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The Second Bible of Charles the Bald: Patronage and Intellectual Community at St. Amand[1]

Riccardo PIZZINATO
University of Texas, Rio Grande Valley
riccardo.pizzinato@utrgv.edu

Abstract: among the manuscripts produced for Charles the Bald, King of West Francia (843–77) and Holy Roman Emperor (875–77), the so-called Second Bible (Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 2) holds a special place. Illuminated in the scriptorium of the abbey of St. Amand between 870 and 873, the Bible—unlike all the other manuscripts presented to the king during this period—contains no human figures or royal portraits. It exhibits instead large initials patterned with geometric and zoomorphic designs. In addition, the volume opens with a long poem dedicated to Charles the Bald and written by Hucbald (ca. 840–930), master of the monastery school at St. Amand. Although Carolingian scholarship has investigated the manuscript's ornament, the relationship between Hucbald's poetry and the book's decorative program has never been systematically examined. By analyzing both the use of script as image and Hucbald's poem, this article sheds light on the Bible's intended purpose and message. Moreover, the article contributes to a more precise understanding of Charles the Bald's role as patron of St. Amand. It argues that the Bible not only represents the increasingly close relationship between the abbey and the crown, but also functions as a special vehicle that carries the abbey's pleas straight to the king's heart.
Keywords: manuscripts, Carolingian, poetry, semiotics, theology.

Throughout the ninth century, monasteries were important administrative, economic, and cultural centers, which fostered the development and production of literary culture in the Frankish Empire.[2] Charlemagne and his heirs encouraged the intellectual activity of abbeys, monastic schools, and scriptoria for the development of literacy and education.[3] They established a system of patronage for the larger monasteries such as

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[2] Morrison (1964), 26–67; Wallace-Hadrill (1983), 183–186; De Jong (1995), 622–653.

[3] Bullough (1991), 1–38; McKitterick (1992), 93–129; Riché (1993), 327–328.

Lorsch, Tours, Reims, and St. Amand through land grants and other economic privileges.[4] Monasteries, in return, were expected to support the emperors, sometimes materially, but mostly by liturgical means as well as by serving as outposts of culture for the diffusion and consolidation of the Christian Faith.[5] This collaboration between the imperial court and monasteries was part of the *renovatio* (renewal), a program of cultural reforms initiated by Charlemagne, who sought to emulate and align himself with the Christian emperors of late antiquity.[6] One of the *renovatio*'s central efforts was the revision of the text of the Bible. The action was driven by a desire for Christian unity and centered strongly on the ideas of *correctio* (correction) and *emendatio* (revision) codified in the *Admonitio Generalis* (General Admonition) of 789.[7] For Carolingians, the Bible was the book of guidance above all others, and Bible reading was the primary way to knowledge. It was thus of crucial importance to produce a correct edition that could be used for the education of the *populus Christianus* (Christian people).[8] To that end, the royal patronage of sacred texts promoted the political idea of the Carolingian Empire as a Christian community. It also served to legitimize the authority of the Carolingian ruler over this community as derived directly from God. As a conduit between God and its people, the Christian emperor ideally had to internalize Scripture's sacred teachings and to cultivate wisdom in order to ensure the well-being—both spiritually and materially—of every Christian in the empire.[9]

At the courts of Charlemagne and his successors, the growing awareness and acceptance of the Bible's educational function also led to the recognition that the book was both an image of the Lord—the Word made flesh—and a repository of images.[10] This development raised important epistemological questions on how readers could "sense" the spiritual within Scripture and how it was possible to transcend the limitations of human language in order to access divine wisdom.[11] As court theologians debated over the use of sacred images as pedagogical aids, they expressed conflicting opinions on the function of decorated letters.[12] On the one hand, Carolingian critics of sacred art largely dismissed the role of ornamented scriptures as an educational tool that could enrich a person's spiritual life. Defenders of sacred images, on the other, promoted the usefulness of scripts' precious decoration, arguing that it could function as a prompt for

[4] On Lorsch, see Becker (2015), 71–88; Licht (2015), 145–162; on Tours, see Rand (1929); on Reims, see Carey (1938), 41–60; on St. Amand, see Boutemy (1946), 6–16.

[5] McKitterick (1994), 221–247; Becher (2015), 195–210; Choy (2016), 161–190; Kramer (2016), 309–337.

[6] Braunfels (1981), 821–842; Ganz (1987), 23–44; McKitterick (1989), 148–155; Bullough (1991), 1–38; Brown (1994), 1–52; Nelson (2016), 331–346.

[7] Ganz (1987), 23–44; Bullough (1991), 1–38; Contreni (1995), 709–757; Weinfurter (2015), 3–6.

[8] McKitterick (1989), 148–155; Ganz (1995), 261–283; Chazelle, Edwards B. (2003), 1–16; Nelson (1995), 381–430.

[9] Bullough (1983), 1–69; Nelson (1994), 52–87; Ganz (1995), 261–283; Alberi (1998), 3–17; Kramer (2016), 309–337.

[10] Hamburger (2004), 112–145; Kessler (2006), 77–103; Kessler (2007), 141–168.

[11] Freeman (1985), 65–108; Appleby (2002), 85–111; Noble (2009).

[12] Kessler (1994), 533–584. The hermeneutical question about Scripture and its authority was also a question about media. On materiality and "mediality" of Scripture see Luft (2014), 3–38; Becht-Jördens (2014), 250–254.

readers who sought to grasp its spiritual contents.[13] While this controversy did not affect the production of luxury volumes intended for the educated elite, the disparagement over the spiritual value of images resulted in the invention of new iconographies and engendered diverse attempts to animate the materiality of ornamented letters as a prompt for spiritual seeing.[14]

Focusing on this cultural framework, Paul Dutton, Hebert Kessler, and William Diebold have investigated the decorative programs of the First Bible (ca. 845) (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 1) and San Paolo Bible (ca. 870) (Rome, Abbazia di S. Paolo fuori le Mura), two luxurious manuscripts produced for Charles the Bald, king in western Francia from 843 and Holy Roman Emperor from 875 to 877.[15] The scholars' analyses of the relationship between the poetry and the illuminated frontispieces inside the books demonstrate how images operated within a medieval mnemonic system to promote the ruler's spiritual edification and to instruct him in divine law. Produced as an offering to the king, the illustrated bibles function as a visual *speculum principis* (mirror of the prince), thus revealing the close relationship between Christian spirituality and political ideology.[16]

Although these studies have opened new enquiries into the importance of text and image analysis, as well as the function of images as a prompt for spiritual seeing, scholars have not yet considered the relationship between the poetry and decoration in the third luxury bible made for Charles the Bald, the so-called Second Bible (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 2). The manuscript, produced in the scriptorium of the monastery of St. Amand between 871 and 873, is one of the greatest achievements of Franco-Saxon calligraphy. Yet, it is also a peculiar luxury bible, for it does not contain any figurative frontispieces or illuminations.[17] Only splendidly ornamented initials decorate the incipit to each book of the Bible.[18] Early scholars such as André Boutemy and Jacques Guilmain have searched for the figurative sources of the Bible's decorated letters, highlighting that the Second Bible shares common features with the interlace and animal ornamentation of eighth century Insular manuscripts.[19] More recently, the seventh volume *Die Frankosächsische Schule* of the series *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen*, provides a careful investigation of the Bible's codicology and its ornamented initials in the context of manuscripts production at St. Amand.[20] This scholarship, however, does not move beyond a stylistic analysis of the decorated letters, and it does not consider the poetry that prefaces the books of the Bible. In addition to the biblical books, the Second

[13] Kendrick (1999), 36–64; Kessler (2005a), 9–61; Hahn (2011), 55–76; Hamburger (2014), 1–16; Bedos-Rezak, Hamburger (2016).

