

**Authority and authorship, tradition and invention,
reading and writing in early medieval compilation genres:
the case of Hrabanus Maurus' *De institutione clericorum****
**Autoridad y autoría, tradición e invención,
lectura y escritura en los géneros de compilación altomedievales:
el caso del *De institutione clericorum* de Rabano Mauro**

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Abstract: From a literary point of view, the Early Middle Ages can be defined as an age of compilation. However, the nature of medieval compilation has often been misunderstood. This is because scholars have limited themselves to identifying the source-texts, ignoring deeper aspects such as the nature of tradition and authority, the scope of the compilation and the modes of reception, as well as the recontextualization process that compilation implies. When Hrabanus Maurus composed his *De institutione clericorum* in 818 he borrowed between sixty and seventy per cent of the matter from previous authors, and in fact far from pretending being original, what Hrabanus claims is not originality, but authority, although by the interweaving of his materials and with his relatively few adds he managed to create a different resulting product with a new personality. Using as a case study the *De institutione clericorum*, this article addresses the problems posed by the compilation process in relation to the educational methods –mainly mnemonic training – and the spiritual practices of the Carolingian renaissance, specifically the *lectio divina* and the *ruminatio*.

Keywords: Hrabanus Maurus, Carolingian renaissance, compilation, theory of authorship, Christian Tradition.

Resumen: Desde el punto de vista literario, la Temparana Edad Media puede definirse como la edad de la compilación. Sin embargo, la naturaleza de la compilación medieval ha sido a menudo malentendida. Esto se debe a que los estudiosos se han limitado a identificar los textos fuente, ignorando aspectos más profundos como la naturaleza de la tradición y de la autoridad, el alcance de la compilación y los modos de recepción, y la recontextualización que proceso de compilación implica. Cuando Rabano Mauro compuso su *De institutione clericorum* en el año 818, tomó en préstamo entre el sesenta y el setenta por ciento de la materia de autores anteriores, y de hecho, lejos de pretender ser original, lo que Rabano reclama para sí no es originalidad, sino autoridad, a pesar de que el entretrejido de sus materiales y sus relativamente escasas aportaciones personales le conducen a crear productos resultantes diferentes de los anteriores y con una personalidad propia. Utilizando el *De institutione clericorum* como caso de estudio, este artículo aborda los problemas que plantea el proceso de compilación en relación con los métodos educativos de su época –especialmente el entrenamiento mnemónico – así como las prácticas espirituales del renacimiento carolingio, específicamente la *lectio divina* y la *ruminatio*.

Palabras clave: Rabano Mauro, renacimiento carolingio, compilación, teoría de la autoría, tradición cristiana.

Summary: 1. Introduction: Hrabanus' compilation method. 2. Quantitative analysis. 3. Qualitative analysis. 4. The purpose behind the compilation. 5. Excerptio and compilatio as in the Middle Ages. 6. Understanding the Christian Tradition. 7. The process of composing. 8. Conclusion: is Hrabanus Maurus an "Auctor"?

* Note: The final stylistic revision has been performed by Claire Mabey of the "English language service by Heptonstall Medievalists", claire.editorial@gmail.com

1. Introduction: Hrabanus' compilation method

In modern times Hrabanus Maurus has often been branded as unoriginal (Manitius) or even as a plagiarist. Indeed in the *De institutione clericorum* (let's remember that this is his first didactical work), Hrabanus begins to use a composition method that he learned from his master Alcuin of York which involves a kind of patch-work of excerpts from previous authors. And to that method, he stuck all his life, up to his last and most compendious work *De rerum naturis* or *De universo*.

This method and its goal are explained by Hrabanus, in crystal clarity, in the dedicatory letter of the *De institutione clericorum* to archbishop Haistulf of Mainz:

Confido tamen omnipotentis dei gratiae, quod fidem et sensum catholicum in omnibus tenerem; nec per me quasi ex me ea protuli, *sed auctoritati innitens maiorum per omnia illorum vestigia sum secutus*: Cyprianum dico atque Hilarium, Ambrosium, Hieronimum, Augustinum, Gregorium, Iohannem, Damasum, Cassiodorum atque Isidorum et caeteros nonnullos, quorum dicta alicubi in ipso opere, *ita ut ab eis scripta sunt pro convenientia posui*, alicubi quoque eorum sensum meis verbis propter brevitatem operis strictim enuntiavi; interdum vero, ubi necesse fuit, secundum exemplar eorum quaedam sensu meo protuli. In omnibus tamen, ni fallor, catholicam imitatus sum veritatem, a qua, si dominus adiuvaverit, non patior ullo modo divelli, quam et te prae omnibus habere atque amare confido¹.

In another dedication letter, this time to abbot Hilduin (MGH, Ep. 5, Ep. N. 14, pp. 402-403)², after a similar statement, Hrabanus adds:

Praenotavique in marginibus paginarum aliquorum eorum nomina, ubi sua propria verba sunt; ubi vero sensum eorum meis verbis expressi aut ubi iuxta sensum eorum similitudinem, prout divina gratia mihi concedere dignata est, de novo dictavi, M litteram Mauri nomen exprimentem, quod meus magister beatae memoriae Albinus mihi indidit, praenotare curavi, ut diligens lector sciat, quid quisque de suo proferat quidve in singulis sentiendum sit, discernat³.

¹ My emphasis. "However, I trust to the almighty grace of God that I have kept the catholic sense everywhere; I have expounded it myself as if it were mine, but relying on the authority of the Fathers, I have followed their footsteps in every consideration: I mean Cyprian and Hilary, Ambrosius, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, John, Damasus, Cassiodorus and Isidore, and many others, whose teaching I have transmitted in the work, sometimes for my convenience taken literally from their writings, but sometimes I have also expressed their meanings with my own words for the sake of brevity; and finally, where it was necessary, I have expressed my own judgment, but after their example. However, if I am not mistaken, I have always kept the catholic truth, from which, with God's help, I won't ever depart, and which I trust that you too love above all things" (my translation).

² Although dedication letters in general are often highly rhetorical, there is absolutely nothing of false modesty on the part of Hrabanus, and he does exactly what he says. On the description of Hrabanus' composition method, as described in his own letters, see ARIS, Marc-Aeilko, 1996, "Nostrum est citare testes. Anmerkungen zum Wissenschaftsverständnis des Hrabanus Maurus", in SCHRIMPF, Gangolf (hrsg.), *Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger und Ottonen*, Fuldaer Studien 7 (Frankfurt am Main: Josef Knecht), p. 437-464.

³ My emphasis. "And I have annotated the names of some of them in the margins of the pages, where their own words are; but where I have re-composed their teachings with my own words

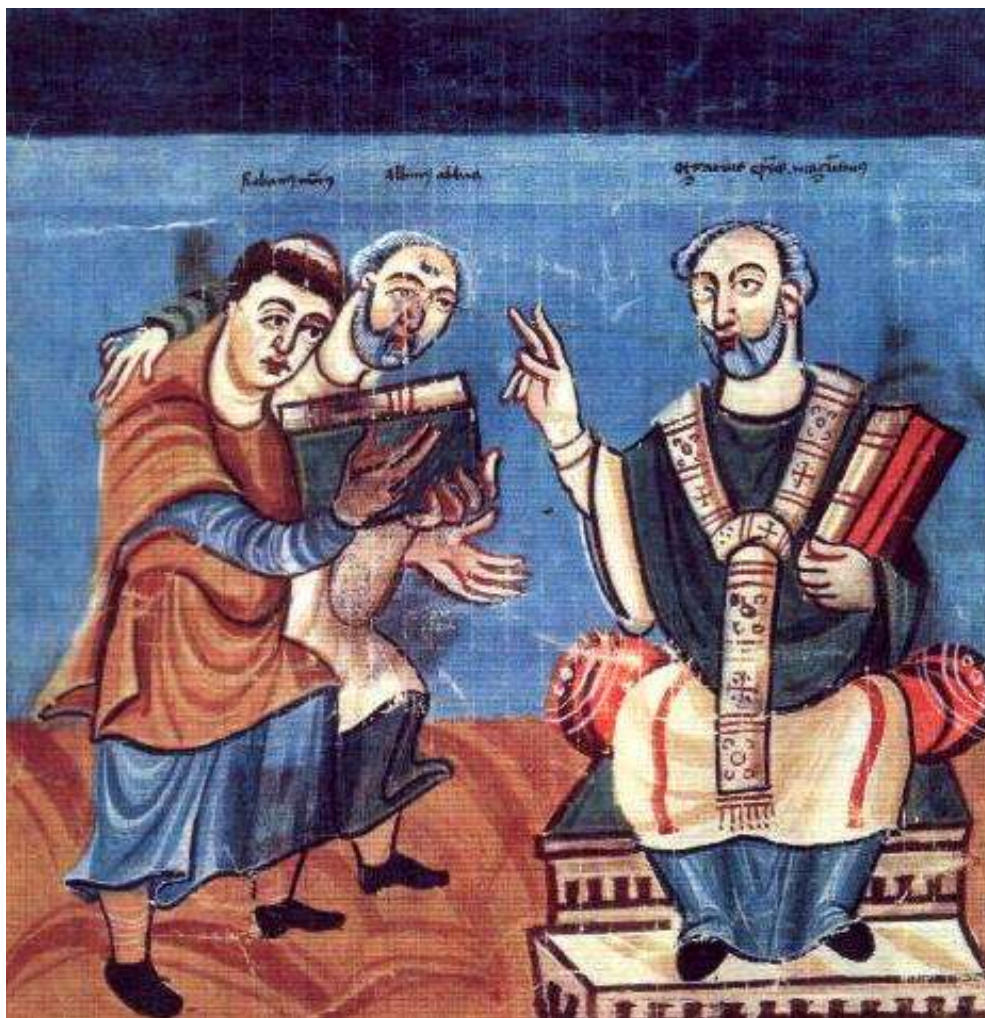


Fig. 1. Rabanus Maurus (left) with Alcuin presents his work to Otgar of Mainz
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rabanus_Maurus#/media/File:Raban-Maur_Alcuin_Otgar.jpg

The accusation of plagiarism (which in any way is a modern concept) is, therefore, to be altogether dismissed since Hrabanus is not claiming any originality at all – in fact, he is claiming to be unoriginal. What Hrabanus claims is *auctoritas*, and therefore he appeals to the *auctores*, after the *ordo testimoniorum* that he learnt from his teacher Alcuin and that he himself expresses in *De Institutione* III, 6⁴:

or by imitating them, or when I have stated something new, in the measure that has pleased the divine grace to allow me such thing, I have taken the care of indicating it with the letter “M”, which means the name “Maurus” that my master of happy memory Alcuin gave to me; and so the reader will know from whom every statement comes or discern which is what must be kept unanimously”.

⁴ Hrabanus is here quoting literally from Augustine’s *De Doctrina Christiana*, 2, 8 (12). “Accordingly, among the canonical Scriptures he will judge according to the following standard: to prefer those that are received by all the Catholic churches to those which some do not receive. Among those, again, which are not received by all, he will prefer those that have the sanction of the greater number and those of greater authority, over those that are held by the smaller number and those of less authority. If, however, he shall find that some books are held by the greater number of churches, and others by the churches of greater authority (though this is not a very likely thing to happen), I think that in such a case the authority on the two sides is to be looked upon as equal”.

In canonicis autem Scripturis ecclesiarum catholicarum quam plurimum auctoritatem sequatur, inter quas sane illae sunt, quae apostolicas sedes habere et Epistolas accipere meruerunt. Tenebit igitur hunc modum in Scripturis canonicis, ut eas, quae ab omnibus accipiuntur, Ecclesiis catholicis praeponat eis, quas quidam non accipiunt, in eis vero, quae non accipiuntur ab omnibus, praeponat eas, quas plures gravioresque accipiunt eis, quas paucioris minorisque auctoritatis ecclesiae tenent. Si autem alias invenerit a pluribus, alias a gravioribus haberi, quanquam hoc invenire non possit, aequalis tamen auctoritatis eas habendas puto.

Although Hrabanus had to defend his approach against nameless critics⁵, his method was appreciated by some of the most learned men of his generation and the generations thereafter, who indeed respected Hrabanus as an authority. For instance, the famous Notker Balbulus of St Gall wrote to bishop Salomon III of Constance, that *si glossulas volueris in totam divinam scripturam, sufficit tibi Hrabanus Magontiacensis archiepiscopus*⁶.

Hrabanus' sources for the *De Institutione* have been considered on a number of occasions and are therefore well known. Most of them were already identified by Alois Knoepfler in the *apparatus fontium* of his edition of 1900, and in more recent times by Maria Rissel⁷, Armando Bisanti⁸ (just for book III) and Detlev Zimpel⁹, who recently returned to the same question and identified the origin of some fragments that had escaped Knoepfler.

All the sources identified can be found in the *apparatus fontium* of any of the mentioned editions as well as in the edition included in my Ph.D. Dissertation.¹⁰ That edition is based on Zimpel's but thoroughly revised and adds a few identifications of my own. Roughly speaking, they are:

1. Church Fathers¹¹: Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrosius, Hieronymus, Augustine, Cassian, Gregory the Great...
2. Early medieval authors: Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville, Bede, Alcuin...

⁵ Hrabanus epps. 5, 18 and 39. See HEIL, Johannes, 1997, "Claudius von Turin. Eine Fallstudie zur Geschichte der Karolingerzeit", *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 45, 389-412, cit. p. 404-405.

⁶ Ep. XLVIII (878-884). *Das Formelbuch des Bischofs Salomo III von Konstanz, aus dem neunten Jahrhundert*, ed. DÜMMLER, Ernst, 1857, Leipzig, S. Hirzel, p. 69.

⁷ RISSEL, Maria, 1975, *Rezeption antiker und patristischer Wissenschaft bei Hrabanus Maurus. Studien zur karolingischen Geistesgeschichte*, Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters 7, Frankfurt a.M., Lang.

⁸ BISANTI, Armando, 1985, "Struttura compositiva e tecnica compilatoria nel libro III del *De institutione clericorum* di Rabano Mauro", *Schede medievali* 8, p. 5-17.

⁹ *De institutione clericorum libri tres*, Freiburger Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte, Freiburg, Peter Lang, 1996. Some additions were made by Zimpel in his translation into German, Turnhout, Brepols, 2006.

¹⁰ Under the supervision of Prof. Dr Javier Vergara Ciordia; it will be published during 2017/8 by the Spanish publishing house Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos.

¹¹ Who the Church Fathers exactly are is of course a controversial question, and I must acknowledge that I have been quite arbitrary here including Gregory the Great, and not Cassiodorus, among the Fathers on the sole basis that he was Bishop of Rome.

3. Canonical law: papal letters, decretals, general and local councils...
4. Liturgical books: *ordines romani*, sacramentaries...

I do not intend to simply repeat the list of authors and titles present in the *De institutione clericorum*, but to provide an insight into Hrabanus' compositional method in greater depth than what he declares in his prologue, and to evaluate the range of his own merit, originality, and achievement.

2. Quantitative analysis

I will begin my attempt to measure the mass of the matter borrowed by Hrabanus to build his treatise by explaining my methodology. As a unit of measurement I take the number of lines (considered up to one quarter) that each fragment under consideration occupies in the printed format of my Ph.D. dissertation, which reproduces, for the most part, Detlev Zimpel's text of 1996¹², but as the page layout is different the line numbers are not identical.

The tables included at the end of this article contain figures extracted from the *apparatus fontium* attached to the Latin text of my Ph.D. Dissertation and will serve as the foundation for the following conclusions. Table 1(a-c) breaks down the text of the *De institutione clericorum* into its constituent parts consisting of literal quotations¹³, summaries of the teaching of the old masters expressed in Hrabanus' own words (identified in the tables as "M-" plus the name of the source) and Hrabanus' own personal contributions (identified as "M"). Of course, there is always a chance that some of what has been ascribed to Hrabanus was directly taken from a now lost source (or simply unknown to me). However, this possibility is slight and in any case, one or two instances of this will not invalidate the general results. The number of *divisiones*¹⁴, that is, chunks or pieces that make up each chapter are also noted. Table 2(a-c) shows the relation between Hrabanus' sources and Hrabanus' own contribution. It also indicates the number of authors and works present in each chapter.

The first fact that stands out is that Hrabanus composed his *De institutione* by assembling small pieces of content taken from previous authors and intertwining them with his own contribution: the 33 chapters of book I are made of 198 of those building blocks, chunks or *divisiones* (including Hrabanus' own)¹⁵; the 58 chapters of book II of 195 *divisiones*; and the 37 of book III of 274 *divisiones*.

¹² With permission of the author, whose kindness I am deeply grateful for.

¹³ I have always noted what I considered was Hrabanus' direct source, although there might be cases where this last one could arguably quote something older.

¹⁴ De term *divisiones* was used by Boethius in his *Commentariorum*, I,3: Quod si ad disserendi ordinem diligentia rationis adhibetur, non est dubium, quin hoc iudicium ad inventionum varietatem sit accommodatum. His igitur ita expeditis videndum est, haec divisiones quam se cognatione contingant. Inventio quippe ceteris omnibus veluti materiae loco supponitur hoc modo. ORELLIUS, Casp. and BAITERUS, Georgius, MDCCCXXXIII, *M. Tullii Ciceronis scholiastae* (Turici, Typis Orellii, Fuesslini et Sociorum), p. 274. Jerome would probably have used *cola et commata*.

¹⁵ I have considered a *divisio* to be the piece of uninterrupted text borrowed from any given author within the same chapter of the *De institutione clericorum*.

The number of *divisiones* in each chapter is not uniformly distributed, partly due to the extraordinary unevenness in the length of the chapters (the longest being 222 lines and the shortest just 2,25). It can be summarized in the following schema:

Book I:

Lowest value: 1
Highest value: 25 (chap. 31)
Arithmetic mean: 6,2
Median: 4
Mode: 3
Standard deviation: 5,40

Book II:

Lowest value: 1
Highest value: 12
Arithmetic mean: 3,36
Median: 2
Mode: 1
Standard deviation: 2,91

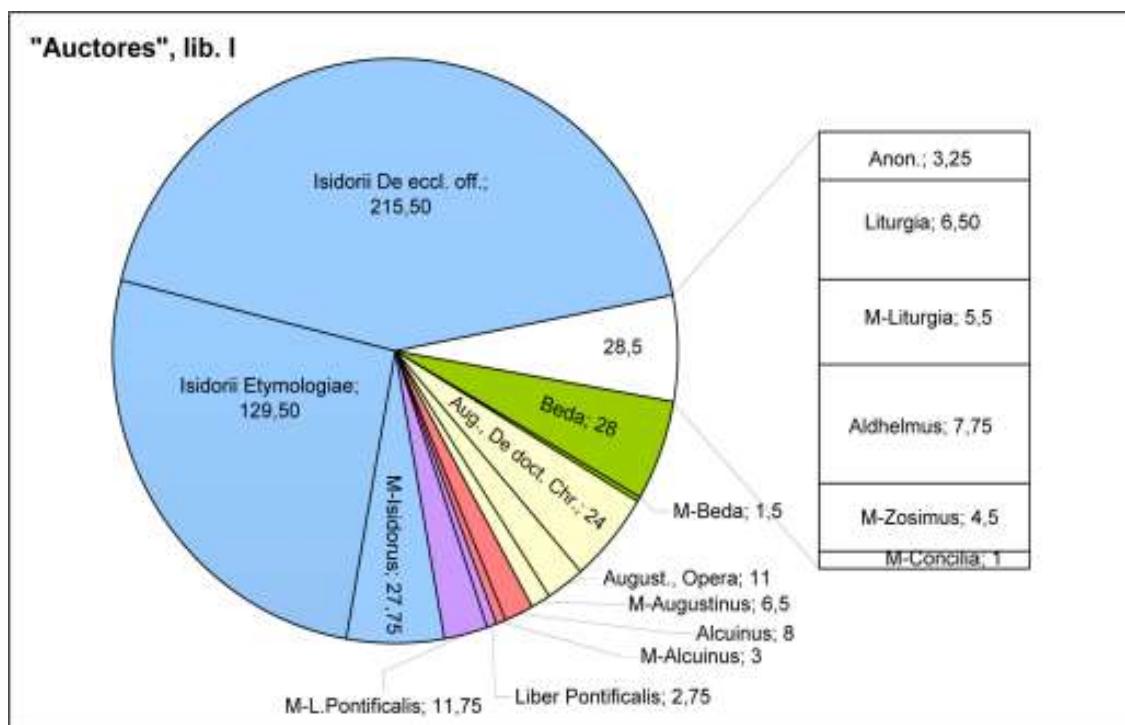
Book III:

Lowest value: 1
Highest value: 83
Arithmetic mean: 7,40
Median: 4
Mode: 2
Standard deviation: 12,90

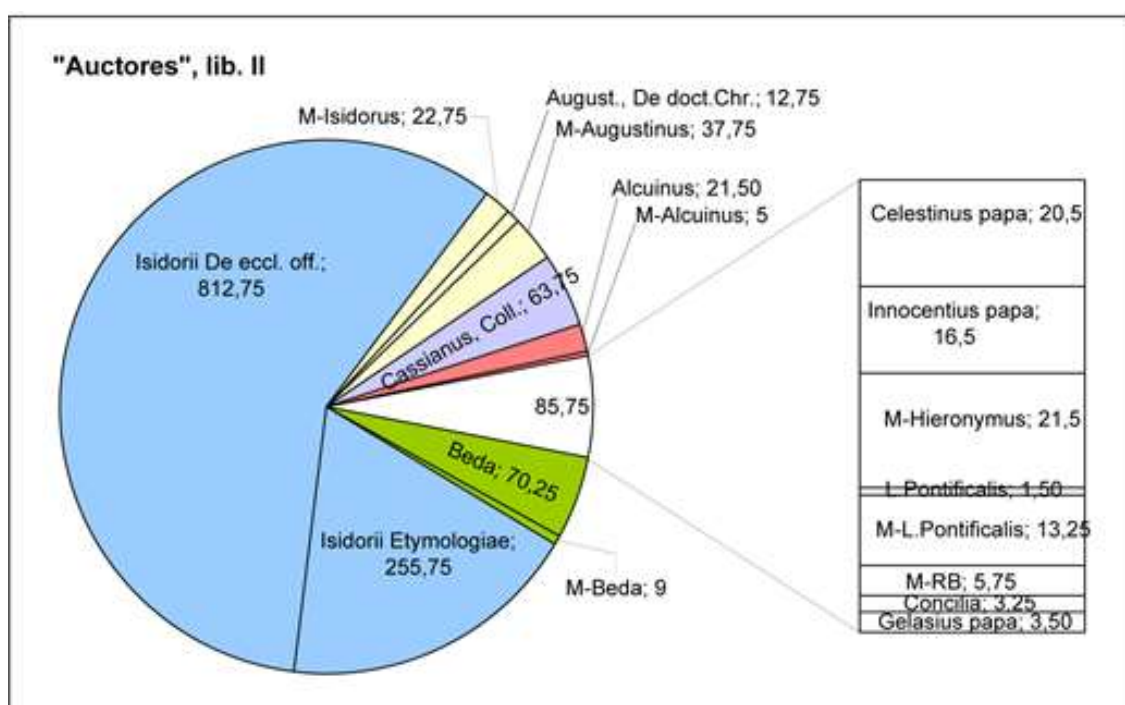
However, the number of lines in a chapter is not necessarily proportional to the number of *divisiones*, since these too are extraordinarily uneven. For instance, the very long chapter II-58 (210,25 lines) has *only* 12 *divisiones*, although the last one is as long as 158,50 lines (borrowed from Isidore's *Etymologiae*). The average length of the *divisiones* is 6,92 lines, the mode being 1,50 and the standard deviation 10,76.

