollow isosceles triangles pointing inward. For the first time in the *In honorem* there is a large empty space between the figures in the center. As in *carmen* 3, the cross pattern is formed by the arrangement of the figures rather than constituted by one explicit cross figure. Only consideration of the whole of the field reveals the cross formed by these hollow triangles. The field of the poem is 37 verses of 37 letters each to create a perfect square and allow the triangles to be centered on the axes of the cross pattern.

The short sides of the triangles are parallel to the edges of the field and separated from them by a single verse or column. Their long sides are not perfectly straight but stepped. The first six steps, starting from the bases of the triangles, consist of two letters each, while the two sides meet at a center point, the seventh step, of only one letter. There is one letter in the short side corresponding to each step, so that from center to corner, counting inclusively, is seven letters and the short sides are a total of thirteen letters long. In all the manuscripts but *V*, the triangular figures continue the color contrast of *carmen* 5, being yellow with red letters.

#### 3.2.6.1.2. Textual Elements

Up to now we have seen the title in A9 usually offering two subjects vs. only one subject in the title in D. In *carmen* 6 we have three subjects in A9 vs. the usual one. In A9 we read, “VI. De quattuor uirtutibus principalibus quomodo ad crucem pertineant et quod omnium uirtutum fructus per ipsam nobis collati sint,”<sup>344</sup> whereas the title in D6 runs, “DE SPECIE SEXTAE FIGVRAE, VBI DE QVATTVOR VIRTVTIBVS PRAECIPVIS COMMEMORATIO FIT.”<sup>345</sup> D describes the sixth *carmen* as a commemoration of the four outstanding virtues, while A mentions first of

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<sup>344</sup> A9, 13-15.

<sup>345</sup> D6, 1-2.

all the four principle virtues, how they relate to the cross, and the fact that the fruits of all virtues are granted to us through the cross. As we shall see, A9 accurately summarizes the themes of the *carmen*.

The basis poem has four sections. In the first, Christ is addressed as the Virtue and Wisdom of the Father, immediately connecting the theme of this *carmen* and the one who suffered on the cross. The poem asserts the propriety of relating the four arms of the cross to the four principle virtues and invokes the image of the “quadriga virtutum:” four horses pulling the soul towards the same goal, Heaven. This first section concludes with a definition of virtue which we will examine below. The second section introduces examples of each of the four virtues and describes their action. In the third section, virtue is compared to a fruit, the fruit of the tree of the cross. In a long series of agricultural metaphors, Hrabanus expounds the notion of the human soul as a field which needs cultivation to encourage the good fruits of virtues and exterminate the weeds of vices. Hrabanus concludes this comparison by extending the idea to the last judgment, considering it as the final harvest when the good fruit will be stored away in the celestial barns.

The commentary explains that the poem will show what fruit the wood of the cross has born; it segues into a long praise of the cross as the most beautiful of trees. It then goes systematically through the four virtues and offers a definition of each followed by a division into its component species. Both the wood of the cross and Christ himself are compared to the wood of the flourishing tree in Psalm 1, and then Christ is stated to be the true fruit of that tree. Finally the wood of the cross is held to be appropriate for the fruits of the virtues, since the author of every good suffered on it.

The interwoven verses are each 36 letters long, which Hrabanus points out, although he does not mention here that this number is 6, the first perfect number, squared. Each verse concerns one of the four principle virtues. Hrabanus explains here why they are principle, namely that all other virtues proceed in series from these four. He points out that the triangles have seven sides to recall the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit and indicate that all progress in the virtues is a grace of the Holy Spirit. The

interwoven verses point out and justify the position of the figures they compose. The verse about wisdom, in the top figure, runs, “ARCE CRVCIS DOMINI SVMMA PRVDENTIA SISTIT,”<sup>346</sup> pointing out the position in the arx crucis, while the verse about justice reads, “IVSTITIA ET PRONA MANDAT SE PARTE TENENDAM.”<sup>347</sup> Likewise, the two lateral figures indicate their relative position to the right and left of the cross: the courage-figure’s interwoven verse is, “FORTI SED IN DEXTRO CORNV FERT SPICULA TVDO”<sup>348</sup> (notice Hrabanus’ remarkable tmesis here!), while the temperance-figure is composed of the text, “CVM IN LAEVO MODERANS DISPONIT IVRA MODESTA.”<sup>349</sup>

### 3.2.6.1.3. Cognitive Elements

As usual in the *In honorem*, the prose translation expands and rephrases the basis poem considerably in some places where the basis poem is rather cryptic. The commentary touches on and amplifies the themes raised in the basis poem. The interwoven verses constitute the figures which constitute the cross pattern.

The textual-visual units are coordinated, representing all four of the four cardinal virtues of ancient ethics. The figures are arranged in the following positions. The triangle representing justice is at the bottom and that representing wisdom is at the top. Courage is on the right-hand arm of the cross, while temperance is on the left-hand side (from the point of view of the cross itself). This corresponds with the usual semanticization of the left-right axis, and if we consider that wisdom has to do with understanding God, the soul, and the universe, while justice concerns the more mundane relations with fellow man, the vertical axis makes sense, too. The basis poem and commentary both mention that it is right to arrange the four virtues into a cross shape.

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<sup>346</sup> C6, 72.

<sup>347</sup> C6, 76.

<sup>348</sup> C6, 80.

<sup>349</sup> C6, 84.

The interwoven texts are not immediately obvious, since it is not evident where to begin reading or in which order to follow the sides, but with a little study the reader soon makes sense of them. They reference the position of the figures.

The commentary semanticizes the fact that the figures have seven-stepped sides. All these factors are related to the message of the poem about virtue and its divisions and the process of acquiring virtue, both fruit of the cross and gift of the Holy Spirit.

### 3.2.6.2. Content

#### 3.2.6.2.1. Definition and Divisions of Virtue

In contrast to the usual state of affairs, in which the basis poem alludes somewhat cryptically to the theme of the carmen and the commentary offers philosophical insight, here in *carmen* 6 we have an explicit definition of virtue in the basis poem itself.

Est uirtus habitus animi morum et decus omne,  
Nobilitas uitae, ratio et moderatio linguae.<sup>350</sup>

The prose version is expressed in very similar words, “Virtus est animi habitus, naturae decus, vitae ratio, morum nobilitas et linguae moderatio,”<sup>351</sup> but Hrabanus cheerfully changes which genitives depend on which nominatives. In both the poem and prose, *virtus* is a *habitus animi* and *moderatio linguae*, while the epithets modifying *decus*, *nobilitas*, and *ratio* are mixed up: the poem speaks of *morum decus* and *nobilitas vitae*; *ratio* seems to also be modified by *linguae* in word-play on the consonance of *ratio* and *moderatio*; the prose version moves *morum* to modify *nobilitas* and *vitae* to *ratio* and adds the epithet *naturae*, which does not appear in verse, to *decus*. In any case, the formula *virtus est animi habitus*.

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<sup>350</sup> B6, 8-9.

<sup>351</sup> D6, 12-13.



The basis poem returns to its more usual character in the next lines, in which it names and gives examples of some the virtues, while relating them to the cross. Explicitly philosophical description is reserved for the commentary. Wisdom or prudence receives a single verse, “Sancta tua docuit tenerum prudentia mundum,”<sup>352</sup> which is not very clear: “Your holy prudence taught the tender world.” Only in the prose translation can we see what Hrabanus means: “Tua sancta prudentia tenerum mundum ab initio docuit, quando per martyrium Abel iusti pro innocentia ponendam animam demonstravit.” Abel is the example of the wise man and his wise action is laying down his life for his innocence. Justice receives almost as summary treatment in the poem, with a line and a half, “Ex te iustitia bene feruens spernere gaudet / Terrorem zabuli,”<sup>353</sup> which Hrabanus expands in the prose version to also include the grace of following Christ. Temperance receives much fuller treatment in verses 14-20. It is called *benedictus amor* and in prose *castus amor*, and leads the faithful to following God’s pious counsels – the Commandments – and fighting against the power of the flesh; once the battle of the flesh has been won, the same love goes about bearing difficulties, refusing the forbidden, and singing praises:

... scandit benedictus amor re  
 Ad pia consilia, mentem aufert fraude uoratam.  
 Vnde ac carnalem poterit uim et tollere pugnam  
 Vi tota, nisu forti, hinc quoque ad incluta uisu  
 Adtendit, aduersa ferens it cum ipsa uetando  
 Pestifera uetita (scelerum cum noxia caedis)  
 Ostendens et psallere iam bona tempora posse,<sup>354</sup>

The prose “translation” – here a rather complete rephrasing – introduces preachers who reprove vices and commend virtues.<sup>355</sup> The virtue of courage is missing from this section of the basis poem, despite Hrabanus’ normal systematic approach to his themes.

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<sup>352</sup> B6, 12.

<sup>353</sup> B6, 13-14.

<sup>354</sup> B6, 14-20.

<sup>355</sup> D6, 26-27.

In the commentary, we find philosophical definitions of the four virtues in the context of the usual effort to relate these aspects of existence to the cross. Hrabanus begins the commentary by saying that his purpose is to show what great and what kind of fruits the wood of the cross has generated: “Quantos ergo et quales fructus lignum sanctae crucis germine suo proferat, dignum est etiam in hoc sacro carmine modo commemorare.”<sup>356</sup> All four virtues are revealed in this wood of the cross.

Omnium enim uirtutum iucunditas per ipsum et in ipso mundo collata est, quia in ipso rerum perfectio completa est. In ipso celsitudinem suam prudentia demonstrat, in ipso soliditatem suam iustitia reuelat, in ipso potentiam suam fortitudo consignat, in ipso moderamina sua temperantia collaudat.<sup>357</sup>

After this, he gives a description and a division of each virtue. For prudence he says that in the wood of the cross it grants the acquisition of wisdom and the understanding of truth to the devout, and from that source (the wood of the cross) every faithful receives providence, intelligence and memory.

Hic etiam prudentia acquisitionem sapientiae et comprehensionem ueritatis deuotis concedit, atque hinc prouidentiae, intellegentiae et memoriae dona, omnis fidelis percipit.<sup>358</sup>

For justice, Hrabanus remarks that it lays the foundation of faith in the wood and that from the wood justice distributes to each person equity of piety, religion, grace and vindication.

Hic iustitia fidei fundamentum posuit, atque hinc pietatis et religionis, gratiae quoque et uindicationis aequitatem unicuique distribuit.<sup>359</sup>

Courage despises anything difficult or soft, and from the cross courage gives examples of faithfulness, patience and perseverance, the subdivisions of courage.

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<sup>356</sup> C6, 1-3.

<sup>357</sup> C6, 9-14.

<sup>358</sup> C6, 14-17.

<sup>359</sup> C6, 17-19.

Hic fortitudo blanda cuncta et aduersa magnificentissime contemnit, atque hinc fidentiae, patientiae et perseuerantiae exempla proponit.<sup>360</sup>

Temperance imposes the reins of discipline on the insolent impulses of lust and arrogance and offers the multiple gifts of modesty, continence, clemency and sobriety.

Hic temperantia in libidinis ac pertinaciae insolentes impetus frena disciplinae inicit, atque hinc pudicitiae et continentiae, clementiae quoque et sobrietatis multiplicia dona desiderantibus inpedit.<sup>361</sup>

We can see the regular structure of each one of these descriptions and divisions. The main virtue achieves its effect *hic* and the divisions arise *hinc*. After a certain ambiguity in the description of prudence, it is clear from the construction in later descriptions that *hinc* must refer to the wood of the cross.

A bit of evidence from the end of the commentary shows further that Hrabanus understands the four principal virtues as species with respect to virtue and genera with respect to the subdivisions listed above. Probably unable to fit the name *temperantia* into the interwoven verse, he uses instead *modesta*. He does not comment on the licence with which he drops the “i” of *modestia*, but does think it relevant to explain his use of *modestia* instead of *temperantia*: “Modestia igitur per syncopam scripta, pro temperantia ponitur, species pro genere.”<sup>362</sup>

The basis poem makes a brief mention of the virtues as a *quadriga*. The image of the four virtues as the four horses of a single chariot expresses an ethical problem with the neat division of the genus virtue into the four species of the principle virtues, which is that the virtues need to reinforce each other and all be present for a truly virtuous life; a wise man without courage can be forced easily to do what is wrong by the unwise, a brave man without prudence may commit injustice through misunderstanding, etc., etc. This unity is also expressed visually in *carmen* 6 by the

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<sup>360</sup> C6, 19-21.

<sup>361</sup> C6, 21-25.

<sup>362</sup> C6, 85-86.

way in which the figure of each virtue rises from a broad base to a single point, coming together into unity. Hrabanus explicitly semanticizes the steps of the sides as symbols of the progress and ascent of virtue. Furthermore the four tips of the triangles point to each other to express the inescapable connection between the virtues. They flow out from the invisible cross which they form.

### 3.2.6.2.2. Virtue, the Fruit of the Cross

Hrabanus begins the basis poem with an invocation of Christ as virtue. “Omnipotens virtus, summa sapientia, Christe,” is the first line, in which Hrabanus addresses Christ first as all-powerful virtue in general, and then with the specific cardinal virtue which is most frequently attributed to Christ, Wisdom. In a subtle way, this theme is taken up again by the identification of virtue as a fruit of the cross, with which much of the basis poem and commentary is concerned. At first, Hrabanus identifies the wood of the cross with the wood mentioned in *Psalms* 1:

Hoc uidelicet lignum ab ipso plantatum est, de quo dicit propheta, ligni conparationem faciens: *Et erit tamquam lignum quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum, quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo, et folium eius non decidet, et omnia quaecumque fecerit prosperabuntur.* Decursus ergo aquarum sunt cotidiani transitus deficientium populorum. Et de semetipsa Veritas dicit: *Si in uiridi ligno haec faciunt, in arido quid fiet?* Lignum ergo secus decursus aquarum est cum foliis et fructu, quia protectionis suae nobis umbraculum proferens apparuit Creator in carne, et humanum genus per resurrectionem ad uitam erexit, quod per defectum cotidie ibat ad mortem.<sup>363</sup>

At the beginning of this passage, Christ is the one who planted the tree of the cross, and the prophet of *Psalms* 1 compares Him to a tree planted by the waters. At the end, Christ himself, based on his own words calling himself the green wood, is the tree planted by the waters, which offers its shade, protection and fruits to the human race.

Hrabanus then switches perspective a third time and considers the virtues of the faithful to be the true fruit of the wood of the cross.

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<sup>363</sup> C6, 26-36.

Vere enim istud lignum dedit fructum in tempore suo, quando Saluator passione et resurrectione sua completa, Ecclesiam per totam mundi latitudinem in se uitem ueram coadunatam cunctis uirtutibus fecit abundare...<sup>364</sup>

Hrabanus goes on to comment that those fruits are spiritual and are born of the Holy Spirit.

Christ is thus the tree, the planter of the tree, the fruit, and the one offering the fruit to humanity. He is virtue and his cross bears the fruit of virtue. This vision of the cross as the tree bearing the glorious spiritual fruits of the virtues leads Hrabanus to a beautiful hymn of praise in C6, 3-8.

Cuius fructus aeternus est et radix perpetua, cuius odor mundum replet et sapor fideles satiat, cuius splendor solem superat et candor niuem obfuscat, cuius cacumen polum excedit et cuius infimum inferna penetrat, cuius firmitas humilia exaltat et cuius potentia exaltata humiliat.<sup>365</sup>

The second half of the basis poem is a long reflection and exploration of the idea of virtue as a fruit. The metaphor is expanded into a whole series of agricultural metaphors. This section is introduced by verses 24-26.

... quod dona parent et germina ruris  
E foliis fructus, correptaque squalida rite  
Vimina succedant, et regia fercula promant.<sup>366</sup>

The basic elements of the idea are all present in these verses: the comparison of the soul to a fertile soil (*dona et germina ruris*), the need to remove the weeds of vices (*correpta squalida*) and the harvest of virtues (*regia fercula*). The prose translation expands considerably, calling for the vices to be cut up and burned out with the *Evangelii cultro* and the *flamma Spiritus Sancti*.<sup>367</sup>

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<sup>364</sup> C6, 37-40.

<sup>365</sup> C6, 3-8.

<sup>366</sup> B6, 24-26.

<sup>367</sup> D6, 36-37.

There follows an entire treatise on moral theology and the cultivation of the virtues. The *sacratissima pietas* of the preachers of the Gospel first plants them. Grace purges them and tests them with the patience of the saints in tribulations. The pact and society of true concord unites them and the soft law of the Father irrigates them. Goodness produces the living stalks for Christ. By constancy they are strengthened and by humility the grain is preserved unharmed, and modesty nourishes it unto full sheaves. Perseverance conducts the fruit to maturity.

The poem concludes with the obvious conclusion of the metaphor. At the last judgment, the pruning hook or reaping scythe of the cross harvests the good grain and stores it in the heavenly barns. Hrabanus does not mention the Evangelical parable which speaks in the same terms, the parable of the tares and the wheat (*Matthew* 13:24-30), which concludes with the master of the field ordering his servants to store the good grain in his barns and burn the weeds. Hrabanus speaks in the poem of the cross carrying out the harvest, applying the scythe (*mittens iam falcem*, B6, 37), but in prose refers to the “plough of the cross” (*aratrum crucis*, D6, 50). In any case the cross is treated as a agricultural implement responsible for the division between the weeds and the good grain.

### **3.2.6.2.3. Virtue, the Grace of Holy Spirit**

Hrabanus is careful to avoid any risk of Pelagianism by emphasizing that the path to virtue which he has outlined depends also on the grace of the Holy Spirit. In addition to specifying that the fruits of the cross are spiritual ones and repeating the list of fruits of the Spirit from *Galatians* 5:22, he also dedicates some discussion in the commentary to the role of the Holy Spirit in acquiring virtue. The context is the explanation of the interwoven verses. After stating what the four figures represent, Hrabanus describes their form and relates it to the Holy Spirit.

Sunt igitur memoratae figurae secundum trigoni speciem coniunctae, sed uariis gradibus distinctae. Factae sunt enim in duobus lateribus uniuscuiusque formae septem gradus ut ostenderetur omnes uirtutum

ascensus in diuinis carismatibus constare, et nullum nisi per Spiritus Sancti gratiam eas posse impetrare.<sup>368</sup>

The ascent of the virtues consists in divine gifts, and no one may obtain virtues except by the grace of the Holy Spirit. The form of the figures takes on its full significance in the light of this statement by Hrabanus.

### 3.2.6.3. Sources

#### 3.2.6.3.1. Alcuin

It is not necessary to seek far to discover a source for Hrabanus' teaching on virtues. His own teacher, Alcuin, wrote several texts on the virtues, a treatise called *De Virtutibus et Vitiis ad Widonem* and a dialogue *De Rhetorica et Virtutibus*, in which Alcuin debates with none other than Charlemagne himself. If we turn to these texts, we find the philosophical definition of virtue used by Hrabanus. In *De Rhetorica et Virtutibus*, which is divided into a longer section on rhetoric and a shorter concluding section on the virtues, we find the source for Hrabanus' definition:

CAR. Prosequere tamen philosophicas definitiones de virtutibus; et primum dic, quid sit ipsa virtus?

ALB. Virtus est animi habitus, naturae decus, vitae ratio, morum nobilitas.

CAR. Quot habet partes?

ALB. Quattor: prudentiam, iustitiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam.<sup>369</sup>

A similar definition appears in *De Virtutibus et Vitiis*, chapter 35:

Primo sciendum est quid sit virtus. Virtus est animi habitus, naturae decus, vitae ratio, morum pietas, cultus divinitatis, honor hominis, aeternae beatitudinis meritum. Cuius partes sunt, ut diximus, quattuor principales: prudentia, iustitia, fortitudo, temperantia.<sup>370</sup>

Alcuin gives two different versions of the definition. In the second list he changes *morum nobilitas* to *morum pietas* and adds three elements. Also clear from these

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<sup>368</sup> C6, 60-65.

<sup>369</sup> Alcuin, *De Rhetorica et Virtutibus*, PL 101, 944A.

<sup>370</sup> Alcuin, *De Virtutibus et Vitiis ad Widonem*, PL 101, 637B.

passages is the relationship of species-genus between the four cardinal virtues and virtue as a whole.

Looking through these texts from Alcuin, we find nothing that has been taken over by Hrabanus from *De Virtutibus et Vitiis* into his text in the *In honorem*, but considerable influence from *De Rhetorica et Virtutibus*. The definition which Hrabanus uses in his prose translation is almost identical to that in *De Rhetorica et Virtutibus*, but Hrabanus adds a new element of his own, *moderatio linguae*.

The dialogue of Alcuin proceeds with divisions of the four principal virtues, just as Hrabanus does in the commentary. The subdivisions are almost but not quite identical. The division of prudence is the same:

CAR: Quot habet [prudencia] partes?

ALB: Tres: memoriam, intelligentiam, providentiam.<sup>371</sup>

Justice, however, contains considerably more species in Alcuin than in the *In honorem*.

CAR: Eius [justitiae] quoque partes pande.

ALB: Partim illa est ex naturae jure, partim ex consuetudinis usu.

CAR: Quomodo ex naturae jure?

ALB: Quia partes illius quaedam naturae vis inserit, ut religionem, pietatem, gratiam, vindicationem, observantiam, veritatem.<sup>372</sup>

Four of these six species which derive from nature appear in Hrabanus' commentary, which leaves out *observantia* and *veritas*, but he does not even mention the species of justice which derive from convention, which Alcuin later lists as *pactum*, *par*, *judicatum*, *lex*.

Alcuin's division of courage has a subtle difference with Hrabanus':

CAR: Nunc fortitudinem cum suis partibus ut depromas efflagito.

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<sup>371</sup> Alcuin, *op. cit.*, PL 101, 944A.

<sup>372</sup> Alcuin, *ibid.*, PL 101, 944B.



ALB: Fortitudo est magnanima periculorum et laborum perpessio. Eius partes sunt magnificentia, fidentia, patientia, perseverantia.<sup>373</sup>

Hrabanus only lists the last three as parts of courage, but transposes the idea of magnificence into an adverb: “fortitudo blanda cuncta et adversa magnificentissime contemnit...”<sup>374</sup>.

Alcuin gives the parts of temperance as *continentia*, *clementia* and *modestia*.<sup>375</sup> The first two of these appear in Hrabanus’ division and he seems to be substituting the name *pudicitia* for *modestia*, which nevertheless appears in the interwoven verse in place of the name *temperantia* and is mentioned as a species of *temperantia* in the commentary. Hrabanus adds *sobrietas* to the list.

Alcuin himself is handing on a tradition received from Augustine and ultimately Cicero. In *De Diversibus Quaestionibus*, 31, Augustine quotes Cicero’s teaching on virtue from *De Inventione*, 2, 159-163. A perusal of this text reveals that Cicero and Augustine’s division of virtue is identical to that adopted by Alcuin. *Prudentia* is divided into *memoria*, *intelligentia* and *providentia* and *justitia* split into *natura* and *usu* and subdivided into *religio*, *pietas*, *gratia*, *vindicatio*, *observantia* and *veritas* on the one hand and *pactum*, *par*, *judicatum* and *lex* on the other. *Fortitudo* is made up of the parts *magnificentia*, *fidentia*, *patientia* and *perseverantia*, and *temperantia* is split into *continentia*, *clementia* and *modestia*. Alcuin changes neither the names nor the order. He does innovate with respect to the definition. Cicero and Augustine give the following definition of virtue: “Virtus est animi habitus naturae modo atque rationi consentaneus.”<sup>376</sup> Alcuin has altered the classical philosophical definition to include the multiple other expressions discussed above. Both Carolingian authors adapt and alter the tradition they have received.

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<sup>373</sup> Alcuin, *ibid.*, PL 101, 944D.

<sup>374</sup> C6, 19-20.

<sup>375</sup> Alcuin, *op. cit.*, PL 101, 945A.

<sup>376</sup> Cicero, *De Inventione*, 2, 159 and Augustine, *De Diversibus Quaestionibus*, 31, PL 40, 20.

Alcuin concludes his dialogue with an exhortation to Charlemagne to rise up to Heaven on the *virtutum quadriga* with the wings of double love (i.e. for God and neighbor).

ALB: Magnum te faciat Deus et vere beatum, domine mi rex, et in hac virtutum quadriga, de qua paulo ante egimus, ad coelestis regni arcem geminis dilectionis pennis saeculum hoc nequam transvolare concedat.<sup>377</sup>

The image of the *quadriga virtutum* is only introduced; there is no other development of the image, which appears only here in Alcuin's dialogue. Still, this is very likely the source for Hrabanus' use of the image in B6, 4.

### 3.2.6.3.2. Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, 19, 28

Hrabanus takes his interpretation of the tree of *Psalms* 1:3 from Gregory the Great's *Moralia* or *Expositio in Job*.<sup>378</sup> The Roman pontiff was commenting on *Job* 29:19, "radix mea aperta est secus aquas." He explains the opening of the root as an opening to divine illumination and also as a symbol of the Incarnation. Gregory interprets the *lignum* of *Psalms* 1:3 as Christ himself, reaching out towards the waters of humanity flowing by Him towards death. This reuse of Gregory's words explains the oddly decontextualized comment interpreting the streams of water as the daily passage of expiring, sinful humanity towards death, in C6, 30-31, which has nothing to do with the Hrabanus' poem.

### 3.2.6.3.3. Anonymous Carolingian Prayer Book

The hymn of praise for the virtues as fruits of the cross, the second sentence of the commentary, (C6, 3-8) is very similar to a passage in a work attributed to Hildefonse of Toledo, the *de corona virginis*,<sup>379</sup> addressed directly to the Virgin Mary. It is generally agreed that the *de corona virginis* is a work of the 12th century. Perrin judges it unlikely that the *In honorem* served as a source for the author of this work,

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<sup>377</sup> Alcuin, *ibid.*, PL 101, 946C.

<sup>378</sup> Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia*, 19, 28, PL 76, 131D.

<sup>379</sup> Ps.-Hildefonse, *De corona virginis*, 7, PL 96, 295A.

and proposes a common source for the two texts in a prayer book circulating in Alcuin's circle.<sup>380</sup>

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<sup>380</sup> v. Perrin, "Les lectures de Raban Maur," *op. cit.*, 2010.

### 3.2.7. *Carmen 7*

#### 3.2.7.1. Form

##### 3.2.7.1.1. Visual Elements

The pattern of the seventh *carmen* is created by four large hollow circles touching the top, bottom and sides of the field, which is a 35 x 35 square. The cross pattern here is only suggested by the continuity of the *In honorem* as a whole – these unconnected circles might in other contexts suggest a square as well as a cross.

These hollow circles, one letter thick, stand out brilliantly from the background due to the intense and vibrant colors employed. Perrin compared the colors used to the ancient color scheme of the four seasons and concluded that the colors of B7 have nothing to do with it.<sup>381</sup> In almost all the manuscripts (*VPATQ*), there seems to be a connection between the meaning of the figures, symbolic of the four elements, and the color of the figure, with the top circle a reddish orange, orange or yellow suggesting fire, the bottom circle an orange closer to brown suggesting earth, the right circle a lighter gray-blue representing water and the left circle a deeper blue representing air, but this proposed interpretation is weakened severely or completely vitiated by *W*, whose color scheme – with blue for fire, red for water, yellow for air and blue for earth – completely violates it.

The interwoven verses are easy to read because each begins at the top letter of its respective circle.

##### 3.2.7.1.2. Textual Elements

The two titles of *carmen 7* are very different, with A9 giving a wealth of subjects while D7 is much reduced in comparison. A9 reads,

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<sup>381</sup> Perrin, *op. cit.*, 2009, p. 71.

VII. De quattuor elementis et quattuor uicissitudinibus temporum et de quattuor plagis mundi et de quattuor quadrantibus naturalis diei quomodo omnia in cruce ordinentur et in ipsa sanctificentur.<sup>382</sup>

while D7's title is only, "DE SEPTIMAE FIGVRATIONIS PLASMATE, VBI DE QVATTVOR ELEMENTIS NARRAT."<sup>383</sup> A9 has six subjects – the four elements, the four changes of the seasons, the four corners of the world, the four quarters of the natural day, how they are all ordered in the cross and how they are sanctified in it – while D only has the four elements. There is a correspondence between the title at D7 and what is in fact in the basis poem, which deals primarily with the material aspects of the physical universe, while the commentary introduces all the other subjects listed in A9.

The basis poem begins with a celebration of how everything shines with the light of Christ and celebrates the deeds of His holy cross (v. 1-5). The next section speaks of Christ's power and rule of everything that was, is or will be. Here we find a series of nouns in the nominative giving a list of natural objects. (v. 6-12) The third section concerns praise. Hrabanus himself is praising the cross, and everything and every just man should sing the praises the cross. The cross pulls all things to itself. (v. 13-17) A second list of nominatives recites the creatures called up to praise God; this list consists mostly of animals, with a few exceptions such as trees and mountains (v. 17-20). The attention turns to Christians specifically who have the most reason to praise God and preach His victory (v. 21-27). Finally, men on earth and the inhabitants of Heaven – the faithful angels and the souls of the saved – are united in praise of the cross (v. 28-35). The poem finishes with a third nominative list, this time of the offices of Christ: Savior, King, Priest, Creator.

In the commentary Hrabanus begins as usual by stating the theme of the *carmen*, the perfection of the number four, but unusually, this theme has not already been indicated in the title. Hrabanus indicates the fourfold divisions listed in the title in A9 – the four elements, four directions, four seasons and four quarters of the day – as factors proving the perfection of the number four. He then spends a good section of

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<sup>382</sup> A9, 16-19.

<sup>383</sup> D7, 1-2.

the commentary assigning each member of these four fourfold divisions to one arm of the cross and explaining his reasoning. He summarizes the results by stating that everything is recovered and renewed by the cross and therefore should praise it, as we see in the Biblical song of the three children in the fiery furnace,<sup>384</sup> and the Psalms,<sup>385</sup> and Paul's *ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso sunt omnia*.<sup>386</sup> Finally he explains the meaning of the circular form of the figures. The circle suggests movement and rotation and the whole machinery of the physical world – *omnis mundi machina* – is mutable and changeable. The elements change into one another and affect one another. Water and fire move in natural circles and so do the natural solar units of time, the day and the year.

The interwoven verses are very simple. Each one consists of a nominative list of its respective members of the four fourfold divisions of the physical universe along with an indication of the figure's position within the field of the *carmen*. Starting at the top going clockwise, we have "VER, ORIENS, IGNIS, AVRORA, HAC PARTE RELVCENT,"<sup>387</sup> "AER, AESTAS, AVSTER, ARCI HIC SIT MERIDIESQVE,"<sup>388</sup> "AVTVMNVS, ZEPHIRVS, TELLVS ET VESPERA HIC FIT,"<sup>389</sup> and "ARCTON, HIEMS, LYMPHA, MEDIA NOX ECCE LOCATAE."<sup>390</sup> The interwoven verses thus link both the commentary and the title back to the basis poem by connecting the fourfold divisions with the visual planes of the *carmen*.

### 3.2.7.1.3. Cognitive Elements

The primary text-text relationship which stands out in this *carmen* is the unusual structure in which the commentary and titles and interwoven verses discuss themes which are not mentioned in the basis poem. The figures are related to each other by

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<sup>384</sup> C7, 46-47, *Dan* 3:57.

<sup>385</sup> C7, 48-49, *Ps.* 68:35. "Laudent eum caeli et terra, mare et omnia quae in eis sunt."

<sup>386</sup> C7, 49-50, *Rm* 11:36.

<sup>387</sup> C7, 77.

<sup>388</sup> C7, 83.

<sup>389</sup> C7, 79.

<sup>390</sup> C7, 81.

the color choice, which in all manuscripts but *W* reinforces their representation of the four different elements. The interwoven verses state the position of the figures. The assignment of the elements to the cross arms imagines the cross upright and puts them in the positions analogous to those they naturally tend to in the universe, which is another expression of the explicit theme of the poem, and the assignment of the different times of day to the cross arms follows the circle of the sun's movement in the sky.

### **3.2.7.2. Content**

#### **3.2.7.2.1. Fourfold Divisions of the Basic Categories of the Physical Universe**

The titles, commentary and interwoven verses all make explicit several – four, to be precise – different divisions of the physical universe into four species. These are: (1) fire, air, water, earth; (2) east, west, north, south; (3) spring, summer, fall, winter; and (4) morning, noon, evening, night. Why did Hrabanus pick these divisions in particular to demonstrate the perfection of the number four, and not any of the other myriad possibly four-fold divisions, such as four gospels, four cardinal virtues, four ages of man, etc., etc.? Upon examination, the divisions chosen by Hrabanus reveal themselves as the basic framework of the material universe. The first division is into the basic materials of which everything in the physical universe is made, according to the science of his day. The second division is in space – all things are physically located somewhere along the axes of north-south and east-west. The third and fourth divisions are of time and are both related to the natural unities of the sun's movements. In the geocentric perspective, one full rotation of the sun around the earth makes up a day, and one full cycle of the rise and fall of its course through the sky makes up a year. In this way, Hrabanus establishes the dominance of the cross of Christ over the basic framework of the material universe – matter, space and time – and through these structuring principles over every individual thing.

#### **3.2.7.2.2. The Constant Flux of the Physical Universe**

As Hrabanus emphasizes in the commentary, the choice of the circular form of the figures is due to the constant variability and change which is characteristic of the

material universe. Material things change from one form to another as different quantities of the four basic elements affect them; the elements themselves move in natural circles, fire rising back up to its natural home in the sky (location of the sun, moon and stars) and then flashing back to earth again in the form of lightning and water falling from the clouds as rain, flowing down in rivers to the sea, and rising as vapor back to the clouds. The sun, the great measurer of time, moves in circles just as the other heavenly bodies do. In Hrabanus' words, "omnis mundi machina temporalis est, et quadam permixtione elementorum atque successu temporum uariabilis siue mutabilis."<sup>391</sup>

Hrabanus reinforces his assertions with the authority of Scripture. He cites Ecclesiastes 3:1, *omnia tempus habent, et suis spatiis transeunt universa sub caelo*,<sup>392</sup> as an authority to back up his assertion that the whole machinery of the world is mutable and variable, and Ecclesiastes 1:7, *omnia flumina intrant in mare*, etc., to back up his description of the natural circular movement of water. Thus, *Ecclesiastes* is taken as proof of the results of contemporary science (since the same God made the world knowable to man and inspired the Scriptures).

Hrabanus also emphasizes this mutability and circularity with a numerological consideration. Each interwoven verse is exactly 36 letters long. Hrabanus points out that 36 is a "circular" number because when 6 is multiplied by itself (what we call a "square" number) it produces 36, which ends in 6 again. A quick calculation reveals that there are only four circular numbers under 10,000: 1 ( $1 \times 1 = 1$ ), 25 ( $5 \times 5 = 25$ ), 36 ( $6 \times 6 = 36$ ) and 625 ( $25 \times 25 = 625$ ), none of them other than 36 appropriate for the interwoven verses.

### **3.2.7.2.3. The Manifold Relationship between Christ and the Physical Universe**

*Carmen 7* and in particular the basis poem accents three very different aspects of the relationship between Christ and the physical universe. It begins by invoking his light in the first verse.

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<sup>391</sup> C7, 53-55.

<sup>392</sup> C7, 55-56.



Omnia iam splendent uero de lumine Christi  
Inlustrata,<sup>393</sup>

All things are already glowing, resplendent or glorious, illuminated by the true light of Christ. Hrabanus' praise is not limited to the cross but passes over to all of God's creation.

In the next section Hrabanus turns to Christ's power.

Quicquid in orbe meat edacis quicquid ubique  
Est, sapit et sentit, uiuit, et iura reseruat,  
Hoc terra, pontus, hoc sidera, gramina, uenti,  
Imperio suberunt, hoc sunt, antequae fuerunt,  
Imber, nubs, grando, glacies, nix atque pruina,  
Fontes et riui, puluis et ros, iubar absque hoc  
Cretae Arcton, actu, stellae atque aera quaeque.<sup>394</sup>

Using the Aristotelean division of being already employed in *carmen* 2, Hrabanus states that whatever exists, lives, senses or judges – the prose expansion of *iura reseruat*, “discernunt, et iura seruare norunt”<sup>395</sup> makes it clear that he is referring to rational creatures in accordance with the Aristotelean division – is under the power of Christ. To be more precise, in v. 9, he expands this idea of being under the *imperium* of Christ to all time: “... suberunt, ... sunt, antequae fuerunt,” corresponding to the “ubique” in v. 6 making it clear that Christ's power is exercised everywhere as well. In verse 8, we see all four elements under Christ's power in their most typical forms: *terra*, *pontus* (water), *sidera* (fire), and *uenti* (air). Thus, Christ's power extends through all space, time and matter.

The final aspect of Christ's relationship with the universe consists in Hrabanus' exhortations to all things to praise the cross of the Redeemer. Verses 16-17 summarize this section:

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<sup>393</sup> B7, 1-2.

<sup>394</sup> B7, 6-12.

<sup>395</sup> D7, 11.

Laude Dei non discordet, sed dicat honesta  
Eius opus gaudens.<sup>396</sup>

“May His work, rejoicing, speak his noble deeds.” There follows the second nominative list of creatures, consisting mostly of animals, who are called upon to praise God, then the exhortation to Christians specifically to praise the great Victor, and then, in a return to a theme from *carmina* 3 and 4, the unity of men and angels created by praising together. Hrabanus quotes the song of the three Hebrew children in the fiery furnace (*Daniel* 3), the call on all creatures to praise God of *Psalms* 68 and Paul’s doxology in *Romans* 11 in this context of his own exhortation of all things to praise the cross of Christ, although he refers to the latter authors as merely “propheta” and “apostolus.”

### 3.2.7.3. Sources

#### 3.2.7.3.1. Julian Pomerius, *De vita contemplativa*, 3, 18

Hrabanus’ initial discussion of the perfection of the number four in the commentary seems to have been influenced by Julian Pomerius’ *De vita contemplativa*, 3, 18, as Hrabanus’ first sentence, “Recte igitur quaternarium numerum perfectione sacratum paene nullus ignorat,” (C7, 1-2) is found there. However, Hrabanus selects just a handful from Julian’s examples of natural quaternities, rearranges their order and extends their range; where Julian speaks of the human body consisting of the four elements, Hrabanus states that the entire world is composed of them, and moves this remark from the middle to the beginning, as befits the commentary to the *carmen* which concerns them. Julian gives the same four winds as Hrabanus, but otherwise their lists diverge: Julian lists in first place the four virtues and vices, the four letters of Adam’s name, the four elements of the human body, and then the four emotions (the section quoted by Hrabanus in the commentary to *carmen* 2). Julian continues with the four rivers of Paradise, the four Gospels, and the four divine wheels and animals and their four wings and faces from *Ezechiel* 1. Hrabanus focuses only on the natural world, and proceeds from the four elements to the four parts of the world, the four seasons, and the four parts of the day. That is, he

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<sup>396</sup> B7, 16-17.

departs from his source to look only at the material elements, the division of space and the divisions of time in his consideration of quaternities for this *carmen*.

### **3.2.7.3.2. Bede, *De natura rerum***

Hrabanus, explaining the dispositio of the figures, justifies putting earth at the bottom of the cross by remarking that “terram uero, quae grauissima est et imum in creaturis tenet locum...”<sup>397</sup> These words come from Bede’s explanation of the four elements in *De natura rerum*, 4: “Terra enim, ut gravissima, et quae ab alia natura sufferri non possit, imum in creaturis obtinet locum.”<sup>398</sup>

### **3.2.7.3.3. Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 5**

Isidore might be a source for Hrabanus’ names for units of time. Hrabanus’ names for the divisions of the day appear in Isidore’s *Etymologiae*, 5, 30-31, but the bishop of Seville gives numerous other parts of the day and night which Hrabanus ignores. His names for the seasons are identical to those of Isidore’s *Etymologiae*, 5, 35, and his assignment of seasons to directions is identical to that in Isidore’s 5, 35, 8, but the order and phrasing is distinct.

### **3.2.7.3.4. A Complex Interweaving of Vergil, Juvencus and *Ecclesiastes***

One passage of the commentary is a complex interweaving of two unattributed citations from Vergil, one from Juvencus and one from *Ecclesiastes*. While describing the natural circular movement of fire and the other elements, in C7, 62-65, he finishes with “crebis micat ignibus aether,” which is a line from the storm scene in the first book of the *Aeneid*.<sup>399</sup> His next paragraph describes the circular vicissitudes of other, larger natural things, such as the months, seasons, years. His phrase, “Dicitur et orbis terrae et uertigo poli terras atque aequora circumuoluere” is based on Juvencus’ preface to *Evangelicae Historiae*:

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<sup>397</sup> C7, 17-18.

<sup>398</sup> Bede, *De natura rerum*, 4, PL 90, 195A.

<sup>399</sup> C7, 64-65, Vergil, *Aeneid*, 1, 90.

Et vertigo poli terras atque aequora circum  
Aethera sidereum jusso moderamine volvet.<sup>400</sup>

A bit later at line 71, Hrabanus writes “Quinque tenent zonae caelum,” which has no explanation or reference within the *carmen*, but is a slight adaptation from Vergil’s *Georgics* 1:223: “Quinque tenent caelum zonae,” which Hrabanus might well have encountered in Bede’s *De temporum ratione*, 8,<sup>401</sup> where it is quoted as an expression of “poeta” or Isidore of Seville’s *De natura rerum*, 10, 17,<sup>402</sup> which gives author and work. He also interweaves an unattributed Biblical quotation from *Ecclesiastes* into this commentary. At C7, 70 he writes “Gyrans gyrando vadit spiritus, et in circulos suos reuertitur,” a citation of *Ecclesiastes* 1:6. Thus, Hrabanus invokes the Bible, the great pagan poet and a late-antique author of Christian epic poetry concerning the cyclicity of the natural and material universe, about which pagans are as qualified to speak as Christians. Perrin raises the question as to whether Hrabanus wrote this complex interweaving of Vergil, Juvenius and the Bible or if he borrowed it from another source but does not speculate.<sup>403</sup>

### 3.2.7.3.5. Independence of Description of Circular Numbers

Although the same concept of a circular number is described in two sources known to have been employed by Hrabanus, Isidore’s *Etymologiae*<sup>404</sup> and Boethius’ *De Arithmetica*,<sup>405</sup> Hrabanus’ phrasing here is entirely independent. He seems to be explaining the concept on his own account rather than, as he so often does, putting down the exact words of an authority. The only common point is with Boethius, in that Hrabanus considers “circular” and “spherical” to be synonyms, “sphaerici sive circulari,”<sup>406</sup> as does Boethius, while Isidore simply speaks of “circular” numbers.

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<sup>400</sup> Juvenius, *Evangelicae Historiae*, Preface, v. 21-22, *PL* 19, 59A.

<sup>401</sup> Bede, *De temporum ratione*, 8, *PL* 90, 455A.

<sup>402</sup> Isidore, *De natura rerum*, 10, 17, *PL* 83, 978B.

<sup>403</sup> Perrin, “Les lecteurs de Raban Maur,” *op. cit.*, 2010.

<sup>404</sup> Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 3,7,5, *PL* 82, 160B.

<sup>405</sup> Boethius, *De Arithmetica*, 2, 30, *PL* 63, 1137B-D.

<sup>406</sup> C7, 73-74.

### 3.2.8. *Carmen* 8

#### 3.2.8.1. Form

##### 3.2.8.1.1. Visual Elements

This *carmen* belongs to the group in which the cross form is made by a single-line figure, but here it appears in a new form: a branched cross. The vertical and horizontal arms of the cross correspond with the middle verse and mesostich, a form we have seen already in *carmina* 2, 4 and 5, but in *carmen* 8 the cross arms branch out into three lines halfway between the center and the edge, one line continuing the line of the cross arms straight to the edge of the field, and the other two lines diverging at a 45° angle and proceeding to the edge of the field.

The cross arms and branches divide the edges into four nearly-equal sections. The field is a 37 x 37 square, so with the cross arms occupying the middle verse and mesostich, each half of each edge has eighteen letters. The branch itself is one letter and divides the space into nine letters to the inside of the branch and eight letters to the outside. The branched cross figure is therefore centered and extends to the edges of the field, and the branches divide and fill the quadrants.

The interwoven verses can be read easily enough in the arms of the cross, while the branches require only a little effort to discover the starting point and sequence.

##### 3.2.8.1.2. Textual Elements

The two titles show the greatest discrepancy so far encountered in the *In honorem*.

The title in A9 runs,

VIII: De mensibus duodecim et duodecim signis atque duodecim uentis et de apostolorum praedicatione et de ceteris mysteriis duodenarii numeri quae in cruce ostenduntur.<sup>407</sup>

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<sup>407</sup> A9, 20-23.

a list of five subjects, all of them twelve-fold divisions: the twelve months, twelve signs (of the Zodiac), twelve winds, the preaching of the (twelve) apostles and the other mysteries of the number twelve. The title in D8 merely states that the subject of the *carmen* is the meaning of the number twelve: "DE OCTAVAE SPECIEI FORMA, VBI DE DVODENARII NVMERI RATIONE EXPOSITVM EST."<sup>408</sup>

The basis poem begins with an invocation of Christ as Savior, king, counsel, virtue, blessing, light, and (Only-)Begotten of the Father (v. 1-3). The second section is concerned with Christ as the *totius iuris origo* (D8, 7). Christ is the giver of all justice and gives honor to virtue. Everything good, true, or remarkable, whatever of justice exists in the world, whatever is rightly approved and granted by the order of the world comes from Him. From Him came also the rewards of the faithful and rebellious angels and the expulsion of idolatry and establishment of true worship. All these things come from his honor and power (v. 3-12). The next section turns from the great theme of justice to that of light. We humans, exiled from the light, should observe the rays that come from the blessed cross, through which Christ restored the light lost by Adam. Whoever celebrated those rays now enjoys eternal light, that light shone on the arms of the prophets and the Apostles were decorated with it. The faith of Christ shines with this sun, the hearts of men glow rightly, their prayers shine in it. The just gave forth a ray of it and taught the peoples to obey the mandates of God, the justice of Heaven. (v. 13-25). The poem then returns to Christ as king: by mounting the cross, He showed that through it the gates of Heaven are open to the world and by it he wishes us to enter life (v. 26-29). Therefore he blessed the twelve winds and governs the twelve signs (of the Zodiac, and the twelve months) and the twelve hours (v. 30-34). The Cross of Christ grants both the joys of Heaven and justice on Earth (v. 34-37).

The commentary is almost entirely devoted to showing how the number twelve is appropriate for the cross by listing important twelves from the natural world and salvation history. Twelve winds blow through the world, there are twelve zodiacal signs through which the seven planets move, twelve months make the course of the

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<sup>408</sup> D8, 1-2.

year, the “working day” (*artificialis dies*<sup>409</sup>) has twelve hours, the twelve patriarchs, the twelve tribes of Israel from whom the prophets arose who predicted Christ, the twelve apostles whom Christ chose and sent forth, and the heavenly Jerusalem is replete with twelves – twelve gates, twelve angles in each gate with the names of the twelve tribes, the twelve foundations with names of the twelve apostles. The Holy Church is symbolized by that celestial Jerusalem, city of the great king, whose builder and founder is God, who is at the same time its foundation and consummation, who became a priest for us so that with the offering of his own blood he might wash and dedicate the walls of the city. Whatever the Father has, Christ has. Thus, the twelve stones in the breastplate of the high priest, inscribed with the names of the twelve patriarchs, show that all spiritual gifts are perfectly completed in the mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who is the Word made flesh among us; he brought grace where Moses gave the law.

The interwoven verse in the mesostich runs, “IN CRUCE NVNC MENSES, VENTI, DVODENAQVE SIGNA,”<sup>410</sup> and refers to the first three subjects of the title in A9, while the middle verse, v. 19, is “GREX ET APOSTOLICVS DECORATVR LVCE CORVSCA,”<sup>411</sup> the next subject mentioned there. The branches attached to the vertical arm contain the verse, “SVNT QVOQVE CONSOCIA HIC STIPS, PLAGA ET ORBIS OPVS,”<sup>412</sup> which takes up the references to the Jewish people with *stips*; the regions of the world with *plaga*; and the working day with *orbis opus*. The verse interwoven in the horizontal arms, “SANCTA VALET CELEBRI AST CRVX DARE CALLE BONUM HOC,”<sup>413</sup> takes up again the theme of the second section of the basis poem, the cross as the giver of all good.

### 3.2.8.1.3. Cognitive Elements

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<sup>409</sup> C8, 6.

<sup>410</sup> C8, 58.

<sup>411</sup> C8, 60 and B8, 19.

<sup>412</sup> C8, 64.

<sup>413</sup> C8, 67.

The most important relationship between textual and visual elements in the eighth *carmen* is that created by the similarity in structure between the cross figure and the discussion of the winds and months. All of these elements analyze a set of twelve members into a three-fold division of a prior four-fold division. The cross figure begins from the center with four arms and then, halfway to the edges, each arm splits into three to reach a total of twelve arms. The months are not presented independently or equally, but rather as a further three-fold division of the four seasons depicted in *carmen 7*. The same is true of the winds, which are divided into the four principal winds along the cardinal directions (also depicted in *carmen 7*) and the two winds to each side of those. However, this articulation is not systematically applied to all the sets of twelve members which Hrabanus lists; there is no attempt to divide the patriarchs, tribes of Israel, apostles or gates or foundations of the heavenly Jerusalem into four groups of three.

Most of the twelve-member sets which are emphasized in the title of *carmen 8* are elaborations of the themes of *carmen 7*. *Carmen 7* dealt with the division of the material universe into four-member sets: directions, seasons, and quarters of the day. In *carmen 8*, space and time are redivided into 12s by the winds, months, and hours. A notable exception to the remarks in the previous paragraph is that Hrabanus does not divide the hours of the day according to the four quarters of the day used in *carmen 7*. In *carmen 7*, the day was split into morning, noon, evening and night, but in *carmen 8* Hrabanus speaks of the twelve hours of the “*dies artificialis*”, i.e. the working day from dawn to sunset. Nonetheless, the other divisions do establish a connection with the proceeding *carmen*. Ernst points out how some of the twelve-fold divisions point to the cosmological symbolism of the cross, while others are typological.<sup>414</sup>

### **3.2.8.2. Content**

#### **3.2.8.2.1. Twelve-fold Divisions of Space and Time**

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<sup>414</sup> Ernst, *op. cit.*, 1991, p. 229.



The number twelve appears, of course, innumerable times in the Holy Scriptures, which raises the question: why did Hrabanus pick the twelves he did for *carmen* 8? One clue comes from the emphasis given to certain sets of twelve in the title. A number of twelves which he discusses in the commentary are simply summarized in the last item in the title, “et de ceteris mysteriis duodenari numeri,”<sup>415</sup> but the other items point out in particular the months, zodiacal signs, winds and apostles. The first three of these show a clear connection with the themes of *carmen* 7: the divisions of space and time.

Just as, in *carmen* 7, we saw space divided into four directions and time divided into the four seasons of the year and the four quarters of the day, in *carmen* 8 we see space divided further into the twelve winds. In fact, Hrabanus himself makes use of the names of winds already in the interwoven verses of *carmen* 7 for the directions, and in the commentary to the eighth *carmen* describes the winds which correspond with the cardinal directions as the “cardinal winds” – “ventorum quattuor cardinalium.”<sup>416</sup>

Likewise, the year and the day, the natural units of the measurement of time, were divided into fours in *carmen* 7 and into twelves in *carmen* 8. The twelve months or signs of the Zodiac divide the year and the twelve hours divide the day. There is, however, a difference in approach, because the twelve months are analyzed as three-fold divisions of the four seasons, while the twelve hours have no connection with the division of the day in *carmen* 7.

Therefore, one aspect of the eighth *carmen* continues the theme of the seventh. The ordering of the physical universe to the cross through its basic framework of space and time is now analyzed, however, through the number twelve instead of the number four.

### **3.2.8.2.2. The Number 12 in the History of Salvation**

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<sup>415</sup> A9, 22-23.

<sup>416</sup> C8, 50.

Hrabanus also discusses a number of twelves which have nothing to do with the divisions of space and time. These are, in the order which Hrabanus mentions them, the 12 patriarchs, who gave birth to the 12 tribes of Israel. The prophets who predicted Christ were born from the tribes of Israel, and Christ himself took his human flesh from Israel. Christ then chose 12 Apostles from this same people, and the celestial Jerusalem is full of twelves: it has 12 gates, 12 angles to each gate, and 12 foundations, with the names of the 12 tribes in every angle and the names of the 12 apostles on the 12 foundations. Christ is our High Priest and dedicated this celestial city, therefore the high priest's breastplate has 12 stones with the names of the 12 patriarchs.

If we observe the order here, we can see that it traces the stages of the history of salvation. We proceed from the 12 sons of Jacob to the 12 tribes of the Israelites to the prophets to Christ to the 12 Apostles to the 12s present in the Heavenly Jerusalem. Hrabanus follows the history even when there is no 12 to mention, such as the prophets or Christ himself. The one exception are the 12 stones on the breastplate of the high priest, which Hrabanus shifts out of its historical order into an eschatological context. The 12 stones of the high priest's breastplate are not related to Moses and Aaron but are a sign of Christ's eternal priesthood in the celestial Jerusalem. To Christ the high priest, the mediator between God and men, we owe every spiritual gift – *“omnia spiritalia carismata ... in mediatore Dei et hominum homine Christo Jesu, pariter et perfecte completa fuisse.”*<sup>417</sup> This relates to one of the themes which is clearly articulated in the basis poem but hardly appears in the commentary outside this sentence, the role of Christ as mediator of all good and justice.

### **3.2.8.2.3. Christ the Giver of Light and Right**

The basis poem is primarily devoted to two themes which do not have an obvious connection with the number 12. The first is Christ as the origin of justice and everything good. This section begins in verse 3:

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<sup>417</sup> C8, 37-40.

... certe trahit omne hinc  
Ius ortum, factura fabrum, mos castus honorem.  
Hincque bonum quicquid uerum mirumque uidetur  
Iustitiae quicquid arce, quicquid manet orbe,  
Quicquid rite probat et profert ordine mundus;  
Angelus atque bonus quae nam suffert et iniquus  
Sunt hinc, quodque Deus uanum deiecerat ex hoc  
Saeculo ius reuocans. En omnia Christus honore  
Conplectit dominans, consignat munera nutu.<sup>418</sup>

Christ is presented as the source of all justice, the creator, the giver of honor to virtuous conduct. He is the source of everything good, true or remarkable in the world, in an echo of the Platonic division of the good in general into the good, true and beautiful. Everything right in heaven or on earth is approved and offered through his justice. The reward of the just angels and the punishment of the unjust angels is His doing, and He re-established the just worship of God by expelling idolatry from this world. This passage is a remarkable assertion that all terrestrial and celestial justice and goodness derive from Christ's justice and goodness, their ordering principle. It goes far beyond the twelve-fold divisions of the basic frameworks of material world and the appearance of groups of twelve in salvation history that we have seen discussed in the title and commentary, and puts the basic principles of right and goodness in relationship with Christ.

The next section of the basis poem turns abruptly to a new theme, that of light, which is traced throughout the history of salvation.

Hinc decet ut genus humanum et luminis exsul  
Notet hos radios quos erigit haec benedicta  
Crux saluans, et reddens quem iam primus habebat  
Exortum lucis, nocuus quo abscesserat Adam.  
Quotquot iam radios uere en istos celebrabant  
Perpetua lucis fulgescunt sorte. Crebroque  
Hoc candore satis micuerunt arma prophetae,  
Grex et apostolicus decoratur luce corusca.  
Hocque fides Christi candet hoc sole; relucent  
Corda bene hominum, uota quo lumine gliscunt;  
Iusti pollentes per mystica signa bonumque  
Conscient radium; mandatis credere ob ipsum  
Et tribuunt populis, cum iura superna notare

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<sup>418</sup> B8, 3-11.

Adscribunt Christo consortia ducere vitae.<sup>419</sup>

Hrabanus begins by describing fallen man as “exiled from the light” – the light of Paradise – then calls upon us to notice the rays which the blessed cross puts forth, which restores the light – the inner light of innocence and friendship with God – lost by Adam. He then moves from this description of the basic state of man after both Fall and Redemption to the progress of the light among men: those who have celebrated those rays from the cross already enjoy perpetual light in Heaven, this light of the cross flashed on the arms of the prophets and embellished the apostles. The prophets and apostles brought the faith in Christ, which shines in this sun, and once the hearts of men are enlightened by that faith, they and their prayers shine as well. Finally these redeemed men give forth themselves similar rays of light which lead the peoples to believe and follow the commandments of Christ. In the final phrase Hrabanus returns to the theme of justice: the progress of the light of Christ in illuminating souls leads finally to the acceptance of the *iura superna*.

How does these themes of justice and light relate to the number twelve? Hrabanus does not make any explicit connection. However, he does describe Jesus’ action in choosing the twelve apostles as “quos ex ipsa gente (i.e. Israel) elegit sol iustitiae, in horarum similitudine inlustrans.”<sup>420</sup> Jesus, the sun of justice, illuminates the apostles in the similarity of the hours. So the twelve apostles are like the twelve hours of the day between dawn and sunset, bringing the light of the sun to the world. Here is a connection between the light and the number 12. The connection with justice is more tenuous. Hrabanus does not cite an obvious passage which would have established such a connection, *Matthew* 19:28 or *Luke* 22:30, Jesus’ statement that the twelve apostles would sit on thrones judging the tribes of Israel. However, Christ is the sun of justice – so there is an explicit connection between light and right.

### 3.2.8.3. Sources

#### 3.2.8.3.1. Bede, *Explanatio Apocalypsis*

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<sup>419</sup> B8, 12-25.

<sup>420</sup> C8, 14-15.

Hrabanus' interpretation of the celestial Jerusalem is taken, almost but not quite word for word, from Bede's *Explanatio Apocalypsis*. The Bede passage begins at l. 30, "... cuius artifex et conditor est Deus," and continues to l. 40, "pariter et perfecte fuisse completa." There is one important difference between the passages. Bede describes the breastplate of the high priest in Jerusalem as follows: "Unde in pectore summi pontificis iidem lapides et ipsi patriarcharum nominibus inscripti jubebantur imponi."<sup>421</sup> Bede emphasizes that the stones on the breastplate of the high priest are the same as those which make up the gates of the heavenly Jerusalem. Hrabanus alters this section. He says instead, "unde in pectore summi pontificis duodecim lapides pretiosi, quaterno uersu dispositi, et duodecim patriarcharum nominibus inscripti uidebantur imponi."<sup>422</sup> Hrabanus rewrites his source to move the emphasis from the eschatological continuity of the stones, from priestly breastplate to Heavenly Jerusalem, to their number, 12, the subject of *carmen* 8. Furthermore, he adds a comment, *quaterno uersu dispositi*, to remind his reader that the twelve stones were arranged into four lines of three, just as the cross figure of *carmen* 8 shows the four cross arms branching into twelve ends. In this way he suggests a parallel between the visual level of *carmen* 8 and the arrangement of the stones in the long-vanished breastplate.

### 3.2.8.3.2. Tradition of the Twelve Apostles as the Twelve Hours of the Day

Hrabanus could appeal to a long tradition in support of his identification of the twelve apostles as the twelve hours of the day. The great authority of Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* presents this idea in his commentary on *Psalm* 55. Verse 4 begins "ab altitudine diei" which Augustine connects with *John* 11:9, "Respondit Jesus: Nonne duodecim sunt horae diei? Si quis ambulaverit in die, non offendit, quia lucem huius mundi videt." Augustine interprets this reference to the twelve hours of the day as the twelve apostles. Jesus shows himself to be the sun of justice and calls on the faithful to obey the commandments passed on by the apostles.

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<sup>421</sup> Bede, *Explanatio Apocalypsis*, 3, 21, *PL* 93, 203A.

<sup>422</sup> C8, 34-37.

This idea was fairly current in the Carolingian world and among their immediate predecessors. Bede makes use of this same idea to connect an incident in Luke's gospel, the sending forth of seventy-two disciples, to the Trinity. He asserts that the seventy-two disciples represent seventy-two hours – citing *John* 11:9 to establish this – and then points out that seventy-two hours makes three days. Finally he lists numerous other occasions where an interval of three days indicates the Trinity – the Resurrection of Christ on the third day, obviously, but also the people of Israel receiving the law on Mt. Sinai on the third day there and crossing the Jordan – a type of baptism – on the third day. Bede uses the same text on two occasions, in his *In Lucae Evangelium Expositio*,<sup>423</sup> and his homily *In Festo Sancti Lucae*.<sup>424</sup>

Heterius and Beatus, the first writers to object to the statements in favor of Adoptionism by Elipandus, employ this idea in their epistle *Ad Elipandum*,<sup>425</sup> near the end of a long exegesis of the true Christians, faithful to the Apostles, as the body of Christ and heretics as the body of Antichrist. Just as the sun and the hours are inseparable, although the sun makes the hours and not viceverse, and together make up the day, so Christ is the head and the Apostles His body.

Hrabanus' older contemporary Smaragdus of S. Michael makes use of the idea of the Apostles as the twelve hours of the day in his general discussion of the expression *fili lucis* in his guide for monks, the *Diadema Monachorum*.<sup>426</sup> Smaragdus also cites *John* 11:9 to prove the idea.

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<sup>423</sup> Bede, *In Lucae Evangelium Expositio*, 3, 10, PL 92, 461D.

<sup>424</sup> Bede, *Homiliae*, 3, 68, PL 94, 443D.

<sup>425</sup> Beatus, *Adversus Elipandum*, PL 96, 998A.

<sup>426</sup> Smaragdus, *Diadema Monachorum*, 52, PL 102, 650A.

### **3.2.9. *Carmen* 9**

#### **3.2.9.1. Form**

##### **3.2.9.1.1. Visual Elements**

The ninth *carmen* is significantly larger than average, with 41 verses of 41 letters each.

It is visually ambiguous if the interwoven text of *carmen* 9 makes up four figures or a single one. There are four large hexagons laid out in a cross shape and elongated along the axes of the cross to almost touch – they are separated by just one letter – the edges of the field. In the interior, however, they meet at the letter in the exact center of the field. Therefore at the first glance on a visual level, the hexagon figures, although almost completely distinct, visually make up one single complex figure, which resembles a flower blossoming into four large petals. However, the title in A9 speaks of this one letter separately, so we are justified in following this textual indication in understanding the figure as four hexagons and a monad.

The figures are yellow with red letters in all manuscripts except V, where they are gold-green with yellow letters.

The interwoven text in the hexagons is easy to read, as each hexagon contains a connected block of text read from the top and left in a comfortable way.

##### **3.2.9.1.2. Textual Elements**

The title which confirms us in interpreting the figure level as four hexagons and a monad is as follows:

VIII. De diebus anni in quattuor hexagonis et monade comprehensis et de bissextili incremento quomodo in specie sanctae crucis adornentur et consecrentur.<sup>427</sup>

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<sup>427</sup> A9, 23-25.

It gives three subjects, the *dies anni* and the *bissextile incrementum* and how they are adorned and consecrated in the form of the holy cross. It also specifies that the dies of the year are indicated in the four hexagons and monad of the figure level. Hrabanus makes clear what the *bissextile incrementum* is in the course of the commentary.

The title in the prose translation speaks only of the number of the days of the year: “DE NONA FIGVRA, QVAE DIERVVM ANNI NVMERVM IN CRVCIS SPECIE CONTINET.”<sup>428</sup> From this we gather that Hrabanus’ focus in *carmen* 9 is not the days themselves so much as their number, 365 and a quarter.