[14] Diebold (1992), 89–99; Kessler (2008), 290–319; Reudenbach (2014), 229–244.

[15] Dutton, Kessler (1997); Diebold (1994), 7–18.

[16] Dutton, Kessler (1997), 90–91; Diebold (1994), 14–15.

[17] Guilmain (1967), 248; Mckitterick (1980), 43–45.

[18] The complete manuscript is available: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8452767n.image

[19] Boutemy (1949), 262–264; Guilmain (1966), 246–260; Guilmain (1967), 231–235.

[20] Koehler, Mütherich (2009), 20–23; 253–278.

Bible contains a long prefatory poem dedicated to Charles the Bald and attributed to Hucbald (ca. 840–930), chief master of the school at St. Amand (fols. 1v–3r; fig. 1).[21]

Fig. 1. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 2, fol. 1v, *Hucbald of St. Amand, dedicatory poem to Charles the Bald*, © Bibliothèque Nationale (BNF).

It also features a version of Theodulf of Orléans's poem titled "Preface to the Books of the Bible" that has been adapted to the sequence of texts in the manuscript and gives a typological explanation of their contents (fols. 4v–5r).

Seeking to contribute to recent scholarship, this article demonstrates the important relationship between poetry and calligraphy within the Second Bible by analyzing the incipit and initial pages of the book of Genesis (figs. 2–3), which open the Bible, in the light of Hucbald's prefatory poem.

[21] Chartier (1995), 202–224.

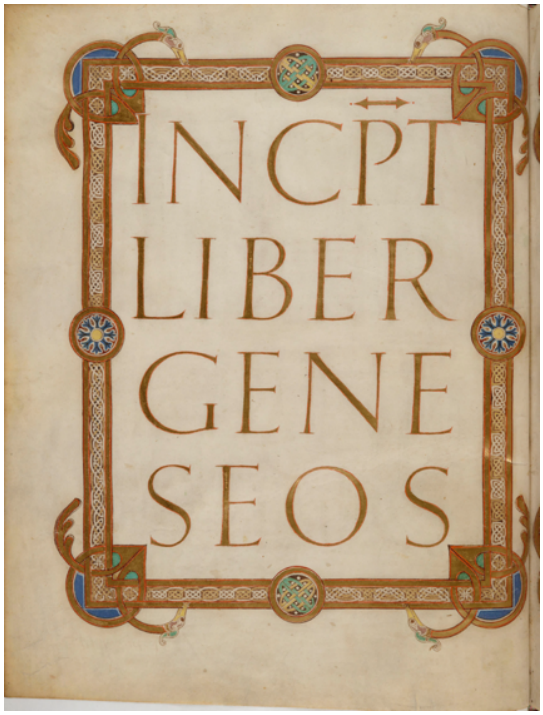

Fig. 2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Lat. 2, fol. 10v, *incipit page of Genesis*, © BNF.

Fig. 3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Lat. 2, fol. 11r, *initial to Genesis*, © BNF.

Using a new transcription of Hucbald's poem, my analysis focuses on the decorated letter "I" of "In principio," ("In the beginning," the first words of Genesis at fol. 11r, fig. 3) to exemplify how the symbolism of abstract graphic signs and ornament generate meaning for a medieval viewer.[22] I argue that the letter's iconic charge transforms the nature of the script, which appears as an image of God's revelation in Christ. By operating on an ontological level, the letter generates a process of recollection and thus elevates the viewer's mind towards God. As the book's intended contemplative reader, Charles the Bald was to become an image of Christ, the just ruler who embodies Divine Wisdom and brings prosperity to the Franks. Conceived in a moment of political turmoil, the manuscript does not only bring the pleas of the monastic community of St. Amand to the king. It also promotes a political idea of the Franks as a divinely ordained community founded on the authority of the Word of God and guided by a leader who is its agent.

The manuscript's main ornamental focus lies at the beginning (fols. 10v–11r; figs. 2–3) where a monumental two-page opening decorates the incipit and the beginning of the Book of Genesis. It is the only opening decorated with an ornamented frame and zoomorphic motives. The script of both pages is organized according to a precise layout. The clear and lucid format forces the viewer to recognize the letters' regular forms: squares, rectangles, and circles. Guilmain has shown how this geometrical effect of the script derives from the adoption of Roman capitals, a type of lettering used in Roman

[22] My analysis and interpretation are based on my own, new transcription of Hucbald's poem, which is based on the text in the manuscript at fols. 1v–3r. (For the transcription, see *Appendix*).

epigraphy, which indicates that every letter of the alphabet is derived initially from a square which is cut by horizontal, vertical, and diagonal guidelines.[23] The subjugation of calligraphy to geometry is also visible in the decorated letters throughout all the incipit pages of the Bible's books. It is further emphasized through the integration of the letters into a geometrical grid consisting of red and green decorative dot patterns, such as in Leviticus (fol. 44v; fig. 4). As noted in *Die Frankosächsische Schule*, each decorated letter can be divided into a variety of geometrical forms that constitute its architectural framework.[24] The interlace governs the letters' ornament of initials, such as those of the books of Exodus or Isaiah (fols. 30r and 146r; figs. 5–6), and connects the geometric form of the design revealing hidden crosses.[25]

Fig. 4. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 2, fol. 44v, *initial to Leviticus*, © BNF.

[23] Guilmain (1967), 231–235.

[24] Koehler, Mütherich (2009), 32–49.

[25] For the other decorated initials thorough the Bible: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8452767n.image

Fig. 5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Lat. 2, fol. 30r, *initial to Exodus*, © BNF.

Fig. 6. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Lat. 2, fol. 146r, *initial to Isaia*, © BNF.