As shown in Table 2 the bulk of the chapters are built of quotations from just one author, represented by one or two works, but there are two instances (II-30 and III-18), where Hrabanus has used four (I-10, II-16, and III-22 also contain quotations from 4 different works, but just from 3 authors).

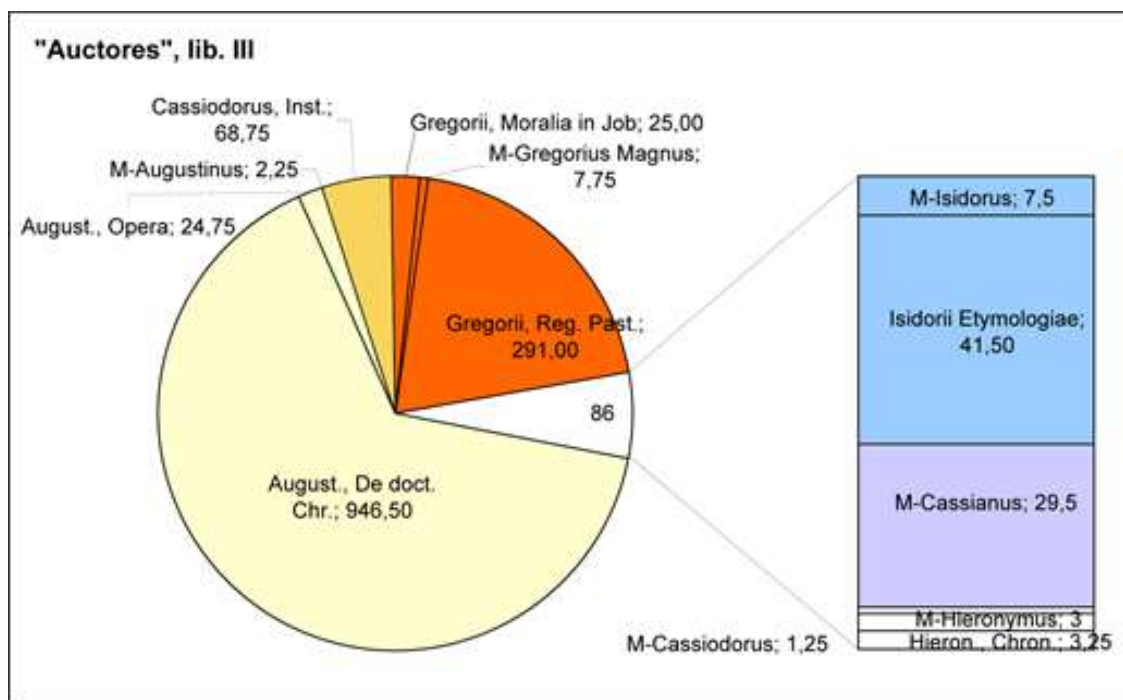
In relation to the authors directly or indirectly quoted, a clear pattern appears from the raw information contained in the tables, as it is conveyed in graphic form in Graphs 1 to 3.



Graph. 1. Authors quoted in book I

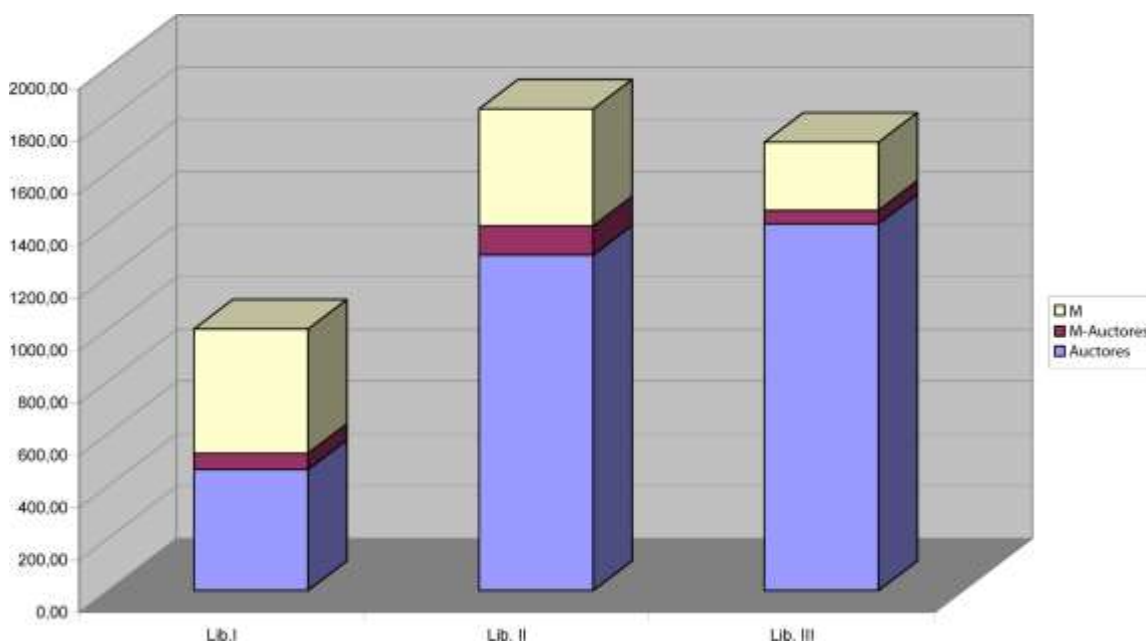


Graph. 2. Authors quoted in book II

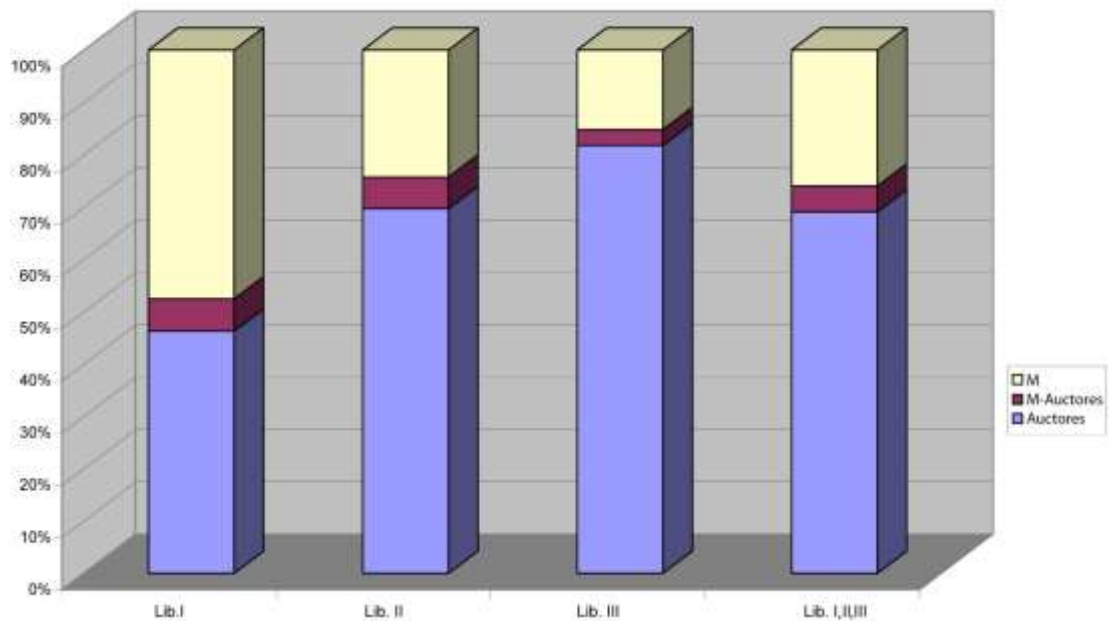


Graph. 3. Authors quoted in book III

While Isidore clearly dominates in books I and II, with up to three quarters of the direct or reworked matter, he almost disappears in book III, where Augustine takes the lead, followed at some distance by Gregory the Great. This, of course, agrees perfectly with the general tendency of the work, since the content of book III is meant for more advanced studies and the whole conception is far more abstract. This also is probably the reason for the uneven distribution of Hrabanus' personal contributions throughout the work, which is shown in Graphs 4 and 5 from the figures collected in Table 2.



Graph. 4. Quotations and Hrabanus' original contribution (in number of lines)



Graph. 5. Quotations and Hrabanus' original contribution (in %)

As can be observed, Hrabanus' original contributions decrease as the work advances, from slightly more than 43% in book I to almost 27% in book II and just 17,73% in book III.

3. Qualitative analysis

However appealing the statistical approach may seem it is nevertheless a deceiving one. Unfortunately, reality is (as almost always) less straightforward. In this section, I will try to step further beyond identifying source material and dive into Hrabanus' selection method and examine to what extent he modifies his sources or rather their message by simply carefully choosing which *divisiones* are to be reused and which are to be omitted. The aim here is to uncover which Methods Hrabanus has at his disposal in order to modify his discourse and still keep the *dicta auctorum*.

A caveat must be however be kept in mind: the numbers given in the previous section can be misleading in the sense that on some occasions Hrabanus' words constitute a mere transitional element between one quotation and the next, or are just an introduction to the subject, as is the case of the 20 lines (in my edition) that start book III:

Istitutio ergo ecclesiastica, qualiter ad divinum officium instrui oporteat sanctissimum ordinem clericorum, multimoda narratione declarat, quia et scientiae plenitudinem et vitae rectitudinem et eruditionis perfectionem maxime eos habere decet, qui in quodam culmine constituti, gubernaculum regiminis in ecclesia tenent. Nec enim eis aliqua eorum ignorare licet, cum quibus vel se vel subiectos instruere debent, id est scientiam sanctarum scripturarum, puram veritatem historiarum, modos tropicarum locutionum, significationem rerum mysticarum, utilitatem omnium disciplinarum, honestatem vitae in probitate morum, elegantiam in prolatione sermonum, discretionem in exhibitione dogmatum, differentiam medicaminum contra verietatem aegritudinum. Haec ergo, qui nescit, non dico aliorum, sed nec suam bene potest disponere utilitatem, ac ideo necesse est, ut

futurus populi rector, dum vacat, paret sibi ante arma, in quibus postmodum hostes fortiter superet et egrege sibi commissum oportune defendat.

Turpe est enim, tunc primum quemlibet velle discere, dum debet pastor constitutus docere, et periculosum est, eum magisterii pondus subire, qui non scientiae praesidio suffultus potens est illud sufferre¹⁶.

And on other occasions, Hrabanus' contribution is reduced in order to add a biblical quotation in support of someone else's statement. For example, at the end of II-6, where Act 3:1 is brought up in corroboration of *Etymologiae* 6,19,62.

For the rest, ascertaining the main composition technique is not very difficult. As shown in the tables at the end of this article, Hrabanus usually has a primary source for each section from which he takes the guiding line but complements it with a secondary authority, or a second title of the same author, from which just fragments are taken¹⁷. Chapter I-3 can be cited as an example of the first case: here the main lead is offered by Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, but between the two main fragments extracted from this work almost eight lines (in my edition) have been inserted from Aldhelm's *Epistula ad Geruntium*. An example of the second case is I-8, built up from extracts from Isidore's *Etymologiae* and *De ecclesiasticis officiis*. The reader can, in any case, gain a general overview of this composing method by looking at table 2 at the end of this article.

Furthermore, Hrabanus considerably alters the order in which the fragments originally appear in the sources. For instance, although Hrabanus includes almost the whole text of Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis*¹⁸ in the *De institutione*

¹⁶ "Therefore the teaching of the Church shows in many and multifarious documents how it is convenient for the most holy order of the clerics to be taught, since it is desirable that those that have been so to stay established in the highest hierarchy and have within the Church the responsibility of governing with wisdom and rectitude of life and possess erudition to the highest possible degree. And they mustn't be unaware of any of the matters that they themselves are supposed to teach to their parishioners, that is, the wisdom of the Holy Writ, the pure truth of history, the modes of the figures of speech, the meaning of the mystical realities, the utility of all disciplines, the honesty of life and integrity in habits, elegance in oral expression, discretion in the exposition of dogmas, the many kinds of medicines against the different illnesses. Because he who is unaware of these things cannot provide to his own prosperity – not to mention the others – and therefore its very necessary that he who is meant to be the leader of the people, as long as he has nothing else to do, labours in advance to acquire the arms with which he can later vanquish his enemies bravely and defend the flocks that have been commended to him. Because it is foolish if anybody tries to learn anything when, already instituted as shepherd, he has to teach it, and it is dangerous to attempt to withstand the weight of the magisterium if he is not strong enough to endure it, shored by the reinforcement of wisdom" (my translation).

¹⁷ John McCulloh has made similar observations relating to Hrabanus' compositional method in his Martyrology. See MCCULLOH, John, 1978-1979, "Hrabanus' Martyrology: the method of composition", *Sacris Erudiri* 23, p. 417-461.

¹⁸ Actually the only chapters that are not included in the *De institutione clericorum* are, apart from the *epistola missoria*, in book I the preface and chapters 1 (*De Ecclesia et vocabulo christianorum*), 8 (*De precibus*), 13 (*De laudibus*), 14 (*De offertoriis*), 15 (*De missa et orationibus*), 16 (*De symbolo nicaeno*), 19 (*De tertiae, sextae, et nonae officiis*, which is however extracted), 39 (*De jejuniis septimi mensis*), 41 (*De jejuniis kalendarum januarum*), 44 (*De vario usu ecclesiarum*); and in book II the preface and chapters 2 (*De regulis clericorum*), 3 (*De generibus clericorum*), 6 (*De chorepiscopis*), 9 (*De custodibus sacrorum*), 14 (*De acolythis*), 15 (*De ostiariis*), 16 (*De monachis*), 18 (*De virginibus*), 19 (*De viduis*), 20

clericorum, the order in which it is offered has considerably changed. Of course, by doing so Hrabanus is technically maintaining the *dicta patrum* in their integrity, but the effect on the reader is very different, and the emphasis is placed differently as well. Table 3 (see below) displays the sequence in which Hrabanus has excerpted Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis* (I have included both direct quotations and the fragments that Hrabanus has taken from Isidore but transformed "for the sake of brevity" and excluded all the rest of materials). The simple expository order reveals that Isidore and Hrabanus have a completely different ecclesiological conception, which is by far more hierarchical and sacramental in Hrabanus while retaining the cultic dimension that is so typically isidorian.

Of course, for some of the items, Hrabanus has simply chosen a different source (for instance the definition of Church comes from Isidore as well, but not from *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 1,1, but from *Etymologiae* 8,1). But what has been ignored reveals as much as what has been included, if not even more. The following list contains the only chapters from the *De ecclesiasticis officiis* that Hrabanus has totally ignored, that is, neither quoted literally, nor abbreviated in his own words, nor even substituted by any other source:

- 1,41 (*De ieiunio kalendarum ianuariarum*)
- 1,44 (*De vario usu ecclesiarum*)
- 2,2 (*De regulis clericorum*)
- 2,3 (*De generibus clericorum*)
- 2,16 (*De monachis*)
- 2,18 (*De virginibus*)
- 2,19 (*De viduis*)
- 2,20 (*De coniugatis*)

In the first case, the January fasting, Hrabanus has clearly decided to omit a practice that had fallen into disuse in his time, whereas the second would not have seemed correct amid the Carolingian program of unification of liturgical uses. Besides, Hrabanus has omitted everything to do with consecrated women (virgins and widows) and with lay people, but curiously also with monks. His manual is clearly cleric-oriented, which points once more in the direction of a very hierarchically conceived ecclesiology as well as to a clericalization of monasticism. This consideration makes an explanation about the rejection of the other two chapters (2,2 and 2,3) necessary. Apparently, such things as the rules

(*De conjugatis*), 25 (*De baptismo*), 26 (*De chrismate*), and 27 (*De manuum impositione vel confirmatione*). Some fragments are also missing from book I: 3,1; 18,1 (just partly), 18,2, 18,3, 18,4 (a small fragment is –however– brought up), 18,5, 18,6, 18,9, 18,10, part of 18,12, 18,13, 20,1, part of 20,2, 27,3, a little piece of 30,5, part of 43,1; and from book II: a little fragment of 1,2, a part of 5,3, 5,4, a very small portion of 5,5, half 5,6, 5,7, 5,8, half 5,10, half 5,11, half 5,12, 5,13, 5,14, 5,15, 5,16, 5,17, 5,18, 5,19, 5,20, few lines from 7,1, 7,2, 7,3, 7,4, 8,2, around one third of 8,3, one line of 8,4, 8,5, a very small part of 10,1, around one line of 10,2, around two or three lines of 11,3, two thirds of 11,4, around one fourth of 13,1, something less than half 13,2, a little part of 13,4, half 21,1, two thirds of 21,2, 21,3, 21,4, 23,4, and a very small fragment of 23,5. On the other side, are offered in their integrity, in book I chapters: 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 42 and 45; and in book II: 4, 12 and 17.

that clerics are to govern themselves by and the types of clerics fit well in Hrabanus' plan. In contrast, if one turns to Isidore's texts one will find exactly what clerics mustn't do (attend popular entertainments such as theatre and circus, charge money in payment for spiritual services, frequent the company of women...) and what sort of cleric they must not be (acephalous and gyrovague). Did Hrabanus consider that such things were not possible any more in the Carolingian order (and therefore it wasn't necessary to include it) or did he simply want to avoid giving dangerous ideas to his young ones?

Some times a quotation has been altered by just one or two words, but that small alteration is enough to change the meaning or give it a new nuance. One wonders if the difference between Hrabanus and its patristic model is something more than a mere textual transmission accident, but it is quite plausible that it rather depended on Hrabanus' own intentions and preferences. For example, Hrabanus adapts his source (Isidore) again when dealing with the distinctions within the episcopal order: where Isidore established a fourfold order, Hrabanus is not afraid to correct his model and turn it into threefold, equating *archiepiscopi* and *metropolitani* which Isidore had given as two separate categories (the differences are emphasized in italics):

Isidorus, <i>Etym.</i> 7,12,4: Ordo episcoporum <i>quadripertitus</i> est, id est in patriarchis, archiepiscopis, <i>metropolitanis</i> atque episcopis ¹⁹ .	Maurus, <i>De inst. cleric.</i> I-5: Ordo autem episcoporum <i>tripertitus</i> est, id est, in patriarchis, archiepiscopis, <i>qui et metropolitani sunt</i> , in episcopis ²⁰ .
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One would find it very difficult to see here anything other than Hrabanus' intentional adaptation of Isidore's text to the hierarchical structure of the Frankish Church.

Similar changes are caused by minute interpolations, which add new and different nuances to the original source. The following case shows how Hrabanus uses a short sentence of three words to adapt Augustine to his own context:

Augustinus, <i>De doctr. christ.</i> 2,14,21: Si autem ipsius linguae nostrae aliqua verba locutionesque ignoramus, legendi consuetudine audiendique innotescunt.	Maurus, <i>De instit. cleric.</i> III-9: Si autem ipsius linguae nostrae, <i>id est latinae</i> , aliqua verba locutionesque ignoramus, legendi consuetudine audiendique innotescunt ²¹ .
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While there can be no doubt in Augustine's time about the identity of the *lingua nostra*, Hrabanus feels compelled to clarify that that *lingua* is no other than Latin, lest some unaware reader misinterprets it as German.

¹⁹ "The order of the bishops is fourfold, that is, it [is divided] in patriarchs, archbishops, metropolitans and bishops" (my translation).

²⁰ "But the order of the bishops is threefold, that is, [is divided] in patriarchs, archbishops, who are also metropolitans, [and] in bishops" (my translation).

²¹ "But if we do not know some words or expressions of our own language, that is Latin, these can be learned through the habit of reading and listening".

On some other occasions, Hrabanus conflates his sources with his own words, just one or two sentences, which quantitatively speaking means almost nothing, but the merging is enough to turn the original meaning upside down. The fragments just quoted from *De doctrina christiana* 2,14,21 and *De institutione clericorum* 3,9 go on as follows²²:

Augustinus, *De doctr. christ.* 2,14,21:

Nulla sane sunt magis mandanda memoriae, quam illa verborum locutionumque genera quae ignoramus; ut cum *vel* peritior occurrerit de *quo* quaeri possint, vel talis lectio quae vel *ex* praecedentibus vel consequentibus vel utrisque ostendat quam vim habeat, quidve significet quod ignoramus, facile adiuvante memoria possimus advertere et discere²³.