The basis poem begins by exhorting the sun and moon to praise Jesus Christ, who is God and who is their honor, stable light, peaceful order, praise, honesty, continuity, and light for all centuries. In this opening, Hrabanus shows his readers how the sun and moon, which seem to be the stable lights of all creation, moving eternally in peaceful order, in fact derive these qualities from Jesus Christ the Creator. This section (v. 1-5) concludes with an assertion that the sun and moon regulate their steps and the nights and days according to the number which is the subject of the *carmen*.

The poem then (v. 6-11) describes its figures: the cross figure contains 365 letters to indicate the sun and moon; the four seasons compete one year in this number, which consists of 52 weeks and 1 day ( $52 \times 7 = 364$ ). The connection between the four seasons and the four hexagons (each of which contains 91 letters) and the connection between the monad and the one extra day is not explicitly stated here but made in the commentary.

The next section (v. 12-17) describes how the whole course of the year, the stars, and the seasons returns to this one day. The cross divides the hours into four parts and the six angles of the hexagons indicate the six hours beyond the 365 days of the year and which make up the extra day of the leap year.

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<sup>428</sup> D9, 1-2.



The first verse which includes bivalent letters in the horizontal hexagons brings a turn to addressing the cross. The cross shines and gives light to those who sit in darkness. It is the sceptre of the Most High and stretches from the height of Heaven to the depth of Hell. The cross is the glory of the world and the true Shem rules the stars from it, gives salvation and opens the gates of Heaven. The proof is that the light of the sun faded out when Christ died on the cross (v. 18-26).

Although Judaea was raging when it lifted up the fruit of this tree, the nations and peoples come from every corner of the world and ocean to it. They are satisfied there by its banquet, receive the hundred-fold gifts of the Father, and are received into Heaven, where they see the nine angelic choirs and shine themselves with perpetual light (v. 27-33).

Hrabanus then speaks in his own person, calling on every Christian to sing and write praises of the Redeemer – as indeed he is doing, although he does not point this out, in writing the *In honorem* – so that in this life bitter death may be driven away, and afterwards we may receive the kingdoms of God, where, shining with higher light, we may praise the author of all things, the Lord Christ Jesus, Son of the Almighty Father (v. 34-41).

We can see how Hrabanus maintains the importance of light throughout this poem, which begins with exhortating the sun and moon to praise Christ, who is the true author of their exceptional place and role in the universe, then relating the cross-figure to the number of days in the solar year. The cross shines and gives light to all and Christ regulates the stars from it. The light of the sun faded at the moment of Christ's death upon it, and through it the saved from all nations achieve salvation, where in Heaven they themselves shine with eternal and supernatural light.

In the commentary, Hrabanus explains the exact length of the year in detail, explaining how the 365 days divide into four seasons with one day left over, and how the extra quarter day goes to make the leap day – the *dies bissextilis*. The *incrementum bissextile* of the title refers, therefore, to this extra quarter day which led, in the Julian calendar, to inserting one extra day every four years. Just as in the

poem, Hrabanus in the commentary relates the six angles of the hexagons to the six hours of this quarter day. Why does he relate the six angles and not the six sides? Perhaps because the angles are inflection points where one process changes into another, and the process of change is the primary aspect of the changing seasons and the cycles of the solar year.

The middle part of the commentary is devoted to a discussion of the role of the number six in the cycle of the year. As Hrabanus puts it: “quia senarius numerus in tota anni serie plurimum valet.”<sup>429</sup> However, Hrabanus does not comment in his own name on this idea. Instead he explicitly cites Augustine’s *De Trinitate*, 4,4, in which the bishop of Hippo deals with the same theme. Augustine asserts that six and sixty bear the same meaning as occupying the same place in the units and tens. Sixty is a sixth part of a year; six times sixty makes three-hundred sixty or twelve lunar months of thirty days, which leaves five and a quarter days for the sun to complete its course. Augustine explains that the intercalary day is named the *bissextum*. Considering the five and a quarter days, the number six is present in various ways. All together they could be considered six days if the quarter day is taken as a day. Five days is the sixth part of a month of thirty days, while a quarter days is six hours.

After this rare explicit citation of a Patristic authority, Hrabanus justifies and relates to the cross numerous aspects of the *carmen*. The series of days is appropriate to the cross which illuminates men’s hearts. The joining of hexagons (formed from the perfect number six), because the cross is the perfection of things. The order of the temporal light, since man finds eternal light by the cross. The number ninety-one, since by the cross the angelic orders were completed (by the addition of mankind; this derives from Gregory the Great’s exegesis of the parable of the woman with ten drachmas in *Homelia in Evangelia*, 34, from which Hrabanus quoted in the course of the commentary on *carmen* 3. The form of the figures, four hexagons joined into a single letter, is appropriate to the cross which unifies every nation from the four corners of the earth into a single faith and bond of charity. Hrabanus concludes the actual commentary with a doxology before proceeding to the usual explanation of the

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<sup>429</sup> C9, 25-26.

interwoven text, a sign that the two sections of each *expositio* were distinct in his mind.

The two vertical hexagons contain interwoven verses which make a Sapphic stanza. Hrabanus explains the metrical rules for Sapphic stanzas. It seems that he considers the names of the feet to be common knowledge, as well as the rules for dactylic hexameter and elegaic couplet, which he uses without explanation, but not the rules for Sapphics. The interwoven verses of the vertical hexagons speaks about the number of days of the year, with the upper hexagon focusing on the 365 days and the lower hexagon on 91 plus one left over. It is notable that Hrabanus preserves the exact number of 91 letters in the interwoven Sapphic of the lower hexagon, which discusses the number 91, by joining the central C to the verse of the upper hexagon, which contains 92 letters. He is careful to point this out in the commentary. The two horizontal hexagons contain elegaic couplets which concern the cross. These restate the constant theme of the cross as the means of salvation and Christ's rule from it over Heaven, Earth and Hell, with particular emphasis for this *carmen* on Christ's rule of the stars and "all the gates of the day."

### **3.2.9.1.3. Cognitive Elements**

The primary structural element of *carmen* 9 is the junction of the four hexagons into a single figure. Hrabanus devotes text in all the textual fields – the title, the basis poem, the translation, the commentary and the interwoven verses – to pointing out the aspects of the structure of this figure: the various ways in which hexagons are appropriate for a poem about the cycle of the solar year, the relationship between the six hours beyond three-hundred sixty-five days and the six angles, the number of letters contained in each hexagon corresponding to the seasons, etc., etc.

The way in which the hexagons are joined in a single letter also expresses the way in which the celestial cycles return to the same starting point and the different seasons are nevertheless united into a single year.

### **3.2.9.2. Content**

### 3.2.9.2.1. Christ as True Sun

Hrabanus' main theme in this carmen is establishing a relationship between the cycle of the solar year and Christ and his cross. He does so via several aspects of the poem. First of all, by using the exact (according to the science of his day) length of the year to determine all the key features of the cross figure on the visual plane. The cross figure contains 365 letters. However, in addition to being analyzed into days, the year in carmen 9 is also analyzed into 52 weeks and a day and furthermore into four seasons. All of this mathematics is discussed at length in both the basis poem itself and the commentary.

The first analysis of a year into 365 days appears in verses 6-9.

Stirpsque habet haec senos decies et quinquies unum,  
Atque toro in proprio decies quoque rite tricenos.  
Namque his sol rotaque se noscitur indere luna et;  
Temporaque his tota et semel omnis circuit annus,<sup>430</sup>

Meanwhile, the next two lines give the second analysis as 52 weeks + 1 day.

Binosque et deciens quinos habet his globus orbes  
Septimanae atque habet unius quoque limitis oram.

The commentary first presents the solar year as 365 (and a quarter) days and then again as divided exactly into four seasons of 91 days and 7 hours and a half.

Siquidem annus solaris habet dies .CCC.LXV. et quadrantem. Diuide ergo hos per .IIII.: quater .XCI., .CCC.LXIII. fiunt, et remanet unus dies et quadrans. Diuide illum unum diem per .IIII.: quater sex horae .XXIIII. fiunt, quod est integra dies a solis ortu usque ad alterum solis ortum. Diuide ipsum quadrantem, quater enim hora et semis sex horas conplent, quod est bissexti per singulos annos incrementum, ac inde fit si totum annum in quattuor partiaris, quod unaquaeque pars dies .XCI. et horas septem et semissem contineat atque haec fit uera partitio quattuor uicissitudinum,

The figure itself suggest both of these two alternative analyses. On the one hand, its division into four suggests the four-fold division of the solar year into the seasons; on

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<sup>430</sup> B9, 6-9.

the other, the monad in the center, also emphasized in the title, fits with the division into 52 weeks and one day left over.

Another connection between this figure and the year is explained by Hrabanus in the commentary: that the quarter day over 365 is indicated by the choice of the hexagon form, the six angles of the hexagon corresponding to the six hours of the quarter day. Every fourth year, those six hours add up to a full day of 24 hours, added to the calendar in the leap year, just as there are 24 angles in the four hexagons of the figure. Augustine informs us that this day is named bissextum and so the additional quarter day is the *incrementum bissextile* mentioned in the title.

The interwoven verses emphasize further the importance of these calculations. The upper hexagon contains a stanza giving the number of days of the year.

TERQVE CENTENOS DECIESQVE SENOS,  
ET SEMEL QVINOS HABET VNIVERSVM  
TEMPVS, ANNALIS CRVCE CIRCIVITVS  
ECCE DIES HIC.<sup>431</sup>

Meanwhile, the lower hexagon divides this number into the four seasons and the hexagons which represent them, with their 91 days or letters, and the monad left over.

SED PLAGIS POSTI SATIS EXAGONI  
QVATTVOR MONSTRANT DECIES NOVENOS,  
SINGVLI TOTOS PIE CVM MONADE  
ET SVPER VNVM.<sup>432</sup>

In this complex interweaving, the different ways of considering the solar year are all incorporated into the figure of the cross of Christ.

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<sup>431</sup> C9, 77-80.

<sup>432</sup> C9, 82-85.

A second aspect of this theme is the assertion, primarily in the beginning of the basis poem, that the physical sun and moon derive their light, ordered progress through the heavens and nobility from Christ.

Sol et luna, Deum hic Christum en benedicite Iesum;  
Cruxque est uester honos, stabilis lux, pacifer ordo  
Laus, probitas, series, per cuncta et saecula lumen.  
Vosque diem hac noctemque simul perpenditis ora,  
Stringitis atque huius centena ad uincula gressum;<sup>433</sup>

After the exhortation to the sun and moon to bless God – Jesus Christ, there is the interesting assertion that the cross is their *stabilis lux* and *pacifer ordo*. What lights are more stable than the sun and moon? What order is more peaceful than the order of the heavenly bodies, which move according to their own laws regardless of the vicissitudes of our ever-changing world? Yet, Hrabanus claims, in reality the cross is the true stable light and peaceful order which illuminates and orders the sun and moon; it is the origin of their *honos* and *laus*.

Several passages speak of Christ's rulership of the physical heavens. Most important is the fact that the sun ceased shining during Christ's crucifixion.

Laus hominum haec odis planat cuncta diei hausta;  
Lux abiit cum summa iugis primum astra adit en sol,  
Atque sacram effigiem hostis in ardua sistit Iesum.<sup>434</sup>

The prose version is clearer here:

Haec quippe humanum genus laudans cantibus exponit, cum praedicat fideliter quod Christo a Iudaeis crucifixo media die lumen siderum obscuratum sit.<sup>435</sup>

The midday sun went out at Christ's death, which shows the sun itself paying homage to the Son of God, the source of its light.

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<sup>433</sup> B9, 1-5.

<sup>434</sup> B9, 24-26.

<sup>435</sup> D9, 36-38.

Christ also rules the stars from the cross, shaping their courses.

... Sem regit astra poli hinc;  
Donat magna salus hoc sede hac claustraque caeli.<sup>436</sup>

These lines receive considerable expansion in the prose translation:

Sem quoque uerus, id est nominatus, noster, per cuius nomen solius tota saluatur creatura, cursum siderum ad huius formam temperat, ipsumque regnum caeli donat, cum in hac sede positus claustra caeli nobis aperit.<sup>437</sup>

This passage begins with the rulership over the stars but then turns to a more spiritual dimension. The expressions *donat ... claustra... caeli* in B9, 23 and *claustra caeli nobis aperit* in D9, 35-36 raise the question of the meaning for us. On this more spiritual plane, the cross is assimilated to the sun because it shines in the hearts of men and illuminates them.

The cross itself is said to shine in verses 18 and 19:

Tu sacra stirpsque clara die ornas cuncta tenebris;  
Crux quoque sancta, micat,<sup>438</sup>

Where is this light shining? The commentary explains that it is illuminating the hearts of men: “Merito quippe sanctae cruci aptata est series dierum, quia per ipsam inluminata sunt corda hominum.”<sup>439</sup> Furthermore, the cross fits with the order of the temporal light, “quia per ipsam lucem aeternam homo inuenit.”<sup>440</sup> So, the cross shines with light which enlightens the heart, calling it to repentance; it is also the means by which men reach the eternal light of Heaven. In fact, the faithful themselves, those redeemed by the cross, while shine in Heaven, as Hrabanus promises in verse 33: “o! singuli et undique fulgeant.”

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<sup>436</sup> B9, 22-23.

<sup>437</sup> D9, 32-36.

<sup>438</sup> B9, 18-19.

<sup>439</sup> C9, 55-56.

<sup>440</sup> C9, 58.

The interwoven verse in the right arm of the cross, our left, reads:

STIRPS QVOQVE SANCTA CRVCIS COMPLET CERTO ORDINE  
SCEPTRVM  
HAECQVE DECVS MVNDI EST MAGNA SALVS HOMINVM HAEC.<sup>441</sup>

and reasserts this complicated theology of illumination and salvation. The cross, the glory of the world, whose light shining in the heart opens the way to Heaven for men, is in this way the *magna salus hominum*.

### 3.2.9.2.2. Cross as Unifying Principle of the Universe

Another theme of *carmen* 9, focused on the sun, which is, as was generally believed in Hrabanus' time, the central unifying fire of the universe, is the way in which the Cross unifies the universe. Of course this is one of the common themes in all the carmina, but in this case the unification is emphasized in both its vertical axis – through Heaven, Earth and Hell – and its horizontal one to all the corners of the Earth. Hrabanus expresses this visually by the usual position of the figure in the exact center of the field, and the extension of the cross figure to almost fill the field.

The vertical axis is mentioned in the verses 20-21:

... Celsi ibas barathrum orbem ara  
Arto ordine sceptrum hac atque aethera celsa; ...<sup>442</sup>

To which correspond the following lines in prose: “Tu regis fortissimi sceptrum et ara Dei altissimi, ordine potenti dilatari per orbem; descendisti ad inferos, tendis ad caelestia.”<sup>443</sup> The cross, which is the altar of God and sceptre of the King, extends (ibas) throughout Heaven (*aethera celsa / caelestia*), Earth (*orbem / orbem*), and Hell (*barathrum / inferos*).

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<sup>441</sup> C9, 91-92.

<sup>442</sup> B9, 20-21.

<sup>443</sup> D9, 29-31.



Although this is the only mention of this aspect in the basis poem, the idea is reinforced by the content of the interwoven verses in the left hexagon of the cross according to which Christ holds everything, *baratrum, orbem atque aethera celsa*:

CVNCTA TENET CHRISTVS BARATRVM, ORBEM ATQVE AETHERA  
CELSA,  
NAM REGIT ASTRA POLI HIC CLAVSTRAQVE CVNCTA DIEI.<sup>444</sup>

As a concrete example of this asserted unification process, the cross effects the union of men and angels, as Hrabanus has shown in *carmina* 3 and 4. He refers in his commentary to the exegesis of the parable of the woman with the missing drachma, Luke 15:8-10. Gregory the Great, in the *Homelia in Evangelia* 34, which Hrabanus drew upon in *carmen* 3, interprets the 9 drachmas the woman retains and the 1 she has lost as the nine angel choirs and mankind, gone lost but then sought and redeemed by Christ. This idea finds expression in verses 32-32.

[gentes et populi] ... atque nouenos tum aethere cernant  
Angelicos populos, o! singuli et undique fulgeant.<sup>445</sup>

He asserts here that the peoples and nations redeemed by Christ will, once they are received into Heaven through the cross, see the nine-fold angelic peoples and they themselves will shine. Hrabanus also reflects Gregory's interpretation of the parable of the lost drachma as he interprets the number ninety-one in the commentary: "Ad illam nonagenarius numerus cum monade cucurrit, quia per illam angelicus ordo ad sui numeri plenitudinem peruenit."<sup>446</sup>

The horizontal aspect receives more thorough treatment. The basis poem speaks of the cross gathering peoples and nations from all the parts of the "square world" and the ocean.

Quo hoc possent tetragoni quaerere partibus orbis

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<sup>444</sup> C9, 94-95.

<sup>445</sup> B9, 32-33.

<sup>446</sup> C9, 60-62.

Gentes et populi ex quattuor maris undique summis.<sup>447</sup>

In the prose version Hrabanus speaks, not of a *tetragonus orbis* but of peoples coming *ex quadrifido Oceani limbo*.<sup>448</sup>

Hrabanus joins himself to the cross's activity of uniting all nations when he exhorts his readers to dedicate all their songs and writings to praising the cross. As verse 34 reads, "Hinc moneo ut cantus totos pia scriptaque agamus."<sup>449</sup>

This unification of all peoples in praise of the cross is also expounded in the commentary, where Hrabanus remarks:

Ad ipsius quoque medietatem ex quattuor partibus hexagoni directi unitate copulantur, quia per ipsius maiestatem omnes gentes ex quattuor plagis mundi in unitate fidei sociantur, ipsiusque completo opere caelestis atque terrestis creatura una caritate coniunguntur.<sup>450</sup>

Here Hrabanus explains the fact that the four hexagons meet in a single letter indicates that the cross unites people from the four corners of the world into the unity of faith and joins them by one charity. So the very structure of the figurative level indicates this truth which Hrabanus wishes to communicate.

### 3.2.9.3. Sources

#### 3.2.9.3.1. Augustine, *De Trinitate*

It is curious to a modern reader to see that Hrabanus cites one of Augustine's most important theological works, the *De Trinitate*, not for anything to do with its primary theme but for its numerological reflections on the role of the number six in the cycle of the year. Hrabanus seems to live in a mental world in which the struggles of the Fathers concerning doctrine have entirely faded into obscurity. The content of the

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<sup>447</sup> B9, 28-29.

<sup>448</sup> D9, 41.

<sup>449</sup> B9, 34.

<sup>450</sup> C9, 62-66.

Christian faith seems to be clear and uncontroversial, divinely revealed through the Scriptures and interpreted by the Fathers. It is primarily his numerological interpretations which he feels need support from their authority.

The passage cited by Hrabanus seems to be transmitted by Bede's quotation of the same passage in the almost identical context of *De ratione temporum*, 39, concerning the *bissextilis dies*.<sup>451</sup>

### **3.2.9.3.2. Gregory the Great, *Homelia in evangelia*, 2, 34**

Although he does not cite it again, Gregory the Great's *XL Homeliarum in evangelia*, 34 is the background of some of Hrabanus' assertions. In the homily the ten drachmas of the parable became 9 and 1 when one was lost; Gregory interprets this as the nine angelic choirs, remained faithful to God, and humankind, entirely lost to Him until Christ came to redeem us. Hrabanus applies this exegesis to his interpretation of the *number 91* in this *carmen*.

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<sup>451</sup> Bede, *De ratione temporum*, 39, PL 90, 469A-470B.

### **3.2.10. *Carmen* 10**

#### **3.2.10.1. Form**

##### **3.2.10.1.1. Visual Elements**

The field is a 37 x 37 letter square.

The figures in *carmen* 10 are seven letters wide and seven verses high. However, they are discontinuous: only every other letter in every other verse is bivalent. They contrast, therefore, with both the solid figures of certain *carmina*, such as the ninth, and the hollow figures of others, such as five, six, and seven. Hrabanus describes this as *sparsis litteris* at C10, 2. The figures contain four bivalent letters in the middle two verses and three in the top and bottom verse. Therefore they appear to be roughly circular or square discontinuous areas. However, the section of the commentary describing them identifies them as “spherulae.” Through this discontinuity Hrabanus attempts to show a third dimension as well as his medium will allow. Each figure contains fourteen bivalent letters.

The figures are yellow with red letters in all manuscripts except *V*, where they are blue with red letters.

There are five such figures arranged into a cross pattern by placing four of them in contact with the edge of the field, centered on the mesostich and middle verse, and one in the center of the field. In contrast to most *carmina*, the middle verse in this *carmen* is composed entirely of monovalent text, while only two letters in each of the three figures on the vertical axis fall within the mesostich. The cross is, therefore, suggested – as we have seen in *carmina* 6 and 7 – rather than shown. With five figures each containing fourteen bivalent letters, a total of 70 letters are bivalent.

##### **3.2.10.1.2. Textual Elements**

The titles of the *carmen* reveal that the number of bivalent letters is no accident. In A9, we find “X. De numero .LXX. et sacramentis eius quomodo cruci conueniant,”<sup>452</sup> while in D10 the title runs, “DE RATIONE FIGVRAE DECIMAE, VBI SEPTVAGENARII NVMERI RATIO DESCRIPTA EST.”<sup>453</sup> The themes are, respectively, the number 70, its mysteries, and how they are appropriate to the holy cross, and the meaning of the number 70. The titles here introduce the theme without giving any further details.

The basis poem is unusual in that more than half of it contains no obvious reference to this theme. We find the number 70 first mentioned at verse 24. The basis poem opens with an exhortation to sing the great deeds of the cross: bringing life, driving away corruption, releasing the debts of the world, and breaking the bonds of sin. The praises of the cross should be sung by mouth, finger, pick, heart, and tongue (v. 1-6). This is, of course, what Hrabanus is doing in the *In honorem* itself. The next section (v. 7-15) describes the fall of the Devil and the victory of the tender lamb over the ferocious wolf. Then Hrabanus turns to the conversion of the nations, released from their carnal desires and vain service of idols by the Holy Gospel, as long as they avoid Jewish superstition and heretical depravity (v. 16-23).

Only then begins the theme of the number 70. Hrabanus states that the redemption of the world is made manifest in the number 70 and then cites three great prophets of the Old Testament whose prophecies or deeds involve that number. First, Daniel with his prophecy of seventy weeks until prevarication and sin will reach their end. Then Jeremiah who predicted the end of the captivity of Israel after seventy years in Babylon. Finally comes Moses, who chose seventy elders (B10, 32: *seniores*, D10, 39: *presbyteros*).

The last section of the basis poem introduces an entirely different analysis of the number 70. The division of 70 into five parts, according to the five exterior senses of the body, leaves fourteen. Fourteen indicates the totality of the Faith, since it is the sum of the number 10 of the Decalogue and the number 4 of the four Gospels. The

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<sup>452</sup> A9, 26-27.

<sup>453</sup> D10, 1-2.

Faith comes to us, not just through the mind's impression, but also "per exteriores sensus corporis."<sup>454</sup>

The commentary focuses exclusively on interpreting the meaning of the number 70 in the words of the three prophets. The theme is introduced in lines 1-4, and thereafter the commentary follows a different order than the basis poem, treating Jeremiah first (l. 4-48) and Daniel second (l. 49-92), while Moses occupies the same third place (l. 93-105) as in the basis poem.

The final section of the commentary, as usual, comments on the figures and gives the interwoven verses. Here we learn that the figures are "spherulae."<sup>455</sup> The two interwoven verses are read by taking all three spheres on the two axes, so that the letters in the central figure are read in both interwoven verses, making these fourteen letters trivalent. The verses are, vertically, "CRVX, PIA CONSTRVCTA, HIC SVPERASTI VINCVLA MORTIS,"<sup>456</sup> and horizontally, "MAGNA, BONA ET SANCTA, HIC SVPERASTI CRIMINA SAECLI,"<sup>457</sup> which do not have the obvious connection to the theme which is common in other *carmina*.

### 3.2.10.1.3. Cognitive Elements

In *carmen* 10, the basis poem is relatively easy to understand. The *spherulae*, being discontinuous, are doubtless easier to fit into a coherent verse than solid blocks of interwoven text. There are the usual basic relationships among the texts of the *carmen*. The only truly significant relationship between text and image is the identification of the figures as *spherulae* in the commentary, without which the reader would be hard pressed to identify what exactly they are meant to be.

The final section of the basis poem analyzes the number 70 into 5 x 14. This analysis structures the figural level with its five figures of fourteen letters each. This

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<sup>454</sup> D10, 50-51.

<sup>455</sup> C10, 106.

<sup>456</sup> C10, 111.

<sup>457</sup> C10, 114.

relationship would imply that each figure represents one of the five senses; however, Hrabanus nowhere asserts this in writing nor even alludes to the idea.

There is a common theme of discontinuity in the structure of the *carmen*. All the elements seem to fit together much more loosely than is the norm in the *In honorem*. The figures and the cross pattern are both discontinuous. Large sections of the basis poem and the interwoven verses do not relate obviously to the theme of the poem stated in the titles. The commentary focuses on just one part of the basis poem and ignores the rest.

### 3.2.10.2. Content

#### 3.2.10.2.1. Secrets of the Number 70

The theme announced in the titles, the number 70 and its mysteries (*sacramenta*), primarily appears in the citations and interpretations of Daniel, Jeremiah, and Moses in basis poem, translation and commentary. In the basis poem, Hrabanus introduces the three prophets by asserting that the redemption of the world is made manifest in the number 70: “Denique hoc numero manifesta redemptio;”<sup>458</sup> while in the commentary, he begins with the appropriateness of relating the number 70 to the honor of the holy cross.

Concerning Daniel, who appears first in the basis poem but second in the commentary, Hrabanus writes, immediately following the quotation in the previous paragraph:

... toto  
Quod fuerit mundo, Danielis septuaginta hoc  
Ebdomadae signant: ut praeuaricatio certum  
Acciperet finem, peccatum et noxa et iniquum,  
Iustitiamque aeternam adduceret ipse creator.<sup>459</sup>

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<sup>458</sup> B10, 24.

<sup>459</sup> B10, 24-28.

In the basis poem, therefore, the number 70 is asserted to be the manifest redemption (of the world), independently of the interpretation that Daniel indicates that which was in the entire world – “toto / Quod fuerit mundo” – by his seventy weeks. However, these ideas are joined in the translation.

Denique quod in septuagenario numero manifesta redemptio toto mundo fuerit, Daniel propheta in septuaginta hebdomadibus suis, quae ad Christum usque pertinebant, demonstrat,...<sup>460</sup>

Here, what Daniel is demonstrating with his seventy weeks is the fact that the redemption for the whole world was manifest in the number 70. In both cases, at the end of these seventy weeks prevarication and sin will have an end and the creator will bring in eternal justice.

In the commentary, Hrabanus goes into far greater depth. He quotes the passage to which he is referring, *Daniel* 9:24. He states that these words refer to the Incarnation of Christ. He then refers the seventy weeks to an exact historical span. By taking each week as seven years he asserts that they represent four-hundred ninety years, but then reinterprets them as lunar years of twelve lunar months to arrive at four-hundred seventy-five solar years, which stretch from the twentieth year of king Artaxerxes, when Nehemiah began to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, to the baptism of Christ. He also raises a potential difficulty, *Daniel* 9:26, which states, “post hebdomadas sexaginta duas occidetur Christus” and resolves it by taking this prophecy in a loose sense, saying “Non statim post sexaginta duas hebdomadas, sed in fine septuagesimae hebdomadis occisus est Christus.”<sup>461</sup> Much more important for the poem, in contrast, is his exegesis of *Daniel* 9:27, “Et in dimidio hebdomadis deficiet hostia et sacrificium,” which Hrabanus takes as a prophecy of the disappearance of the Temple sacrifices, which happens rightly as the true sacrifice, Christ himself, approaches:

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<sup>460</sup> D10, 32-35.

<sup>461</sup> C10, 74-75.



... quando inchoato Christi baptismate hostiarum purificatio fidelibus paulatim uilescere coepit; et merito, quia quanto magis appropinquabat ueritas, umbra secedebat.<sup>462</sup>

Taken all together, we can see that Hrabanus interprets Daniel's prophecy of seventy weeks as a prophecy of the First Coming of Christ, with the preliminary resettlement of Jerusalem and return from Babylonian exile and the concomittant disappearance of the Temple sacrifices. Daniel speaks of a mysterious seventy weeks through which he indicates historical events.

Jeremiah, in contrast, speaks openly of historical events, but has an eschatological meaning in Hrabanus' view. He dedicates two verses to stating this prophecy:

Ieremias decies septenos scripsit et annos,  
Post quos ipse suos a uinclis solueret auctor.<sup>463</sup>

Unusually, the prose version not only does not add anything of significance, it is even less complete than the poem: "Hieremias quoque similiter post septuaginta annos resolutionem captiuitatis praedicat esse uenturam:...",<sup>464</sup> switching to the passive and leaving out the decisive role of the Creator himself in the basis poem.

The commentary also expands these short notices into a complete interpretation. The seventy years of captivity, which Jeremiah predicts, indicates this present life, with all its tribulations and difficulties.

Nam septuaginta anni captiuitatis, quos Hieremias propheta praedixit populo sacrilego futuros, quid aliud significant quam omne tempus istius uitae, quod per septenarium numerum dierum discurrit, quo propter peccatum primi hominis dampnati sumus, et poenis aerumnisque affligimur, et uatiis tribulationibus atque angustiis cotidie afficimur?<sup>465</sup>

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<sup>462</sup> C10, 85-88.

<sup>463</sup> C10, 29-30.

<sup>464</sup> D10, 37-38.

<sup>465</sup> C10, 4-10.

Since time in this world is measured by the flow of weeks of seven days – *per septenarium numerum dierum discurrit* – then seventy indicates all the time of this life. Without stating it, Hrabanus here is performing in reverse the same operation which Augustine had done in the section of his *De Trinitate* quoted by Hrabanus in the commentary on *carmen* nine. Augustine stated there that 60 has the same meaning among the tens as 6 among the units; here Hrabanus switches from 70 to 7.

The end of captivity predicted by Jeremiah indicates, therefore, the end of time, when death will be overcome and we will rejoice with Christ in immortality of soul and body. Therefore it is appropriate to the holy cross, through which we have received the grace of salvation. Hrabanus proposes this interpretation with more hesitation than usual.

... hoc, ni fallor, insinuat, quod in fine mundi captiuitas nostra perfecte dissoluetur, quando nouissima et inimica destruetur mors, quando simul et de animae decore et de corporis immortalitate sine fine cum Christo gaudebimus; atque ideo in sanctae crucis forma haec ratio oportebat demonstrari, quia ipsa per Christi passionem huius gratiae nobis contulit effectum.<sup>466</sup>

Hrabanus then proposes another interpretation, but he is careful to harmonize the two. He quotes the words of Jeremiah, "... cum coeperint impleri in Babylone septuaginta anni, uisitabo uos et suscitabo super uos uerbum meum bonum," and interprets them as a prediction of the Incarnation, as suggested by the key words *uisitabo* and *uerbum*. However, he points out the important difference between *coeperint impleri* and *completi fuerint* to indicate that, although the Incarnation took place in the end times, the world has not yet ended. Thus, the prophecy of Jeremiah refers both to the First and the Second Coming of Christ.

Hrabanus concludes in both poem and commentary his collection of prophetic witness to the meaning of the number 70 with Moses, who was instructed by God in *Exodus* 24 to bring seventy elders with him part way up Mount Sinai. The basis poem describes this:

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<sup>466</sup> C10, 12-18.

At Moyses sanos monitu discreuerat ipse his  
Quos docuit tolerans seniores septuaginta.<sup>467</sup>

which is expanded in prose to:

ast Moyses per septuaginta presbyteros, quos Domini mandato populo  
Israhel praetulit, totius magisterii perfectionem et reuelationem mysteriorum  
per crucis sacramentum nobis fieri significauit.<sup>468</sup>

The seventy elders, placed at the head of the chosen people of the Lord to receive His revelation, are thus a symbol of the perfection of teaching and the revelation of mysteries – which takes place for us through the mystery of the cross.

In the commentary Hrabanus adds an important consideration: these 70 elders show us that only those who interpret the Law spiritually may exercise the teaching office.

Item .LXX. presbyteros Moyses Domini mandato populo praetulit, ut  
ostenderet eos solummodo qui per Spiritus Sancti gratiam legem spiritaliter  
intellegunt, idoneos esse aliis magisterium praeberere.<sup>469</sup>

Thus, the Church, with its spiritual interpretation of the Law, has supplanted the Synagogue, with its literal one. Hrabanus does not explain how the seventy elders show this. Possibly he is connecting 70 to 7, as he did explicitly in the commentary on Jeremiah's prophecy, and thinking of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, but if so he does not make this reasoning process explicit. In the commentary, he goes on to the seven-sealed book and seven-horned and seven-eyed Lamb of the Apocalypse. So here, too, there is at least a connection between 70 and 7, although otherwise it is not clear what the seven-horned Lamb of the Apocalypse has to do with the seventy elders with Moses.

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<sup>467</sup> B10, 31-32.

<sup>468</sup> D10, 38-42.

<sup>469</sup> C10, 93-96.

This analysis of Hrabanus' exegeses of the prophets suggests a solution to the problem that much of the basis poem has no apparent relationship to the number 70. The section between verses 16 and 23 concerns the conversion of the nations. We have seen how in verses 24-25 Hrabanus asserts that in the number 70 the redemption of the whole world is made manifest. In fact, the number 70 appears in Hrabanus' exegeses as symbolic of both Christ's Incarnation and his triumph at the end of time; both his First and Second Coming. It is exactly within this period that the conversion of the nations takes place and that the Temple sacrifice ceases, for it was a shadow and a type, offered for just one people (C10, 91-92: *pro unius gentis liberatione*), of the true sacrifice of Christ, offered for the salvation of the whole world (C10, 90: *Christus pro totius mundi peccatis immolatus est*).

### 3.2.10.2.2. The Five Senses

The last section of the basis poem introduces a completely different analysis of the number 70. Although this is only a small part of the basis poem, and the idea receives no attention in the commentary, Hrabanus structures the visual aspects of the poem around it. Hrabanus considers that 70 can be divided into 5 x 14. The number 14 suggests the four Gospels and the ten Commandments. In verses 33-34 he calls them the "beato / Famine Euangelii" and the "decalogi ... foedere claro," respectively. The prose version makes his calculations clear.

In hoc quod septuagenarium numerum in quinque partes diuisum in medio tui, simul et per .IIII. cornua tua quaternario et denario numero amplectis, significas te totum mundum per decalogum legis et per .IIII. libros sancti Euangelii ad concordiam et unitatem fidei reuocare.<sup>470</sup>

But what, then, is represented by the 5 times that 14 appears in 70? The last three verses, 35-37, tell us.

Nec eris in scripta impos, reor, ipsa figura, en  
In quinis sensus summis des quod pie cunctos  
Magnifice et placite iusto tibi iure fauere.<sup>471</sup>

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<sup>470</sup> D10, 43-48.

<sup>471</sup> B10, 35-37.

This is not easy to follow, but the prose version helps us here:

Neque enim ipsum quinarium absque mysterio praetermittis, sed uenerabiliter innuis humanum genus non solum per internum affectum animi, sed etiam per exteriores sensus corporis, tibi ueracissime esse deditum.<sup>472</sup>

The number 5 indicates the five exterior senses of the body. The human race is dedicated to the cross, not merely through the *internum affectum animi*, but also through the *exteriores sensus corporis*.

This analysis clearly determines the visual level of the tenth carmen. The figure level is divided into five spheres of fourteen letters each, reflecting this analysis of 70 in 5 x 14. That implies that each sphere represents one sense, just as each figure in *carmen 5* represents a different group of founders of the Church, each figure in *carmen 6* represents a different virtue, and each figure in *carmen 7* a different element. However, there is no trace of this in any of the texts.

On the other hand, it must be said in favor of this idea that the exterior senses have an obvious relation with Hrabanus' interpretation of Jeremiah's 70 years of captivity as *omne tempus istius vitae*, this life which we primarily experience through the five senses.

Possibly this explains Hrabanus' choice of figure and description of them as *spherulae*. This attempt to represent three-dimensional solids is perhaps a reference to the way in which our minds integrate the information of all five of the separate senses to create our experience of the physical world. However, in the absence of textual references, this can merely be proposed for consideration rather than asserted firmly.

### **3.2.10.2.3. Cross dissolves the Chains of Death and Crimes of World**

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<sup>472</sup> D10, 48-51.

A minor motif occurs throughout the poem but is given greater weight by Hrabanus' dedication of the interwoven verses to it. This is a juxtaposition of the details of the cross's action, on the one hand forgiving the debts or releasing the guilt of the world, on the other breaking the chains of death. The motif appears first in the exhortation to praise which opens the basis poem.

Quid ferat en uitam, corruptio quid uereatur,  
Debita quid laxet, quid uincla tenacia cedat.<sup>473</sup>

Hrabanus speaks here of four aspects of the redemption: bringing life, driving away corruption, releasing the debts, and breaking the tenacious chains. A glance at the prose translation confirms that the latter two correspond to *delictorum ueniam tribuat* and *uincla peccatorum dirumpat*.<sup>474</sup> The former recurs at verse 23, "dimittens debita mundo," while the latter makes an appearance in the verse version of Jeremiah's prophecy, at verse 30, "ipse suos a uinclis solueret auctor."

The two interwoven verses join this motif to the overall theme of the number 70, since they are composed out of the 70 bivalent letters, although, truth be told, each interwoven verse is 42 letters long, with the middle 14 letters repeated in both verses. One deals with the idea of the release of debt, guilt or crime, "HIC SVPERASTI CRIMINA SAECLI," while the other speaks of the destruction of the chains of death, "HIC SVPERASTI VINCVLA MORTIS."

### 3.2.10.3. Sources

#### 3.2.10.3.1. Bede, *De temporum ratione*

The exegesis of Daniel's prophecies is taken from Bede's *De temporum ratione*, 9,<sup>475</sup> a discussion of precisely this prophecy about the 70 weeks. Hrabanus selected and joined different passages from his source. C10, 51-60 is a continuous block of Bede's text, but C10, 61-64 comes from slightly later in Bede's chapter. C10, 73-80

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<sup>473</sup> B1, 1-2.

<sup>474</sup> D10, 7-8.

<sup>475</sup> Bede, *De temporum ratione*, 9, PL, 333A-338B.

is a block from Bede. Hrabanus skips over a bit of Bede's commentary on Daniel which concerns Titus, not relevant here, and resumes quoting Bede for another four lines of text in the critical edition. Finally he jumps ahead a bit further for Bede's comment on *Daniel* 9:27, given at C10, 84-87. Hrabanus keeps Bede's text in order and quotes coherent chunks of it, merely cutting out sections which seem to him to be irrelevant to *carmen* 10.

### 3.2.11. *Carmen* 11

#### 3.2.11.1. Form

##### 3.2.11.1.1. Visual Elements

The eleventh *carmen* consists of a 36 x 36 square field.

Within that background are five solid squares. Each square is six letters wide by six letters high. With an even number of letters in each edge of the field, there is no mesostich or middle verse, but the squares are centered on the vertical and horizontal axes. The outer squares are separated by three letters from the central squares and by six letters from the edges of the field. This gives a solid and compact feel to the cross, although it is discontinuous.

The squares are yellow with red letters in all manuscripts except V, where they are gold-green with yellow letters.

The interwoven verses are very easy to read, each one being inscribed in a solid square figure. It is therefore immediately evident to the reader that each figure represents one of the five books of the Pentateuch.

##### 3.2.11.1.2. Textual Elements

The two titles of *carmen* 11 are, “XI. De quinque libris mosaicae legis quomodo per crucem innouentur et exponantur,”<sup>476</sup> and “DE VNDECIMA FIGVRA, VBI PENTATEVCHVS MOYSI ORDINATVS EST.”<sup>477</sup> The theme of the *carmen* is expressed either as the Pentateuch of Moses or the five books of the Mosaic law. In the title in A9 we find something unusual with respect to the other titles. A bit more of the content of the poem than is normally expressed appears in the latter part of the title, which explains how these books are renewed and explained through the cross, not merely how they are appropriate to it.

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<sup>476</sup> A9, 28-29.

<sup>477</sup> D11, 1-2.



The basis poem has three sections. It begins with a prayer to God the Father for guidance in expounding the First Law to the glory of the Cross (v. 1-6). The bulk of the poem gives incidents from the five books of Moses which are types of the Cross or Christ's Passion, including the Tree of Life, Isaac, and multiple incidents from Moses' life (v. 7-29). The last section is addressed to the cross and asks who can praise all of its wonderful deeds (v. 30-36).

The commentary begins with a long discussion of theological method. Hrabanus introduces the problem of the correct interpretation of the Old Testament, specifically the books of Moses. He lays down some theological principles, supporting them with quotations from Paul (l. 1-13), and then uses the incident of Moses sweetening the bitter waters of Mara as an image of the correct interpretation of the Law (l. 14-18). He goes into more depth with the Pauline theology of the relationship between the Law and Grace (l. 19-28) and how Christ has removed the curse of the Law (l. 29-40). The rest of the commentary is devoted to relating each individual book of the Pentateuch to the cross and justifying the position of the figure which represents it (l. 41-73).

Each interwoven verse, inscribed in a square six letters to a side, contains thirty-six letters, which Hrabanus is careful to make explicit. Each one names a different book of the Pentateuch and gives a brief description of its contents in the light of Hrabanus' interpretation of the Old Testament events as typologies of the crucifixion.

### **3.2.11.1.3. Cognitive Elements**

Many of the relationships between texts which are typical of the *In honorem* are found in the eleventh carmen. The prose translation often clarifies and expands considerably on the basis poem, particularly in verses 16-21 when the interwoven verses complicate the sentence structure of the basis poem. The commentary explains the interwoven verses and enlarges on the contents of the poem. The figures, solid squares placed closely together, show the compactness and unity of the Law, despite being divided into five books, while their distance from the edges

seems to suggest that the Law is not the final word and leave space for the Gospel. The commentary explains and justifies the positioning of the figures.

The theological approach which Hrabanus follows in the basis poem, interpreting every incident which he narrates as a typology of the cross, is explained and justified by him in the commentary. Whereas the basis poem relates individual events in the Old Testament to the cross, the commentary and the interwoven verses focus on entire books, their content in general, and their names in the same effort of relation to the cross. The number 6, symbolic of the Creation recounted in Genesis, is fundamental to the structure of the *carmen*. In general the whole structure of *carmen* 11 seems to be tight and closely linked; everything comes together to show the Old Testament as reflecting and revealing the cross through types and shadows.

### **3.2.11.2. Content**

#### **3.2.11.2.1. Typologies of the Cross in the Pentateuch**

In the commentary to *carmen* 11 Hrabanus gives a thorough explanation and justification of his approach to the books of the Pentateuch. He begins by establishing two exegetical principles as necessary for anyone who wishes to have “plenam notitiam”<sup>478</sup> of the Mosaic law, and calls for frequent contemplation and consideration of these principles. The two principles are given and supported in two quotations from the New Testament, *1 Cor.* 10:11 and *Hebr* 10:1, namely, “Omnia in figura contingebant illis, scripta sunt autem ad correctionem nostram, in quos fines saeculorum devenerunt,”<sup>479</sup> and “Umbram enim habens lex futurorum bonorum, non ipsam imaginem rerum.”<sup>480</sup> The events and instructions of the First Law are figures for the instruction for those who live in the end of time and shadows of the future goods. Hrabanus dwells on the meaning of the latter passage. Shadows, he explains, cannot occur without a true body, but do not express the full reality of the body. Therefore any lover of the truth must turn from the shadow to the true body:

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<sup>478</sup> C11, 1.

<sup>479</sup> C11, 4-6.

<sup>480</sup> C11, 7-8.

any reader of the Pentateuch must seek the future goods of which the Law is a shadow.

He applies an incident from *Exodus* (*Ex.* 15:23-26) to illustrating this exegetical method. The thirsty Israelites arrived at the bitter waters of Mara. In the same way, the Law offers water to the thirsty, but “sine ligno potabilis non fuit.”<sup>481</sup> Only when Moses has put the wood, indicated to him by God, into the water, does it change to sweet water. Thus, the Old Testament, interpreted on its own, offers only bitter water, but when seen in the light of the cross, it becomes sweet and refreshing.

Hrabanus goes on to the Pauline theology of law and Spirit, weaving quotations from *Rm* 7:12, *Rm* 7:14, *Rm* 7:6, and *II Cor.* 3:6 together to indicate that the law of the Spirit has freed us from the law of sin and death. Although the law is holy, our flesh could not live up to its demands, until Christ came to free us from sin. Christ freed us from the curse of the Law, taking that curse on himself by hanging on the tree.

Alongside this intellectual program to interpret the entire Pentateuch as shadows and figures of Christ, which he follows consistently throughout the poem, Hrabanus joins an appeal in prayer. This is the unique opening prayer addressed to God the Father.

Te pater alme poli doctorem carmine in isto  
Rectoremque uoco, felicibus annue coeptis,  
Tu pius et clemens, sensum dans uerbaque casta,  
Vt tua quid prima signet lex pandere possim,  
Ad crucis aeternam laudem legisque secundae  
lus demonstrandum, uota, ritusque perennes.<sup>482</sup>

In no other *carmen* does Hrabanus address a prayer to God the Father in the basis poem. He addresses the cross and Christ numerous times and also the Christian faithful, the Apostles, the sun and the moon, but only here God the Father. There is a section addressed to God the Father in the commentary on *carmen* 28 (v. §3.2.28.2.4.), but this is set in a Trinitarian context and is immediately followed by prayers addressed to God the Son, the Holy Spirit, and God the undivided Trinity. In

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<sup>481</sup> C11, 14-15.

<sup>482</sup> B11, 1-6.

this unique direct poetic address to the Father, therefore, Hrabanus prays for guidance in carrying out the intellectual program outlined in the commentary of showing that the Old Law rightly understood indicates the eternal praise of the cross and the New Law.

### 3.2.11.2.2. Incidents which Prefigure the Cross

The basis poem is primarily occupied with giving examples from the Pentateuch which Hrabanus interprets as types of the cross. The list begins at the first moment of Creation itself, with the creation of light and all things through Christ, the right hand of God and the true light.

Cum primum haec rite generatio maxima rerum  
Exorta est ex inuisis, crucis alma refulsit  
Gloria,<sup>483</sup>

The kindly glory of the cross shone as the *generatio maxima rerum* came forth from invisible things. It is interesting that Hrabanus does not speak of creation *ex nihilo* but rather of the invisible things become visible. He does so in the prose translation, also:

Nam cum primum haec maxima rerum machina ab inuisibili et  
impenetrabili profunditate consilii Dei uisibilis effecta est,<sup>484</sup>

The structure of the *carmen* gives further importance to Christ's role as God's Word through whom all things were made during the Hexaemeron. In fact, the number 6, which signifies the perfection of the Creation in six days recounted in the first book of the Pentateuch, is everywhere in the structure of the *carmen*: the field is 36 letters per side; the interwoven verses are 36 letters long; the figures are 6 letters per side, 6 letters from the edge and 3 letters from each other.

The next three verses speak of the tree of life planted in the garden of Paradise.

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<sup>483</sup> B11, 7-9.

<sup>484</sup> D11, 11-13.

Nam genesis uitae laudat mirabile lignum hoc  
Inter cuncta fuit plantatum quod paradiso,  
Vivificans ligna tribuens et munera fructus;<sup>485</sup>

The prose version adds that this is a prefiguration of the cross: “statim in ligno uitae, quod est in medio paradisi, uitale lignum sanctae crucis praefigurabatur.”<sup>486</sup> Just as the tree of life was planted in the middle of the garden, so the cross was planted in the middle of the nations and vivified and sanctified the “praecedentes et subsequentes se ... generationes.”<sup>487</sup>

After the Creation of light and the tree of life, Hrabanus goes through a number of other prefigurations from the Pentateuch, in order. The wood of the cross which Christ carried on his shoulders to the place of his sacrifice was also prefigured by Isaac carrying the wood for his own supposed sacrifice (*Gen 22:6*). The Israelites, having escaped from Egypt and crossed the Red Sea, came to the bitter waters of Mara, which Moses made sweet with wood (*Ex 15:23-26*). Moses tapped his rod against the rock and fresh water issued forth (*Ex 17:1-7, Num 20:1-11*). When Israel fought with Amalech, as long as Moses stood in the form of the cross, Israel was victorious (*Ex 17:8-13*). Two of the twelve scouts sent by Moses to explore the promised land carried grape branches (*Num 13:24*); this, too, a prefiguration of the cross, and the fact that there were two men an indication of the two peoples, Jews and Gentiles, to receive the supernal joys.

Finally, in the last section of the poem, which is a long rhetorical question asking who can praise sufficiently all the great deeds of the cross, appears the most famous type of the cross, whose typological status is assured by the authority of Jesus himself in *John 3:14*: the bronze serpent which Moses raised on a pole in the wilderness after God sent fiery serpents to bite the murmuring Israelites (*Num 21:8-9*).

### 3.2.11.2.3. Names and General Content of Books

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<sup>485</sup> B11, 12-14.

<sup>486</sup> D11, 14-15.

<sup>487</sup> D11, 16-17.

In contrast to the basis poem, the commentary and the interwoven verses do not focus on individual incidents from the Pentateuch which are interpreted as types, but on the general content and the names of the five books. Each of the interwoven verses names and describes in very general terms the contents of one book. Here are the five interwoven verses:

TE GENESIS CRVX ALMA BEAT, TVA MVNERA LAVDAT.  
EXODVS ATQVE CANIT TRANSITVS CARMEN AMORE.  
IVRA SACERDOTIS LEVITICVS OPTIME PSALLIT.  
AST NVMERVS CANTAT MAGNALIA MIRA TRIVMPHI.  
NAM DEVTERNOMIVM RENOVANTIS GAVDIA DICIT.<sup>488</sup>

The second half of the commentary explains how each relates to the cross. Genesis is related to the cross through *John* 1 and *Psalms* 33:6, “Verbo Dei caeli firmati sunt,” texts which demonstrate that the act of Creation narrated in said book were carried out through Christ the Word. No actual event from Deuteronomy is used to relate the fifth book of the Pentateuch to the cross; merely the meaning of its name, Renewal of the Law, suggests the connection with the act whereby Christ renewed the law. Hrabanus does not relate Exodus directly to the cross; he justifies its position in the right cross arm by pointing to the many miracles which God worked in bringing the Israelites out of Egypt, and citing *Psalms* 118:16, “Dextera Dei fecit virtutem,” a verse also cited in the discussion of the angelic choir of the Virtues in *carmen* 3. Here we see Hrabanus taking the word *virtutem* in a more straightforward way, as meaning miracle, instead of forcing it into an angelological sense. Hrabanus is thus able to accept that one verse can have multiple meanings. The book of Numbers is placed on the left side, since it recounts the sinister rebellions against Moses of Chore, Dathan, and Abiud. Hrabanus returns to providing real connections to the cross and not simply justifying positions with Leviticus, which gives the regulations for the sacrifices of the Mosaic priesthood, and rightly is placed in the center of the cross where Christ, both priest and victim, offered his sacrifice.

#### 3.2.11.2.4. Singing Praises of the Altar of the Cross

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<sup>488</sup> C11, 80, 83, 85, 87, 90.

The final section of the basis poem is an impassioned address to the cross. Hrabanus asks who is able to praise rightly all of the cross' gifts and what he can say about it. The cross, he concludes, has given everything.

Quis bene mysteria dicit uel dicere cuncta  
Rite ualet, crux, dona tua? Cui non satis omnis  
Lingua creaturae poterit depromere laudem.  
Hostia te Patris aeterni dedicauerat aram.  
Vitae serpentam exaltasti et, tu pie, Christum  
monstrasti populo. De te et quid dicere possum?  
Cuncta bona dederas, demebas et mala cuncta.<sup>489</sup>

Here he once again calls the cross *aram*: Christ the victim has made it the altar of the eternal Father. The cross lifted up the bronze serpent of life and showed Christ to the people.

In addition, the prayer with which Hrabanus opens the basis poem, asking the Father to allow him to explain the Old Law to the glory of the cross, is an expression of this same sentiment. Hrabanus seeks divine aid to praise the cross as well as he can. He is, if his interpretations of the Pentateuch are correct, not alone in this: Moses, too, although he wrote the Pentateuch in figures, was trying to praise the cross. With this prayer, the eleventh *carmen* establishes a subtle parallel between the Pentateuch and the *In honorem* itself.

### 3.2.11.3. Sources

The numerous Biblical quotations used by Hrabanus in the commentary have been discussed above. Perrin's and my own researches have found no other immediate sources for this *carmen*.

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<sup>489</sup> B11, 30-36.

### 3.2.12. *Carmen* 12

#### 3.2.12.1. Form

##### 3.2.12.1.1. Visual Elements

The twelfth *carmen* presents the reader with a 35 x 35 square. Four figures stand around an empty space in the middle, displaced slightly away from the central point along the horizontal and vertical axes.

The four figures each occupy nine rows and five verses. The top and right figure are a rising and then falling line, the bottom figure a triangle. The left figure is however clearly an “M”. Comparison the titles reveals that Hrabanus intends the previous three figures to be read as “A”s and a “Δ”.

The cross shape is formed of these completely discontinuous elements; at first merely suggested by our familiarity with the themes of the work, it is confirmed when we read the text created by the four letter-figures. As we trace the name AΔAM, our eyes trace the pattern of the cross – first top (“A”) to bottom (“Δ”) and then left (“A”) to right (“M”). This order of reading confirms the cross shape of these letter-figures.

##### 3.2.12.1.2. Textual Elements

For the first time since *carmen* 3 we encounter letter-figures, which create a third hierarchical level of language, the figure-text, above the interwoven and basis texts. The figure-text spells out the name “Adam,” immediately intelligible at first glance.

The titles inform us as to the theme of the poem. In A9 we read, “XII. De nomine Adam protoplausti quomodo secundum Adam significet et eius passionem demonstret,”<sup>490</sup> and in D12, “DE DVODECIMAE FORMAE RATIONE, VBI NOMEN PROTOPLAVSTI SITVM EST.”<sup>491</sup> Notice that our attention is not directed to Adam *simpliciter* as the theme of the poem, but is specifically directed to the name of

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<sup>490</sup> A9, 30-31.

<sup>491</sup> D12, 1-2.



Adam, with in A9 the additional promise of showing how the name relates to the second Adam and his passion.

The basis poem begins, unusually, with an invocation of the Muse to assist the author in continuing to chant the praises of the cross, the act of our redemption, and the consolations of the future life (v. 1-4). Much of the rest of the poem is dedicated to a series of contrasts between Adam and Christ, the second Adam. In each contrast, Hrabanus dedicates two verses to Adam and two verses to Christ. In 5-8, he contrasts Adam and Jesus the second Adam directly and by name. In 9-12, he writes about the effects of these two figures on mankind, the first baleful and the second redemptive, in language which echoes *Romans* 5 (“Unius...”, “Unius...”). The next four lines contrast the effects of the wood of the tree of knowledge of good and evil and the effects of the wood of the cross (v. 13-16). There is a digression, which corresponds to the figures A and M on the horizontal axis of the cross, concerning how Christ opened the gates of Heaven to the world, established the cross in place of the dire altars of idolatry, and gave light and a covenant to our hearts (v. 17-20). Then the comparisons resume in v. 21-24, in which Hrabanus compares the birth and descendance of the first Adam, earthly, with an earthly descendance who inherit death, and the second Adam, heavenly, with a heavenly descendance giving eternal life to those who become his heirs. The last section of the basis poem asserts that the second Adam is lord of the whole world, earth, sea, and sky, as is indicated by his name, formed from the initial letters of the four directions (v. 25-31). Therefore all should praise Christ the Creator and Lord (v. 31-35).

The commentary begins by introducing the theme of the name of Adam and quoting some of the key Pauline passages which contrast the first and second Adam (l. 1-13). Next it explores the appropriateness of relating Adam’s name to the cross, since that is where the whole human race was saved, and the shape of the cross indicates a limitless extension to the ends of the earth (l. 14-18). Hrabanus then quotes Sedulius’ *carmen paschale*, citing him merely as *poeta*, in which Sedulius had expressed this idea in verse. The next paragraph lays out in detail how each letter of the name Adam is the first letter of one of the cardinal directions in Greek (l. 27-39). Hrabanus does not mention the Hebrew meaning of the word Adam nor

comment on why he is using Greek words to find a secret meaning in a Hebrew name. Next, Hrabanus re-interprets the letters in the name Adam as Greek number signs and points out that they add up to 46. He quotes the scene in *John 2* where the Jews tell Jesus that the Temple took 46 years to build. Hrabanus uses the Evangelist's comment that Jesus was referring to the temple of his body to connect the number 46 to Christ's body, which, of course, he took from Adam through Mary. The commentary ends with a long exhortation to prayer with a Trinitarian structure and a closing doxology.

When describing the interwoven verse, Hrabanus refers to the letter-figures as *litterae grandiores* and the letters of the basis poem as *litterae parviores*. In this case, the bivalent letters form a single interwoven verse, 51 letters long. This is unusual; normally the interwoven verses and the figures are united into text-image units which are the divisions or the result of analysis of the main theme. In only two other *carmina* (18-19) is there a single interwoven verse which runs through all the figures, uniting them. This unifying interwoven verse says, "SANCTA METRO ATQVE ARTE EN DECET VT SINT CARMINA CHRISTO HINC."<sup>492</sup>

### 3.2.12.1.3. Cognitive Elements

There is the usual slight expansion and clarification of the basis poem in the prose translation, but the most significant relationship between texts is the addition in the commentary of a completely new interpretation. While one section of the commentary expands and comments on the idea of the letters of the name Adam representing the four directions, already present in the basis poem, lines 40-58 give and support with Biblical citations the novel interpretation of the letters as Greek numbers, giving a mystical numerological meaning to the name Adam.

The process of analysis, division and recomposition which is fundamental to the *In honorem* has a particular application here. The focus on the individual letters of the name, whether as symbols of the directions or as signs for numbers with hidden significance, shows the process of analysis and division, while the interwoven verse

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<sup>492</sup> C12, 78.

runs through all the figures, uniting them again. This is very appropriate to the *carmen* dealing with Adam, ancestor of the entire human race, and the relationship between him and the second Adam, the redeemer whose cross has re-united the scattered descendants of the first Adam.

### 3.2.12.2. Content

#### 3.2.12.2.1. Relationship of First Adam and Second Adam

The primary message of the twelfth *carmen* is the Pauline theme of Christ as the second Adam. In this particular case, Hrabanus hardly needs to argue for the appropriateness of relating his chosen subject to Christ, since the Apostle dwells upon the idea in several of his letters. However, as he promises in the title in A9, Hrabanus makes an effort to show how the name of Adam corresponds specifically to the second Adam's passion.

The relationship between Adam and Christ is explored according to four different aspects.

First of all, Christ, as the redeemer of the human race, is the redeemer of all the descendants of Adam. This is explicitly stated in the commentary: "Recte enim nomen Adam in crucem configuratum ponitur, in qua omne genus humanum per Christum liberatum esse cognoscitur,"<sup>493</sup> but it also appears in several verses of the basis poem. Within the invocation of the Muse which opens the poem, while describing the cross, Hrabanus says,

In qua [i.e. cruce] mors uicta est, cuncta dimissa piacra,  
Lux rediit mundo, uenia et cum munere uenit.<sup>494</sup>

He attributes to the cross the defeat of death (which entered the world through Adam's sin), the crimes (of Adam) dismissed, the light (which Adam lost) returned to the world, and the forgiveness (for Adam's guilt) granted. Likewise, in the call for

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<sup>493</sup> C12, 14-16.

<sup>494</sup> B12, 3-4.

prayer which ends the basis poem, the last verse describes Christ as a doctor: “Cuius cura bona est, tactus medicina salutis.”<sup>495</sup> He heals the moral and inner sickness of the descendants of Adam.

Just over half of the basis poem gives a balanced series of contrasts between Adam and Christ, devoting two lines to each figure. The first contrast involves Adam’s fall and Christ’s coming and names the two figures explicitly.

Adam nam primus tulit omnia digna decoris  
Progenie ex tota, nocua cum pabula sumpsit,  
Cuncta uenusta bona remearunt, cara, beata,  
Cum aduenit Iesus Adam pie in arua secundus.<sup>496</sup>

Adam, through eating the *nocua pabula*, took all dignity from his progeny, while all these ancient goods (which Hrabanus listed immediately before) came back along with Christ as he came, piously, into the world.

The second group contrasts the effects of the Fall and the Redemption:

Vnius ex hominis scelere, tot damna tulere  
In rebus cuncti, perituri et morte minores.  
Vnius atque hominis dono saluantur ubique  
Credentes omnes fruituri ac luce superna.<sup>497</sup>

From the crime of one man, so many people received damnation and death, while from the gift of one man, all the faithful were saved everywhere and will enjoy heavenly light.

The next four verses turn their attention to the wood itself through which this crime and this gift were accomplished.

Denique regnauit per lignum noxia cuncto  
Mors etiam mundo dominans, et sorte beatum

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<sup>495</sup> B12, 35.

<sup>496</sup> B12, 5-8.

<sup>497</sup> B12, 9-12.

Captiva regnum per lignum ac perdidit omne,  
et nocuos multos amiserat inproba quondam.<sup>498</sup>

Harmful death reigned, dominating the whole world through the wood (of the tree of knowledge of good and evil), while death, made captive through the wood (of the cross), lost many sinners (redeemed by Christ).

The last comparison between Adam and Christ looks at the origin, the character which derives from that origin, and the nature of the progeny which spring from both.

Primus homo terrenus erat, et pignora tota  
Terrena genuit mortis quis debita liquit.  
Posterior uerus fuerat caelestis et Adam,  
Caelestisque manet cuius generatio tota.<sup>499</sup>

The first man was terrestrial and generated terrestrial progeny, who inherit death from him, while the later Adam was heavenly, and generated progeny in a heavenly and spiritual way.

In the commentary, Hrabanus cites numerous Pauline passages to justify his general procedure and the direct comparison by name of the two great figures in his first contrast. His second contrast is an echo of *Romans* 5:12-19, which inspires the third contrast as well. His last contrast derives from *1 Cor.* 15:47-50. Sections of these passages are quoted to reinforce his argument.

More typical of the method of the *In honorem* are the interpretations of the name Adam as enclosing and hiding secret meanings. On the one hand, the letters AΔAM are interpreted as the first letters of the Greek names for the four cardinal directions: *anatole*, *dysis*, *arctos*, and *mesembria*. These names are given both in a verse of the basis poem (verse 30) and in the commentary (line 34). Hrabanus views this fact as an indication that the first Adam was made to have dominion over the world and the second Adam came to redeem the entire world and was truly lord over it.

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<sup>498</sup> B12, 13-16.

<sup>499</sup> B12, 21-25.

... et inde intellegi datur dominum orbis eum esse creatum, et significare eum qui in cruce quadrata totius orbis futurus erat redemptor et reparator, unde et secundus Adam dicitur.<sup>500</sup>

In fact, the cross shape itself suggests the redemption of the entire world. The four directions make a cross extending indefinitely to the ends of the world. Hrabanus expounds on this idea in the commentary only.

[The cross is appropriate for Adam because Christ redeemed entire human race,] ... nec in alia forma species redemptionis nostrae magis conuenit haberi quam in illa, ubi plagae totius mundi potuere comprehendi.<sup>501</sup>

However, in the only quotation of poetry in the *In honorem*, he cites a passage of Sedulius' *carmen paschale* in which this idea is expressed poetically. He does not name Sedulius but calls him *poeta*.