In the beginning of Genesis, the interlaced bands that decorate the crown of the letter "I" of "In Principio" create several layers (Fig. 7). The viewer perceives a visual metamorphosis of geometric forms. This effect results from a layout comprised of two main elements: the golden interlace of the ground intermingled with the emerging geometric shapes. The ornament unifies the interweaving lines with the geometry to create positive and negative spaces filled with different colors. The golden interlace forms lozenge shapes that constitute the four arms of a vertical central cross. This cross is moreover inscribed in a diamond shape. The interwoven lines of the decoration require the viewer's close attention. Only through a careful reading of the decoration is the viewer able to visualize the crosses concealed in the initial.

In addition, the geometric patterns and colors also follow a diagonal order that consistently guide the viewer's eye from detail to detail in search of the sign of the cross. In this way, the ornament's fabric shares the mechanism of reading with the tradition of the *carmina figurata* (visual poems) that make use of acrostics and geometric patterns to create shapes out of the field of text.[26] Examples of these visual poems include those composed by Milo of St. Amand for Charles the Bald (Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 502, fols. 73v–74r; fig. 8).[27]

[26] On the tradition of carmina figurata, see Ulrich (1991) and Ulrich (2006), 43–75.

[27] The manuscript is an 11th century copy of the Vita Amandi (Life of St. Amand), written c. 845–55 for Charles the Bald. Abou-El-Haj (1994), 86.

Fig. 7. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 2, fol. 11r, *initial to Genesis, detail*, © BNF.

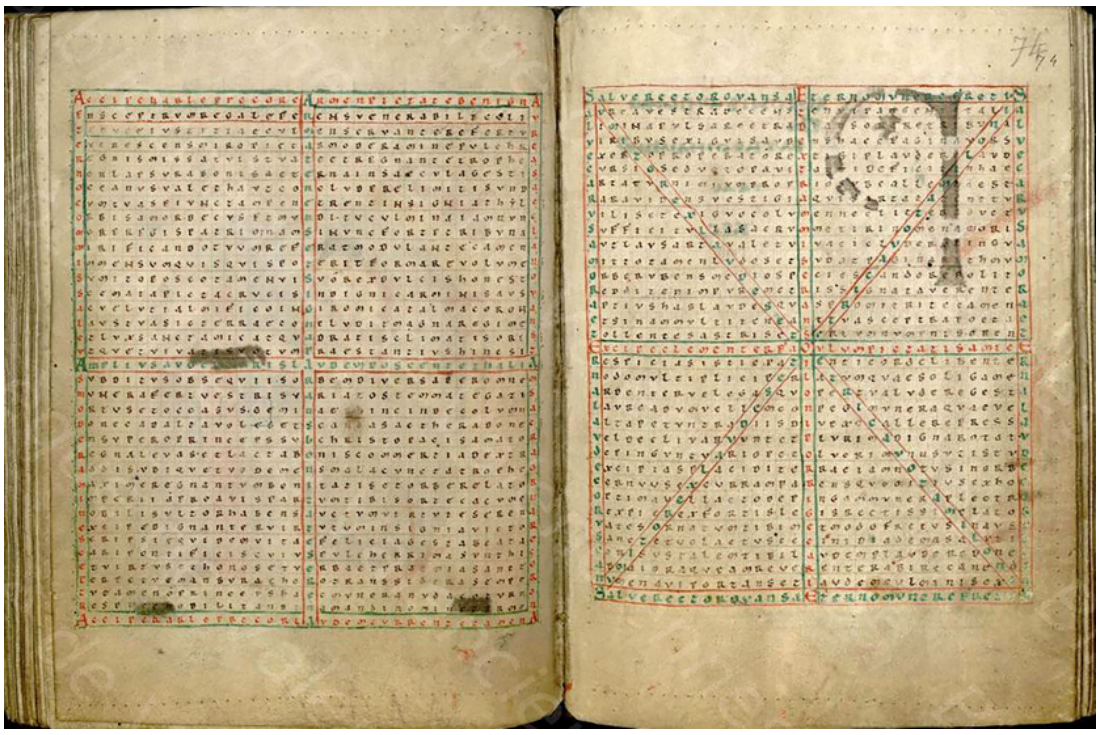

Fig. 8. Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 502, fols. 73v–74r, *Milo of St. Amand, acrostic poem dedicated to Charles the Bald*, © Bibliothèque Municipale.

The poetic and the ornamental composition are both fashioned with the sign of the cross over a ground of letters and interlace, respectively. The sign is abstracted into vertical and diagonal geometries and comes to the eyes through different colors. This reading demands that the viewer seek a solution to unlock the hidden forms within the image. Moreover, the viewer is invited to engage in an exegetical process of exploring the deepest meanings that reside in the sign of the cross embedded in the lettering.[28]

The sign of the cross was not only used in the decoration of the "In principio" of the book of Genesis in the Second Bible. It had already appeared in other Carolingian Bibles.[29] In the book of Genesis of the San Paolo Bible (fol. 10r; figs. 9–10), for instance, a cross appears at the top of the interlace, which form the crown of the ligature "IN." In both cases, the cross prompts the viewer to recall the theological principle of the presence of Christ, the pre-existing Logos, at the beginning of creation, as well as the message of salvation contained in Scripture. At the time, Carolingian theologians highlighted the pre-existent nature of the Logos, His manifestation in the Incarnation, and also his Second Coming in majesty and glory by relating the incipit of Genesis to the opening of John's Gospel.[30] They interpreted John's words as an indication of the relationship between Christ, the incarnate Word, and God, who was both Creator and Judge.

[28] Sears (1989), 341–345.

[29] Kessler (2015), 39–43; Kessler (2016), 112–115.

[30] Krasnodębska-D'Aughton (2002), 105–22; Hamburger (2002), 21–42; Kessler (2007), 141–168.

Fig. 9. Rome, Abbazia di S. Paolo fuori le Mura fol. 10r, *initial to Genesis* (photo Public Domain).

Fig. 10. Rome, Abbazia di S. Paolo fuori le Mura fol. 10r, *initial to Genesis*, detail.

For example, in his *Commentary on the Gospel of John*, Alcuin elaborates not only on the consubstantiality of the nature of Christ and God but also on Christ as agent in creation.[31] Consubstantial with the Father, the Son was present at the beginning of Creation, and all things were made with him and through him. At the same time, the transcendent God became visible in the Logos incarnate, Christ, and the Divine Glory took on the sinful human flesh to procure redemption for humankind.