Quanquam tanta est vis consuetudinis etiam ad discendum, ut qui in Scripturis sanctis quodammodo nutriti educatique sunt, magis alias locutiones mirentur, easque minus latinas putent quam illas quas in Scripturis didicerunt, neque in latinae linguae auctoribus reperiuntur. Plurimum hic quoque iuvat interpretum numerositas collatis codicibus inspecta discussa; tantum absit falsitas: nam codicibus emendandis primitus debet invigilare solertia eorum qui Scripturas divinas nosse desiderant, ut emendatis non emendati cedant, ex uno duntaxat interpretationis genere venientes²⁴.

Maurus, *De instit. cleric.* III-9:

Nulla sane sunt magis mandanda memoriae, quam illa uerborum locutionumque genera, quae ignoramus, ut cum peritior occurrerit de *eo* quaeri possint, uel talis lectio, quae uel praecedentibus vel consequentibus vel utriusque ostendat, quam vim habeat quidve significet, quod ignoramus, facile adiuvante memoria possimus advertere et discere.

Debet autem studere is, qui priorum signorum peritus esse vult, id est quantum ad sermones pertinet, ut et certam cognoscat vim verborum et proprium sciat modum locutionum, quod a grammaticis et rhetoribus non mediocriter discere qui vult valet²⁵.

²² This case has been meticulously studied by BLUMENKRANZ, B., 1951, "Raban Maur et Saint Augustin. Compilation ou Adaptation? A propos du Latin Biblique", *Revue du Moyen Age Latin* 7, p. 97-110.

²³ "There is nothing that it is better to commit to memory than those kinds of words and phrases whose meaning we do not know, so that when we happen to meet either with a more learned man of whom we can inquire, or with a passage that shows, either by the preceding or succeeding context, or by both, the force and significance of the phrase we are ignorant of, we can easily by the help of our memory turn our attention to the matter and learn all about it". English translation by SHAW, James, 1887, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, First Series, vol. 2 (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Col). Available on-line in <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/12022.htm> [10/10/2012].

²⁴ "So great, however, is the force of custom, even in regard to learning, that those who have been in a sort of way nurtured and brought up on the study of Holy Scripture, are surprised at other forms of speech, and think them less pure Latin than those which they have learned from Scripture, but which are not to be found in Latin authors. In this matter, too, the great number of the translators proves a very great assistance, if they are examined and discussed with a careful comparison of their texts. Only all positive error must be removed. For those who are anxious to know, the Scriptures ought in the first place to use their skill in the correction of the texts, so that the uncorrected ones should give way to the corrected, at least when they are copies of the same translation". Latin translation by James SHAW, *ibid.*

²⁵ "And he who wishes to be an expert in the words of his own language, that is, what concerns language, must take special care in learning the true meaning of the words and learning the

The substitution here is anything but innocent. Hrabanus omits the sentence in which Augustine warns about the danger (from a grammatical point of view) of frequenting too often (defective) biblical translations; this was not necessary at all any more in Hrabans' time. Alcuin (whose disciple was –let's remember– Hrabanus) had just revised St Jerome's direct translation from the *hebraica veritas* and rescued it from centuries of mismanagement in the hands and pens of half-educated copyists, and that restored translation had become official in the Carolingian empire. And still, in order to learn vocabulary, Hrabanus' advice is to read the grammarians and rhetors, as if there were no difference whatsoever between them and the Bible (again from a grammatical point of view): the conciliation between the Christian studies and the classical curriculum has already been completed.

Another case worthy of mention is the way Hrabanus deals with the Chorbishop (the words taken directly from the source are emphasized in italics):

Isidorus, *De eccl. off.* 2,6:

Chorepiscopi, id es, *vicarii episcoporum*, iuxta quod canones ipsi testantur, instituti sunt *ad exemplum septuaginta seniorum*, tamquam consacerdotes *propter sollicitudinem pauperum*. Hi *in villis* et vicis constitui gubernant sibi commissas Ecclesias, habentes licentiam constituere lectores, subdiaconos, exorcistas, acolythos; presbyteros autem aut diaconos ordinare non audeant, praeter conscientiam episcopi, in cujus regione praeesse noscuntur; *hi autem a solo episcopo civitatis cui adjacent ordinantur*²⁶.

Maurus, *De instit. cleric.* I-6:

Et *chorepiscipi* qui *vicarii* sunt *episcoporum*, *ad exemplum LXX seniorum* constituti sunt; nec aliquid eis magis licet in ecclesia ordinare aut constituere, nisi quantum eis conceditur a legitimis episcopis, qui sedem et regimen integrum in ecclesiis obtinent. Ordinati sunt autem chorepiscopi *propter pauperum* curam, qui in agris et *villis* consistunt, ne eis solatium confirmationis deesset. Dicit sunt autem chorepiscopi, quia de choro sunt sacerdotum; *hi autem a solo episcopo civitatis cui adjacent ordinantur*, sicut presbyteri²⁷.

Here, the information conveyed by Hrabanus does not differ very much from his source, again Isidore. Both state that the Chorbishops are the Bishop's vicars,

correctness of the expressions, and anyone who wishes this can learn it from the grammarians and rhetors" (my translation).

²⁶ "The chorbishops, that is, the vicars of the bishops, according to what the canons teach, were established after the example of the seventy old men, in the likeness of *sacerdotes*, in order to provide for the poor (note that when Isidore refers to *sacerdotes* he is meaning bishops). These, appointed for the villages and the rural areas, rule the churches that have been committed to them, and they may appoint lectors, and subdeacons, exorcists and acolyths, but they mustn't dare to ordain presbyters or deacons, except with the permit of the bishops of the area where they are known to preside. And they are ordained only by the bishops of the nearest town" (my translation).

²⁷ "The chorbishops, that are the vicars of the bishops, are constituted after the example of the seventy old men; and they may not ordain or appoint anybody in their church, beyond what they have been allowed by the bishops on whom they depend, who have the complete authority in their sees. And they have been ordained chorbishops for the sake of the poor people that live in the rural areas and in the villages, so that they don't lack the solace of Confirmation. And they are called chorbishops because they are priests from the choir of the bishops, and as any other presbyter they are ordained only by the bishop of the nearby town" (my translation).

that they were instituted after the example of the 70 old men of Nr 11:25-30 and Dt 21, that they are ordered by only their bishops, and that they reside in rural areas. But Hrabanus places the whole emphasis on the fact that in spite of the name they are presbyters and not bishops and therefore they cannot order any presbyters. Beyond that, in order to insist on the same point, Hrabanus adds the false etymology of Chorbishop as “from the *choir* of the bishop”, when actually “Chorbishop” means bishop of the *chora* or rural district.

Because, as shown above in graphs 1-3, the *De ecclesiasticis officiis* and *Etymologiae* of St Isidore and the *De doctrina christiana* of St Augustine represent at least half the matter contained respectively in books I-II and III of the *De institutione clericorum*, the rest of this section will be devoted to analyzing how Hrabanus, even depending heavily on his sources, dissociates himself from them when he is dealing with certain questions.

Starting with the *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, Hrabanus tends to alter his source – or at least imposes some new nuances – where the priestly status is attained.

The first aspect that stands out is the immense dignity that priesthood acquires in Hrabanus' writing. Of course, Isidore was not unaware of the priest's mediatory function between God and mankind, but in Hrabanus it takes a sublime dimension: when explaining in *De inst. cler.* I-2 the nature of the clerical state, he conflates Isidore's *Etymologiae* 7,12 and *De eccl. off.* 2,1 in the following way:

Cleros quippe Graece, sors vel haereditas dicitur. Cleros autem vel clericos hinc appellatos doctores nostri ducunt, quia Matthias sorte electus est, quem primum ab apostolis legimus ordinatum, sic et eos quos illis temporibus ecclesiarum principes ordinabant, sorte eligebant. Nam et haereditas graece cleronomia appellatur, et haeres cleronomus. Propterea ergo dicti sunt clerici, quia de sorte sunt domini, vel quia domini partem habent, sicut de eis scriptum est loquente domino: Ego haereditas eorum (Eze 44:28). Unde oportet ut qui deum haereditate possident, absque ullo impedimento saeculi, deo servire studeant, ut congrue illud psalmistae dicere possint: Dominus pars haereditatis meae (Ps 15:5)²⁸.

But to this then he adds his own:

Iste autem ordo praeponitur in ecclesia, quia in sanctis deservit et sacramenta populis dispensat. Sicut enim in veteri testamento tribus Levi prae caeteris tribus peculialiter a domino electa est ad serviendum illi per diversa officia in tabernaculo, ita et clericus ordo specialiter modo electus est ad ministrandum deo in vero dei tabernaculo, quod est ecclesia praesens, ut serviant ei die ac nocte in templo sancto eius, ut sint pupulo in his, quae ad deum pertinent, ut offerant deo dona et sacrificia (Heb 5:1) pro sua et pro populi ignorantia (Heb 9:7), ut iudicent

²⁸ “As a matter of fact in Greek *cleros* means lot or inheritance. And our wise ones called them *cleros* or clerics because Matthias, the first of the apostles of whom we read had been ordained, was chosen by lot, and so in those days those who were ordained as the rulers of the churches were chosen by lot. In Greek inheritance is said *cleronomia* and heir *cleronomus*. And that is why clerics are called this, because they belong to the lot of the Lord, or because they have a part in the lot of the Lord, as has been written; the Lord speaking: I am their inheritance (Eze. 44,28). And from this it seems convenient that those who possess the inheritance of God serve him without any worldly impediment, so that together with the psalmist they can say The lord is the lot of my inheritance (Ps. 15,5)” (my translation).

inter iustum et iniustum, et discernant inter sanctum et profanum, inter pollutum et mundum, doceantque populum dei omnia legitima eius et praecepta quae mandaverat ad eos (Lev 10:10-11)²⁹.

As regarding holy orders, Hrabanus follows Isidore in the *cursus* established from minor to major orders but assimilates lector and psalmist (*De inst. cler.* I-11), which Isidore had kept as different orders (*De eccl. off.* 2,11-12). Furthermore, where Isidore stresses the common priesthood of bishops and presbyters (*De eccl. off.* 2,5-7), Hrabanus, as a good Carolingian, sets the emphasis on the hierarchical nature that structures the relation between presbyters and bishops on one side and bishops and archbishops on the other (not to mention the chorbishops that have already been dealt with here).

The emphasis on the hierarchical structure of the ecclesiastical order can be seen in the following paragraphs, also conflated from many small fragments of *Etymologiae* 7,12, *De eccl. off.* 2,7 and Hrabanus' own words (these last in italics):

Ordo autem episcoporum *tripertitus* est, id est, in patriarchis, archiepiscopis, *qui et metropolitani* sunt, in episcopis³⁰. Patriarcha graeca lingua *pater principum sive summus patrum* interpretatur, quia primum, id est apostolicum retinet locum. Et ideo, quod summo honore fungitur, tali nomine consetur, sicut Romanus, Antiochenus atque Alexandrinus *antistes*. Archiepiscopus graeco vocabulo *dicitur*, quod sit summus *vel princeps* episcoporum, tenet enim vicem apostolicam et praeside episcopis caeteris. Singulis enim provinciis praeminet, quorum auctoritate et doctrina caeteri sacerdotes subiecti sunt, sine quibus reliquis episcopis nihil agere licet, *nisi quod singulis in propria parochia commendatum est*. Sollicitudo enim totius provinciae ipsi commissa est, et omnes superius designati ordines, uno eodemque vocabulo episcopi nominantur, set privato nomine quidem utuntur propter distinctionem potestatum, quam singulariter acceperunt. *Metropolitanus autem idem vocatur, eo quod praesideat illi civitati, quae ceteris civitatibus in eadem provincia constitutis quodammodo mater sit. Metropolis ergo graece, mater civitatis interpretatur.* Episcopatus autem vocabulum inde dictum, quod ille, qui super efficitur superintendat curam scilicet subditorum gerens. Scopin enim latine intendere dicitur. Episcopi autem graece latine speculatores *sive superintendentes* interpretantur. Nam speculator est praepositus in ecclesia dictus, eo quod speculetur atque prospiciat populorum infra se positorum mores et vitam, *intimet unicuique actus suos, sicut ad Hiezechielem dixit prophetam: Et tu, inquit, fili hominis, speculatorem dedi te domui Israhel. Audiens ergo ex ore meo sermonem, adnuntiabis eis ex me. Si me dicente at impium: morte morieris non*

²⁹ “And this order is set at the head of the Church, because it serves in holy places and administers the sacraments to the people. And as in the Old Covenant the tribe of Levi was expressly chosen by the Lord among the other tribes in order to serve in the different offices of the Tabernacle, so too the clerical order has been expressly chosen to serve God in the true tabernacle that is the present Church, so that they can serve day and night in His holy temple, and be at the service of the people in everything that concerns God, and offer to God gifts and sacrifices (Heb. 5,1) because of their ignorance and the people's (Heb. 9,7), and so that they can judge between just and unjust, and discern between holy and profane, between pure and impure, and teach the people of God everything that concerns the law and the precepts that He has commanded to them (Lev. 10,10-11)” (my translation).

³⁰ But see above on the alteration of this small fragment.

*fuertis locutus, ut se custodiat impius a via sua, ipse impius in iniquitate sua morietur, sanguinem autem eius de manu tua requiram (Ez 33:7-8) et reliqua*³¹.

Ideo autem presbyteri sacerdotes vocantur, quia sacrum dant, sicut episcopi, id est, in confectione divini corporis et sanguinis, et in baptisate, et in officio praedicandi. *Sed licet sint sacerdotes, tamen pontificatus apicem non habent, quod nec chrismate frontem signant, nec paraclitum spiritum dant, quod solis episcopis deberi lectio Actus Apostolorum demonstrant; nec ordinare clericos in sacris ordinibus possunt, quod episcopis propter unitatem et concordiam reservatur. Secundi ergo ordinis viri presbyteri sunt, quorum typum praeferebant septuaginta viri in veteri testamento, in quibus dominus spiritum Moysi propagavit, ut talibus auditoribus usus in populo, innumeras multitudines facile gubernaret. Sic et paternae plenitudinis abundantia transfusa est et Eleazaro et Ithamar, ut ad hostias salutare et frequentioris officii sacramentum, ministerium sufficeret sacerdotum. Sic et apostolis Christi, doctores, fidei comites additi sunt, quibus illi orbem totum secundis praedicatoribus impleverunt, et evangelicam doctrinam dictaverunt*³².

³¹ I-5. "The order of the bishops is threefold, that is, in patriarchs, archbishops, who are also the metropolitans, and bishops. *Patriarcha* in Greeks means father of the noble ones, and can be interpreted as the highest among the fathers, because he retains the first place, that is the apostolic. And therefore they are invested with the highest honour and they are called by such a name, such as the bishops of Rome, Antioch and Alexandria. Archbishop is in Greek the greatest and the prince among bishops, and he acts as apostle and presides over the rest of the bishops. An archbishop rules in every province, and the rest of the priests are subject to his authority and doctrine, and without them the other bishops are not allowed to do anything, save only what they have entrusted in their own circumscription. And they have been entrusted with the supervision of the whole province. And all the orders above mentioned can be reduced to the simple name of bishop, except that some of them use a different title because of the different authority that they individually received. And the metropolitan is called so because he presides in the city that is the so-called mother of the rest of the towns of the same province, since in Greek metropolis means "mother city". And the word bishopric derives from he who is constituted as supervisor and must supervise and take care of all his subjects, because *episcopoin* must be translated in Latin as "to lead" and those who in Greek are called *episcopoi* in Latin must be understood as supervisors or superintendents. And the supervisor is called *prepositus* in the Church, because he supervises and provides for the customs and life of the people who have been commended to him, and he advices everybody on his acts, as the Lord said to Ezekiel: I give you, son of man, supervisor of the house of Israel. What you may hear from my mouth, announce it to the people. And if I say to the impious man 'impious man, you will die unpardoned' but you do not open your mouth to warn the impious man about his ways, he will die because of his sin, but I will reclaim the blood from your hand (Eze. 33,7-8)" (my translation).

³² I-6. "Therefore the presbyters are called *sacerdotes* because they give the sacred things, just like the bishops, when they distribute the body and blood of Christ, and they preach and administer baptism. But although they may be priests, they have not the plenitude of pontificate, because they neither sign the forehead with the holy chrism nor confer the holy spirit, which according to the Acts of the Apostles pertain only to the bishops; and they cannot ordain clerics to the holy orders either, which is reserved only for the bishops for the sake of unity and concord. The priests are men of a secondary order whose type announced the seventy old men of the Old Covenant, to whom the Lord spread the spirit of Moses so that with the support of such assistants among the people he could more easily rule a multitude without number. And so the plenitude of the fatherly authority was transmitted to Eleazar and Ithamar, so that the ministry of priests was big enough to offer the victims of salvation and celebrate the divine office more frequently. And that is why to the apostles of Christ the doctors were added, their companions in the faith, with their help, as secondary preachers, they could cope with the whole world and extend the evangelical doctrine (my translation)".

When dealing with baptism Hrabanus stresses its power of purification (although it was already clear enough in *Etymologiae* 7,3 and 6,19). However, he specially inserts a theological reflection on the relation of faith and baptism that wouldn't have been necessary in Isidore's Christian society, but that had become a subject of interest in Carolingian times with the conversion of Saxons and Avars:

Sed ante baptismum catecizandi debet in hominem praevenire officium, ut fidei primum catecuminus accipiat rudimentum. Nan in evangelio secundum Matthaem legitur, quod post resurrectionem dominus apostolis praeceperit, ut in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti docerent et baptizarent omnes gentes, id es, prius per fidem dei illis insinuant et sic credentes in remissionem peccatorum baptizarent. Hinc est, quod secundum Marcum idem dominus legitur praeposuisse fidem baptismati, cum ita dixit: Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit; qui vero non crediderit condemnabitur (Mc 16:16). Et, Iohanne teste prius ipse nati oculos luto ex sputo facto superlinivit et sic ad aquas Siloe misit, quia prius debet baptizandus fide incarnationis Christi instrui et sic ad baptismum iam credulus admitti, ut sciat cuius gratiae in eo est particeps, et cui iam debitor fiat deinceps³³.

For the rest, the baptismal *ordo* described by Hrabanus differs completely from that presented by Isidore³⁴. This disparity couldn't be otherwise because while Isidore describes the Visigothic or Hispanic rite, Hrabanus operates within the parameters of the Roman liturgy established in the Frankish kingdoms as a result of Charlemagne's decision. The case is the same in respect to the liturgy of the mass, where Hrabanus is in line with some other Carolingian *expositiones missae*³⁵.

Another issue that deserves some attention is Penitence. Hrabanus seems a somewhat astray in this respect, and in fact, he deals with Penitence both in chapter 14 and 29-30 of book II, although in chapter 14 it is not clear whether the subject considered is any sort of ritual *ordo* or just a devotional exercise. Chapter 29 (*De poenitentia*) completely relies on Isidore's chapter 2,17 (*De*

³³ I-25. "But before baptism occurs the faith must penetrate the individuals through the labour of catechesis, in order to confer to the catechumen the first rudiments in the faith. Because in Matthew's Gospel we read that after his Resurrection the Lord commanded the apostles to teach in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost and baptize all the peoples; that is, that first they should show themselves to them by means of the faith in God, and then baptize those who believed in order to achieve the pardon of their sins. And this is also what according to Mark we read that our Lord put the faith in front of the baptism when he said: He who believed and was baptized shall be saved, but he who didn't will be damned (Mc 16:16). And as John testifies, Jesus anointed the blind man's eyes with mud made with his saliva, and only then he sent him to the pool of Siloe, because he who will be baptized must first be instructed in the faith, and therefore baptism should only be admitted those who already believe and know from whom the grace comes, which they come to share, and of whom they remain debtors" (my translation).

³⁴ Actually Hrabanus' *ordo* seems closely connected with the one described by Alcuin in his ep. 134 (MGH, Epp. IV, p. 202-203), cit. M. Rissel, *Rezeption antiker und patristischer Wissenschaft bei Hrabanus Maurus*, p. 219-220.

³⁵ Specially with the anonymous *Primum in ordine*, PL 138, cols. 1173-1186. Cit. M. Rissel, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

poenitentibus) of his *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, but while Isidore is there dealing with the public canonical Penitence as it was practiced in the Visigothic Spain, Hrabanus has squeezed his source to make it fit into a totally different context: such a practice didn't exist in Hrabanus' world as it had been replaced by the private although very prolonged compensations contained in the penitential books.

In his commentary on the feasts of the Church, Hrabanus generally follows *De eccl. off.*. However, the list given in both works is not exactly the same: Hrabanus felt free enough to change it when he considered necessary. Hrabanus has also decided to alter the place of the *dies dominica*, which in Isidore takes the precedence over the other feasts. The lists of the feasts in both authors run as follows:

Isidorus, <i>De eccl. off.</i> 1	Maurus, <i>De inst. cleric.</i> II.
24. De dominico die	-
25. De sabbato	-
26. De natali domini	31. De nativitate domini
27. De epiphania	32. De epiphania
-	33. De ypapanti
-	34. De septuagesima et sexagesima et quinquagesima
28. De palmarum die	35. De die palmarum
29. De coena domini	36. De coena domini
30. De parasceve	37. De parasceve
31. De sabbato paschae	38. De sabbato sancto paschae
32. De die sancto paschae	39. De pascha domini
33. De ascensione domini	40. De ascensione domini
34. De pentecoste	41. De pentecosten
-	42. De die dominica
35. De festivitatibus martyrum	43. De festivitatibus sanctorum
-	44. De sacrificiis pro defunctis offerendo
36. De encaeniis	45. De encaeniis, et unde omnis ordo ille originem duxerit ³⁶

To conclude, although Hrabanus uses Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis* as the main lead, his quotations are completely intentional and not uncritical. He discards certain paragraphs if they are not consistent with the general expository plan, performs small alterations in order to make his source fit the context of the Carolingian ecclesiastical structure and liturgy, or simply squeezes them in that context so that they are differently understood. Of course, he also makes use of other authors when he considers them more suitable.