Quae scilicet sancta crux est, quae iacens totum orbem metitur, de qua poeta ait:

“Quattuor inde plagas quadrati colligit orbis  
Splendidus auctoris de uertice fulget Eous.  
Occiduo sacrae lambuntur sidere plantae.  
Arcton dextra tenet, medium laeua erigit axem,  
Cunctaque de membris uiuit natura creantis,  
Et cruce confixus Dominus regit undique mundum.”

Here is an explanation of why God would choose to redeem the world through a cross: because of the geometrical significance of the shape that can receive indefinite extension.

Hrabanus' other interpretation of the meaning of the name Adam is numerological. He asserts that the name Adam has in itself the mystery of Christ's incarnation. He continues to consider the letter-figures as Greek letters, but now examines their significance according to the Greek system of using letters for numbers. A represents 1, Δ 4 and M 40, giving a sum of 46.<sup>502</sup> Hrabanus then connects 46 to

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<sup>500</sup> C12, 36-39.

<sup>501</sup> C12, 16-18.

<sup>502</sup> C12, 43-45.

the Biblical passage in *John 2:20*, in which the Jews, responding incredulously to Jesus' incredible comment that they could tear down "this temple" and he would raise it up again in three days, mention that it took 46 years to build the Temple. This allows Hrabanus to assert that the 46 represents Christ's body. Christ's body, of course, was taken from Adam ultimately through Mary, allowing the redemption of mankind in its integrity, not just of soul but of body. Thus, the numerological significance of the name Adam points to the theological significance of Christ's assumption of the flesh of Adam.

### 3.2.12.2.2. Calls for Prayer and the Unity of the Sons of Adam.

It is a striking fact that the *carmen* which deals with Adam, and therefore focuses on Christ's salvific relationship to the entire human race, is the only one which contains an invocation of the Muse, in classical style, instead of some kind of prayer. Hrabanus begins:

Perge salutiferam specioso dicere uersu  
Musa crucis Domini laudem, solamen et actum,<sup>503</sup>

Just as, above, the focus on Christ as redeemer of the entire race was expressed in the opening invocation of the Muse and the closing call to prayer, so find another classical element in the closing call to prayer to echo this unusual adoption of a literary custom of pagan poetry. At verse 34, Christ is described as "dextra uera Tonantis", giving to God the Father a title usually used for Jupiter the sky-god. In the *carmen* that deals with Christ as redeemer of all of Adam's progeny, the entire human race, Hrabanus adopts the literary conventions and epithets of the pagan civilization into which the Christian faith was born. He seems to address himself to all men in *carmen 12* and not only the *Christicolae* of the *carmina* or the *conseruis meis* of the Prologue.<sup>504</sup>

The call to prayer at the end of the basis poem is also addressed to all men. Actually, it is literally addressed to "all things," *cuncta*.

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<sup>503</sup> B12, 1-2.

<sup>504</sup> Cf. B7, 21 and A7, 20.

... en decet ut pie cuncta  
Auctorem dominum cognoscant laude beata  
Et celebrent Christum, ...<sup>505</sup>

The prose translation makes it clear that this is intentional. “Vnde condecet ut cuncta uiuentia atque subsistentia Dominum suum recognoscant,...”<sup>506</sup>

Hrabanus gives an example by responding to his own call to prayer at the end of his commentary. It begins with a blessing in a Trinitarian structure, praises the undivided God and finishes with a doxology.

Benedicamus igitur nos Deum Patrem omnipotentem, qui per Verbum suum sibi coaeternum formauit nos. Benedicamus et Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum Filium Dei unigenitum, qui per mysterium incarnationis suae in cruce reformauit nos. Benedicamus et Spiritum Sanctum, qui per gratiam suam inluminatos uitae aeternae consignauit nos: unum et solum Deum omnipotentem, aeternum, inensum, inaestimabilem, inconprehensibilem, immortalem, inuisibilem; illum unum desideremus, a quo et beabimur; illum solum ex toto corde, tota mente, tota uirtute diligamus, in cuius amore in aeternum iucundabimur; ad illum tantum curramus, illique solum in hac peregrinatione ingemescamus, qui nos in caelis in conspectu gloriae maiestatis suae remunerabit, et sine fine laetificabit. Ipsi gloria et honor et potestas et imperium in saecula saeculorum.

The interwoven verse also takes part in this call to prayer, using the same word *decet* as the basis poem. It is right that there be sacred songs to Christ: “SANCTA METRO ATQVE ARTE EN DECET VT SINT CARMINA CHRISTO HINC.” Here, however, Hrabanus adds a very interesting qualification: “METRO ATQVE ARTE.” Who else has written songs that are in both meter and art? Only the handful of Hrabanus’ predecessors in the art of the *carmen figuratum*, none of whom ever attempted any work of the complexity and cosmological ambition of the *In honorem*. This verse is an assertion of the rightness of the *In honorem* itself. Possibly here we have in addition a vindication of Hrabanus’ use of images and figures in praise of the cross against iconophobe critics.

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<sup>505</sup> B12, 31-33.

<sup>506</sup> D12, 40-41.



It is prayer to Christ that unites the inhabitants of the four corners of the world. This theme has appeared in other *carmina*, but *carmen* 12 emphasizes it by its frequent use in the basis poem of “omnia,” “ubique,” “cuncta,” and other words to express totality. The way that the interwoven verse joins all the *litterae grandiores* into a single verse also expresses in a structural way this aspect of Hrabanus’ theme.

### 3.2.12.3. Sources

#### 3.2.12.3.1. Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale*

The poet whom Hrabanus quotes without naming, Sedulius, is one of Hrabanus’ models in the use of *opus geminum*, having written a *Carmen paschale* in verse which is accompanied by a *Opus paschale* in prose, which resembles at some points the prose translations which Hrabanus makes in the second book and at others his commentary, explaining and expanding on the verses. He quotes from the fifth book, v. 190-195. However, he alters Sedulius’ text in one particular: he changes the final line quoted from, “et cruce complexum Christus regit undique mundum,”<sup>507</sup> to, “et cruce confixus Dominus regit undique mundum,”<sup>508</sup> moving the emphasis from Sedulius’ emphasis on Christ’s rule over the world included within the cosmic cross to the Passion itself of the Lord fixed to the cross.

This text was quoted by Aldhelm in a letter<sup>509</sup> and Bede in his discussion of the crucifixion according to Luke in the *In Lucae Evangelium Expositio*, 6, 23.<sup>510</sup> This is, in Perrin’s judgment, the most likely intermediary.<sup>511</sup>

#### 3.2.12.3.2. Augustine, *In Iohannem Tractatus*

Perrin’s research has identified a citation of Augustine’s *In Iohannem Tractatus* 10, 12 in Hrabanus’ discussion of the numerological meaning of the name Adam.

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<sup>507</sup> Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale*, 5, 195, *PL* 19, 725A

<sup>508</sup> C12, 26.

<sup>509</sup> Aldhelm, *Epistula ad Acircium*, *PL* 89, 202A.

<sup>510</sup> Bede, *In Lucae Evangelium Expositio*, 6, 23, *PL* 92, 615D.

<sup>511</sup> v. Perrin, “Les lecteurs de Raban Maur”, *op. cit.*, 2010.

Hrabanus abbreviates considerably Augustine's explanation of the Greek numeric system in C12, 43-50, and begins quoting the bishop of Hippo at l. 50-59.<sup>512</sup>

Another use of the *Tractatus* by Hrabanus seems to have escaped the notice of the French scholar. Hrabanus' explanation of the connection between the letters of Adam's name and the Greek names of the four winds from C12, 28-36 is a quotation from Augustine's previous *Tractatus*, 9, 14.<sup>513</sup> Hrabanus, however, links this evidence of Adam's universality back to the cross and the redemption via the second Adam in his own comment.

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<sup>512</sup> Augustine, *In Iohannem Tractatus*, 10, 12, *PL* 35, 1473.

<sup>513</sup> Augustine, *In Iohannem Tractatus*, 9, 14, *PL* 35, 1465.

### 3.2.13. *Carmen* 13

#### 3.2.13.1. Form

##### 3.2.13.1.1. Visual Elements

*Carmen* 13 offers a 35 x 35 letter square to the reader.

Within this field there are four crosses. Each arm of these figure-crosses is three letters thick and thirteen letters long. They are of course centered on the mesostich and middle verse. They border the edges of the field, so that nine columns and verses separate the inner edges of facing figures.

The crosses are red with white or yellow letters in all manuscripts except *V*, where they are silver with black letters.

The cross pattern of *carmen* 13 is therefore a cross made up of crosses.

##### 3.2.13.1.2. Textual Elements

The two titles of *carmen* 13 point us to the time of Christ's gestation in Mary's womb. In *A9* we read, "XIII. De diebus conceptionis Christi in utero uirginis in quattuor crucibus demonstratis, hoc est, .CC.LXX.VI. et eius numeri significatione,"<sup>514</sup> and find that this themes is shown in the four crosses. Hrabanus clarifies that Christ spent 276 days in the womb and promises an explanation of the meaning of this number. Turning to *D13*, the title runs, "DE TERTIAE DECIMAE RATIONE FIGVRAE, VBI ILLE DIERVM NVMERVS CONPREHENSVS EST QVO CHRISTVS IN VTERO VIRGINIS MORATVS EST."<sup>515</sup> Here in different words is the same assertion that the number 276, the number of days Christ remained in the Virgin's womb, is contained within the *carmen*.

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<sup>514</sup> *A9*, 32-34.

<sup>515</sup> *D13*, 2-4.

The basis poem opens with Hrabanus speaking to the cross, addressed as “Arbor.” This introduces a section of praise of the cross as superior to all trees (v. 1-7). Hrabanus laments that the devil has blocked many nations from accepting the faith, but the purple stain of Christ’s blood makes the cross shine with an eternal light (v. 7-12). The next few verses (v. 12-15) attribute to the cross the stability of a diverse series of constructions, from Christian churches passing through the temple of Solomon to the tabernacle, altar of incense and candelabra of Moses. There is then a Christological passage with a series of epithets of Christ, all in the nominative case (v. 16-19) and a description of Christ’s triumph over the devil (v. 20-25). At verse 26, Hrabanus returns to comparing the cross to other trees, this time in an exclamatory mood. In a final section (v. 31-35) Hrabanus speaks of the predictions of the prophets concerning Christ and his power as Creator and king.

The commentary begins by immediately relating the theme, the 276 days which Christ spent in the womb of the Virgin, to the construction of the Temple (l. 1-6). Hrabanus introduces a quotation from Augustine’s *De Trinitate* where the great Church Father discusses this same issue. Augustine raises three points. First of all, he relates the 46 years of construction of the Temple to the 276 days by proposing a substitution of 6 days for each year. Although he does not specify this, the influence of the 6 days of Creation is clear. 46 multiplied by 6 gives 276 days; which is 9 months (of 30 days each) and 6 days. Augustine then gives the traditional date for Christ’s conception and passion on the one hand, lending his authority to the idea that Christ was conceived and suffered on the same day, and Christ’s birth on the other, 276 days later.

After invoking this Patristic authority in support of the fundamental proposition of *carmen* 13, Hrabanus then investigates the meaning of the number 276 further. He points out, in lines 34-39, that this discussion of Christ’s gestation is also appropriate to the cross, since Christ came specifically to redeem human flesh, and that he did so first by taking on human flesh in the womb of the Virgin during this same gestation period of 276 days, and then by suffering on the cross. He then introduces a new numerological analysis alongside of that taken from Augustine. By dividing 276 by the 4 figures which Hrabanus has created on the visual plane, each figure contains

69 letters. There we find the 9 of the nine months and the 6 of the six days reappear to confirm us in our path through the mysteries of numerological meanings. Hrabanus goes further by asserting that this recurring 9 represents the 9 angel choirs and this recurring 6 represents man, made on the sixth day, in an interpretation reminiscent of Gregory's exegesis of the woman with 10 drachmas from *In Evangelia* 34 (cf. *carmen* 3). The commentary proper closes (l. 53-61) with an assertion of the unity of men and angels before the mystery of the Incarnation, because both are shown in this *carmen*, both are saved by the cross, and both were invited to praise and joy on the day of the birth of Christ.

Hrabanus clarifies his comment that men and angels are both shown in this *carmen* immediately (l. 62-71). In fact, each figure contains 69 letters and two interwoven verses. One verse woven into the three verses running horizontally and the other into the three columns running vertically. That means that each interwoven verse 41 letters long and the letters in the exact center of each figure are trivalent, read in the basis poem and both interwoven verses. That means that 9 letters in each figure are trivalent and 60 are bivalent; here are the 9 and 6 again, representing angels and man.

That means there are eight interwoven verses. We shall see below how each of them relates to the different ideas presented in *carmen* 13. In general, however, we see once again an example of the general pattern of the *In honorem*, in which the interwoven verse in the figure which constitutes the right arm of the cross emphasizes an aspect of the power of Christ or his cross.

### **3.2.13.1.3. Cognitive Elements**

As usual, we have the titles presenting an overview of the theme of the *carmen*, the translation clarifying the basis poem when it is too obscure for easy reading, the commentary expanding on the theme and the interwoven verses summarizing and repeating themes from the basis poem and commentary. We also find the interwoven verses united to their figures to create text-image unities that are divisions of the theme, although this factor is not obvious in *carmen* 13 the way it is

in the *carmina* dealing with, for example, the four elements or four virtues, and it requires a more thorough analysis to elucidate it.

The chief cognitive element in the *carmen* 13 is the complex interrelationship of numerological meanings. The number 276 is analyzed in numerous different ways at different points in the *carmen*. It is the nine months and six days of Christ's gestation. It is the forty-six years spent building the Temple of Jerusalem with six days substituted for each year. It is divided into four 69s, which reconnects with the original analysis into nine months and six days. Hrabanus feels the need to invoke the authority of Augustine to establish the first two of these analyses and proposes the last on his own authority; this last is part of the complex visual-verbal structure of the *carmen*, as it relates to Hrabanus' choice to split 276 into four parts on the visual plane of the figures.

### **3.2.13.2. Content**

#### **3.2.13.2.1. Typology of Temple Construction and Gestation**

The primary message of Hrabanus' thirteenth *carmen* is a development and extension of an idea raised in support of his theme in *carmen* 12. There, in the course of the discussion on how Christ is the second Adam, Hrabanus examined the significance of the letters "A" "Δ" "A" and "M" as Greek number symbols, totalling 46, and brought up *John* 2:20-21, where Jesus speaks of rebuilding the Temple in three days, the Jews incredulously respond that the Temple took forty-six years to build, and the Evangelist comments that Jesus was speaking on the temple of his body. Hrabanus there remarks that Christ took his body from Adam in order to redeem mankind in both soul and body. Here in *carmen* 13, he extends this typology to the specific parallel between the construction of the Temple and the formation of Christ's body.

This interpretation begins immediately in the commentary, which opens by pointing out how the four crosses written within triple beams show, "numerus dierum, quo Domini corpus secundum Ecclesiae fidem in utero uirginali constructum atque

compactum est.”<sup>516</sup> using the terms *constructum* and *compactum* which are more natural to the field of construction than gestation.

Hrabanus supports this contention with the authority of Augustine’s *De Trinitate*, where the great Doctor, commenting on this same idea, proposes the substitution of six days for years in the forty-six years of the Temple’s construction to reveal the two-hundred seventy-six days of Christ’s gestation. Augustine divides this number in nine months and six days and then discusses the traditional dates for Christ’s conception and passion – held to be the same day – and birth, two-hundred seventy-six days apart. The citation from Augustine ends with an idea that Hrabanus does not develop further, the correspondance between the Virgin’s womb and the tomb of Jesus, in that neither had been occupied before Christ.

Hrabanus comments that this Augustine passage shows how appropriate it is to put the gestation of Christ into the form of a cross, since Christ assumed human flesh during his gestation, and his purpose in coming and taking on human flesh was to redeem it upon the cross. Hrabanus turns our attention to the process of gestation.

Hrabanus contributes a second analysis of 276, into four parts. He does this both on the visual plane by creating four figures and in the commentary. The fourth part of 276 is 69, where Hrabanus finds again the nine months and six days of the traditional interpretation. Hrabanus then interprets these common 9s and 6s as indicating men and angels. However, when earlier (in *carmen* 4) Hrabanus wished to emphasize the unity of men and angels, he spoken of them both jointly praising the cross. Here he emphasizes them both being invited to joy and praise at Christ’s incarnation – at the moment at which the Savior assumed human flesh.

The discussion in the commentary focuses exclusively on the Temple and its 46 years of construction. However, the basis poem contains very brief references to other types of the slow formation of Christ’s human body in Mary’s womb, which receive no development in the *carmen*. Verses 12-15 run:

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<sup>516</sup> C13, 2-4.

...stant in te nam pie uinctae  
Aedes turritae, ex hoc dudum est nonne beata  
Machina et ipsa Dei ara et qui ussit suprema  
Lar hoc ne est, et mira lucerna, hoc otia tota.<sup>517</sup>

This cryptic passage receives significant expansion and clarification in the prose translation:

In te Ecclesiarum saluatoris celsitudo consistit, et unitas fidelium in fide et pace permanebit, quod etiam erectio tabernaculi Mosaici, seu aedificatio templi Salomoniaci praefigurabant; hoc et altare holocausti siue thymiamatis, atque ignis in eis semper ardens significabant; hoc et candelabrum cum .VII. lucernis, hoc et sabbati otia indicabant, quia in Christo Agno uidelicet Dei immaculato, pro salute nostra in ara crucis immolato, et fidelium est inluminatio, et requies perpetua sanctorum.<sup>518</sup>

By comparing the two passages, we can decipher the types that Hrabanus is listing. First of all the *uinctae aedes turritae* correspond to the *Ecclesiarum saluatoris celsitudo et unitas fidelium*; that is, the building of Christian churches with their lofty towers are a reflection of the formation of Christ's body. The *beata machina* would be the *aedificatio templi Salomoniaci*; the *ipsa Dei ara*, on the other hand, the *erectio tabernaculi Mosaici*. The text becomes rather difficult here, but it seems that the *lar qui ussit suprema* corresponds to the *altare holocausti siue thymiamatis*, the *mira lucerna* to the *candelabrum cum .VII. lucernis* and the *otia tota* to the *sabbati otia*. The tabernacle of Moses, the altar of incense, the seven-branch candelabra, the construction of which are all reported in detail in the books of Moses, are all added to the types of the formation of Christ's body in the womb, as is, strangely, the Sabbath rest, which unlike the others is not a physical object built by anyone.

The basis poem closes with a description of Christ's power, predicted by the holy prophets. Here, the prose translation adds a philosophical observation:

Ideo data est ei omnis potestas in caelo et in terra secundum humanitatem, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto caelum et terram et omnia quae in eis sunt creauit secundum suam diuinitatem, sicut sancti dudum

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<sup>517</sup> B13, 12-15.

<sup>518</sup> D13, 20-28.



cecinere prophetae, quod caeli et terrae factor paruulus filius nasceretur,  
cuius imperium super humerum eius esset.<sup>519</sup>

The power which Matthew states has been given to Christ (*Matthew* 28:18) is given to him according to his humanity – the humanity whose slow formation is the theme of this *carmen* – not according to his divinity, which, of course, created and reigns over earth and sky and everything in them as one Person of the Holy Trinity.

The bottom cross figure and its interwoven verses are devoted to this theme as well. Its vertical verse refers to the construction of the sacred body, “CORPORIS ERGO SACRI CONSTRVCTIO IN ARTE BEATA,”<sup>520</sup> while the horizontal verse to the number 276 whose mysteries Hrabanus has been expounding: “E NVMERO RADIANS QVAE INTVS PROBAT IISSE BEATA.”<sup>521</sup> The red color of the figures found in *PATQW* perhaps refers to the blood, not only of the Passion, but also of childbirth.

### 3.2.13.2.2. Christology

Several different parts of the *carmen* are dedicated to Christological purposes. First of these is one of the many nominative lists which appear throughout the *In honorem*, often in Christological contexts (notably in the first *carmen*). Verses 16-19 launch from a comment that the Lamb has established the typologies discussed above into a long list of Christological epithets:

Agnus hoc statuit, signans quoque rite uiando  
Vera salus ista quod uerus fons bonitatis  
Est, benedictio quae sacrauit, amor, pietasque,  
Sancta salutis lux, et uita, redemptio uera.<sup>522</sup>

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<sup>519</sup> D13, 49-54.

<sup>520</sup> C13, 78.

<sup>521</sup> C13, 80.

<sup>522</sup> B13, 16-19.

The most often repeat word here is *verus*: Christ is true salvation, true spring of goodness, true redemption. He is also blessing, love, piety, the holy light of salvation and life.

The next section of the basis poem emphasizes Christ's defeat of the devil and death.

Inque domu princeps donum dat pacis in orbem;  
luraque amicitiae hinc firmavit, deposuitque  
Ascita antiqui nisus, quae texit hiems mors cum  
Illecebre lusu, circa ignem noxia, enim sic  
Pellax decipit, et socordem ubi inquietato  
Conspexit uoto iam aridens, uinxit aperte.<sup>523</sup>

The prose version clarifies Christ's deeds celebrated here:

... ipse est princeps tamquam filius in domo sua, in Ecclesia uidelicet sancta: ipse est pax nostra, qui fecit utraque unum; ipse principatum diaboli destruxit, et conatus eius noxios retardauit: qui per frigus infidelitatis feruorem caritatis extinguere studet, et per illecebras uoluptatum felicitatem ueram promittens, fallax decipit, et per hanc dementiam iam quasi captum irridens, manifestis uitiorum uinculis et catenis peccatorum stringit.<sup>524</sup>

The cross figures which make the left and right arms of the larger cross pattern continue these Christological themes. Their horizontal arms are interwoven into v. 17-19 so they repeat some of the epithets given in the basis poems. In the right-hand figure we read, "VERA SALVS ISTA EST BENEDICTIO SANCTA SALVTIS,"<sup>525</sup> and in the left-hand figure, "FONS BONITATIS, AMOR PIETASQVE, REDEMPTIO VERA."<sup>526</sup> Meanwhile, the vertical interwoven verses offer Hrabanus more freedom. As usual, the right-hand figure reflects some kind of power or strength of Christ or his cross. Here we find, "NVNC CANAM AT EXORANS LESVM ABDERE ET VDA

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<sup>523</sup> B12, 20-25.

<sup>524</sup> D13, 31-38.

<sup>525</sup> C13, 84.

<sup>526</sup> C13, 88.

PIARE,<sup>527</sup> reinforcing his triumph over harm. On the left-hand cross, in contrast, is a more philosophical reflection on Christ's eternity and presence in all things: "IN TOTO IPSE MANENS TENET IPSEQUE VIVIT IN OMNI."<sup>528</sup>

### 3.2.13.2.3. Cross' Place among Other Trees

The third notable feature of carmen thirteen is the description of the cross as a tree and the comparison of the cross to other trees. This motif opens the basis poem:

Arbor odore potens, frondoso uertice lata,  
Qua summa uere sacro u fluit ordine bertas,  
Hortus ditatus et par cui nullus in orbe est  
Floribus et foliis, milleno germine diues,  
Omnes excedens altas grauitudine siluas.<sup>529</sup>

The cross is the tree of powerful odor with broad branches. The highest fruitfulness (As he occasionally does, Hrabanus indulges in a radical tmesis, splitting *ubertas* into *u* and *bertas*) flowed from it in sacred order. No garden is equal to it in flowers and leaves, and rich with a thousand seeds, it exceeds every other high wood in majesty. The prose translation changes all of these adjectives into superlatives.

The cross is the a tree of many colors, but the most important, the royal color purple, coming from the touch of Christ, makes it glow with an eternal ray:

Arbor sola tenens uarios uirtute colores,  
Purpureo regis sub tactu roscida fulgens  
Aeterno es radio...<sup>530</sup>

While this beginning seems to be description up through verse 12, the *es* then makes it clear that this is addressed to the cross.

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<sup>527</sup> C13, 82.

<sup>528</sup> C13, 86.

<sup>529</sup> B13, 1-5.

<sup>530</sup> B13, 10-12.

The address to the cross is unmistakable, in contrast, when Hrabanus returns to this theme at verse 26.

O tu, crux speciosa, o pinus pulchrior, omnia  
Quae uincis nemora, o cedris altior ipsis,<sup>531</sup>

Once again the cross is considered as a tree and is here set forth as the more beautiful pine tree and higher than the cedars themselves.

The theme is taken up in the top cross figure's interwoven verses, which speak of the form of the cross, but are careful to connect the glory of the cross form to the dignity of the crucified Christ. The vertical interwoven verse speaks of the form of the cross, which is glorious because of Christ whom it bore: "FORMA SACRATA CRUCIS VENERANDO FVLGET AMICTV."<sup>532</sup> The horizontal verse continues this attribution of the honor of the cross to the one it bore: "MAGNVS VESTIT HONOR LAETVS, LOQVOR HOC NATIONI."<sup>533</sup> A great and happy honor clothed (the cross), and Hrabanus has charged himself to speak of this to the nation (of all the faithful).

### 3.2.13.3. Sources

#### 3.2.13.3.1. Augustine, *De Trinitate*

*Carmen* 13 is another of the few places in which Hrabanus states explicitly his source for a Patristic citation: Augustine's *De Trinitate*, 4, 5, 9, in which Augustine explains that pregnancy lasts nine months and six days. Once again, Hrabanus is explicit in citing Patristic authority, not for a doctrinal position, but for a numerological one.

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<sup>531</sup> B13, 26-27.

<sup>532</sup> C13, 74.

<sup>533</sup> C13, 76.

### 3.2.14. *Carmen* 14

#### 3.2.14.1. Form

##### 3.2.14.1.1. Visual Elements

The fourteenth *carmen*'s field is a 39 x 39 square.

Spread across the field along the middle verse and mesostich are thirteen small figures. They are each just three letters high and three letters across, except the outermost four figures, which are three letters high and five letters across. In this way they occupy the smallest space possible while still being identifiable. The central figure is a Greek letter "Γ," while each cross arm contains the identical sequence from the center to the edges of the field, consisting of "Z," "T" and "∞." The ∞-figures in the horizontal axis touch the edges of the field, while those in the vertical axis are separated from the edges by two verses. There are two verses or columns between the ∞-figures, "T"s and "Z"s, and three verses or columns between the "Z"s and the central "Γ."

The cross pattern thus formed is, on the one hand, discontinuous and seems especially delicate, since the gaps between the figures are almost as large as the figures themselves. On the other hand, it fills the field in the horizontal direction and almost does so in the vertical direction.

##### 3.2.14.1.2. Textual Elements

The titles of *carmen* 14 point to an unusual theme, the number of years from the beginning of the world to the Crucifixion. D14 refers only to this: "DE FIGVRA QVARTA DECIMA, IN QVA NVMERVS ANNORVM AB EXORDIO MVNDI VSQVE IN ANNVM PASSIONIS CHRISTI NOTATVS EST."<sup>534</sup> As usual, A9 has a more complicated version.

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<sup>534</sup> D14, 1-3.

XIII. De annis ab exordio mundi usque in annum passionis Christi in notis graecarum litterarum secundum formam sanctae crucis dispositis simul cum sacramento quod in hoc reuelatur<sup>535</sup>

The A9 title uses almost identical words to express the theme, but describes the figures, which are “notae” of Greek letters arranged into a cross pattern, and adds the second theme, the secret contained in that number.

The basis poem begins with a justification of singing the praises of the cross, which is described as the triumph and banner of the king who defeated the devil (v. 1-5). The theme heralded in the titles, the number of years from the Creation to the Crucifixion, is introduced from verse 6. Hrabanus praises God’s coordination of time and events according to the certain sacred number which is his theme. Analogies between the Creation and the Crucifixion occupy verses 12-18. The next section speaks of how the cross sanctifies all the ages of the world for the elect and promises them an eternal kingdom (v. 19-29). In the final section, Hrabanus explore how this promise of salvation depends on the cross: God defeated the fraud of the devil through it and it is the fortress of the theological virtues, which make the faithful worthy of eternal life (v. 30-39).

The commentary opens by specifying for the first time the exact number of years, referred to in both titles and basis poem, which has run between the creation of the world and the year of the passion, namely: 5231. Hrabanus cites the authority of the Patristic chronographers Eusebius and Jerome and shows their calculations and subdivisions of the history of the world. He then explains the figures and their numerical significance in the Greek alphanumeric system, which adds up to 5231. The second half of the commentary expands on a single verse of the basis poem. Hrabanus explains that the four Greek letters which are employed as figures represent faith, hope, charity and eternal bliss. He then gives a first analysis, establishing the connection of each one of these figures to its theological virtue based on its alphanumeric value. After that he provides a second analysis, also establishing the connection of each figure to its theological virtue, but this time based on the geometrical shape of the letter. The last section of the commentary

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<sup>535</sup> A9, 35-38.

discusses, unusually, the meaning of third visual plane, the cross pattern, saying that the cross arms, identical but spreading out to all four edges of the field, represent the preaching of the Gospel spreading out from Jerusalem to the entire world. The commentary to *carmen* fourteen is exceptionally long due to this wealth of analyses.

The two interwoven verses refer to the appearance of the cross giving honor to Jesus and indicating the number of the year in which Jesus suffered on earth, respectively. All the figures in the vertical axis of the cross are joined into the one vertical verse, “EN CRVCIS HAEC SPECIES IESVS BENE MONSTRAT HONOREM.”<sup>536</sup> The horizontal figures join together to spell out the interwoven verse, “CONPVSTAT HVNC NVMERVM IESVS QVO EST PASSVS IN ARVIS.”<sup>537</sup> The central Γ-figure is read, therefore, in both interwoven verses, making its letters, which make up the divine name IESUS, trivalent.

### 3.2.14.1.3. Cognitive Elements

The most unusual text-text relationship of *carmen* 14 is the enormous expansion of an idea which only receives a small mention in the basis poem. This is also a text-image relationship, since this large expansion of the commentary is dedicated to giving meaning to the figures. The presence of the three theological virtues in the *carmen* depends on this expansion and commentary on the meaning of the figures. In part this is necessary due to the small size and large number of figures; in other *carmina* Hrabanus can create text-figure unities that represent the divisions of his theme, whereas here, with the figures containing only five or seven letters each, he must displace this effort of analysis and recomposition to the cognitive plane by elaborately establishing the meaning of the different figures through the commentary.

Another unusual cognitive feature of this *carmen* is the complete double set of analyses for each figure according to two different systems, the alphanumerical significance of the Greek letters employed as figures and the actual shape of the same letters. These systems are quite distinct in their character; one is based on the

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<sup>536</sup> C14, 127.

<sup>537</sup> C14, 130.

meaning of the symbols within the Greek numbering system, the other is based on studying the form of the actual symbols themselves.

Numerology is one of the main components of this *carmen*. To be sure, the assertion that 5231 years passed between the creation of the world and the crucifixion of Christ is of a historical nature, not numerological. Hrabanus, however, invokes Patristic authority to support it, as he does for numerological assertions elsewhere, and as he does not for his Biblical exegeses or philosophical arguments. On the other hand, the title in A9 promises to expound the *sacramentum quod in hoc reuelatur*, an assertion that this number also possesses its numerological significance, and sections of the basis poem go into this. One of the analyses of the meaning of the figures is based on the numerological meanings of the numbers the figures represent: 3, 7, 300 (which is based on the meanings of 50 and 6), and 1000.

### 3.2.14.2. Content

#### 3.2.14.2.1. Crucifixion as Re-Creation

According to Hrabanus' authorities, 5231 years passed between God's creation of the universe and Christ's passion. The fourteenth *carmen*, whose figures add up to this sum in their alphanumeric significance, explores the connection between these two events. Hrabanus praises God for His providential coordination of time and events with the significance of this sacred number and considers it a motif for belief:

Credentes fecit, proba conditor omnia condens,  
Tempora cum numero concordans cuncta sacro.<sup>538</sup>

Or, as he says in prose, "credentium deuotio augetur, cum perspicit conditorem omnium rerum tam congrue et tam conuenienter rebus ipsis temporum seriem coaptare."<sup>539</sup>

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<sup>538</sup> B14, 10-11.

<sup>539</sup> D14, 15-17.



At several points in the basis poem, Hrabanus asserts that Christ's act of suffering and resurrection was a new Creation or re-Creation. The first of these follows immediately the verses quoted above.

Cuncta quia Dominus renouauit saecula prisca,  
Sanguine nam recreans perfecit cuncta cruore,  
Iam bonus in primis tunc finxit quae exa diebus,  
Principium ut Genesis pie sancto dogmate pandit,  
Quod hominem faciens conplesset facta creator.<sup>540</sup>

Hrabanus describes here Christ's sacrifice with *recreans perfecit*. The good Creator who made man in the beginning shed his own blood to re-create man at the crucifixion.

The next verses establish a typology in which the six days of creation and God's Sabbath rest are a type of Christ's passion – the re-creation – and his sojourn in the tomb.

Sicque die sexta hominem reparando redemptor  
Sabbata demonstrans, celebrauit sabbata uere.<sup>541</sup>

Hrabanus takes up this theme again later in the poem. He emphasizes again Christ's role in the Creation to show the Passion as the re-Creation of man and all things. In this second passage, he speaks of how the Creator gave life in the beginning and gave it again at the Crucifixion after man had lost it by the fraud of the devil.

Qui pius omnipotens uitam dedit ante salubrem,  
Quando hominem uoluit paradysum sorte tenere.  
Et post lapsa fugam miserans, quoque noluit ipsum  
Fraude perire lupi; hanc maxime conditor arcem  
Sed crucis ad uitam uoto dedicaerat orbi huic,<sup>542</sup>

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<sup>540</sup> B14, 12-16.

<sup>541</sup> B14, 17-18.

<sup>542</sup> B14, 32-36.

The *pious omnipotens* gave life before, wishing man to hold Paradise; and the Creator – *conditor* – had dedicated this fortress of the cross (*hanc ... arcem ... crucis*) to life.

The two interwoven verses also deal with this theme, one of them speaking of the cross demonstrating Jesus' honor, and the other of the number when he suffered on earth.

The final paragraph of the commentary points to the pattern made by the *carmen's* figure spreading out from the central  $\Gamma$ -figure as an indication of the spread of Christ's gospel. Here we find an explicit affirmation by Hrabanus that the field of each *carmen* can represent the world.

Igitur ipsarum litterarum series a  $\Gamma$  incipiens, id est, a medio crucis per .IIII. plagas ducitur: hoc nimirum significans, quod post passionem Christi, eius discipuli incipientes ab Hierusalem, coeperunt Euangelium in toto orbe praedicare, et diuina carismata cunctis gentibus distribuere,<sup>543</sup>

In the thin, delicate cross form of *carmen* 14 we can see an image of the thin chain of God's word – speaking directly to Adam and Eve, Cain, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, transitioning to the written law with Moses, subsequently passed down by a single people – during the period with which the *carmen* deals prior to the birth of the Church and the explosive spread of the Gospel which Hrabanus points out here.

### 3.2.14.2.2. The Theological Virtues

The other theme which Hrabanus discusses in *carmen* fourteen is the theological virtues. The text devoted to this theme is very unevenly divided among the various textual planes. They are merely listed in one of the last verses of the basis poem, verse 38.

Virtutum ut numero eueheret ad sceptra superna  
Spes, amor atque fides, omnes quos sanxit ab aeuo  
Perpetuo dignos Christi uenerabile uisu hinc.<sup>544</sup>

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<sup>543</sup> C14, 117-121.

<sup>544</sup> B14, 37-39.

The expansion of this in the prose translation is enlightening:

Crux quippe est arx uirtutum et remissio peccatorum, ipsa scilicet de his infimis atque caducis ad caelestia et superna prouehit omnes quos per fidem et spem atque caritatem dignos esse aeterna uisione Dei Christi electio conprobauit.

Hrabanus, who has used the expression *arcem crucis* in the verses immediately preceding, here speaks of the cross as the *arx uirtutum*. The fortress of the cross consists in the protection and stronghold which it supplies to the theological virtues.

Hrabanus lists the three traditional theological virtues, but connects them with the enjoyment of Eternity in both the basis poem (*ab aeuo perpetuo*) and the translation (*aeterna uisione*). This connection is also exemplified by the arrangement and meaning of the figures. Hrabanus gives the numerical meanings of the Greek letters and then explains, in lines 23-28 of the commentary, that the  $\Gamma$ -figure represents faith, the Z-figures hope, the T-figures charity and the  $\infty$ -figures eternal bliss.

Siquidem  $\Gamma$  Graecorum ternarium numerum significat, Z septenarium, T tricenarium et X millenarium. Sed quid nobis in gamma, nisi fides Trinitatis inuitur? Quid per zeta, nisi spes fidelium? Et quid per tau, nisi caritas? Quid uero per chi, nisi aeterna beatitudo significatur?<sup>545</sup>

He provides two complete sets of analyses to justify these assertions, as mentioned above. Let us compare two analyses of one figure. The first set focuses on the alphanumeric meaning. Explaining how T represents charity, Hrabanus says:

T igitur .CCC. numerum significat: quod sunt sexies quinquageni. In quibus numeris quid aliud quam perfectio caritatis insinuat? Quinquagenarius enim numerus propter Pentecosten Spiritus Sancti gratiam demonstrat et senarius numerus perfectus est.<sup>546</sup>

Here Hrabanus explicitly uses the status of the number 6 as a perfect number in his numerological interpretation of the number 300. Meanwhile, the second set of analyses focuses on the shape of the letter-figure.

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<sup>545</sup> C14, 23-28.

<sup>546</sup> C14, 46-50.

T ergo littera quae similitudinem crucis habet, et duplici conpingitur forma, bene duo praecepta caritatis nobis insinuat. Pars enim eius quaedam sursum ascendit, quaedam per transuersum uadit; sed illa pars quae sursum erecta est, diuinum nobis commendat amorem, ut Deum et creatorem nostrum toto corde, tota anima, tota mente, tota uirtute diligamus; illa uero quae per medium ducitur, ita tamen ut in erecta parte sursum consistat, nostrum nobis inuicem insinuat amorem, qui diuino amore debet ordinari, ut amicos diligamus in Deo, et inimicos propter Deum.<sup>547</sup>

In this section, Hrabanus provides his reader with a complicated teaching on the theological virtues. Faith is specifically the faith in the Trinity and the Γ-figure contains the name IESUS, whose passion and resurrection revealed the Trinity. It is at the center of the cross because faith is the foundation of good works and the beginning of salvation.<sup>548</sup> Faith, like the “Γ” shape, rises up to God and then should remain firm and flat, but it is always at risk of falling, so should be carefully guarded.<sup>549</sup> Hope is for the eternal rest symbolized by the seven (the day when God rested)<sup>550</sup>, and is the anchor of the soul to divine things in the tempests of temptation and persecution, just as the anchor-like form of the “Z” hints.<sup>551</sup> “T” represents, as we have seen, the perfection of charity in its numerological significance of 50 (Pentecost) x 6 (a perfect number), but also is similar to the cross in shape; it expresses Jesus’ double commandment of charity through the rising vertical stroke, which represents love for God, and the horizontal stroke which represents love for neighbor. Finally, the goal of all these virtues, eternal life, is solid, stable and unchanging like a cube (1000) and has no end, just as the curved lines of the symbol ∞ have no end. This is a version of the “X,” the first letter of the name of Christ.

Hrabanus sets these virtues into a progression. Faith is the foundation of good works and beginning of salvation, hope is the hope for eternal rest, and eternal bliss is the reward and rest which the saved strive for with these virtues. His final

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<sup>547</sup> C14, 88-97.

<sup>548</sup> Cf. C14, 30-31.

<sup>549</sup> Cf. C14, 69-73.

<sup>550</sup> Cf. C14, 34.

<sup>551</sup> Cf. C14, 78-82.

comments comparing the cross arms to the spread of the Gospel also establishes an outward movement from the center, faith/Γ, to the ends of the cross, bliss/∞.

### **3.2.14.3. Sources**

#### **3.2.14.3.1. Jerome's Translation of Eusebius' *Chronicon***

Hrabanus explicitly cites Jerome and Eusebius to support his dating of world history as lasting 5231 years from the Creation to the Passion of Christ. He is much more cautious in his use of them than in any of his doctrinal observations. He states that this number is "secundum fidem chronicorum Eusebii et Hieronymi. Siquidem secundum eorum computationem, ..." <sup>552</sup> Hrabanus regards them as reliable enough to construct a carmen based on their information, but does not commit himself to their number otherwise. His attitude here contrasts with both the use of Isidore, taken as a source of undisputable common knowledge, and his procedure in doctrinal questions, where the doctrines taught by the Fathers are simply stated without explicit citation.

#### **3.2.14.3.2. Bede, *De Templo***

The beginning of Hrabanus' description of the meaning of the number 1000 (C14, 54-66) is taken from Bede's treatise *De Templo*, 19. <sup>553</sup> However, where Bede finishes his description of the perfect solidity and stability of the cubic number formed from 10 with, "justorum conscientia designatur," Hrabanus changes this considerably to "justorum in caelis uita designatur." <sup>554</sup> He then expands upon the idea of the infinite joy in soul and immortality in body of the blessed, and compares the three dimensions of the cube to eternity, charity, and contemplation. He thus introduces the Apocalyptic theme which will begin to predominate in the second half of the *In honorem*.

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<sup>552</sup> C14, 4-6.

<sup>553</sup> Bede, *De Templo Salomonis*, 19, PL 91, 790AB.

<sup>554</sup> C14, 61-62.

### **3.2.15. *Carmen* 15**

#### **3.2.15.1. Form**

##### **3.2.15.1.1. Visual Elements**

The field is a 36 x 36 square.

The fifteenth *carmen* stands out by its high degree of visual complexity, created by its numerous figures. There are five figures, each one divided into several distinct parts. In the center appears a lamb with a halo and a cross within the halo. The lamb stands out brilliantly from the brown background as a white figure inscribed with red letters. The identification of the lamb as the Lamb of God is obvious and immediate. The Lamb has a halo which is silver in *V* and blue in the other manuscripts, inscribed with a cross which varies in color. Surrounding the Lamb are the four winged animal symbols of the four Evangelists. The eagle, above, and lion, on the right side, are painted in ochre, with white letters, while the ox, on the left, and the angel, below, are also ochre in all manuscripts but *V*, which has them a pale green. Each animal figure is holding a banner in inscribed with an opening verse of the respective Gospel.

Two verses separate the eagle from the top of the field and the angel from the bottom of the field, while five verses separate each of them from the Lamb. On the horizontal axis, the lion is three columns from the right edge of the field and two columns from the Lamb, while the ox is three columns from the Lamb and two columns from the left edge of the field. The lion is only six letters wide, while the ox is eight letters; the lamb is one letter off-center towards the lion in order to distribute the figures more evenly along the horizontal axis.

##### **3.2.15.1.2. Textual Elements**

The two titles of *carmen* 15 are, “XV. De quattuor euangelistis et agno in crucis specie constitutis,”<sup>555</sup> and, “DE QVINTA DECIMA FIGVRA, VBI AGNVS ET

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<sup>555</sup> A9, 39-40.

QVATTVOR EVANGELISTAE DEPICTI SVNT.”<sup>556</sup> In both of them we see a straightforward identification of the figures as the Evangelists. Hrabanus reserves his discussion of this to the commentary. The title in A9 identifies the arrangement into the cross pattern as well, while D mentions the *carmen*’s number.

The basis poem corresponds very closely with the figures. It begins with a two-line address to Christ as the victorious warrior, who breaks the arrows of the enemy, asking Him for inspiration in proclaiming these victory odes of the cross. In verses 3-10, Hrabanus speaks of John as the high-flying eagle, who can stare into the sun. In a similar way, John shows the divinity of Christ and the Word becoming Flesh. John was given grace beyond all others as the eagle soars above all other creatures. Verses 11-15 introduce Mark and Luke, who show Christ as king and priest, respectively. Verses 15-16 gives the story of the 7 loaves from Mark’s Gospel, which shows how Christ daily refreshes his people with the 7 gifts of the Holy Spirit. In verses 17-27, Hrabanus turns to Luke and meditating on the infancy narrative, introduces a long series of paradoxes: the King is also the Victim; Christ the Right Hand of the Creator become Man; the Ancient of Days become a baby; and while He was still hanging on the cross He sustained the stars. The last section (v. 28-36) focuses on Matthew’s genealogy, whereby he shows Christ as a son of a promise, descendant of Patriarch and King.

Hrabanus was constrained by the complexity of the figures and interwoven verses in *carmen* 15 to simply leave blank spaces at certain points in the basis poem. All of these occur between verse 16 and 20 inclusive, within the verses that overlap with the three figures of lion, lamb and ox.

The commentary begins by introducing the theme of the four animals. Hrabanus gives immediately the Scriptural citations of Ezechiel and the Apocalypse where the four animals appear. The next paragraph (l. 18-29) justify the arrangement of the four animals into a cross pattern from the statement in the Apocalypse that they surround the throne. Hrabanus clarifies that the lamb spoken of in the Apocalypse is the Lamb of God and that the four animals symbolize the four Evangelists. He then

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<sup>556</sup> D15, 1-2.

justifies the position of each animal within the *carmen* and the use of each animal to symbolize a particular Evangelist. He follows the canonical order, beginning with Matthew in l. 38-43, although he also explains the position of Mark and Luke at this point, before justifying the use of the lion and the ox, respectively, to symbolize them in the two succeeding paragraphs (l. 44-54 and l. 55-61). Next he does the same for the eagle and John. The last two paragraphs introduce other metaphors for the four Gospels. The first states that the four Gospels are like the four rivers of Paradise, proceeding from an identical spring, i.e. Christ. This metaphor does not appear anywhere else in the *carmen*. The second paragraph compares the four Gospels to the four wheels which appeared after the animals in the vision of Ezechiel, also emphasizing the unity of the Gospels through the fact that the four wheels appeared to be one.

The interwoven verses of *carmen* 15 are easy to read, both because the figures are compact masses and also because many of them are Biblical citations which would be very familiar to Hrabanus' readers. The verses within the animal symbols name and describe the primary goal of each Evangelist, the goal which leads each Evangelist to be symbolized by that animal. They are, "MATTHEVS HVNC HOMINEM SIGNAVIT IN ORDINE STIRPIS,"<sup>557</sup> "MARCVS REGEM SIGNAT,"<sup>558</sup> "DAT LVCAS PONTIFICEM,"<sup>559</sup> and, "ALTIVOLANS AQVILA ET VERBVM HAVSIT IN ARCE IOHANNIS."<sup>560</sup> Matthew indicates Christ's human nature by showing his descent; Mark shows the kingship of Christ; Luke His priesthood, and John reveals Him as the Word of God.

Each Evangelist figure is carrying a banner, *charta*, inscribed with key words of his Gospel. Matthew's banner reads, "LIBER GENERATIONIS," Mark's, "VOX CLAMANTIS," while Luke's ox is holding up, "FUIT IN DIEB. HERODIS," and John's eagle, "IN PRINCIPIO ERAT V." Hrabanus does not trouble himself to spell out these interwoven verses, assuming their instant accessibility to all readers. Only in

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<sup>557</sup> C15, 97.

<sup>558</sup> C15, 99.

<sup>559</sup> C15, 101.

<sup>560</sup> C15, 103.



the case of Matthew and John are these in fact the first words of the Gospel; Hrabanus naturally skips Luke's personal introduction and uses Mark 1:3, presumably as more characteristic of the Gospel. His argument in the commentary for the use of lion for Mark focuses on this *vox clamantis*, identifying it with the voice of the lion roaring in the desert.

The Lamb is inscribed with the description of Jesus by John the Baptist, "ECCE AGNVS DEI, ECCE QVI TOLLIT PECCATA MVNDI,"<sup>561</sup> while the halo is connected to the description of the Lamb in the Apocalypse: "SEPTEM SPIRITVS DEI."<sup>562</sup> Hrabanus specifies that these seven spirits are also the seven horns and seven eyes described in the Apocalypse. The cross in the halo contains the Greek word, "YOS," to show that this lamb is also the Son of God.

### 3.2.15.1.3. Cognitive Elements

The fifteenth *carmen's* structure is dominated by the figure/interwoven verse unities. The basis poem is unusually easy to understand and focuses on describing the realities symbolized by the four animal figures; the Lamb is somewhat neglected on this level. The basis poem is unusually easy to understand and the prose translation follows it closely. The commentary adds a few elements which do not appear in the other levels. The interwoven verses define both the meaning of the symbols and why they symbolize the Evangelists. Several of them state what that they are engaged in the act of symbolizing: *Marcus regem signat, Lucas dat pontificem*. This *carmen* in particular adopts imagery from a broad and rich tradition – the four animal symbols and the Lamb of God are all conventional in Christian art and the red-on-white color contrast of the Lamb is an echo of the red-on-white flag of the risen Christ. The Evangelists are carrying their Gospel, a visual reflection of their role as authors of the sacred texts. All these Gospels are united, despite their differences, in coming from the one Christ, at the center of the cross as Lamb of God. Hrabanus justifies the cross form from the Biblical source which describes the animals surrounding the throne of the Lamb.

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<sup>561</sup> C15, 113.

<sup>562</sup> C15, 109.

### 3.2.15.2. Content

#### 3.2.15.2.1. The Four Evangelists and their Animal Symbols

The bulk of *carmen* 15 is devoted to the four Evangelists and the winged animals which symbolize them. Large sections of the basis poem and the commentary, the figures and the interwoven verses all contribute to Hrabanus' teaching here. Hrabanus appeals here to the authority of the Church to reinforce his teaching:

Quattuor quippe haec animalia quattuor euangelistas significant, ut Ecclesiae tradit auctoritas, hoc est, Matthaeum, Marcum, Lucam, Iohannem, ...<sup>563</sup>

Let us examine them in the order Hrabanus follows in the basis poem.

John is the only Evangelist who is directly identified with his symbol. He is called the *transpenetrans aquila* in the basis poem<sup>564</sup> and the *altivolans aquila* in the interwoven verse.<sup>565</sup> The figure of the eagle extends over seven of the eight verses devoted to John in the basis poem; the first verse of this section, verse 3, contains the first bivalent letters which make up the figure. Hrabanus explains why John is represented by an eagle in the commentary:

... quia ad altiora uolans, secretiora Christi diuinitatis mysteria explorat, et quasi in ipsum solem deitatis, mentis oculos figens, statim in principio Euangelii sui de diuinitate Christi exorsus est ...<sup>566</sup>

In the background here is the medieval belief that the eagle, alone of all birds, can stare into the sun. Just as the sun is a metaphor for the Deity itself, so the eagle is a fitting metaphor for the one Evangelist who bluntly and openly reveals Christ's divinity from the beginning of his Gospel.

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<sup>563</sup> C15, 32-24.

<sup>564</sup> B15, 4.

<sup>565</sup> C15, 103.

<sup>566</sup> C15, 63-66.

Hrabanus' explanation of the use of the lion to represent Mark is very interesting. On the one hand, Hrabanus in the basis poem states that Markus shows Christ as the king, saving humanity like a victorious lion seizing his prey:

Hunc leo, hunc vitulus regem dant pontificemque,  
Vt leo, qui fortis retulit certamine praedam,<sup>567</sup>

while in his commentary, on the other, he focuses on how Mark is the voice of a lion crying in the wilderness, rather than on how Christ is king. Both in the commentary and the banner which the lion holds, Hrabanus connects Mark to the lion through the use of the quotation of Isaiah with which Mark opens: Mark is the *vox clamantis* in the desert. In the commentary Hrabanus asserts that this voice is the voice of a lion: "... Marcus speciem leonis habet, in quo uox leonis in heremo rugientis auditur:"<sup>568</sup> Hrabanus cites other Scriptural passages, such as the prophet Amos, "Dominus de Sion rugiet, et de Hierusalem dabit uocem suam,"<sup>569</sup> which uses the technical word for lions' roaring, *rugire*, of the Lord, and *Genesis*, where Jacob calls Judah, from whom the kings of Israel and Christ would be born, *catulus leonis*.<sup>570</sup> Hrabanus seems to be waver between two ideas: whether the lion represents Christ or Mark himself.

Meanwhile verses 15-16 give an allegorical meaning to the miracle of the seven loaves, told in Mark, and assert that through this miracle Mark is indicating the seven spirits of God which the Apocalypse assigns to the Lamb:

Nempe datorum mysterio septem et pie panum,  
Dat Marcus septem spiritus quoque uiuide cantu.<sup>571</sup>

In this way Hrabanus establishes an additional link between the four Evangelists and the Lamb of God.

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<sup>567</sup> B15, 11.

<sup>568</sup> C15, 44-45.

<sup>569</sup> *Amos*, 1:2 (at C15, 47-48). Hrabanus attributes the quote exclusively to Amos, although *Joel* 3:16 is identical.

<sup>570</sup> *Genesis* 49:9 (at C15, 51-54).

<sup>571</sup> B15, 15-16.

In the basis poem, Hrabanus segues from Mark to Luke by pointing to a double paradox: Luke shows that Christ the King is also both the sacrificial victim and the priest.

O tu regem iusti ecce agnum da pie Lucas,  
Hoc signatque fides Dei ecce ea, pontificemque  
Dat uox clarum haedos qui tollit cum fuit in dies.<sup>572</sup>

Luke is here exhorted to show us a *regem* who is also an *agnum*.

Meanwhile, in the interwoven verse and the commentary, Hrabanus focuses on Luke's message of the priesthood of Christ, while the idea of Christ as victim falls into the background. Beyond the interwoven verse which states that Luke gives us a priest, Hrabanus makes three observations in the commentary. He points out that Luke begins his Gospel from Zacharias taking up his priestly service in the Temple, "...qui a Zacharia sacerdote initium sumens,..."<sup>573</sup> According to Hrabanus, Luke narrates the angel's words to Mary, "Elizabeth cognata tua," in order to demonstrate the Christ is of the priestly tribe according to the flesh. In addition, he interprets the Lucan genealogy as intended to show that Christ was himself a priest, by tracing his descent from David through Nathan. (Matthew, in contrast, has it that Christ descends from David through Solomon rather than Nathan). Hrabanus does not point out why the ox symbolizes the priesthood: presumably his readers were familiar with the idea of the Mass as the bloodless sacrifice which continues the sacrifice of oxen and other animals in the Temple. The rest of the section of the basis poem dedicated to Luke is a series of further paradoxes, most of them based on the startling idea of the Creator as an infant, but does not relate to the animal symbol.

Matthew receives the least attention in the commentary but a fairly long section in the basis poem, nine verses (Luke receives thirteen verses, John eight and Mark four). The figure of the angel begins on the same verse that begins the description

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<sup>572</sup> B15, 17-19.

<sup>573</sup> C15, 56.

of Matthew in the basis poem, verse 28. The interwoven verses and the commentary merely focus on Matthew's genealogy. They interpret the fact that Matthew begins with this genealogy as an attempt to highlight the Savior's human nature:

Matthaeus iure in imo positus speciem hominis tenet; quia in principio Euangelii sui genealogiam Saluatoris describens, ex terrenis parentibus eum carnem adsumere intimauit.<sup>574</sup>

The basis poem is considerably more complicated and here the prose translation casts light upon the matter as well. First of all, Hrabanus mentions that Matthew was the first Gospel written. Then he points out that the genealogy of Matthew is organized around two key ancestors: David and Abraham, a king and a patriarch. However, putting Abraham at the head of the genealogy also has a salvific message, according to Hrabanus:

... quem pie uotum  
Cum monstrauit in ordine stirpis fidus Abraham,  
Quod genus hoc dederit, pistillo fraudis iniquae  
Expulso.<sup>575</sup>

The prose version:

... demonstrauique eum promissionis esse filium, cum Abraham in capite generationis posuit, contra duritiam scilicet et obtusionem cordis infidelium, qui negant Christum ad salutem gentium esse destinatum.<sup>576</sup>

Hrabanus' reasoning seems to be as follows. Just as Abraham received God's promises before the covenant of circumcision, so Christ came according to God's promises to save all mankind, circumcised or not.

### **3.2.15.2.2. The Lamb of God and the Seven Spirits**

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<sup>574</sup> C15, 38-41.

<sup>575</sup> B15, 30-33.

<sup>576</sup> D15, 40-44.

At the center of Hrabanus' cross form in *carmen* 15 is the Lamb of God. Shining white against the brown background color, with bright red letters and halo, it attracts our attention immediately. The interwoven verse is immediately recognizable, John the Baptist's proclamation of Jesus as Lamb of God, "Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi."<sup>577</sup> In addition, the interwoven text within the cross of the halo also points to the identity of Jesus, Son of God, and the Lamb. However, we look in vain for any mention of the Lamb of God in the basis poem, which is entirely occupied in describing the four Evangelists. There is only one oblique hint: verses 15-16, quoted above while discussing the Evangelist Mark, refer to the seven loaves of bread in a miracle recounted by Mark as seven spirits. Nor is there a section in the commentary devoted to the Lamb. Hrabanus does cite the two Biblical sources for the four winged animals, and the second of these, the vision recorded in the *Apocalypse*, refers to these seven spirits:

Et paulo post subintroduxit aliam uisionem ita dicens: *Et uidi, et ecce in medio throni et quattuor animalium et in medio seniorum agnum stantem tamquam occisum, habentem cornua septem et oculos septem, qui sunt septem spiritus Dei missi in omnem terram.*<sup>578</sup>

The visionary sees a lamb, standing, yet as if sacrificed, with seven horns and eyes which are the seven spirits. Hrabanus connects the seven loaves from Mark's Gospel with these seven spirits, and inscribes them into the halo of the figure of the Lamb in his *carmen*.<sup>579</sup> However, the visual prominence of the Lamb, at the center of the four animal figures, is completely at odds with the amount of text dedicated to this central figure, perhaps because the Lamb is Christ himself, the source and meaning of the four Gospels.

The latter paragraphs of the commentary introduce new Biblical elements, one closely related to material already mentioned and one completely new, which describe the relationship between Christ and the four Gospels. The related Biblical element are the wheels which appear in the same vision of Ezechiel as the four

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<sup>577</sup> C15, 113.

<sup>578</sup> C15, 13-17 (*Apoc.* 5:6).

<sup>579</sup> C15, 107-110.

animal figures. The four wheels appear to be one; so the four Gospels speak of the one Christ. The four Gospels are also like the four rivers of Paradise, which spring from one source – Christ, the truth and the living water.

### 3.2.15.2.3. Meaning of Position

Here, unusually, Hrabanus has solid Biblical support for his arrangement of the figures into the cross pattern. John wrote in the Apocalypse that they surround the throne and that the Lamb was in the middle of the throne and the middle of the four animals. Hrabanus takes this to mean that each animal was in a different direction from the throne, forming a cross:

... uideamus quid ille situs significet horum quattuor animalium, quae Iohannes scripsit in circuitu sedis esse et agni, qui in medio throni stat. Nonne crucem Domini? Quando ergo dicitur in circuitu sedis quattuor esse, non aliud reor illum significare uelle quam in quattuor partibus, id est, ante et retro, dextra et sinistra, quantum ad positionem loci pertinet, ceterum inlocaliter aliquid huiuscemodi diffiniri non potest. Hae ergo quattuor partes quid aliud significant quam quattuor cornua crucis, si iacentem illam considerare uelimus?<sup>580</sup>

To maintain fidelity to the words of the Apocalypse, which say *ante* and *retro*, he has to image the cross as lying down flat.

During the commentary, he also explicitly assigns a meaning to each position and relates that meaning to the symbolism of the figure occupying said position. The Lamb is in the center since it represents the Crucified Christ Himself.

Agnum uero qui in medio sedis est, quid aliud quam mediam crucem tenere intellegimus? Ipse enim in ea confixus est qui abstulit peccata mundi.<sup>581</sup>

When it comes to the four Evangelists, Hrabanus reimagines the cross as standing upright. Matthew rightly occupies the lowest place since he gives the Savior's

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<sup>580</sup> C15, 20-29.

<sup>581</sup> C15, 30-32.

earthly descent, while Mark and Luke show Christ as occupying the most dignified of human roles: king and priest.

Matthaeus iure in imo positus speciem hominis tenet; quia in principio Euangelii sui genealogiam Saluatoris describens, ex terrenis parentibus eum carnem adsumere intimavit. Marcus uero et Lucas, quasi iam altius constituti, regiam in eo potestatem et sacerdotalem dignitatem significant.<sup>582</sup>

John is rightly placed at the peak of the cross since he, the high-flying eagle, explored the mysteries of Christ's divinity.

Iohannes autem speciem aquilae in se ostendit, qui iure in arce crucis consistit, quia ad altiora uolans, secretiora Christi diuinitatis mysteria explorat, ...<sup>583</sup>

Although Hrabanus does not state this, there is often an association in the *In honorem* between the right-hand side of the cross (from Christ's perspective) and power or strength, and the left-hand side of the cross and weakness, sacrifice, or redemption. We see that here, too, with the lion of Mark on the right and the sacrificial ox of Luke on the left.

### 3.2.15.3. Sources

#### 3.2.15.3.1. Jerome, *In Ezechielem*

One sentence of the commentary, C15, 84-85 is lifted from Jerome's *Commentary on Ezechiel*, 1, 1: "Tantaque similitudo erat rotarum quattuor sequentium animalia quattuor ut una rota verissime creditur,"<sup>584</sup> but Hrabanus then adds his own comment that there is so much similarity in the narration of the four Gospels that one can very easily believe they are inspired by one spirit. Jerome's explanation offers a solution to an apparent discrepancy on the grammatical level (the shift from *apparuit una rota* in the singular in *Ezechiel* 1:16 to *et aspectus rotarum* in the plural in *Ezechiel* 1:16) and Hrabanus spiritualizes Jerome's account of the Biblical vision.

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<sup>582</sup> C15, 38-43.

<sup>583</sup> C15, 62-64.

<sup>584</sup> Jerome, *Commentariorum in Ezechielem*, 1, 1, PL 25, 27B.



### **3.2.16. *Carmen* 16**

#### **3.2.16.1. Form**

##### **3.2.16.1.1. Visual Elements**

The field of *carmen* 16 is a 37 x 37 square. Unusually, the field is not completely full of text: the three “verses” at the center of the horizontal band, v. 18-20, contain no monovalent text and are simply left blank outside the figures. Also, the spaces directly above and below the top and bottom figures are left empty, so that the first and last verse are only 36 letters long and not 37.

The figures are brilliant flowers. Each one consists of eight petals spreading out from a central point. The vertical and horizontal petals are two letters long while the diagonal petals are only one letter long. Each petal has one color in the center and a darker color along the sides, making the petals seem rounded. The petals are either pink or blue. Within the petals are red letters and the central point is also occupied by a letter.

Each arm of the cross has three flowers so that there are seven flowers vertically and seven flowers horizontally, counting the central flower in each direction. The flowers alternate in their color arrangement, so that the first, third, fifth and seventh flower have blue petals on the axes and pink petals on the diagonal, and the second, fourth and sixth flower have the opposite arrangement.

The way in which the flowers spread from a central point and the petals use color to create the illusion of roundness makes the flowers appear to be bursting out of the background of the *carmen*. This and the rich colors make the *carmen* extremely beautiful.

The flowers are arranged into a cross form, centered on the middle verse and mesostich. They just touch one another but there is a gap of a single letter between the outermost flowers and the edges of the field.

### 3.2.16.1.2. Textual Elements

The two titles associate with carmen 16 are, in A9, “XVI. De septem donis Spiritus Sancti quae propheta Esaias enumerat,”<sup>585</sup> and, “DE SEXTA DECIMA FORMA, VBI DE SEPTEM DONIS SPIRITVS SANCTI NARRATVR,” in D16. The only discrepancy is that A9 gives the Biblical source while D16 the number of the *carmen*. Both concur in pointing out the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit as the theme.