In the Second Bible, the central cross, which emerges from the interlaced, carpet-like decoration, does not only bring to mind Christ's passion but also his return in glory at the end of time. The small square shapes, enclosed by the golden interlaces and filled with yellow, green, and red colors, imitate the polished surfaces of cloisonné enamels, such as those of the Dorestadt brooch (ca. 800) (Dutch National Museum of Antiquities, fig. 11). They evoke the material qualities of the gemmed cross, an emblem of victory, which alludes to the "sign of the Son of Man" that heralds the Second Coming, as mentioned in the Gospel of Matthew.[32] Carolingian exegetes, such as Hrabanus Maurus, elaborated on the complex symbolism of the cross. In his acrostic poem *In praise of the cross*

[31] "In principio erat Verbum. Quod duobus modis intelligitur. Nam Pater principium est, quasi dixisset: In Patre. In Patre est Filius, quem Verbum nominavit iste evangelista. Nec nos movere debet quod in sequentibus hujus Evangelii, Judaeis interrogantibus quis esset ipse Deus, Dei Filius respondit, Principium, qui et loquor vobis (Joan. VIII, 25). Si enim Filius principium est, qui habet Patrem, quanto facilius Deus Pater intelligendus est esse principium, qui habet quidem Filium, cui Pater sit; Filius enim, Patris est Filius; et Pater utique Filii Pater est, et Pater Deus, sed non de Deo Deus; Filius verus Deus de Deo est." Alcuin, Commentarius in Sancti Iohannis Evangelium, 1,1. Migne (1863), 100, 745B.

[32] "And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven. And then shall all tribes of the earth mourn: and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with much power and majesty" (Mt. 24:30). On the gemmed crosses, see Jüdlich (1986/87), 99–258; Marensi (2002), 99–110.

(*In honorem sanctae crucis*), Hrabanus demonstrated how the cross's shape was related to different aspects of cosmology.

Fig. 11. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, *Dorestad brooch* (photo Alexander Van Loon).

According to him, Christ's passion and death transformed the cross into the heavenly sign of his majesty and omnipotence. The cross overrode the sin of the first humans in the Garden of Eden and unlocked the possibility for humankind to return to God at the end of time.[33] Situated at the beginning of Genesis, the cross thus communicates to the viewer of the Second Bible a full range of historical and eschatological references that encompass God's plan in salvation history.

In the initial "I," the cross is enclosed in a diamond shape, which is a significant cosmological symbol. The diamond shape refers to the tetragonal diagram of the cosmos (*tetragonus mundus*) that is represented in astronomical tracts, such as the early ninth-century miscellany preserved in Vienna (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Codex 387, fol. 134r; fig. 12).

[33] "Recte igitur quaternarium numerum perfectione sacratum pene nullus ignorat, et ideo bene illum in forma crucis Christi transfiguratum totus orbis veneratur. Siquidem mundum quatuor elementis constare manifestum est, id est, igne, aere, aqua et terra. Et totum orbem quatuor terminari partibus sive angulis notum est, oriente scilicet et occidente, aquilone et meridie. Quatuor quoque sunt vicissitudines temporum, id est, ver, aestas, autumnus, hiems; et quatuor quadrantes naturalis diei, id est, quater senae horae, quae tamen his initiis dignoscuntur, mane videlicet et meridie, vespere et intempesto." Perrin (1997), 71. On the theology of the cross, see Chazelle (2007); Kitzinger (2018), 19–98.

Fig. 12. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Codex 387, fol. 134r, *cosmological map*
© Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

It signifies the created world and its constituent elements in the form of quaternities.[34] The diagram was also used as layout in Carolingian Majestas Domini that served as frontispieces to the Gospels, such as the one in the San Paolo Bible (fol. 259v; fig. 13).[35]

[34] On the lozenge and the fourfold division of the world, see Esmeijer (1978); Caviness (1983),107–111; Kühnel (2005), 359–390.

[35] Kessler (1977), 51–53.

Fig. 13. Rome, Abbazia di S. Paolo fuori le Mura, fol. 259v, *Majestas Domini* (photo Author).

As Herbert Kessler has shown, the geometric schema establishes a metonymic relationship between the world of creation, based on mathematical harmony and order, and the world of sacred Scripture.[36]

Incorporated together into the letter "I" of "In Principio," the lozenge diagram and the cross evoke the creation of the terrestrial world as described in Genesis. Furthermore, they also explain to the viewer the pre-existing nature of the Logos in the Old Testament, as well as his coming in glory at the end of time. The figure text thus transforms the opening word of the Hebrew Scripture into an image of the cosmos created by

[36] Kessler (2005b), 1108–1110; Kessler (2015), 39–50.

the Word made flesh and redeemed by His sacrifice. It demonstrates the essential harmony believed to exist between the world, the Word through which it was made, and the incarnate God who redeemed it.[37]

Beyond the central cross, as already indicated above, small crosses are woven into every aspect of the page's ornament. Vertical and diagonal crosses appear in the negative space between the thin, interlaced ribbon that fills the stem of the letter "I" (fig. 7). They also become visible among the knotwork inside the golden square, which is placed in the middle of the same letter. At the center of the letter "N," a cross is hidden in the circular disposition of triqueta knots inside the medallion (fig. 3). Because of this, the ornament challenges the viewer's perception. The function of these crosses is to engage the viewer in a continuous meditation about the mystery of the incarnation and Christ's role in salvation history. The beholder has to disentangle the mimicked knotwork in order to discern the figure of the cross. It is a revelatory experience because the viewer recognizes patterns and motifs that previously had been hidden in plain sight only after a prolonged contemplation.[38]

Moreover, this interweaving of the sign of the cross in the ornament's knotwork can be interpreted as a reference to the textile metaphor that likens Christ to a veil, as expressed by Saint Paul in *The Epistle to Hebrews*. *The Epistle to Hebrews* invites the faithful to access God's dwelling through the veil, which represents Christ's incarnation and sacrifice on the cross.[39] Carolingian exegetes such as Haymo of Auxerre explained the metaphor of the veil in the text of the Epistle. Haymo also discussed how Christ replaced the sacrifices of the Old Testament with his own body and freed humanity from sin.[40] According to Haymo, Christ's incarnation established the New Covenant between man and God; it fulfilled God's will as it was written in the prophecies of the Old Testament.[41] Christ's flesh replaced the sacrifice of animals and opened the entrance of the Holy of Holies, because Christ's incarnation was already foretold since the beginning in the book

[37] On the function of diagrams as means of the invisible, see Kühnel (2003).

[38] On the revelatory experience of looking for negative crosses in interlace, see Stevenson (1981), 11–17. See also Bonne (2000), 75–108.

[39] Hebrews 10: 19–20 expounds that "Having therefore, brethren, a confidence in the entering into the holies by the blood of Christ: A new and living way which he hath dedicated for us through the veil, that is to say, his flesh…;" and Hebrew 6: 19–20 describes hope as "an anchor of the soul, sure and firm, and which entereth in even within the veil: Where the forerunner Jesus is entered for us, made a high priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech..." On the metaphor of the veil in pictorial art, see Kessler (1990/1991), 53–77; Papastavrou (1993), 143–153; Valle (2015), 106–134; Palazzo (2019), 49–66; Henriet (2019), 135–160.