While books I and II depend on Isidore, book III depends on Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, but Hrabanus has shortened Augustine's whole plan to a narrow set of rules to make Scripture comprehensible. And even in this Hrabanus often abbreviates Augustine's exposition into a short sentence, which he considers most relevant.

³⁶ However, the major part of this chapter is not taken from Isidore, and indeed it is even possible that it reproduced the *ordo* used for the consecration of the abbey church of Fulda. See SHEERIN, Daniel J., 1982, "The Church Dedication 'ordo' used at Fulda, 1 November 819", *Revue Benedictine* 92, p. 304-316.

In all cases, Hrabanus is unconcerned by the textual problems, caused by the fact the Latin Bible is a translation, that is so important to Augustine. Hrabanus is working with St Jerome's Vulgate revised by Alcuin and that was all he needed. But even the rich set of hermeneutical considerations is reduced by Hrabanus, and as a result what Hrabanus has taken from Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* gives the impression of a very general picture of a common practice in the classroom of the ninth century. There was no room for complicated exegesis among the German clergy.

Furthermore, in the section of the *De institutione clericorum* devoted to preaching chapters III-28 to 36 and 38 have been directly derived from book IV of the *De doctrina christiana* (the long chapter 37 relies on Gregory the Great's *Regula pastoralis* and 39 is conflated from the *Moralia in Job* and Cassian's *Conlationes*). Again, Hrabanus shows absolutely no concern for the theoretical discussion and instead focuses on the stylistic examples provided mainly by St Paul's letters (in most cases the examples provided by Augustine that are taken from other parts of the Bible are also omitted), although even here Augustine's linguistic commentaries have also been eliminated.

To sum up, Hrabanus' work consists of an ongoing adaptation of his sources to his own logic and expository project. And this is absolutely consistent with his main goal: none other than the education of the German clergy, which in a matter of two generations or so was trying to catch up with and even surpass the romanized areas of the Carolingian empire. For this purpose he had at his disposal an enormous bulk of raw materials, each arising from different contexts, that he had to select and arrange to make it comprehensible, adapt to the conditions he was operating in, and fill in the gaps.

4. The purpose behind the compilation

But why bother to indulge in the lengthy task of excerpting and quoting? Would it not be easier to just send the readers to the works of the Fathers, especially when the number of texts was rather limited and obviously very revered? Again in the dedication letter of the *De institutione clericorum* Hrabanus offers a clue:

Quaestionibus ergo diversis fratrum nostrorum et maxime eorum, qui sacris ordinibus pollebant, respondere compellebar, qui me de officio suo et variis observationibus, quae in ecclesia dei decentissime observantur, saepissime interrogabant, et aliquibus eorum tunc dictis, aliquibus vero scriptis prout opportunitas loci ac temporis erat, secundum auctoritatem et stilum maiorum ad interrogata respondi. Sed non in hoc satis eis facere potui, qui me instantissime postulabant immo cogeabant, ut omnia haec in unum volumen congerem, ut haberent, quo aliquo modo inquisitionibus suis satisfacerent, et in uno codice simul scriptum reperirent, quod antea non simul, sed speciatim singuli, prout interrogabant, in foliis scripta habuerant. Quibus consensi et quod rogabant feci, quantum potui. Nam de hoc tres libros edidi³⁷...

³⁷ "I felt obliged to answer the different questions that came from our brothers, and specially those that were preparing themselves for the holy orders, who asked me very intently about their function and other observances that are very accurately observed in the Church of God, and I answered them, some verbally and some others in writing, in the measure that time and place

And the answer is that the immediate addressees of the *De institutione clericorum* are young German clerics, the *De institutione clericorum* is a manual. Hrabanus is an *introducer*, an *expositor*³⁸.

A very similar declaration is found in the preface to Sigebert in St Boniface's *grammatica*³⁹:

ut antiquam perplexae silvam densitatis grammaticorum ingrederer ad colligendum tibi diversorum optima quaeque genera pomorum et variorum odoramenta florum diffusa, quae passim dispersa per saltum grammaticorum inveniuntur, ad cotidianum scilicet tui diligentis studii pastum et odoriferam coronam ingeniosae pubertatis et in optima quaeque et necessaria quasi unum cumulando farciens marsupium coacervata et circumcisa tibi obtulerim.

But there were other reasons as well. Since the days of the Church Fathers, the world had changed. Alcuin, Hrabanus and their actual or potential readers lived at a time with relatively few books that were not always accessible, and terribly expensive. Having their contents gathered up in one volume could be a practical and decisive advantage. Besides, the times had changed in another direction as well: one could not expect the semi-educated German clergy to be able to fully understand the subtle intricacies written by say Jerome or Augustine when highly educated ladies such as Gisla and Rotrud (Charlemagne's own sister and daughter) couldn't cope with it and had to ask Alcuin for help⁴⁰:

allowed me, and according to the authority and the style of the old ones. But I didn't manage to do enough for those who insistently asked me to gather all those explanations in just one volume, so that they could have a way to satisfy all their questions in a unique book where they could find everything written, because before that they hadn't everything together, but each one had individually some writings in loose leaves" (my translation).

³⁸ LE MAITRE, Philippe, 1990, "Les méthodes exégétiques de Raban Maur", in SOT, Michel (coord.), *Haut Moyen Âge. Culture, éducation et société. Études offertes à Pierre Riché*, La Garenne-Colombes: Éditions Européennes Erasme, 343-352, cit. p. 344.

³⁹ Ed. GEBAUER, G.J. & LÖFSTEDT, Bengt, 1980, CCSL 133B, Turnhout, Brepols, p. 9. "As I enter into the ancient forest of grammarians' intricate density to collect for you the best of each diverse fruits and the diffused fragrances of various flowers, which are found dispersed everywhere through the woodlands of the grammarians, for the daily nourishment of your diligent study and a fragrant garland of your youthful talent, so that I have presented to you the best and most necessary, piled together and shortened, packing them together by filling one pouch, as it were". Trad. IRVINE, Martin, 1994, *The Making of Textual Culture. 'Grammatica' and Literary Theory, 350-1100*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 302.

⁴⁰ Gisla abbatissa Calensis, soror Caroli regis, et Rodtruda filia regis Alcuinum hortantur, ut coeptam evangelii Iohannis explanationem sibi obsolvat. Alcuini ep. 196 ad , MGH, Epp. 4 (Epistolae Karolini aevi II), p. 324. "Open your mouth, if the Holy Ghost inspires you, about the commentary of the holy evangelist John and spread around us the teachings of the Fathers. Select the pearls from many authors in the chamber of the spiritual treasure and feed with that the poor people of Christ. Do not dismiss us with hunger, so that we do not faint on the way. Because although we have the explanations on that evangelist in a sermon of the famous doctor Augustine, however in certain places they are very obscure and decorated with artifices that are more difficult than convenient in order to be understood due to a poverty of understanding. But it will suffice to our devotion to drink from brooks of most sweet water, better than leave our ships adrift amid very deep rivers full of whirlpools" (my translation).

Aperi os tuum in sacratissimam, Spiritu sancto inspirante, beati Iohannis evangelistae expositionem; et venerabiles sanctorum patrum pande nobis sensus. Collige multorum margaritas in spiritalis thesauri cubile et pasce ex eo pauperes Christi. Noli nos ieiunas dimittere, ne deficiamus in via.

Habemus siquidem clarissimi doctoris Augustini homeliatico sermone explanationes in eundem evangelistam, sed quibusdam in locis multo obscuriores maiorique circumlocutione decoratas, quam nostrae parvitas ingeniolo intrare valeat. Sufficit vero nostrae devotioni de rivulis dulcissimae aquae potare, non profundissimis gurgitum fluminibus nostras inmittere carinas. Scis enim optime parvis parva sufficere, nec ad mensam magnatorum pauperum turbam accedere posse. Nec nostrum est altissima cedrorum cacumina ascendere, sed cum Zacheo pro brevitate staturae nostrae stare in sycomoro Iesumque cernere transeuntem; continisque deplorare precibus, ut nos suis dignas efficiat convivii vobiscumque dulcissimum epithalamii paradigma decantare: 'Introduxit nos rex in cellaria sua; exultabimus et laetabimur in eo'.

But even a bishop like Haimo of Halberstadt –who was himself a school mate of Hrabanus' and author of some biblical commentaries– could appreciate the usefulness of such extract-collections, busy as he was with his pastoral and administrative duties to give himself to frequent and extensive reading. And because of that Hrabanus sent him his *De rerum naturis*⁴¹:

Memor boni studii tui, sancte pater, quod habuisti in puerili atque iuvenili aetate in litterarum exercitio, et sacrarum scripturarum meditatione, quando mecum legebas non solum divinos libros, et sanctorum patrum super eos expositiones, sed etiam huius mundi sapientium de rerum naturis solertes inquisitiones, quas in liberalium artium discriptione, et ceterarum rerum investigatione composuerunt;

⁴¹ Hrabani ep. 36 Hemmoni olim condiscipulo, iam episcopo Halberstadensi, opus de rerum naturis ... dedicat. MGH, Epp. 5 (Epistolae Karolini aevi III), pp. 470-471. "Holy father, I can remember the effort you made to study the arts and meditate on the Holy Scriptures during your childhood and juvenile age, when you used to read with me not just the holy books and the commentaries of the holy fathers about them, but also the clever research of the wise men of this world about the natural sciences, that they composed following the order of the liberal arts and the observation methods of the other matters; and because divine providence spared me from the worries of the external businesses and has sublimated you in the office of the pastoral care, I have been wondering what I could compose that could be pleasant and useful for your holiness, something with which you have at your disposal in a summarized form all that you read dispersed in a big multitude of manuscripts and expressed with the decorated style of the rhetors. And I am not unaware of the dangers that afflict you, not just from the heathens that are very near your borders, but also because of the popular mutinies that as a consequence of the iniquity of their customs have caused no small bother to your fatherhood, and therefore they do not allow you leisure to give yourself to frequent praying and assiduous reading. And because of that I started considering that I could deal with those things [that interested you as a youth], so I composed a little work following the style of the old writers, that had written many treatises about the nature of things and names and the etymologies of words, in which you could find not just considerations about the nature of things and the properties of words, but also the mystic signification of these same things, so that without any interruption you could find the explanation both historical and mystical of everything. Thus, my esteemed lord, dearest among bishops, when you have received what I send you, use it, so that it can be of some usefulness to you but also for those who are under your authority; and therefore your study of all this may turn into spiritual profit and cause both in you and in them spiritual exercitation and the gains of the celestial joy" (my translation).

postquam me divina providentia ab exteriorum negotiorum cura absolvit, teque in pastoralis cure officium sublimavit, cogitabam, quid tuae sanctitati gratum et utile in scribendo conficere possem: quo haberes ob commemorationem in paucis breviter annotatum, quod ante in multorum codicum amplitudine, et facunda oratorum locutione dissertum copiose legisti. Neque enim mihi ignotum est, qualem infestationem habeas, non solum a paganis, qui tibi confines sunt, sed etiam a populorum turbis, quae per insolentiam et improbitatem morum tuae paternitati non parvam molestiam ingerunt, et ob hoc frequenti orationi atque assiduae lectioni te vacare non permittunt.

Haec enim omnia mihi sollicite tractanti venit in mentem, ut iuxta morem antiquorum, qui de rerum naturis et nominum atque verborum ethimologiis plura conscripsere, ipse tibi aliquod opusculum conderem, in quo haberes scriptum non solum de rerum naturis et verborum proprietatibus, sed etiam de mystica earundem rerum significatione, ut continuatim positam invenires hystoricam et mysticam singularum rerum expositionem. Tu autem, electe domine et episcoporum carissime, acceptis his, quae tibi transmisi, utere eis, ut decet, et tam tibi, quam illis, qui sub tuo regimine sunt constituti, utile esse permitte; quatinus tuum bonum studium multis proveniat ad spiritalem profectum, et fiat tam tibi, quam illis, spiritale exercitium, atque caelestis gaudii incrementum.

And indeed at least bishop Humbert of Würzburg must have understood the *De institutione clericorum* in this way, as he himself declares in a letter to Hrabanus Maurus⁴²:

Praeterea legi et alios tres libros, quos ad eundem venerabilem virum [=Haistulfum] fecisti, quos placuit 'de institutione clericorum' nominari, quorum primus de ecclesiasticis ordinibus et IIII carismatibus divinis narrat. Secundus continet de officio canonicarum horarum, et de festivitibus variis, de ieiuniis et orationibus. Tertius non ignobiliter instruit, qualiter discenda atque disserenda scriptura est divine legis, et quid utilitatis conferat ecclesiasticis doctoribus philosophia humana.

Quibus perlectis, in quantum nostri ingenioli fuit capacitas, intellexi illos de omnibus, que necessaria sunt sanctae Dei ecclesie, laudabili magnitudine et brevitate esse complexos. Certe in veritate dico vobis, quia dici non potest, in quanta hilaritate mentis gratulatus gratias egi Deo, qui tam utile vas istis in temporibus in sua sancta ecclesia habere vult, ex quo ille, qui multum, et ille, qui parvum potum quaerit, haurire ac bibere potest; et ex illa die, fateor, multum desideravi vestrae familiaritatis particeps fieri...

⁴² *Humbertus Wirciburgensis episcopus, Hrabani libris, quos Haistulfo archiepiscopo miserat, cognitis, membranas ei mittit, in quibus commentarios suos in Heptateuchum describendos ei curaret.* Hrabani ep. 26, MGH, Ep. 5 (Epistolae Karolini aevi III), pp. 439-440. "Besides I have read three other books that you wrote also for the same venerable man (i.e. bishop Haistulf) that you deemed convenient to entitle "on the education of the clerics", of which the first one describes the ecclesiastical orders and the four divine charismas; the second deals with the office of the canonical hours, several festivities, fasting and prayers; and the third teaches not uncleverly how the Holy Scripture must be learned and explained, and what contains human philosophy that is useful for the masters of the Church. And when I read them, as far as I could gather, I realized that all the teachings that are necessary for the holy Church of God had been included in an amount worthy of praise, but also with brevity. And certainly I can tell you that I couldn't easily express how happily I thanked God, who permitted that in these times his Church could have such a useful vase, from which anybody could pour and drink, as much for one that seeks a lot, as for some other who is satisfied with a little swig; and from that day, I say, I have desired very much to share your friendship..." (my translation).

Of course, the method described above was certainly not unique to Hrabanus Maurus. The following sections aim to contextualize it in the general framework of the composing methods characteristic of the Middle Ages and fundament it on the firm theological bases of the Christian Tradition.

5. *Excerptio* and *compilatio* as in the Middle Ages

In fact, the Middle Ages could be rightly called an age of compilation: Isidore's *Etymologies*, Gratian's *Decretum*, Peter the Lombard's *Sentences*, Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum* (to mention just a few of the very best known medieval titles) were all composed using a similar method. As a matter of fact, some of the most typical medieval genres are essentially compilative: *miracula*, *de viris illustribus*, *florilegia*, chronicles, collections of sayings, grammars, encyclopaedias... But very often histories of literature misunderstand the nature of medieval compilations and deal with them as they would with modern ones, branding them as unoriginal plagiarisms. The true nature of the medieval compilation will only reveal itself when seen through the eyes of its authors and readers in the context provided by its primary goals and its final reception.

To start with, although compilations had always existed, as Bernard Guenée⁴³, Neil Hathaway⁴⁴ and R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse⁴⁵ have highlighted, neither were they called *compilatio* nor did *compilatio* meant “compilation”. In general terms, one can state that the meaning of the word *compilatio* shifted from the classical “robbing” or “plundering”, and therefore “plagiarizing”, to “altering” in the late antiquity and early Middle Ages and didn't acquire the “neutral” sense it has today until the 12th century. The only medieval exception (known to me) prior to the 12th⁴⁶ century is Isidore, who in his *Etymologies* defined *compilator* as “qui aliena dicta suis praemiscet, sicut solent pigmentarii in pila diversa mixta contundere”⁴⁷.

⁴³ “L'historien et la compilation au XIII^e siècle”, *Journal des savants* (1985), 119-135.

⁴⁴ “*Compilatio*: from plagiarism to compiling”, *Viator* 20 (1989), 19-44, *passim*.

⁴⁵ “*Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* Revisited”, in Mark D. JORDAN & Kent EMERY, Jr. (eds.), *Ad litteram. Authoritative Texts and Their Medieval Readers* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), 113-134, cit. pp. 119-120.

⁴⁶ GUENÉE, *op. cit.*, p. 123 mentions Hincmar, cap. 11 (PL 126, col. 325), but to me the alleged fragment seems to mean “distortion”, “twisting” rather than compilation: “Verum quia ista tibi non credo debere sufficere, non dicam perfectius sive plenius, quia, ut jam longe ante nos dictum est, perfectio incrementum, et adjectionem plenitudo non recipit, latius de praefatis sacris ordinibus et canonum disciplinis hic quaedam ex orthodoxorum verbis ac sensibus ad reprimendum sensus tui tumorem, et *ad repellendam compilationum tuarum caliginem*, ponere dignum duxi”.

⁴⁷ 10,44. Someone who mixes the sayings of others with his own, as paint sellers art wont to grind different combinations [of pigments] in mortar. Trad. Neil HATHAWAY, *op. cit.*, p. 28. But Isidore's somewhat cryptic definition could also be understood as “interpolate”, in which case it wouldn't be so “neutral”.

On the other hand, the terms most used to express compilatory work are *deflorare* and *excerpere*, but also *decerpere*, *excipere*, *efflorare*, *colligere*, *in unum redigere*, *coartare* or *congerere*...⁴⁸.

Terminological questions aside, it is evident that compilation as a “reinscription of authority”⁴⁹ was widely practiced and both applied to the production of manuscripts⁵⁰ as well as to individual texts. But although these two genres bear the same name (which is a source of no small confusion), they are essentially different. The first type of compilation consists of a series of complementary texts simply juxtaposed (what Corine Méné-Caster calls *compilation-dossier*⁵¹ and Marilena Maniaci “multitext monoblock codices”⁵²). The second is an elaborated text that has been composed using as building blocks short quotations taken from several sources that are so seamlessly interwoven that often the reader does not notice that he has passed from one source to the next (the *compilation-récit* or compilation-text of Méné-Caster⁵³). One could say that sometimes the first type is simply a preliminary stage⁵⁴ preceding the more complex, but that is not necessarily always the case.

In general, when confronted with medieval compilatory works modern scholars limit themselves to identifying the source-texts and considering the compilation as a sort of derivative product (where the compiler is unable to proceed without the support of his source, which he copies in a servile way). They appear happy to leave aside other aspects of inquiry relating to the nature of Tradition and authority, but also the reception and the final scope of the compilation. Proceeding in this way is putting the compilation-text on a level with the compilation-dossier and therefore ignoring all the personal decision on the part of the compiler⁵⁵ and the recontextualization process that it implies.

The compilation is actually a “transtextual” intellectual construction with its own semiotic identity, which Daniel Poirion has described in the following terms: “Divisant et multipliant les éléments contenus dans le texte-mère, la

⁴⁸ GUENÉE, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-121.

⁴⁹ I take the expression from IRVINE, Martin, 1994, *The Making of Textual Culture. 'Grammatica' and Literary Theory, 350-1100*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 344.

⁵⁰ I mean manuscripts that contain several (pieces of) works pertaining (or not) to the same subject.

⁵¹ *Un roi en quête d'auteurité. Problématiques d'écritures* (<http://e-spanialivres.revues.org/272>) §11 [10/10/2012].

⁵² MANIACI, Marilena, The Medieval Codex as a Complex Container : The Greek and Latin Traditions, in FRIEDRICH, Michael & SCHWARKE, Cosima (Ed.), 2016, *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts*, Studies in Manuscript Cultures, Berlin-Boston, De Gruyter, p. 27-46, see p. 28-29. Available online in <https://www.degruyter.com/downloadpdf/books/9783110496956/9783110496956-002/9783110496956-002.pdf> [6/1/2017].

⁵³ MENÉ-CASTER, *Un roi en quête d'auteurité*...

⁵⁴ The first two phases (reproduce and gather) in Georges Martin's sequence. MARTIN, Georges, 1997, “Compilation (Cinq procédures fondamentales)”, *Annexes des Cahiers de linguistique hispanique médiévale* 11, p. 107-121.

⁵⁵ That is, the phases of building, ordering and reviewing.

lecture-écriture opère comme un miroir à plusieurs facettes, pour donner au texte une plus grande richesse en réseaux signifiants”⁵⁶.

In this process, which is at the same time reproduction and creation, the compiler assumes the complete authorship of his text inasmuch as he renegotiates the authority of his sources by appropriating or rejecting their words. The extent to which medieval compilers were conscious of the scope of their projects can be better portrayed through some examples.

In a large unpublished grammatical compilation, copied in Corbie in the 9th century, Donatus' grammar is commented in the following terms⁵⁷:

Ista ars Donati quando sua est et quando non sua est? pro eo quod de multorum grammaticorum exemplis supra dictus Donatus unam artem collexit... non est sua in eo quod praecepta aliorum sequutus est quia neque philosophus neque poeta neque grammaticus potest aliud dicere quod ante se non fuisset dictum. Sicut Salomon dixit non est omne recens sub sole et quidam philosophus dixit non est dictum quod non sit dictum.

But as far as I know the strongest defence of the compilative work belongs to Vincent of Beauvais (ca. 1190-1264?), who in his *Libellus apologeticus*, which serves as a prologue to his *Speculum maius*, describes his work as⁵⁸:

⁵⁶ POIRION, Daniel, 1981, “Écriture et ré-écriture au Moyen Âge”, *Littérature* 41, p. 109-118, cit. p. 114.