The basis poem opens with an address to the Holy Spirit and a prayer to inspire a devoted heart in those who sing of Him. The Holy Spirit is addressed as the Spirit of life and the gift promised by Christ, the true wisdom. In verses 9-16, Hrabanus sings how the Holy Spirit grants understanding of mysteries to some, so that they may reflect on how Christ gave the Spirit as the pledge or ransom of his Bride. That Spirit is creator of all things and sees all creatures. Starting in verse 17, Hrabanus discusses how Isaiah revealed that the Holy Spirit is given in 7 gifts which allow us to fulfill the two-fold commandment to love God and neighbor. Verses 26-32 are dedicated to that two-fold love, and how the cross represents it. The horizontal arm represents love of neighbor and the vertical arm love of God. Christ, the supreme lover of God and neighbor, was crucified as a sacrifice of peace on the cross. Laying down his life for his friends proves that he was the supreme lover. The basis poem closes with a return to addressing the Holy Spirit: the sanctifying Spirit praises Christ and His cross, and grants to the faithful to sing songs of praise as well.

The commentary opens directly with the Biblical source of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, *Isaiah* 11:1-2. Hrabanus explains that the seven spirits listed there by the prophet are seven forms of the grace given by the Holy Spirit. In the second paragraph, there is an unusually respectful reference to the Jews. Hrabanus explains the Jewish exegesis of the *virga* and *flos* in *Isaiah* 11:1-2 as referring to the power and beauty, respectively, of God, before giving the Christian exegesis of the same text with Mary as the *virga lesse* and Jesus as the *flos*.

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<sup>585</sup> A9, 41-42.

The commentary moves on to dealing with the relationship between the Holy Spirit and Christ, weaving together Colossians, John and Psalms into a complex scheme. Then Hrabanus raises a problem: although Isaiah begins with the spirit of wisdom and ends with the spirit of the fear of the Lord, the Psalmist tells us that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. Hrabanus spends a paragraph explaining why: Isaiah wished to show Christ's Incarnation and so began with the most perfect attribute. Fallen men, on the other hand, must indeed start with fear of the Lord as the Psalmist says.

The next section of the commentary (l. 53-87) explains each one of the seven gifts as a step in a ladder of spiritual ascent, by which men begin with the least perfect grace, fear of the Lord, and proceed upward towards the perfection of wisdom.

Hrabanus describes the visual level of the carmen and explain why the seven gifts appear twice, once vertically and once horizontally: to indicate the double commandment of love of God and neighbor, respectively. Then he expounds on the meaning of the colors of the flower figures, referring them all to Jesus, the *flos iucundissimus*. The commentary closes with a doxological Christology.

The interwoven verses are so easy to read that Hrabanus does not even refer to them in the commentary, in a breach of his usual practice. They are, "S̄p̄S SAPIENTIAE," "ET INTELLECTUS," "S̄p̄S CONSILII," "ET FORTITUDINIS," (compressing *et*, for reasons of space, into a ligature) "S̄p̄S SCIENTIAE," "ATQUE PIETATIS," and "S̄p̄S TIMORIS DEI." So Hrabanus reproduces his Biblical text almost exactly, taking the pairing and the use of conjunctions from Isaiah, and switching from *et* to *atque* when the name of the gift is short. The abbreviation marks are always positioned into the top space within the flower in which they appear, so as to be in their correct position about the "P". Hrabanus uses them as "m" or "em" in the basis text.

### 3.2.16.1.3. Cognitive Elements

Each of the figures creates a textual-visual unity representing a different gift of the Holy Spirit but these are highly abstract, defined only by their names. All content beyond the names themselves is reserved to the commentary. The seven gifts are the means of fulfilling the double commandment of love of God and love of neighbor, symbolized by the double series arranged into a cross form. Expressing these gifts as flowers relates them back to Christ, the *flos campi* and *lilium convallium*, and their colors express aspects of Christ's nature and mission. The figures touch to show the connection between the gifts, steps on a ladder of spiritual ascent. They seem to burst out of the field of the *carmen* as flowers burst from fields.

Although the basis text contains a great deal about the Holy Spirit, the commentary adds two major themes to the *carmen*: the seven gifts as a ladder of spiritual ascent and Christ as *flos iucundissimus*.

### 3.2.16.2. Content

#### 3.2.16.2.1. Functions of the Holy Spirit

It is primarily in the basis poem that Hrabanus characterizes the Holy Spirit. He opens the poem with a prayer addressed to the Spirit, *Spiritus alme*, beseeching the inspiration of a devoted mind.<sup>586</sup> The Spirit is the Spirit of Life, "... Qui spiritus es quoque uitae ..." <sup>587</sup>. It is the gift – *Altithroni donum* <sup>588</sup> – promised by Christ to the faithful and the pledge of the Bride: "... carae et pia pactio sponsae," <sup>589</sup> and, "[Christus] Te pignus dederit, quem sponsae nobilis arram / Esse suae uoluit." <sup>590</sup> The Spirit is the Creator and pervades all creation:

... dum Spiritus auctor es, omnem hanc  
Formasti et molem, tu conspicis interiora et  
Non erit ulla tibi, ni ilico scrutaberis illam,

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<sup>586</sup> B16, 1.

<sup>587</sup> B16, 3.

<sup>588</sup> B16, 6.

<sup>589</sup> B16, 6.

<sup>590</sup> B16, 12-13.

Namque creatura inuisa in conspectibus almis.<sup>591</sup>

In particular, the Spirit is addressed as the inspirer of holy songs. The prayer at the opening of the carmen appeals to the Spirit to grant to its *vates* a devoted mind. Surely Hrabanus includes himself among those *vates* and the *In honorem* among the products of the devoted mind. The last few verses of the poem reveal this personal note, attributing to the Spirit the virtue of the songs of praise:

Quatenus aucta crucis diuinae gloria mecum  
Carmine permaneat, tu implebis carmine mutum  
Os, et rite facis caelestem psallere cantum.<sup>592</sup>

In the commentary, touches on the relationship between the Holy Spirit and Christ. Hrabanus asserts that the phrase of Isaiah, “*requiescet super eum Spiritus Domini*,” refers to the Holy Spirit resting on Christ and is identical with the affirmation in Colossians, “*in eo habitat omnis plenitudo diuinitatis corporaliter*.”<sup>593</sup> He raises an objection concerning Christ’s relationship with the Holy Spirit: “*Quoniam igitur de Christo scriptum est, quod acceperit Spiritum Sanctum a Patre, et ipsum dedit?*”<sup>594</sup> but resolves it with the *regula apostolica*: “*Utraque natura in eo monstrata est, humana scilicet et diuina. Accepit ut homo, dedit ut Deus*.”<sup>595</sup>

### 3.2.16.2.2. The Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit as a Ladder of Spiritual Ascent

Most of the commentary is dedicated to expounding on the meaning of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Hrabanus introduces the theme by raising a question based on two apparently conflicting Scriptural passages. Why, he asks, does Isaiah list the seven gifts starting with the spirit of wisdom and finishing with the spirit of the fear of the Lord, when *Psalms* 111:10 says that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom? He explain that Isaiah did so in view of Christ’s perfection in order to

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<sup>591</sup> B16, 13-16.

<sup>592</sup> B16, 35-37.

<sup>593</sup> C16, 19-21.

<sup>594</sup> C16, 23-24.

<sup>595</sup> C16, 25-26.

indicate the Incarnation, the greatest possible grace. A subtle aspect of this argument can be found in the fact that Hrabanus at several points in the basis poem<sup>596</sup> refers to Christ as Wisdom, linking Christ to the gifts of the Holy Spirit through the epithet common to Him and the highest gift, the spirit of wisdom. In any case, afterwards Hrabanus points out that for fallen and sinful men, the Psalmist's assertion is of course accurate: the path to wisdom begins with the least dignified grace of all, the gift of fear of the Lord, which leads sinners to penance.<sup>597</sup>

The next step, according to this passage, the spirit of piety, consists in returning good for evil and blessing those who curse you. The third stage, the *spiritus scientiae*, is having the knowledge to choose good and reject evil. How does this differ from the earlier two stages? The difference seems to consist in understanding how and why the good and evil are so, so that the progressing Christian no longer repents of evil out of fear, or returns good for evil due to loyalty to Christ's command, but chooses the good because he understands its goodness.

The spirit of fortitude allows one to endure both adversity and prosperity without being corrupted. Hrabanus describes the fifth step in the following way:

In quintum uero gradum, ut omnia uero consilio agat,  
et secundum id quod Scriptura diuina docet oboediens faciat,  
id est, ut dimittat debita proximis suis, quatenus dimittat  
sibi Deus peccata sua; misereatur alterius, ut sui misertus  
sit Deus; *faciat amicos de mammona iniquitatis, ut cum deficiat  
recipiant illum in aeterna tabernacula: seminet terrena, ut metat  
caelestia; perdat modo animam suam in hoc mundo, ut in  
uitam aeternam custodiat eam, et his similia.*<sup>598</sup>

What, then, is characteristic of the spirit of counsel and how does it differ from the earlier stages? It seems to involve obeying the commandments of the divine Scriptures to their fullest extent; Hrabanus speaks of the increasingly spiritual Christian as losing his own life in this world to gain it in the next, which indicates a

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<sup>596</sup> B16, 4, 11.

<sup>597</sup> C16, 46-50

<sup>598</sup> C16, 67-74.

greater renunciation of the world than merely returning good for evil, as in the spirit of piety.

The sixth step involves seeking to understand God with all one's heart and mind; it is the step of seeking mystical enlightenment and spiritual perfection.

Hrabanus describes the man of the seventh step as having attained that perfection: "iam ipsum hominem exhibebit perfectum, et ex seruilis condicione in filium transit."<sup>599</sup> He applies the words of *1 John 2:27* to this perfect man, advanced in spirituality, whom nothing can separate from the charity of God. He is marked by two attributes: he no longer needs a teacher, "non necesse habet ut aliquis doceat illum,"<sup>600</sup> and he is delighted by the perfect love of God, "delectatus perfecta dilectione Dei."<sup>601</sup>

This message of the seven gifts as a spiritual path of progress is reinforced by their arrangement. Naturally, the vertical axis of the cross begins with the spirit of the fear of the Lord at the bottom and the spirit of wisdom at the top. The fact that the flowers touch implies their close connection and the passage from one to the next.

### **3.2.16.2.3. Christ as *Flos lucundissimus***

In relating the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit to the cross, Hrabanus begins from the two terms which appear in their Biblical source. *Isaiah 11:1* begins, "Egredietur uirga de radice Iesse, et flos de germine eius ascendet."<sup>602</sup> Hrabanus first gives a Jewish exegesis of these terms and then contrasts it with the Christian interpretation of the *uirga* as the Virgin Mary and the *flos* as Jesus. At several points in the commentary he then refers to Jesus with the terms *flos iucundissimus* or *splendidissimus*.<sup>603</sup> The connection is emphasized by the choice of flowers as the figures which represent the seven gifts on the visual plane. Hrabanus devotes a large section of the

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<sup>599</sup> C16, 80-81.

<sup>600</sup> C16, 81-82.

<sup>601</sup> C16, 83.

<sup>602</sup> Quoted by Hrabanus at C16, 1-2.

<sup>603</sup> C16, 6, 15, 99.

commentary to explaining the colors of those flowers and does so in terms of their relationship with Christ rather than the Holy Spirit.

In hyacintho quippe intellegimus caelestem eius inter homines conuersionem; in purpura passionis sanguinem; in candore et bysso corporis eius inuiolatissimam castitatem; in cocco quoque praecipuam ac perfectam caritatem.<sup>604</sup>

The set of colors which make the bluish petals is linked to the Incarnation: the light blue is his caelestial presence among men, while the darker blue or purple is the blood shed, proof of human nature. The colors going into the pinkish petals show the two aspects of his love: its perfect charity and perfect purity, free from any carnal lust or in chastity.

When it comes to Biblical exegesis, Hrabanus explains the seven gifts as gifts of the Holy Spirit, while on the visual level he relates them to Christ and calls the cross of carmen sixteen the *crucem florigeram*.<sup>605</sup> In this way he links the seven gifts to both Persons of the Trinity.

### **3.2.16.3. Sources**

#### **3.2.16.3.1. Jerome, *In Isaiam***

Hrabanus borrows part of his interpretation of *Isaiah* 11:1-2 from Jerome, specifically lines 9-13, containing the Jewish interpretation of the *virga* and *flos* and the Christian interpretation of *virga* as a symbol of the Virgin Mary. Hrabanus also seems to have borrowed the general idea of C15, 19-21, “Super illum ergo requiescit Spiritus Domini, hoc est, aeterna habitatione permanebit, quia in eo habitat omnis plenitudo diuinitatis corporaliter,” for after Jerome’s discussion of the Hebrew of this passage, he comments, “Super hunc igitur florem, qui de trunco et de radice Jesse per Mariam Virginem repente consurget, requiescet spiritus Domini, quia in ipse complacuit

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<sup>604</sup> C16, 107-110.

<sup>605</sup> C16, 97.



omnem plenitudinem divinitatis habitare corporaliter.”<sup>606</sup> Hrabanus follows the same order of ideas but quotes Colossians instead of echoing it.

### **3.2.16.3.2. Augustine, *De Trinitate***

The statement of the relationship between Christ’s two natures and the Holy Spirit at lines C16, 25-29, “Vtraque natura in eo monstrata est, humana scilicet et diuina. Accepit ut homo: dedit ut Deus,” is taken from Augustine’s *De Trinitate*, 15, 26.<sup>607</sup> Hrabanus does not seem to have altered the passage in any way. Here is a case where Hrabanus uses *De Trinitate* to establish an actual doctrinal point, and he does not name the great bishop of Hippo.

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<sup>606</sup> Jerome, *In Isaiam*, 4, 11, *PL* 24, 144C-D.

<sup>607</sup> Augustine, *De Trinitate*, 15, 26, 46, *PL* 42, 1094.

### 3.2.17. *Carmen* 17

#### 3.2.17.1. Form

##### 3.2.17.1.1. Visual Elements

The field is a 39 x 39 square. One letter is missing at the end of verse 20 and the space left blank.

The figures are eight octogons. Each octagon is seven verses high and seven letters wide in the middle three verses, the next verses up and down include five letters, while the upper and lower verses only include three letters in the figure, so that the octogons are regular and measure three letters per side. That means that each octagon contains thirty-seven letters, a fact which Hrabanus points out in his commentary. In the manuscripts besides *V*, they are yellow with red letters; *V* distinguishes between the inner octogons in silver with red letter and the outer octogons in green with yellow letters.

The outer octogons are each one letter away from the edge of the field and two letters separate the outer and inner octogons. The four inner octogons have a 5 x 5 square between them of monovalent text. The verses containing the innermost text of the octogons on the vertical axis – v. 17 and 23 – also contain the outermost text of the octogons on the horizontal axis.

##### 3.2.17.1.2. Textual Elements

The two titles of *carmen* seventeen are, “XVII. De octo beatitudinibus euangelicis,”<sup>608</sup> and, “DE SEPTIMAE DECIMAE FIGVRAE RATIONE, VBI OCTO BEATITVDINES ANNVMERANTVR.”<sup>609</sup> The titles agree that the *carmen* deals with the eight beatitudes. The minor differences here seem not to have any meaning.

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<sup>608</sup> A9, 43.

<sup>609</sup> D17, 1-2.

The basis poem begins by addressing the cross. It starts with a nominative list of epithets: holy, glorious, good, etc. The cross is all these things because it shows the pattern of the limbs of Christ who was suspended there and because it tore whole nations from the shadows of prison and gave them a sublime kingdom. Beginning at verse 8, in what is probably not a coincidence, the poem introduces the eight beatitudes, a pact and a treaty for His faithful. The holy cross embraces all goods and teaches these things to those who love. Verses 17-26 give some examples of the beatitudes: they call on the reader to do the works of justice, to indulge his enemy and grant him rest. Hrabanus promises those who mourn and those who are desirous of Justice that they will see Christ, the ruler and eternal mercy. Hrabanus prays for himself, as well, that humility of heart may lead him to Heaven, for it requires true humility, not a humility of external appearance and words which mask a proud heart. In verses 27-29 Hrabanus calls on anyone who wishes to reach the eternal light to follow these eight beatitudes. The cross is the path to Heaven (v. 30-33) and the four Gospels which teach the two commandments of charity indicate the number eight to show us the path to merit the holy gifts of Heaven. In the last section, Hrabanus turns to the Holy Spirit: the Almighty Spirit of Almighty God invites us to the future kingdom, and offers the seven-stepped ladder of ascent. Whoever becomes a participant in His graces can reach Heaven.

The commentary begins by explaining the cross form for the beatitudes: perfection comes from the same Christ who gave redemption on the cross. Those freed by the cross are able to enter into the pact of the Sermon on the Mount, leading to perfection (l. 1-11). Here on the cross is redemption from death, conversion of habits, perfection of virtues, resurrection to eternal life and acquisition of eternal blessedness and true happiness. After having written on the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, Hrabanus will speak of the eight beatitudes (l. 12-20). This is one of the only direct references from one carmen to another and shows the especially close link between carmina 16 and 17. Most of the commentary is a quotation from Augustine's *De Sermo Domini*, in which Augustine relates the seven gifts to the eight beatitudes. Each gift corresponds to a beatitude. Fear of God is appropriate to the poor in spirit, piety is appropriate to the meek, etc., etc. The eighth beatitude, suffering for Christ, has the same promise as the first and so returns to the

beginning; Augustine takes it as referring exclusively to martyrdom and compares it to the circumcision of the Old Covenant which took place on the eighth day after birth or the resurrection of Jesus on the eighth and first day. After this quotation from Augustine, Hrabanus explains why the beatitudes are arranged in steps: they constitute a spiritual path of ascent to higher and higher things, culminating in perfection. The cross is the path to Heaven and the interwoven verses reflect this order: beginning at the base of the cross with the poor in spirit, rising up the lower arm, across the transverse arm, and then rising up the upper arm to culminate in the martyrs on behalf of Christ. Finally, Hrabanus reflects on the division of the beatitudes and the division with the cross form, which he has indicated by using a different color scheme: the highest and lowest beatitude share the same promise, while the right and left beatitude have two promises, being consoled and seeing the Lord, which really mean the same thing, according to Hrabanus.

In the interwoven verses, Hrabanus rephrases each beatitude into a sentence of exactly 37 letters. The interwoven verse for the first beatitude, in the lowest octagon, reads, "REGNA POLI DOMINVS VVLT PAVPERIS ESSE BEATI."<sup>610</sup> Next up the cross is, "ATQVE SOLVM MITES SEMPER HABITARE SVPERNV."<sup>611</sup> The rightmost octagon contains, "FELICES FLENTES QUIS CONSOLATIO IN ALTO EST,"<sup>612</sup> while the octagon closer to the center in the right arm reads, "NAM IVSTI CVPIDOS AETERNA REFECTIO CONPLET."<sup>613</sup> Continuing onto the left cross arm, the inner octagon says, "MENTE PIOS SURSVM MISERATIO LARGA REPENSAT,"<sup>614</sup> while the leftmost octagon's interwoven verse is, "CORDA SERENA DEVM CERNENT ET IN ARCE SVPERNA."<sup>615</sup> In the upper cross arm we have, "PACIFICOS DOMINVS PROLIS CONPLECTIT AMORE,"<sup>616</sup> and above all others,

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<sup>610</sup> C17, 119.

<sup>611</sup> C17, 121.

<sup>612</sup> C17, 124.

<sup>613</sup> C17, 126.

<sup>614</sup> C17, 128.

<sup>615</sup> C17, 130.

<sup>616</sup> C17, 133.

the uppermost beatitude, “PRO CHRISTO AFFLICTOS REGNUM IAM SPECTAT OLYMPI.”<sup>617</sup>

### 3.2.17.1.3. Cognitive Elements

The eight beatitudes are revealed in a double way by using eight eight-sided figures to represent them, and Hrabanus begins his discussion of them in the basis poem at verse 8. The arrangement of the figures expresses the idea of spiritual ascent which Hrabanus has asserted, through Augustine, in the commentary, and differing color contrasts allow him to indicate connections between beatitudes which have obvious or hidden similarities. The connection with *carmen* 16 is expressed explicitly in the commentary, a rare case. Hrabanus shows himself as a follower of Augustine, taking Augustine’s ideas and clothing them in his interwoven words and images.

### 3.2.17.2. Content

#### 3.2.17.2.1. The Eight Beatitudes

Hrabanus offers us surprisingly little commentary or reflection on the eight beatitudes in themselves. The basis poem speaks only elliptically of the beatitudes all together and the cross as the path to them. For example, verses 19-20 allude to the third and fourth beatitudes, *beati qui lugent* and *beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam*, but also to the promise of the sixth, *ipsi Deum uidebunt*.

[serua] Flentes qui cupidos, nam his sursum omen, ad eumque  
Quis consul aeterna ac sit miseratio cernent.<sup>618</sup>

In contrast, Hrabanus quotes the detailed exposition of Augustine which systematically links each one of the beatitudes to one of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Since Hrabanus makes Augustine’s arguments his own, let us examine his propositions in detail.

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<sup>617</sup> C17, 136.

<sup>618</sup> B17, 19-20.

Timor Dei congruit humilibus, de quibus hic dicitur: *Beati pauperes spiritu, quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum*, id est, non inflati, non superbi. De quibus apostolus dicit: *Noli altum sapere, sed time*, id est, noli extolli.<sup>619</sup>

Augustine here explains who the *pauperes spiritu* are by citing *Romans 11:20*, but otherwise his explanation is very brief: fear of God is appropriate for the humble, who are the poor in spirit, who are not puffed-up or proud.

The second beatitude receives a bit more commentary:

Pietas congruit mitibus; qui enim pie quaerit, honorat sanctam Scripturam, et non reprehendit quod nondum intellegit, et propterea non resistit, quod est mitem esse. Vnde hic dicitur: *Beati mites, quoniam ipsi hereditare possidebunt terram*.<sup>620</sup>

Here Augustine interprets piety in the context of the diligent and humble investigation of the Scriptures as the correct spiritual attitude for an inquirer.

Scientia congruit lugentibus: qui iam cognouerunt in Scripturis, quibus malis uincti teneantur, quae tamquam bona et utilia ignorantes appetierunt. De quibus hic dicitur: *Beati qui lugent nunc, quoniam ipsi consalubuntur*.<sup>621</sup>

Augustine continues interpreting the gifts and beatitudes in the context of a student of Scripture, whose growing knowledge of the Scriptures now leads him to mourn as he realizes for the first time the magnitude of his sins.

Fortitudo congruit esurientibus et sitientibus. Laborant enim desiderantes gaudium de ueris bonis, et amorem a terrenis et corporalibus auertere cupientes. De quibus hic dicitur: *Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam, quoniam ipsi saturabuntur*.<sup>622</sup>

Now our hypothetical student of Scripture needs courage as he begins to desire to turn from corporal and earthly joys to true goods.

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<sup>619</sup> C17, 33-36.

<sup>620</sup> C17, 37-41.

<sup>621</sup> C17, 42-45.

<sup>622</sup> C17, 46-50.

Consilium congruit misericordibus. Hoc enim unum remedium est de tantis malis euadendi, ut dimittamus, sicut et nobis dimitti uolumus, et adiuuemus in quo possimus alios, sicut et nos in quo non possumus cupimus adiuuari. De quibus hic dicitur: *Beati misericordes, quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur.*<sup>623</sup>

The fifth gift and beatitude begin to show our Scripture student the way forward; he must forgive as he wishes to be forgiven. He has realized the wise counsel implied in the Lord's prayer that the only way out from so many evils is to become merciful.

Intellectus cordis congruit mundis corde, tamquam purgato oculo quo cerni possit quod corporeus *oculus non uidit, nec auris audiuit, nec in cor hominis ascendit.* De quibus hic dicitur: *Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum uidebunt.*<sup>624</sup>

The pure of heart can also understand, because they have been purged, as it were.

Sapientia congruit pacificis, in quibus iam ordinata sunt omnia; nullusque motus aduersus rebellis est, sed cuncta obtemperant spiritui hominis, cum ipse obtemperat Deo. De quibus hic dicitur: *Beati pacifici, quoniam filii Dei uocabuntur.*<sup>625</sup>

Wisdom is appropriate for the peace-makers, because in them everything is already ordered, there is no rebellion and they have already tempered all their emotions and urges to their spirit.

Et paulo post subiunxit: "Et ista quidem in hac uita possunt conpleri: sicut completa esse in apostolis credimus. Nam illa omnimoda et in angelicam formam mutatio, quae post hanc uitam promittitur, nullis uerbis exponi potest.

*Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum.* Haec octaua sententia, quae ad caput redit, perfectumque hominem declarat, significat fortasse et circumcisionem octaua die in ueteri testamento, et Domini resurrectionem post sabbatum, qui est utique octauus dies, idemque primus."<sup>626</sup>

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<sup>623</sup> C17, 51-56.

<sup>624</sup> C17, 57-60.

<sup>625</sup> C17, 61-64.

<sup>626</sup> C17, 65-74.

In Augustine's vision, the first seven beatitudes can be realized in this life, but the eighth refers not just to suffering on behalf of justice, but to the ultimate form of suffering, martyrdom. Therefore it alone cannot be completed in this life or expressed in words. The eighth beatitude makes a man perfect and Augustine sees it as a return to the beginning and rebirth, just like circumcision in the Old Covenant on the eighth day after birth or the resurrection of Jesus, on the eighth and first day of the week.

The eight beatitudes are linked to the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit both individually and as a group. Individually, each beatitude has a special relationship with a spiritual gift. As groups, both are present by Hrabanus as paths of spiritual ascent, grades of progress towards perfection. He says, in his own words now again,

Bene ergo omnis uirtutum series in gradus distribuitur, quia omnia uita fidelium per incrementa atque augmenta ad altiora subleuatur, donec ad summam perfectionis, id est, ad caritatem perueniat ...<sup>627</sup>

Hrabanus does not appear to be troubled by the problem that the path of spiritual ascent in *carmen* 17 is quite different from that in *carmen* sixteen.

Ernst points out that Hrabanus has arranged the beatitudes in order to give meaning to the position within the vertical or horizontal axis as primarily representing interior contemplation and exterior action respectively.

Die vertikale und die horizontale Kreuzachse signifzieren im symbolischen Raumgefüge der Textur das *interius* und *exterius*, die introvertierte *contemplatio* und extrovertierte *actio*, was dem vorwiegend gott- oder weltzugewandten Aspekt der jeweiligen Seligpreisungen entspricht.<sup>628</sup>

### **3.2.17.2.2. The Sermon on the Mount as a Pact**

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<sup>627</sup> C17, 75-78.

<sup>628</sup> Ernst, *op. cit.*, 1991, p. 256.



Hrabanus offers interesting remarks about the Sermon on the Mount at various points throughout *carmen* 17. Close to the beginning of the commentary, while justifying the use of the cross shape to represent the beatitudes, he says:

... ubi salutis suae habuerit initium, et ubi perfectionis suae inuenturus sit supplementum, quando per passionem Christi acceperit remissionem peccatorum, et per resurrectionem eius uitam et immortalitatem speret aeternam; quando beatitudinis quoque caelestis a nullo alio requirat integritatem, quam ab illo a quo consecutus est de inferno redemptionem. Merito ergo sanctae cruci haec cuncta sacramenta conueniunt, quia per illam liberati pactum fidei et societatem unitatis populi ineunt.<sup>629</sup>

He distinguishes here between the *salutis initium* and the *perfectionis supplementum* and, in parallel, between accepting *remissio peccatorum* and hoping for *uitam et immortalitatem ... aeternam*. The cross is appropriate for representing the beatitudes, because the beatitudes make perfect those whose sins have been released through the cross. The next paragraph sounds the same note.

Ibi insinuat a morte redemptio, ibi demonstratur sancta morum conuersatio, ibi intimatur omnium uirtutum perfectio, ibi promittitur ad aeternam uitam resurrectio, ibi aeternae beatitudinis speratur adeptio et uerae felicitatis acquisitio.<sup>630</sup>

Here, in a rhetorical device which is common in the basis poems but rare in the commentary, a long list of nominatives, Hrabanus employs only abstract nouns ending in *-tio*. They are arranged in order to show the process of salvation of the individual soul: redemption from death, conversion of habits, perfection of virtues, resurrection to eternal life, acquisition of eternal blessedness and true happiness. The cross form, therefore, which accomplished the redemption from death, is the necessary beginning for the path to perfection which Christ preaches in the Sermon on the Mount.

It is also noticeable that Hrabanus describes the Sermon on the Mount as a pact or agreement. Verse 11 of the basis poem runs, “Discipulis tribuens pactum, pia

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<sup>629</sup> C17, 2-11.

<sup>630</sup> C17, 12-16.

foedera iuris;”<sup>631</sup> Christ gives his disciples the pact or the pious oath of the law. One of the consequences is that anyone can take advantage of this offer. This is expressed most clearly in the prose translation of verses 27-28:

Igitur quicumque aeternam lucem ueraciter quaerit, et ad aeternam beatitudinem uult peruenire, necesse est ut per .VIII. titulos euangelicos, in quibus species uerae beatitudinis exprimuntur, ad regnum tendat supernum, ...<sup>632</sup>

*Quicumque* can reach the heavenly kingdoms by following the path of perfection laid out by Christ in the eight beatitudes. He repeats this affirmation with *quosque* in the prose translation of verse 36-37:

... ut demonstraret eo modo rite posse quosque caelum ascendere fideles, si eius gratiae participes fieri non neglexerint: ...<sup>633</sup>

Since the pact of the beatitudes is offered by Christ to all, it depends only on the free choice of the faithful to enter onto this path of perfection. Anyone who wishes may reach Heaven now that Christ is redeemed sinners from death on the cross; he merely needs to follow the path Christ laid down in the Sermon on the Mount.

### 3.2.17.3. Sources

#### 3.2.17.3.1. Augustine, *De sermone Domini in monte*

Here for once in the *In honorem* Hrabanus cites explicitly a Church Father in a doctrinal matter rather than a numerological one. The heart of his *expositio*, the establishment of the relationship between the 8 beatitudes and the 7 gifts of the Holy Spirit and the ordering of them into a ladder of spiritual ascent, is taken from Augustine’s *De sermone Domini in monte*, 1, 4, 11-12. He jumps over a section to include Augustine’s reflection on the way in which the eighth beatitude returns to the beginning by using the same promise as the first, and draws a connection to

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<sup>631</sup> B17, 11.

<sup>632</sup> D17, 41-44.

<sup>633</sup> D17, 58-60.

circumcision on the eighth day and the Resurrection on the eighth and first day. In this way, he rejoins these reflections on spiritual ascent to the Passion and Resurrection which opened this ladder towards Heaven and made the spiritual ascent possible for the sinful sons of Adam.

### 3.2.18. *Carmen* 18

#### 3.2.18.1. Form

##### 3.2.18.1.1. Visual Elements

The field is a 37 x 37 square.

Exactly centered on the mesostich and middle verse are four isosceles triangles, pointed towards the center of the field. The triangles are not solid but formed by ten single bivalent letters dispersed. One bivalent letter on the mesostich or middle verse begins the triangle, then a column or verse of text is entirely monovalent, then two bivalent letters are separated by a single monovalent letter, then an entire column or verse is monovalent, and so on for four more letters, so that the triangles have four bivalent letters in their base and occupy seven verses and seven columns each. There are seven letters between the triangles and eight letters between each triangle and the outer edge of the field.

##### 3.2.18.1.2. Textual Elements

The two titles of *carmen* 18 are, “XVIII. De numero quadragenio et mysterio eius,”<sup>634</sup> and, “DE OCTAVA DECIMA SPECIE, VBI QUADRAGENARIVS NVMERVS POSITVS EST.”<sup>635</sup> In A9, Hrabanus promises an explanation of the *mysterium* of the number 40 while both titles indicate the number 40 as the primary theme.

The basis poem begins with an exhortation to mankind to sing to Christ with all his mind and senses. The glory of the cross fills Heaven, where there is eternal light, Hell, in perpetual darkness, and Earth, where light and dark alternate. Starting at verse 9, Hrabanus introduces the theme of the *carmen*, the number 40, which is shown in the *carmen* on the figural level as four 10s and forty 1s. It indicates the present time, in which Christians must do battle for their souls. Verses 22-26 remind

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<sup>634</sup> A9, 44.

<sup>635</sup> D18, 1-2.

us that Christ defeated the devil through His fast of forty days. The next section points out that just as Adam lost Paradise through gluttony, it is right that Christ should redeem man through fasting. The last four verses (v. 34-37) return to the theme of Christ's influence filling the whole universe. His victory is our salvation. The last verse contains a prayer that the praise of the cross be forever in Hrabanus' song.

The commentary begins straight away with the theme of the carmen, the number forty. Divided by four, it reveals ten. Therefore, the Decalogue and the Gospel are a unity. Hrabanus explores the inner relationship of Decalogue and Gospel before turning to the number 40 as the number representing this earthly life of struggle. Christians battle the devil as Jesus, Moses and Elijah did in their forty-day fasts. After that, he lists other occurrences of the number 40 in salvation history. Christ was 40 hours in the tomb and stayed with the disciples forty days after the resurrection, eating earthly food. Hrabanus interjects some other secret reasons why 40 is the symbol of this life – the four seasons and four directions – before turning to the forty generations between Abraham and Christ, the forty years of marriage between Isaac and Rebecca, the forty days of exploration of the Holy Land by the scouts, and the forty years in the desert for the grumbling Israelites, just as the elect are tested but the reprobate crucified by this world. Finally, he throws in some appearances of 20 as well: at twenty years the Israelites entered military service, a prefiguration of the struggle of the saints against vices. The Holy of Holies in the Temple was twenty cubits by twenty cubits, but of course Jesus was the true Holy of Holies and the cross, too, can rightly be called the Holy of Holies.

There is just one interwoven verse, forty letters long, which runs throughout all the figures, so that the four dispersed triangles do not form any visual-textual unities. The verse is, “CRVX SACRA, TV AETERNI ES REGIS VICTORIA CHRISTI.”<sup>636</sup>

### **3.2.18.1.3. Cognitive Elements**

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<sup>636</sup> C18, 86.

There are several numerological relationships between the main theme of the carmen, the arrangement of the figure, and some subsidiary points. The numbers four and ten appear in multiple ways in the figures of this carmen. The forty bivalent letters are divided into four groups of ten, to be sure. In addition, the individual dispersed triangles suggest by their form the addition of one, two, three and four to reach ten, so that four goes into the formation of ten and then the ten is multiplied by the four to make forty. Hrabanus comments on both these relationships in the commentary.

### **3.2.18.2. Content**

#### **3.2.18.2.1. The Inner Unity of Decalogue and Gospels**

As we have seen above in §3.2.18.1.3., Hrabanus spends some time in the commentary exploring the numerological relationships between 4, 10 and 40. 10 suggests the Decalogue and 4 the Gospels, so Hrabanus meditates in the commentary on the inner relationship.

The fact that forty can be divided into four and ten reveals that each of the four Gospels teaches the perfection of the Decalogue.

Qui in .IIII. summas diuisus, denarium per singulas ordine manifesto demonstrat. Hoc enim ad mysterium pertinet, quia sicut in .IIII. partibus denarii plenitudo inuenitur, ita etiam in singulis sancti Euangelii libris decalogi perfectio omnibus fidelibus insinuatur.<sup>637</sup>

In the next paragraph, he points out a second relationship that indicates the inner relationship of Decalogue and Gospel:

Porro ipse denarius, ab uno usque ad .IIII. progrediente numero consummatur, idemque ut in quadragenarium surgat per .IIII. multiplicatur, hoc nimirum significat, quod legis consummatio non sine Euangelio fiat, nec euangelica doctrina attestazione legis careat.<sup>638</sup>

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<sup>637</sup> C18, 3-7.

<sup>638</sup> C18, 11-15.

The number 10 is the sum of the series of the first four numbers, 1 + 2 + 3 + 4. Thus, the consummation of the Decalogue is in the Gospel and the attestation of the Gospel in the Decalogue.

The whole set of figures and numerical relationships together, united into one cross, shows the unity of faith and love.

Quae tamen iunctae decades unam speciem crucis faciunt, quia unitatem fidei et dilectionis societatem, decalogus legis et Euangelii maiestas concorditer astruunt.<sup>639</sup>

This complex set of numerological relationships is represented visually by creating four triangles of ten dispersed letters each. The inner arrangement of letters in each triangles reflects what Hrabanus says in the commentary about the consummation of the ten in the progress from one to four, while the relationship of the triangles to each other – the fact that there are four of these ten-letter triangles – reflects the division of forty into four tens.

In the basis poem, too, this set of relationships finds expression. Hrabanus describes his figures twice, once as four 10s and once as forty 1s.

Quattuor isto uincire uix sufficit ast haec  
Pagina digna cruci praeconia tramite denas,  
Hasque quadragenas sancto de calle monades<sup>640</sup>

Thus, Hrabanus' message of the inner unity and harmonious relationship of Decalogue and Gospel is expressed in an interwoven way on the visual plane of the figures, in the basis poem and in the commentary.

### **3.2.18.2.2. The Number 40 as Symbol of Earthly Life of Struggle**

The main theme of the *carmen* is, however, as the titles announce, the number 40 and its *mysterium*. According to Hrabanus' teaching, which appears through the

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<sup>639</sup> C18, 7-10.

<sup>640</sup> B18, 9-11.

carmen, forty is a symbol of this world (*hanc temporalem uitam terrenam*)<sup>641</sup> and its struggles against sin. This concept appears in a variety of ways.

First of all, although metaphors taken from war-like activities, describing Christ as the victor of a spiritual struggle, are not unique to this carmen, they are exceptionally prevalent here. The first verse opens, “Pande salutarem Domino uincente triumphum,”<sup>642</sup> in which the Lord is conquering and man is called upon to praise his life-giving triumph. Words derived from *vincire* are scattered throughout, once the opening address and exhortation (v. 1-8) are finished: v. 9, *vincire*, v. 24, *vicerat*, v. 34 and 37, *victoria*. Military metaphors, likewise: v. 16, *pie fert contraria tela*, v. 17, *Obponens hosti bellatrix*, v. 19, *Cum fidei scuto domat, haec ritu hastaque uerbo*, v. 20, *Loricam ligat*, v. 21, *salutaris galeam*, v. 22, *Ipsa crucis claram faciunt insignia frontem*, v. 23, *Frontis et aduersae fundunt formosa decorem*, v. 24, *saeuum ... hostem*, v. 32, *Sed pressit hostem*, v. 34, *Cuius pugna salus, cuius uictoria sancta est*. The vocabulary from the realms of victory, military strife, and triumphs is on almost every verse. The interwoven verse, too, focuses on Christ’s victory, equating the holy cross with the victory of Christ the eternal king: “CRVX SACRA, TV AETERNI ES REGIS VICTORIA CHRISTI.”<sup>643</sup>

The number 40 is primarily associated with Christ’s fast of forty days at the beginning of his public ministry. This is introduced in the basis poem,

... hoc numero sua deserto alma trahebat  
Ex dapibus cunctis ieiunia sobria Christus.<sup>644</sup>

but the idea is expanded considerably in the commentary.

Quia ergo numerus iste laboriosi huius temporis sacramentum est, quo sub disciplina regis Christi aduersus diabolum dimicamus, etiam illud

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<sup>641</sup> C18, 40-41.

<sup>642</sup> B18, 1.

<sup>643</sup> C18, 86.

<sup>644</sup> B18, 25-26.



declarat quod quadraginta dierum ieiunium, hoc est humiliationem animae consecrauit.<sup>645</sup>

Christ, under whose leadership we fight the devil, consecrated this humble struggle by his own forty-days' fast.

Hrabanus connects this fasting to great figures of the Old Covenant in two ways. In a positive sense, he points out in the commentary that also Moses and Elijah fasted for forty days and so the Law and the Prophets, as well as the Lord, show the importance of this spiritual struggle and the fact that it is symbolized by the number forty.

Et lex et prophetae per Moysen et Eliam, qui quadragenis diebus ieiunauerunt, et Euangelium per ipsius Domini ieiunium, quibus quadraginta diebus etiam temptabatur a diabolo, quid aliud quam per omne huius saeculi tempus temptationem nostram in carne sua, quam de nostra mortalitate adsumere dignatus est, praefigurat?<sup>646</sup>

In a negative sense, Christ's fasting is an especially appropriate way for the Redeemer of mankind to defeat the devil, since the first man lost the friendship of God through the opposite vice of gluttony.

Strinxerat eripuitque arto de fauce superbi  
Raptoris hominem, quem gastrimargia traxit  
In facinus dirum, inमितem simul attulit iram  
Huic philargyria, leuis et cenodoxia trusit  
Quem a regno.<sup>647</sup>

Hrabanus does not only associate the number 40 with spiritual struggle and triumph; he links it to this earthly existence, the location of these trials. Jesus' body stayed in the tomb for forty hours; He remained on Earth with his disciples for forty days after the Resurrection; there were forty generations living on Earth between Abraham and the coming of Christ in the flesh.

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<sup>645</sup> C18, 21-24.

<sup>646</sup> C18, 25-30.

<sup>647</sup> B18, 27-31.

### 3.2.18.2.3. The Cross Rules Everywhere

The idea of Christ ruling Heaven, Earth and Hell and the glory of the cross filling all three realms is present at both the beginning and end of the basis poem. The opening address, in which Hrabanus exhorts the reader to praise Christ's triumph, makes this very clear.

Magna crucis Domini quem gloria poscit ubique,  
Sidera celsa super, et quo pertingit abyssus,  
Lux ubi pura manet, quo taetra silentia noctis  
Perpetuae latitant, ubi noxque diesque uicissim  
Succedunt, ceduntque sibi, quo tempore cunctus  
Labitur orbis, ubi uariabilis inditus ordo est.<sup>648</sup>

The glory of the cross is *ubique*: above the stars, and where the abyss reaches. Then Hrabanus distinguishes the three realms according to the nature of their light or its absence. Heaven has pure and abiding light; in Hell “the dark silences of a perpetual night bark.” On Earth, in contrast, night and day succeed each other (*noxque diesque uicissim / Succedunt*) and give way to one another (*ceduntque sibi*) and light and dark are ruled by a dynamic, changing but stable order (*uariabilis ordo*). Hrabanus has chosen here a metaphor which expresses in its own way his theme: just as the pure good of Heaven is like steady and pure light, and the evil of Hell like perpetual darkness, so as long as this life continues the followers of Christ must struggle against evil, sometimes advancing in virtue and becoming more like the light, sometimes slipping back into sin. No final victory can be obtained in this world.

However, the holy victory that opens Heaven has already been won.

Cuius pugna salus, cuius uictoria sancta est,  
Cuius in arce thronus, aspectus in infima cuius.<sup>649</sup>

Thanks to Christ's victory on the cross, the Christians, although they must struggle, can be confident that His throne is in Heaven and his regard reaches into the abyss.

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<sup>648</sup> B18, 3-8.

<sup>649</sup> B18, 34-35.

### 3.2.18.3. Sources

#### 3.2.18.3.1. John Cassian, *De coenobiorum institutis*

In the course of his description of the struggles of this earthly life, Hrabanus lists three vices by which the devil lures men to their destruction and which Jesus opposed by his fasting, benignity and humility: gluttony, greed and vainglory. In B18, 28-30 he uses the Greek names of vices, *gastrimargia*, *philargyria* and *cenodoxia*, while in D18, 36 he uses the Latin equivalents, *gula*, *avaritia* and *vana gloria*. Possibly he is drawing on John Cassian's *De coenobiorum institutis*, 5, 1,<sup>650</sup> where the great ascetic writer, well-known in monastic circles, begins his discussions of the vices by giving their Greek names and Latin equivalents. However, these names may well have come to Hrabanus through oral tradition or other sources.

#### 3.2.18.3.2. Augustine, *De consensu evangelistarum*

In C18, 21-30, Hrabanus explains that 40 indicates this difficult life of struggle against the devil and justifies this observation with the forty-day fasts of Moses, Elijah, and Jesus Himself. This passage is ultimately from Augustine. Hrabanus may have borrowed it from Bede's *In Lucae Evangelium Expositio*, 1, 3, or possibly directly from Augustine, *De consensu evangelistarum*, 2, 4, 9. The original context in Augustine's work is the discussion of the discrepancies between the two genealogies of Christ in Matthew and Luke and specifically, in chapter 4 looks into why Matthew gives forty generations between Abraham and Christ. Augustine's response is that Matthew, who wishes to show the kingship of Christ, includes this number symbolic of this world and the present life, where Christ should reign, "quo in hoc saeculo et in hac terra regi nos oportet a Christo secundum disciplinam laboriosam."<sup>651</sup> Although Bede's work is a commentary on Luke rather than an attempt to harmonize apparent discrepancies among the Evangelists, Bede comments on Matthew's genealogy in the course of explaining Luke's, and borrows Augustine's passage in a similar context and meaning. Hrabanus, in contrast, has removed the passage from any

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<sup>650</sup> John Cassian, *De coenobiorum institutis*, 5, 1, PL 49, 201C.

<sup>651</sup> Augustine, *De consensu evangelistarum*, 2, 4, 8, PL 34, 1074D.

connection with the genealogies and used it simply to focus on the meaning of the number 40 as the symbol of this earthly life of struggle, the subject on his poem.

The next sentence of the commentary, the observation that forty hours passed from Christ's death until His Resurrection (C18, 31-32) is taken from Augustine's *De Trinitate*, 4, 6 without alteration. Hrabanus then returns to Augustine's *De consensu evangelistarum* and borrows a slightly later passage,<sup>652</sup> in which Augustine points out another connection between the number 40 and this earthly life: the fact that Jesus chose to pass forty days back on earth with the disciples between his Resurrection and Ascension, which is also a secret fulfillment of the promise to be with the disciples "usque in consummationem saeculi" (*Matt.* 28:20), since 40 is  $4 \times 10$ , and 10 is the summation of 4, i.e.  $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 10$ . Bede quotes only the very end of this passage, the numerological justification, so Hrabanus' use here demonstrates his access to Augustine's work directly, suggesting that the earlier passage may also be taken directly rather than through Bede's mediation. Hrabanus takes out Augustine's cosmological reflections on the number 4, probably because he has already dealt with this theme in other *carmina*, and moves the numerological reflections up to the very beginning of his commentary, since they are the focus of the *carmen*, and not an additional exegetical reinforcement as they are in Hrabanus' sources.

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<sup>652</sup> Augustine, *De consensu evangelistarum*, 2, 4, 9, PL 34, 1075.

### 3.2.19. *Carmen* 19

#### 3.2.19.1. Form

##### 3.2.19.1.1. Visual Elements

The field is a 37 x 37 square.

Within this field are five X-shaped crosses a single letter thick. Each is five letters across and five letters high. They are arranged into a cross shape, naturally, centered on the middle verse and mesostich, with five letters separating the outer Xs from the inner X and six letters between the edges of the field and the outer Xs. As in *carmen* 13, we have here a cross made up of crosses.

##### 3.2.19.1.2. Textual Elements

The two titles of *carmen* 19 are very similar. In A9, the title runs, “XVIII. De quinquagenario numero et sacramento in eo manifestato.”<sup>653</sup> In D19, it goes, “DE FORMA NONA DECIMA, VBI QVINQVAGENARII NVMERI RATIO EST.”<sup>654</sup> The theme of the *carmen*, therefore, is the number 50, its *ratio* and *sacramentum*.

The basis poem, however, does not introduce this theme quickly. The first six verses are a call to the faithful to listen attentively, because here the strength and beauty and glory of the highest craftsman are displayed. Hrabanus segues to a praise of Christ’s glorious victory which makes honor and victory palm of the faithful last forever (v. 7-13). The last verse of this section calls the faithful *aegroti* and urges them to rush to Christ the doctor, which introduces the next section, in which Christ is praised as the wise doctor who can heal the faithful (v. 13-21). Only at verse 22 does Hrabanus introduce the number 50, which, shown in the figures, is salvific for us. It indicates the Jubilee, the sabbath rest, the gift of the Law and gift of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. The five letter Xs show that the five books of the Law teach the Decalogue (since X indicates the number ten). The conclusion (v. 33-37) asserts

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<sup>653</sup> A9, 45-46.

<sup>654</sup> D19, 1-2.

that these figures are appropriate the cross in shape, number, arrangement and meaning. Hrabanus therefore exhorts the faithful to praise the cross and fulfill vows to the crucified king, who released the sins of the world with his blood.

The commentary, on the other hand, goes straight to the theme indicated in the titles. The number 50 expressed in five letter Xs. X indicates the number ten and is a cross shape itself. This is an indication of the true redemption offered by the cross. The gift of the Paraclete was fifty days after the Passion just as it was fifty days between the Pascha and the gift of the Law on Mt. Sinai (l. 1-10). In the next paragraph, l. 11-17, 50 is seven sabbaths and so signifies the entrance into eternal rest and joy; that is, 50 is analyzed as 49 plus 1. At this point Hrabanus begins a complex arithmetical reflection. 50 proceeds out of 40 by taking the sum of the factors of 40. This represents the spiritual progression from the struggle of this earthly life, represented by 40 as we have seen in *carmen* 18, to the joy and peace of eternal bliss. At line 41, he offers a comment on the number 10. It indicates knowledge of the Creator and the Creature. The Creator, the Trinity, is 3, while creatures consist of body and life; life has three parts, heart, mind and soul, while the body has four, the elements, which gives the number 7. Returning to 50, Israel escaped slavery in Egypt in fifty days, a type of the slavery to sin and death destroyed for good on the cross. The true Jubilee of Christ restores man to his true possessions (l. 51-60). Hrabanus pauses to describe the Old Testament Jubilee for his readers who may not be familiar with it (l. 61-71). The last section quotes the relevant Biblical passages (*Isaiah* 61:2 and *Luke* 4:21) to point out that Christ taught that his own arrival was the fulfillment of this time for salvation and remission of sins had come.

The bivalent text makes up a single verse of fifty letters. There are only nine bivalent letters in each X figure, but Hrabanus specifies in the commentary that the middle letter is to be read twice in each figure, so they are really trivalent. The verse is, “QVINQVE IVVAT APICE AST SACRA DICERE, DE CRVCE ET HAEC NAM EST,” which restates the theme of the *carmen*.<sup>655</sup>

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<sup>655</sup> C19, 94.

### 3.2.19.1.3. Cognitive Elements

The most important cognitive element of the *carmen* is the arithmetical procedure by which Hrabanus derives 50 from 40. He employs elsewhere the process of analyzing a number by considering the sum of its factors, but here he applies for the first time the process of analysis to a number which is not perfect (i.e. neither 6 nor 28). The sum of the factors of 40 gives 50. With 40 having been fully explored in *carmen* 18 as a symbol for this earthly life of struggle, and 50 interpreted here as a symbol for eternal rest, this arithmetical process becomes in some way a representation of the process of salvation and release from the struggles of this life for the eternal rest of Heaven.

The other numerological element is the analysis of 50 into five 10s. The five 10s are interpreted as the five books of the Law and the ten Commandments. This analysis, however, is determined by the figures, in a double way. The figures actually contain forty-five letters, but the commentary reveals that forty of them are bivalent and five of them are trivalent. By counting the trivalent letters twice, we can reach the number 50. Meanwhile, the figures are Xs and X indicates the number 10 in the Roman numeral system.

### 3.2.19.2. Content

#### 3.2.19.2.1. Aspects of the Number 50

As proclaimed in the titles, half the basis poem, the commentary and the interwoven verse, the primary theme of the *carmen* is the number 50. Hrabanus explores a number of aspects of this theme.

The number 50 appears in the basis poem only at verse 22.

Quinqua salutarem numerum hic ginta beatae  
Dat crucis haec species, diuino munere plena.  
Qui signat ueniam, qui sabbata laeta quietis,  
Qui legis priscae post azima festa tributae  
Est index; et post sancta sollempnia Paschae

Ipse Paracleti missi undique numine plenus.<sup>656</sup>

The first aspect of the number 50 is the Jubilee of ancient Israel, which recurred every fiftieth year. This is indicated with a single word in the basis poem, *ueniam*, but this is expanded in both prose translation and the commentary and retains its leading position in both. The second aspect is the *sabbata laeta quietis*, fifty as a symbol of rest. The last aspect of the number 50 is the moment of receiving God's gifts: both the giving of the Law on Mt. Sinai fifty days after the Passover and the giving of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost, so named precisely because fifty days after Christ's new Passover.

The single word *ueniam*, which represents the Jubilee in the basis poem, is expanded considerably in the prose translation, "In illo enim ueri iubelei, id est plenae remissionis, notitia datur."<sup>657</sup> The commentary goes into much more depth.

Recteque iubelei numerus exprimitur in crucis figura, quia tota ratio illius spiritaliter cruci aptatur. Nam seruitus indebita Israhelitarum in illo relaxatur, et per crucem generis humani captiuitas et seruitus, qua peccato nequiter atque idolis seruiebat, destruitur, et uerae libertati, qua Deo soli seruitur, homo, qui ad imaginem Dei creatus est, redditur. In iubeleo quoque ad antiquum possessorem uendita possessio reuertitur, et in passione Domini homini prior possessio, id est, paradus redditur, quam per pomum uetitum ipse male commutauerat, escam accipiens et uitam perdens.<sup>658</sup>

During the Jubilee all land which had been sold in Israel returned to its original possessors. The farmlands which were returned to their owning families are a type, in Hrabanus' interpretation, of Paradise itself, which Christ's Jubilee, the Passion, restores to the possession of mankind. Hrabanus buttresses his interpretation by connecting it with the *annum Domini acceptum* and *diem retributionis* spoken of by Isaiah, which then Christ applied to his own person. He quotes the relevant passages (in C19, 72-91) and takes these words of Isaiah as referring to the Jubilee of the remission of sins which Christ came to effect.

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<sup>656</sup> B19, 22-27.

<sup>657</sup> D19, 37-38.

<sup>658</sup> C19, 51-60.



Hrabanus does not explicitly connect the other aspect of the Jubilee, the forgiveness of debts, with Christ's redemption of mankind. Perhaps the connection between the ancient cancellation of debts and Christ's remission of sins was too obvious to need belaboring.

The second aspect of the number 50 is that of the Sabbath rest. The basis poem mentions this, as quoted above, but in contrast to the Jubilee, the prose translation does not add anything of consequence. However, the commentary does so:

Hic sabbatum sabbatorum post completionem septem hebdomadarum monade addita designat, et aeternae requiei, quae uere una est, gaudia demonstrat, ubi terra corporum nostrorum uere suum celebrabit sabbatum:...<sup>659</sup>

Here, 50 is taken as 49 plus 1. The Sabbath rest comes on the seventh day, the day when God rested after the six days of creation. So seven Sabbaths makes forty-nine days. Adding one to represent stepping outside the cycle of time, we reach the *aeternae requiei ... gaudia*. That is where our earthly bodies will celebrate their true Sabbath and have their rest.

Hrabanus then proceeds immediately to the arithmetical demonstration that after this earthly life of struggle we will reach eternal rest. He does so by taking the number which symbolizes the earthly life of struggle, forty, as he established in *carmen 18* (he does not refer to *carmen 18* explicitly but does refer backwards in the *In honorem* when he says, "Praediximus ergo, quod quadragenarius numerus hanc temporalem uitam et praesentem designat;"<sup>660</sup>). Then he sums the factors of 40, following the same procedure which establishes the perfection of the numbers 6 and 28 which structure the *In honorem*. Finally, he translates this arithmetical operation into instructions for the faithful.

Et quid aliud nobis per hos duos numeros insinuat, nisi ut hanc uitam sancta conuersatione ducentes, orationibus et uigiliis atque ieiuniis instantes, misericordiae quoque operibus et elemosinis insudantes, plena

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<sup>659</sup> C19, 11-14.

<sup>660</sup> C19, 29-30.

fide, spe integra, perfecta caritate ad illam quae in caelis exspectat nos patriam properemus:...<sup>661</sup>

In the midst of the struggles of this earthly life, by prayers and vigils and fasting, by works of mercy and alms-giving, by faith, hope and charity we can reach the Heavenly fatherland.

The third aspect of the number 50 is its association with moments in which God makes a major gift to His people. Hrabanus gives two examples, the gift of the Law on Mt. Sinai and the gift of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost, and takes the one as a type of the other. This receives a greater treatment in the basis poem than the other aspects, occupying verses 25-27, quoted above, rather than a handful of words. He makes the parallel and the typology even clearer in the commentary.

... hic post typici Paschae celebrationem et occisi agni sollempnia transitusque Domini in Aegypto celeberrimam festiuitatem, legis datae in monte Sinai testis est; et post uerum Pascha agnique Christi immolationem, Paracleti super apostolos missi demonstrator est.<sup>662</sup>

The Law of Mt. Sinai also appears in the carmen on the figural level and due to Hrabanus' explanations of those figures. The 5 letter X figures also indicate the Law.

Quinque cruces praebet ramis, denasque monades  
X numerat, semperque cruci apta et amica figura.  
Quinque libri legis exstant mandataque dena.<sup>663</sup>

We have a similar analysis here as in the previous *carmen*, where 40 was analyzed as four 10s and interpreted as representing the Decalogue and the Gospels. Here we have 50 analyzed as five 10s and representing the Decalogue and the five books of the Law. And of course, as the prose translation says,

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<sup>661</sup> C19, 32-37.

<sup>662</sup> B19, 6-10.

<sup>663</sup> B19, 30-32.

... quinque libros legis cum decem praeceptis significat, quia quod lex uetus per figuram et umbram quodammodo depinxit, hoc totum Christus per crucem in Nouo Testamento secundum ueritatem impleuit.<sup>664</sup>

... the Law, being a shadow of the truth brought by Christ, can rightly be shown in the shape of a cross.

However, an additional subtlety is present in *carmen* 19. The figures in fact only contain nine letters each. How, then, does Hrabanus attribute to them the number ten? In two ways, as I mentioned above in §3.2.19.1.3. First of all, the letter X indicates the number 10 in the Roman numeral system. Second, the middle letter is not bivalent but trivalent – in the interwoven verse it must be read twice in the interwoven verse alone. So here Hrabanus chooses to count it twice to make the letters of each figure equal ten. He is careful not to simply assume this. He justifies both taking the Xs as indications of the number 10, according to their meaning in the Roman system, and reading them as containing ten letters. Here are the relevant quotations for the first aspect, the basis poem first:

Omnia nempe cruci concordant tramite dictu  
Lex, numerus, tempus, mysteria, facta, character.<sup>665</sup>

And the prose translation:

Omnia quippe sanctae cruci decentissime conueniunt, et character litterae et numerus in ea denotatus, legis mysterium et temporis sacramentum, factumque in hoc laudabiliter perpetratum;<sup>666</sup>

So both the *character* of the letter (the fact that the X is already a cross shape) and the number denoted by it (the number ten) are most fittingly appropriate to the cross.

While explaining how to read the interwoven verse Hrabanus clarifies how there can be ten letters in figures which only contain nine at first glance.

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<sup>664</sup> D19, 46-50.

<sup>665</sup> B19, 33-34.

<sup>666</sup> D19, 51-54.

per singulas notas denis litteris supputatis, sed hoc in pronuntiatione. Ceterum autem in scripto .VIII. grammata unicuique notae deputantur. Nam media littera singularum notarum communis est utrique tramiti, et ei qui dextrorsum, et ei qui sinistrorsum uadit.<sup>667</sup>

This focus on God's gift of the Law also explains the otherwise puzzling digression on the number 10 in the commentary in the paragraph at l. 41-50.

Porro autem denarius numerus creatoris atque creaturae significat scientiam. Nam Trinitas creatoris est. Septenarius autem numerus creaturam indicat propter uitam et corpus. Nam in illa tria sunt, unde etiam toto corde, tota anima, tota mente diligendus est Deus, in corpore autem manifestissima quattuor apparent, quibus constat, elementa.<sup>668</sup>

The number 10 reflects the division of the universe in the Creator and the created by an arithmetical division into 3, which represents the Trinity, and 7, which represents bodies, made of 4 elements, and intelligences, made of heart, soul and mind. Whatever one thinks of this numerological interpretation of the number 10, it fits with Hrabanus' concern in this *carmen* to demonstrate the number 50 as representative of the moments when God the Creator makes special gifts to his creatures, the Law and the Holy Spirit.

### 3.2.19.2.2. Christ as Medic

One puzzle of *carmen* 19 is that more than half of the basis poem appears unrelated to the theme as enunciated everywhere else. From the very first verse, Hrabanus calls on the faithful to listen to his song of the cross ("Crux mihi *carmen* erit, aures adhibete, fideles," B19, 1) and to praise Christ as wisdom, eternal light of God. Hrabanus wishes to show Christ as the highest craftsman (*artificis* B19, 5; *summi opificis* D19, 9) and the glory of his work. This section is subtly related to Hrabanus' division between Creator and creature in his comment on the number 10, quoted above.

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<sup>667</sup> C19, 95-99.

<sup>668</sup> C19, 41-46.

However, after this introduction, Hrabanus settles into describing Christ as a skilled doctor. Having defeated death by dying, Christ stands ready to heal the sick who come to him.

Huc huc, aegroti, uolucri currite cursu, en  
Vester erit medicus quem crux medicabilis altro  
Stipite gestauit, extendit brachia curae, et  
Poscite curari, et geminas expandite palmas.<sup>669</sup>

Hrabanus calls on the “sick” to rush to Christ, with arms extended on the *crux medicabilis* and ask to be cured by spreading their own hands, in prayer. The next few verses describe the speed and skill with which Christ can heal.

It is not clear how this section relates to the rest of the *carmen*. Perhaps we can divine a meaning implied in the connection which Hrabanus creates by putting this praise of Christ the healer into the *carmen* dealing with the number 50. It may be that Hrabanus put this section into this *carmen* to imply the connection between Christ’s remission of sins and the restoration of health – a connection between spiritual health and physical health – which is already suggested by Christ’s miracles. The sicknesses and scars from which we suffer are part of the earthly struggles of this life, symbolized in the previous *carmen*, and Christ’s healing of them all will accompany our entrance into the peace of the next, symbolized in the present *carmen*.

### 3.2.19.3. Sources

#### 3.2.19.3.1. Boethius, *De Arithmetica*

The discussion of “impariter pars” numbers at C19, 20-24 is very closely based on Boethius’ discussion in *De Arithmetica*, 1, 11. The “unevenly even” numbers are defined as follows:

Hic [i.e. impariter pars numerus] autem talis est qui dividitur in aequas partes, cuiusque pars in alias aequas dividi potest, et etiam aliquando

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<sup>669</sup> B19, 13-16.

partes partium dividuntur, sed non ut usque ad unitatem progrediatur  
aequabilis illa distinctio, ut sunt 24 et 28.<sup>670</sup>

I would like to propose, based on this relevant passage, a change in the punctuation in Perrin's critical edition. In Perrin's edition, this section reads as follows:

Quadragenarius itaque est numerus unus ex his, qui uocantur impariter pares, qui diuiditur quidem in aequas partes, cuiusque pars in alias aequas diuidi potest, nec non et partes partium diuiduntur, sed non usque ad unitatem progreditur. Aequalis illa diuisio est. Ergo eius medietas .XX., quarta pars .X., ...<sup>671</sup>

The connection with Boethius suggests that rather than taking "Aequalis illa diuisio est" as an independent sentence in the commentary, *Aequalis illa division* should be the subject of *progreditur*, and the following sentence should begin "Est ergo eius medietas .XX., etc.,...".

### **3.2.19.3.2. Bede, *Super Acta Apostolorum Expositio***

The application of this discussion to derive the number 50 from the number 40, however, is taken from the identical derivation in Bede's commentary on the *Acts of the Apostles*.<sup>672</sup> Here Bede comments on the significance of the number 50 in relation to Pentecost and states that just as this process of summing the factors of 40 produces 50, so the struggles of this earthly life, symbolized by 40, give rise to the eternal bliss represented by the fiftieth day, on which the disciples received the Holy Spirit. That is to say, Hrabanus adopts the same meanings for 40 and 50 in *carmina* 18 and 19 which Bede gave them, and uses the same numerological procedure to derive one from the other.