[40] "Habentes itaque fratres fiduciam in introitu sanctorum in sanguine Christi, quam initiavit nobis viam novam et viventem per velamen, id est, carnem suam, et sacerdotem magnum super domum Dei." Haymo of Auxerre, In Epistolam ad Hebraeos, 10. Migne (1881), 117, 893A.

[41] "Hactenus ostendit pontificis et hostiarum, tabernaculi quoque et testamenti et repromissionis distantiam, multamque differentiam: nunc invitando hortatur accedere ad ea quae per Christum in veritate nobis advenerunt, dans auctoritatem de magno pontifice, dicens: Propterea (inquit) plus habemus fiduciam per sanguinem Christi mundari, quam illi qui carnaliter hostias offerebant, quia hostia nostra vera et rationabilis est. In tantum enim maiorem fiduciam habemus in ingressu coelorum per sanguinem Christi, in quantum magis cohaeredes effecti sumus." Haymo of Auxerre, In Epistolam ad Hebraeos, 10. Migne (1881), 117, 893B.

of Genesis.[42] By showing crosses that appear interwoven in the ornament, the ornamented page thus invites the viewer to meditate on Christ's role in the history of salvation as revealed in the Old and New Testaments inside the Bible.[43]

At the same time, the illuminated letters assert the identity of the material script and Sacred Scripture as a way to access the Divinity through spiritual seeing. The illuminator carefully and methodically deployed ornamental forms to present the process of covering and filling the surface of the letters as a metaphor for the mysterious process by which the divine invisible became visible in the world of creation.[44] The vines and the abstract vegetal ornamentation are embedded in the materiality of the golden letters. Because of its shimmering quality, gold was specifically used in the Carolingian period to signify the light of divine revelation.[45] When engaging with the script, the viewer needs to peer through the ornament and grasps the divine essence of the letters. Through its materiality the gold connects the material world of forms and the realm of the divine. The ornament therefore reveals the otherwise invisible God to the reader; by looking at the ornamented letter the reader experiences God's revelation.[46] What is hidden in the Old Testament needs to be brought to life through Christ, the living letter of the New Testament. This process of unveiling is accomplished in the viewer's mind through the interpretation of visual signs that constitute the script. Seeing the letters in the Second Bible is not just a process of reading a sequence of consecutive letters into words. Rather, seeing letters as signs enhances the geometric nature of the script with the goal of transforming the letters into shapes that bear meaning. The viewer's gaze penetrates the lettering, as the eye meanders through the lines and shapes of the ornament, experiencing the transformation of letters into lozenges and crosses. The ambiguous effect of the interlaces' layout activates several interpretations of the paintings and unleashes in the viewer a desire for knowledge. The script and its materiality thus become an image and introduces the beholder to a contemplative process. The ornamented surface that clothes the letter functions as a visual support for meditation, equivalent to the rumination of sacred texts or *exercitatio mentis* of exegetical practice.[47] The frame's ornament featuring biting animals evokes this hermeneutical act of ruminating on the Word of the Bible.[48]

The idea of finding the geometric and mathematical orders contained within sacred writings is part of a tradition that dates back to patristic exegesis of the fifth century. Philosophers such as Augustine and Boethius associated the Genesis account of creation with the statement in the Book of Wisdom that God "ordered all things in measure, and

[42] "Quidam enim intelligunt hic initium Genesis (cap. I) , ubi scriptum est, quod in principio, id est in Filio fecerit Deus coelum et terram; quidam primum psalmum, quem quidam referunt ad Christum, quidam ad quemlibet electum, in quo dicitur: In lege Domini voluntas eius (Psal. I)." Haymo of Auxerre, In Epistolam ad Hebraeos, 10. Migne (1881), 117, 891C.

[43] On the theological function of textile ornament see Bücheler (2019).

[44] Weinryb (2013), 118–132; Tilghman (2016), 157–177; Bawden (2019), 11–36.

[45] The bibliography on the topic is extensive. See, among others, Reudenbach (2002), 1–12; Kessler (2007), 141–168; Thunø (2011), 279–291.

[46] Frese (2014), 1–16; Voyer (2018), 103–115; Frese (2019), 37–62.

[47] Carruthers (2008), 206–207.

[48] Leclercq (1961).

number, and weight."[49] They interpreted the biblical passage to mean that the created world, as well as Sacred Scripture, were not only quantifiable but also "ordered;" both of them were structured according to arithmetical and geometric principles that could be perceived only by the intellect.[50] Both arithmetic and geometry thus were fundamental to the knowledge of God because they allowed the human mind to grasp the Divine order behind created things.

Carolingian exegetes such as Hrabanus Maurus and John Scottus or Eriugena, referred to both Augustine and Boethius's authority and praised the mathematical structure of the Bible. In his treatise *On Computation* (*De Computo*), Hrabanus Maurus, for instance, recognized the importance of the mathematical system of Scripture because God himself ordered all things in measure.[51] For this reason, mathematical reasoning was a metaphor for the mind accessing the mysteries of the holy Writings. Eriugena further elaborated on the function of mathematics in preparing the way for the theological insight of Scripture. In agreement with Platonic theory, he believed that the faculties of knowledge of the mathematical disciplines provide man with the ability of understanding the ontological structure of the world.[52] By mediating between the eternal and created, the invisible and visible spheres, mathematics provide the human mind with a privileged access to theology, the highest knowledge of God.[53] In this way, the imperfect

[49] Ws. 11:21. In the treatise On Free Choice of the Will, Augustine wrote: "Wherever you turn, Wisdom speaks to you through the imprint it has stamped upon its works.... Look at the sky, the earth, and the sea, and at whatever in them shines from above or crawls, flies, or swims below. These have form because they have number." Augustine, De Libero Arbitrio, 2,16. Benjamin, Hackstaff (1964), 73–74. In the treatise On Arithmetic, Boethius wrote: "[Arithmetic] is prior to all not only because God the Creator of the massive structure of the world considered this first discipline as the exemplar of his own thought and established all things in accord with it; or that through numbers of an assigned order all things exhibiting the logic of their maker found concord." Boethius, De Arithmetica, 1. Masi (1983), 74.

[50] In the treatise On the City of God, Augustine wrote: "...the theory of number is not to be lightly regarded, since it is made quite clear, in many passages of holy Scriptures, how highly it is to be valued. It was not for nothing that it was said in praise of God, "You have ordered all things in measure, number and weight." Augustine De civitate Dei 11,30. Betterson, Evans (2003), 465. In the treatise On Arithmetic Boethius wrote: "This, therefore, is the quadrivium [arithmetic, music, geometry, astronomy] by which we bring a superior mind from knowledge offered by the senses to the more certain things of the intellect. There are various steps and certain dimensions of progressing by which the mind is able to ascend so that by means of the eye of the mind, which, (as Plato says), is composed of many corporeal eyes and is of higher dignity than they, truth can be investigated and beheld. This eye, I say, submerged and surrounded by the corporeal senses, is in turn illuminated by the disciplines of the quadrivium." Boethius, De Arithmetica, 1. Masi (1983), 73. On the medieval analogy of Nature and Scripture, see Otten (1995), 257–284. On the function of arithmetic for Boethius, see Uhlfelder (1981), 17–30. See also McNamee (2015), 1–53.