⁵⁷ Mss. BN lat. 13025. “When is this art of Donatus his and when it is not his? Because the above mentioned Donatus gathered one art from the examples of many grammarians... It is not his because he followed the precepts of others, for neither a philosopher, nor a poet, nor a grammarian can say anything that has not been said before them. As Solomon said, there is nothing new under the sun, and a certain philosopher said, there is nothing said which has not been said”. Quoted and translated by Martin IRVINE, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

⁵⁸ *Libellus apologeticus*, 4. Quoted from VERGARA, Javier, 2003, “El Libellus Apologeticus: un símbolo del enciclopedismo medieval” *Educación XXI* 6, pp. 149-202 [<http://www.uned.es/educacionXXI/pdfs/06-07.pdf>] [10/10/2012], cit. p. 172. “And let now nobody think of accusing this work of being too new or too long, because it is at once new and old, and at once long and short. It is old because of its authority and its contents, and new because of its inventory and the organization of its parts. It is short because of the summary it makes of many texts, and long because of the huge amount of matter. As a matter of fact, if I wanted to buy for their fair price or I could order a copy of a few of those individual volumes from whose most famous words this universal work has been compiled (and if all of these together could have the same length as this work or the biggest part of it: the philosophers, for example the treatise of Aristotle about the animals or the medicine of Avicenna, or the Natural History of Pliny, and from the Jews Flavius Josephus and from our own authors St Augustine with the City of God or his commentaries to the Psalms or to St John, or even the Moral Treatises of St Gregory and some others), then there would perhaps be no one who would accuse me or rebuke me for it. However, even having them all, he wouldn't have even the third part, or the fourth or the tenth, not even the twentieth part of the works that could equal the completion of this one. Even from the very books that in their time the holy doctors wrote in order to expound the Scriptures or refute heresies or for other urgent reasons, can someone who reads one of those, in three, four, or five chapters, find a sentence worthy of mention to be quoted in a sermon or a lecture or just a conversation, then even less do I deserve to be rebuked if I have gathered in just one work the most select matter and the medulla of many books and organized everything consistently under certain titles” (my translation).

Porro ne quis in hoc opere vel de novitate, vel de nimia prolixitate me aestimet arguendum, quoniam hoc ipsum opus novum quidem et simul et antiquum, breve quoque pariter et prolixum. Aintiquum certe auctoritate et materia. Novum vero partium compilatione, et earum aggregatione. Breve quoque propter multorum dictorum in breve perstrictionem. Longum nihilominus propter immensam materiae multitudinem.

Denique si pauca ex ipsis minimis particularibus voluminibus, ex quorum flosculis hoc ipsum opus universale contextum est, precio compararem, aut scribi facerem (quorum tamen magnitudo forsitam huic operi, vel maiori parti per aequiparantiam respondere posset, verbi gratia ex philosophis, Aristotelem de animalibus, Avicennam de medicina, Plinium de historia naturali, vel ex Iudaeis Iosephum, ex nostris autem Augustinum de civitate Dei, vel super Psalterium, vel super Ioannem, Moralia quoque beati Gregorii, vel aliquem huiusmodi) nullus esset fortassis, qui argueret, nemoque reprehenderet; et tamen cum haberem haec omnia, ne dicam tertiam, vel quartam, immo nec saltem decimam, aut vicesimam partem eorum utilium, quae in hoc opere continentur in scriptis possiderem, aut tenerem.

Nam ex ipsis certe libris, quos etiam sacri doctores, olim in exponendis scripturis, aut in refellendis haereticis, sive quibuslibet aliis emergentibus causis utiliter ediderunt, dum quisquam quoquam legitur, plerumque vix in tribus, aut quatuor, vel quinque capitulis sententia notabilis ad proferendum in publico sermone, sive etiam in lectione vel disputatione reperitur. Quantum minus ergo nunc arguendus videor, quia multorum librorum florem quendam atque medullam in unum volumen compegi: iterumque sub certis titulis ordine congruo redegi.

Of course, Vincent's line of argument is far more sophisticated and shows a deeper self-awareness than the justifications in the prologues of Hrabanus or any other Carolingian author. Yet, as Marc-Aeilko Aris⁵⁹ has shown, Hrabanus defends his method in a similar way, as he claims to rest on the authority of the Fathers while offering their advice in a form that has been through his selection and arrangement before being ready to be used and studied. Actually what Hrabanus is claiming is being a new link in the long chain of the Christian Tradition.

6. Understanding the Christian Tradition

The key concept in order to understand the mechanics of the process of compilation-composition is Tradition. The explication of its nature, as understood within the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, will conform the present section.

In the Church, Tradition⁶⁰ (with capital T) can be understood as a hermeneutical principle and a method of reading the Scripture and transmitting the Faith. Of course, Tradition does not substitute Scripture, but provides the living context and the comprehensive perspective to grasp it: anybody can read the Bible, and indeed most heretics did, even the Gnostics and Manichees, who even invoked some passages of it to justify their doctrines. But they erred

⁵⁹ "Nostrum est citare testes. Anmerkungen zum Wissenschaftsverständnis des Hrabanus Maurus", in Gangolf SCHRIMPF (Hrg.), *Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger und Ottonen* (Frankfurt: Josef Knecht, 1996), 437-464.

⁶⁰ A comprehensive study of Tradition can be found in CONGAR, Yves, 1963, *La Tradition et les traditions*, Paris: Fayard, 2 vols.

because they failed in acknowledging its internal structure and harmony as a whole.

In the same way that the message of salvation cannot be received outside of the interpersonal encounter, by the living Tradition of the Church, every faithful is connected to deliverance by the Apostles who conveyed the message of Christ's salvation. As a matter of fact, Tradition cannot be distinguished from the unity, the catholicity, the apostolicity or the consciousness of the Church, which possesses the immediate certitude of revealed truth⁶¹.

During the early period following the Passion of Christ, oral transmission of his life and doctrine preceded its recording in written form in the canon of the New Testament. That Apostolic past was still within reach of human memory in the generation of St Irenaeus, who had listened to the teachings of St Polycarp, an immediate disciple of the Apostle John. As generations passed, the question of the preservation of the "deposit" became more and more complicated, because the faithfulness of the witnesses had to be confirmed, and then the emphasis shifted from "Apostolicity" to "Tradition", which came to mean "transmission", rather than the original "delivery"⁶².

It is in this context that the authority of the Fathers was first formally invoked. Because they had received the kerygma, they were warrantors of the authentic interpretation of the Bible (note that authority is inseparable from the concept of Tradition). The Fathers transmitted and propagated the right doctrine (which at that time was nothing but the correct biblical exegesis); they were, before anything else, the teachers, *doctores* or *didaskaloi*, and not in the least because they were *testes* (witnesses), and in doing so they were not acting as private individuals but as *viri ecclesiastici*⁶³. They had the *ecclesiasticae intelligentiae auctoritas*, the authority of "ecclesiastical understanding"⁶⁴.

That is what St Vincent of Lerins meant when he stated that faith is built *primum scilicet divinae legis auctoritate, tum deinde ecclesiae catholicae traditione*⁶⁵, and St Augustin's *Ego vero Evangelio non crederem, nisi me catholicae Ecclesiae commoveret auctoritas*⁶⁶. They were simply emphasizing that the reception of the Gospel cannot happen without the Church. The *ecclesiae auctoritas* is not an independent source of Faith, but the indispensable principle of sound interpretation.

And to ensure the appropriate reception of the authority of the Fathers a patristic canon of authors was established in the decree on *Books to be Accepted*

⁶¹ LOSSKY, Vladimir, 1974, *In the Image and Likeness of God*, Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, p. 142.

⁶² FLOROVSKY, Georges, 1987, "The Authority of the Ancient Councils and the Tradition of the Fathers", *Collected Works of Georges Florovsky*, Vaduz: BÜCHER-VERTRIEBSANSTALT, vol. I, 93-103, cit. p. 100.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 102.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p. 74.

⁶⁵ *Adversus profanas omnium novitates haereticorum commonitorium*, 17. "That is first on the authority of the divine law, and then on the tradition of the Catholic Church" (my translation).

⁶⁶ *Contra epistolam manicaei quam vocant fundamenti liber unus*, 5. "But I wouldn't believe in the true Gospel if the authority of the Catholic Church hadn't moved me" (my translation).

or not to be Accepted attributed to pope Gelasius I (492-496), although as it seems it was composed in southern Gaule some decades after the death of the pope.

But Tradition is not a transmission of the inherited doctrines in a mechanical manner, but rather the continuous life of the Truth. In some occasions, a secret tradition (*dogma*) can be declared publicly and thus become “preaching” (*kerygma*) when a necessity (for example the struggle against heresy) obliges the Church to make its pronouncement⁶⁷. Beliefs that for generations have been peacefully maintained, even if unformulated, can be challenged at a certain point, and then a new dogma is defined by the Church, in agreement with the teaching of the Fathers. However, due to the “economy of the Church”, new declarations are only made when they are considered indispensable.

Therefore, appealing to Tradition is appealing to the knowledge and understanding of the Revelation by the Church. By no means is Tradition above Scriptures, but it is the living teaching of the Church that brings the Scriptures into fullness; it is not the content of Revelation, but the light that allows it to be understood. Tradition is “a presence of the past in the present, a presence of the events that are constitutive of the religious relationship at each moment of time laid open, situated and constituted; a presence of the Principle at all the moments of its development”⁶⁸.

Because the Carolingian authors were convinced that the Christian Tradition as conveyed in the writings of the Church Fathers contains the keys to a correct interpretation of the Holy Scripture, they attached themselves to those writings to sustain their own personal *lectio* and their intellection of the salvific message. Thus, as *nani gigantum humeris insidentes* and following the example of the Fathers and armed with the Seven Liberal Arts and above all with the divine grace, they laboured to develop the doctrine where they perceived the Fathers had left a gap. And that is why they engage themselves in the task of *defloratio*, to use the term coined by Alcuin of York, culling from the works of the Fathers in the same way a physician selects certain parts of certain plants in a certain proportion to prepare a cure⁶⁹.

This is exactly what Hrabanus Maurus is doing, and he states it explicitly in the dedicatory letter of his *De institutione clericorum* as quoted above when he appeals to the authority of “Cyprianum dico atque Hilarium, Ambrosium,

⁶⁷ Vladimir LOSSKY, 1974, *In the Image and Likeness of God*, Crestwood: NY, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, pp. 145-146.

⁶⁸ CONGAR, Yves, *La Tradition et les traditions*, vol. 2, pp. 37-38. Cit. JOHNSTONE, Brian, 2005, August, “What is Tradition? From Pre-Modern to Postmodern”, *Australian e-Journal of Theology* 5, pp. 11-12.

⁶⁹ Solent namque medici ex multorum speciebus pigmentorum in salutem poscentis quoddam medicamenti componere genus, nec se ipsos fateri praesumunt creatores herbarum vel aliarum specierum, ex quarum conpositione salus efficitur egrotantium, sed ministros esse in colligendo et in unum pigmentaria manu conficiendo corpus. Nec ex uno quolibet paternae possessionis prato mihi flores colligendos esse censeo, sed multorum patrum, humili corde, prona cervice, florida rura peragranda mihi esse video... Alcuin, epp. 213 ad Gislam, MGH Epp. 4 (Epistolae Karolini aevi II), pp. 357-358.

Hieronimum, Augustinum, Gregorium, Iohannem, Damasum, Cassiodorum atque Isidorum et caeteros nonnullos”⁷⁰.

This declaration is not unique. Similar expressions can be found in other dedication letters of Hrabanus⁷¹, Alcuin and many other authors from the Carolingian time, to the point of becoming a sort of *topos*⁷², but it was a sincere statement nonetheless.

7. The process of composing⁷³

But for Hrabanus and his contemporaries, this practise was much more than a composition technique. For them reading, praying and writing formed a continuum where the transition from one phase to the next would have been difficult to distinguish, although that is precisely what I am intending in this section.

Being so intimately rooted in the Fathers⁷⁴, composition began with memorized reading. In an era with few books, and those few very expensive and heavy, the ability to memorize could suppose a decisive advantage. Memory training was a very important aspect of medieval education that developed quite a number of techniques in order to help the children (and adults) to learn by rote long texts (exceptional individuals were able to memorize the whole bible and other texts) and also to retain even more in a less literal way⁷⁵. Although these techniques were multifarious, they had one thing in common: they were all proceeded by dividing the whole content into small fragments and mentally placing these small fragments on a template like a grid or on an imaginary space that could be revisited at will.

⁷⁰ See note 1 above with its referenced text.

⁷¹ ARIS, Marc-Aeilko, “Nostrum est citare testes. Anmerkungen zum Wissenschaftsverständnis des Hrabanus Maurus”, p. 438.

⁷² SIMON, Bertrud, 1959/69, “Untersuchungen zur Topik der Widmungbriefe mittelalterlicher Geschichtsschreiber bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts”, *Archiv für Diplomatik* 4 (1958), p. 52-119, 5/6, p. 73-153.

⁷³ MARTIN, Georges, 1997, “Compilation (Cinq procédures fondamentales)”, *Annexes des Cahiers de linguistique hispanique médiévale* 11, p. 107-121, describes the five phases of the technical process of compiling: “reproduire, réunir, bâtir, agencer, réviser” (reproducing, gathering, building, ordering, reviewing – I would bring gathering to the first place), and his description is generally accurate for every compilation, but dealing with a historical work he misses the spiritual implications of the compositional process that I intend to disentangle here.

⁷⁴ The possibility that the medieval writers were not working on the actual works of the Fathers but on *florilegia* has been posed more than once. See for instance the remarks of Willemien OTTEN in relation with Alcuin's *De virtutis et vitiis* in “The texture of tradition: the role of the Church Fathers in Carolingian theology”, in BACKUS, Irena (ed.), 1997, *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West. From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, Leiden: Brill, p. 3-50, cit. p. 27-28. For our analysis here it is not relevant, if their access to the Fathers was direct or not.

⁷⁵ On memory, its development and its uses in the Middle Ages, see CARRUTHERS, Mary, 1990, *The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, and 1998, *The Craft of Thought. Meditation, rhetoric and the making of images, 400-1200*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, as well as CARRUTHERS, Mary & ZIOLOWSKI, Jan M., 2002, *The Medieval Craft of Memory. An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Many authors liked to describe themselves as bees. The metaphor was used as far as we know by Seneca the Younger⁷⁶ and slightly transformed by Macrobius⁷⁷:

Apes enim quodammodo debemus imitari, quae vagantur et flores carpunt, deinde quicquid attulere disponunt ac per favos dividunt et sucum varium in unum saporem mixtura quadam et proprietate spiritus sui mutant. Nos quoque quicquid diversa lectione quaesivimus commitemus stilo, ut in ordinem eodem digerente coalescat.

And from him, it passed to the cultural heritage of the Middle Ages when it was incorporated to the *Vita S. Antonii*⁷⁸ and then in the prose treatise *De virginitate* by Aldhelm of Malmesbury⁷⁹.

The bee metaphor couldn't be more suitable. Bees gather the nectar from the flowers and transport it to the hive, but nectar is not yet honey. Once in the hive, the bees must work out the nectar that undergoes some operations in which moisture is diminished and certain enzymes added until, finally, the bees can seal the honey in the honeycombs. And that is exactly what a monk did with his texts: reading and re-reading with eyes and lips, meditating on every word and every sentence, internalizing it and loving it (the English expression "learning by heart" taken literally is a very good way to describe it). This process received the name of *ruminatio* in reference to the constant chewing of the cud by cows and other ruminants, which in the Middle Ages had no pejorative connotation whatsoever.

But the metaphore went further to refer to the assimilation of materials that are appropriated entirely, turned into one's blood and flesh. Its roots were ancient, as it had been used by Seneca⁸⁰:

⁷⁶ *Epistulae morales*, 84. *Nos quoque has apes debemus imitari et quaecumque ex diversa lectione congressimus, separare – melius enim distincta servantur – deinde adhibita ingenii nostri cura et facultate in unum saporem uaria illa libamenta confundere, ut etiam si apparuerit, unde sumptum sit, aliud tamen esse quam unde sumptum est, appareat.*

⁷⁷ *Saturnalia*, praef. 5-6. "We ought to imitate bees, if I can put it that way: wandering about, sampling the flowers, they arrange whatever they've gathered, distributing it among the honeycomb's cells, and by blending in the peculiar quality of their own spirit they transform the diverse kinds of nectar into a single taste. I to will commit to writing all that I have sought out in my varied reading, so that by being arranged consistently it will come together in an orderly whole" (translation by KASTER, Robert A., 2011, *Macrobius, Saturnalia. Books 1-2*, Harvard College, p. 5).

⁷⁸ Athanasius, *Vita S. Antonii* III.iv, ed. G.J.M. BARTELINK, SChr 400 (Paris, 1994), p. 136.

⁷⁹ On many other aspects in which the monks are comparable to the bees, see CASIDAY, Augustine, 2004, "St Aldhelm's bees (*De uirginitate* prosa cc. IV-VI): some observations on a literary tradition, *Anglo Saxon England* 33, p. 1-22, who also delves in the history of this *topos*. See as well. and ROUSE, Richard H & ROUSE, Mary A., 1979, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus Florum of Thomas of Ireland*, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, p. 115-117.

⁸⁰ Seneca, *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales*, ep. 84. "The food we have eaten, as long as it retains its original quality and floats in our stomachs as an indiluted mass, is a burden; but it passes into tissue and blood only when it has been changed from its original form. So it is with the food which nourishes our higher nature – we should see to it that whatever we have absorbed should not be allowed to remain unchanged, or it will be no part of us. We must digest it; otherwise it

Alimenta quae accepimus, quamdiu in sua qualitate perdurant et solida innatant stomacho, onera sunt; at cum ex eo quod erant mutata sunt, tunc demum in vires et in sanguinem transeunt, idem in his quibus aluntur ingenia praestemus, ut quaecumque hausimus non patiamur integra esse, ne aliena sint. Concoquamus illa; alioqui in memoriam ibunt, non in ingenium. Adsentiamur illis fideliter et nostra faciamus, ut unum quiddam fiat ex multis, sicut unus numerus fit ex singulis cum minores summas et dissidentes computatio una comprehendit. Hoc faciat animus noster: omnia quibus est adiutus abscondat, ipsum tantum ostendat quod effecit.

The result was the ability to bring back to the mouth from the “stomach of the mind”⁸¹ a number of quotations suited to satisfy any given question. That was the case of Simplicius, a friend of St Augustine’s, as recalled by the latter:

Ecce modo, modo dum sumus, dum vivimus, dum nos vivere scimus, dum meminisse nos, et intelligere, et velle certissimi sumus. Qui nos naturae nostrae magnos cognitores esse jactamus, quid valeat memoria nostra, vel intelligentia, vel voluntas, omnino nescimus. Amicus quidam meus iam inde ab adolescentia, Simplicius nomine, homo excellentis mirabilisque memoriae, cum interrogatus esset a nobis, quos versus Virgilius in omnibus libris supra ultimos dixerit; continuo, celeriter, memoriterque respondit. Quaesivimus etiam superiores ut diceret, dixit. Et credidimus eum posse retrorsum recitare Virgilium. De quocumque loco voluimus, petivimus ut faceret, fecit. De prosa etiam de quacumque oratione Ciceronis, quam memoriae commendaverat, id eum facere voluimus; quantum voluimus sursum versus secutus est. Cum admiraremur, testatus est Deus, nescisse se hoc posse ante illud experimentum: ita, quantum ad memoriam attinet, tunc se ejus animus didicit; et quandocumque discere, nisi tentando et experiendo non posset⁸².

will merely enter the memory and not the reasoning power. Let us loyally welcome such foods and make them our own, so that something that is one may be formed out of many elements, just as one number is formed of several elements whenever, by our reckoning, lesser sums, each different from the others, are brought together”. English translation by GUMMERE, Richard M., 1961, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, vol. 5, p. 281.

⁸¹ Augustin, *Confessions* 10,14,21.

⁸² Augustin, *De anima et eius origine (De natura et origine animae)*, iv.vii.9; CSEL, 60, p. 389; PL 44, col. 529. “Observe now, while we are, while we live, while we know that we live, while we are certain that we possess memory, understanding, and will; who boast of ourselves as having a great knowledge of our own nature; - observe, I say, how entirely ignorant we are of what avail to us is our memory, or our understanding, or our will. A certain man who from his youth has been a friend of mine, name Simplicius, is a person of accurate and astonishing memory. I once asked him to tell me what were the last lines but one of all the books of Virgil; he immediately answered my questions without the least hesitation, and with perfect accuracy. I then asked him to repeat the preceding lines; he did so. And I really believe that he could have repeated Virgil line after line backward. For wherever I wished, I made trial whether he could do it, and he did it. Similarly in prose, from any of Cicero’s orations, which he had learnt by heart, he would perform a similar feat at our request, by reciting backwards as far as we wished. Upon our expressing astonishment, he called God to witness that he had no idea of this ability of his previous to that trial. So far, therefore, as memory is concerned, his mind only then learnt its own power; and such discovery would at no time be possible except by trial and experiment” (translation by Philip SCHAFF, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers Series I*, vol. 5 (Buffalo: Christian Literature Co.,1887), on-line in <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf105.pdf>, p. 1006 [10/10/2012]).

As Mary Carruthers noted, what was exceptional in Simplicius is not that he knew all of Virgil and much of Cicero by heart, and that he could pull out commonplaces to fit in any topic, but the degree to which he could do it⁸³. Less gifted individuals could also pull out bits of texts at will, although they had to do with just the essence of the matter if they were not able to offer the exact words. When an unknown bishop sent a letter to a certain monastery (also unknown) dealing with the fifth, fourth and third Sundays before Easter, he mentions that he once read a letter on that subject possibly by Alcuin, which he didn't possess, and adds:

Quae vero ex ea memoriae commendavimus, licet aliis verbis, enarrare studemus. Prius petimus dilectionem vestram, ut non me compilatorem veterum esse dicatis et ob id praefatam epistolam ostendere noluisse, sed pro ambitione vanae gloriae servato sensu verba mutasse. Profiteor enim vobis aliena esse quod dico. Auctoritate enim canonica XL tempus qualiter aut quare adsumptum sit, compertum habetis, quod utique sanctus et egregius doctor Gregorius in lectione evangelica 'Ductus est Iesus in desertum ab spiritu' evidenter exposuit⁸⁴.