### **3.2.19.3.3. Augustine, *De doctrina christiana***

Later in the commentary Hrabanus discusses the number 10 as the difference between 40 and 50. After interpreting the number as symbolic of the passage from

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<sup>670</sup> Boethius, *De Arithmetica*, 1, 11, PL 63, 1089C.

<sup>671</sup> C19, 20-24.

<sup>672</sup> Bede, *Super Acta Apostolorum Expositio*, 2, PL 92, 946AB.

earthly life to heavenly joy, he then states that 10 indicates knowledge of the Creator and the creature. This passage is borrowed from Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, 2, 16, 25.<sup>673</sup> This is the paragraph in which Augustine discusses the importance of understanding the meaning of numbers for a proper exegesis of Scripture. The number 10 is just one of many examples for which Augustine gives a rapid sketch of the numerological meaning. Hrabanus closes this section by relating the 10 to the cross where the Mediator between Creator and creature suffered. Once again, we see Hrabanus using his sources but setting them into a new context to relate them to the overall theme of his *carmen*.

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<sup>673</sup> Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, 2, 16, 25, *PL* 34, 48.

### **3.2.20. *Carmen* 20**

#### **3.2.20.1. Form**

##### **3.2.20.1.1. Visual Elements**

The field is a 37 x 37 square.

Within the field, four large asymmetrical figures stand centered on the mesostich and middle verse, separated by only one verse or column from the outer edge of the field. The figures are two letters thick and appear to be two sides of an isosceles triangles, with the point upward and the right arm extending slightly beyond the point – just two letters are included in this extension. The figures cover nine verses and spread across fifteen columns. All the figures are oriented in the same way towards the viewer, instead of spreading out radially from the center of the cross as in many other carmina.

##### **3.2.20.1.2. Textual Elements**

The titles of carmen twenty are as follows: in A9, it reads, “XX. De numero centenario et uicenario et mystica eius significatione;” and in D20, “DE VICESIMA FORMA, VBI CENTENARIVS ET VICENARIVS NVMERVS INDITVS EST.” The number 120, then, and its mystical significance are the themes of the carmen.

The basis poem begins by invoking the water and blood which issued from Christ's side at the Crucifixion and which has washed away all sins and deleted the accusation against us. In verses 5-10, Hrabanus speaks of how the Creator has founded the light of the Gospel and reprobated the cult of idols. He taught the light of virtues to all nations. After his ascension his disciples preached to all. Starting at verse 11 he describes the figures and the theme: the four lambdas contain the number 120, denoting the great mysteries of the faith and its great joys. In verses 15-24, Hrabanus continues to follow the early spread of the Gospel. Having received the gift of tongues, the faithful spread light everywhere, calling men from the abyss to the solidity of the Lord's banner, so that they might receive the rewards promised by



God, Christ and Paraclete. From verse 25 he exhorts the faithful to sing psalms to Christ, king, virtue of the Father, creator. This praise, he tells us in verses 32-37, reaches its culmination in eternal rest. He is truly free who loves the highest things and uses the intermediate things rightly.

The commentary begins with explaining that the theme, the number 120, appears in the four lambdas, which indicate the number 30 in the Greek numeral system. God granted 120 years of penance before the Flood, Solomon's temple was 120 cubits high, and at Pentecost the Holy Spirit came upon 120 disciples. The four figures indicate the four Gospels because 30 indicates that faith in the Trinity completes the Decalogue. Hrabanus explores in l. 13-25 how Noah's Ark is similar to the Cross; faith in the Trinity is the Ark in the floods of life. The Temple of Solomon and Pentecost look to the same mystery. Then he turns to a numerological explanation. The sum of the sequence of 1-15 is 120. Now 15 is composed of 7 and 8, so it indicates both the Sabbath rest of the souls of the departed and the resurrection of the flesh at the end of time. Therefore, 120 shows the great blessedness of the elect in the future life of the risen flesh. The unity of the 120 disciples at Pentecost is an image of the unity of all the saints praising God in Heaven. In Heaven there will be praise in every language. Perpetual and harmonious praise will unite all in peace.

Each lambda figure contains its own interwoven verse of thirty letters. However, the text-figure unities are not related to the different aspects of the number 120 which Hrabanus lists in the commentary and basis poem. The interwoven verses are, in the top lambda, "EST ORBI TOTO DOMINI NAM PASSIO VITA," in the bottom figure, "ARVO CRVX VNA SPES LIBERTATIS AB IRA," in the right figure, "LVX LAETA LVCET DIVINO MVNERE PLENA," and in the left figure, "VERACI NVTV SIGNAT ET PROEMIA REGNI."

### **3.2.20.1.3. Cognitive Elements**

The most important cognitive element of *carmen* 20 is the numerological procedure of summing a sequence. Here Hrabanus derives 120 from the sum of the sequence

from 1 to 15 and then analyzes 120 in terms of 15. He uses the same procedure in *carmen* 18 where he derives 10 from the sequence of 1 to 4.

The figures here are taken in their meaning within the Greek numeral system but Hrabanus also takes pains to comment on that meaning (i.e. the mystical significance of the number 30) as well as its relationship with the number 4, given by the four figures. Here in *carmen* 20 is no apparent meaning to the position of the visual-textual units.

### **3.2.20.2. Content**

#### **3.2.20.2.1. Meaning of the Number 120**

In expounding his theme, Hrabanus combines two approaches. He points out a number of occurrences of the number 120 in the Holy Scriptures and he performs a number of numerological explanations. He does so primarily in the commentary.

The first paragraph of the commentary summarizes the appearances of the number 120.

Nam leguntur ante diluuium .C.XX. anni ad paenitentiam hominibus decreti; et Salomoniaci templi altitudo .C.XX. cubitorum erat; et super .C.XX. uiros in die Pentecostes Spiritus Sanctus uenit.<sup>674</sup>

The Ark of Noah is a symbol of the faith in the Trinity which saves us from the floods of this life of sin. After describing the building of the Ark, Hrabanus explains,

quid aliud significat, quam quod ita tantum a fluctibus huius saeculi possumus permanere inlaesi, si euangelicae doctrinae in fide sanctae Trinitatis digne operantes deuotis mentibus oboediamus.<sup>675</sup>

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<sup>674</sup> C20, 5-8.

<sup>675</sup> C20, 17-20.

As for the height of the Temple and the number of disciples who received the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, Hrabanus limits himself to remarking, “ad idem sacramentum respicit.”<sup>676</sup>

Alongside these Scriptural references, Hrabanus employs two different numerological arguments. First of all, he comments on the number 30 represented by the lambdas.

In quattuor enim notis idipsum efficientibus, .IIII. Euangelia significantur, in quibus singulis tricenarius numerus inuenitur; quia fides sanctae Trinitatis et perfectio mandatorum in singulis sancti Euangelii libris plenissime praedicatur.<sup>677</sup>

That is, he first analyzes 120 as  $4 \times 30$ , according to the number and the meaning of the figures he has established. These particular four figures represent the four Gospels since they each mean the number 30, and the number 30 represents the faith in the Trinity making perfect the Ten Commandments.

Later he approaches 120 as the sum of the sequence from 1 to 15. He calls this procedure the *naturalis numeri progressio*.

Itaque procedente naturalis numeri progressionem ab uno usque ad .XV., et collectis in unum omnium locorum summitatibus, .C.XX. fiunt .XV.,<sup>678</sup>

Then he analyzes the number 15 into the sum of 7 and 8. In doing so, he indicates that he is following some kind of numerological tradition rather than acting on his own authority, by using the verb *solent*.

... namque quae ex septem et octo constant, solent nonnumquam ad significationem referri uitae futurae, quae nunc in sabbatismo geritur animarum fidelium, perficietur autem in fine saeculi resurrectione corporum immortalium.<sup>679</sup>

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<sup>676</sup> C20, 21-22.

<sup>677</sup> C20, 8-12.

<sup>678</sup> C20, 26-28.

<sup>679</sup> C20, 28-32. Continuation of previous quotation.

7 is the number of the Sabbath, the day of rest for God (from Creation) and man (from all his works), while the eighth day, returning to the first day, is the day of Resurrection. Hrabanus takes 15, therefore, as composed of 7, which indicates the repose of blessed souls in Heaven in this current time between their death and the general resurrection of the body, and of 8, which indicates their joy at the final resurrection when they will be reunited with their immortal and spiritual bodies.

It is notable that the theme of the number 120 is hardly mentioned in the basis poem or the interwoven verses. It depends in *carmen* 20 exclusively on the titles and the commentary. However, there are more subtle relationships which we will examine below.

### 3.2.20.2.2. The Spread of the Gospel

The basis poem, in contrast, follows the chronological sequence spread of the Gospel in the earliest days. It begins with the blood and wine issuing from Christ's side at his death.

Sanguinis ergo sacri nos fusio lauit et unda  
Sordibus a cunctis, deterisit et omnia Christus  
Noxia;<sup>680</sup>

From this moment the light of the Gospel begins to shine and spread into the entire world.

Lumen euangelii imitabile condidit auctor,  
Quod facinus scripto uetat omnia uana recusat;  
Quod uitam signans, in cuncto expenditur orbe;<sup>681</sup>

In the prose translation, Hrabanus makes *omnia uana recusat* much more colorful and explicit: "idolorumque culturam penitus abnegat."<sup>682</sup>

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<sup>680</sup> B20, 1-3.

<sup>681</sup> B20, 5-7.

<sup>682</sup> D20, 11-12.

Jesus then shows his disciples by his Ascension the light of the virtues and the extension of the gifts of God to all.

Lumen uirtutum ascensu et dominantis ubique  
Indicat, oratum pandens, quo mystica scripta  
Monstrant dona Dei quanta omnibus obtulit ore.<sup>683</sup>

The prose translation expands this greatly:

Post ascensionem quoque Saluatoris apostoli, ab ipsa Veritate instructi, praedicantes Euangelium mysteria Veteris Testamenti per Christum impleta et declarata esse testati sunt, et ipsum finem esse legis et prophetarum ueris assertionibus firmauerunt.<sup>684</sup>

Now Hrabanus has arrived at the Pentecost and also to the explanation of the figures which represent the 120 disciples present there. The four figures indicate the great mysteries of faith and its great joys. Chief among these is the gift of tongues.

Et sociale decus, quod spiritus, auctor in ore,  
Ardens lux, dederat concordi munere linguae.<sup>685</sup>

The disciples then joyfully spread the Gospel everywhere, casting the Gospel net into the abyss and drawing all men to the *insignia* of Christ – the cross, as Hrabanus makes explicit in prose.

Hincque alacer coetus sacratum iactat ubique  
Hoc nomen, rete expandens quod sagna in abyso  
Mundi plena alta retrahat et frenet ut omnes  
His frenis crucis, utque insignia Christus ubique  
Digne commendet homini, ...<sup>686</sup>

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<sup>683</sup> B20, 8-9.

<sup>684</sup> D20, 14-18.

<sup>685</sup> B20, 15-17.

<sup>686</sup> B20, 17-21.

Hrabanus then joins himself to the effort of evangelization and spends the rest of the poem calling upon his readers to praise Christ, life, the king, the virtue of the Father and the creator of things.

Psallite deuote uitam, bene psallite Christo,  
Gentes ac linguae, uerum et cognoscite regem,  
Virtutemque Patris, qua occumbit dira potenti  
Morsque sui et stimuli, rerum scitote parentem.<sup>687</sup>

It is this praise which gives eternal rest, according to a law and order inscribed into our nature.

Haec laus culmen habet et uero germine parta  
Aeternam requiem; iste est naturae inditus ordo  
Seruet ut indita tantum et speret dona beata.  
Gloria haec uirtus, et summa est causa quietis;<sup>688</sup>

The act of praise is the key to coming to eternal rest, because it is the highest cause of our repose.

Hrabanus closes with a recipe for achieving salvation:

Isteque iura bene conseruat, liber ac hic est  
Qui bona summa cupit, rite et mediocria ducit.<sup>689</sup>

He who performs all his duties is free, as is he who desires the highest goods and rightly uses the intermediate goods.

### **3.2.20.2.3. The Role of Praise**

We can see now a connection between the basis poem and the number 120. The last section of the basis poem asserts the praising God is the key to Heaven. God, formerly praised only by the Jews in Hebrew while the rest of the world was sunk into

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<sup>687</sup> B20, 27-31.

<sup>688</sup> B20, 32-35.

<sup>689</sup> B20, 36-37.

the darkness of *idolorum cultura*, began to be praised in every language by all nations at Pentecost, starting with the hundred and twenty disciples present there but rapidly spreading throughout the world. Just as this light of the Gospel illuminated the nations, the light of virtues in the individual soul leads to the praise of God. Because it is a law written in our own nature, we cannot find rest apart from the praise of God. Therefore the praise of God is necessary for the individual to find salvation and reach Heaven, where he can join the harmony of praise in all languages and from all nations. Hrabanus paints his vision of this glorious consummation in the final paragraph of the commentary.

Tunc plena erit adunatio linguarum in omnibus, ad praedicanda magna Dei, quia consona mente ac uoce omnes diuinae gloriam maiestatis, quam praesentem uident, collaudant; tuncque uox illa psalmi perfecte complebitur, qua Spiritus Sanctus per prophetam omnes gentes ad laudem Domini prouocando exhortatur, ita dicens: *Laudate Dominum, omnes gentes, et collaudate eum, omnes populi, quoniam confirmata est super nos misericordia eius, et ueritas Domini manet in aeternum*; quando quotquot de omnibus gentibus ad uitam praedestinati sunt aeternam, omnibus scandalis de Ecclesia Christi per angelorum officia eiectis, uniti capiti suo unam laudem Deo omnia membra concorditer et perpetuo cantabunt.<sup>690</sup>

### 3.2.20.3. Sources

#### 3.2.20.3.1. Bede, *De Templo*

A large section of the commentary, in which Hrabanus points out that the Temple of Solomon was a hundred and twenty cubits in height, and that a hundred and twenty disciples received the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, and then explains that 120 represents the great blessedness of the elect in the next life, C20, 20-51, is taken from Bede's *De Templo*, 1, 8.<sup>691</sup> The only difference is in the explanation of the numerological procedure which underlies the meaning. Hrabanus explains that 120 derives from 15 by a *naturalis numeri progressionem* from 1 to 15,<sup>692</sup> whereas Bede, relying more closely on the terminology of medieval arithmetic as transmitted by Boethius, calls

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<sup>690</sup> C20, 48-59.

<sup>691</sup> Bede, *De Templo*, 1, 8, *PL* 91, 754C-755A.

<sup>692</sup> C20, 26.

this, “Ipsa autem quindecim in trigonum ducta, id est, cum omnibus suis partibus annumerata 120 efficiunt.”<sup>693</sup>

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<sup>693</sup> Bede, *De Templo*, 1, 8, *PL* 91, 754D.



### 3.2.21. *Carmen* 21

#### 3.2.21.1. Form

##### 3.2.21.1.1. Visual Elements

The twenty-first *carmen* has a 37 x 37 square as the field.

Within that frame, numerous individual letters are marked as bivalent by a little square around the letter. The letters are arranged in a radially symmetrical pattern. They are scattered into four oblongs along the mesostich and middle verse, narrowing at the center and edge but bulging in the center. At the center, each oblong narrows to a single letter, so the points of the four oblongs touch the centermost letter, which remains monovalent. Stepping along the axes towards the edges, every third row or column contains bivalent. The first contains two, the third letters away from the axis in both directions. The next three rows or columns contain three, the fourth letters away from the axis and the letter on the axis itself. The second-to-last row or column contains three bivalent letters, the third letters out and the axis letter, while at the edges, three contiguous letters are bivalent but remained marked off from one another by inclusion in separate squares. A count reveals that there are seventy-two bivalent letters.

##### 3.2.21.1.2. Textual Elements

The titles confirm what we might expect from the count of bivalent letters. The title in A9 runs, “XXI. De numero septuagenario et binario cum eius significationibus,”<sup>694</sup> while in D21 it goes, “DE VICESIMA PRIMA FIGVRA, IN QVA SEPTVAGENARIVS ET BINARIVS NVMERVS EST CONPREHENSVS.”<sup>695</sup> We have the usual *formulae* for the *carmina* which deal with an individual number and its significance: A9 mentions both the number and its meaning, while D only mentions the number, in addition to the position of the *carmen* within the work as a whole.

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<sup>694</sup> A9, 49-50.

<sup>695</sup> D21, 1-2.

The basis poem opens, significantly, with the word *Lex*, which will be one of the themes of the *carmen*. In v. 1-4, Hrabanus explains how the cross dissolves the anger of God, revealed through the Law. It leads mankind, ship-wrecked with Adam, to port. In v. 5-11, Hrabanus explains this ship-wreck and rescue: through the forbidden wood, cruel and noxious death took away the whole human race, but through the wood of the cross mankind is snatched from the jaws of death. God granted mankind written records to show the cross to be predicted in the Law, promised by the prophets, and fulfilled in the Gospel, so that man would praise Him (v. 12-15). In v. 15-20, the cross appears as the lighthouse which leads all peoples to the heavenly kingdoms by its eternal light. The victorious cross has expelled the deceiver of mankind, so now the redeemed become devout, peaceful and kind (v. 21-24). In verse 25, Hrabanus introduces the other great theme of the *carmen*. To the 72 languages in the world correspond the 72 disciples sent to preach by the Savior. The number also represents the unity of the nine angel choirs and man, who will be reborn in Heaven in the eighth age of the world. At the end of the poem, in v. 32-37, Hrabanus returns to the theme of the Law. All sins will be burned up in the cross, which makes the Law itself into an easy yoke and light burden.

These two themes are introduced immediately in the commentary. The four heptagons – it is not immediately obvious, looking at the figures, that they are heptagons, but looking back at the *carmen* with this new information, one can trace the seven sides – indicate the mystery of the number 72. There are seventy-two languages in the world and seventy-two books in the Bible. Therefore Christ chose seventy-two disciples to preach to every nation. The second paragraph of the commentary divides seventy-two into twenty-four by three. Like the twenty-four hours of the day, the cross glorifies the whole world in the light of the Trinity. The third paragraph goes into other divisions of seventy-two. Each cross bar has thirty-six letters to indicate perfection (the perfect number 6 multiplied by itself), and 72 is also 8 by 9, which shows the resurrection of the body in the eighth age uniting mankind to the nine angel choirs.

The second half of the commentary leaves off commenting the *carmen* and departs into a long doxology of the cross. It praises the cross as the center of salvation and

the universe. Anything which can be thought or said about our redemption should be said in praise of the cross, because whatever is said of the cross is applied to Christ crucified on it, and whatever is said of Christ is said of His Father.

The bivalent letters make up two interwoven verses of thirty-six letters each, one running through the letters on the horizontal cross bar, the other running through the letters on the vertical cross bar. That is to say, the interwoven verses do not correspond to the four heptagons but to two cross bars composed of two heptagons each. The vertical arm's interwoven verse refers to the first theme of the *carmen*, the relationship of the cross to the Law: "IN CRVCE LEX DOMINI DECORATVR LVCE CORVSCA."<sup>696</sup> The interwoven verse running through the horizontal arm, "GENTES ET LINGVAE SOCIANTVR LAVDE SACRATA,"<sup>697</sup> refers to the other theme, the correspondance of the number of nations and the number of disciples sent out by Christ to preach in *Luke* 10:1.

### 3.2.21.1.3. Cognitive Elements

The two themes of the *carmen* are well represented in the basis poem, in the commentary and in the two interwoven verses. These themes are based on the number 72 itself. In addition, the commentary offers a number of numerological arguments, all based on the division of the number 72 into its different factors. Hrabanus does not directly connect the two themes, but he interweaves them in a way that suggests a connection: after Christ has fulfilled the Law on the cross, the Gospel can spread from God's chosen people to all the nations on the earth. This is a subtle link with the previous *carmen*, which is on the related theme of Pentecost.

The figures do not form visual-textual unities, as they do in many *carmina*, but are united into entire cross bars by the interwoven verses which pass through them. The way in which they are composed out of letters scattered from the center to the edge fits well with the theme of the seventy-disciples reaching out to preach the Gospel of Christ to all seventy-two nations.

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<sup>696</sup> C21, 68.

<sup>697</sup> C21, 72.

### 3.2.21.2. Content

*Carmen* 21 weaves together a number of themes in a complex way. The number 72, as proclaimed by the title, is the over-arching theme, but Hrabanus breaks that down into two subthemes: the seventy-two books of the Bible, on the one hand, and the seventy-two nations of the earth and seventy-two disciples of *Luke* 10:1, on the other. As we will see, aspects of one theme are referred to the other and references to these different themes are woven together into all the textual fields of the *carmen*, while the commentary adds some considerations based on varying divisions of the number 72 into sets of factors.

#### 3.2.21.2.1. The Cross Fulfills the Law

The basis poem opens with the invocation of the true Law of God, which is fulfilled and overcome in the cross.

Lex quoque uera Dei uincenda est sorte beata  
Ecce crucis Christi, qua soluitur orbis ab ira  
Ducitur ad uitam; portum capit atque quietis  
Aruigenae primi lapsum post naufragus ipse.<sup>698</sup>

The cross frees the world from the anger (of God) and leads it to life; the cross leads the ship-wrecked sons of Adam to the port of rest. In the prose translation of this passage, Hrabanus explicitly states this as “lex Domini uera et irreprehensibilis ... in figuram sanctae crucis ponenda est,”<sup>699</sup> connecting the textual and visual planes.

Although his language here echoes Paul’s idea that the Law of Moses revealed the anger of God, the commentary reveals that he conceives of the Law more broadly as the entire Bible. He counts seventy-two canonical books of the Bible, “libros canonicos Veteris ac Noui Testamenti intra eius summam comprehensos esse non dubium est.”<sup>700</sup>

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<sup>698</sup> B21, 1-4.

<sup>699</sup> D21, 4-6.

<sup>700</sup> C21, 4-5.

The number 72, therefore, is shown appropriately in a cross shape, since the seventy-two books of the Bible all preach the cross. The Law predicts the cross, the prophets promise it, and the Gospels show it completed, as he says in prose.

Hoc etiam auctor totius creaturae, et largitor duorum Testamentorum Deus  
intimare uolens, opus saluberrimum sanctae crucis et per legem praedixit,  
et per prophetas promisit, et per Euangelium suum se conplesse  
fatetur....<sup>701</sup>

The basis poem expresses this much more succinctly, without the distinctions between Law, Prophets, and Gospel, as is appropriate in a *carmen* which emphasizes the unity of the Scriptures (seventy-two books) rather than their differences (two Testaments).

Id uoluit signare modis in dogmate scriptis  
Testamentorum Deus auctor, opus crucis ipse  
Praedixit, docuit sese et conplesse fatetur  
Magnipotens.<sup>702</sup>

The basis poem departs from this theme for the second half, but returns to it at the very end. The cross, then, which was predicted in the Law and promised in the Prophets, is the fulfillment of the Law. It allows mankind to escape the anger of God, revealed in the Law, by transforming the Law from an indictment into an easy yoke and a light burden, even something beloved, as Jesus promised.

Legem nempe suam crucis ordine fecit amatam,  
lure leuem, suauem, et scandendi munere ditem.<sup>703</sup>

In the prose translation Hrabanus echoes the Biblical passage concerning the *leue onus* and *iugum suauem*, *Matthew 11:30*.

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<sup>701</sup> D21, 19-22.

<sup>702</sup> B21, 12-15.

<sup>703</sup> B21, 36-37.

This entire theme is summarized in the vertical interwoven verse, “IN CRVCE LEX DOMINI DECORATVR LVCE CORVSCA.”<sup>704</sup> Just as the first four verses of the basis poem primarily introduce the theme of the Law, as expressed in the seventy-two books of the Bible, while also mentioning the cross as the guide to the safety of the port, so here the Law is the primary subject, but the sentence also refers to the Law being adorned by the shining light, which is an important part of the imagery connected with the second theme, discussed below.

### 3.2.21.2.2. The Cross Rescues All Nations

The second theme of the *carmen* is the rescue of all nations by the cross. This idea is suggested by a current interpretation of *Luke* 10:1, in which the Lord selects seventy-two disciples and sends them out in pairs to preach in His name. It was also a common belief that there were seventy-two nations and languages in the world. Hrabanus attests to the latter belief in the basis poem,

Quot habet en linguas orbis, et iura loquelae,  
Hoc numero signat, aditum uenientibus atque  
Tramitis hoc pandit Saluator discipulorum.  
Nam octies ut nouies uariet os dicitur orbis;<sup>705</sup>

the prose translation,

Ecce quot linguae sunt nationum in septuagenario et binario numero crux sancta exemplata demonstrat, omnibusque gentibus per hoc lucis portam patentem significat, hocque per .LXX. et duos discipulos Saluator ipse praedicare iusserat, ...<sup>706</sup>

and the commentary:

Hanc igitur figuram plenam esse mysterio oportet intellegi, in qua per quattuor heptagonos .LXXII. numerus demonstratur, secundum cuius pluralitatem gentium linguas diuisas

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<sup>704</sup> C21, 68.

<sup>705</sup> B21, 25-26.

<sup>706</sup> D21, 40-41.

esse uera opinio est, ...<sup>707</sup>

As we can see, given the belief that there are exactly seventy-two nations in the world, each with their own language, it is obvious how *Luke* 10:1 should be interpreted: as the Lord indicating His will to have His Gospel preached to every nation.

The commentary then moves on to the content of that Gospel which the seventy-two disciples are calling the seventy-two nations, namely, the faith in the Trinity. Hrabanus approaches this with a numerological division. He analyzes the number 72 into 24 x 3. The number 3 suggests, in fact, the faith in the Trinity, while the number 24 suggests the twenty-four hours of the day, which illuminate the entire earth.

Sicut ergo .XXIII. horis totus orbis peragitur atque inlustratur, ita mysterium inlustrandi orbis per Euangelium Trinitatis in .LXX. duobus discipulis intimatur. Vicies quater enim terni septuagies dipondius.<sup>708</sup>

The idea of light brings us to the final aspect of this sub-theme. The seventy-two nations of the world are all considered to have made ship-wreck with Adam. Now the cross stands high like a lighthouse, calling them to the safety of the harbor. We have seen the first appearance of this aspect in verses 1-4, quoted above in §3.2.21.2.1. However, they reoccur in verses 15-20:

... Crux hinc ideo se tota coruscam  
Excipere in lucem monstrat, dat, calle dicato,  
Rite faros iustis se cuncta per aera testans.  
Gentes ac populos ad celsa et prouocat astra,  
Exemptos notat, et noctis oratu alacres scit  
Non paruum facere, hinc et regni ducit ad alta.<sup>709</sup>

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<sup>707</sup> C21, 1-4.

<sup>708</sup> C21, 12-15.

<sup>709</sup> B21, 15-20.

The interwoven verse that traverses the horizontal axis of the cross also speaks to this theme: “GENTES ET LINGVAE SOCIANTVR LAVDE SACRATA.”<sup>710</sup> Nations and languages are associated by the sacred praise (of the cross). This reference to laus, in particular, is also a link to the previous carmen, which dealt extensively with this theme. The *In honorem* itself can be seen as a part of this praise of the cross which should unite nations.

On the visual level, the scattering of the bivalent letters all across the page, from the center to the very edges of the field, is a concrete expression of the dispersion of Christ’s disciples to every corner of the world to preach the Gospel to all seventy-two nations and in all seventy-two languages.

### **3.2.21.2.3. Divisions of the Number 72**

We have already seen Hrabanus make two divisions of the number 72. His main themes consider the number 72 in itself and investigate some things which consist of seventy-two units, i.e. books of the Bible, languages and nations of the world, and disciples chosen and sent by Christ; in other words, they consider 72 as  $72 \times 1$ . In addition, one paragraph of the commentary considers 72 as  $24 \times 3$  to tie in the faith in the Trinity and the illumination of the whole world, symbolized by the twenty-four hours. There are several other divisions in the third paragraph of the commentary, l. 18-29.

The first is not fully fleshed out. Hrabanus merely mentions that there are four heptagons and states that this indicates that the four Gospels dispense graces to the four corners of the world. He does not make explicit the fact that 72 is  $18 \times 4$ , nor comment anywhere that each heptagon contains eighteen letters. He also passes over the fact that four heptagons have twenty-eight sides, the second perfect number, and one which he has used to determine the total number of poems in the *In honorem*, despite sometimes referring to the number of sides of the figures as significant, as in *carmen* 9.

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<sup>710</sup> C21, 72.



The second division is also not fully explicit. He points out that each cross arm contains six 6s of letters, i.e. 36. He dwells on the perfection implied by the number 6, but does not go into the fact that the two 36s make 72. Perhaps this is too obvious.

The third division, in contrast, is fully explicit. Here 72 is analyzed as 8 x 9. The number 9 is, as usual, a reference to the nine angel choirs, as we have seen in *carmina* 3 and 9. The number 8, on the other hand, is related to the resurrection. As Hrabanus explains in the commentary,

... quia ex omnibus gentibus in octonario numero, hoc est, corporum resurrectione ad augmentum nouem ordinum angelorum, electos Dei peruenire edocet.<sup>711</sup>

The Resurrection of Christ took place on the eighth day of the week – after the Sabbath rest on the seventh day – and the resurrection of the flesh will take place in the eighth age of the world at the end of time.

Completely absent from Hrabanus' reflections is any referral to 72 as 12 x 6, despite both numbers' prominent role in both the *In honorem* and Biblical numerology.

#### **3.2.21.2.4. Doxology of the Cross**

The second half of the commentary is devoted to a doxology of the cross. Hrabanus addresses the cross and asks it who can explain it fully or praise it rightly. Four long nominative lists, here for once outside the basis poem, bracket a list of the cross's activities, with one list before and three after. Hrabanus arranges all of these lists into tricollic groups, either epithets with similar endings or expressions with identical grammatical structures. According to the first list, the cross is the *caelestium arcanorum pia reuelatrix*, the *mysteriorum Dei sacra conseruatrix*, the *sacramentorum Christi idonea dispensatrix*. Angels receive their joys, men their salvation, and devils their just punishments in the cross. The cross is equal, just and good to all; it renews past things, illuminates present things, shows future things; the

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<sup>711</sup> C21, 27-29.

cross seeks lost things, finds sought things, protects found things; it restores lapsed things, orders restored things and directs ordered things in the way of peace. The second nominative list begins with abstract nouns in *-tia*: the cross is the *aeterni regis uictoria, caelestis militiae laetitia, terrigenarum potentia*. Next are abstract nouns in *-tio*: *peccatorum remissio, pietatis, exhibitio, meritorum augmentatio*, followed by neuter nouns in *-ium*: *infirmorum remedium, laborantium auxilium, lassorum refrigerium*. The final group is abstract nouns in *-tas*: *sanorum incolumitas, quietorum serenitas, and fortunatorum felicitas*. The third list has a tricolon of present participles in the nominative single with dependent accusative – *cura aegrotos medicans, gaudium maestos consolans, and sanitas dolentes laetificans* – followed by a tricolon of present participles in the genitive plural, with an adverb: *status credentium recte, firmitas operantium bene, beatitudo perseuerantium rite*. The final nominative list is simply a list of adjectives and loses the tricolitic structure: *Sancta, pia, bona, iusta, benigna, rationabilis, laudabilis, uenerabilis, amabilis, fortis, suavis, mitis, sapiens, patiens, potens*. The first five adjectives are 1st/2nd-declension adjectives ending in *-a*, the next four are 3rd-declension adjectives formed from the suffix *-abilis*. Only at the end is there a return to the three-fold pattern which has governed this entire section, with three 3rd-declension adjectives in *-is* and three present participles in *-ens*.

After this tricolitic doxology, Hrabanus explains and justifies his veneration of the cross. This section is worth quoting in full.

Quicquid ergo digne corde de redemptione nostra potest cogitari, uel quicquid lingua rite loqui, omnia ad laudem tuam decentissime possunt aptari: quia quicquid in te laudatur, crucifixo in te Christo regi deputatur, et quicquid Christo honoris datur, ad reuerentiam summi Patris refertur, cuius ipse unigenitus Filius est, de quo ipsa Veritas in Euangelio testatur: *Qui me recipit, inquit, recipit eum qui me misit*. Et item: *Qui me spernit, spernit eum qui me misit, et qui non honorificat Filium, non honorificat et Patrem*. Omnis quippe qui negat Filium, nec Patrem habet: qui autem confitetur Filium, et Patrem habet: quorum simul cum Sancto Spiritu una est maiestas, una potestas, honor et claritas in sempiterna saecula.<sup>712</sup>

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<sup>712</sup> C21, 52-64.

This interesting passage constitutes a defense of the theological project of Hrabanus in the *In honorem*. Hrabanus begins by asserting that whatever can be thought in our heart in a dignified way, or whatever can be said with our tongue in a right way, all these things can be appropriated to the praise of the cross in a most correct fashion. The reason for this is that whatever is said as praise of the cross is “assigned” – *deputatur* – to Christ the king crucified on it, and whatever honor is given to Christ is “referred” – *refertur* – to the Father. Hrabanus then quotes the passages of *Luke* 10:16 and *John* 5:23 which support and defend this connection between Son and Father. This passage is of course relevant to the discussions of the appropriateness of the veneration of images, relics, and the cross which took place in the Carolingian period both before and after the composition of the *In honorem*.

Perhaps this final doxology and theological justification is the key to relating the two themes of the *carmen*. Christ fulfills the Law of the Father on the cross, because in Christ alone do we truly see the Father. It is this fulfillment which opens the harbor of salvation and the light of the cross draws in all nations. The salvation history is one process from revelation of the Law through the promises of the prophets to the Passion of Christ on through Resurrection to Pentecost to the conversion of the nations.

### **3.2.21.3. Sources**

#### **3.2.21.3.1. Bede, *De temporum ratione***

Hrabanus’ interpretation of the number 72 as symbolic of the twenty-four hours of the day illuminating the whole earth is not original, but probably taken from Bede’s *De temporum ratione*, chapter 5, *de die*.<sup>713</sup> Bede explicitly cites this passage as being from Augustine’s *Quaestionum Evangelii*, 2. Bede’s quotation is giving Augustine as a religious authority, alongside secular ones, for the statement that there are twenty-four hours in a day. Hrabanus removes the passage from this context and reuses it within the *carmen* dedicated to the number 72. So, once again, we see text which

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<sup>713</sup> Bede, *De temporum ratione*, 5, *PL* 90, 309B.

originated with Augustine passed on through Bede to Hrabanus, with Hrabanus adding a comment which puts the text into a new relationship with the cross.

### **3.2.21.3.2. Anonymous Carolingian Prayer Book**

A few lines of the commentary, “Tu cura aegrotos medicans, tu gaudium maestos consolans, tu sanitas dolentes laetificans,” C21, 46-47, also appear in the 12th-century work of Pseudo-Hildefonse of Toledo, *de corona virginis*.<sup>714</sup> This are likely to be two otherwise independent manifestations of some sort of Carolingian prayer collection, possibly originating in the circles of Alcuin.

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<sup>714</sup> Pseudo-Hildefonse, *De corona virginis*, 6, PL 96, 294B.

### 3.2.22. *Carmen 22*

#### 3.2.22.1. Form

##### 3.2.22.1.1. Visual Elements

In *carmen 22*, the field measures 39 columns by 41 verses, making a rectangle slightly elongated on the vertical axis.

The figures are all Greek letters, one letter thick and between one and five columns wide and three and five verses high. That is, they are as small as they can be while still forming distinguishable letters. This compression is necessary since there are twenty-three figures. The coloring is consistent in the manuscripts besides *V*, red figures with yellow letters, the inverse of the most common color pattern for figures in these manuscripts. In *V*, nine are on a silver-gray background with deep red letters and a black outline surrounding the figure, while the other fourteen have yellow letters on a brown background, with a thin yellow outline separating the brown background from the red background of the monovalent areas.

Ten figures stand along the mesostich, stretching from top to bottom of the field, each figure separated by a single monovalent verse from the next figure. In the upper half of this line, five more figures stretch out towards the left side of the *carmen* in a triangle, with a single monovalent column separating the areas occupied by the figures. Meanwhile, the lower half of the central line is crossed by two bars of four figures each, two on either side of the line, making a “X” shape. Here the gaps between the figures are sometimes two or even three monovalent columns, so the “X” is also somewhat more spacious than the rest of the pattern. The nine figures in this “X” are the figures that have the gray background and black outline in *V*.

Due to this differentiation of the figures and the density of the figures, separated by very small spaces, it is easy to read the pattern. The pattern is composed of two letters, “X” and “P,” making the familiar Constantinian monogram. It reaches the top and bottom edges of the field, but is separated from the lateral edges by six columns

of monovalent text in both directions, which enhances the effect of verticality suggested by the light elongation into a rectangle rather than square.

The figures make up texts which are partially legible on first sight and partially require the assistance of the commentary to decipher. The upper part of the “P” contains IH CYC and AΛHΘIA, while the “X” has a XP in the lower left-hand arm. Upon examining the commentary, which explains the abbreviations in use here, the rest of the “P” can be read; see below for discussion. Likewise, the interwoven verses are difficult to read because of their division among the numerous small figures.

### 3.2.22.1.2. Textual Elements

*Carmen 22* is unique in the *In honorem* for the complexity of its textual fields. It alone of the *carmina* has four levels of language within the *carmen* proper, in addition to the related fields of titles, translation, and commentary. That is, the *carmen* consists of the basis poem and the interwoven text selected by the figures, as throughout the *In honorem*. In common with a few other *carmina*, the figures themselves are letters, which creates the third level of language, the figure-text. In the other examples, the letters are taken either as Latin letters spelling out a meaningful figure-text (as in B3, CRVX SALVS, or B12, ADAM) or as letters taken in their numerical significance in either the Greek or Roman numerical systems (as in B14, where the Greek letters sum to equal 5231, or B19, where the Roman letters sum to 50, or B20, where the Greek letters sum to 40). Here and in B12 alone the figures are both letters and numbers. They spell out letters that create figure-texts and they sum to specific numbers related to the theme of the *carmen*.

Also unique to the twenty-second *carmen* is the fact that the figures are arranged into a pattern which is not a simple cross tracing the middle verse and mesostich; rather the pattern itself consists of two letters, the “P” and “X.” So, the pattern is both a cross shape in the visual field and a linguistic expression in the textual field, and this second aspect makes a fourth level of language, the pattern-text: “XP,” the monogram of Christ’s name.

The titles of this *carmen* point us to this uppermost level, which is both textual and visual. As is appropriate to the general complexity of this *carmen*, the titles are also unusual complex.

XXII. De monogrammate in quo Christi nomen comprehensum est in cuius medietate tempus praedicationis ipsius denotatum est et in altera medietate tempus ante iudicium eius futurum in quo Antichristus regnaturus aestimatur<sup>715</sup>

First of all the title in A9 remarks on the monogram of the pattern-text, but then it also introduces a division. Half of that monogram indicates the time of Christ's preaching and the other half indicates the time before the final judgment when Antichrist will reign. The title in D22 is more restrained, "DE VICESIMA SECVNDA <FIGVRA> , IN QVA MONOGRAMMA DEPICTVM EST,"<sup>716</sup> and only points out the XP monogram.

The basis poem has a slight discrepancy from the themes stated in the title in A9. It opens with Hrabanus' own hopes for redemption and Christ's promise of redemption for those who long for it in faith, hope and charity (v. 1-8). These virtues were among the gifts which Christ gave to the world while he was teaching in his public ministry (v. 9-16). At verse 17, Hrabanus explains that this *numerus* indicates both comings of the Lord. He seems to mean by *numerus* the entire *carmen* or the monogram. He then invokes the Elders of the Apocalypse singing Alleluia (v. 24-29), the rapture of the saints (v. 30-34) and the joy of Heaven and its eternal stability, where saints will sing forever with the angel choirs (v. 35-41). The basis poem focuses on the two comings of Christ. Verse 17-18 read:

Iste quidem numerus sanantis signat utrumque  
Aduentum Domini, ...<sup>717</sup>

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<sup>715</sup> A9, 51-54.

<sup>716</sup> D22, 1-2.

<sup>717</sup> B22, 17-18.

Both “Advents” of the Lord are indicated by the *carmen*, and indeed the entire second half of the poem describes the second coming of Christ. However, this is slightly different from the description in the title in A9. The first half of the poem, describing the first coming, does indeed focus on the public preaching, in accordance with the title, but the second half ignores the reign of Antichrist, mentioned in A9, and only describes the actual second coming, which puts an end to that reign.

Given the great complexity of *carmen 22*, it is not surprising that the commentary is somewhat long and rather dense. The first paragraph explains the monogram. Hrabanus first explains “notae sententiarum” in general and their origin among the Greeks. This monogram has been taken up by Christians with more dignity to express the name of Christ, made up of the first two letters of His name. In the second paragraph, he enters into the two numbers, that of the length of Christ’s preaching and that of the time of Antichrist’s rule. The letter “P” of the monogram contains the number 1260, which represents the three and a half years of Christ’s preaching. Three and a half years make up forty-two months of thirty days each, giving one thousand two-hundred sixty days. The number 1260 also appears in the Apocalypse as the number of days the holy city will be trampled by the nations and the woman will flee from the dragon to the desert. So it mystically represents the entire time of Christianity, which is either rejoicing in its pilgrimage in the present desert or suffering persecution from infidels and false brethren. Meanwhile, the letter X contains the number 1335, which Daniel predicts to be the time from the beginning of Antichrist’s reign to the second coming. Hrabanus quotes Jerome’s comment on this prophecy: the death of Antichrist will be at 1290 days, which corresponds to the three and a half years of Christ’s preaching (Jerome calculates to be three and a half years as 1290, instead of 1260, in a discrepancy which Hrabanus ignores) and then there will be an additional forty-five days before Christ returns. The meaning of this 45 days of silence is reserved, according to Jerome, to the divine wisdom.

The second half of the commentary is given to explaining the figure-text. The figures in the “P” are as follows: O CHP, IH CYC, ΑΛΗΘΙΑ. Hrabanus gives the Latin versions of these Greek names and explains that although the latter two names are



spelled out in full, the first name is abbreviated according to the Greek fashion and represents O C[OT]HP. The numerical values of these letters add up to 1255. Hrabanus divides the “P” letter itself into a “Δ” and a “I,” worth 4 and 1 respectively (though in Greek and Roman numeral systems, respectively), which makes the 5 needed to reach 1260. In a similar way, the figures of the “X” are ΘC, XPC, and IHC, which are abbreviations for Θ[EO]C, XP[HCTY]C, IHC[YC]. Their numerical values add up to 1327, and Hrabanus takes the H which stands in the center of the “X” (although it is *not* read in the “X” in the figure-text) and adds its numerical value of 8 to reach 1335. Hrabanus’ treatment here of the two pattern-figures is inconsistent. He cuts the “P” into two halves and then uses their numerical values to reach his desired total of 1260, but he ignores the numerical value of the “X” when calculating 1335.

The interwoven texts follow the division of the monogram into “P” and “X” and the further division in the numerological plane of the “P” into two halves. The upper half of the “P,” which consists of the figures O CHP IHCYC and counts as a “Δ” in the numerology, i.e. 4, contains the following verse: “NAM ALMA DECET RADIANT SCRIPTA HINC QVOD NOMINE CRISTI.”<sup>718</sup> The lower half of the “P,” consisting of the figures AΛHΘIA and counting as a “I” in the numerology, i.e. 1, contains the verse, “SANCTA SALVTARIS LAVDAT HAEC SCRIPTIO CHRISTVM.”<sup>719</sup> The “X” figure has the verse, “CHRISTVS HOMO EST PLACIDVS NEMPE ARBITER HIC QVOQVE MVNDI EST,”<sup>720</sup> written into its constitutive figures ΘC, XPC, and IHC.

The field of the figure-text consists entirely of epithets of Christ. Hrabanus translates those of the “P” pattern-figure, O C[OT]HP, IHCYC, AΛHΘIA into Latin, “... tria uidelicet nomina Christi, quae latine interpretantur, Salutaris, Saluator, Veritas,” but does not feel any need to do so for those of the “X” pattern-figure, Θ[EO]C, XP [HCTY]C, IHC[YC]. Both lists contain the name Jesus. The pattern-text, of course, contains only the XP monogram, of which the “X” pattern-figure also forms the usual cross shape which unites all the *carmina* of the *In honorem*.

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<sup>718</sup> C22, 81.

<sup>719</sup> C22, 85.

<sup>720</sup> C22, 89.

### 3.2.22.1.3. Cognitive Elements

The multiple levels of text in *carmen 22* make it the most complicated of the carmina. The interwoven texts constitute figures, which constitute the figure-text, which constitute the pattern, which constitutes the pattern-text. In addition, the figures are read on two levels, since they are both letters and numbers.

The numerology imposes a division on the pattern level which is then respected by the interwoven verses. In the Vatican manuscript, the division of the pattern into two figures is reflected by the differing appearance of the figures which constitute these two pattern-figures.

Concerning the pattern-text, Hrabanus makes a brief mention of the history of these kinds of symbols. The numerology used in this *carmen* is derived from Biblical prophecy and interpreted by Patristic quotations. The interwoven verses refer to the role of the Scripture in establishing the theme of the *carmen*.

### 3.2.22.2. Content

#### 3.2.22.2.1. The Double Sense of the Numbers 1260 and 1335

The two elements of the XP monogram express the numbers 1260 and 1335, with the P indicating the former and the X indicating the latter. Throughout the *carmen*, there is an ambiguity in the meaning of the two numbers which constitute its theme, an ambiguity which is greater with respect to the number 1335 than the number 1260. This ambiguity can be captured by comparing two positions in which Hrabanus summarizes the themes of the *carmen*.

In the title (quoted above in section 2), Hrabanus refers twice to *tempus*. Half of the figure symbolizes the *tempus praedicationis ipsius* [i.e. Christi] and the other half symbolizes the *tempus ante iudicium eius* [i.e. Christi] *futurum in quo Antichristus regnaturus*. The two halves, then, express very specifically the two periods of time during which Christ taught publicly and during which Antichrist will rule publicly. The

contrast is between two periods of public activity by the two dominant figures of history and eschatology, Christ and Antichrist.

Likewise, in the commentary Hrabanus speaks of two time periods:

... notatur enim in ipsa illa numerus dierum, quo praedicasse mundo Christus creditur, et ille qui ante aduentum eius secundum, ab Antichristi temporibus usque in finem mundi futurus,<sup>721</sup>

Here he speaks very distinctly of two numbers of days (*numerus dierum*), that is, the time during which Christ is believed to have preached and the time *before* the second coming, from the beginning of Antichrist's reign to the end of time.

However, in the basis poem, Hrabanus indicates that the figure represents the two comings of Christ, *utrumque / Aduentum*:

Iste quidem numerus sanantis signat utrumque  
Aduentum Domini, hinc arcebat quando tyrannum,  
Quando uir hic factus tanta bona reddit orbi,  
Postque suum cunctis baptismum proba edidit ore;  
Huc summo est quando saluans Patre iustus iturus  
Iudex et homo.<sup>722</sup>

The contrast here is between the first coming of Christ, in humility, and His second coming in glory. Notice, however, that the first coming is not presented here as Christ's entire earthly life from Incarnation to Ascension; on the contrary, after a brief referal to the Incarnation, *uir hic factus*, the poem focuses on the period after His baptism, *postque suum ... baptismum*, and emphasizes his preaching: *cunctis ... proba edidit ore*. Through this choice Hrabanus reduces the tension between the idea of the period of public preaching expressed in the title and the idea of the first coming here in the poem. However, an important tension remains between the period of Antichrist's rule and the second coming which is to end it.

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<sup>721</sup> C22, 10-13.

<sup>722</sup> B22, 17-22.

The Scriptural prophecies obviously play a vital role in determining the theme of this *carmen*. While it is normal throughout the *In honorem* to find Scriptural citations and interpretations in the commentary, there are unusual number of references to Scripture in the basis poem. In verse 26-27 the Apocalypse is mentioned as the *scripta serena / Apocalypsis*. Hrabanus prays in verse 31 that the Scriptures aid us to please God and obtain salvation: “Quod iuuet iis nos scriptio.”<sup>723</sup> Two of the interwoven verses, those which appear within the “P” pattern-figure, also speak of the Holy Scriptures. They call the Scriptures *alma scripta* and *sancta salutaris scriptio*. The Scriptures, of course, are the records of the life and the teaching of Christ during his first coming; so it is no coincidence that the interwoven verses dedicated to them appear in the “P” pattern-figure which deals with the public teaching of Christ during his first coming.

### 3.2.22.2. Christ’s First Coming in His Public Teaching

Throughout the basis poem, Hrabanus maintains this interpretation of Christ’s first coming as primarily consisting of his public teaching. Christ’s activity in His earthly life is presented as granting gifts to the faithful by teaching them.

Qui bona cuncta probans ope, tanta et talia rite  
 Dona suis famulis largitur, ad istaque cunctos  
 Hortatur miserans, ....<sup>724</sup>

Here almost at the opening of the poem Hrabanus speaks of Christ granting gifts to the faithful, but he does this by approving of things (*probans*) and exhorting them (*hortatur*). Christ encourages the faithful to hope by showing them the path to Heaven:

Iam posse impetrare poli sceptrā, altaque regna,  
 Si spes, firma fides summi, et cupit hic ea sancte  
 Castus amor, nec amat memorans haec perditus orsa.<sup>725</sup>

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<sup>723</sup> B22, 31.

<sup>724</sup> B22, 3-5.

<sup>725</sup> B22, 6-8.

That is, by maintaining the celestial gifts of faith, hope and charity and rejecting the love of worldly things.

This theme of Christ's gifts through his preaching continues in the next verses

Dona quidem haec ueniens huc orbem lite iucunda  
Sparserat in mundo anteriore ualentia fructu.  
Quo docuit mundum, dedicans ne in deteriora hic  
Praeceptis mallet abire loca, dans iura magister  
Nosscere Euangelii et durum mansuescere morem,<sup>726</sup>

Christ coming into the world scattered gifts, by teaching (*docuit*) and by granting as an teacher (*dans ... magister*) to know the Gospel (*iura ... Euangelii*) and to soften harsh customs.

The same idea continues in verses 19-20, quoted above in section 1, where Christ granted such great goods to the world (*tanta bona reddit orbi*), by giving forth upright things in speech (*proba edidit ore*).

Hrabanus explains in the commentary the association between the number 1260 and the time of Christ's public preaching. The number derives from the prophet Daniel as interpreted by the Fathers of the Church: "secundum Danielis prophetiam ab orthodoxis Ecclesiae magistris expositus est."<sup>727</sup> The primary meaning of the number is the period of Christ's preaching. However, Hrabanus remarks upon two other appearances of the number 1260 in the Scriptures. In *Apocalypse* 11:2-3, it is prophesied that the holy city would be given to be trampled underfoot by the nations for forty-two months but that two witnesses would prophecy for twelve hundred sixty days, while at verse 12:6, it says that the woman would remain twelve hundred sixty days in the desert in flight from the dragon. Hrabanus therefore has excellent Scriptural authority for his interpretation at line 18-19 of the commentary of 1260 as 30 days x 42 months. He takes these further Scriptural appearances in the *Apocalypse* and applies these incidents to the life of the Church.

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<sup>726</sup> B22, 9-13.

<sup>727</sup> C22, 13-14.

... qui numerus mystice omnia Christianitatis tempora complectitur, ut Patrum firma habet traditio, quia Christus cuius haec corpus est tantum in carne temporis praedicauerit, quo siue sub spe aeternorum peregrinatione praesentis heremi gaudet, seu persecutionis molestiam ab infidelibus uel a falsis fratribus patitur.<sup>728</sup>

Thus, the two incidents of Apocalypse are types of the two conditions of Christ's Church on earth. Either the Church is rejoicing with the woman while on pilgrimage through the desert of this world, or else suffering through the persecution of infidels or false brethren like the holy city trampled underfoot. In this way Hrabanus connects the period of Christ's preaching with the preaching activity of Christ's Body, the Church, which will last until the reign of Antichrist. This *carmen*, then, covers all history from Christ's baptism until the end of time.

Hrabanus adds another level of meaning to the connection between the "P" pattern-figure of the monogram and the first coming of Christ. The "P" is made up of fifteen figures which spell out three names. These names, *Soter*, *Jesus*, and *Alethia*, all have to do with Christ's mission during his first coming. The purpose of his Incarnation was to rescue the sons of Adam, doomed to perdition, and this is the meaning of the first two names. The third name, although an epithet which Christ applies to himself during his earthly life, also specially concerns Christ's preaching activity, teaching his followers the truth they need to set them free. In this way the numerological meaning of the figures, which add up to 1260, the number of Christ's first coming and public ministry, and the textual meaning of the figures, spelling out names which relate to this coming and ministry, are interwoven.

### **3.2.22.2.3. The Rule of Antichrist and Christ's Second Coming**

The number 1335, which is indicated on the numerological plane by the figures constituting the X of the monogram, indicates both the period of the rule of Antichrist, predicted by Daniel, and Christ's second coming, the end of that period.

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<sup>728</sup> C22, 23-28.

The second half of the basis poem, the section within which the X pattern-figure is interwoven, is concerned with this second aspect of the number 1335. We have quoted above in section 1 the transition in the middle of the poem, where Hrabanus informs his readers that the XP monogram indicates both the first and second comings. The poem continues with descriptions of the trumpet of the Last Judgment, when the saints will rise and see the holy face of Christ.

... Salpax istum proemia sancta hinc  
Fert prius his alto dare, et usque uidere superni  
Nempe sacram faciem; ...<sup>729</sup>

The saints in Heaven will sing “Alleluia,” the *carmen angelicum*,<sup>730</sup> as the *Apocalypse* describes, which Hrabanus cites by name in the basis poem.

[cantica] Quae cantare solet sors alma, ut scripta serena  
Apocalypsis habent, dilucida ibi agmina ferre:  
Gloria, uirtus, excelso omne die atque per aeuum,  
Alleluia sonat;<sup>731</sup>

The saints will be snatched up into Heaven and as the good wheat brought into safety in the celestial barns while the enemies of Christ, the tares who gave scandal, are burnt.

... seruorum hinc et rapit almi  
Turba nihil perdens ac scandala in abmouet ira  
Deutos famulos frumenta ut mittat in horreum.<sup>732</sup>

The basis poem closes with a description of the eternal joys of Heaven, where the saints will sing the praises of Christ mixed among the angelic choirs.

The commentary, meanwhile, focuses on Antichrist’s reign. Hrabanus links the X pattern-figure to the number 1335, again based on the prophecies of Daniel.

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<sup>729</sup> B22, 22-24.

<sup>730</sup> As Hrabanus calls it in D22, 39.

<sup>731</sup> B22, 26-29.

<sup>732</sup> B22, 32-34.

X itaque littera illum numerum continet, quem Danielis prophetia praedixit in Antichristi tempore futurum, id est, mille .CCC.XXXV. dies. Ita enim ibi scriptum est: *Et beatus est qui exspectat et peruenit usque ad dies mille .CCC.XXXV.*<sup>733</sup>

Thus, 1335 days is the time which the saints must suffer and wait during the reign of Antichrist.

Here Hrabanus puts one of his rare direct quotations of a Church Father, citing Jerome's *De Antichristo in Daniel*, who places the death of Antichrist after twelve-hundred and ninety days. Jerome does not attempt to explain the discrepancy with Daniel's thirteen hundred thirty-five days.

... quare autem, post interfectionem Antichristi, .XLV. dierum silentium sit, diuinae scientiae est, nisi forte dicamus: Dilatio regni sanctorum probatio est patientiae".<sup>734</sup>

In a similar way, Hrabanus does not attempt to explain the discrepancy in calculation between himself and Jerome, who here calls 1290 days three and a half years, whereas Hrabanus had, based on Apocalypse 11:2-3, considered three and a half years to be 1260 days.

Just as in section 2 we saw how the figure-text of the P pattern-figure also related to the first coming, here in the figures of the X pattern-figure we can read assertions of Christ's divinity, appropriate to his second coming in glory. The first name is *Jesus*, connecting the awesome figure on the throne of glory with the humble man of Nazareth, but the other names *Christus* and *Theos* are part of his glory: the first reveals him as the Messiah of Jewish expectation and the second asserts the greatest Christian mystery, His true nature as God, which will become obvious to all at the second coming.

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<sup>733</sup> C22, 29-32. The citation is *Daniel* 12:12.

<sup>734</sup> C22, 37-39.



#### 3.2.22.2.4. Merit and Salvation

In this *carmen* which speaks of both Christ's teaching during his earthly life and the salvation of the saints in the final rapture, there are several asides which indicate Hrabanus' belief in the possibility of merit. Christians are able to progress towards Heaven by practicing faith, hope and charity (B22, B22, 7-8), reforming their savage habits (*dirum manescere morem*, B22, 13), etc.; when Christ comes again he will grant to the just according to their rightful merits.

Auctor ab aetherei iustis dare proemia Patris,  
Dextra tunc meritis capiat bona munera dignis.<sup>735</sup>

These asides are not confined to *carmen 22*, occurring in multiple other locations in the *In honorem*. However, Hrabanus is no Pelagian and elsewhere (such as in *carmen 2*) emphasizes that Christians are only able to acquire merit because the sacrifice of Christ on the cross enables them to do so.

Hrabanus' prayer which opens this *carmen* should be placed within this context.

Christus, amor, uotum, mihi qui pia munera dat haec,  
Carminis hic pretium, hic uia, portio fida quietis;

Here he expresses his own longing for redemption and his hope that the pious act of composing the *In honorem* will be for him a way and a secure inheritance of eternal rest.

#### 3.2.22.3. Sources

##### 3.2.22.3.1. Bede, *Explanatio Apocalypsis*

It seems that Hrabanus takes his figure of 1260 days for the length of Christ's preaching from Bede's *Explanatio Apocalypsis*, 2, 12, 6, "isto dierum numero, qui tres semis annos facit, omnia Christianitatis tempora complectitur, quia Christus,

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<sup>735</sup> B22, 15-16.

cuius haec corpus est, tantum in carne temporis praedicaverit,”<sup>736</sup> which is commenting on *Apocalypse* 12:6. Bede’s words are at the base of Hrabanus’ in C22, 23-25, but Hrabanus interjects the adjective *mystice* and a comment asserting that this is based on the *firma Patrum traditio*.

### **3.2.22.3.2. Jerome, *De antichristo in Daniel***

In the second part of his commentary, explaining the number 1335, Hrabanus explicitly quotes Jerome’s commentary, *De antichristo in Daniel*, 4, 12, 12. Once again we see Hrabanus naming his sources when it comes to giving the mystical interpretation of a specific number.

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<sup>736</sup> Bede, *Explanatio Apocalypsis*, 2, 12, 6, PL 93, 167A-B.

### 3.2.23. *Carmen* 23

#### 3.2.23.1. Form

##### 3.2.23.1.1. Visual Elements

The field is a 37 x 37 square. Within this field, a line figure a single letter thick stretches along the middle verse and the mesostich, forming a cross, but not reaching the edges; it is only 25 letters by 25 letters. The cross is continued to the edge of the field by four dispersed triangles made up of six bivalent letters each, gradually spreading out from the axes on every other row or column. The figures as a whole make a centered, radially symmetrical pattern which reaches to the very edges of the field. The letter at the center of the cross is “S,” and it is easy to make out the interwoven names IESUS, on the horizontal bar, and CRISTUS, on the vertical bars, crossing at this letter.

##### 3.2.23.1.2. Textual Elements

The titles of the *carmen*, which are short and straight-forward, inform us that the theme is the number 24. They read, “XXIII. De numero vicenario et quaternario et eius sacramento,”<sup>737</sup> in A9 and, “DE VICESIMA TERTIA FIGVRA, IN QVA VICENARIVS ET QVATERNARIVS NVMERVS ADNOTATVS EST”<sup>738</sup> in the book of prose translations. Aside from the common mention of a word indicating the number’s hidden numerological meaning, in this case *sacramento*, we have nothing besides the number itself.

The basis poem opens with a description (signaled by *ecce* in verse 1) of the visual field. Hrabanus describes the figures here as a *nobilis flos*. At verse 4, he introduces the theme of 24, which is analyzed as 4 times 6, in accordance with the suggestion of the figures. This number indicates the perfect honor in all things, since creation and redemption both took place on the sixth day. A section follows which describes how the number 6, as the first perfect number, rules over all the divisions

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<sup>737</sup> A9, 55.

<sup>738</sup> D23, 1-2.

of time, whether hours, days, months, years, leap days, or ages of the world (v. 11-18). Hrabanus then shows how 24 indicates the concourse of all the faithful coming to the cross, since it combines the perfect 6 with the four corners of the world (v. 19-25). The final section of the poem is marked by numerous repetitions of the word *perfectus/-a/-um*: the peoples of the world learn the perfect honor of Christ by perfect doctrine and follow Him in perfect faith. God made all things perfect and they reveal their Creator to be perfect. Therefore all creation, including men, rightly salute and praise the cross.

The commentary opens by describing the cross of Christ as the completion of the works of God. It is the consummation of all things, as Jesus himself said on the cross. The redemption also completes the angels by filling their number. The commentary then enters into the theme of the number 24, analyzing it as 4 x 6, in accordance with the figures. 24 is the number of hours in a day and canonical books of the Scriptures according to the Jews. David divided the Levites into twenty-four groups and the priests attend the Temple in twenty-four turns. This was done so that the Aaronic priesthood would foreshadow the priesthood of Christ, priest according to order of Melchisedech, whose sacrifice expiated the sins of the whole world. Moving on to the New Testament, there are twenty-four Elders surrounding the throne, which indicates the Church, founded by the double Testament of patriarchs and Apostles.

The second half of the commentary is a series of Biblical citations which turn on the theme of Jesus's power, which has been given to him after his humble suffering on the cross. Hrabanus connects *John* 12:32, "Et ego si exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia traham ad me ipsum," with *Matthew* 28:18, "Data est mihi omnis potestas in caelo et in terra," as a prediction of Christ's power and its fulfillment. He cites Paul's letter to the Philippians, "Christus factus est pro nobis oboediens Patri usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis, propter quod et Deus exaltauit illum, et dedit illi nomen quod est super omne nomen, ut in nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur, caelestium, terrestrium et infernorum, et omnis lingua confiteatur quia Dominus Iesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris," (*Phil.* 2:8-11) in which the Apostle connects Christ's humility unto death with his subsequent power – the name above every name. Hrabanus

assimilates the preaching of the Apostles spreading the Gospel everywhere to the thunders and voices coming from the throne in the *Apocalypse*, and cites Peter's speech to in *Acts* 4:10-12, in which he explains to the Jewish leaders that Christ is the stone that the builders rejected, which has become the cornerstone – another passage from the humility of rejection to the central and essential role, structuring all that follows – and that there is no other name in which we can be saved. In the cross alone, therefore, we should glory, as Paul wrote to the Corinthians (*1 Cor.* 2:2) and Galatians (*Gal.* 6:14).

The interwoven verses mirror the composition of the figures. There is one verse each across the horizontal and down the vertical axes of the cross pattern, but Hrabanus separates the first and last word of each verse into the triangular figures, which he here identifies as the petals of the cross-flower. Thus, each interwoven verse begins and ends with a word of six letters, and these words are all nominative epithets of Christ. The vertical verse runs, "FORTIS CONPLEVIT CHRISTVS SVA FAMINA VIRTVS,"<sup>739</sup> and the horizontal one, "VICTOR CONSIGNANS IESVS PIA PROEMIA CLARVS,"<sup>740</sup> thus showing Christ as the *fortis uirtus* and the *uictor clarus*.