[51] In the treatise On Computation, Hrabanus wrote: "Non enim ratio numerorum contemnenda est, quia in multis sanctarum Scripturarum locis quantum mysterium habet elucet. Non etiam frustra in laudibus Dei dictum est: Omnia in mensura et in numero et in pondere fecisti. Per numerum siquidem ne confundamur instruimur. Tolle numerum a rebus omnibus, et omnia pereunt. Adime saeculo computum, et omnia caeca ignorantia complectuntur. Nec differre possunt a caeteris animalibus qui calculi nesciunt rationem. Sed tu, quia ad exponendum huius vim et rationem me provocasti, de his quibus te instruere velis praecede interrogando; et sic te subsequar, quantum Dominus concesserit, respondendo." Hrabanus Maurus, De Computo, 1. McCulloh, Stevens (1979), 205.

[52] See the study of Kijewska (2003), 625–647.

[53] Kijewska (2003), 625–647.

human ratio, impaired by Original Sin, could re-awaken his divine sense and glean God's divine wisdom.

In the poem that prefaces the Second Bible, Hucbald also introduces this gnoseological function of Scripture. The poet was surely familiar with the ideas of his master, Eriugena, as well as the other exegetes. In the poem, he praises God's Wisdom for manifesting itself both in the law of nature, which orders the universe, and in Scripture, which guides the Old Testament kings.[54] Hucbald singles out Solomon and David and compares them to Charles the Bald.[55] These two Old Testament kings had long been evoked as examples of good kingship. They are referred to in the poetry and mirrors of princes dedicated to the king.[56] Solomon embodied royal justice while David personified humility, two fundamental virtues for a ruler. The two kings function as models that Charles had to follow, even though he encompassed their two different virtues already. This comparison between Charles and the two Old Testament kings appeared in the First and San Paolo Bibles.[57] In the Second Bible, however, Solomon and David are celebrated as valorous and wise rulers because their minds followed God's Wisdom in Scripture, which guided their path and elevated them among all other men.[58] Solomon is also used as an example of bad conduct to demonstrate to Charles the negative consequences of a king who withdraws from Wisdom.[59] As Hucbald progresses in explaining how God's Wisdom revealed itself in the New Testament in Christ, the Word made Flesh, the language becomes more hyperbolic. Charles is praised for contemplating the text of the Bible night and day and for cherishing the Law of God with such great honor that the king's mind "shines more radiant with the very sun that is Christ."[60]

The importance of the Old and New Testaments as sources of wisdom for the king in ruling his people was already presented to Charles the Bald in the First and San Paolo Bibles.[61] In the First Bible, Audradus Modicus, for instance, recommend to Charles

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[54] "O Wisdom of the heavenly Lord worthy of great admiration, / You who were present when He himself created the heavens, / And who is worthy of no less praise for knowing to arrange all matter in such / Well–ordered harmony in accordance with proper law." Appendix, vv. 3–6; "You have always dispensed the laws among kings and kingdoms." Appendix, v. 16.

[55] "Certainly, the valorous David ruled through you and conducted / The troops of the blessed, as he taught, by the law of the guilty, / The saints to stand firm and the fallen to rise once again." Appendix, vv. 32–34; "King Solomon, because he preferred to strive for your gifts / So that he could become wise, emerging as the most exalted / Of kings, he thrived with great riches / And with firm judgment he established with you many excellent worldly goods." Appendix, vv. 41–44.

[56] Anton (1968), 419–446.

[57] Diebold (1994), 12; Kessler (1997), 43–44, 81–84.

[58] "You recognize in your heart those who have fully accepted you: /…/ You enliven all those you prize with a fertile mind." Appendix, vv. 36–38.

[59] "When he [Solomon] withdrew from you, he suffered losses in himself." Appendix, v. 47.

[60] "But, while the parchment adorned with gold and precious stones shines bright, / This [Charles's mind] contemplates at all times with herself, night and day, / So that she [Charles's mind] may shine more radiant with the very sun that is Christ: / Thus, O Wisdom, you transform your Charles into a sun." Appendix, vv. 68–71.

[61] Diebold (1994), 14.

to examine the Bible with pious mind because it is the true source of divine wisdom.[62] Carolingian mirror of princes also acknowledged the Bible as an ethical and political tool. In his treatise *On Christian rulers* (*De Rectoribus Christianis*), Sedulius Scottus, for instance, wrote that "If anyone proposes and desires to steer the ship of the commonwealth happily as a good governor, let him not to be negligent in observing the excellent counsels of the Lord that have been seth forth in the divine eloquence."[63] In the Second Bible, however, Hucbald makes stronger claims. Scriptures does not only provide Charles with an ethical guide for government. They also transform the king into an image of Christ.[64] The verses put forth the fundamental ontology of holy writing as a tool that allows the human mind to ascend towards God through the knowledge of his son, Christ.[65] In this way, the king would have partaken into the eternal wisdom of God and become, like Christ, an image of the ultimate virtuous king. This understanding of scriptural exegesis was based on the Carolingian political concept of rulership as *ministerium* and the fact that the king was considered an image or type of Christ.[66] For the Carolingians, the power of a righteous king rested on his ability to follow in the footsteps of Christ and his Old Testament types in order to properly rule his Christian people and bring them to salvation.[67] As Janet Nelson and others have shown, the notion of royal power as pastoral power, as well as the idea that peoples' salvation was as the goal of rulership and legislation, represented an important feature of Carolingian political ideology. [68] Only the wisest king capable of fathoming the many layered meaning of Scripture could be a true rector of his Christian people.[69]

Most certainly, Charles the Bald would have been able to contemplate the meaning of the multivalent geometric forms in the Bible's decorated letters. Among all of the early Carolingian kings, he was the most educated and shared interests with his ecclesiastical contemporaries in theology and politics.[70] Scholars who dedicated their works to the king praised him warmly for his learning and regarded him as the philosopher ruler. Moreover, Charles was a generous patron and the recipient of several illustrated manuscripts, including a luxury copy of Boethius' treatise *On Arithmetic* (*De Arithmetica*) that was illuminated in the scriptorium of Tours (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek H. J. IV 12, ca. 845). In the manuscript, geometric diagrams are used to engender a dynamic process of visual reading, which teaches the king the meaning of geometrical forms as generated and composed by numbers (fig. 14).

[62] "I pray that his Scriptures [will] be examined from the start of this volume / With a pious mind, with effort, with speech, [and] with faith. / For here is the fount, here the powerful teaching, here the overflowing streams…" Kessler (1997), 17, 107.