As we can see, *dictatio* (that is, writing⁸⁵) started with *inventio* (not in the sense of invention, creation *ex nihilo*, but in the sense of inventory⁸⁶) and *recollectio*. Hrabanus calls this process *colligere* or *excerpere*⁸⁷, not *compilare*⁸⁸. But let us not be deceived: there is nothing of purely mechanical or simplistic in this operation; after all, memory was the essential foundation of prudence, *sapientia*, and ethical judgment⁸⁹.

Note that in the paragraph just quoted from the Appendix to Alcuin's epistles what our unknown good bishop fears is that his addressees might suspect that he is altering the words in order to manipulate the meaning at his convenience. He is quoting from memory, and not literally because he has no access to the material

⁸³ Mary CARRUTHERS, *The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, p. 19.

⁸⁴ Appendix ad Alcuini epistolas 4. MGH, Epp. 4 (Epistolae Carolini aevi II), p. 492. "And we have commended all this to memory, even if with different words, just in case we wanted to repeat it. But first I ask your affection, lest you accuse me of being tampering with the ancient, and that because of that I refused to show the mention letter, or that because of vane ambition I have changed the words, even if preserving the sense. I can assure you that everything I now say comes from someone else. And you can find how and why the time of 40 has been used by the canonical authority, then it was clearly explained by the illustrious doctor Gregory in his sermon to the Gospel "And Jesus was taken to the desert by the Spirit".

⁸⁵ From where the present German word *Dichter* (=poet) and the Spanish *dictamen* (=report). On the meaning of *dictare*, see LECLERCQ, Jean, 1982, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, Fordham University Press, p. 172-173.

⁸⁶ CARRUTHERS, Mary, *The Craft of Thought*, p. 11-12.

⁸⁷ ARIS, Marc-Aeilko, "Nostrum est citare testes. Anmerkungen zum Wissenschaftsverständnis des Hrabanus Maurus", p. 453.

⁸⁸ *Compilare* had the connotation of manipulating someone else's words or taking them out of context in order to make them say something different. On the terms *compilare* and *compilatio* and their evolution, see HATHAWAY, Neil "Compilatio: from plagiarism to compiling", p. 19-44.

⁸⁹ Mary CARRUTHERS, *The Book of Memory*, p. 176.

object (a book or loose parchment or wax tablets) that contained the written record and he had to resort to his “mental copy”. Because literalness in the quotations was considered a guarantee of doctrinal correctness, one must assume that whenever possible the “mental copy” would be confronted with the original “material text”.

We can perceive the same feeling of nakedness in Hrabanus when his precious books and notes were confiscated by abbot Ratgar and he begged for their restitution:

Iam mihi concessit bonitas tua discere libros,
Sed me paupertas suffocat ingenii,
Me quia quaecunque docuerunt ore magistri,
Ne vaga mens perdat, cuncta dedi foliis.
Hinc quoque nunc constant glosae parvique libelli,
Quos precor indigno reddere praecipias.
Servi quicquid haberent, dominorum iure tenetur,
Sic ego quae scripsi, omnia iure tenes.
Nec mihi ceu propria petulans haec vindico scripta,
Desero sed vestro omnia iudicio.
Seu mihi haec tribuas, seu non, tamen omnipotentis
Divinitas semper det tibi cuncta bona,
Certamenque bonum cursu consummet honesto,
Cum Christo ut maneat semper in arce poli⁹⁰.

From these verses, it even would seem that Hrabanus was creating his own collection of extracts and glossing and commenting on them. In the preface to the *De institutione clericorum*, he declares that when asked he sometimes replied by writing, committing the answer to parchment. Wouldn't he keep a copy for himself?

On some occasions the subject dealt with would require more information than that stored in the “inner repository” and then the Carolingian writers would do exactly the same as we do: go to the library. And from what Hinkmar of Rheims writes to Odo of Beauvais it is even possible that he had the help of his clerics to find the pertinent fragments and that he personally annotated them⁹¹:

⁹⁰ *Carm.* 20, pp. 185-186. “To you, foster father of this man, best shepherd of the monks, I, who am your serf, beg you that now your generous piety lends me ears, although miserable, when I implore you, oh, always merciful lord. Already your goodness granted me my books, so that I could learn, but now the poverty of my intelligence harasses me, because everything that I had been taught through the mouth of my master I gave to the leaves, lest that my unable mind lost it. And that is why now with them go some glosses and other short writings that I implore you give me back, although I am unworthy. Because everything that the serfs have is considered to be under the dominion of their master, and therefore everything that I have written is now your property. And I do not demand these writings for the purpose of boasting, but instead I give everything up to your judgment. And whether you grant this to me or not, may always the Almighty grant you good things and finish the way with a good step, so that you always live with Christ in the celestial mansion” (my translation).

⁹¹ Ep. 202. MGH, Epp. 8,1 (Epistolae Karolini aevi VI. Hincmari archiepiscopi Remensis epistolae), p. 227. Cit. GANZ, David, 1990, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, Sigmaringen, Thorbecke, p. 81-82. “From where everybody among as who is assigned to the metropolitan see, together with him all the brethren and the co-bishops under his authority, must diligently take care of this and labour in looking for the necessary arguments to oppose their

Unde unusquisque vestrum, qui metropolitana iura sortitus est, iunctis sibi fratribus et coepiscopis suis, qui sub se sunt, de his diligentem curam suscipiat et, quid invidis eorum detractionibus opponi necesse sit, rimari studeat et invenire summopere gestiat atque inventum nobis otius transmittere minime parvipendat et praesulatu nostro scripta divinitus inspirata sapientia vestra reprehendendo et forti prorsus invectione feriendo tantam eorundem imperatorum vesaniam mittat, quae nos suscipientes rursus ea cum aliis assertionibus nostris ad ipsorum quoque dementia confutandam mittere valeamus.

Quapropter, frater karissime, secundum domni apostolici commendationem de his per tramitem scripturarum et traditionem maiorum, quae illi rescribere convenienter possimus, quaerere et in unum colligere stude, ut, cum simul adiuvante Domino venerimus, quae quisque nostrum invenit singillatim, communi studio relegamus et, quae eidem domno papae a nobis inde scribenda sunt, ordinemus.

Whether Hrabanus also had the help of his students and other monks we cannot say, but he did discuss theological matters with them, whenever it was possible, since Brun Candidus, in his *Vita metrica Eigilis*, recalling his master's (who was no other than Hrabanus) remarks says⁹²:

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 divina 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 versibus in laudem sanctae crucis, divina gratia inspirante, incepti atque fidelibus legendum studioso labore consummavi'.

Second in logical order after the gathering of the raw materials, although it probably took place at the same time, comes the *dispositio*⁹³, *compositio* or "placing together", which is the complementary operation of the *divisio* used to memorize the texts. Only now the good composer operates by picking up his pieces from various origins and recombining them with a different pattern, letting

invidious dissensions, and put all his attention in it, and do not let him forget in any way to transmit to us what he has found, and send to our president the writings of your divinely inspired wisdom, criticizing with strong invective and arguing against the madness of those princes, and after receiving those writings, we will be able to submit them together with other argument of our own against their insane foolishness. And with that, my dearest bother, according to the apostolic man's command about this that we have conveniently managed to re-write after the scriptural procedure and the tradition of the ancient, commit yourself to look for everything and gather it, and thus when, God willing, we can come together, we will be able to read in common all that each of us has found by himself, and in this way we will be able to put in order what has to be written for the abovementioned lord bishop".

⁹² MGH, Poetae Latini aevi Carolini II, p. 94. "For the rest I let your charity know that the past year my lord abbot Hrabanus, when I was complaining before him because I had no mate to comment on the readings of the Holy Scriptures and so enrich myself with the reading, he gave me back this answer: commit yourself to writing on your own, because when I was in the same situation, through the divine inspiration I started my book in prose and verse on the praise of the Cross, and I spent my time reading to the faithful with intended labour".

⁹³ Or, as Cicero in *De Inventione* (1,9) calls it, *dispositio*: dispositio est rerum inventarum in ordinem distributio.

the old materials re-emerge in a new order, creating a new synthesis. Here the possibilities for variation and combination had no limit. Balance was important at this point, and also not letting the discourse stray from the main goal. There were many decisions and many choices to make. Here we recall again Alcuin's comparison between writer and physician quoted above⁹⁴: too much of just one source would diminish the effect of the final product or would even disable it. Sometimes the main guide line is provided by just one of the Fathers (for instance Hrabanus mainly followed Hesychius on his commentary on the Leviticus and Josephus on his commentary on Paralipomenon, as Alcuin had followed mainly Jerome in his commentary on Ecclesiastes⁹⁵), but the goal was normally to harmonize all the Fathers (Angelomus of Luxeuil compared the Fathers to the pipes of an organ⁹⁶ and Paschasius Radbertus compared the composition process with the way the painter Zeuxis, in order to paint a portrait of Helen, chose the five prettiest girls from Crotona as models, selecting from each one the most beautiful feature, because none of the girls were absolutely perfect⁹⁷).

And if all that were not enough, on certain subjects it seemed that the Fathers disagree with each other. And what to do then? This is Hrabanus' response⁹⁸:

Sunt enim eorum sensus in aliquibus concordantes, in aliquibus vero discrepantes. Unde necessarium reor, ut intentus auditor per lectorem primum recitata singulorum auctorum nomina ante scripta sua audiat, quatenus sciat, quid in lectione apostolica unusquisque senserit, sicque in mentem suam plurima coacervans possit de singulis iudicare, quid sibi utile sit inde sumere.

⁹⁴ Alcuin, ep. 213 ad Gislam, MGH Epp. 4 (Epistolae Karolini aevi II), pp. 357-358.

⁹⁵ CONTRENI, John J. , 1983, "Carolingian Biblical Studies", in Uta-Renate BLUMENTAL (ed.), *Carolingian Essays. Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in Early Christian Studies* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, p. 71-98, cit. p. 88.

⁹⁶ Letter-preface to Emperor Lothair accompanying the commentary on the Canticle of Canticles, MGH, Epp. 5 (Epistolae Karolini aevi III), p. 627: quod concentu organi fistulae aeris aliae longiores sunt, aliae breviores, sed uno flatu follibus amministrato et docta manu imperante digitisque attrahendo unam, cum sint diversae fistulae, armoniam velut salpax, tubarum voces atque concentum dulci cantilena melos afflando attonis auribus suaviter reddunt. "That in a church organ some pipes are longer, others shorter, but with one breadth given by the bellows and with a learned hand guiding, and pressing with the fingers, the voices of the trumpets, although there are different pipes, sweetly render a harmony and a sweetly tuned harmonious song to astonished ears as if [they were] a single trumpeter" (translation by M. POLLARD, Richard, "Letters of Lothar", <https://sites.google.com/site/lettersoflothar/> [10/10/2012]).

⁹⁷ Prologue to his commentary on Matthew, MGH Epp. 6 (Epistolae Karolini Aevi IV), p. 141. De original story comes from Cicero's *De inventione* 2, 1-3. Cit. CONTRENI, John J., "Carolingian Biblical Studies", p. 88-89.

⁹⁸ Letter preface to the commentary on the Pauline epistles, MGH Epp. 5 (Epistolae Karolini Aevi III), p. 427-430. "Then the statements of these agree in some things, but disagree in some others. Thus I think it necessary that the attentive listener must hear first the names of the individual authors before he hears what they have written, so that he knows what one particular author understood in the apostolic text, and so gathering many of these in his mind, he can be able to select what is of use to him".

With it went, of course, some paraphrasing, supplementing (*et aliquid utilitatis adde dictando* was Hrabanus' advice to Brun Candidus) and completing when a gap was left open by the Fathers:

interdum vero, ubi necesse fuit, secundum exemplar eorum quaedam sensu meo protuli⁹⁹.

In spite of the enormous respect that Alcuin, Hrabanus, and their contemporaries show for the Fathers and in spite of the fact that –as good disciples– they always acknowledge the superiority of their masters and follow their example, they feel strong enough to accomplish the task, and they feel that they can progress with steady hands, using the tools offered by the Liberal Arts (especially the *Dialectica*¹⁰⁰) and enlightened by flame of the Holy Spirit. Their declarations of indigence are not expressions of false modesty, but true Christian humility: they knew they could reach high, but they also knew why they could do so:

et ita quae in eo rationabiliter inveneris dictata, ei hoc tribuas a quo est omnis ratio creata¹⁰¹.

The next step –again in the logical order, because it is also very probable that the process was quite simultaneous with the previous phases– was writing. They wrote aloud in the same way that they read aloud. That is what made Alcuin exclaim when complaining to Richbod¹⁰²:

Quare tua, frater carissime, caritas taciturnitate obmutescit? Cur non movebis linguam ad dictandum, manum ad scribendum? Quid talentum humo obruis? Quare ammonitoria non currit cartula?

It is possible that here Hrabanus had the assistance of professional copyists¹⁰³. Notker Balbulus of St Gall certainly had them for his Martirology¹⁰⁴. But this fact is not very relevant here, since after all composition was performed aloud, and

⁹⁹ *De Institutione clericorum*, preface. “whenever I considered it necessary, I stated certain things after my own judgment, but after the example of them”.

¹⁰⁰ In this respect Hrabanus proves himself shyer than his master Alcuin. On the latter, see the interesting remarks of D’ONOFRIO, Giulio, 1996, “La teologia carolingia”, in D’ONOFRIO (Ed.), *Storia della Teologia nel Medioevo*, Casale Monferrato: Piemme, Vol. I, pp. 107-196, cit. pp. 125-126.

¹⁰¹ *De institutione clericorum*, preface. “And what you could find in it intelligently written, attribute it to Him by whom every intelligence has been created” (my translation).

¹⁰² Ep. 191. MGH, Epp. 4 (Epistolae Karolini Aevi II), p. 318. “Why, dearest brother, does your charity remain in silence? Why don’t you move your tongue in dictating or your hand in writing? What talent are you burrying in the earth? ¿Why don’t you release any admonitory paper?” (my translation).

¹⁰³ LEHMAN, Paul, 1960-1961, “Geisteswissenschaftliche Gemeinschafts- und Kollektivunternehmungen in der geschichtlichen Entwicklung”, in id. *Erforschung des Mittelalters*, Stuttgart, vol. 4., p. 353-385, cit. p. 356.

¹⁰⁴ MCCULLOH, “Hrabanus Maurus’ Martirology”, p. 423.

accordingly, it was called *dictare*, to dictate, either to oneself or to one's secretary. With this in mind it is hardly possible to not bring up the last hours of Venerable Bede¹⁰⁵:

In istis autem diebus duo opuscula multum memoria digna, exceptis lectionibus quas accepimus ab eo, et cantu psalmodiarum, facere studebat. Evangelium scilicet sancti Joannis in nostram linguam ad utilitatem Ecclesiae convertit, et de libris Notarum Isidori episcopi Exceptiones quasdam, discens: 'Nolo ut discipuli mei mendacium legant, et in hoc post obitum meum sine fructu laborent'. Cum venisset autem tertia feria ante Ascensionem Domini, coepit vehementius aegrotare in anhelitu, et modicus tumor in pedibus apparuit. Totum autem illum diem docebat et hilariter dictabat, et nonnumquam inter alia dixit: 'Discite cum festinatione: nescio quandiu subsistam, et si post modicum tollat me Factor meus'. Nobis autem videbatur quod suum exitum bene sciret. Et sic noctem in gratiarum actione pervigil duxit. Et mane illuscente, id est, quarta feria, praecepit diligenter scribi quae coeperamus. Et hoc facto, usque ad tertiam horam ambulavimus deinde cum reliquiis sanctorum, ut consuetudo diei illius poscebat. Unus verat ex nobis cum illo, qui dixit illi: 'Adhuc, magister dilectissime, capitulum unum deest, videtur tibi difficile plus te interrogari?' At ille: 'Facile est, inquit, accipe tuum calamum et tempera, et festinanter scribe'. Quod ille fecit.

And several centuries later it was said that St Thomas of Aquinas¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Cuthbert, *Epistola de obitu Bedae*. PL 90, col. 40. "And during those days, besides the lessons we had daily from him, and the singing of the Psalms, there were two memorable works, which he strove to finish; to wit, his translation of the Gospel of St John, from the beginning, as far as the words 'But what are they among so many?' into our own tongue, for the benefit of the Church of God; and some selections from the books of Bishop Isidore, saying, 'I wold not have my boys read a lie, nor labour herein without profit after my death'. When the Tuesday before the Ascension of our Lord came, he began to suffer still more in his breathing, and there was some swelling in his feet. But he went on teaching all that day and dictating cheerfully, and now and then said among other things. 'Learn quickly, I know not how long I shall endure, and whether my Maker will not soon take me away'. But to us it seemed that haply he knew well the time of his departure; and so he spent the night, awake, in giving of thanks. And when the morning dawned, that is, on the Wednesday, he bade us write with all speed what we had begun. And this we did until the third hour. And from the third hour we walked in procession with the relics of the saints, according to the custom of that day. And there was one of us with him who said to him, 'There is still one chapter wanting of the book which thou hast been dictating, but I deem it burdesome for thee to be questioned any further'. He answered, 'Nay, it is light, take thy pen and make ready, and write quickly'. And this was done" (translation by SELLAR, A.M., 1907, London: George Bell and Sons, on-line in <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/bede/history.pdf> [10/10/2012]), p. 16-17.

¹⁰⁶ *Vita S. Thomae Aquinatis, auctore Petro Calo* 22, ed. PRÜMMER, Dominicus, 1912, *Fontes vitae S. Thomae Aquinatis*, Tolosae, p. 199. "He was able to dictate simultaneously to three or even four secretaries about different subjects, in such a way that it seemed that God instilled at one time different truths to his intelligence, and he could dictate them simultaneously not without a certain special gift of grace, and he didn't seem to be pondering unknown matters, but almost to open the collections in his memory spreading from that treasure of his... One of his secretaries, a certain Evan, a Britton of the diocese of Tréguier, told that after dictating to him and to two other secretaries that he [Thomas] had, sitting to rest for a bit, he fell asleep and continued dictating even while sleeping. And the above mentioned secretary wrote what he had heard from Thomas' mouth while he was sleeping, continuing the matter that he had registered when [Thomas] was dictating awake" (my translation).

de diversis materiis tribus scriptoribus et interdum quatuor in camera sua eodem tempore ipse dictabat, ut videretur deus simul ejus intellectui diversas infundere veritates, quas simul posset non absque specialis dono gratie pluribus dictare, ut non videretur ignota discurrendo perquirere, sed quasi collata in memoria de thesauro suo effundendo aperire. ... Retulit quoque scriptor suus quidam brito evenus nomine trechorensis diocesis quod postquam dictaverat sibi et duobus aliis scriptoribus quos habetat; tamquam fessus pre labore dictandi ponebat se idem doctor pro pausacionis gracia ad quietem, in qua eciam dormiendo dictabat. De cujus ore dormientis que audiebat predictus scriptor redigebat in scriptis continuando materiam de qua antea scripserat cum vigilando dictaret.

By then, the final structure is already complete. The foundations are provided by the *auctoritas* of the Fathers and the building blocks were certainly the quotations from their writings, but the whole building has “a charism all its own”¹⁰⁷. Hrabanus' *De universo* or *De rerum naturis* provides a better example of this than his *De institutione clericorum*. The *De universo* materials come from Isidore's *Origines sive Etymologiae* (with additions from Arator, Bede, Sedulius, Josephus, Lactantius, and Augustine¹⁰⁸), but through subtle changes in the contents and the rearrangement of the structure, Hrabanus creates a guide to the interpretation of the Scripture. Where Isidore's work is divided (as everybody knows) into 20 books, Hrabanus' has 22, just because the books of the Old Testament are also 22.

The *topos* of the written product as a building is also very old and would endure many centuries to come. Some decades after Hrabanus' death, king Alfred the Great, in his introduction to his translations of the *Soliloquies*, put it into words in the following way¹⁰⁹:

I gathered for myself staves and props, and bars and handles for all the tools that I knew how to work with, and crossbars and beams, and, for all the works that I knew how to make, the most beautiful wood, as much of it as I could carry. Nor did I come home with such a burden that I did not wish I could have brought home the whole forest, if I had been able to carry it all; in every tree I saw something that I needed at home. Therefore I advise anyone who is strong and has many wagons, to take himself to the same forest where I cot the props, fetch more there for himself, and load up his wagons with fine staves, so that he may weave many beautiful walls, and build many excellent houses, and construct a fine town, and there life pleasantly and quietly with his wife in winter and summer, as I have never yet done.

To conclude, for the Carolingian theologians composing was not a simple intellectual activity. It was at one and the same time an intellectual and spiritual

¹⁰⁷ OTTEN, Willemien, “The texture of tradition: the role of the Church Fathers in Carolingian theology”, p. 26-27.

¹⁰⁸ See HEYSE, Elisabeth, 1969, *Hrabanus Maurus' Enzyklopädie 'De rerum naturis'. Untersuchungen zu den Quellen und zur Methode der Kompilation* (München: Arbeo-Gesellschaft).

¹⁰⁹ Taken from STANTON, Robert, 2002, *The Culture of Translation in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, pp. 88-89. Of course what Alfred did was translation, but in this paragraph he is appropriating the traditional rhetoric for compilation, rearrangement and composition. See STANTON, *ibid.*, p. 89.

flow in which the mind and the soul moved together back and forth between reading and writing, through meditating and appropriating the beloved texts to give rise to a new creation that was at the same time old and new, at the same time rooted in Tradition and flourishing in their own time.

8. Conclusion: is Hrabanus Maurus an “Auctor”?

As we have seen, although it is true that the *De institutione clericorum* is a composite text in the sense that it is, for the most part, a succession of literal quotations, these and their authors have been meticulously chosen and interwoven to fit in the *ordinatio* or expository plan¹¹⁰.