### 3.2.23.1.3. Cognitive Elements

On the pattern level, the cross and attached petals are so close together than they might be thought of as a single figure, but Hrabanus works against this impression on every other level. On the figure level, he distinguishes them by using different color contrasts; on the interwoven text level, he carefully arranges the verses so that the six-letter words in the leaves are distinct from the rest of the sentence, and he speaks of them in the commentary as "in modum foliorum,"<sup>741</sup> distinguishing them by name. Given this clear will on the author's part to set them apart, they should be so considered.

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<sup>739</sup> C23, 68.

<sup>740</sup> C23, 70.

<sup>741</sup> C23, 60-61.

On the numerological level, the number 24 is divided in different ways. A number of the Old Testament appearances present twenty-four units of some kind, whether books of the Scripture, groups of Levites or priests, as does the phenomenon of the twenty-four hours in a day. In one case, 24 is presented as two 12s, when speaking of the patriarchs and Apostles. Mostly, 24 is considered both on the visual plane and in the commentary as 4 x 6. In no case does Hrabanus consider it as 8 x 3.

### 3.2.23.2. Content

#### 3.2.23.2.1. Number 24 – Time, Space, Priesthood

The dominant theme of the *carmen* is of course the number 24, as stated in the titles. Hrabanus sees the mystical meaning of the number 24 as the union of the number 6, the first perfect number, which expresses the perfection of Creation and Redemption, with the universal spatial extent of the number 4, indicative of the four corners of the earth. The combination is expressed immediately at the beginning of the poem, in verse 4: “Quae numerant sex insigni quater arte monades.”<sup>742</sup> while the idea of four representing the four corners of the earth is found in verse 11: “Quattuor ergo plagas laudat senarius orbis.”<sup>743</sup> Just as four represents the entirety of space, so the number six represents the entirety of time, as the number rules over the divisions of time; as Hrabanus says in prose, the number six, “ordinat aetates mundi.”<sup>744</sup> The special relation of 6 to the divisions of time is expressed as follows:

Sex micat in numeris, perfectus primus et ipse est,  
Diuidit ipse diem totum, constringit et ipse  
Anni mensisque bissextilis atque quadrantis  
Hic numerator adest, attollens tempora nutu;  
Saecula fine capit, et claudit limite mundum.<sup>745</sup>

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<sup>742</sup> B23, 4.

<sup>743</sup> B23, 11.

<sup>744</sup> D23, 23-24.

<sup>745</sup> B23, 12-16.

The last line refers to the belief that the world will last through six thousand years before the reign of Antichrist and return of Christ, the seventh and eighth ages respectively.

The number 24 is interpreted according to a variety of sources, from the natural world through the Old Testament to the Apocalypse. The hours of the day equal 24 according to the circuits of the fixed stars:

... quo numero horarum caelestis sphaerae ambitus circumfertur, et naturalis diei cursus indicio siderum circumeuntium deprehenditur; ...<sup>746</sup>

Three references to 24s which appear in the Old Testament follow this passage immediately. There are twenty-four books of the Scripture according to the Jews: here Hrabanus, unusually, takes Jewish practice or learning as the basis for his interpretations. The divisions of the Levites into twenty-four groups by David and the service of God by the sons of Aaron in twenty-four groups both point forward to the priesthood of Christ, a point which Hrabanus emphasizes without explaining. Perhaps the connection with the number 24 is that the priesthood of Christ applies through time, represented by the number 6, according to which the divisions into hours, days, months and years are made, and space, represented by the number 4, according to which space is divided.

Meanwhile, the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse indicate the Church, founded on both patriarchs and Apostles. Hrabanus explains that their dignity is due to their role as judges of the nations.

... Ecclesiam uidelicet designantes per geminum testamentum de patriarchis et apostolis generatam, quae ob iudiciariam eius in Christo dignitatem in circuitu illius sedisse cernitur.<sup>747</sup>

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<sup>746</sup> C23, 10-12.

<sup>747</sup> C23, 26-29.

The Church, of course, embraces all nations, and Hrabanus points out in the basis poem that people of all nations come from all corners of the world to worship the cross of Christ.

Ergo plagis orbis consignat ab omnibus ast hic  
Adpositus numerus en undique pergere plebes  
Ad crucis auxilium, pia numina poscere Iesus;<sup>748</sup>

Thus, the number 24 also represents the peoples streaming from all four corners of the world to the perfection (perfection = 6) of the cross and be included in the Church founded on the twenty-four Elders.

### 3.2.23.2.2. Creation and Redemption

An important idea in *carmen* 23 is the analogy between Creation and Redemption. It is worth following the opening of the treatment of the theme in the basis poem in detail. This section of the basis poem begins by pointing out that the figures count six units four times, which show that perfect glory is in all things, which the Omnipotent made and redeemed. Both days are glorious, the day on which the Creation was completed and the day of the Redemption – the Crucifixion.

Quae numerant sex insigni quater arte monades  
Perfectumque decus ostendunt rebus inesse  
Omnibus, omnipotens quas condidit atque redemit.  
Clara dies illa est, qua conditor omnia finxit,  
Non minus haec lucet doctor qua cuncta beaut.<sup>749</sup>

In the prose translation, Hrabanus specifies that a sign of the perfection of these two glorious days is the fact that both took place on the sixth day of the week.

Senarius ergo numerus, quem per singula cornua terno uersu dispositum sancta crux notat, perfectionem passionis Christi nostraeque redemptionis designat; quia sicut in senario numero mundi creatura perfecta significatur,

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<sup>748</sup> B23, 23-25.

<sup>749</sup> B23, 4-8.



ita et senario numero per Christum, qui in sexta feria crucifixus est, mundi reparatio perfecta insinuat.<sup>750</sup>

All things were good when God created them and the pious and charitable one (i.e. Christ) blessed all things when he redeemed them, Hrabanus adds. Later in the poem, after invoking the nations streaming to the cross from all four corners of the earth, Hrabanus describes a part of their perfect dogma and perfect faith:

Omnia nempe Deum uerum haec testantur ubique  
Perfectum perfecta quidem, formosa decorum.<sup>751</sup>

Because God created all things perfect, their perfection shows his own. As Hrabanus translates this into prose:

Omnia quidem opera Dei perfecta perfectum insinuant creatorem,  
proprioque decore eius decorem inaeuabilem testantur.<sup>752</sup>

He goes into more detail on the relationship between the perfection of the number 6, the perfection of Creation and the perfection of Redemption in the commentary. The number 6, shown in the four arms of the cross, shows the perfection of God's work; because the Creator of things indicated the consummation of his work on the cross.

Ecce crucis Domini quattuor cornua senarius numerus decenter concludit,  
et totam perfectionem perpetrati operis ostendit: quia in ipsa rerum conditor  
consummationis suae fecit indicium, cum, accepto poculo, *Consummatum est*, dixit.<sup>753</sup>

The long section of Scriptural citations which closes the commentary does not seem to directly relate to the theme of the carmen. Perhaps a relationship is implied here. Christ, though participating in the perfect Creation of all things in the beginning as the right hand of God, consummated all things through the perfect Redemption. The perfect redemption required the humiliation and suffering of death on the cross, so

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<sup>750</sup> D23, 7-12.

<sup>751</sup> B23, 28-29.

<sup>752</sup> D23, 36-38.

<sup>753</sup> C23, 1-4.

Christ's full power and majesty and the only name through which men are saved were given to him afterwards.

Because of this perfection of redemption, which was offered through all space and time and for all men, it is right for all creation to celebrate the cross. This is the message of the last few lines of the basis poem.

Qui bene nos fecit, quique auxit, quique redemit,  
Carmine et in celebri crebros cantemus amores,  
Quos satis ipse opere sacro et tutamine nobis  
Iam inpendit, suasit, iussit, ostendit, amavit.<sup>754</sup>

This is, of course, the purpose of the *In honorem* to which Hrabanus has dedicated so much time and ingenuity.

### 3.2.23.2.3. Cross as Flower

Throughout the *carmen*, from the opening line of the basis poem, Hrabanus describes the cross as a flower.

Nobilis ecce micat flos regis nomine pictus,  
Atque notis signant uictoris facta potentis  
Cornua laeta crucis, ...<sup>755</sup>

In the commentary, Hrabanus goes so far as to identify the way in which the triangular figures extend from the *flos nobilis* of the cross as the same way that petals extend from a lily: “[.IIII. nomina] quae sancta crux in modum foliorum repandi lillii per cornua dilatat, ...”<sup>756</sup>

The name Jesus Christ is painted (*pictus* – D23, 2) within this lily flower, at the very center, with the interwoven name IESUS, indicative of Jesus' human nature, spreading out horizontally, in the direction of love of neighbor, and CRISTUS,

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<sup>754</sup> B23, 34-37.

<sup>755</sup> B23, 1-3.

<sup>756</sup> C23, 60-61.

indicative of his status as Messiah and his divine nature, spreading out vertically, in the direction of love of God (as explained in *carmen* 16).

The petals of this lily contain “.III. nomina caelestis triumphatoris.”<sup>757</sup> Each petal contains one six-letter epithet, with one noun and one adjective in each axis. Vertically Christ is described as *fortis virtus* and horizontally as *uictor clarus*. Hrabanus puts special emphasis on these epithets to be sure the reader recognizes the distinction between the petals and the cross figure. They all deal with Christ as victor, as the strong one who defeats the devil. Within the actual content of the interwoven verses within the cross, a gentler note prevails, with Hrabanus emphasizing that Christ fulfills his promises and offers pious rewards. Thus, while evoking the beauty of the lily flower on the visual level, as interpreted in the commentary, which reflects the perfection of all creation, Hrabanus offers a sense of triumph at the redemption effected by Christ on the cross which offers hope to all men, some of whom stream from all four corners of the earth through all the revolutions of time to stand before the cross.

### **3.2.23.3. Sources**

#### **3.2.23.3.1. Bede, *Explanatio Apocalypsis* and *De Templo***

Hrabanus describes the twenty-four elders as designating the church, “per geminum testamentum de patriarchis et apostolis generatam, quae ob iudiciariam eius in Christo dignitatem in circuitu illius sedisse cernitur.”<sup>758</sup> The heart of this description is taken from Bede’s commentary on the *Apocalypse*.<sup>759</sup> It is interesting to note Hrabanus’ independence as well as his sources : although Bede, in the same paragraph as the sentence which Hrabanus uses, offers a numerological explanation of 24 as the perfection of 6 multiplied by 4 of the Gospels, Hrabanus passes over this in silence and does not include it anywhere in *carmen* 23.

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<sup>757</sup> C23, 59-60.

<sup>758</sup> C23, 27-29.

<sup>759</sup> Bede, *Explanatio Apocalypsis*, 1, 4, 4, PL 93,143B.

It is likely that Bede also influenced the description at C23, 61 of the cross figure of the carmen as “in modum foliorum repandi lili.” The expression “folium repandi lili” occurs in *3 Kings* 7:26 and is cited in Bede’s description of the temple.<sup>760</sup> Bede also suggests that the unfolded lily here might be a symbol of Christ himself. Bede compares the closed lily to Christ before his Passion and his glory, shining with miracles to the open lily. If this connection is right, then once again Hrabanus alters his source to match the context of the *In honorem*: now it is not the miracles of the Christ after the Resurrection which is the opened lily, but the cross itself.

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<sup>760</sup> Bede, *De Templo*, PL 91, 789C-D.

### 3.2.24. *Carmen* 24

#### 3.2.24.1. Form

##### 3.2.24.1.1. Visual Elements

The field is a 37 x 37 square.

Close to the center but not touching are four solid figures which radiate outwards from the center. They begin with a single bivalent letter enclosed in a square, continue with a triangle which expands from one to four letters, and finish with a 5 x 5 square. All the bivalent letters in each figure are joined together into single unit. The outline of the triangle meets the initial square slightly inwards from the corners, which sets that initial letter apart as slightly extraneous to the whole, an intentional effect which Hrabanus comments on as well, as we shall see. In *V*, the figures have a silver background and dark red letters, with a black outline separating them from the monovalent areas, while in the other manuscripts the figures are yellow with red letters.

The figures are separated from the edges by six rows or columns, and a 5 x 5 square of text is left monovalent in the center.

##### 3.2.24.1.2. Textual Elements

*Carmen* 24 is another of the *carmina* on a numerological theme, as the titles make clear. The first title reads, “XXIII. De numero centenario et quadragenario atque quaternario eiusque significatione,”<sup>761</sup> while the second runs, “DE VICESIMA QVARTA SPECIE, VBI CENTENARIVS, QVADRAGENARIVS ET QVATERNARIVS NVMERVS 〈POSITVS〉 EST.”<sup>762</sup> We see here the usual format for titles of numerological *carmina*, where both A and D give the number in question and A mentions something about its mystical significance.

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<sup>761</sup> A9, 56-57.

<sup>762</sup> D24, 1-2.

The basis poem opens with an exhortation to the *plebs ... dilecta Deo*, the holy order of virgins, to sing their inimitable song. It continues to address them while describing them: you are the first-fruits of Christ, you sing from heaven to the earth-born like the sounds of thunder or the voices of many waters. No lie was found in your mouths nor trickery in your heart, so you sing worthy praises before the throne of God day and night, as a sign of your chastity of body and soul. Your leader and creator gave you this grace. At verse 21, Hrabanus repeats his exhortation to pray to the order, who are of both sexes and all ages, who never were defiled by congress with women. They go directly to Heaven, where the Lamb leads them to flowering fields and grants them a stole. Yet another exhortation begins at verse 32, asking the virgins to pray for us, so that we may join them in Heaven and hear their song, even if we cannot sing it.

The commentary opens by explaining how the theme, the number 144, appears in the figures: the four pentagons contain 144 letters. This is the number, multiplied by a thousand, of two groups mentioned in the *Apocalypse*: those marked with a sign and those clad in white, the virgins. The first half of the commentary considers those marked with a sign. They represent the innumerable multitude of the Church, since anyone who believes in Christ is a child of Abraham. Hrabanus then cites *Ezechiel* 9:3-6, where the prophet describes how those in Jerusalem who lament the abominations done there are marked with a Tau and then spared by the avenging angel. Hrabanus explains that the unjust are killed by the sword of infidelity but the just are freed by Christ, because they kept the faith which they received in baptism. He remarks that the number 144,000 is put to indicate an infinite multitude of those who loved God with whole mind and heart and preserved integrity of the body.

Introducing the second half of the commentary, he re-analyzes 144 as a series of multiplications. First  $3 \times 3$  makes 9, and  $4 \times 4$  makes 16, but  $9 \times 16$  makes 144. This indicates that the other members of the Church should not doubt that the perfect multitude of virgins are rightly seated on mount Zion with the Lamb. These virgins will sing a new song, who no one else can sing. The other elect can hear the song but not sing it. Hrabanus gives a number of Scriptural citations to illustrate that the old song concerned the blessing of fertility, while the new song is in praise of the

paradoxical fertility of sterility. The virgins have the name of the Father on their foreheads, because the church paints the forehead with the cross and the faithful sign it with their hands.

In the last section of the commentary, Hrabanus explains the figures. Each pentagon has thirty-six letters, but thirty-five letters make up the pentagons while one extra letter is added. The pentagons show that the cross – the pattern of the figures – fulfills both the Gospel – the four figures – and the Law – the five sides per figure. Meanwhile the letters within the extra units spell out the name of the cross.

Each pentagon contains its own interwoven verse, creating visual-textual units, but these units do not seem to be subdivisions of the theme. However, the interwoven verses are not separate but together form a single poem, perhaps to express the ineffable harmony of the song of the virgins. The verses begin in the upper pentagon with, “INMACVLATA COHORS CANTAS TV VOCIBVS ILLIC,”<sup>763</sup> continue in the lower pentagon with, “REX VBI IESVS OVAT QVO PASCIT VIRGINIS AGNVS,”<sup>764</sup> and then proceed to the right-hand pentagon, which reads, “CARMINA QVAE NVLLVS DIFFVSO FAMINE CANTAT,”<sup>765</sup> ending in the left-hand pentagon: “HIC VESTER GREX NI SOLVS ET SPLENDIDVS ORDO.”<sup>766</sup> The *illic* of the first interwoven verse points to the *ubi* of the second, while the opening word *carmina* of the third verse is the object of *cantat* in the first, and the fourth verse is a clause introduced by *ni* dependent on the *nullus* in the third verse, subject of the relative clause. The four interwoven verses together make a single poem.

### 3.2.24.1.3. Cognitive Elements

The interwoven texts show a cross-pattern in their order of reading in two separate ways. The individual letters marked off from the rest of the figures both visually and in the commentary spell out the word *crux*, if one reads top down and then right to

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<sup>763</sup> C24, 96.

<sup>764</sup> C24, 98.

<sup>765</sup> C24, 100.

<sup>766</sup> C24, 102.

left, making a cross shape. Likewise, the interwoven verses as wholes go together to form one poem, if read in the same order.

There is an ambiguity as to whether the theme of the poem is 144 and 144,000. On the visual level obviously Hrabanus cannot make a *carmen* with 144,000 bivalent letters, so he indicates the theme with 144 of them. However, the basis poem and the commentary only discuss the two groups of 144,000 mentioned in the *Apocalypse*. Numerologically, he connects the two by separating out the 1000 and analyzing it separately. Considering the 144 by itself, he analyzes it both as 12 x 12 and as (3x3) x (4x4).

### 3.2.24.2. Content

#### 3.2.24.2.1. Order of Virgins

It is clear that *carmen* 24 deals primarily with the 144,000 virgins described in the *Apocalypse*. The basis poem is addressed to them throughout and is entirely dedicated to describing them, as are the interwoven verses. About half the commentary deals with them as well.

From the *carmen* we can gather Hrabanus' ideas about this order. They occupy a special position before the throne of God, the four animals and twenty-four elders (all likewise figures from the *Apocalypse*),

... ante tribunal,  
Ante quater senos seniores, quattuor atque  
Diuersae formae ante animalia iure superna;<sup>767</sup>

In the commentary Hrabanus describes them as residing "in Sion monte cum agno..."<sup>768</sup> and cites the passage *Apocalypse* 13:3 which situates them before the throne, animals, and elders.

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<sup>767</sup> B24, 4-6.

<sup>768</sup> C24, 46-47.



Within their number they include men and women, babies and elders and the young, as Hrabanus indicates both in the basis poem:

.... pique  
Virgineo in habitu mares quoque femina, lactans  
Infans, atque anus pariter, iuuenesque senesque  
Qui non polluti estis nexu umquam mulierum hic.<sup>769</sup>

although he permits his fondness for echoing the Bible to obscure strict logical consistency when he describes these virgins, both male and female, as never having been polluted by congress with women specifically.

Their number, while stated as 144,000 in the *Apocalypse*, should not be taken literally. Hrabanus puts his reader on guard against a literal interpretation of this Biblical number: “Sed finitum tamen numerum pro infinito hic positum, quisque sanum sapiens intellegere debet...”<sup>770</sup>

This glorious order is already in Heaven, where the Lamb leads them to flowering pastures.

Quapropter iam itis ubi iustis proemia donat,  
Omnipotens pergit Iesus quo uirginis agnus,  
In pratis depascit, ouat; ...<sup>771</sup>

From a Biblical echo in the commentary, this appears to be inspired by the idea that the virgins follow the Lamb wherever he leads, “... tollentes crucem suam sequuntur agnum quocumque ierit, ...”<sup>772</sup> In any case, Hrabanus devotes one of the interwoven verses to the these flowering pastures, to which Jesus, both Lamb and Good Shepherd, leads the virgins, “REX VBI IESVS OVAT QVO PASCIT VIRGINIS AGNVS.”<sup>773</sup>

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<sup>769</sup> B24, 21-24.

<sup>770</sup> C24, 38-39.

<sup>771</sup> B24, 25-27.

<sup>772</sup> C24, 51-52.

<sup>773</sup> C24, 98.

The most important thing about the virgins, however, is their unique song. Already in the opening exhortation Hrabanus hints at the fact that no one else can sing the unique song of the virgins, which he calls, "... non aliis ... imitabile carmen."<sup>774</sup> A bit later in the basis poem he describes this song in detail.

Caelo ex terrigenis cantatis rite tropaeum.  
Citharis modulans ast uultum laude serenat  
Vestra manus, sacra uocibus atria replet ubique,  
Ce uoces tonitru fuis clamoribus aetram,  
Tamquam et multarum ualles uox replet aquarum.<sup>775</sup>

The virgins sing rightly their triumph from heaven to the earth-born, and their voices and musical instruments sound like the voices of thunder or the voice of many waters, both images from the *Apocalypse*.

In the commentary, Hrabanus explains this song. He calls it a "... quasi canticum nouum, quem nemo alius potest canere;..."<sup>776</sup> He contrasts it with the old song and cites numerous Scriptural passages to illustrate the two songs. The old song concerns fertility: Hrabanus cites *Psalms* 135:21, "Beatus qui habet semen in Sion, et domesticos in Hierusalem," and *Gen.* 1:28, "Crescite et multiplicamini et replete terram," to demonstrate the blessing that God has given on fecundity.<sup>777</sup> The new song, however, is the paradoxical blessing of sterility. Hrabanus quotes the famous passage of *Isaiah* 54:1, also cited by Paul at *Gal.* 4:27, "Laetare, sterilis, ...", along with *Isaiah* 56:3-5, "et non dicat eunuchus, Ecce ego lignum aridum ...", as well as the blessing of *Luke* 23:39, "Beatae steriles ...".<sup>778</sup>

The rest of the interwoven verses all deal with this unique song, as well. The first and third describe the singing, "INMACVLATA COHORS CANTAS TV VOCIBVS

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<sup>774</sup> B24, 3.

<sup>775</sup> B24, 10-14.

<sup>776</sup> C24, 53-54.

<sup>777</sup> C24, 60-62.

<sup>778</sup> C24, 63-70.

ILLIC,<sup>779</sup> and, “CARMINA QVAE NVLLVS DIFFVSO FAMINE CANTAT,”<sup>780</sup> while the *nullus* of the third verse is explained by the fourth, “HIC VESTER GREX NI SOLVS ET SPLENDIDVS ORDO,”<sup>781</sup> and indicates the uniqueness of these celestial chants. Only the splendid order of virgins is able to sing the songs which they do.

Thus, the order of virgins is quite distinct from the other elect in Heaven. The other elect are able to listen to the song of the virgins but not join them. As Hrabanus says in the commentary, “Quod tamen electi ceteri canticum audire possunt, licet dicere nequeant, ...”.<sup>782</sup> However, the other elect are not jealous, but rather happy for the virgins in the charity of Heaven, although they themselves cannot rise to the same rewards.

This superior position of the virgins is also shown by the constant exhortations. In no other *carmen* does Hrabanus so consistently address one entity and request assistance. He maintains the second person throughout the poem, in contrast to his usual practice of switching from apostrophe to description. Hrabanus addresses exhortations to the virgins at verse 1 with, “cantate,” and “benedicite,”<sup>783</sup> and at verse 3 with, “psallite.”<sup>784</sup> He returns to exhort them in the middle of the poem at verse 21 by repeating the word “Cantate,” and the final section of the poem, verses 32-37, is another exhortation and request for prayer.

Poscite posco crucis uosmet per signa beata  
O populi, turmae, plebs, agmina, turba, cohortes,  
Qui super astra locum sedesque tenetis in arce,  
Quod nobis uestra laus rex et conferat agnus  
Proemia laeta Deus, cum sanctis luce superna,  
Audire ut liceat uestrum per saecula cantum.<sup>785</sup>

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<sup>779</sup> C24, 96.

<sup>780</sup> C24, 100.

<sup>781</sup> C24, 102.

<sup>782</sup> C24, 56-57.

<sup>783</sup> B24, 1.

<sup>784</sup> B24, 3.

<sup>785</sup> B24, 32-37.

Hrabanus here makes a personal appeal, *posco*, for the virgins to appeal to God that He may confer the happy rewards on “us,” joining himself to his readers. He does not claim membership in the order of virgins by virtue of his lifelong monastic vocation, but rather humbly requests that “we” may be able merely to hear the virgins’ unique song by being included among the elect in Heaven.

### 3.2.24.2.2. Order of Those Marked by a Sign

The order of virgins is not the only group that appears in the Apocalypse numbered 144,000. There are also those marked with a sign; Hrabanus calls them *signati*, in contrast to the *albat*. He distinguishes the groups clearly both in the opening paragraph of the commentary, where he first describes the *signati* and then introduces the *albat* with “*numerusque ille albatorum*,”<sup>786</sup> and in the transition from the first half to the second half of the commentary, which halves he marks with “*primo*”<sup>787</sup> and “*deinde*”<sup>788</sup> respectively.

The *signati* indicate the innumerable multitude of the entire Church, Hrabanus says: “... in signatorum millibus innumerabilis significatur totius Ecclesiae multitudo, ...”<sup>789</sup> These people marked by a sign would then be all the rest of the elect, apart from the special order of virgins.

In addition, Hrabanus interprets the number 144,000 as 12 multiplied by itself and then multiplied by 1000. This “*numerus quadratus solidus*”<sup>790</sup> indicates the “*stabilem Ecclesiae uitam*.”<sup>791</sup> Thus, the number 1000 contains the stability of the cube and represents the stability of the life of the Church, which continues ever since the Passion, although the power of the prince of the world has been broken, as has the

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<sup>786</sup> C24, 5.

<sup>787</sup> C24, 7.

<sup>788</sup> C24, 36.

<sup>789</sup> C24, 7-8.

<sup>790</sup> C24, 13.

<sup>791</sup> C24, 14.

Empire of the nations, so the saints are marked with a sign of the faith which the nations resisted. This is a rare venture into historiography on Hrabanus' part.

This sign is, according to Hrabanus, the Tau which Ezechiel describes an angel setting on the foreheads of those in Jerusalem who lament the abominations done there. Hrabanus quotes the entire passage (Ezechiel 9:3-6) and comments, "Signum itaque fidei est crux Christi, ad cuius similitudinem Tau littera formata est, ..." <sup>792</sup> Thus Hrabanus is able to relate the sign of these figures from the Apocalypse with the cross of Christ, in accordance with his over-arching purpose in the *In honorem*.

Both of these orders, the virgins and the rest of the entire Church, owe their salvation to God's grace. After the description in Ezechiel of the angel of the Lord killing all those in Jerusalem without the sign, Hrabanus comments:

Recte enim omnis iniquus mucrone infidelitatis interficitur, qui signum fidei bono opere in semetipso ostendere neglexisse conuincitur, et merito iustus quisque bonum opus operando per crucis Christi potentiam liberatur: quia Domini fidem, quam in baptismo percepit, inuiolatam usque in finem mandata Christi implendo conseruasse cognoscitur. <sup>793</sup>

The unjust are slain by the sword of infidelity because of their neglect of good works, and the just are saved because of their good works, but that is because they preserved inviolate the faith which they received in baptism. The virgins, too, have their special place because of God's favor:

Per signa quae non spernit uester gremio rex  
Nam hoc nullus diffudit dux ni solus et auctor,  
Inde riso fame qui hoc modo splendida donat  
Munera. <sup>794</sup>

In the prose translation Hrabanus speaks directly of *gratia*.

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<sup>792</sup> C24, 18-19.

<sup>793</sup> C24, 30-35.

<sup>794</sup> B24, 18-21.

Nam hanc gratiam uobis nullus alius dedit quam ductor et conditor uester, ut sine ulla reprehensione uiuentes in terris, aeternam inde remunerationem postmodum acciperetis in caelis.<sup>795</sup>

### 3.2.24.2.3. The Unity of the Two Testaments

Despite emphasizing the new song of the virgins and contrasting it firmly with the old song in praise of fertility, Hrabanus would not have his reader think that the Gospel opposed the Law. He draws out the meaning of the four pentagons in his commentary. The number of the figures, four, recalls the four Gospels, while the number of sides, five, recalls the five books of the Law. The pattern, a cross, shows that the cross fulfills both Law and Gospel: “quia passione Christi et resurrectione completa lex simul et Euangelium,...”<sup>796</sup> Indeed, there are examples in both Testaments of chaste figures, who encourage the faithful to preserve their own chastity.

Vnde in exemplum datos utriusque testamenti patres, fideles ubique in uniuerso orbe castitatem seruando imitari satagebant,<sup>797</sup>

The one extra letter in each figure, which is attached to the pentagon, as the carefully-drawn outlines indicate, spells out the word “crux,” further showing the cross as the center of unity, which weaves the disparate parts together.

### 3.2.24.3. Sources

#### 3.2.24.3.1. Bede, *Explanatio Apocalypsis*

In his exegesis of the two groups who are symbolized by the number 144, Hrabanus is inspired by the two sections of Bede’s *Explanatio Apocalypsis* which cover the same themes,<sup>798</sup> but Hrabanus performs a complex reshuffling of Bede’s text. While examining in the commentary those marked with a sign, he places first (C24, 7-14)

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<sup>795</sup> D24, 22-25.

<sup>796</sup> C24, 83-84.

<sup>797</sup> C24, 86-88.

<sup>798</sup> Bede, *Explanatio Apocalypsis*, 1, 7 and 2, 14, *PL* 93, 149B-150B and 172D-173D.

Bede's explanation that the 144,000 represent the innumerable multitude of the Church, and then joins two different statements of Bede into one (C24, 14-17) expressing the victory of the Christ over the devil and the Church over the *gentium imperium*.

Hrabanus then states that the sign of *Apocalypse* is the Tau of the vision in *Ezechiel* 9:3-6, an idea which Bede does not mention at all. Instead, Bede considers the sign to be the name of the Lord. Hrabanus apparently makes this connection on his own, in order to connect those marked with a sign with the *signum crucis*.

He then turns to the 144,000 virgins. Here he selects certain passages from Bede's treatment of the same theme. He reiterates the indication that the finite number is placed here for an infinite number and places first Bede's exploration of the numerological significance of 144 (C24, 38-48). He paraphrases somewhat Bede's description of the actual activity of the virgins in singing a new song (C24, 50-54) and then switches the order of Bede's text in order to put next Bede's distinction between the virgins, the only ones who can sing this new song, and the other saved, who can only rejoice while listening (C24, 54-59), moving Bede's Biblical quotations describing the old and new songs to the end of this section (C24, 60-72), where they serve as Biblical evidence for the assertions he has made. Hrabanus also expands this section, including additional Biblical citations above and beyond those cited by Bede.

Hrabanus draws heavily on his exegetical source but rearranges it freely and interjects his own ideas and connections in order to reemphasize the praise of the cross.

### **3.2.24.3.2. Jerome, *In Ezechielem***

The connection which Hrabanus draws between the T-sign described by Ezechiel and the Christian habit of making the sign of the cross upon the forehead (C24, 72-75) is not original to him, but derives from Jerome's commentary *In Ezechielem*,

3, 9,<sup>799</sup> where the last two lines of Hrabanus' description can be found in Jerome's description of the shape of the Hebrew character Tau. Jerome lists this Christian interpretation of the Tau-sign after giving Jewish interpretations.

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<sup>799</sup> Jerome, *In Ezechielem*, 3, 9, PL 25, 88B-89A.



### **3.2.25. *Carmen* 25**

#### **3.2.25.1. Form**

##### **3.2.25.1.1. Visual Elements**

The field is 37 x 37 square.

Within the field are nine figures, the central figure a tiny cross and the other eight of them letters. The letter figures are as small as they can be, between three and five letters high, one and five letters wide, and only one letter thick. The tiny cross consists of the four letters which adjoin the letter in the exact center. The figures spell out the word “ALLELVIA” reading down from the top and then across from the right side of the page. The bivalent letters making up the tiny cross spell out “AMEN” when read in the same order. The figures are spread out, so that they form a cross pattern which is dispersed along the middle verse and mesostich.

##### **3.2.25.1.2. Textual Elements**

The two titles hardly differ at all. In A9 we read, “XXV. De Alleluia et Amen in crucis forma ordinatis,”<sup>800</sup> while turning to D25 we find, “DE VICESIMA ET QVINTA FIGVRA, VBI ALLELVIA ET AMEN POSITA SVNT.”<sup>801</sup> Our first visual impressions are confirmed, that the themes of this carmen are the two words “Alleluia” and “Amen.”

The basis poem opens, however, not with these two words but consideration of their function. The opening line is addressed to praise itself, asking praise to be present to mortals, so that they are able to say something worthy of Christ. At verse 5, Hrabanus begins a personal address to the cross. I, Hrabanus, he says, have sung you, cross, in this lively song, but no one can praise you adequately. I tried to put together some words to praise you, which also match your form. I arranged these words in dispersed verses and inserted the angelic songs, which I wove into apt

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<sup>800</sup> A9, 58.

<sup>801</sup> D25, 1-2.

verses. The “Amen” stands in the middle of the cross while the “Alleluia” completes its arms.

After this personal interlude, Hrabanus describes the how the just triumph over this world, singing of the victory of Christ over the devil who had pulled the whole human race to destruction (v. 18-23). Then he relates the longing for Heaven with our praise: the desire for Heaven elevates our souls, so we try to win grace by praising God, as justice demands and the saints in Heaven already do. However, he warns starting at verse 28, we will do so rightly if we follow God's commands, in thought and action as well as words, since the sinner's praise cannot please Him. The poem closes with an exhortation to the saints in Heaven and angels to sing “Amen” and “Alleluia” in aid of the faithful on earth.

The commentary begins by stating that the themes of this *carmen* are “Alleluia” and “Amen,” which the saints in Heaven sing to God forever as John reports in the *Apocalypse*. Hrabanus provides a long quotation from the *Apocalypse* (l. 9-24; *Apoc.* 19:1-8) and then explains that these things were predicted of the end of time, but a part of the saints sings them already in Heaven. After the universal judgment, they will sing perfectly. He goes on to explain the two judgments and the two states of the blessed after death, souls in Heaven prior to the last judgment, then reunion with the flesh after. From line 43, he explains the meaning of the Hebrew words “Alleluia” and “Amen,” stating that although they can be interpreted, on account of reverence for the sanctity of the first language they are kept in Hebrew to preserve their authority. He also refers to the way they are used in the liturgy of the Church. Finally, the commentary closes with a justification of the cross shape. The cross unites the confession of all things into the praise of God. Hrabanus cites *Apoc.* 5:9-15, apparently because of the reference therein to the Lamb being worthy to accept the praise of every creature, in the sky, on earth, under earth or in the seas, which justifies his claim that all creatures praise God and that the cross unites these praises.

The presence of the word “Amen” in the tiny cross figure we have mentioned above because it is immediately obvious, though Hrabanus does spell it out at the end of

the commentary. He also gives the interwoven verse running through ALLELVIA figures, which is, “CRVX AETERNA DEI ES LAVS, VIVIS IN ARCE POLORVM.”<sup>802</sup> Here he goes even further than in the commentary, where the cross unites the praises of all creatures. Here the cross quite simply *is* the praise of God.

### **3.2.25.1.3. Cognitive Elements**

All of the usual relationships between textual fields – constitutive, explanatory, etc. – exist here. As one of the *carmina* in which the figures are also letters, *carmen 25* has three hierarchical textual fields rather than two. The two themes are put on different fields: the “Amen” is an interwoven text while the “Alleluia” is a figure-text, whose interwoven text points the cross form which the figures form. This distinction between textual fields is also reflected on the visual field of the figures, as the two groups of figures are depicted using different color contrasts.

*Carmen 25* displays an unusual degree of convergence among the fields. Every field of meaning points towards the same theme. The titles give the two words of praise which also appear in the figures. The basis poem deals with the different aspects of praise, situates Hrabanus’ own praise of the cross in the *In honorem* in the context of the saints and angels praising God in Heaven, while Hrabanus exhorts them to continue doing so. The commentary clarifies the manner and meaning of the praises of the saints while the interwoven verse ties it all together in the cross as the highest and perpetual praise of God.

### **3.2.25.2. Content**

#### **3.2.25.2.1. Praise of God by Alleluia and Amen**

The twenty-fifth *carmen* deals with the praise of God as expressed by the Hebrew words “Alleluia” and “Amen.” These two words both appear in the titles and one appears in the figure-text formed by the larger eight figures, the other in the interwoven text of the tiny cross figure. However, both the basis poem and the

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<sup>802</sup> C25, 75.

commentary begin, not with these words, but with *laus*. The basis poem goes so far as to address directly *laus* itself in a request for help:

Laus pia perpetua sanctorum in luce superna  
Adsis terrigenis, aliquid quod dicere digne  
Iam de te ualeant, auidaue implere decenter  
Ora bonis possint modulis et cantibus almis.<sup>803</sup>

Praise is personified here as an entity which can respond to prayers and aid the faithful to praise correctly (*dicere digne, auida implere ora ... modulis et cantibus almis*). The commentary, too, begins directly with *laus*, which is said to imitate the figure of the “Alleluia” and “Amen”:

Istic ergo laus illa, quam sanctorum uox in caelis creditur perpetuo Deo cantare, sanctae crucis in scriptu, imitatur figuram Alleluia uidelicet et Amen, ...<sup>804</sup>

Praise, then, is the theme, and the words “Alleluia” and “Amen” the means of expressing it.

The words are Hebrew, and Hrabanus gives their meaning in the commentary.

Haec ergo duo uerba hebraica, id est, Alleluia et Amen, cum interpretati queant, nam Alleluia *laudate Dominum* interpretatur, Amen quoque *in fidem* siue *ueritatem* transfertur, propter reuerentiam tamen sanctitatis primae illis linguae seruat auctoritas; ...<sup>805</sup>

Although they have a meaning in Hebrew, they are kept in that original language so that their authority may be preserved to them. Hrabanus apparently regards Hebrew as the original language used prior to the confusion of languages in the tower of Babel, which gives these words of praise their special authority. There is no mention of this idea in *carmen* 21, which discusses the seventy-two languages of the post-Babel world as part of its exploration of the mysteries of the number 72.

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<sup>803</sup> B25, 1-4.

<sup>804</sup> C24, 1-3.

<sup>805</sup> C25, 43-46.

In addition to their language, their usage indicates that they are means of praise of a special dignity. The commentary selects, out of all the Biblical passages where “Alleluia” and “Amen” occur, the words of praise of the saints in Heaven as revealed by John in the *Apocalypse*, which Hrabanus quotes extensively. He explains how the saints exist in Heaven at the present time, as souls in Heaven praising God in part, in contrast to how they will praise God perfectly after they are reunited with their bodies after the final Judgment. The basis poem concludes by exhorting the saints and angels in Heaven to praise God.

Ergo age, uos, Christum laudate fideliter odis  
Caelestes populi, uirtutes, uosque potentes  
Iustorum et plebes, qui in caeli sistitis arce,  
Psallite Amen, Alleluia, per saecula Christo.<sup>806</sup>

Those invoked in this exhortation include *caelestes populi*, which is ambiguous, but also *uirtutes*, which is a general term for the angels as well as the name of one of the choirs, and *potentes*, which probably stands for *potestates*. It closes with *iustorum plebes*, which is unambiguously the saints – those who were just on earth (I take *potentes* on its own rather than the noun on which *iustorum* depends. The other grammatically possible reading is *caelestes populi, uirtutes, potentes / iustorum* and *plebes*, but this suffers from the inconvenience of including simple, unmodified *plebes* among the inhabitants of Heaven, nor is there any reason to restrict entrance to Heaven to the *potentes* among the *iustorum*. In any case, even following this other reading, *uirtutes* still must refer to angels and *iusti* and *plebes* to the elect among mankind).

In addition to this use by the saints and angels in Heaven, the Church on Earth makes use of these words in its praise of God. Hrabanus offers this description of the liturgical use of “Alleluia” and “Amen”:

... atque Alleluia in Dominicis diebus totoque quinquagesimae tempore, propter spem resurrectionis, quae in Domini est laude futura, continue canit Ecclesia; Amen uero propter impetrandam eandem perpetuam uitam; immo omne bonum quod in praesenti siue in futuro a Domino optat accipere, ad

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<sup>806</sup> B25, 34-37.

sacerdotis deprecationem seu benedictionem, rite deuotio respondet fidelium.<sup>807</sup>

In the season of “Quinquagesima” i.e. the 50 days from Easter to Pentecost, the Church sings “Alleluia” every Sunday, while the faithful answer the prayers or blessings of the priest with “Amen.”

### 3.2.25.2.2. Role of Praise in Spiritual Life

The basis poem also deals with the role of praise in the life of the individual Christian. It gives the palm of life and drives away that death which held the human race in bondage until the advent of Christ.

[iusti] ... narrantes nunc spei ardor ut ore  
Inmissus bona det palmae et mors illa remota  
Aufugiat, ...<sup>808</sup>

These lines occupy the middle and following verse and so are overlapped by the horizontal arm of the ALLELVIA cross.

This praise pleases God, but only if our lives, actions and thoughts conform to the righteousness of our words.

Hoc tum rite placet, si implemus iussa Tonantis  
Mentibus et specie, factis et fame linguae  
Nam tantum sermo haec iusti non proemia cara  
Accipiet, sed uera bene per famina uirtus, cum  
Haec laus non bona laus, sed ueri fictio falsa  
Sit quae magna canit, alta uult, parua meretur.<sup>809</sup>

Only if we fulfill the commands of God do we earn the *cara proemia* of salvation; if we are singing loudly but our hearts and actions do not correspond, we want much but merit little.

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<sup>807</sup> C25, 46-53.

<sup>808</sup> B25, 19-21.

<sup>809</sup> B25, 28-33.

Hrabanus' own intentions and action in writing the *In honorem* should be situated within this context. In this carmen he speaks at unusual length about what he has done. It is notable that he uses perfect tenses, although three more carmina remain to the end of the work. Hrabanus addresses the cross directly and speaks of how he has sung the cross in verses in this work. According to this passage, the work was written in fulfillment of a vow.

Nempe ego te cecini, crux, isto in carmine uiuo  
Versibus, exoptans cantando et reddere uota.<sup>810</sup>

Of course no one can fully sing the praises of the cross, Hrabanus goes on to say in verses 7-10:

Sed tu, cuncta super excellens munera nostra,  
Maiestate potens, uincis terrestria, uincis  
Sidera celsa poli, nec sat ualet ullus honori  
Namque tuo facere condigna, nec addere uerba.<sup>811</sup>

Here begins a very important passage, in which Hrabanus explains why he adopted the unusual form of the *In honorem*.

Temptauique ideo hic ex caelis mystica uoto  
Ducere uerba tibi, contemplans apta figurae.  
Disposui signis, disperso et tramite cantus  
Inserui angelicos, intexi et uersibus aptis.<sup>812</sup>

This passage in the prose translation reads:

Quapropter temptaui ex caelestibus odis quaedam uerba ad laudandum te sumere, quae etiam speciei tuae figuraeque conuenirent; disposui eadem uerba in pagina uersuum non continuatim, sed disperse, et inserui angelicos cantus, ...<sup>813</sup>

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<sup>810</sup> B25, 5-6.

<sup>811</sup> B25, 7-10.

<sup>812</sup> B25, 11-14.

<sup>813</sup> D25, 14-17.

Because of the aforementioned impossibility of praising the cross adequately (*ideo*), Hrabanus attempted to *ducere uerba* (in B) or *uerba sumere* (in D), which would be appropriate for the figure and appearance of the cross. He arranged these words separately or discretely, not continuously, *disperso ... tramitu* (in B) or *non continuatim sed disperse* (in D), and “interwoven” (*intexi*) or “inserted” (*inserui*) them into *aptis uersibus*.

Hrabanus’ effort in creating the *In honorem* is a response, therefore, to the inadequacy of normal language to praise the cross sufficiently.

### 3.2.25.2.3. The Cross is the Highest Praise

The cross itself is the highest form of praise. The cross unifies the witness of all things into a single praise of God. These words of praise are appropriately put into the cross shape because,

... quia per ipsam omnium rerum in laudem Domini adunata est confessio, ...<sup>814</sup>

Hrabanus follows this passage with another quotation, from the *Apocalypse* 5:13, which he seems to have chosen in order to show that all things praise the Lamb who was killed and now sits on the throne.<sup>815</sup>

Hrabanus goes even further in the interwoven verse within the ALLELVIA figures. This reads, “CRVX AETERNA DEI ES LAVS, VIVIS IN ARCE POLORVM.” Hrabanus states here that the cross *is* this praise of God whom he addressed at the opening of the basis poem. The ultimate suffering of Jesus Christ is the highest and most complete form of praise, which the words of praise of the saints and angels in Heaven, the praises of the just on Earth, the *In honorem* itself, and even the praise of the hypocritical unjust, are all more or less inadequate attempts to imitate.

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<sup>814</sup> C25, 55-56.

<sup>815</sup> C25, 71-72.



### 3.2.25.3. Sources

#### 3.2.25.3.1. Bede, *Explanatio Apocalypsis*

Hrabanus continues to base his commentaries on Bede's *Explanatio Apocalypsis* while picking and choosing his texts and interjecting his own ideas. The explanation of "Alleluia" and "Amen" depends on Bede's discussion<sup>816</sup> of *Apocalypse* 19:1-8, quoted at the beginning of the commentary.

He adopts Bede's distinction between the Church which sings now and the eschatological Church which will sing perfectly, but adds "spe salva facta" to Bede's description of the Church Militant (C25, 26-28). Hrabanus puts in his own explanation for this coming perfection of the Church: at the end time, the goats will have been separated out from the sheep. Then he returns to quoting Bede, although he replaces Bede's allegorical language of Jerusalem and Babylon with the straightforward "sanctorum animae ... et impiorum."<sup>817</sup> Here, too, he adds an explanation: that the souls go directly to their reward but the bodies wait for the final judgment. That final judgment will be the true wedding of the Lamb, he explains, using Bede's description of the wedding of the Lamb, but adding his own comment about the new song (which he discussed in *carmen* 24) being then perfect. Hrabanus uses Bede's explanation of the meanings of the two Hebrew words "Amen" and "Alleluia" and also his explanation for why they are simply left in Hebrew. Bede closes this section with a liturgical comment about the use of the word "Alleluia" during Paschaltide, and Hrabanus joins to it his own comment about the liturgical use of "Amen" by the faithful to respond to the priest's blessings or prayers. Thus, Hrabanus adds his own comments to clarify his doctrines to the reader of the commentary, to complete the explanation of the contents of the *carmen*, and also to connect *carmen* 25 with the previous one.

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<sup>816</sup> Bede, *op. cit.*, 3, 19, *PL* 93, 187D-188C.

<sup>817</sup> C25, 32-33.

### 3.2.26. *Carmen* 26

#### 3.2.26.1. Form

##### 3.2.26.1.1. Visual Elements

In *carmen* 26 the field is a 37 x 37 square. Within the field, a simple cross of a single line stretches from edge to edge, dividing the field into four quadrants. The cross figure is centered, that is, the bivalent areas coincide with the mesostich and the middle verse (verse 19). This is the simplest possible realization of the form which Hrabanus has employed through the *In honorem*.

##### 3.2.26.1.2. Textual Elements

The titles of the *carmen* point us to the prophets of the Old Testament. In A9 we find, “XXVI. De prophetarum sententiis quae ad passionem Christi et ad nostram redemptionem pertinent.”<sup>818</sup> The title in D26 is only very slightly modified: “DE VICESIMA SEXTA FIGVRA, IN QVA PROPHETICAE SENTENTIAE DENOTANTVR.”<sup>819</sup> The theme, thus, concerns the sayings of the prophets, in particular those which pertain to the suffering of Christ which effected our redemption.

The basis poem opens with an address to the Cross, in which Hrabanus tells the Cross that the words of the Prophets honor, predict, exalt and cause to resound its future deeds. From verse 7 begins a complete list of the prophets of the Old Testament, following the order in which they appear in the canon. For each prophet, Hrabanus gives some indication in the poem showing which aspect of the Passion of Christ they foretold. In some of the minor prophets, Hrabanus’ mention is very short, but every prophet is included. Hrabanus begins with David, identified as a prophet and the author of the Psalms, in verses 7-9. Isaiah receives the next three verses, then Jeremias and Ezechiel two verses each. At this point there is an interlude, in which Hrabanus again addresses the Cross. This includes the bivalent middle verse

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<sup>818</sup> A9, 59-60.

<sup>819</sup> D26, 1-2.

of the figure cross. After this interlude, the list of prophets resumes with two verses for Daniel, a verse for Hosea, two for Joel, a verse for Amos. Abdias and Jonas share a verse, as do Micha and Nahum. Habakuk, Sophonias and Aggeus all receive a single verse, while Zacharias and Malachi close the list with two verses each. The poem closes with a final address to the Cross, which fulfilled all these prophecies which the *priores ... uates* have said.

The commentary opens by explaining that Hrabanus has not attempted to list all the prophecies which pertain to the Passion, but only those which came readily to mind as he was dictating, and those which are easy to find for the readers. He then quotes at length all the prophecies which he has referred to in the poem. He follows here the canonical order of the prophets, just as in the basis poem, but he does not carry scrupulousness to the point of putting individual prophecies in the order in which they are mentioned in the basis poem, and he also includes some prophecies in the commentary which are not mentioned in the poem. His quotations from Habakuk are an unattributed citation of Jerome's *Epistle* 53, 8.

The bivalent middle verse and the mesostich consist of the same text, so that the cross figure contains the same interwoven text when read top to bottom or across. The verse is, "ES PLACITA SUPERIS, CRVX, HVIC ES NAVITA MVNDO."<sup>820</sup> Hrabanus points a bit of metrical virtuosity: "Qui ad directum hexameter est, et reciprocus nulla exempta syllaba fit idem pentameter."<sup>821</sup> That is, if the words of this hexameter verse are placed in the reversed order, the verse makes a pentameter: "MUNDO NAVITA ES HUIC, CRUX, SUPERIS PLACITA ES."

### 3.2.26.1.3. Cognitive Elements

This *carmen* and its successor are from a formal point of view the simplest in the whole *In honorem*. The only interweaving in this *carmen* is the mesostich. This simplicity, after the kaleidoscopic array of figures and images and texts which we

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<sup>820</sup> C26, 158.

<sup>821</sup> C26, 159-160.

have examined up to now, presents the cross itself alone to our attention, and is reminiscent of the veiling of all images in churches from Passion Sunday to Easter.

The main cognitive elements involve the relationships of text. The mesostich and the middle verse are identical which suggests an identity between the horizontal and vertical dimensions of the cross. The interwoven text can be reversed on a word-level to create a sentence in a different meter. This hidden sentence suggests the mystery of prophecy, which is difficult to understand beforehand but whose hidden meaning – the necessity of the Passion – can be grasped in a sudden moment of insight, as the disciples at Emmaus experienced.

### **3.2.26.2. Content**

#### **3.2.26.2.1. Old Testament Prophecies of the Crucifixion and Passion**

The *carmen* is devoted to systematically presenting all of the prophets of the Old Testament and finding prophecies of some aspect of the Passion of Christ within each one. The titles, basis poem and translation, and commentary all converge on this theme.

David is presented as the author of Psalms and the predictions ascribed to him are all Psalm verses. Hrabanus mentions the pierced hands and feet of Psalm 21, the gall of Psalm 68, and the Lord reigning from the wood (according to the Vulgate text) of Psalm 95. Isaiah has the greatest number of prophecies included: the principality on the shoulders (9:5), the struck body (50:6), the extended arms (65:2), the spit-upon face (50:6 again), and gathering in the lost of Israel (11:12). Jeremiah describes Christ as a lamb (*Jer.* 11:19) and giving wood for food (*Lam.* 4:20). Ezechiel's prophecy of the letter T as a sign (9:4), extensively discussed in *carmen* twenty-four, is the only prophecy which appears in the basis poem, although Hrabanus adds predictions of the Lord as Good Shepherd, rescuing the lost sheep of Israel, to the commentary (*Ez.* 34:11-13 and 15-16). Daniel, whose prophecies have furnished the chronologies in *carmina* 10 and 22, is described in the commentary as *certissimus chronographus* and his chronological prophecies are quoted (*Dan.* 9:24-25 and 26 and 27), although the basis poem does not concern time but focuses

on the events of Christ's death from an impious people and the end of sin, predicted in those prophecies. Hosea appears as the prophet of the salvation of the people from death (13:14), Joel predicts the disappearance of the sun at Christ's death (4:15-17), as does Amos (8:9-10), who also predicts the transformation of feasting into mourning. Abdias predicts the trickery (7) before and Jonas prefigures the entombment (1:17) after the Passion. Micha calls Christ the "mountain of God" (4:1) while Nahum predicts that he will take vengeance on his enemies (1:2). Habakuk predicted the arms of the cross (3:4) and Sophonias the bitter day of the Lord (1:14). For all the prophets from Daniel to Sophonias Hrabanus includes one or two additional citations in the commentary beyond those citations directly relevant to the basis poem. The only prophecy of Aggeus mentioned in the basis poem is the earthquake, but the commentary focuses on his announcement to the nations of the desired one: "Aggeus desideratum annuntiat gentibus."<sup>822</sup> but the citation (2:6-7) includes both. Zacharias offers three prophecies: the dirty clothing (3:3), the wounds in the hands (13:5-7) and the many weeping (12:10). Malachi, finally, sees Christ dominate the world, which is cleansed by His burning fire, and purify His ministers (all contained in 3:1-4).

The interwoven verse, in contrast, seems to have nothing to do with the theme of the prophecies of the cross. But the metrical virtuosity it displays offers a cognitive image of the process of recognition of the hidden meanings in formerly obscure prophecies. Just as the reversed order of the words gives a verse in a different meter, the sudden recognition that the crucifixion of Christ fulfills the prophecies reveals a hidden meaning present in the same words.

### **3.2.26.3. Sources**

#### **3.2.26.3.1. Old Testament Prophets**

Since the purpose of *carmen 26* is to demonstrate Old Testament witnesses to the Passion of Christ, in this *carmen* Hrabanus cites his sources extensively. They are all named in the basis poems and their messages are paraphrased in verse there,

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<sup>822</sup> C26, 131.

while the full text is given in the the commentary. Hrabanus follows the canonical order exactly.

### **3.2.26.3.2. Jerome, *Epistula* 53**

One paragraph of the commentary, that on the prophet Habakuk, is taken from Jerome's *Epistula* 53, 8.<sup>823</sup> It is curious that nothing that Jerome says about any other prophet appears in Hrabanus' commentary. Perhaps he did not have Jerome's entire *Epistula* in front of him but a fragment in some kind of exegetical work.

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<sup>823</sup> Jerome, *Epistulae*, 53, 8, *PL* 22, 546D-547A.

### 3.2.27. *Carmen* 27

#### 3.2.27.1. Form

##### 3.2.27.1.1. Visual Elements

In the twenty-seventh *carmen*, the field is a 35 x 35 square. Within the field, a simple line-cross occupies the middle verse and mesostich and extends to the edges of the field. *Carmen* 27 is thus visually almost identical to *carmen* 26; it is two verses and two columns shorter and in all manuscripts the cross figure in the center is colored differently in B27 than in B26.

##### 3.2.27.1.2. Textual Elements

The titles, too, reveal substantial similarities with the previous *carmen*. Indeed, the title in A9 is not comprehensible outside the context of *carmen* 26: “XXVII. De apostolorum dictis ex eadem re in Nouo Testamento,”<sup>824</sup> where *ex eadem re* indicates the crucifixion of Christ and the redemption. As usual, the title in D is somewhat simpler, “DE VICESIMA SEPTIMA FORMA, IN QVA APOSTOLORUM SENTENTIAE COLLOCANTVR.”<sup>825</sup> The theme of the twenty-seventh *carmen*, in strict continuity with that of the twenty-sixth, is thus the testimonies concerning the crucifixion from the apostles, following those from the prophets in *carmen* 26.

Hrabanus begins the basis poem by addressing the cross in verses 1-11. He speaks of how the New Testament, as well as the Old, preserves the rights of the cross, which shows that Christ is the Lord of both Testaments. Here (i.e. in this *carmen*) the speech of the apostles praises the cross. The first apostle introduced is Peter, their leader, in verse 12-16. Then there is a interlude (v. 17-19), where Hrabanus speaks in his own person, repeating the similar interlude in *carmen* 26 and including the middle verse. There follow the testimonies of James (v. 20-21), John (v. 22-25) and Jude (26-27). Paul, the last-called of the Apostles, is also last in the series with

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<sup>824</sup> A9, 61-62.

<sup>825</sup> D27, 1-2.

verses 28-32. The closing summary explains that the apostolic order joins with the ancient prophets in praising the cross and the holy Passion of Jesus.

In the commentary Hrabanus begins by expounding on the difficulty of choosing among the texts of the New Testament, since so many deal with the crucifixion and there are so many of such great dignity. He nonetheless has chosen some to show the glory of the cross, the goodness of the Creator and the mercy of the Redeemer. These witnesses preach as fulfilled the things which the prophets predicted. The cross should be preached from both Testaments because Christ is the mediator of both. He, who inspired the prophets, became man and then taught the apostles by words and examples. God himself came to save us, as He inspired Isaiah to predict in *Is.* 35:3-6.

Most of the commentary, as in the previous *carmen*, consists of Biblical quotations, in this case of the sayings of the Apostles. Hrabanus follows the order of the basis poem, Peter, James, John, Jude and Paul. He closes the commentary by explaining that although the Apocalypse has numerous sayings relevant to the Passion, he has already dealt with the book extensively elsewhere in the *In honorem* (*carmen* 25, for example), so he will not quote it here.

The two cross arms include two interwoven verses written with the same letters. The vertical verse, reading downwards, is, “SI DO TE TIBI METRA SONO HIS TE, IESVS, IN ODIS,”<sup>826</sup> while the horizontal verse reads, “SI DO NISVS EI ET SI HONOS ARTEM IBIT ET ODIS.”<sup>827</sup> These verses are letter-by-letter reversals of each other. When the verse in the vertical arm is read upwards or the verse in the horizontal arm is read backwards, it gives the verse in the other cross arm.

### **3.2.27.1.3. Cognitive Elements**

A number of structural elements show the continuity between *carmen* 26 and 27. The form is almost identical on the visual fields: the field is two letters smaller in

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<sup>826</sup> C27, 123.

<sup>827</sup> C27, 126.



*carmen* 27, but the cross pattern is created by the same single-line cross figure, which is the only figure in the *carmen*. Thus, there is only one interweaving, the mesostich. There is a similar interlude at the same location in the basis poem, in which Hrabanus speaks in his own person, in *carmen* 26 addressed to the cross and in *carmen* 27 describing the honor Hrabanus wishes to give Jesus.

The one complicated cognitive element in *carmen* 27 is the fact that the mesostich and its vertical interwoven verse and the middle verse and the corresponding horizontal interwoven verse are reverses of each other. When reversed, each one reveals the other.

### 3.2.27.2. Content

#### 3.2.27.2.1. New Testament Witnesses to the Crucifixion and Passion

The most striking thing about *carmen* 27 is not anything which Hrabanus says, but something he leaves out. In this *carmen* dedicated to the sayings of the Apostles concerning the Passion, he never mentions the Gospels. He quotes only from Epistles. He even quotes from John's epistles and discusses why he is not going to quote from the *Apocalypse*, without mentioning John's *Gospel*. I suggest that this gap is an indication of an underlying macrostructure to the *In honorem*. The *carmina* are not as independent as they might appear. The purpose of this *carmen* is to offer a florilegium of witnesses to the Passion, in this case from the New Testament. Hrabanus, however, scrupulously avoids the parts of the New Testament which he has already dealt with in the *In honorem*. Hrabanus is explicit about avoiding the *Apocalypse*. He says, "Sed de his testimonia aliqua hic ponere non necessarium iudicauimus, quia in ceteris locis huius libri non pauca inseruimus."<sup>828</sup> These *cetera loca* seem to be the entire series from *carmina* 22 to 25, which dealt with the reign of Antichrist, the 24 elders, the 144,000 virgins and those marked with a sign, and the song of those blessed ones, "Amen" and "Alleluia", respectively. Hrabanus does not mention the *Gospels*, but since he has devoted an entire *carmen*, 15, to the Gospels,

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<sup>828</sup> C27, 116-118. Perrin considers this comment to be Hrabanus' admission that he has drawn heavily on Bede's *Explanation Apocalypsis* in the previous *carmina*. v. "Les lecteurs de Raban Maur", *op. cit.*, 2010.

the same point applies implicitly which he makes explicitly while discussing the *Apocalypse*.

Therefore *carmen 27* is confined to the apostolic witness outside the Gospels. The basis poem offers us this summary of Peter's preaching:

Est, fratres, Christus pro uobis stipite passus,  
Exemplum tradens clarum, uestigia quod uos  
Eius pergatis, cuius sacra uulnera sanant.<sup>829</sup>

which is a combination of one of his speeches in *Acts* and various points from his first letter.

James gives Christ as an example, "Exemplum ponens Christum de fine laborum,"<sup>830</sup> which comes from *James* 5:10, quoted in the commentary, "Exemplum accipite, fratres, laboris et patientiae prophetas,"<sup>831</sup> etc.

Hrabanus' description of John's witness focuses exclusively on charity:

Hincque monet scribens altus dux ore Iohannes:  
Castus amor maneat et sobria uota serenet.  
Iesus ut est passus deuote propter amorem,  
Sic nos mente pia socio patiamur amore hic.<sup>832</sup>

whereas the first citation in the commentary (*1 John* 2:1-2, about Jesus as our advocate) is unrelated, while the second (*1 John* 3:16, about Jesus laying down his life for his friends, which we should do likewise) fits well with it.

Hrabanus focuses on an interesting typology in Jude's witness to Christ.

Iesum per typicum pie uerum psallit Iesum

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<sup>829</sup> B27, 14-16.

<sup>830</sup> B27, 21.

<sup>831</sup> C27, 50.

<sup>832</sup> B27, 22-25.

Iudas ductorem ...<sup>833</sup>

Here the figure known in English as Joshua, but whose name in Greek and Latin is identical with that of Jesus, is taken as a type of Jesus the Savior. As the *Jesus typicus* led the Israelites out of Egypt, so the *uerus Jesus ductor* leads the faithful out of spiritual darkness.

In both basis poem and commentary, Hrabanus remarks that the same problem of selection which the New Testament presents as a whole, the works of Paul offer on a smaller scale. In the basis poem, Hrabanus puts forward two aspects of Paul's extensive preaching of the cross.

... dixit se iam nescire loquelam  
Te sine nec laudem scire dare faucibus ullam.  
In caelis, terris, magnum per tartara nomen  
Te propter Christi spondet sat rite ualere.<sup>834</sup>

which come, respectively, from *Gal.* 6:14 and *Phil.* 2:10, both quoted in the commentary, along with half-a-dozen other Pauline passages.

### 3.2.27.2.2. The Inner Identity of the Two Testaments

In addition to selecting passages from the writings and preaching of the Apostles which witness to Christ, *carmen 27* offers the important message that the two Testaments truly one when considered in light of their strong inner identity. The links between the two Testaments are reflected at numerous points in the *carmen*. The basis poem, uniquely in the *In honorem*, opens with a reference to the previous *carmen*.

Nec minus ergo tua custodit iura character  
Rite Noui Testamenti; ...<sup>835</sup>

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<sup>833</sup> B27, 26-27.

<sup>834</sup> B27, 28-32.

<sup>835</sup> B27, 1-2.

Not less than what? Than the Old Testament witnesses gathered in *carmen* 26. The closing section of the poem returns and joins the New Testament witness to the Old Testament ones.

Sic et apostolicus laudat concorditer ordo,  
Vatibus antiquis coniungis cuncta rapina,  
Passio sancta pie Iesu per saecula Christi.<sup>836</sup>

The *apostolicus ordo* praises the cross in a way which is *concorditer* – in a harmoniously – with the *uates antiqui*.