[63] Dyson (2010), 85.

[64] See note 60.

[65] Kessler (1994), 533–584.

[66] Ullmann (1969), 43–70.

[67] Nelson (1987), 99–131; Garrison (2000), 114–161; Heydemann (2020), 89–131.

[68] Nelson (1994), 52–88; Alberi (1988), 3–17.

[69] See Nelson (1990), 258–296.

[70] Mckitterick (1980), 28–47.

Fig. 14. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek H. J. IV 12, fol. 81r, *square numbers*, © Staatsbibliothek.

The author of the dedication poem also praises the study of numbers and invites Charles the Bald to look and to understand their infinite and eternal natures. As Laura Cochrane has shown, the manuscript was probably made at the same time of the First Bible in 845. It was likely intended to train the king, who was still in his early years, in the mathematical arts and thus to prepare him for the intellectual rigors of Bible study and theology.[71]

Highly educated and assisted by the ornament and the diagrammatic signs present in the decoration of the Second Bible's letters, Charles's mind would have been able to move beyond the visible language and recognize the invisible divine meaning of Scripture. By accessing the Bible's meaning in this way, Charles would partake in God's Wisdom and thus would be transformed into a living embodiment of Divine Wisdom. As such, he would bring unity, glory, and wealth to the Christian kingdom. According

[71] Cochrane (2016), 11.

to Hucbald's ideas, the Second Bible would have served as a Mirror of Princes and supplied Charles the Bald with spiritual guidance.[72]

The message that Hucbald sought to convey seems particularly appropriate in the years 871–872 when the manuscript was in production. At the time, Charles the Bald was in a difficult political situation due to the revolt of his son Carloman, who was abbot of Saint Amand from 867 to 870.

As the third son of Charles the Bald, Carloman was excluded from the royal succession to the throne of West Francia and "probably unwillingly" forced to a religious career.[73] However, he always had aspirations to secular power and acted more like a lay abbot than a cleric. He economically exploited the rich monasteries given to him, leaving religious matters to a regular abbot. After the death of his elder brother in 866 and his father's conquest of Lotharingian in 869, Carloman had high hopes to return to a lay status and to have his share in the royal succession.[74] These prospects, however, were threatened when Charles, after the death of Carloman's mother, married Richildis. A new line of heirs would have foreclosed for Carloman the possibility of royal succession alongside his brother Louis.[75] Fueled by the desire of possessing a kingdom, Carloman started lobbying on his own account, while Charles and his brother Louis the German were negotiating the partition of the territories of Lotharigia in June 870.

Charles reacted at his son's actions and accused him of stirring up plots.[76] He deprived him of the abbacy of St. Amand, imprisoned him, and he elected Gozlin as new abbot. Carloman's imprisonment, however, did not last long. Thanks to his "sympathies in high places" and the intervention of pope Hadrian II, he was quickly released.[77] Despite his promise of "staying at his father's side," Carloman escaped, raiding the territories in the regions of Toul and Mouzon. In 871, after a successful campaign in Burgundy, Charles ordered a harsh reprisal against Carloman and his supporters. In November, in fear of being pursued, Carloman decided to meet with his father. Charles ordered his son to stay with him until he had the opportunity to speak with his counselors and decide which "honors" to grant him.[78] The king later condemned Carloman to prison but allowed his accomplices to live in the kingdom bound by an oath of fidelity.[79]

Hucbald's poem can certainly be interpreted as referring to the conflict between Charles and Carloman.[80] The verses mention "the offspring namesake of Charles," who was "a fierce and perverse tyrant" and who deceived Charles the Bald.[81] They clearly refer to Carloman and his continuous actions of pillaging the northern regions of France.

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[72] The last verse of the poems recites: "May such a fine possession benefit this exceptional man." Appendix, v. 153.

[73] Nelson (1988), 109; Nelson (1991), 165–180.

[74] Nelson (1988), 110.

[75] Nelson (1988), 110.

[76] Nelson (1988), 110.

[77] Nelson (1988), 111.

[78] Nelson (1988), 111.

[79] Nelson (1988), 112–113.

[80] Guilmain (1966), 247–248; Mckitterick (1980), 46–47.

[81] Appendix, vv. 99–100.

The poem also remarks Charles's great piety in sparing his son, "along with all of his subject who wanted to deprive him of his reign."[82] This can be understood as a reference to the events of 871, when the king imprisoned his son two times without condemning him to death, a sentence that was eventually converted into blinding his son later in 873.[83]

The struggle between Charles and his son surely raised anxieties among the monastic community of St Amand and the newly elected abbot Gozlin. The damage done to the monastery's material interests was probably of more immediate importance to the abbot. St. Amand was a royal abbey and its activities depended directly on the king's patronage. The abbey was an important site of religious life and a significant intellectual center of manuscript production in the kingdom.[84] Since Charles visited the monastery in 847, he made substantial donations to the abbots and gifts to the church.[85] Two of Charles's sons were also educated there. To honor the ruler, Milo, chief master of the monastic school, wrote a *Life of St. Amand* between 845 and 850 as well as the poem of praise *On Sobriety* (*De Sobrietate*) in 871, which was sent to the king by his nephew and successor Hucbald.[86] In 871, Gozlin, who had been appointed by Charles as the new abbot of St. Amand, played an important role in safeguarding the interests of the monks in his charge during the process of pacification between Charles the Bald and his son.[87] The abbot made personal requests to the king to reserve certain lands for the exclusive use of the monks and to increase the mensal revenue of the monastery. The king granted Gozlin's requests, making provisions for the monks in February and April 872, respectively.[88]

In the context of these events, the Second Bible could have been an appropriate gift for carrying Gozlin's pleas to Charles the Bald. In the poem, the theme of the wise ruler is associated with material prosperity, which corresponds with Charles's praise as a zealous and generous king. The verses at the end exalt the virtuous king for having undergone many challenges in his life, including the revolt of his son. They also praise his integrity because, in addition to sparing Carloman's followers, he also gave them back great properties: "giving to some of them even more."[89] Hucbald's flattering words would have allowed Gozlin to approach the king with an important message about rulership that was particularly relevant in that historical moment. The Bible would have supplied the ruler with knowledge and guidance in reconstituting legality in the Christian kingdom. At the same time, the manuscript would have advanced the interests of the Abbey by reminding the wise king that sacred knowledge is supplied by the monastery's intellectual activity, which relies on royal patronage.

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[82] Appendix, v. 102.

[83] Nelson (1988), 115.

[84] Platelle (1962), 64–65; Mckitterick (1980), 43.

[85] As a mark of his continuous favor, in 867, the king made a gift for the renovation of the altar and tomb of St. Amand. Platelle (1962), 57–62; Mckitterick (1980), 45.