The modern reader perceives this compositional process not without some degree of perplexity, and wonders (with Manitius and Curtius) if Hrabanus deserves the title of “author”. But such a notion as our “author” didn’t exist in the Middle Ages: quite the contrary. The term is the result of a long evolution that started in the Renaissance with the invention of printing and the individual faith of the Reformation, and through the English empiricism and the French rationalism, ended up in the Romantic exaltation of the creative process¹¹¹.

The Middle Ages, however, knew the word *auctor*, but it had a different nuance. Fond as they were of etymologies, medieval scholars recognized in the noun *auctor* a derivative of *augeo*, which in classical Latin means “to augment”. Conrad of Hirsau, the grammarian of the 11th century, specifies that “*auctor* is called this way from *augendo* because through his pen he amplifies the deeds or sayings or thoughts of the ancients”¹¹². Other names from the same derivation are *augustus*, *augur*, *augurium*, *auxilium*... all pertaining to the religious sphere, and in fact in archaic Latin *augeo* is used for the primordial creation which is the privilege of the gods and natural forces, not of men¹¹³. *Auctor* is thus understood in the sense of “promote”, the individual who takes the initiative, who founds, who guarantees something, and finally someone who has *auctoritas*¹¹⁴. To sum up, in the Middle Ages, *auctor* is a man who writes with authority, that is a man who is thought to transmit the *recta doctrina* in its integrity and beyond any doubt at all¹¹⁵; someone who could be integrated in the *ordo testimoniorum* and

¹¹⁰ For the possible meanings of *ordinatio* see R.H. ROUSE & M.A. ROUSE, “Ordinatio and Compilatio Revisited”, p. 117ff.

¹¹¹ COMPAGNON, Antoine, “Qu’est-ce qu’un auteur?”, <http://www.fabula.org/compagnon/auteur.php> [10/10/2012].

¹¹² Auctor ab augendo dicitur eo, quod stilo suo rerum gesta uel priorum dicta uel dogmata augeat. Conrad of Hirsau, *Dialogus super auctores*, ed. R.B. C. HUYGENS (Bergen-Bruxelles: Latomus, 1955), p. 17. Cit. ZINK, Michel, 2008, “Auteur et autorité au Moyen Âge”, in Antoine Compagnon (dir.), *De l’autorité. Colloque annuel du Collège de France* (Paris: Odile Jacob.), 143-158, cit. p. 149-151.

¹¹³ BENVENISTE, Émile, 1969, *Le Vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*, Paris: Minuit, vol. 2, p. 149.

¹¹⁴ Compagnon, “Qu’est-ce qu’un auteur?”.

¹¹⁵ CHENU, M.D., 1927, “Auctor, Actor, Autor”, *Bulletin du Cange* 3, p. 81-83. Corine MENCE-CASTER, *Un roi en quête d’auteurité. Problématiques d’écritures*. <http://e-spanialivres.revues.org/268#mptes>, § 62.

therefore guarantees the truth of the message that he is transmitting. Originality, as we understand it, had absolutely nothing to do with being an *auctor*.

A whole theory of authorship was developed, comparing the process of composing by taking from previous authors to the bee, that gathering nectar from many flowers, turns it into honey, or the physician that mixes different substances to make a medicine¹¹⁶.

Of course, in the first place God is the source of all authority (as well as the only true Creator), and therefore He is the *Auctor* par excellence, and that is exactly what Hrabanus means when he states “de eminentia sacrarum scripturarum et ad quid omnis scientia referenda sit”¹¹⁷. But the medieval world is a universe hierarchically organized where everything has a place according to its level of perfection. Besides, not all men have the same degree of understanding, and the people of the Early Middle Ages believed that the Church Fathers (Augustine chief among them) had (almost) completed the task of interpreting the Scriptures: they were, thus, the *auctores*.

As a matter of fact, early medieval culture as a whole is ruled by an “ethical” principle of authority that is extended far beyond the religious sphere. It extends well into the Liberal Arts, where we also find a canon of profane texts headed by Virgilius as guarantor of linguistic correctness, and the grammars of Donatus and Priscian (as well as other Latin grammarians of the Late Antiquity) that were perused and adapted for Latin learners (Hrabanus himself composed a set of “excerptiones grammaticae Prisciani”); Quintilian and Cicero were the primary authorities for Rhetoric, and Aristotle Porphyre and Boethius for Dialectic, and so on.

Following this principle, the medieval author is a follower of his models. Daniel Poirion has described the compositional process as “une activité, une production qui reste attachée à la main qui écrit, par le bras, à l'épaule d'un *auctor*”¹¹⁸. And by following the *auctores* the author of the discourse remains integrated into the tradition (or Tradition, in the case of theological texts) and becomes himself (if just by delegation) an *auctor*. That is why most theological treatises, biblical and liturgical commentaries and Liberal Arts manuals have been transmitted under the name of their “authors”, while more poetic creations remained anonymous (as fictions they didn't need a guarantor of their truth).

Thus the *De institutione clericorum* –as so many other handbooks, commentaries and encyclopaedias from the Early Middle Ages– can be considered an extension of the cultural tradition of the West, a place where the voices of the old authorities (Church Fathers, conciliar canons, and liturgical prayers) merge with Hrabanus' own voice, and where reading and writing exist on a transformational continuum, in which intertextuality has been thematized into an operative mode. There is nothing ancillary, mechanical or uncritical in

¹¹⁶ These are not the only ones. King Alfred the Great compares the collecting work to the gathering of tree-trunks from a forest, with which one can build “excellent houses” or a “fine town”. Cfr. CARNICELLI, Thomas A. (ed.), 1969, *King Alfred's Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, p. 47.

¹¹⁷ *De institutione clericorum* III, 2.

¹¹⁸ POIRION, Daniel, “écriture et ré-écriture au moyen âge”, *Littérature* 41 (1981), 109-118, cit. p. 117.

Hrabanus' (or the Carolingian scholars' in general, for that matter) process of compilation¹¹⁹, and therefore what has been left unsaid from the original source is as interesting for us as what has been picked up. To sum up, in his dialogue with his *auctores* Hrabanus, in the self-assigned role of *lector* and under the guise of confirming the authority of his sources, engages himself in a process of self-confirmation¹²⁰ and through his involvement in a historical process connects his present to the tradition of the true doctrine. Hrabanus was (and is) himself an *auctor*.

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¹¹⁹ On the word “compilatio” and its sliding meaning, see HATHAWAY, Neil, 1989, “Compilatio: from plagiarism to compiling”, *Viator* 20, 19-44.

¹²⁰ I take the categories of lector and reading-writing continuum from RAJAN, Tilottama, 1991, “Intertextuality and the subject of reading/writing”, in CLAYTON, Jay & ROTHSTEIN, Eric, *Influence and Intertextuality in Literary History* (University of Wisconsin Press.), p. 61-74, specially pp. 69-71.

Tables

Table 1a: *Divisiones* in the *De institutione clericorum* (Book I)

Chap.	Lines	Chunks	Author	Title	Ref.	Lines
I-1	3,00	3	Isidorus	Etymologiae	8,1,1.	1,00
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,9,1.	0,50
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	8,1,1.	1,50
I-2	21,75	7	Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,14,9.	0,50
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,13,1.	1,00
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,12,1.	0,75
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,1,4-9.	4,00
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,12,2.	1,25
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,1,11-15.	4,00
			M			10,25
I-3	44,50	3	Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,4,1-5.	35,75
			Aldhelmus	Ep. Ad Geruntium		7,75
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2.5.1.	1,00
I-4	53,00	9	Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,12,2-3.	1,50
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,5,1.	2,50
			M			1,00
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,5,1-3.	13,50
			M - Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,5,4-5.	9,25
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,5,6.	3,75
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,5,9-10.	12,00
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,5,11-12.	9,25
I-5	32,25	8	M - Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,12,4.	2,25
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,12,5.	2,75
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,12,6-7.	4,00
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,12,7-8.	3,00
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,12,11-12.	5,00
			M - Biblia	Ez	33:7-8.	5,75
			M			3,25
			M - Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,6,1.	7,00
I-6	28,25	10	Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,7,1.	3,00
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,12,20.	3,00
			M - Biblia	Prob - Sap		1,75
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,12,21.	1,25
			M - Biblia	Ti		6,75
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,7,2.	2,00
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,12,21.	1,00
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,7,2.	1,00
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,12,21.	3,00
			M - Liturgia			5,50
I-7	40,50	7	Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,12,22.	1,75
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,8,1.	6,50
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,12,22.	1,75
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,8,2.	0,25
			M			12,00
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,8,3-4.	14,50
			M - L.Pontificalis			3,75
I-8	18,75	4	Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,12,23.	3,50
			M - Biblia			0,75
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,12,23.	3,75

			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,10,1-2.	10,75
I-9	7,50	2	Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,12,29-30.	6,00
			M			1,50
I-10	24,30	7	Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,12,31.	2,75
			Beda	Super Acta Apost.	19.	2,50
			M - Biblia			2,25
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,13,1.	3,75
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,13,2-4.	18,75
			Liturgia	Sacr. Greg. Suppl. Anian.		1,75
			M			0,50
I-11	26,50	6	Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,12,24.	5,50
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,11,1.	4,75
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,11,2.	1,00
			M			0,75
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,12,1-2.	9,25
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,12,3.	5,25
I-12	6,25	2	M - Isidorus	Etymologiae/De eccl. Off.		3,00
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,12,32-33.	3,25
I-13	6,25	4	M			1,00
			M - Zosimus	Ad Hesitium		2,75
			M - Conc. Caesar.			1,00
			M - Zosimus	Ad Hesitium		1,55
I-14	2,25	1	M			2,25
I-15	6,75	2	M			2,75
			Beda	De tabernaculo	3.	4,00
I-16	7,75	4	M			1,50
			Beda	De tabernaculo	3.	2,25
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	19,22,7.	1,75
			Beda	De tabernaculo	3.	2,25
I-17	10,25	3	M			2,00
			Beda	De tabernaculo	3.	3,00
			Beda	De tabernaculo	3.	5,25
I-18	9,25	3	M			3,25
			M - Isidorus	Etymologiae	19,26,6.	3,00
			M			3,00
I-19	15,00	1	M			15,00
I-20	7,00		M-Isidorus	Etymologiae	19,22,9.	1,00
			M			6,00
I-21	30,00	3	M			1,00
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	19,24,17.	1,00
			M - Biblia			28,00
I-22	13,25	3	M			2,00
			Beda	In Marci ev.		2,25
			M			9,00
I-23	12,00	1	M			12,00
I-24	12,75	3	M			2,00
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,39-40.	4,50
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,41-42.	6,25
I-25	36,75	7	M			3,00
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,43-44.	4,00
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,44-47.	9,25
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,5,29.	1,50
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,48-49.	4,00
			M - Biblia			3,00

			M			12,00
I-26	28,00	9	Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,14,7.	2,25
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,21,1-2.	5,50
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,22,1-2.	9,50
			M			0,75
			Beda	In Marci ev.	4,16.	0,75
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,21,3.	0,75
			M			4,00
			M - Beda	In Marci ev.	4,16.	1,50
			M			3,00
I-27	39,00	3	M			6,50
			Liturgia	Sacr. Greg. Suppl. Anian.		4,00
			M			28,50
I-28	39,50	6	M			1,00
			Alcuinus	Epist.	134.	4,00
			M			10,50
			M			12,00
			M-L.Pontificalis		34.	6,00
			M			6,00
I-29	21,25	5	M			9,50
			Alcuinus	Epist.	134.	4,00
			M			1,25
			M - Alcuinus	Epist.	134.	3,00
			M - Biblia	Io 6		3,50
I-30	95,25	13	Anon.	MGH, Epist. 4, p. 573.		3,25
			M			4,75
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,54.	1,00
			M			4,00
			M			6,50
			M- Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,3,21.	1,50
			M			6,75
			M - Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,51.	5,00
			M			5,00
			M			12,25
			M			32,00
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	7,3,27-28.	8,25
			M			5,00
I-31	205,25	25	M			14,50
			M			9,50
			M - Augustinus	In Iohannis ev.	26,15.	1,50
			M			5,50
			M			9,75
			M			9,00
			Augustinus	In Iohannis ev.	26,17.	1,75
			M - Augustinus	In Iohannis ev.	26,15.	2,00
			Augustinus	In Iohannis ev.	26,15.	7,50
			M			14,25
			M - Augustinus	In Iohannis ev.	27,11.	3,00
			M			7,50
			M			18,00
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,18,3-4.	3,75
			M			21,00
			M			19,25
			M			2,25
Augustinus	In Iohannis ev.	120,2.	1,75			

			M		1,25
			Beda	In Marci ev.	4,14.
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,18,4.
			Beda	In Marci ev.	4.14.
			M		2,00
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,21,45.
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,18,7-8.
I-32	39,25	17	M		2,00
			M - Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,1.
			M		2,00
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,1.
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,38-39.
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,4.
			M		4,00
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,18,1.
			M - Biblia	Mc	14: 22-23
			M		4,00
			L.Pontificalis		45,1.
			M		1,25
			L.Pontificalis		45,1.
			M		1,00
			L.Pontificalis		9,1.
			M - L.Pontificalis		53,11.
			M		2,00
I-33	78,50	17	M		7,00
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,5.
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,3,2.
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	6,19,4-5.
			M		7,50
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,8.
			M - Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,7-9.
			M		1,00
			M		1,50
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,19.
			M - Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,20.
			M		1,50
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,20-21.
			M		3,00
			M		23,00
			Liturgia	Sacr. Greg.	0,75
			M		9,00

Table 1b (Book II)

Chap.	Lines	Chunks	Author	Title	Ref.	Lines
II-1	35,75	8	M			5,75
			M - Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,59.	3,75
			M			6,75
			M - RB		16.	1,50
			M			2,00
			M			7,75
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,61.	2,00
			M			6,25
II-2	17,50	4	M-Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,23,1.	4,00
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,23,2.	1,00
			M			3,00
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,23,2.	4,00
II-3	5,50	1	M			5,50
II-4	5,00	3	M - Augustinus	In Iohannis ev.	117,1.	1,75
			M			1,75
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,18,1.	1,50
II-5	3,75	1	M-Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,19.	3,75
II-6	12,25	3	M			9,25
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,62.	1,50
			M-Biblia	Act 3:1.		1,50
II-7	14,00	1	Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,20,1-2.	14,00
II-8	15,00	2	Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,21,1.	10,75
			M			4,25
II-9	26,75	4	Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,22,1-2.	10,25
			M-Biblia	Mc	13.	4,00
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,22,3-4.	11,00
			M			1,50
II-10	12,50	3	M			7,50
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,64.	2,00
			M			3,00
II-11	13,50	2	M-RB		52,4.	1,25
			M			12,25
II-12	28,50	8	Cassianus	Collationes	9,9.	3,50
			Cassianus	Collationes	9,10.	1,50
			Cassianus	Collationes	9,9.	2,50
			Cassianus	Collationes	9,9.	3,00
			Cassianus	Collationes	9,11-12.	3,00
			Cassianus	Collationes	9,12.	2,00
			Cassianus	Collationes	9,12.	2,75
			Cassianus	Collationes	9,13-14.	10,25
II-13	27,00	1	Cassianus	Collationes	9,15.	27,00
II-14	22,00	7	Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,75.	3,00
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,75.	1,50
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,76.	2,25
			M			1,25
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,76-78.	6,00
			M			5,00
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,79.	3,00
II-15	8,50	2	Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,80.	3,75
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,81-82.	4,75
II-16	51,25	6	Beda	In Luc.	3,11.	30,25

			Cassianus	Collationes	9,25.	8,25
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,64.	1,75
			M			8,00
			M-Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,44,3.	1,75
			M			1,25
II-17	2,75	1	Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,43,2.	2,75
II-18	16,50	1	Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,65-69.	16,50
II-19	18,00	1	M-Hieronymus	In Zachariam	2,8.	18,00
II-20	33,50	1	Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,37,1-5.	33,50
II-21	21,00	3	Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,38,2.	12,00
			M			6,00
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,38,2.	3,00
II-22	25,00	2	Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,40,1.	18,00
			M			7,00
II-23	10,50	2	M-Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,43,1.	5,00
			Innocentius papa	Ep. Ad Decentium	5.	5,50
II-24	42,75	3	M-Concilium	Moguntiense (813)	34.	36,00
			Gelasius papa	Ep.	14,11.	3,50
			M			3,25
II-25	19,00	1	M			19,00
II-26	4,00	2	M			1,50
			Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,42,1.	2,50
II-27	16,00	2	Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,45,1-2.	13,00
			M-RB		37-39.	3,00
II-28	37,00	2	M-Beda	In Luc.	4,11.	1,00
			M-Augustinus	Enchiridion-In Io.		36,00
II-29	67,25	1	Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	2,17,1-9.	67,25
II-30	30,25	8	Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,19,73-74.	4,00
			M			1,00
			Conc.	Brev.Hipponense	30.	1,25
			M			2,00
			Conc.	Brev.Hipponense	30.	2,00
			M			5,50
			Innocentius papa	Ep.	25.	7,50
Celestinus papa	Ep.	4.	7,00			
II-31	35,75	5	Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,26,1-3.	20,00
			M			1,75
			M-Gregorius papa	In lib. Regum	6,67.	2,00
			M			3,25
			M-L.Pontificalis		1.	8,75
II-32	21,50	2	Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,27,1-2.	12,00
			M			9,50
II-33	40,00	2	M			29,00
			Beda	De temp. ratione	12.	11,00
II-34	32,25	11	M-Alcuinus	Ep.	143-144.	5,00
			Alcuinus	Ep.	143.	1,25
			M			2,00
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	1,23,13.	0,25
			M			0,75
			Alcuinus	Ep.	143.	1,25
			M			3,25
			Alcuinus	Ep.	143.	10,00
			M			3,50

			L.Pontificalis		9,2.	0,75
			M			4,25
II-35	12,75	1	Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,28,1-2.	12,75
II-36	19,00	2	Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,29,1-2.	14,00
			M			5,00
II-37	73,00	7	Isidorus	De ecc. officiis	1,30,1-8.	43,00
			M			5,00
			Celestinus papa	Ep. ad episc. Galliae	11.	8,00
			M			1,00
			Celestinus papa	Ep. ad episc. Galliae	11.	5,50
			M			7,00
			Innocentius papa	Ep. Decentio eugubino		3,50
II-38	29,50	3	Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	1,31,1-2.	7,50
			M			18,50
			M-Hieronymus	Com. In Mat.	4.	3,50
II-39	100,75	8	Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	1,32,1-8.	55,50
			Beda	De temp. ratione	51.	4,50
			M			2,75
			Beda	De temp. ratione	51.	8,00
			Beda	De temp. ratione	59.	15,00
			M-Beda	De temp. ratione	63.	8,00
			Beda	De temp. ratione	63.	1,50
			M			5,50
II-40	27,25	2	Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	1,33,1-2.	13,50
			M			13,75
II-41	66,50	2	Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	1,34,1-6.	35,50
			M			31,00
II-42	33,00	2	Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	1,24,1-2.	10,00
			Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	1,25,1-4.	23,00
II-43	42,50	3	Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	1,35,1-6.	33,00
			M-L.Pontificalis		27,1/66,4.	4,50
			Alcuinus	In Iohannis ev.	col. 956	5,00
II-44	19,25	3	Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	1,18,11-12.	7,00
			M			3,00
			Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	1,18,12-13.	9,25
II-45	84,50	3	Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	1,36,1.	8,50
			M			71,50
			Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	1,36,2.	4,50
II-46	44,75	8	M			2,50
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,18,4.	1,00
			M			4,50
			Isidorus	De natura rerum	1,3.	1,25
			M			12,50
			M-Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,18,1.	1,00
			M-Isidorus	Etymologiae	5,30,12.	1,00
			M			21,00
II-47	8,25	3	Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	1,4,1.	3,75
			M			1,00
			Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	1,4,2.	3,50
II-48	22,25	6	Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	1,5,1.	4,50
			Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	1,5,2.	10,00
			Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	2,12,2.	6,25
			M			2,50
			Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	2,12,3.	1,00

			M			2,50
II-49	13,50	1	Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	1,6,1-2.	13,50
II-50	4,25	1	Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	1,7,1.	4,25
II-51	3,25	1	Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	1,9,1.	3,25
II-52	58,75	12	Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	1,10,1-3.	16,75
			M			0,75
			Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	2,11,2.	5,50
			M-Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	2,11,2.	2,50
			Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	2,11,3.	4,25
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	3,3,6.	12,75
			M			1,00
			Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	2,11,4.	1,00
			M			2,00
			Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	2,11,5.	3,50
			Alcuinus	De rhetorica et virtutibus	40.	4,00
Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	2,11,5.	4,75			
II-53	36,50	1	Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	1,11,1-7.	36,50
II-54	80,00	1	Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	1,12,1-13.	80,00
II-55	31,50	4	Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	1,17,1.	6,00
			M			7,75
			L.Pontificalis		7,2.	0,75
			M			17,00
II-56	27,00	2	Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	2,23,1-3.	19,00
			Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	2,23,5.	8,00
II-57	64,00	1	Isidorus	De ecc. Officiis	2,24,1-7.	64,00
II-58	210,25	12	M			5,25
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	8,3,1-3.	8,50
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	8,3,4-6.	7,50
			M			2,00
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	8,4,3-4.	5,00
			M			0,50
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	8,4,4-5.	2,50
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	8,4,6.	1,25
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	8,4,7-9.	6,25
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	8,4,9.	1,00
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	8,4,11-5,5.	12,00
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	8,5,6-70.	158,50

Table 1c (Book III)