The second paragraph of the commentary expands upon this harmony.

Sed sicut de Veteri Testamento, id est, de prophetarum libris aliqua excerpimus, quae praesagio futurae et nondum completae passionis Domini essent, ita et ex Nouo ea tantum excerpamus, quae ad sanctae crucis magnificentiam et laudem praedicandam conueniant, et quae ad bonitatem Creatoris et misericordiam Redemptoris nostri pro nostra liberatione glorificandam pertineant.<sup>837</sup>

After describing how he excerpted some passages from the Old Testament, (which he names explicitly) that is, the books of the prophets, which were intended to be predictions of the future and not yet completed passion of the Lord, Hrabanus states that he has also selected passages from the New Testament which fit the magnificence of the cross, preaching its praise, and the goodness of the Creator and mercy of the Redeemer. He then clarifies the relationship between the two Testaments:

... Ea enim quae illi praedixerant futura, isti praedicant iam facta atque completa. Ab utroque enim Testamento sanctae crucis praedicari conuenit actus, quia utriusque dispensator et mediator est Christus.<sup>838</sup>

The prophets *predicted* what the apostles *preach*, with a word-play in Latin on the two verbs *praedicere* and *praedicare*. Since Christ is the dispenser and mediator of

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<sup>836</sup> B27, 33-35.

<sup>837</sup> C27, 8-14.

<sup>838</sup> C27, 14-17.

both Testaments, it is right to preach the holy cross from both, as Hrabanus is doing in *carmina* 26 and 27.

In formal aspect the *carmina* 26 and 27 are almost identical. The fields of the poems are both squares, they have the same simple line-cross on the figure and pattern fields, and they use similar but not identical colors drawn from the common patterns of usage in the *In honorem*. The basis poems have the same structure: an opening address, followed by a list of witnesses, with a few lines devoted to each witness in a sensible order (the canonical order in the case of the prophets, running from Peter, the prince of the Apostles, to Paul, the least of them by his own statement, in the case of the Apostles), and closed with summary in the last few lines. This structure is broken by a personal interlude, in which Hrabanus speaks in his own name, in the middle of the poem, including the verse which is highlighted as bivalent by the color contrasts. In both *carmina* the interwoven verses are the subjects of some kind of reversal: word-by-word in *carmen* 26 and letter-by-letter in *carmen* 27.

Finally, the structure of the interwoven verses of *carmen* 27 also conveys the idea of the identity of two apparently diverse things. Whereas in the *carmen* 26 the cross-figure had the same verse in both vertical and horizontal arms, without any transformation, here the vertical verse is the reverse of the horizontal one and vice versa. Therefore the process of reversal points from one to the other and reveals their inner identity.

Thus, on verbal, visual, poetic and cognitive levels, numerous features of *carmen* 27 point to a hidden but true inner identity of the two Testaments, “quia utriusque dispensator et mediator est Christus.”<sup>839</sup>

### **3.2.27.3. Sources**

#### **3.2.27.3.1. New Testament Epistles**

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<sup>839</sup> C27, 17.

As discussed above in §3.2.27.2.1., most of the *carmen* consists of poetical rephrases (in the basis poem) and citations (in the commentary) of the New Testament Epistles.

### **3.2.28. *Carmen* 28**

#### **3.2.28.1. Form**

##### **3.2.28.1.1. Visual Elements**

The field of the twenty-eighth *carmen* is a rectangle 35 letters across and 43 verses high.

Two figures stand against the background. Centered horizontally and slightly above center vertically is a simple line-cross one letter thick. It is blue-green in *PATQW* and a bright red in *V*. The bivalent letters within are yellow in *PATQW* and dark red in *V*. It is 27 letters long in both arms. Below the cross is the image of a kneeling monk. He wears a white or light-colored alb covered over with a darker tunic, so that his light alb is visible covering his arms and lower legs while his torso, back and upper legs are covered with the dark tunic. His hands and head are painted a pale tan flesh tone and his black hair is cut into a tonsure. The creases of the alb are painted to create a three-dimensional illusion and there is also some modeling on the exposed flesh. He kneels and bends forward at the waist and his hands are spread out in prayer to the cross. His head and hands are directly underneath the cross, on the mesostich, while his body is on the left side of the page.

Three verses separate the top of the field from the cross and the cross from the monk, while two verses separate the monk from the bottom of the field. Four letters separate the horizontal cross arm from the two edges, while the monk stretches across ten columns from his hands and head on the mesostich to the tip of his foot, eight letters from the edge of the field.

The visual effect of these two figures is extremely striking. The cross glows, luminous and numinous, against the background, while the humble monk kneels in prayer below it, less than half its size, but painted with great care and precision.

##### **3.2.28.1.2. Textual Elements**

The titles given by Hrabanus to this *carmen* are our first indication of its complexity. In A9 we read, “XXVIII. De adoratione sanctae crucis ubi opifex ipse pro se deprecatur et ubi imago ipsius ad orandum subtus crucem genua flectit.”<sup>840</sup> The theme announced here is clear: the adoration of the holy cross. But the subordinate clauses complicate matters considerably. This *carmen* contains the author who is praying for himself, and also the image of the author who kneels under the cross to pray. This formulation implies a distinction between Hrabanus’ presence in the *carmen* as author and Hrabanus’ presence as image. The title in D is, “DE FIGVRA VICESIMA OCTAVA, VBI OPIFEX IPSE SANCTAM CRUCEM ADORAT.”<sup>841</sup> In A, the *opifex ipse* is praying for himself, while in D the *opifex ipse* is adoring the cross. The title in A speaks of adoration in general, but for D it is an act of Hrabanus.

The basis poem, in contrast to the other *carmina*, is one long prayer. It opens with an address to God and a long nominative or vocative list of titles: *omnipotens uirtus, maiestas alta, rex, doctor, lux, uita*, etc., etc., for the first nine verses. In verses 10-13, Hrabanus speaks in his own person of how he has directed the prayer of his entire being to God, listing *uerba, mens, mentis intentio, lingua, manus, bucca, cor, uita* and *uoluntas*. The next two verses are addressed to Christ, whom everything praises and sings, and whom Hrabanus himself adores prostrate and happy. Hrabanus speaks in verses 16-17 to the cross itself, saying, “I pray to you the altar, O branch, and from the altar I am lifted up and I pray.” Hrabanus expands on this idea of cross as altar and being lifted up from it in the following section, verses 18-27, in which he desires to become himself a sacrificial victim on the *ara crucis*. The long prayer transitions to Hrabanus’ petition for salvation, asking that the cross may save him, the cross’ own poet, at the dreadful final Judgment. After this dramatic passage, at verse 38 he returns to addressing Christ and asking for peace, *requiem*, after his labors and promising his faithful adherence to all the promises of Christ. The final two verses are addressed to praise, *laus*, and give a blessing to be well forever as it goes to those above.

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<sup>840</sup> A9, 63-65.

<sup>841</sup> D28, 1-2.



The commentary shares this unusual character of consisting of one long prayer addressed to different entities. The first sentence opens this prayer by addressing God the Father, whom Hrabanus adores for granting him the grace of writing the *In honorem*. Hrabanus switches to Christ, also thanking Him for the inspiration to write the *In honorem* and speak to his fellow servants of the common salvation. At line 18 he addresses the Holy Spirit, thanking Him for His grace in the writing of the *In honorem* and petitioning for the illumination to recognize and correct any errors that may be in it. After addressing each Person of the Holy Trinity individually, at line 26 Hrabanus turns to the Trinity by name, “aeternas et perpetua Deus Trinitas et inseparabilis unitas,”<sup>842</sup> and invokes a long list of epithets for the abstract qualities of God. The first section of this list concerns the single Deity – *inluminatio, salus, laus, felicitas, serenitas, etc.* – while the second section considers God in his Trinity, with epithets that reflect the intra-divine relations of the three Persons: *amans et amatus, amorque amicissimus; genitor genitus potenterque regenerans; dicens et uerbum et procedens ab utroque; etc.* After this nominative list addressed to the Trinity, Hrabanus returns to addressing the Father, and prays for forgiveness, salvation and eternal life.

The cross-figure contains the following interwoven text in both the horizontal and vertical arms, which in the horizontal arm partially coincides with verse 17: “ORO TE RAMVS ARAM, ARA SVMAR ET ORO.”<sup>843</sup> This text is a palindrome and thus the interwoven verse can be read identically within the cross in any direction, up, down, left or right. The kneeling monk contains an Asclepiadic verse, which Hrabanus gives in the commentary as follows:

HRABANVM MEMET CLEMENS ROGO, CHRISTE, TVERE,  
O PIE IVDICIO.<sup>844</sup>

On the visual fields, however, the initial “H” is actually outside the figure and is colored as monovalent text, so that the name is RABANUM. However, this

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<sup>842</sup> C28, 26.

<sup>843</sup> C28, 57.

<sup>844</sup> C28, 62-63.

ambiguity reflects a common fluctuation in situations in which German names are transcribed into Latin. Word-initial “R” in Old German had such a strong breathing than it is sometimes transcribed in Latin with an “H,” but since no native Latin words begin with HR, the “H” is often dropped, as in the modern Italian version, *Rabano*.

### 3.2.28.1.3. Cognitive Elements

In line with the uniqueness of the form of both the basis poem and the commentary of *carmen* 28, the relationship between the commentary and the basis poem is unique in the *In honorem*. The “commentary” does not attempt to comment on the poem. They are both prayers and share a roughly parallel structure, containing in this order an address to God the Father, an address to Christ, and an appeal for salvation. The commentary prayer includes explicit invocation of the Holy Spirit and the Trinity, while the basis poem contains an address to the cross in the middle and an address to praise at the end. Thus, the commentary and basis poem are convergent prayers, addressed in much the same way and covering much the same topics, rather than the commentary explaining or supplementing the basis poem as in the other *carmina*.

The commentary still explains the figures and the interwoven verses at the usual position at the end. The two figures and their interwoven verses create two text-image units of fundamental importance for the *carmen*, as they are also pointed out by the titles. The relationship between the two images is also very important. Hrabanus describes himself in the basis poem as devoting his entire being to prayer, and in the figures he depicts himself in the act of prayer, with the head which conceived the *In honorem* and the hands which wrote it in a direct line below the cross which it honors. In fact, the two figures and their relationship with each other show Hrabanus enacting the purpose of the *In honorem* and the theme of this *carmen*, the adoration of the cross.

The commentary closes with a paragraph concerned with the *In honorem* as a whole. In it Hrabanus explains that he wished to finish with twenty-eight *carmina*, because 28 is a perfect number, and the cross shape is that which consummates and is the perfection of things.

### 3.2.28.2. Content

#### 3.2.28.2.1. Adoration of the Cross

A monk kneels, hands outstretched in prayer, before a cross glowing red against the dark background of *carmen* 28. The visual levels show the author in the act of adoring the cross, with head and outstretched hands directly below. The two titles concur that the adoration of the cross is the primary theme of the last *carmen*. A9 uses the abstract noun *adoratio* and D28 the verb *adorat*, a subordinate clause in A (*imago ipsius ad orandum subtus crucem genua flectit*) and the title in D (OPIFEX IPSE SANCTAM CRUCEM ADORAT) indicating that the kneeling monk is Hrabanus himself. This adoration of the cross is in fact the purpose of the entire *In honorem*, and so it is fitting that the last *carmen* be dedicated to it.

The interwoven verse which fills the cross also states this adoration. The verse which contains it runs, “Spem oro te ramus aram, ara sumar et oro hinc,”<sup>845</sup> with the first and last words monovalent and the rest bivalent text.<sup>846</sup> While the basis poem and the interwoven text use *oro*, the prose translation here employs *adoro*,<sup>847</sup> which suggests that Hrabanus does not differentiate them rigorously, as Eginhard was to do two decades later in his *Quaestio de adoranda cruce*.

#### 3.2.28.2.2. Adoration to Continue Forever

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<sup>845</sup> B28, 17.

<sup>846</sup> There is some debate in the scholarly literature as to whether *ramus* here refers to *ramus*, *-i*, n. branch, a nominative used as a vocative, or is an abbreviation or nickname for Hrabanus used in the nominative. Klingenberg 1968 proposed the latter based on the numerological correspondances he believed to have observed between the two figures, d’Onofrio 1996 and 2007 (p. 314) accepted this suggestion and Weitmann 1997 (p. 245) translated *ramus* as “ich als Frucht”. Ernst 1991 (p. 291) remained neutral. In favor of the former alternative are Taeger 1970 (p. 84), Perrin 1997 (p. 321, 340) and 2009 (p. 173). This researcher must disagree with the opinion of his thesis moderator d’Onofio and opt for the former alternative. The prose translation is: “O lignum uitale et ara salutifera, te adoro, spem uitae aeternae,” which follows exactly the usual relationship between B and D: where B has single nouns, often used obscurely, D has noun-adjective phrases, often employing more common synonyms of the obscure nouns which Hrabanus uses in B. The connections between *ara* and *ara salutifera*, *oro* and *adoro*, and *spem* and *spem uitae aeternae* are obvious and exactly in line with the normal expansion relationship between B and D. The only elements remaining, which, by every analogy with the rest of the *In honorem*, must correspond, are *ramus* and *O lignum uitale*.

<sup>847</sup> D28, 24.

Furthermore, this adoration is intended by Hrabanus to go on forever. The twenty-eighth *carmen* is not meant to close the book but to transform the adoration of the cross into something independent and perpetual. The basis poem closes with this wish, reminiscent of the classical addresses to books:

I nunc ad superos, in caelis rite triumphas.  
O laus alma crucis semper sine fine ualeto.<sup>848</sup>

Meanwhile, the prose translation rephrases this text significantly:

O crux alma Dei, usque huc, quantum potui, laudem tuam cecini; sed quia triumphum perpetem expetis, quem in mortalibus pleniter et perfecte non inuenis, confer te ad caelestia angelorum agmina, ibique tibi laus perpetua per cuncta sonabit saecula.<sup>849</sup>

In the verses immediately prior to this passage, Hrabanus had been addressing Christ. So grammatically the subject of *i* should be Christ, giving the meaning, “Go, Christ, to those above, you triumph rightly in the Heavens,” while the last line alone is addressed to *laus alma*, enjoining it to be well forever: “sine fine ualeto.” The prose version addresses both lines to the cross, adds several lengthy clauses which have no corresponding text in B – *usque huc, quantum potui, laudem tuam cecini* and *sed quia triumphum perpetem expetis, quem in mortalibus pleniter et perfecte non inuenis* – and then concludes with “get yourself to the celestial armies of the angels, where perpetual praise will sound for you for all ages.” So, despite the large discrepancies, we also have in D a reference to the perpetuity of the praise of the cross – *tibi* refers to the cross in this passage, *laus perpetua* corresponds with *laus* in verse 43, and *sonabit per cuncta saecula* to *sine fine ualeto*.

The prayer which Hrabanus addresses to the cross, according to the basis poem, is actually written inside the cross figure. Furthermore, this palindrome text never ends. The reader can read it backwards and forwards, upwards and downwards, without ceasing. Hrabanus thus uses the *lectio* to indicate the perpetual praise which he wishes to offer. The *In honorem* may be finished but the praise of the cross

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<sup>848</sup> B28, 42-43.

<sup>849</sup> D28, 60-64.

shown in the twenty-eighth *carmen* has no end, as Hrabanus both says, “sine fine valet,” and shows.

### 3.2.28.2.3. Prayer of Adoration in the Basis Poem

The prayers found in the basis poem and the commentary, although parallel, focus on different objects. The basis poem is fundamentally a prayer of adoration. The poem with a long list of titles of God.

Omnipotens uirtus, maiestas alta, Sabaoth  
Excelsus Dominus, uirtutum summe creator,  
Formator mundi hominum tu uere Redemptor,  
Tu mea laus, uirtus, tu gloria cuncta, salusque,  
Tu rex, tu doctor, tu es rector, care magister,  
Tu pastor pascens, protector uerus ouilis.  
Portio tuque mea, sancte saluator et auctor,  
Dux, uia, lux, uita, merces bona, ianua regni es,  
Vox, sensus, uerbum, uirtutum laeta propago.<sup>850</sup>

Hrabanus then speaks on his own intentions and the total involvement of his being in the act of prayer.

Ad te direxi, et cumulans nunc dirigo uerba.  
Mens mea te loquitur, mentis intentio tota,  
Quicquid lingua, manus orat et bucca beate  
Cor humile, et uita iusta, sacrata uoluntas,<sup>851</sup>

He remarks here on the fact that the twenty-eighth *carmen* is a culmination and summary of the work – *cumulans nunc dirigo uerba*.

Turning to the Christ, he expands his view to include all created things, which all praise and sing the Christ, and then returns again to the personal standpoint, and reaffirms that he, too, Hrabanus, adores Christ.

Omnia te laudant et cantant, Christe serene.

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<sup>850</sup> B28, 1-9.

<sup>851</sup> B28, 10-13.

Namque ego te Dominum pronus et laetus adoro,<sup>852</sup>

Aspects of this prayer of adoration are also found in the commentary-prayer. A similar long list of titles, indicating abstract qualities of the Godhead, considered both as a Unity and as a Trinity, is included in a doxological adoration of the Trinity.

Te aeternas et perpetua Deus Trinitas et inseparabilis unitas, toto corde, tota anima, tota mente et tota uirtute colo, adoro, exopto, desidero. Tu inluminatio mea, tu salus mea, tu laus mea, tu uirtus mea, creator, redemptor, reparator, pater, arbiter, magister, beatitudo, fortitudo, alacritudo, aeternitas, felicitas, serenitas, Deus unus omnipotens, Deus deorum Dominus, Deus rerum creator omnium, Deus lux et uita fidelium, uita uiuens, uita a uiuente, uiuificator uiuentium, amans et amatus, amorque amicissimus, genitor et genitus potenterque regenerans, dicens et uerbum ac procedens ab utrisque, diligens et dilectus amborumque dilectio, uerum lumen, lumen ex lumine, uera inluminatio, consiliator, consilium et communicatio, a quo, per quem et in quo sunt omnia, tibi laus et gloria in sempiterna saecula.<sup>853</sup>

Hrabanus speaks of this prayer to the Trinity using the terms *colo*, *adoro*, *exopto*, and *desidero*.

#### **3.2.28.2.4. Prayer of Thanksgiving for Grace to Write the *In honorem***

Much of Hrabanus' prayer in the commentary is devoted to giving thanks for the grace which inspired and allowed him to write the *In honorem*. He addresses each Person of the Trinity in this sense. After praising the Father as He who wished from before the ages for His Only-Begotten to take on human flesh and suffer the cross to redeem humanity, he continues:

... te adoro, tibi gratias ago, quod mihi misero famulo tuo concedisti gratiam tuam (quamuis indigno et multorum facinorum mole aggrauato) ut dilecti Filii tui passionem laudibus (licet non condignis, tamen deuotis) canendo et conscribendo depromerem.<sup>854</sup>

Here Hrabanus says *te adoro* to the Father.

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<sup>852</sup> B28, 14-15.

<sup>853</sup> C28, 26-40.

<sup>854</sup> C28, 4-8.

He also addresses thanks to Christ:

Tibi, Domine Iesu Christe, Filii Dei unigenite, humiles preces offero et uota oris persoluo, quod mihi peccatori inspirare dignatus es honorem sanctae crucis tuae quantulumcumque decantare, et communem omnium nostrum salutem conseruis meis praedicare.<sup>855</sup>

Here Hrabanus describes his prayer as *humiles preces offero*. He also indicates that the writing of the *In honorem* is the fulfillment of a vow: *uota oris persoluo*. Just as in the prologue,<sup>856</sup> Hrabanus describes his activity in the *In honorem* as *conseruis meis praedicare*.

A thanks to the Holy Spirit for the grace which the Divine Person has vouchsafed during the production of the *In honorem* is not missing, combined with a further petition.

Tibi, sancte Spiritus Paracletus, totis praecordiis meis grates refero, quod me tua gratia in ipso opere adiuuare et consolari dignatus es. Te deprecor ut si aliqua, pro fragilitate mea, inconuenienter posui, seu rite non intellexi, tua uisitacione me inlustrare digneris, ut ea decenter corrigam, meique erroris per te ueniam consequar, ut ipse, quem ante inceptum opus in auxilium inuocauis, sine naufragio ad optatum litus me perducas.<sup>857</sup>

This prayer of thanksgiving for the grace is described as *grates refero*. Meanwhile, Hrabanus also asks for the grace of illumination, in order to correct the *In honorem* in case of any error.

### **3.2.28.2.5. Prayer of Supplication for Salvation because of the *In honorem***

A third aspect of Hrabanus' prayers in *carmen* 28 is the highly personal one of his longing for his own salvation. He hopes, in fact, that the writing of the *In honorem* will contribute to this salvation.

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<sup>855</sup> C28, 8-13.

<sup>856</sup> A7, 20.

<sup>857</sup> C28, 17-25.

Already the title contains a reference to this idea, in the subordinate clause, “ubi opifex ipse pro se deprecatur.” The adoration of the cross which is realized in words and images in the *carmen* is at the same time a prayer for himself.

A long section of the basis poem, which follows the prayers to God, Christ and the cross, expresses this longing with great ardor. Hrabanus begins with a long description of the dreadful Last Judgment in verses 28 to 31.

Namque tuus quando toto fulgescet Olympo  
Igneus aduentus, torrebit et ardor iniquos,  
Tempestas stridet, cornu iam mugit et orbe  
Ante apparebit quando crucis aere signum,<sup>858</sup>

On that dreadful day, Hrabanus hopes that the cross itself will protect him.

Tum rogo me eripiat flammis ultricibus ipsa  
Atque poetam agni proprium defendat ab ira  
Cui cano;<sup>859</sup>

Hrabanus asks that he may be snatched from the avenging flames by the cross itself (*ipsa*, the subject of *eripiat*). He then describes himself as the *poetam proprium*, i.e., the cross’s own poet, in the wish that the cross, to whom he sings, may defend him from the anger of the Lamb. He then briefly outlines his merits and his devotion:

... iure canam Hrabanus uersibus ore,  
Corde, manu, semper donum memorabile cantu,  
Quod dederat uitae memet clementer in ara,  
Quando ipsa Iesus clemens rogo ab eruit imo  
Inferni.<sup>860</sup>

Hrabanus sings in verses, with mouth, heart, and hand, on the great gift, worthy to be remembered in song, that Jesus gave his life on the *ara crucis*; so Hrabanus asks that he may be rescued from the depth of Hell.

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<sup>858</sup> B28, 28-31.

<sup>859</sup> B28, 32-34.

<sup>860</sup> B28, 34-38.



The basis poem continues with a petition for rest and an assurance of faith in Christ's promises.

... Requiem nunc, o Christe, arce polorum  
Da mihi; hoc posco, spero, et uera omnia credo  
Quae promisisti, hoc teneo pietate fideque  
Quod uerax facis ordine iudicio omnia uero.<sup>861</sup>

The upper part (from the head to the upper hand) of the figure of Hrabanus kneeling in adoration of the cross overlaps precisely the verses in which Hrabanus speaks of his merits from singing the cross *ore, corde, manu*. The body parts which he mentions in these verses are those depicted in the portion of the figure over these verses. The lower portion of the figure, from the lower hand to the feet, overlaps the four verses of the above quotation. The verse woven into this figure is also a personal appeal for Hrabanus' personal salvation,<sup>862</sup> thus creating a visual-textual unit which represents this ardent longing.

This request for salvation can also be found in the commentary, where the last section of the prayer, where Hrabanus returns to addressing the Father, contains this petition:

Te, pater clementissime, peto ut qui primitus me hoc opus conscribendo uoluisti perficere, quod ad laudem Redemptoris et Saluatoris nostri pertinet, redemptionis et saluationis eius gratiam per ipsum consequi merear.<sup>863</sup>

Here, again, Hrabanus links the writing of the *In honorem* with the grace of redemption and salvation. He asks to merit, through the *In honorem (per ipsum)*, the grace of Him who first inspired him to write the work.

### 3.2.28.2.6. Hrabanus Himself to Be a Sacrifice on the Altar of the Cross

Throughout the *In honorem* there are mentions of the idea of the altar of the cross, on which Christ offered Himself, at one moment both Priest and Victim, for the whole

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<sup>861</sup> B28, 38-41.

<sup>862</sup> C28, 62-63. Quoted in §3.2.28.1.2.

<sup>863</sup> C28, 41-44.

world. Here in *carmen* 28, Hrabanus develops this idea further in a startling way. He desires to present himself as a sacrificial victim on the same altar of the cross.

Hrabanus introduces this thought with a three-verse prelude emphasizing how intense his longing is:

Hoc meus est arduus clarus, hoc ignis amoris,  
Hoc mea mens poscit primum, hoc famen et ora,  
Hoc sitis est animi, mandendi magna cupido,<sup>864</sup>

This is Hrabanus' brilliant ardor, this is the fire of his love, this his mind asks for first of all, this is his word and prayer, this is the thirst of his soul and his great desire. What is this great desire? He answers in the next verse:

Vt me tu pie suscipias, bone Christe, per aram  
Oblatum famulum, quod uictima sim tua, Iesus,  
Hostia quod tua sim, memet crucifixio totum  
Iam tua consumat, ...<sup>865</sup>

Hrabanus desires to be taken up through the altar of the cross, as an *oblatus famulus, tua uictima, tua hostia*, so that Jesus' crucifixion may consume him completely.

... et passio mitiget aestum  
Carnalem, uitia confringat, deprimat iram,  
Refrenet linguam, pietatis uerba reponat,  
Mentem pacificet, uitam deducat honestam.<sup>866</sup>

Hrabanus closes this passionate section with a list of the beneficial spiritual effects of this self-oblation for which he longs: mitigating carnal desire, crushing vices, pushing down anger, restraining the tongue, filling it with words of piety, pacifying the mind, and leading an honest life.

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<sup>864</sup> B28, 18-20.

<sup>865</sup> B28, 21-24.

<sup>866</sup> B28, 24-27.

Indeed, the interwoven verse in the cross figure contains this prayer, as well, in very abbreviated form: *sumar ara*. This wish to be offered up to Christ as a sacrifice, to be consumed entirely in the cross of Christ, for all earthly vices to burn away in the fire of suffering, is part of the prayer which Hrabanus wishes to go on forever.

The twenty-eight *carmen* completes the *In honorem sanctae crucis* and presents the work as a whole as both a meritorious work of piety and an intense and perpetual act of mystical devotion.

### 3.2.28.3. Sources

#### 3.2.28.3.1. Anonymous Carolingian Prayer Book

Perrin has identified a number of parallels between the prayers of C28 and other prayer texts. The prayer addressed to the Holy Spirit in C28, 17-25 has close parallels to Pseudo-Anselm, *Meditationes* 9, *De humanitate Christi*,<sup>867</sup> as does C28, 41-53. The Trinitarian prayers, outlining the different aspects of the Godhead according to the persons, in C28, 26-40 has parallels in Pseudo-Bede, *Libellus precum*,<sup>868</sup> Alcuin (?), *Libellus precum*,<sup>869</sup> and Alcuin (?), *Confessio Fidei*.<sup>870</sup>

Perrin concludes that Hrabanus drew upon some kind of prayer collection, possibly stemming from Alcuin, which then survived to influence these other works, including the Anselmian corpus.

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<sup>867</sup> Pseudo-Anselm, *Meditationes* 9, *De humanitate Christi*, PL 158, 761AB.

<sup>868</sup> Pseudo-Bede, *Libellus precum*, PL 94, 530B-532B.

<sup>869</sup> Alcuin (?), *Libellus precum*, PL 101, 1409C-1410C. Perrin considers the collection to be from Alcuin. “Les lecteurs de Raban Maur”, *op. cit.*, 2010.

<sup>870</sup> Alcuin (?), *Confessio Fidei*, PL 101, 1044D.

### 3.3. Macrostructure

What can be said about the structure of the *In honorem* as a whole? Certain observations are obvious and indisputable, others are more speculative.

First of all, the unity of the work is guaranteed by an over-arching unity on the visual level; the ever-repeated pattern of the cross dominates the whole. Likewise, the contents of each *carmen* shows the cross as an abstract, unifying and structuring principle.

In addition to this unity of theme, there is also unity of method. As Ferrari identifies, each individual *carmen* functions by a process of analysis and recomposition into a higher unity – the individual figures analyze the aspect of existence which is the theme of the individual *carmen*, while the pattern-level of the cross shape reunites them into that higher unity. The macrostructure of the *In honorem* unites, according to the same procedure, into a higher unity the 28 *carmina* which deal with different aspects of existence.<sup>871</sup> Also, the *carmina* converge on the over-all theme of praise of the cross just as individual aspects of each *carmen* converge on the praise of the cross within a determined context. It is this convergence which suggested to Ferrari the image of rays emerging from a light source.<sup>872</sup> Taeger identified the numerological structure to the *In honorem* as a whole,<sup>873</sup> through the use of verse lengths corresponding to the factors of 28, so there is a third structuring method, used throughout the individual *carmina*, which is repeated on the higher plane of the macrostructure.

Concerning the order of the individual *carmen*, a basic structure is obvious. We have B1 dedicated to Christ, expressing His totality of being and summarizing the process of salvation. The last *carmen* closes the cycle but suggests the endless continuation of the prayer to the cross contained therein. The third- and second-to-last *carmina* present the witness of the highest authority, the Holy Scriptures inspired

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<sup>871</sup> Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 127-128.

<sup>872</sup> for discussion, v. §2.2.2.3.5.

<sup>873</sup> for discussion, v. §2.2.2.3.5.

by God Himself, to the crucifixion. In between, from B2 to B25, we have poems relating different aspects of the universe to the cross.

Is there a finer principle of internal order? Ferrari is very cautious on this point,<sup>874</sup> but offers some proposals. He sees the *In honorem* as divisible into thematic blocks: he describes B3 to B9 as “una trattazione dell’universo nelle sue parti transuraniche e mondane,”<sup>875</sup> and B10 to B15 as the most Christological block.<sup>876</sup>

However, he believes the primary vehicle of macrotextual order is the relationship between one *carmen* and the immediately following one. He identifies a number of principles which govern this relationship. For example, at the transition from B3 to B4, he points out that the contents have changed both by a principle of synecdoche from general (all angels) to particular (Seraphima and Cherubim only), and by a principle he calls kinetopoeic, a meditative ascent from lower to higher (considering those angel choirs which are highest in dignity and stand closest to God).<sup>877</sup> Another principle identified by Ferrari is that of expansion: an aspect which is mentioned in passing in one *carmen* receives development and full treatment in the next. For example, the bulk of *carmen* 27 concerns the New Testament witnesses to the crucifixion, but the interwoven verses alone speak about Hrabanus’ own prayer to the cross, which is then the fully-developed subject of *carmen* 28.

Meanwhile, Perrin has proposed in his recent book a different internal order, based on the division of the *In honorem* into two halves, the first leading up to the Passion in B14, and the second to the Second Coming with the *carmina* devoted to the *Apocalypse* (B22 - B25). His scheme is as follows:

### **B 1- B 14 : jusqu’à la Passion**

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<sup>874</sup> Ferrari, *ibid.*, p. 129-130. “Ci si può però chiedere a questo punto se nel ‘Liber s. crucis’ esista anche la progressione macrotestuale in base alla quale la posizione di ogni singolo carme nella struttura complessiva appare necessaria. Possiamo cioè individuare le ragioni per le quali il 276 viene trattato in tredicesima posizione e non in dodicesima o quattordicesima? Allo stato attuale delle conoscenze non sembra esistere un principio chiaramente riconoscibile di distribuzione interna dei testi.”

<sup>875</sup> Ferrari, *ibid.*, p. 139.

<sup>876</sup> Ferrari, *ibid.*, p. 145-149.

<sup>877</sup> Ferrari, *ibid.*, p. 141.

\* B 1- B 6 : la domination céleste de la croix, l'économie du monde éternel, immatériel

- B 1- B 2 : le Christ et la croix ; la croix et la double nature du Christ (B 1) ; les 4 branches de la croix embrassent l'univers (B 2)

- B 3-B 4 : les êtres célestes ; les 9 ordres des anges (B 3) et le groupe des Chérubins et des Séraphins (B 4)

- B 5- B 6 : la structure de l'édifice céleste (B 5) ; les fruits de la croix (B 6)

\* B 7- B 14 : l'économie du salut

- B 7-B 9 : le monde concret, matériel ; les 4 éléments et les 4 saisons (B 7) ; les 12 vents, les signes du Zodiaque ... (B 8) ; les 365 jours de l'année (B 9)

- B 10-B 12 : différentes annonces du Christ ; le 70 annonce entre autres l'Incarnation du Christ (B 10) ; les 5 livres de la Loi sont la «type» biblique des Evangiles (B 11); Adam en tant que *forma futuri* (B 12)

- B 13-B 14: l'Incarnation, la Passion, et la Résurrection du Christ ; la durée de la grossesse de Marie (B 13) ; la durée du monde jusqu'à la Passion et à la Résurrection (B 14)

### **B 15- B 27 : le temps de l'Église jusqu'à la vie céleste**

\* B 15-B21 : le temps de l'Église en ce monde

- B 15-B 17 : le message chrétien au monde ; l'Agneau et les 4 Évangélistes (B 15) ; les 7 dons de l'Esprit (B 16) ; les 8 Béatitudes (B 17)

- B 18-B 21 : l'accomplissement de ce message dans le monde ; le chiffre 40 unit le Décalogue et l'Evangile (B 18) ; le 50 ou la Pentecôte (B 19) ; les 120 hommes sur lesquels le Saint-Esprit descend à la Pentecôte (B 20) ; le 72 ou l'illumination du monde par l'Evangile (B 21)

\* B 22-B 28 : vers la Parousie

- B 22 : le chrisme signifie la prédication du Christ et son second avènement

- B 23-B 25 : le temps de l'au-delà ou la vie céleste des élus ; les 24 Anciens autour du Trône divin (B 23) ; 144 et le nombre des élus dans le ciel (B 24) ; la vie des saints s'adresse à Dieu dans le ciel (B 25)

- B 26-B 27 : *recapitulatio* de conclusion: la Passion vue à travers l'Ancient Testament (B 26) et le Nouveau (B 27);

### **B 28 : la prière finale et l'invocation de Dieu Père, Fils et Esprit.<sup>878</sup>**

The division of the *In honorem* into two halves is indisputable. The Vatican manuscript emphasizes this by distinguishing B1, B15 and B28 from the other *carmina* by using a different set of color contrasts for the monovalent areas. Likewise, the last few *carmina* are clearly devoted to themes from the *Apocalypse*. This approach emphasizes a temporal aspect to the macrotextual order of the *In*

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<sup>878</sup> Perrin, *op. cit.*, 2009, p. 44.

*honorem*, which roughly follows the history of salvation from Creation to the end of time.<sup>879</sup>

At this point I wish to offer a contribution to these reflections. A thematic block seems to exist in *carmina* 24 - 28 concerning the nature of language. *Carmen* 24 is devoted to the 144,000 virgins and elect marked by a sign. Much of the attention is to the *canticum novum* which only the virgins can sing, although all the blessed in Heaven will rejoice to hear it. The virgins, once ordinary men and women, in their eschatological bliss are the only members of the human race who are capable of singing this song. The song of the virgins, therefore, is the most pure and exalted example of human language. This is merely the starting point of the reflection on language, however. In *carmen* 25, the subject is the two words "Amen" and "Alleluia," which is sung by the saints, but transcends the borders of human language: they are also the song of the angels (the word "Alleluia" is called "angelicum carmen" at D22, 39), but also of the twenty-four Elders and the four mysterious visionary animal symbols. In *carmina* 26 and 27 we progress to the level of the divine: the language inspired by God Himself to communicate His revelations to His creatures. Finally, *carmen* 28 turns to prayer, the endless prayer to the cross, and the silence beyond.

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<sup>879</sup> Ferrari concurs in identifying this aspect. v. Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 159.

## 4. Conclusion

### 4.1. Summary of Theological Content

In the *In honorem*, Hrabanus praises the cross of Christ as the metaphysical, metacosmic, metatemporal principle unifying every aspect of existence. The entire physical and spiritual universe, the creation, all space and time and matter, the angels, the Church, salvation history, are all united by this one *signum*. Christ is both Creator and Redeemer of the whole; he is the totality of being. Precisely through his sacrifice on the cross he makes it possible for the saved to join the angels in Heaven; the cross becomes the *machina* of grace. The elect respond to his Passion with songs of praise, which effects their salvation. Normal human language cannot express the mysteries of salvation and God's mercy. The proper response to them is wonder and prayer of thanksgiving and praise, which should, can and will go on forever.

### 4.2. How Content is produced by Form

The *In honorem* expresses this content through its unique form. First of all, it employs multiple fields of language, some arranged hierarchically in the *carmina*, some separate but subordinated to it. These multiple fields of language allow Hrabanus to create a multiple approach to each of his themes. Second, the fields of text are interwoven to create textual-visual units. These units usually symbolize some portion of the theme he has chosen. By this means, the individual *carmen* serves as a means to analyze and decompose an aspect of reality into its constituent parts. Hrabanus then expresses their higher unity by arranging these textual-visual units into the shape of a cross, the *signum* which expresses the unity of the apparent disparities. This process of analysis and recomposition which creates the microstructure of the individual *carmen* continues on a still higher level, that of the work as a whole. The same relationship exists between the individual *carmina*: each one deals with some aspect of reality, but the constant recurrence of the cross pattern unites all of these aspects into a single whole. The cross, then, is the exhaustive and complete symbol of the unity of the entire universe.



### 4.3. Suggestions for Further Research

One area which remains somewhat unexplored is the relationship between Hrabanus' numerology and his theology. The important role of numerological considerations in structuring the work have been clearly recognized by earlier scholars. Medieval numerology has been extensively studied by Meyer and Suntrop,<sup>880</sup> including the various numerological operations engaged in by Hrabanus in the *In honorem*. It would be of interest to carefully consider these operations and identify if there is any relationship between them and the formal structure and theological content of the individual *carmina*. Does Hrabanus use specific operations in specific contexts?

In this work it has been possible only to suggest possible influences of the *In honorem* on later Carolingian authors. It would be interesting to pursue this in greater depth. This research would require consideration of the thorny problem of identifying as well as possible who received which gift copy of the *In honorem* when, a subject of considerable debate and difficult resolution, and examining the later Carolingian authors for traces of the themes identified in this thesis as possibly relevant for evidence of direct influence.

### 4.4. Review of Thesis

The contents of the *In honorem* reach from the most humble objects and elements of the material creation all the way to the highest levels imaginable, the entire universe, Christ and God. The *In honorem* as a visual, emotional, artistic realization of the basic insight of negative theology. Its multiple fractured fields of meaning, its repeated analysis into textual-visual units and recomposition into higher unities until it has created a work uniting the entire cosmos is a poetic expression of the inability of the human mind to fully grasp the truth. As the divine truth enters the limited human mind, it is inevitably broken down into fractured fields, different aspects of the truth are grasped at different levels, connections are glimpsed or intuited. Behind it

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<sup>880</sup> Meyer, Suntrop, *Lexicon der mittelalterlichen Zahlenbedeutungen*, 1987 and Meyer, *Die Zahlenallegorese im Mittelalter*, 1975.

all, there is a sense of some higher and mystical unity within the diversity of the manifold phenomena of the universe, both sensible and intelligible.

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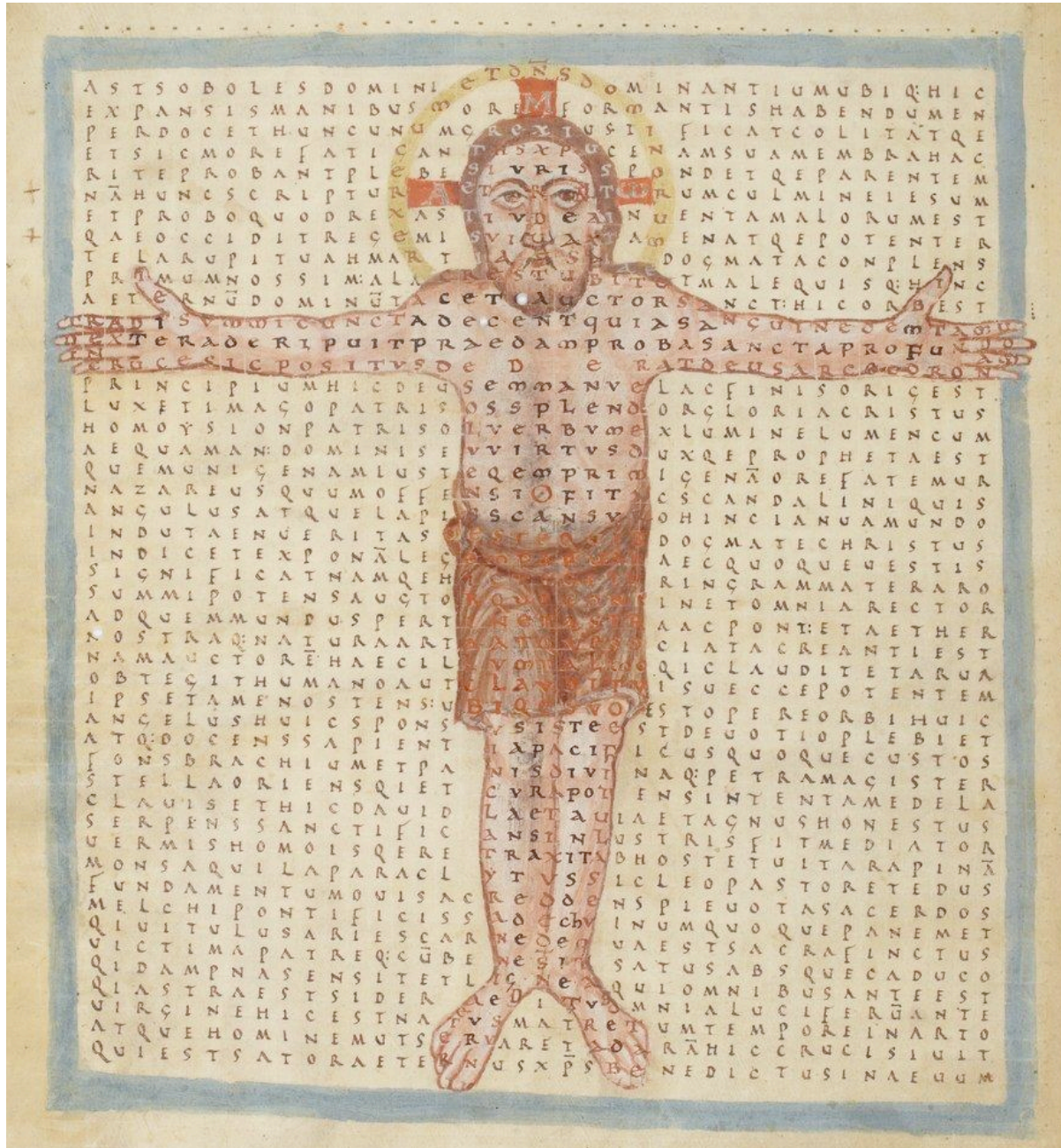
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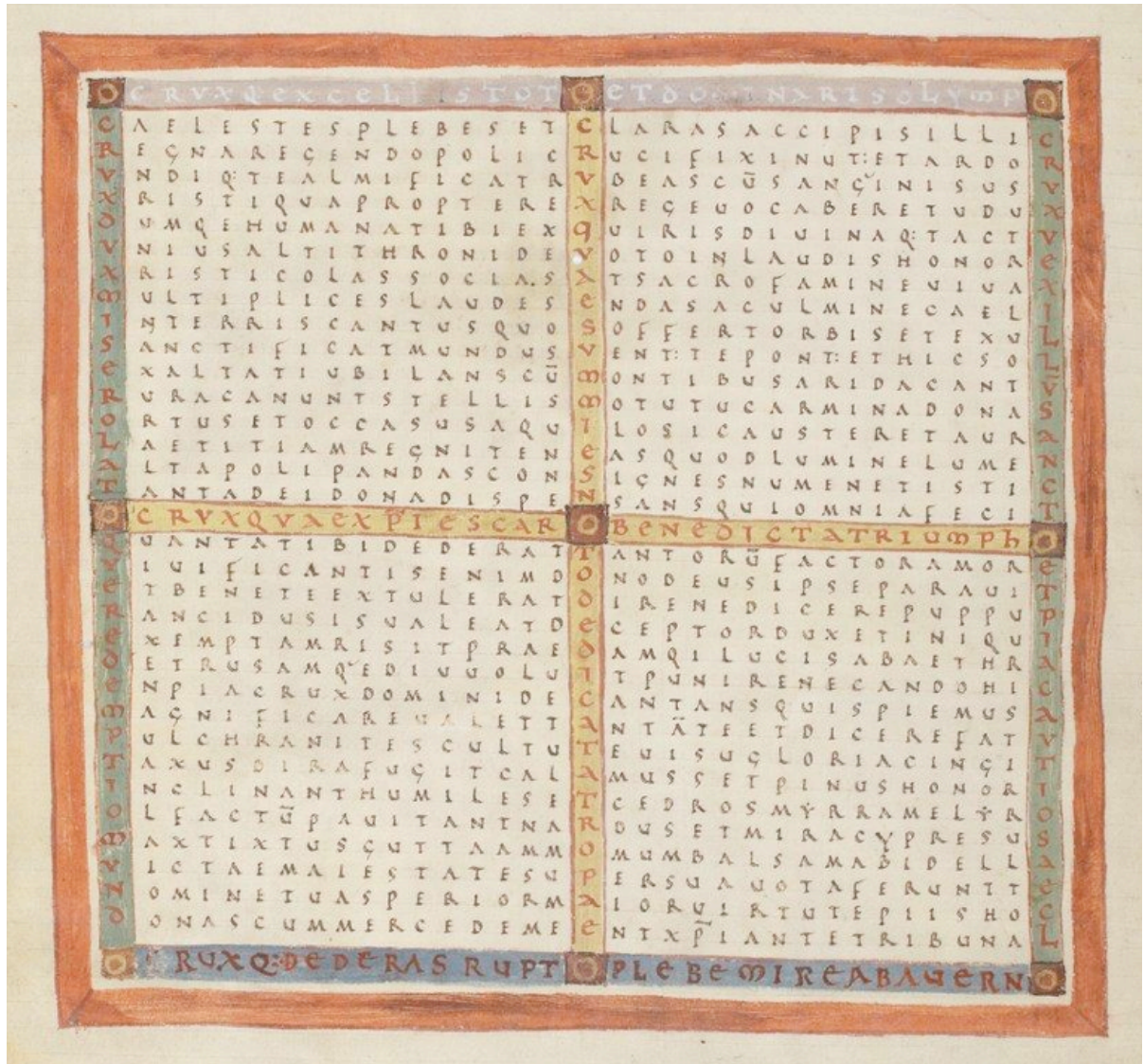
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## 6. Appendix: Images

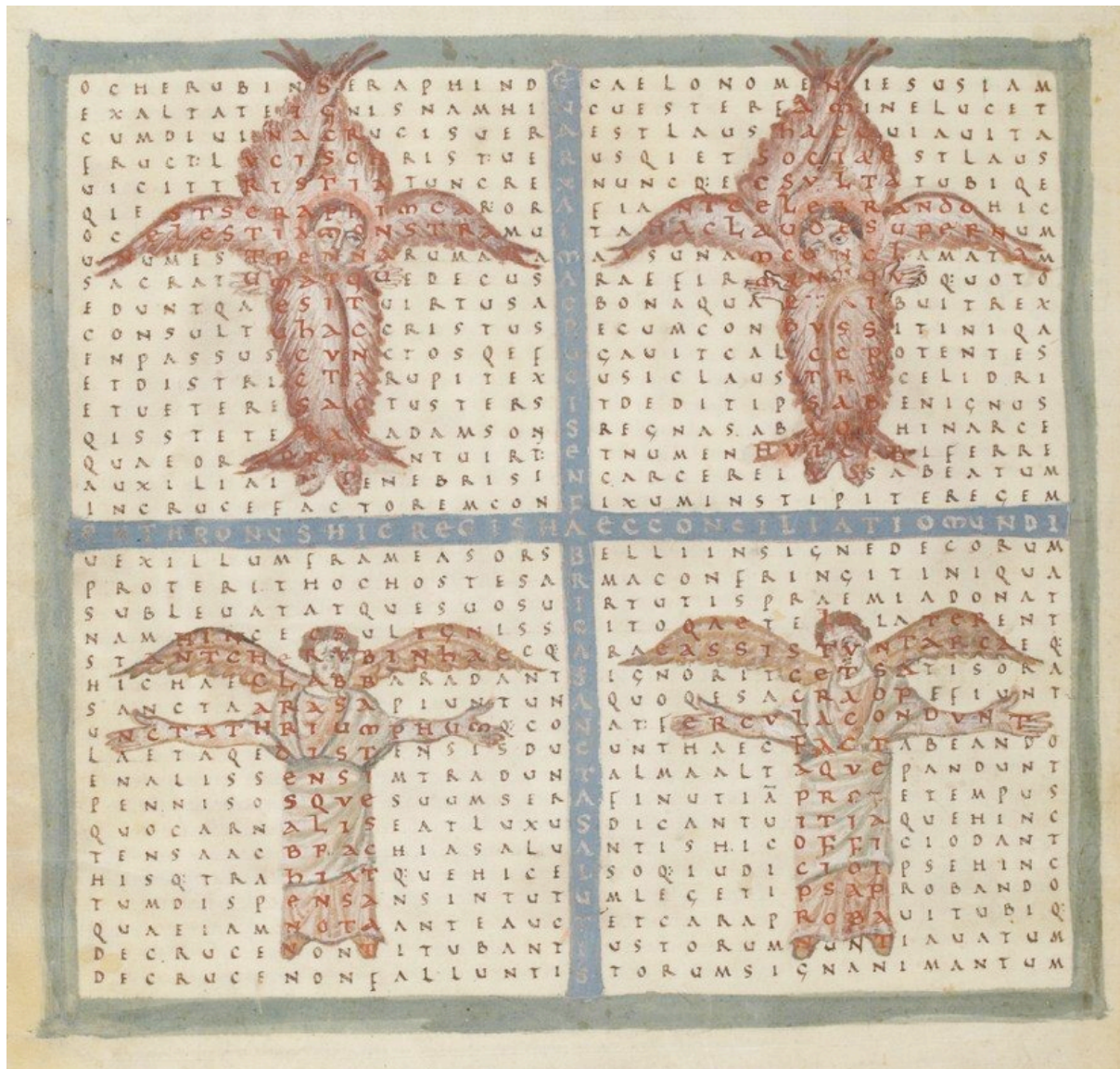
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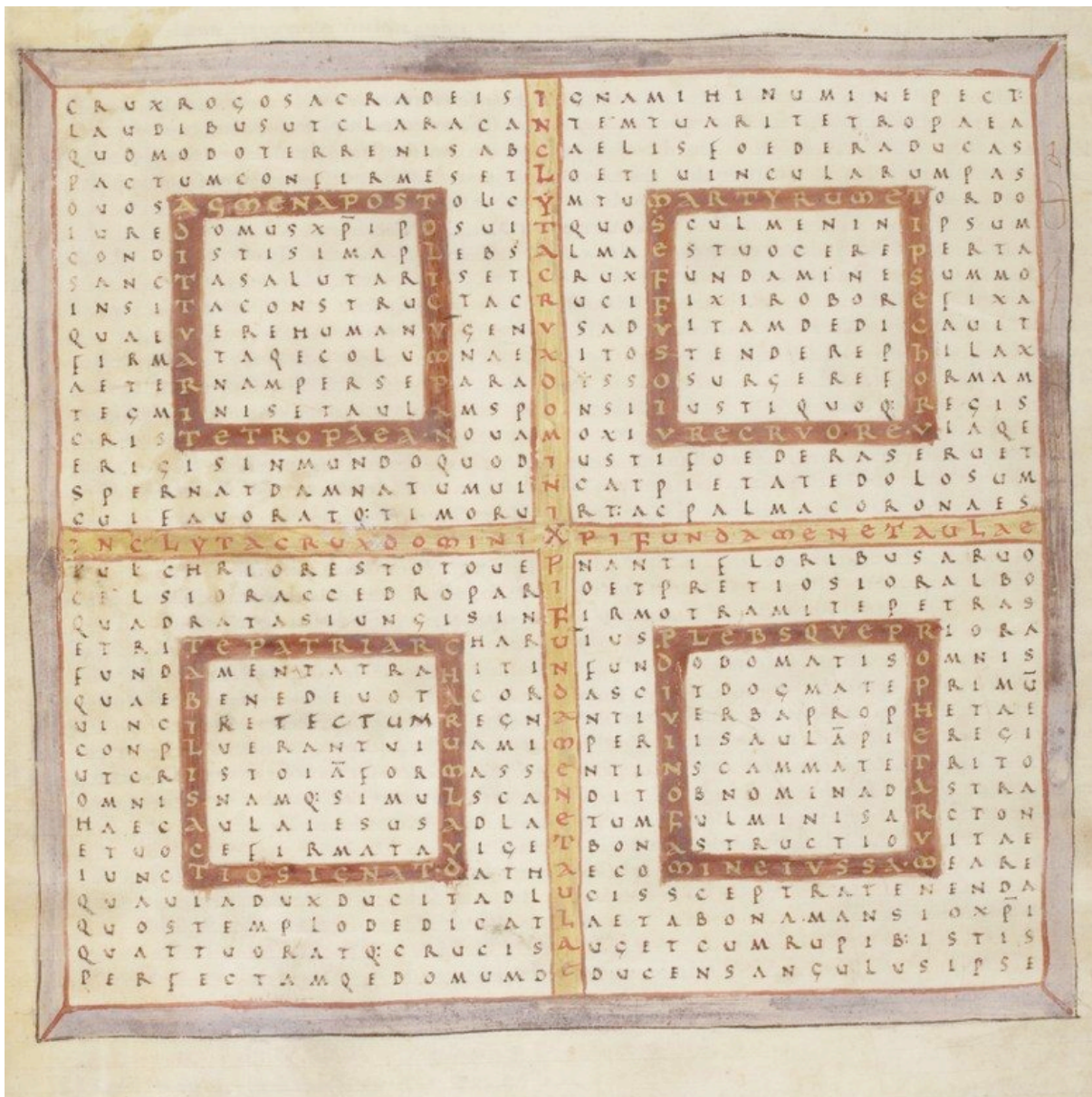
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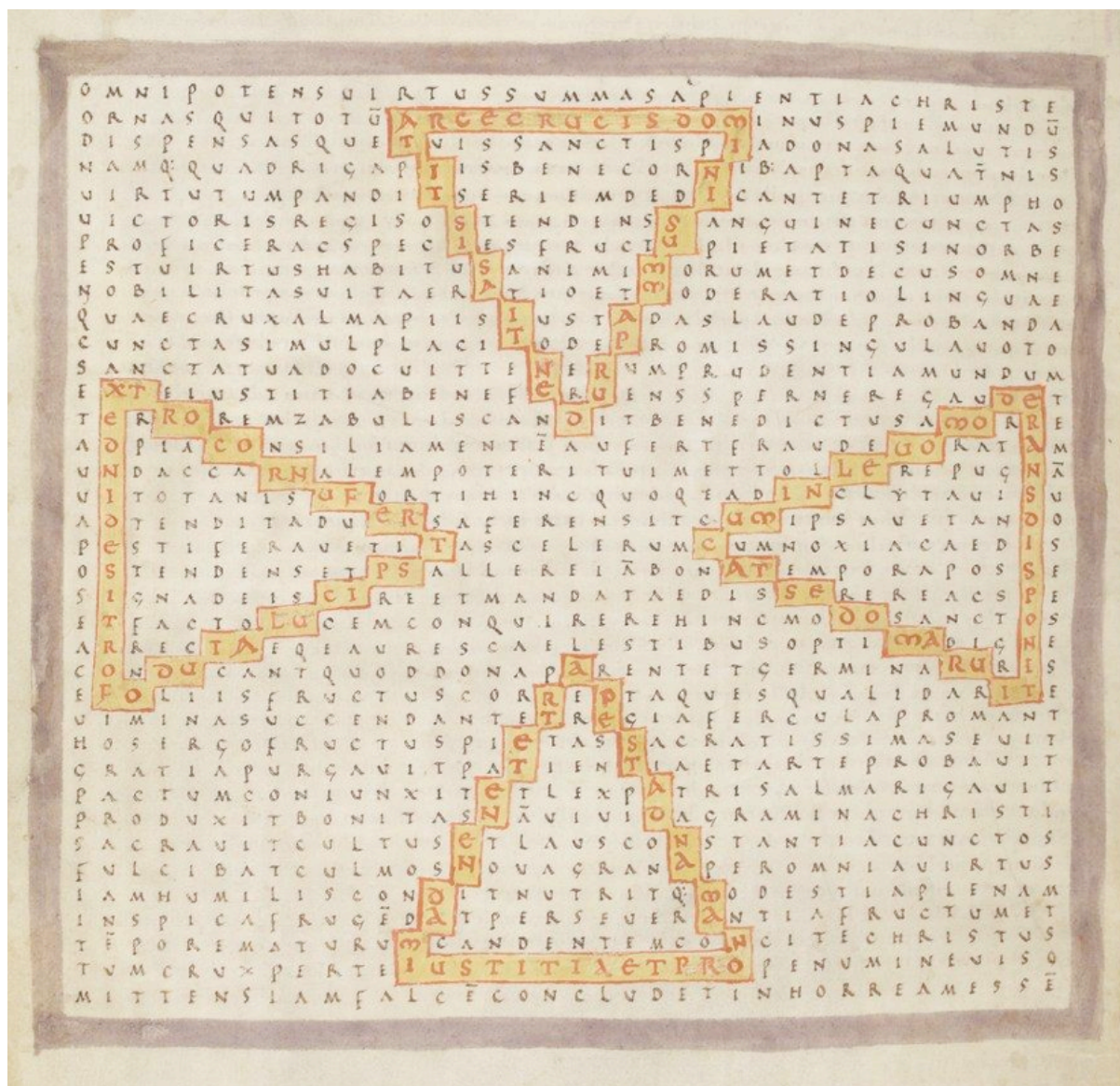