[86] Smith (1996), 151–171; Bottiglieri (2006), 39–53.

[87] Nelson (1991), 172.

[88] Platelle (1962), 300–305.

[89] Appendix, vv. 103–104.

Appendix

Biblorum seriem Karolus rex inclitus istam
Contexit chryso corde colens catharo.
O miranda nimis domini sapientia summi,
Quae praesens aderas, dum caelos ipse parabat,
Nec spectanda minus, quod sic disponere cuncta
Ordine composito nosti sub iure coapto.
Tu stellas stellis interposuisse videris,
Sidereas vario expungens discrimine metas,
Luminibus cunctis statuens praeponere solem;
Tu quoque circuiens caeli[90] sic undique gyrum
Nexisti mediam convexo climate terram,
Tu mare fluctifluum divisa parte locasti.
Diversas gentes habitus sic mosque reservant,
Sed tu primatum cunctis in gentibus aequum
Sola tenes propria reprimens virtute superbos.
Regibus et regnis semper tu iura dedisti:
Paruit atque tuis quisquis de regibus orsis,
Culmine sublimi micuit sublimior ipse.
Felices dicti, felices sunt quoque facti,
Quique haesere tibi: tua laus et gloria regnant.
Biblorum serie de multis multa feruntur:
Correctis aliis, reprobatis denique multis
Quosdam glorifico rexisti nomine reges;
Sed servasse tuum tibimet specialiter unum
Ac proprium Karolum claret sapientibus orbis.
Quem solem solum regali scemate clarum
Lumine conspicuum ponis, sapientia, primum.
Nunc licet atque libet scrutari funditus illum
Rite modum, reges tibi quo placuisse sciuntur:
Sicque[91] tuus dici Karolus vel possit haberi,
Pandatur saltem paucis rudibusque loquelis.
Fortis nam David per te regnavit et egit
Arma beatorum nec non et norma reorum
Stare docens sanctos rursusque resurgere lapsos.
Non pateris humiles penitus tu, sancta, perire,
Quos te corde tuo satis acceptasse fateris:
Corripis et reprimis; quos corrigis, erigis aeque;

[90] The manuscript reads caeli. In his transcription, Traube introduces an orthographical change: coeli. Traube (1896), 255.

[91] The manuscript reads sicque. Traube introduces an orthographical change: sique. Traube (1896), 255–56.

Exerces cunctos, animo quos diligis almo;
Viribus et validis virtutes grata ministras;
Displicuisse putant stolidi quos diligis immo.
Rex Salomon, quoniam potius tua dona petivit
Ut sapiens posset fieri, praecelsior ullis
Regibus existens opibus pollebat opimis
Iudicioque rato tecum bona plurima sanxit
Doctrinaque tua mundum redimivit abunde,
Mirificum domino meruit quoque condere templum:
A te secedens, in se dispendia passus,
Dogma quod exhausit de te, per saecula lucet.
Ergone tute tuum Karolum non diligis ultro?
An hominum cuiquam humili fit corde secundus?
An pietate calet caluitque tanta vel alter?
Qui memorans adeo cunctarum pectore rerum,
Ut nihil auditum vel visum oblivio carpat:
Propria sola latet deleta[92] iniuria mente.
An de iustitiae dicam sileamve tenore?
Si quid forte minus, fateor: miseratio vincit.
Eia age, prome manum largam, vox libera dictu:
Testis erit verax nunc orphanus atque pupillus
Sic merito cunctos istorum nomine signo,
Dum non excipitur quisquam nec pellitur usquam.
Nec mare praeterea fervens in gurgite vasto
Hanc retinere manum potuit poteritque vel unquam:
Diversae hoc linguae diversa parte loquuntur,
Diversi mores laudant concorditer ipsam.
Felix ergo manus, sed mens felicior huius,
Pauper quae potius secum, quin constat egena,
Non inflata tumens regalis stemmate typi;
Sed, caro dum gemmis auroque ornata refulget,
Haec secum semper meditatur nocte dieque,
Lucidior Christo quo sole resplendeat ipso:
Sicque tuum Karolum facis, o sapientia, solem.
Nempe ubi thesaurus cor, ibi fore rite probatur,[93]
Quod huius domino semper constanter adhaeret,
In quo quicquid habet dulci pietate recondit.
Quid si nunc ipsum terris in carne videret?
Quo sub amore pedes, quo voto figeret ori?

[92] The manuscript reads deleta. Traube reads delata. Traube (1896), 256.
[93] Mt. 6:21; Lk. 12:34.

Quando datam legem tanto veneratur honore?[94]
Quid de evangelico textu replicabo colendo?
En ipsos apices gemmis circumdat et auro:
O quanto Christum mens fervida diligit ista,
Cuius amore sibi vilescunt omnia mundi.
Est modus, ut nec habens habeat nec habere cupiscat,
Est et habens sicut nec habens, sed et erogat ultro:
Ista virum virtus condigno nomine comit.
Ecce patet, Salomon quoniam, o sapientia, temet
Non plus dilexit Karolo sine fine beando.
Tu quoque nec David tantis per quaeque probasti;
Inter quae quaedam de quodam gratia facto
Multa tibi toto debetur corde ferenda:
Amisit David regnum rursusque recepit,
Morte tamen geniti tristatus valde dolebat;
Tuque tuo Karolo reparasti regna paterna
Nec dolor accessit, sed amor fraternus adhaesit:
Unde tuum Karolum semper servabis ubique.
Ergo nec hunc David nec Iob magis esse probatos
Apparet plane, pro te nec plura tulisse,
Quanta tuus Karolus mitis, pius atque benignus,
ΝΗΦΑΛΕΟΣ[sobrius] ΦΡΟΝΙΜΟΣ[sapiens] ΣΠΟΥΔΑΙΟΣ[fortis] ΚΑΙ ΔΕ[atque] ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ[iustus]
Aequivoco Karolo frustratus germine digno
Indulsit pro te saevo scaevoque tyranno,
Omnibus atque suis regno privantibus ipsum
Tam bonitate proba, tanta pietate pepercit;
Quin pervalde suis inimicis maxima rursus
Praedia restituit, donans ac plura quibusdam.
Quid[95] mereatur erus sanci, sapientia, tantus[96]
Iudicio nostro primus prae regibus extat.
Pragmate posco pio, populorum pectora pando:
Praecipuo prosit perproba proprietas.

[94] The manuscript has a question mark. Traube reads the punctuation sign as a comma. Traube (1896), 256–57.

[95] Traube introduces a question mark after quid. Traube (1896), 257. The manuscript does not have any punctuation sign. It appears that the punctuation sign does not have meaning here because of the use of the imperative sanci.

[96] Traube introduces a question mark after tantus. Traube (1896), 257. The manuscript does not have any punctuation sign. It appears that the Latin sentence is not an interrogative.

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