Chap.	Lines	Chunks	Author	Title	Ref.	Lines
III-1	73,75	9	M			15,75
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	1,1.	5,50
			M-Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	1,1.	1,50
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	1,1.	4,00
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	1,1.	6,00
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	1,1.	10,00
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	1,2.	13,00
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	1,2.	12,25
			M			5,75
III-2	30,00	1	M			30,00
III-3	25,50	3	Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,5(6)-6(7).	14,75
			M			3,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,6(8).	7,00
III-4	21,75	10	Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,7(9)	14,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	1,36(40).	2,25
			M			0,50
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	1,37(41)-38(42)	3,00
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	1,23(22).	5,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	1,26(27).	2,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	1,27(28)-28(29).	8,00
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	1,29(30).	2,00
			M			4,00
Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,7(10)-7(11).	26,00			
III-5	18,25	1	M			18,25
III-6	19,50	2	Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,8(12)-8(13).	16,75
			M			2,75
III-7	43,50	6	M			0,75
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,1,2.	21,75
			M			0,75
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	6,1,3-10.	7,50
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,9(14).	7,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,9(14).	5,00
III-8	37,00	7	Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,10(15).	9,25
			M			0,50
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,3(4).	1,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,4(5).	6,25
			M			11,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,14(21)	0,75
			M			6,75
III-9	13,75	3	M			0,25
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,14(21)	10,00
			M			3,50
III-10	43,00	2	Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,16(23)-16(25)	41,50
			M			1,50
III-11	53,75	5	Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	3,1(1)-3(6).	44,50
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	3,3(6).	1,50
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	3,3(6).	1,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	3,3(6).	1,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	3,3(6).	4,25
III-12	31,00	9	Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	3,4(8).	3,50
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	3,3(7).	5,00
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	3,3(7).	3,00

			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	3,3(7).	2,50
			M-Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	3,5(9).	2,25
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	3,5(9).	3,00
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	3,5(9)-6(10).	8,50
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	3,6(11)-7(11)	1,75
			M			1,50
III-13	51,75	4	Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	3,10(14).	8,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	3,10(15).	1,50
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	3,10(16)-11(17).	16,50
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	3,15(23)-16(24).	25,00
III-14	36,50	2	Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	3,25(35)-25(36).	32,50
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	3,26(37).	4,00
III-15	24,75	2	Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	3,27(38)-28(39).	20,00
			M			4,75
III-16	33,75	4	Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,19(29)-20(30).	14,25
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,21(32)	5,50
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,25(39)-25(40).	10,00
			M-Isidorus	Etymologiae	1,3,1-5.	4,00
III-17	70,75	11	Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,27(41)-28(42).	20,00
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,28(44)-29(45).	8,50
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,29(46).	1,50
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,29(46).	8,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,30(47)..	5,75
			M			0,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,30(47).	1,25
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,31(48).	4,25
			M			1,00
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,38(56)-38(57).	17,50
			M			1,50
III-18	47,50	13	M			1,25
			Cassiodorus	Institutiones	2,1.	1,25
			M-Isidorus	Etymologiae	1,5.	2,00
			M			12,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	3,29(40).	1,25
			M			0,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	3,29(40).	2,00
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	3,29(41).	3,75
			M			2,00
			Hieronymus	Chron. omn. Historiae Praef.		2,00
			M			0,25
			Hieronymus	Chron. omn. Historiae Praef.		1,25
			M			17,00
III-19	40,00	6	Cassiodorus	Institutiones	2,2,1.	1,50
			M			6,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,2(3)-3(4).	16,00
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,3(4).	3,25
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,3(4).	11,00
			M			1,50
III-20	48,50	9	M-Isidorus	Etymologiae	2,22.	1,50
			Augustinus	De ordine	2,13(38).	2,75
			M			9,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,31(48)-31(49).	18,25
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,32(50).	1,00
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,32(50).	7,50
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,31(49).	4,25

			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,32(50).	2,25
			M			1,25
III-21	5,25	2	Cassiodorus	Institutiones	2,3,21.	4,75
			M			0,50
III-22	66,50	10	Cassiodorus	Institutiones	2,3,21.	0,75
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	3,1,1-2.	4,25
			Cassiodorus	Institutiones	2,3,21.	6,50
			Augustinus	De civitate dei	11,30.	3,50
			Augustinus	De civitate dei	12,18.	3,00
			Augustinus	De civitate dei	12,18.	2,25
			Augustinus	De civitate dei	12,18.	2,00
			Augustinus	De genesi ad litteram	4,7.	11,25
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,16(25).	30,50
			M			2,50
III-23	28,00	4	Cassiodorus	Institutiones	2,5,11-2,6,1.	11,50
			Cassiodorus	Institutiones	2,6,1.	0,75
			Cassiodorus	Institutiones	2,6,1.	12,00
			M			3,75
III-24	53,75	6	Cassiodorus	Institutiones	2,5,4.	2,25
			M			4,75
			Cassiodorus	Institutiones	2,5,2.	8,75
			M-Cassiodorus	Institutiones	2,5,2.	1,25
			M			0,25
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,16(26)-1828).	36,50
III-25	35,75	5	M			1,75
			Cassiodorus	Institutiones	2,7,1.	7,00
			Cassiodorus	Institutiones	2,7,1-2.	11,75
			Isidorus	Etymologiae	3,27.	8,00
			M			7,25
III-26	46,50	2	M			2,25
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	2,40(60)-41(62).	44,25
III-27	47,75	8	M			11,75
			M-Hieronymus	Ep.	53,3; 64,1;52,9.	3,00
			M-Biblia			2,00
			M			5,00
			M-Biblia	Lc	6:47-49	7,25
			M			17,25
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,1(1).	0,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,1(1).	0,75
III-28	40,50	2	Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,4(6)-4,5(7).	22,50
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,5(7)-5(8).	18,00
III-29	19,75	4	Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,6(9).	3,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,6(9).	3,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,6(9).	1,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,8(22)-9(23).	10,50
III-30	21,25	2	Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,10(24).	3,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,10(24).-10(25).	17,50
III-31	22,25	6	Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,10(25)	1,00
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,11(26).	3,50
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,12(27).	4,25
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,11(26)	1,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,12(27).	9,50
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,13(29).	2,25
III-32	22,25	1	Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,17(34)-18(35).	22,25

III-33	16,75	1	Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,19(38).	16,75
III-34	65,75	6	Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,20(39).	18,50
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,20(39)-20(40).	21,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,20(40).	4,25
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,20(42).	8,00
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,20(42)	6,50
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,20(42)-20(43).	6,75
III-35	31,50	9	Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,23(52).	1,23
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,22(51).	2,00
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,23(52).	11,00
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,23(52).	1,50
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,23(52).	1,00
			M			2,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,26(56).	3,50
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,26(56).	2,75
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,28(61).	5,75
III-36	22,00	3	Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,28(61)-28(62).	6,50
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,29(62).	12,50
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,29(62).	3,00
III-37	222,00	83	M			4,50
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3, Praef.	13,50
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,1,adm. 1-2.	4,50
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,2,adm. 3.	2,00
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,2,adm. 3.	2,00
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,3,adm. 4.	4,50
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,4,adm. 5.	2,25
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,5,adm. 6.	4,75
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,6,adm. 7.	4,25
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,7,adm. 8.	4,50
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,8,adm. 9.	2,75
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,9,adm. 10.	4,25
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,9,adm. 10.	2,25
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,10,adm. 11.	3,00
			M-Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,10,adm. 11.	1,00
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,10,adm. 11.	2,25
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,11,adm. 12.	2,25
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,11,adm. 12.	2,00
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,11,adm. 12.	2,25
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,12,adm. 13.	0,75
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,12,adm. 13.	2,00
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,12,adm. 13.	2,50
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,13,adm. 14.	2,25
			M-Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,13,adm. 14.	0,75
			M			0,75
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,13,adm. 14.	0,75
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,13,adm. 14.	3,00
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,14,adm. 15.	3,50
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,14,adm. 15.	2,00
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,15,adm. 16.	3,00
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,16,adm. 17.	6,50
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,17,adm. 18.	2,75
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,18,adm. 19.	4,00
Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,19, adm. 20.	2,50			
Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,20,adm. 21.	1,50			
Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,20,adm. 21.	3,00			

		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,20,adm. 21.	1,50	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,20,adm. 21.	3,00	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,20,adm. 21.	1,75	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,21,adm. 22.	2,00	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,21,adm. 22.	4,00	
		M-Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,21,adm. 22.	1,50	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,21,adm. 22.	3,25	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,22,adm. 23.	3,75	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,22,adm. 23.	2,25	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,23,adm. 24.	5,00	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,23,adm. 24.	3,75	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,23,adm. 24.	1,75	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,24,adm. 25.	4,25	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,24,adm. 25.	1,25	
		M			0,25	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,24,adm. 25.	3,00	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,25,adm. 26.	1,25	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,25,adm. 26.	1,25	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,25,adm. 26.	1,50	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,25,adm. 26.	3,00	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,26,adm. 27.	2,75	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,26,adm. 27.	2,50	
		M-Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,26,adm. 27.	0,75	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,26,adm. 27.	1,25	
		M			1,25	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,27,adm. 28.	3,00	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,27,adm. 28.	2,50	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,28,adm. 29.	4,00	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,28,adm. 29.	1,50	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,29,adm. 30.	3,50	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,29,adm. 30.	2,75	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,30,adm. 31.	1,50	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,30,adm. 31.	1,25	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,30,adm. 31.	1,50	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,31,adm. 32.	1,50	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,31,adm. 32.	3,00	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,31,adm. 32.	2,25	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,32,adm. 33.	1,50	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,32,adm. 33.	2,00	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,32,adm. 33.	2,50	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,33,adm. 34.	2,00	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,33,adm. 34.	2,00	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,33,adm. 34.	1,75	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,34,adm. 35.	4,50	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,34,adm. 35.	2,50	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,35,adm. 36.	4,50	
		Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,35,adm. 36.	2,50	
III-38	101,25	9	M		15,75	
			Gregorius Magnus	Moralia in Job	31,45.	7,50
			Gregorius Magnus	Moralia in Job	31,45.	17,50
			M-Cassianus	Conlationes	5,16.	29,25
			M-Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,36.	2,25
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,36.	5,00
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,36.	18,00
			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,37.	3,25

			Gregorius Magnus	Regula Pastoralis	3,37.	2,75
III-39	32,25	2	Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,15(32)-16(33).	21,00
			Augustinus	De doctrina chr.	4,30(63).	11,25

Table 2a: Hrabanus' own contribution in relation to quoted materials (Book I)

Chap.	Lines	Authors	Works	M-lines	M%	M-Auth lines	M-Auth %
I-1	3,00	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
I-2	21,75	1	2	10,25	47,13	0,00	0,00
I-3	44,50	2	2	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
I-4	53,00	1	2	1,00	1,89	0,75	1,42
I-5	32,25	1	2	9,00	27,91	8,50	26,36
I-6	28,25	1	2	8,50	30,09	5,50	19,47
I-7	40,50	2	3	12,00	29,63	3,75	9,26
I-8	18,75	1	2	0,75	4,00	0,00	0,00
I-9	7,50	1	1	1,50	20,00	0,00	0,00
I-10	24,30	3	4	2,75	11,32	0,00	0,00
I-11	26,50	1	2	0,75	2,83	0,00	0,00
I-12	6,25	1	2	0,00	0,00	3,00	48,00
I-13	6,25	2	2	1,00	15,87	5,30	84,13
I-14	2,25	0	0	2,25	100,00	0,00	0,00
I-15	6,75	1	1	2,75	40,74	0,00	0,00
I-16	7,75	2	2	1,50	19,35	0,00	0,00
I-17	10,25	1	1	2,00	19,51	0,00	0,00
I-18	9,25	1	1	6,25	67,57	3,00	32,43
I-19	15,00	0	0	15,00	100,00	0,00	0,00
I-20	7,00	1	1	6,00	85,71	1,00	14,28
I-21	30,00	1	1	29,00	96,67	0,00	0,00
I-22	13,25	1	1	11,00	83,02	0,00	0,00
I-23	12,00	0	0	12,00	100,00	0,00	0,00
I-24	12,75	1	1	2,00	15,69	0,00	0,00
I-25	36,75	1	1	18,00	0,00	0,00	0,00
I-26	28,00	2	3	7,75	27,68	1,50	5,36
I-27	39,00	1	1	35,00	89,74	0,00	0,00
I-28	39,50	2	2	29,50	74,68	6,00	15,19
I-29	21,25	1	1	14,25	67,06	3,00	14,12
I-30	95,25	2	2	76,25	80,05	6,50	6,82
I-31	205,25	3	4	167,75	81,73	5,00	2,44
I-32	39,25	2	3	16,25	41,40	4,25	10,83

Table 2b (Book II)

Chap.	Lines	Authors	Works	M-lines	M%	M-Auth lines	M-Auth %
I-33	78,50	2	3	53,50	68,15	3,50	4,46
II-1	35,75	2	2	28,50	79,72	5,25	14,69
II-2	17,50	1	1	3,00	17,14	4,00	22,86
II-3	5,50	0	0	5,50	100,00	0,00	0,00
II-4	5,00	2	2	1,75	35,00	1,75	35
II-5	3,75	1	1	0,00	0,00	3,75	100,00
II-6	12,25	1	1	10,75	87,76		0,00
II-7	14,00	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
II-8	15,00	1	1	4,25	28,33	0,00	0,00
II-9	26,75	1	1	5,50	20,56	0,00	0,00

II-10	12,50	1	1	10,50	84,00	0,00	0,00
II-11	13,50	1	1	12,25	90,74	1,25	9,26
II-12	28,50	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
II-13	27,00	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
II-14	22,00	1	1	6,25	28,41	0,00	0,00
II-15	8,50	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
II-16	51,25	3	4	9,25	18,05	0,00	0,00
II-17	2,75	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
II-18	16,50	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
II-19	18,00	1	1	0,00	0,00	18,00	100,00
II-20	33,50	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00
II-21	21,00	1	1	6,00	28,57	0,00	0,00
II-22	25,00	1	1	7,00	28,00	0,00	0,00
II-23	10,50	2	2	0,00	0,00	5,00	47,62
II-24	42,75	2	2	3,25	7,60	36,00	84,21
II-25	19,00	0	0	19,00	100,00	0,00	0,00
II-26	4,00	1	1	1,50	37,50	0,00	0,00
II-27	16,00	2	2	0,00	0,00	3,00	18,75
II-28	37,00	2	2	0,00	0,00	37,00	100,00
II-29	67,25	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00
II-30	30,25	4	4	8,50	28,10	0,00	0,00
II-31	35,75	3	3	5,00	13,99	10,75	30,07
II-32	21,50	1	1	9,50	44,19	0,00	0,00
II-33	40,00	1	1	29,00	72,50	0,00	0,00
II-34	32,25	3	3	13,75	42,64	5,00	15,5
II-35	12,75	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
II-36	19,00	1	1	5,00	26,32	0,00	0,00
II-37	73,00	3	3	13,00	17,81	0,00	0,00
II-38	29,50	2	2	18,50	62,71	3,50	11,86
II-39	100,75	2	2	8,25	8,19	8,00	7,94
II-40	27,25	1	1	13,75	50,46	0,00	0,00
II-41	66,50	1	1	31,00	46,62	0,00	0,00
II-42	33,00	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
II-43	42,50	3	3	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
II-44	19,25	1	1	3,00	15,58	0,00	0,00
II-45	84,50	1	1	71,50	84,62	0,00	0,00
II-46	44,75	1	3	40,50	90,50	2,00	4,47
II-47	8,25	1	1	1,00	12,12	0,00	0,00
II-48	22,25	1	1	5,00	22,47	0,00	0,00
II-49	13,50	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
II-50	4,25	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
II-51	3,25	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
II-52	58,75	3	3	3,75	6,38	2,50	4,26
II-53	36,50	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
II-54	80,00	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
II-55	31,50	2	2	24,75	78,57	0,00	0,00
II-56	27,00	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
II-57	64,00	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
II-58	210,25	1	1	7,75	3,69	0,00	0,00

Table 2c (Book III)

Chap.	Lines	Authors	Works	M-lines	M%	M-Auth lines	M-Auth %
III-1	73,75	1	1	21,50	29,15	1,50	2,3
III-2	30,00	0	0	30,00	100,00	0,00	0,00
III-3	25,50	1	1	3,75	14,71	0,00	0,00
III-4	21,75	1	1	3,50	20,69	0,00	0,00
III-5	18,25	0	0	18,25	100,00	0,00	0,00
III-6	19,50	1	1	2,75	14,10	0,00	0,00
III-7	43,50	2	2	1,50	3,45	0,00	0,00
III-8	37,00	1	1	19,00	51,35	0,00	0,00
III-9	13,75	1	1	3,75	27,27	0,00	0,00
III-10	43,00	1	1	1,50	3,49	0,00	0,00
III-11	53,75	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
III-12	31,00	1	1	1,50	4,84	2,25	7,26
III-13	51,75	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
III-14	36,50	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
III-15	24,75	1	1	4,75	19,19	0,00	0,00
III-16	33,75	2	2	0,00	0,00	4,00	11,85
III-17	70,75	1	1	3,25	4,59	0,00	0,00
III-18	47,50	4	4	34,00	71,58	2,00	4,21
III-19	40,00	2	2	8,25	20,63	0,00	0,00
III-20	48,50	2	3	11,00	22,68	1,50	3,09
III-21	5,25	1	1	0,50	9,52	0,00	0,00
III-22	66,50	3	4	2,50	3,76	0,00	0,00
III-23	28,00	1	1	3,75	13,39	0,00	0,00
III-24	53,75	2	2	5,00	9,30	0,00	0,00
III-25	35,75	2	2	9,00	25,17	0,00	0,00
III-26	46,50	1	1	2,25	4,84	0,00	0,00
III-27	47,75	2	2	43,25	90,58	3,00	6,28
III-28	40,50	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
III-29	19,75	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
III-30	21,25	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
III-31	22,25	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
III-32	22,25	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
III-33	16,75	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
III-34	65,75	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0
III-35	31,50	1	1	2,75	8,74	0,00	0,00
III-36	22,00	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00
III-37	222,00	1	1	6,75	3,04	4,00	1,80
III-38	101,25	2	3	15,75	15,56	31,50	31,11
III-39	32,25	1	1	0,00	0,00	0,00	0

Table 3: Materials borrowed from Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, in order of appearance in the *De institutione clericorum*.

<i>De inst. cleric.</i>	<i>De eccl. off.</i>
1,2 (De tribus ordinibus ecclesiae)	2,1 (De clericis)
1,3 (De tonsura clericorum)	2,4 (De tonsura) 2,5 (De sacerdotio)
1,4 (De gradibus ecclesiasticis)	2,5 (De sacerdotio)
1,5 (De ordine tripertito episcoporum)	2,6 (De choepiscopis, very modified)
1,6 (De presbyteris)	2,7 (De presbyteris)
1,7 (De diaconis)	2,8 (De diaconibus)
1,8 (De subdiaconis)	2,10 (De subdiaconis)
1,10 (De exorcistis)	2,13 (De exorcistis)
1,11 (De lectoribus et psalmistis)	2,11 (De lectoribus) 2,12 (De psalmistis)
1,26 (De catecumenis)	2,21 (De catechumenis, de exorcismo sale)
1,31 (De sacramento corporis et sanguinis domini)	1,18 (De sacrificio)
1,32 (De officio missae)	1,18 (De sacrificio)
1,33 (De ordine missae)	1,3 (De choris)
2,2 (De matutina celebratione)	1,23 (De matutinis)
2,4 (De tertiae horae celebratione)	1,18 (De sacrificio)
2,5 (De officio sextae)	1,19 (De tertiae, sextae, et nonae officiis, very extracted)
2,7 (De vespertina celebratione)	1,20 (De vespers)
2,8 (De nocturna vigiliarum celebratione)	1,21 (De completis)
2,9 (De nocturna vigiliarum celebratione)	1,22 (De vigiliarum antiquitate)
2,16 (De discretione orationis dominicae)	1,44 (De vario usu Ecclesiarum ecclesiarum, just a tiny fragment)
2,17 (De ieiunio IV., V., VII. et X. mensis)	1,43 (De diversorum dierum ac temporum jejuniis)
2,20 (De quadragesimali ieiunio)	1,37 (De jejunio quadragesimae)
2,21 (De ieiunio pentecostes)	1,38 (De jejunio pentecostes)
2,22 (De ieiunio ante natale domini, quod fit in nono et decimo mense)	1,40 (De jejunio kalendarum novembrium)
2,23 (De ceteris legitimis ieiuniis)	1,43 (De diversorum dierum ac temporum jejuniis)
2,26 (De origine biduanas sive triduanas)	1,42 (De triduanis jejunii consuetudine)
2,27 (De esu carniū et de potione vini)	1,45 (De carniū usu, vel piscium)
2,29 (De poenitentia)	2,17 (De poenitentibus)
2,31 (De nativitate domini)	1,26 (De natali domini)
2,32 (De epiphania)	1,27 (De epiphania)
2,35 (De die palmarum)	1,28 (De palmarum die)
2,36 (De caena domini)	1,29 (De coena domini)
2,37 (De parasceve)	1,30 (De parasceve)
2,38 (De sabbato sancto paschae)	1,31 (De sabbato paschae)
2,39 (De pascha domini)	1,32 (De die sancto paschae)
2,40 (De ascensione domini)	1,33 (De ascensione domini)
2,41 (De pentecosten)	1,34 (De pentecoste)
2,42 (De die dominica)	1,24 (De dominico die) 1,25 (De sabbato)
2,43 (De festivitibus sanctorum)	1,35 (De festivitibus martyrum)
2,44 (De sacrificiis pro defunctis offerendis)	1,18 (De sacrificio)
2,45 (De enceniis et unde omnis ordo ille originem duxerit)	1,36 (De encaeniis)
2,47 (De cantico)	1,4 (De canticis)
2,48 (De psalmis)	1,5 (De psalmis) 2,12 (De psalmistis)
2,49 (De hymnis)	1,6 (De hymnis)
2,50 (De antiphonis)	1,7 (De antiphonis)
2,51 (De responsoriis)	1,9 (De responsoriis)
2,52 (De lectionibus)	1,10 (De lectionibus) 2,11 (De lectoribus)
2,53 (De libris duorum testamentorum)	1,11 (De libris testamentorum)
2,54 (De scriptoribus sacrorum librorum)	1,12 (De scriptoribus sacrorum librorum)
2,55 (De benedictionibus)	1,17 (De benedictionibus)
2,56 (De symbolo)	2,23 (De symbolo)
2,57 (De regula fidei)	2,24 (De regula fidei)

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