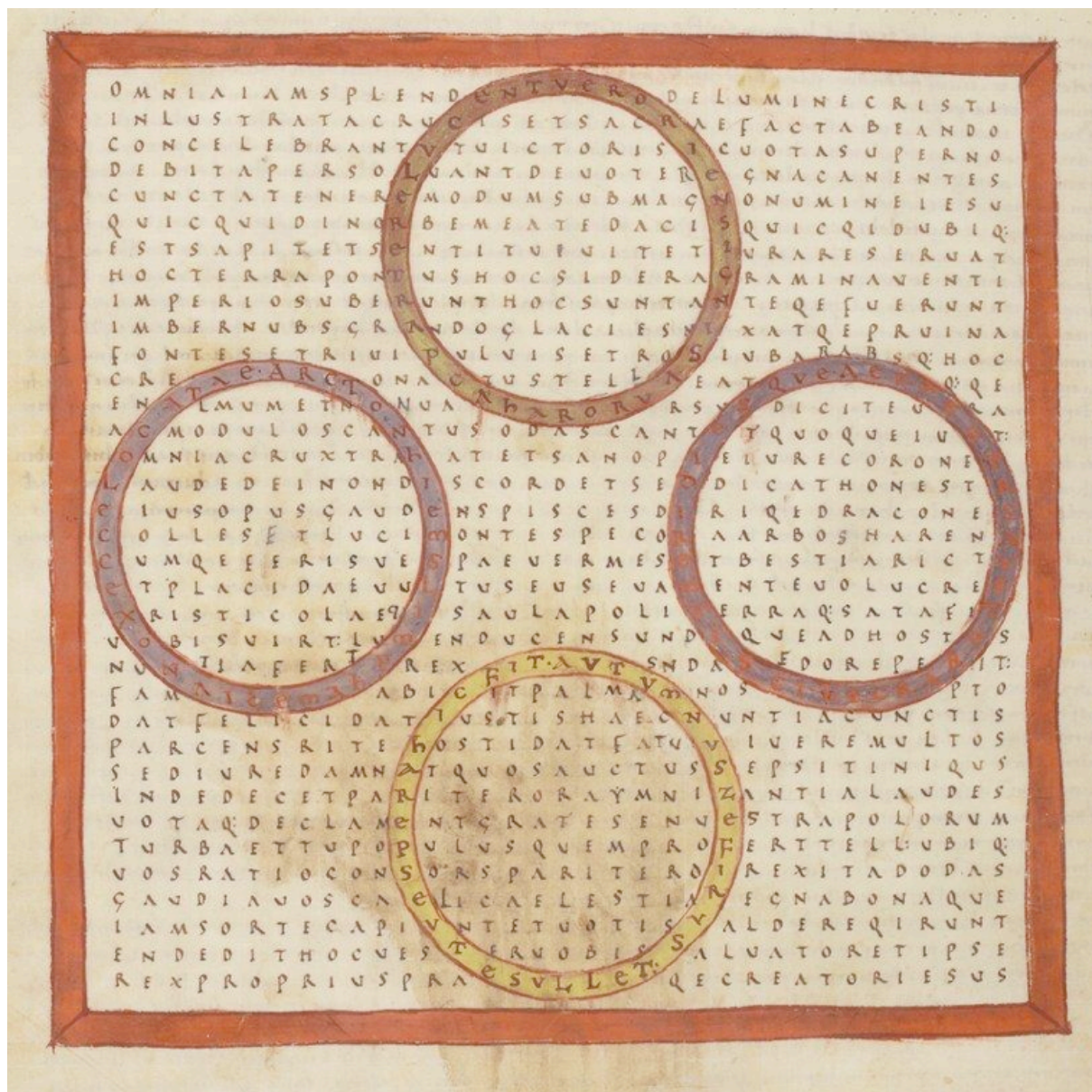






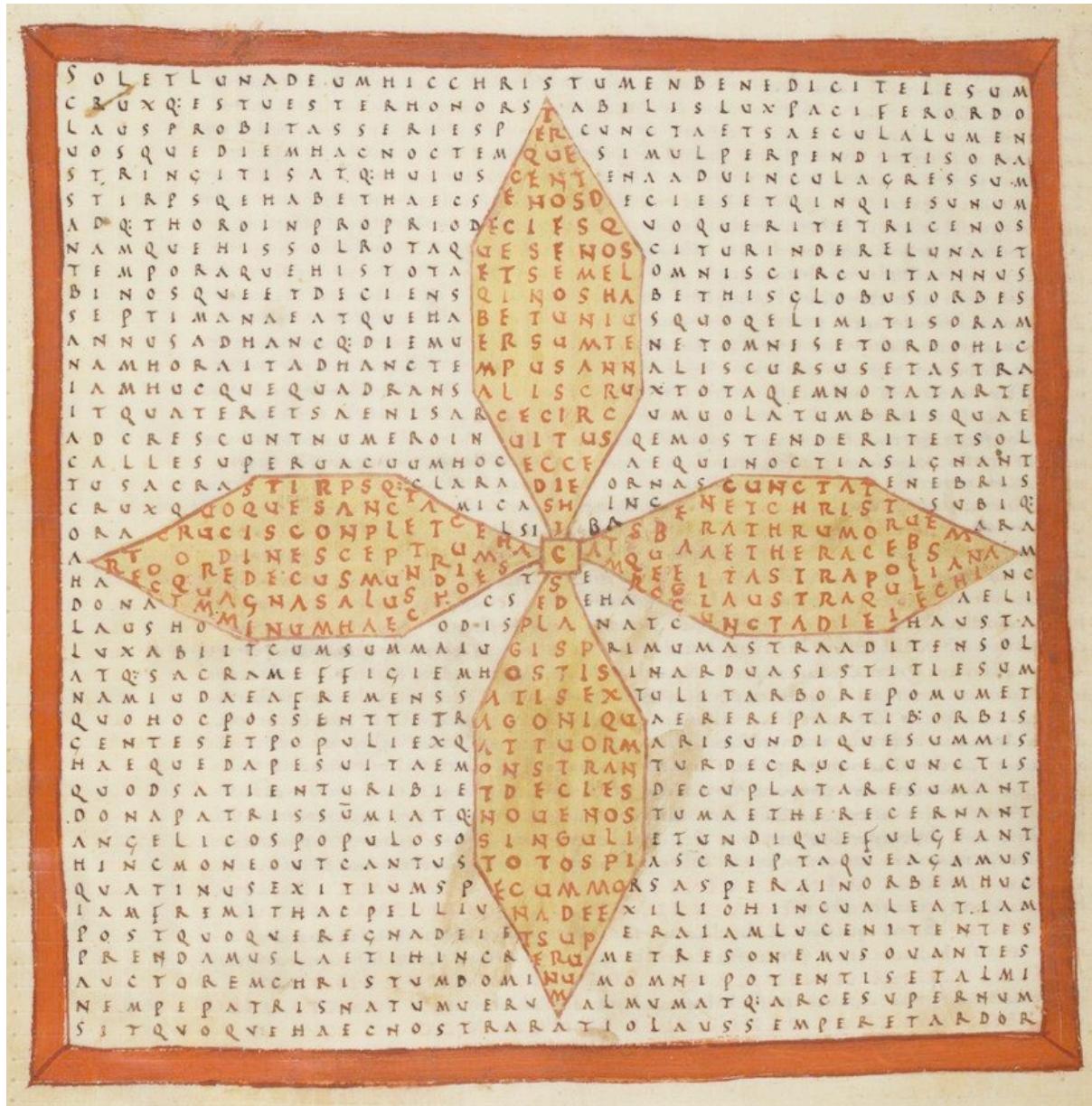






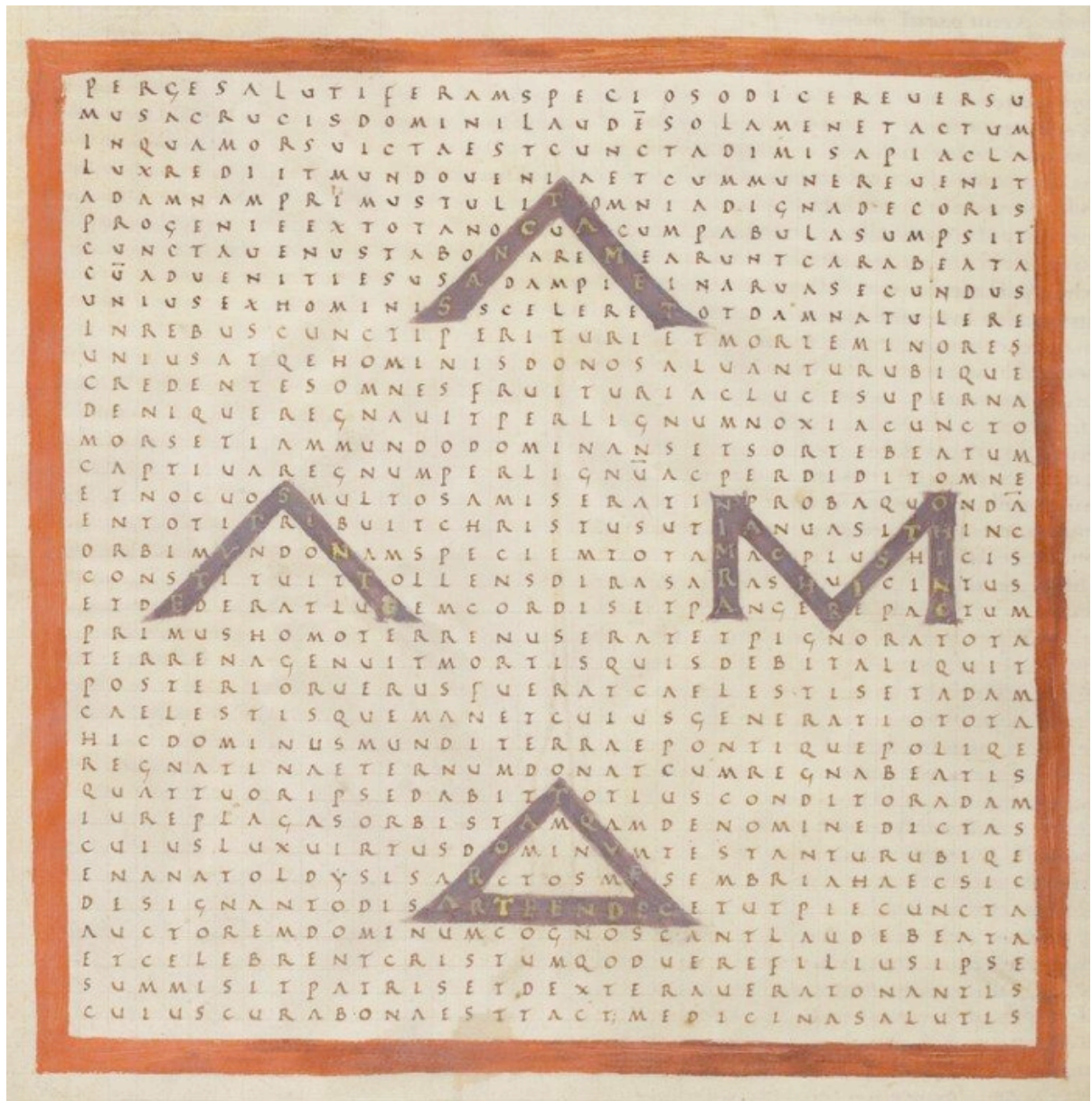


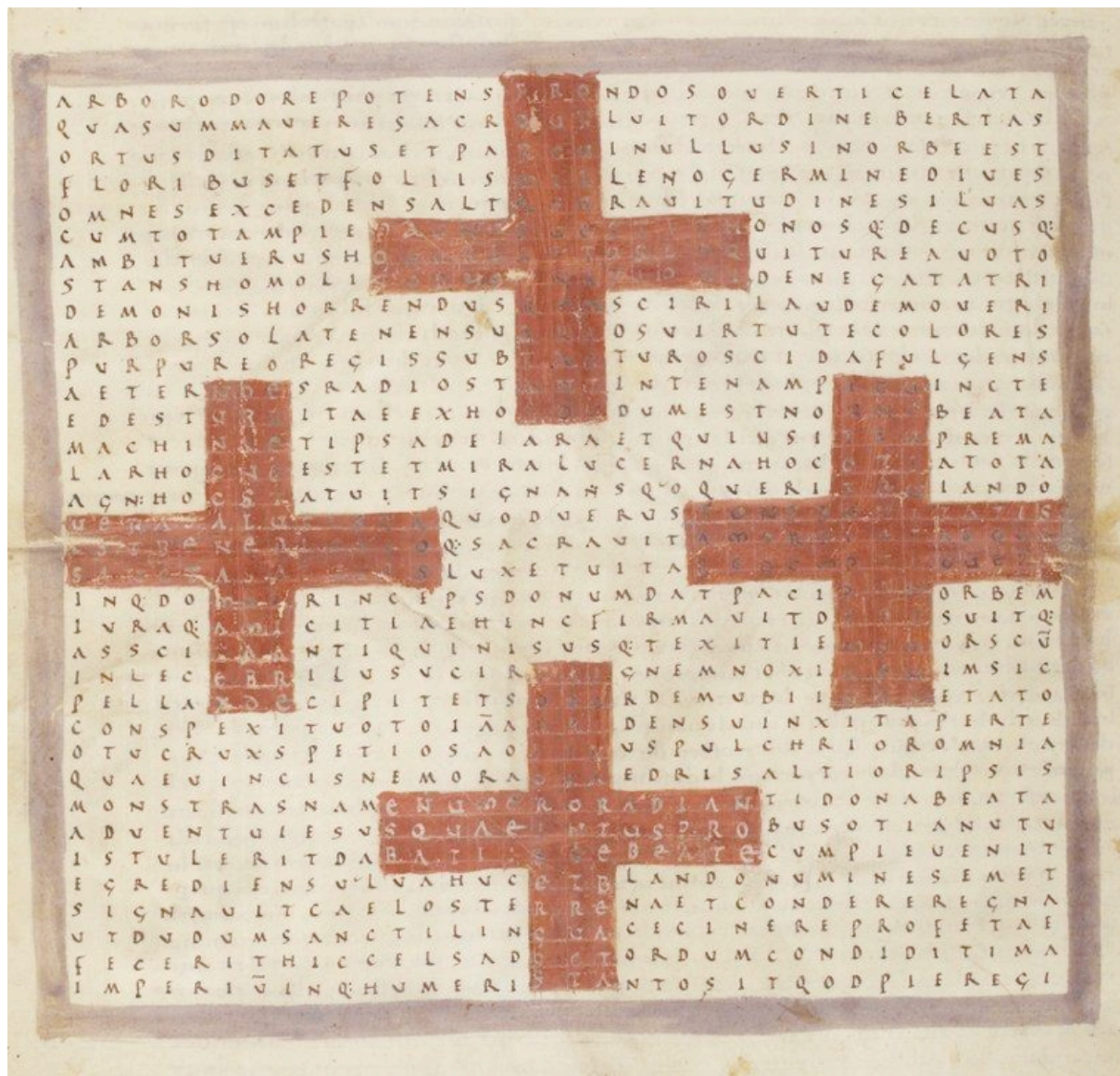
CHRISTUS SALVATOR CRISTUS REX ARCESERENS  
CONSILIVM VIRTUS MAGNA ET BENEDICTIO LUMEN  
PATRIS DIVINA PROLES CERTETRAHIT OMNE HINC  
IUS SORTUM FACTURA FABRUM MOSCATA STUSHONOREM  
HINC QUE BONUM QICQID VERUM MI RUM QEU IDETUR  
IUSTITIA EQICQVIDAR CE QUI C QUID MANET ORBE  
QUIC QUID RITE PROBAT ET PRO FERT ORDINEMUND  
ANGELUS SATQBONUS QAENAM SUFFERT ET INIQUUS  
SVNTHINC QUOD QE DEVS VANUM DEIFCERATEX HOC  
SAE CLOIUS REUOCANS ENOMNIA CRISTUS HONORE  
CONPLECTIT DOMINANS CONSIGNAT MUNERANVTU  
HINC CDECEYUT GENUS HUMANUM ET LUMINISEX SUL  
NORE THOS RADIOS QUOS ERICITHAE CBENE DICTA  
CAGXSALVANS ET REDDEN S QEMIAM PRIMHA BEBAT  
FESORTVM LUCIS NOCUM S QUO ABSCESSER ATADAM  
POTQOTI AMRADIOS UERE SENISTOS CELEBRABANT  
PERPETUA LUCIS FULCES SCUNT SORTI CREBROQUE  
HOCCANDORE SATISMIC VERUNT ARM A PROPHE TAE  
GREX ET APOSTOLICVS DECORATUR LYCECORVSCA  
HOC QFIDES CHRISTICANDE THOCSOLE RE LUCENT  
CORDA BENE HOMINUM MUOTA QUOLUMINE CLISCUMI  
IUSTI POLLENTE SPERMISTICASIGNA BONUMQUE  
CONICI ENTRADIUM MAN DATIS CREDERE OBIPSUM  
EYTRI BVUNT POPULIS CVMIURASUPERNA NOTARE  
ADSCRIBUNTCHRISTOCONSORTI ADUCERE VITAE  
CHRISTUS REX DOMINUS DIVINUS MUNERES VMUS  
SCANDENS ALTA CRUCIS ENROBORAFUNDIT INHOC  
ISTAM TUNC SPECIE PLANTANDO PANDERE CAELOS  
TRADIDIT ET VOLUIT CRATOS CONQUIRIERILLIC  
ERCOQATE RTERNOSABAQVAVUMET LIMITEMUNDI  
HOCUENTOSINCAL LECRYCIS BENEDIXERATIPSE  
SIGNAQBISSENA PRINCEPS STIPANDO QUBERNAT  
ACDUODENASUIS ORIENS PLACA S USCIPITHORIS  
TRACTADIEIS PATIENHIS SECTIO TOTALLABORAT  
OMNIA NAM CRISTICRUX CLORIAS EPTARESOLVIT  
IPSAQSANC TAPOLISTA NSCAVDIAI VRAQTE RRAE  
PROPONIT SIGNAT LAUDA T PROBAT IPSAQEDONAT



QUID FERAT ENUITAM **CORRUPTIO** QUID FERAT UR  
 DEBITA QUID LAXET QUID QUINC LATENACIACEDAT  
 NUNC DECE TUTE RA **SPERILLA** RISHOCMUSABEATO  
 CARMINE DEEPROMAT **CRUCIS** ARDUADICATETACTA  
 HOC MERITO VOXFAU **CEOMNIS** HOC PERSONATARTE  
 OS DICITIPLECTRUM **UOTACOR** LINGUALOQUELLA  
 QUA TEUENENATAHOM **INEMTRU** XQUIEXPULTE DEN  
 TRAXERATATQUE CADENS **DECAELI** LUCIFERARCE  
 TERTIAMADINFERNI **FUMANTI** LASULFURESTACNA  
 ASTRORUMPARTEM **SECUMQUIA** FRAUDESUPERBUS  
 TEMPTAVIT SUPEROS **ONSSES** SIMILARESUPERNUM  
 INGELIDASTATUENS **AQUILONIS** SEDETRIBUNAL  
 AERIPUITPRAEDAM **STVDIA** QUE FEROCIA PRESSIT  
**IN** **NO** **AT** **GE** **NTE** **SE** **EX** **PLA** **CIT** **TO** **AD** **S** **AC** **RAN** **UNT** **FA** **CU** **RA**  
 CONVERTIT MELIORA **NOTANS** CAELESTIADONANS  
**NE** **AL** **BO** **UR** **TU** **LE** **DAT** **HU** **IC** **CA** **ST** **O** **F** **A** **B** **U** **L** **A** **I** **A** **M** **S** **T** **I** **E**  
 ROBORE CONSURGIT **QUI** **DO** **CM** **ATA** **SENS** **LTA** **P** **E** **R** **T** **A**  
**NE** **RE** **ATA** **OS** **CANT** **US** **V** **B** **P** **L** **E** **T** **R** **E** **X** **A** **R** **I** **D** **A** **H** **U** **U** **I** **Q** **U**  
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 VIRTUS LARÇACRUCIS **DIMITTENS** DEBITAMUNDO  
 DENIQUERHOCNUMEROMANI **FESTARE** DEMITLOTOTO  
 QUODFUERITMUNDODANIELIS **SEPTUAGINTA** HOC  
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 MAGNIFICETPLAC **I** **T** **E** **I** **N** **S** **T** **O** **T** **I** **B** **L** **I** **U** **R** **E** **F** **A** **U** **R** **E**

TEPATERALMEPOLIDDOCTOREFMCARMINELINISTO  
 RECTOREMQUEVOCOFELICIBUSANNUECOEPTIS  
 TUPIUSETCLEMENSSENSUMDANSVERBAQCASSIAM  
 UTUUAQUIDPRIMASIGNITLEXPANDEREPOSSIM  
 AOCRUCISAETERNAMLAUDEMLECISQSESCUNDAE  
 IUSDEMONSTRANDVMUOTARITVSQVEPERENNES  
 CUMPRIMUMHAEICRI**TEGENE**RATIOMAXIMARERUG  
 EXORTAESTEXINUL**SISCRV**CISALMAREFULSIT  
 CLORIACUMDONOLU**XALMAB**EAVITETARVAHAEC  
 CUNCTASIMULRECR**EAATVA**QNVNCOEXTERAXPS  
 ETUFERALUCISDANS**OVNERA**CUMCRUCESAECLIS  
 NAMGENESISVITAE**LAUDAT**MIRABILELIGNHOC  
 INTERCUNCTAFUITPLANTATVMQUODPARADISO  
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 HOCPATRIATQISACUEXITMVLTANDVSA DALTAR  
 ORATET**EXODVS**HOC**TURASA**TIS**ASTNVW**FERORVM  
 ENVEHER**ATQVEC**VIA**CERDOT**IUM**ERVSCA**NITORE  
 NVPTAC**ANTITR**IUI**ISLEVI**BVENTATMAREFLVDI  
 UDATT**ANSITY**HOS**TICVSO**BMA**GNALIA**CANTAT  
 ETPLEB**SCARME**NEIO**PTIMEP**VARE**MITRATR**OPHAEA  
 LAUDEI**NAMORE**DI**SALLIT**Q**TRIUMPHI**ETEOMUM  
 HOCMARETESSTATVRVICTRICESORBITACALLES  
 ATVETEREHOCCLIGNVMLECISDULCAVITABYSUM  
 BISPETRAMEXCVDITVIVAMP**RODVXITETVNDNM**  
 NAMQVEAMALECHCA**NAMDEV**ICITPRIMLTUSIRLI  
 SIGNVMHUIVS**PARI****TERNOM**ENDELEVLTETILLI  
 BOTRVMHOCVECTE**P****IVMREN**OTAVEXITVTERQUE  
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 QVISBENEMYSTERI**ADICIT**VELDICERECUNCTA  
 RITENVALETCRUXDONATVACVINONSATISOMNIS  
 LINGVACREATURAE**POTERIT**DEPROMERELAUDE  
 HOSTIATEPATRIS**SAETERNID**EDICAVERATARAM  
 VITAESEK**PENTEMEX**ALTASTIETTUPIECRISTV  
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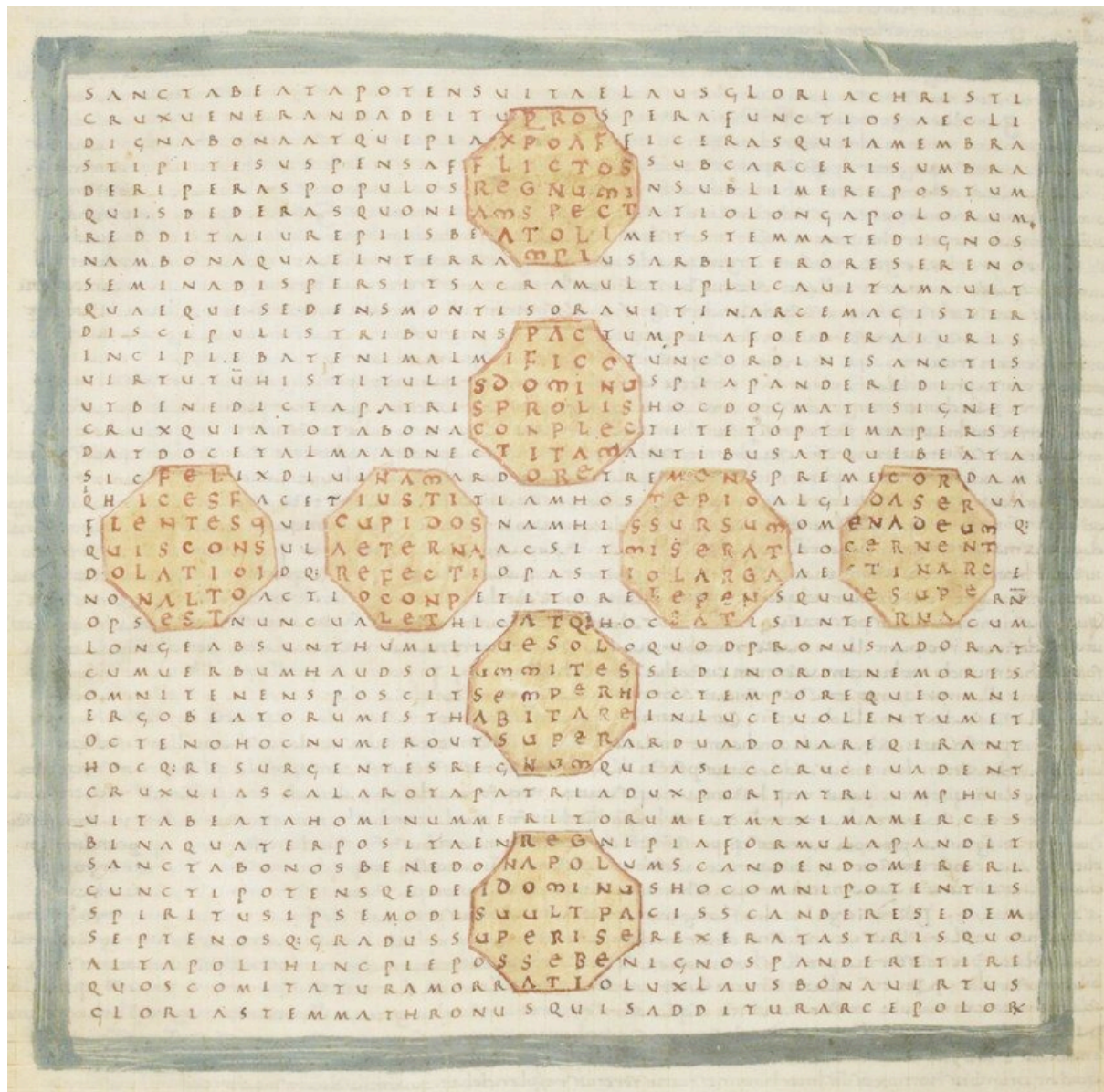


DIGNUM OPUS ET CLARUM VICTORIS PPS ALLERERE REGIS  
 UEX ILLUMINANS IGNEDOMINANTIS LAUDE TRIUMPHUM  
 QUOMUNDUM ERIPUIT NOBIS VICTORIS REPTATYRANNI  
 DISTRUCSIT REPROBANS VICTORIS REGMINA FALSA  
 QUOBENESUS TIENTAT CAELUM PYLAGUS QUESOLUM QE  
 CUIUS INORBES ACRAEX FUERIT NAA L TATI QUANDO  
 MYSTERIO AD CURRENS NASCENTIS ABORGINEMUNDI  
 ANNORUM SAECLE SERIE SHAECA TULLITAT QUE HINC  
 IURESACRAE FIDELI PLEBES CONCURRERES CRIPTIS  
 CREDENTES FECIT PROBACONDITOR OMNIA CONDENS  
 TEMPORACUM NUMERO CONCORDANS CUNCTASACRATO  
 CUNCTAQUILADOMINUS RENOVAUIT SAECULAPRISCA  
 SANGUINENAM RECREANS PERFECTYCUNCTACRUORE  
 LAMBONUS IN PRIMISTUNEFINXIT QUAE EXADIEBUS  
 PRINCIPITUT GENESIS PISTANCTODOGMATEPANDIT  
 QODHOMINEM FACIENS COMPLESSET FACTACREATOR  
 SICQUE DLES EXTAHOMINEM REPARANDOREDEMPTOR  
 SABBATA DEMONSTRANS CELEBRAUIT SABBATAUERBE  
 ENPITRATHUNCEM ERUSUM HADPASTIOFALSO  
 OBBEATINDEPRMATIMPANTHANCUSIADARTO  
 OCCUMBAT SURARATUTUINCTAESEPHARSITADARM  
 QUODNUMQUAMPSTHAECE FALLACTISFACTLOPLEBIS  
 LAMOSTENTETPANDATPLETATISSEIPROBAUIRTUS  
 DOGMATAUERADELPERCUNCTAHAECTEMPORAMUNDI  
 SANCTIFICARE CRUCEM REDEDICERE REGNAFUTURA  
 QAEESSET SALUATOR BENEDICTIAPOTENTILAPATRIS  
 NEMPEDATURUS EISSUMMOQUAPRAEMIACHRISTUS  
 QUOS MONITIS FLEXIT DOCUIT QUOSUERBNSALUTIS  
 QUOS PLACORDE FIDES OPERIS QUOSINFULAUESTIT  
 ATCRUCIS HAEC SPECIE STELBULTSOLAMINAFLDIS  
 MATERIAM LAUDLS BONITATE HINC SCIRECREANTIS  
 QUI PIUS OMNIPOTENSUIT TAMDEDLYANTESALUBREM  
 QUANDO HOMINEM VOLUIT PARADYSUM SORTIETENERE  
 ET POSIT LAPSAFUCAMMI SERANS QUONOLUIT IPSUM  
 FRAUDE PERIRE LUPIHANCANIME CONDITOR ARCEM  
 SED CRUCIS ADULTAMUOEDICAMERATOR BIHUIC  
 UIRYUTUTNUMEROEUEHEPITADSCPTRASUPERNA  
 SPES AMORATQUE FIDES OMNES QUOS ANXILITABAEUO  
 PERPETUO DLGNOSCHRISTIUENERABILLEUISUHINC



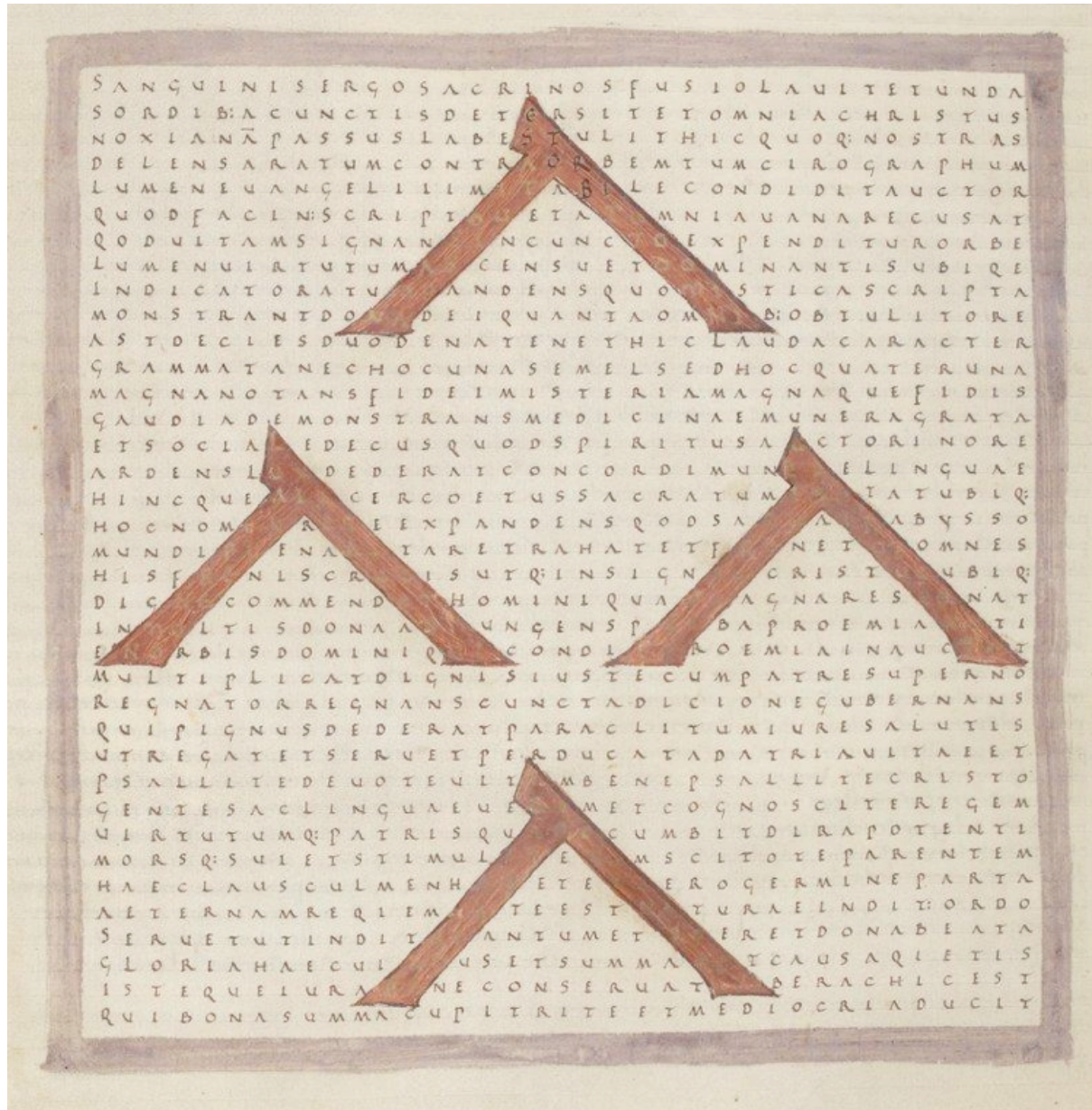


SPIRITUS ALMEUENISU PERADIRECTUS ABARCE  
 UT ELIBI DEUOITAMMENTE ET BENICREDULACORDA  
 TUDEDICES MATIS QUI SPES QUORQUEUITAERUEM  
 EXPATRE PROMISSUM SATTENTIAMITTERESEMET  
 PROMISIT CHRISTUS ATRUUM LAUDINOUMQUE  
 ALTITHRONIDONUMCARITIPAPACTILOS PONSAE  
 INCRUCEIQUAS PONSUS RECALIS ANGUINIS OSTRO  
 DOITAVIT DESPONSAMITIS CAMMATES AECLIHOC  
 CULDASERGOBENEINTECTUS INQUILACARPIT  
 MYSTERIAINTERNEDOCITUS ATQUE OMNIA PENSAT  
 QUALITER IPSA PATRIS SAPIENTIA XPS INORBEM  
 TEPIGNUS DEDERITQUE SPONSAE NOBILISARRA  
 ESSESUAL EUOLUITDUM SAUCTORES OMNEMHANC  
 FORMASTIETMOLITUUS PICIS INTERIORA ET  
 NONERITULLATI BINIUS COSCRUTABERIS ILLA  
 NA RECREATURAI NUISA INCONSPECTIBUS ALMIS  
 QUE ALTEPSALIA NSCIOCSEPT HIS DORIS UMIS  
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 MITTEBIBI ENIM INSEN INDURESE ATORIT  
 CHRISTUS DANS CLARUM MANDATUBINI ET AMORIS  
 UT DEUS ENTOTOCORDI E SALLATUR HONORE IPSA  
 ALMUS AMETURAMORRE EN TIACUIDETUR OMNIS  
 EXINUTFRATRIS CUNCUM PLECTENTURAMOREM  
 QUOD CRUXALMADEIBEN IACTOSCEMATES IGNAT  
 NAM PARS SURSUMERECT DELPIEMANDATAMOREM  
 TRANSUERSA PACE MDATAUAMCU FRATRITENENDRA  
 CONSTITUIT SANCTA EPTET ATLS SUMMUS AMATOR  
 CRISTUS QUI CRUCE INATIN FIXUS HOSTIA PACIS  
 PROPTER AMICORUM PIUS ARBITERORBIS AMOREM  
 DILECTA PONENTS ANIMA ATREXEMPLARELIQUIT  
 HUNCTUS SANCTIFLICAN SPSALLEND: SEMPER AMORE  
 SPIRITUS INDEMIHI TIOOR OMNIS NOXIUS ABSIT  
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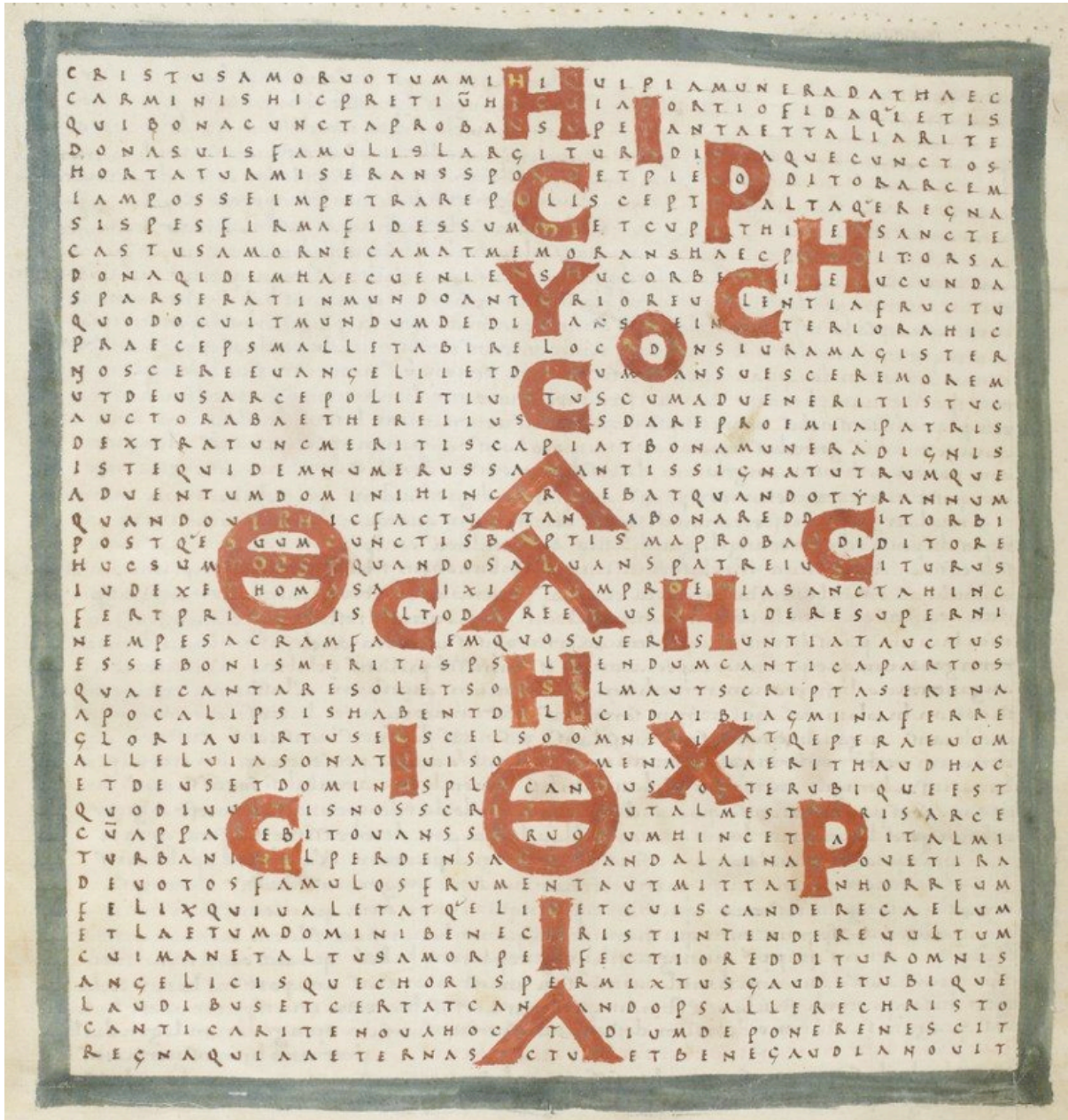


P ANDES ALUTAREM DOMINOU INCENTETRIUM PHUM  
 LINGUA FLICURAM ANUS LABIUM MUOXSYLLABA SENS  
 MACNA CRUCIS DOMINI QUEM G LORIA POSCITUBI Q  
 SIDERACELSASUPERETQUOPERTINGITABYS SUS  
 LUXUBI PURAM ANET QUOTETRASILENTILANOCTIS  
 PERPETUAE LATITANTUBINOXQ: DLESQUELCISSIM  
 SUCCEDUNICE DUNYQSIBLQUOTEMPORECUNCTUS  
 LABITURORDISUBIUARLABILLISINDI:ORDOEST  
 QUATIMORISITDINCEI **FE** **RI** **N** **S**UFFICITASTHAE  
 PRAGINABIGNACRUCIPRAECONIATRAMLITEDENAS  
 HASQUEQUADRA GENA **S** **A** **N** **S** **T** **O** **D** **E** **C** **A** **L** **L** **E** **M** **O** **N** **A** **D** **E** **S**  
 ARTE LICARESIMULPLENASQUOQUELUCESERENA  
 MYSTICA QASUIRTUSO **R** **N** **A** **T** **C** **O** **N** **S** **E** **C** **R** **A** **T** **H** **O** **N** **O** **R** **A** **T**  
 TEMPORIS INSTANTIS NUMERUS HICRITEFIGURA  
 GISTATQUOTOTACHRISTOSUBPRINCIPESANCIA  
 AECLESIA **R** **A** **B** **I** **D** **O** **P** **L** **E** **F** **E** **R** **T** **C** **O** **N** **T** **R** **A** **N** **I** **A** **T** **E** **L** **A** **H** **I** **C**  
 OBPONENS **H** **O** **S** **T** **I** **B** **E** **L** **L** **A** **T** **R** **I** **X** **C** **O** **N** **S** **C** **L** **A** **P** **E** **R** **S** **T** **A** **N** **S**  
 ULTIMUM **E** **I** **P** **O** **N** **I** **S** **I** **T** **I** **A** **S** **I** **B** **I** **L** **A** **U** **S** **E** **A** **C** **U** **N** **C** **T** **A**  
 CUMFIDELIS **C** **U** **T** **O** **D** **E** **M** **A** **T** **H** **A** **E** **C** **R** **I** **T** **H** **A** **S** **T** **A** **Q** **U** **E** **R** **B** **O**  
 LORIC **A** **L** **L** **G** **A** **T** **E** **T** **B** **E** **N** **E** **I** **U** **S** **T** **I** **T** **I** **A** **E** **I** **N** **T** **U** **I** **T** **A** **L** **M** **A** **M**  
 ATQSALUTARIS **G** **A** **L** **E** **A** **M** **H** **A** **N** **C** **I** **N** **U** **E** **A** **T** **L** **C** **E** **G** **E** **S** **T** **A** **T**  
 IPSACRUC **H** **S** **C** **L** **A** **R** **A** **F** **A** **C** **I** **U** **N** **T** **I** **N** **S** **I** **C** **N** **I** **A** **F** **R** **O** **N** **T** **E** **M**  
 FRONTISETADVERSAE **F** **U** **N** **D** **U** **N** **T** **F** **O** **R** **M** **O** **S** **A** **D** **E** **C** **O** **R** **E**  
 INCRUCESALVATORSAE **U** **M** **N** **A** **M** **U** **L** **C** **E** **R** **A** **T** **H** **O** **S** **T** **E** **M**  
 EIUSETHOCNUMEROSU **A** **D** **E** **S** **E** **R** **T** **O** **A** **L** **M** **A** **T** **R** **A** **H** **E** **B** **A** **T**  
 EXDAPIBUSCUNCTLSIELUNIASOBRIACHRISTUS  
 STRINXERATERIPUI **T** **Q** **U** **E** **A** **R** **T** **O** **D** **E** **F** **A** **U** **C** **E** **S** **U** **P** **E** **R** **B** **I**  
 RAPTORIS HOMINEM **Q** **U** **E** **M** **C** **A** **S** **T** **R** **I** **M** **A** **R** **G** **I** **A** **T** **R** **A** **X** **I** **T**  
 INFACINUSDIRUMI **N** **M** **I** **T** **E** **M** **S** **I** **M** **U** **L** **A** **T** **T** **U** **L** **I** **T** **I** **R** **A** **M**  
 HUICPHILARCI **R** **I** **A** **L** **E** **V** **I** **S** **E** **T** **C** **E** **N** **O** **D** **O** **X** **L** **A** **T** **R** **U** **S** **I** **T**  
 QUEMAREIGNODOMINUSAE **T** **E** **R** **N** **A** **R** **E** **D** **E** **M** **T** **I** **O** **I** **E** **S** **U** **S**  
 SEDPRESSITHOSTEMPRAEDAMSALUAVITABIPSO  
 DAPSLILISATQEHUMLLISMITLSETSOBRIUSLPS  
 CUIUSPUCNASALUSCUIUSULICTORIASANCTAES  
 CUIUSINARCEYHRONUSASPECTININFIACULUS  
 CRUXOVATORBISHONORCRUXESTERECTIOMUNDI  
 CRUXMILICARMENERITCALSTIULICTORIACLARA

CRUX MIHIC ARMENI ERIT AURE S ADIBETE FIDELLES  
 LAUS CRUCIS OREM ANA T DE VOTAS DUCIT EMENTES  
 VOS QUI BIST CRISTUS QUI BIST SAPIENTI ACURAE  
 LUXA ET ERAN ADEL QUI BUS INCORRUPTIO AMOR FIT  
 HIC SONA TARTI FICIS VIRTUS OPERIS QUE BEATI  
 HIC DECOR EXULTANT HIC GLORIAFINGITUR ARTIS  
 VESTER HONOR VULT QUI AGRUM IDAFULGETORICO  
 VESTRAMANET PALMARIUS INMORTALIS INAEITRA  
 CLARA QUIAES TMOBIS UIC TORIACRISTUS UBIRE  
 LPS ESALUS VESTRA ET GINDICTAM FECTITINATRO  
 PROUOBIS MORLENSIUS TEOB PRESSITINIQUUM  
 MORTE INYERFICIE NS MORTEM DUTARTARA VICIT  
 HUCHUCLE GROTIVOLUCRICO NCURRIT ECURSUEN  
 VESTER ERIT MEDIC: QEM CRUX MEDICABILIS ALTO  
 STIPITEGES TAVITEXTENDIT BRACHIA CURALFIT  
 POSCIT ECURALE TCEXIMINASEXPANDIT PALMAS  
 IPSIUS ARCOALETTACTUOIT OHICAHORACIADDEM  
 REDDERIT STAPITATREPLIDOHICAHORACIADDEM  
 SUMMACUISTVIRTUS APPIENS ADIBESALUTE  
 ARS QUI DINDITRE SIFISCATFI SAUTARTE  
 DAMPNA FIMORISEANTREDIUIVANNTSICNA BEATA  
 QUI NQUASALUTARE MNUMERUM HIC CINTA BEATA  
 DAT CRUCIS HAEC SPECIES DILUINOMUNERE PLENA  
 QUI SIGNATUENIAM QUI SABBATALLA ETARUIETIS  
 QUI LEGIS PRISCAS POSTAZLMA FESTA TRIBUTAE  
 EST INDEX ET POSTSANGTASOLLEMPNIA PASCHAE  
 LPS EPARACLETIMIS LUNOI QUI ENUMINE PLENUS  
 PACIS AMORE PROBUS PACISIGNACULAPROFERT  
 PERFECTUS DECORES PEPERIT PERFECTUS HONORIS  
 QUI NQUE CRUCES PRAEBITRAMIS DENAS QMONADES  
 XNUMERATSEMPER QUI CRUCIATA ETAMICAFIQUAA  
 QUI NQUE LIBALEGLS EXTANT MANDATA QUE DENA  
 OMNIA NEMPE CRUCI CONCORDANT TAMITEDICTU  
 LIXNUMERUS TEMPU SMYSTERIALAFACTACARACTER  
 OMNES ERGO CRUCI EMPARITER LAUDE MUSOUANTES  
 SOLUAMUS VOTAHINC CRUCI FINOIT DEBITARE Q  
 SANQUINE QUI PROPRIOLA XAULT CRIMINA MUNDO



LEX QUOQUE UERA DEI UINCENDAE EST SORTIBUS AB IRA  
 ECCE CRUCIS CRISTUS QUAS SOLUIT ATQUE QUI EST  
 DUCITUR AD VITAM PORTUM CAPITATUORUM AB IRA  
 ARUI GENAE PRIMILAPSUS POSITUS IN AERAE  
 NAM QUIA PERUETITUM MORS UICTINOXIALIGNUM  
 ET GENUS HUMANUM FERAFATE ABSUMPTERATO MNE  
 FAUCIBUS AMORTIS PERLICNUM TOLLERETUT HOC  
 IURE CRUCIS PLACUIT REPARANTIPONEREPALUM  
 DIUMERITATSICCOLVERETQUE HINC DEBITEPENAS  
 INUASITRAPSUITDOMINATUM QUODMALESCRIPSTIS  
 IDUOLUIT SIGNARE BODISINDOQMATESCRIPSTIS  
 TESTAMENTORUM DEUS AUCTOROPUS CRUCISIPSE  
 PRAEDIXIT DOCUITSE SE ET CONPLESSE FATETUR  
 MACNIPOTENS CRUX HINC IOSE TOTACORUSCAM  
 EXCIPIERE INLUCEM MONSTRATDATALLE DICATO  
 RITEPAROSIVSTISSSECUNCTAPERRAERATSTANS  
 CENTESACPOPULOSADCELSAERATPRUOCATASSTR  
 GENMPANOTATETNOCTEISORATGALACRESCIT  
 NONPARNUMFACERETHINCETRECFALLITINA  
 HOSTEFITEXPULSODUICTRIXNCFALLITINA  
 SEDSOLUMGENERISDOMINANS MIRACULASISTIT  
 OMNIA REGNASIBI PROPTERSUA DONAMINISTAT  
 DEUOTAEPLACIDAMANSUETA QUIETAREDEMPTA  
 QUOTHABETENLINCVASORBIS ETIURALOQUELAE  
 HOC NUMEROSIGNATADITUMGENIENTIBUSATQUE  
 TRAMITISHOC PANDITSALUATOR DISCIPULORUM  
 NAM OCTIES UTNOUISUARIETOS DICITURORBIS  
 HINC QUENOUEMPIE RELIQUIASINLUCEBEATUM  
 SPIRITUM DATUROCTAVAUTSUPPLERE CREATOR  
 VELLITRITEDIHOCE TCLAUDERESAE CULAFINE  
 OMNIA NAM QORBIS CELERA CONSUMPSITINIPSO  
 FLAMMIVOMOCRUCIS ARDOREPATIENDOCREATOR  
 SEDTAMEN EXCARNIS PARTEASTDIUINARELUXIT  
 NATURA INSCRIPTOSOBRIUM PRODUXITETORTUM  
 LECEMNE MPESUAM CRUCIS ORDINEFFICITAMAM  
 URELEUEMSUAUEMETSONDENDIMNEREDITIM



NOBILISSECCEMICATFLOSRECISSNOMINEPICTUS  
 ATQVENOTISSIGNANTVICTORISSEACONDITAPOTENTISSUS  
 CORNUALAEACRUCISINSTRINOSATECCONDITAPOTENTISSUS  
 QVAENUMERANTSEXINSISSTENQVATREBUNESSE  
 PERFECTUMQVEDFCUSSOASCONDDITATQREDEMITE  
 OMNIBDOMNIPOTENSQUASCONDDITATQREDEMITE  
 CLARADIESILLAEESTQVACONDDITATQREDEMITE  
 NONMINUSHAECLEUCETDCTORQACUNCTABEAUIT  
 TUMBONACUNCTABONCONPLEVITFACTACREATOR  
 NVNATPIECUNCTAPLAGASPERABENEDIXITAMATOR  
 QVATTCURERCOPLAGASPERABENEDIXITAMATOR  
 SEXMILCATINNUMERISPRFECTPRIMEITPSEIESTE  
 DIVIDITIPSEDIEMTOTMCONSTRINGITETPSEIESTE  
 ANNIMENSISQBISSEXTITOLLENSTEMPORANTUM  
 HICNUMERATORADESTATAITOLLENSTEMPORANTUM  
 SAECVLAFINECAPITETITOLLENSTEMPORANTUM  
 UITAMPERPETGAMTUNCIMITTEDEBITAVU  
 DATESUPERASTRAPIISDIMITTEDEBITAVU  
 IRECORONANSIESUSANTADDONACORUSSCANUS  
 EXOMNIMUNDOHISQUUSANTADDONACORUSSCANUS  
 CONDUXITFIDEILUXVIUSANTADDONACORUSSCANUS  
 VERUSAMORDDECORATIUSANTADDONACORUSSCANUS  
 VERGOPLAGISORBISCONSSIGNATAABOMNIBASTHIC  
 ADPOSITUSNUMERUSENNDIQEPERGEREPLEBES  
 ADORVICISAVXILLIUMPIENVMINAPOSCEREISSUS  
 PERFECTUMQDECUSPERPECTODOCMATEDISCANTUR  
 POMNIAEMPEDFUMVERUHAECTESTANTURUBIQUE  
 PERFECTUMPERFECTAQRDEMFORMONSADDECORUM  
 QVAEVERTIGOPOLLITORAECLAELICONTINETAVLA  
 QVAEMAREQAE TELLUSQAECLAELICONTINETAVLA  
 ASTQVORQVENOSHOMINESINREBUSPORTIOPARVA  
 RITECRUCEMCANTUSALGANTEMETVOCESONEMIT  
 QUIBENENOSFECITQVIQVAUXITQVIQVEREDEMITE  
 CARMINETINCELEBRICREBROSANTEMAMORES  
 QOSSATISIPSEOPERESACROETTUTAMINENOBIS  
 LAMINPENDITSAASITIVSITOSTENDITAMAUIT



A T N U N C I O S C A N T A T E N O U U M B E N E D I C I T E C R I S T O  
 P L E B S C A N T U M D I L E C T A D E O S A N C T I S S I M U S O R D O  
 I N M O R T A L E D E C U S C A E L E S T E H O C A N T E T R I B U N A E  
 A N T E Q U A T E R S A E N O S S E N I O R E S Q U A T T U O R A T Q U E  
 D I V E R S A E F F O R M A E A N T E A N I M A L I A I U R E S U P E R N A  
 P R I M I T I A E C H R I S T O I N M A C U L A T O N U M I N I S A C N O  
 A T Q U E D E O V E R O I N M A C U L A T A E E T S O R T I S H O N O R E S  
 E S T I S U O S E M P T A E Q U E C O H O R T E S S A N C T I N I S O S T R O  
 C A E L O E X T E R R I C E N I S C A N T A T I S R I T E T R O P A E U M  
 C I T H A R I S M O D U L A N S A S T V V L T U M L A U D E S E R E N A T  
 U E S T R A M A N U S S A C R A U O C I B A T R I A R E P L E T U B I Q U E  
 C E U U O C E S T O N I T H R U F U S I S C L A M O R I B U S A E T R A M  
 T A M Q A M E T M U L T A R U M M A L L E S V O X R E P L E T A Q A R U M  
 L I N G U A Q U E S T R A D O L I C N A R A N E C N O U I T I N I Q A  
 A N T E T H R O N U M D O M I N I S C I T I S S E D D I C E R E D I C N E  
 L A U D E S C A R M I N A E T A R T A T I S B E N E H I C V E P A R A T I  
 P E R S I C N A Q U A E N S P E R N I T U E S T E R G R E M I O R E X  
 N A H O C N U L L U S D I T F U D I T D O X N I S O L U S E T A U C T O R  
 I N D E R I S O F A M I N E Q I H O C M O D O S P L E N D I D A D O N A T  
 M U N E R A C A N T A T E H I N C I L L I P R O B S O R D O P I I Q U E  
 U I R G I N E O I N H A B I T U M A R E S Q O Q F E M I N A L A C T A N S  
 I N F A N S A T Q A N U S P A R I T E R I U U E N E S Q E S E N E S Q U E  
 Q I N O N P O L L U T E S T I S N E X V U M Q U A M M U L I E R U M H I C  
 Q U A P R O P T E R I A M I T I S U B I T I S P R O E M I A D O N A T  
 O M N I P O T E N S P E R C I T I E S U S Q U O U I A G I N I S A C N U S  
 I N P R A T I S D E P A S C I T O V A T Q U E M R I T E S E Q U E N T E S  
 S I D E R A C E L S A S U P E R O P A S C U A P A S C I T I S A C R I E T  
 N U N C I A M U E S T R A C A P I T V I R T U T U M P R A E M I A U I T A  
 I U R E S T O L A M Q A M U I R G I N I S E N R E S A N T T U L I T U N A M  
 N E M P E A L I A M I N F I N E A G N U S C U M C O R P O R E R E D D E T  
 P O S C I T E P O S C O C R U C I S U O S M E T P E R S I C N A B E N T A  
 O P O P U L I T U R M A E P L E B S A C M I N A T U R B A C O H O R T E S  
 Q U I S U P E R A S T R A L O C U M S E D E S Q T E N E T I S I N A R C E  
 Q U O D N O B I S U E S T R A L A U S R E X E T C O N F E R A T A C N U S  
 P R A E M I A L A E T A D E U S C U M S A N C T I S L U C E S U P E R N A  
 A U D I R E U T L I C E A T U E S T R U M P E R S A E C U L A C A N T U M

LAGUSPIA PERPETUAS ANCTORUM IN LUCESUPERNA  
 ANDSISTER RIGENIS ALIQUID QUOD DICERE DICNE  
 LAMDETEU ALEANTAUIDAQUEIMPLERIDECENTER  
 ORABONIS POSSINTMODOLIS ET CANTIBUS ALMIS  
 NEMPE ECOTECECINICANTANDO ET REDDERE VOTA  
 UERSIBUS EXOPTANS CANTANDO ET REDDERE VOTA  
 SEDTUCUNCTASUPEREXCELLENSESMUNERANOSTRA  
 MALESTATEPOTENSUINCISTEARESTRANUVINCIS  
 SIDERACELSAPOLINEINCISATUALLETULLUSHONORI  
 NAMQUETUOFACERECONDIGNANE CADDERE VOTBA  
 TEMPTAVIQUIDE OHIC EXCAELISMYSTICAVOTO  
 DUCERE VERBATIBLICONTEMPLANSAPTAFICURAE  
 DISPOSUISIGNISDISPERSOETTRAMITECANTUS  
 INSEPUANÇELICOSINTEXIETUERSIBUSAPTIS  
 NEMPE AMENINMEDIUVITAESIGNACULASPONDET  
 ALLELVIANCRUCISCIRCUMDANS CORNUACONPLET  
 ETSACRAMEFFIGIEMCALESTELCARMINESIGNAT  
 NAM IUSTI INSCIPTA FANTES UNOS PETMUNERATORA  
 EXSUPERANTVRANTES UNOS PETMUNERATORA  
 INMISERISDOMINDET PALAEFTMARSILLAGRATA  
 AUFUGIATPRIMAMNOCVITQUAE LUI DASTIRPEM  
 HUMANIGENERISTRUCULENTAABSORBUITATQUE  
 PROGENIEMTOTAMETDETRAXITINIMAPROFUNDI  
 LATNESACRUMDOMINI PLACEMUS CARMINEUULTUM  
 CARMINENAMQILLOQUOORITINSEDIUSALTISS  
 QOOCANTANTIVSTICANTTABUNTPERPETEUSOTOFET  
 HOCTUMRITEPLACETSIMPLEM:LUSSATONANTIS  
 MENTIBUSSETSPECIEFACTISSETFAMINELINGVAE  
 NAMTANTUMSERMOHAECISTINONPRLEMILACARA  
 ACCIPIETS EDUERABENEPERFAMINAVIRTUSCUM  
 HAEC LAUSNONDONALAVAVEDVERIFICTIOFALS  
 SLYQUAEMAGNACANITAVAVULTPARVAMERETUR  
 ERGOAÇEUSCRISTVM LADATEFIDELETERODIS  
 CAELESTESPOPULIVIRTUTESUOSQUEPOTENTIS  
 IUSTORUMETPLEBESQUIINCAELISSITISARCE  
 PSALLITE AMEN ALLELVIA PERSAECULACHRISTO

ERCO PROPHETARUM BEN	ESPLACITASCRIPTUR	TECRUXFAMENHONORAT
PRAEDICATEXALTYRE	ONATIQUAFACITAFUTURA	LEBSQODPRATALLTORES
INSPLRATASACROTYNC	LISMANDAUEBATLINTUS	LARELOQUONTURETINTI
OMNLA CUMCRISTUMREP	EDEREREQNA BENICNIS	EPALMASQUEPEDESQUE
CONFIXUMDOMINUMCON	RADIETPOCULOACETUM	SSERITOMNIBUSIPSUM
DAUIDPERFOSASILLIH	EIMPERIUMORATESAIAS	UMEXTENSUMOREBEATO
DIXERATATQECIBOFEL	ENDENSFUNUSSETASTUM	ERSOSCURREISRAHELM
DEQVETVOLIGNORECEM	IBITCEUHOLOCANSTUM	UMLLIGNOQUECIBANDUM
HVICPUEROMUMERISES	UTAGGRAMMATESIGNUM	ISDUCENTISADINSTARS
CORPUSPERCUSSUMMAN	TVSESVISAPROPHETIS	
CONSPUTAMFACLEMPER		
ATQLEGATAMADTEDISP		
HIEREMIASACHUMDES		
ADTRACTUMSINEVOCEP		
HLEZECHIELCERNITVI		
ERUEREPLEBEMATQCRV		
SICTUSANCTASALUSVI		
ESPLACITASUPERISCR	XHUICESNAUITAMUNDO	
NAMDANIELCRISTUMDI	ITHICPLEBEABINIQUA	
MULTANDUMETFINEMDE	INCNOXIATOTATENERE	
OSEESALVANDUMPOPUL	MMORTISQUOQUEMORTE	
PRAE DICATA TQEI OHEL	LLAPRAEDIXERATHORA	
ETSOLEMETSTELLASLV	EMNONFUNDERETERRIS	
HOCIDEMETINFUSTAFA	STAPRAEDIXERATAMOS	
ABDIASINSIDIASIONA	QUOQUEFUNERAFINXIT	
MICHADEIMONTEMNAUM	VNTIATULTIOQVIDSIT	
CORNUSANCTACRUCIS	MBACUMPRAEDICATORE	
SOFONIASQUEDIEMDUD	MDOMINI AUDITAMARAM	
AGGEUSHINCQEPOLOSD	XITERRAMQUEMOMERIS	
ZACHARIASIESUMRENO	ATPERSORDIDAVESTIS	
PLAGASINMANIBUSFIX	SPLANGEREQUEVULTOS	
MALACHIASCERNITSUM	UMDOMINAREPERORRBEM	
ARDENTIQUEROGOMVND	METSUDA REMINISTROS	
HAECTVAFACTAPROBIE	DFCEBANTOREPRIORES	
CRUXALMAVATESHAECE	IDITAVCTORINHISQUE	
TUPLACONPLERASHAEC	OMNIAPASSIOCHRIS	

N	E	C	M	I	N	U	S	E	R	Q	O	T	V	A	C	U	S	T	O	D	I	T	I	V	R	A	C	A	R	A	C	T	E	R	
R	I	T	E	N	O	V	I	T	E	S	T	A	M	E	N	T	I	E	T	P	I	A	M	U	N	E	R	A	P	A	N	D	I	T	
Q	U	A	E	D	E	V	S	A	L	T	V	S	H	O	M	O	I	U	V	I	N	U	S	D	E	T	U	L	I	T	O	R	B	I	
P	E	R	T	E	C	R	V	X	S	A	C	R	A	U	O	T	U	V	E	N	E	R	A	N	D	A	F	R	E	Q	E	N	T	I	
P	R	O	M	I	S	U	M	C	O	M	P	L	E	N	S	E	U	V	E	R	A	X	D	O	C	M	A	T	A	U	A	T	U	M	
S	E	D	O	M	B	N	U	M	T	E	S	T	A	N	S	L	E	Q	I	S	U	E	T	E	R	I	S	Q	N	O	V	A	E	Q	
Q	U	I	Q	E	M	I	N	U	M	M	U	N	D	O	P	A	T	I	E	V	E	R	B	O	F	E	C	I	T	A	B	Y	S	U	M
N	O	S	H	I	L	A	R	A	T	A	C	T	U	S	A	T	I	A	N	S	U	O	T	O	A	N	T	E	R	I	O	R	E	S	
Q	U	I	S	O	L	A	B	A	T	U	R	U	E	R	A	X	B	O	N	U	S	O	M	N	I	B	U	S	A	E	Q	U	S		
U	N	D	E	Q	E	A	P	O	S	T	O	L	I	C	U	S	I	U	S	T	E	P	E	R	F	A	M	I	N	A	F	I	D	A	
A	L	M	A	T	R	O	P	A	E	A	T	U	A	S	E	R	B	O	C	R	V	X	L	A	U	D	A	T	U	B	I	Q	U	E	
A	P	R	I	N	C	E	P	S	O	R	B	E	S	O	N	A	T	B	X	I	M	O	P	E	C	T	O	R	E	P	E	T	R	U	S
T	A	L	I	T	E	R	E	N	L	A	U	D	E	S	F	A	T	U	P	I	U	S	O	P	T	I	M	E	D	I	C	E	N	S	
E	S	T	F	R	A	T	R	E	S	C	H	R	I	S	T	I	P	R	O	V	O	B	I	S	S	T	I	P	I	T	E	P	A	S	S
E	X	E	M	P	L	U	M	T	R	A	D	E	N	S	C	L	A	R	U	M	U	E	S	T	I	C	I	A	Q	O	D	V	O	S	
E	I	U	S	P	E	R	Q	A	T	I	S	C	U	I	U	S	A	C	R	A	U	U	L	N	E	R	A	S	A	N	A	N	T		
H	I	N	C	E	R	E	D	O	A	C	C	I	P	I	A	T	S	O	R	A	N	T	I	S	F	A	M	I	N	A	L	E	S	U	
<b>S</b>																	<b>O</b>																		
I	P	S	E	Q	U	I	A	M	I	T	I	S	N	O	N	S	O	R	D	E	N	T	M	U	N	E	R	A	H	A	E	C	E	I	
A	S	T	I	A	C	O	B	U	S	H	I	N	C	N	O	S	H	O	R	T	A	T	U	R	F	A	M	I	N	E	P	U	R	O	
E	X	E	M	P	L	U	M	P	O	N	E	N	S	C	H	R	I	S	T	U	M	D	E	F	I	N	E	L	A	B	O	R	U	M	
H	I	N	C	Q	M	O	N	E	T	S	C	R	I	B	E	N	T	S	A	L	T	D	U	X	O	R	E	I	O	H	A	N	N	E	S
C	A	S	T	U	S	A	M	O	R	M	A	N	E	A	T	E	T	S	O	B	R	I	A	U	O	T	A	S	E	R	E	N	E	T	
I	E	S	U	S	U	T	E	S	T	P	A	S	S	U	S	D	E	U	O	T	E	P	R	O	P	T	E	R	A	M	O	R	E	M	
S	I	C	H	O	S	M	E	N	T	E	P	I	N	S	O	C	I	O	P	A	T	I	A	M	V	R	A	M	O	R	E	H	I	C	
I	E	S	U	M	P	E	R	T	Y	P	Y	C	U	M	P	I	E	U	V	E	R	U	M	P	S	A	L	L	I	T	I	E	S	U	M
I	U	D	A	S	D	U	C	T	O	R	E	M	E	T	P	E	S	S	U	M	F	I	D	I	S	E	T	I	N	I	Q	U	I	S	
P	A	U	X	I	L	L	U	M	H	A	U	D	P	A	U	L	U	S	O	R	A	U	I	T	T	E	M	E	T	I	N	O	R	E	
C	R	U	X	S	A	C	R	A	C	U	M	D	I	X	I	T	S	E	I	A	M	N	E	S	C	I	R	E	L	O	Q	L	A	M	
T	E	S	I	N	E	N	E	C	L	A	U	D	E	M	S	C	I	R	E	D	A	R	E	F	A	U	C	I	B	U	L	L	A	M	
I	N	C	A	E	L	I	S	T	E	R	R	I	S	M	A	Q	I	U	M	P	E	R	T	A	R	T	A	R	A	N	O	M	E	N	
T	E	P	R	O	P	T	E	R	C	R	I	S	T	I	S	P	O	N	D	E	T	S	A	T	R	I	T	E	U	A	L	E	R	E	
S	I	C	E	T	A	P	O	S	T	O	L	I	C	L	A	U	A	T	C	O	N	C	O	R	D	I	T	E	R	O	R	D	O		
V	A	T	I	B	U	S	A	N	T	I	Q	I	S	C	O	N	U	N	Q	I	S	C	U	N	C	T	A	R	A	P	I	N	A		
P	A	S	S	I	O	S	A	N	C	T	A	P	I	E	I	E	U	P	E	R	S	A	E	C	U	L	A	C	R	I	S	T	I		

