



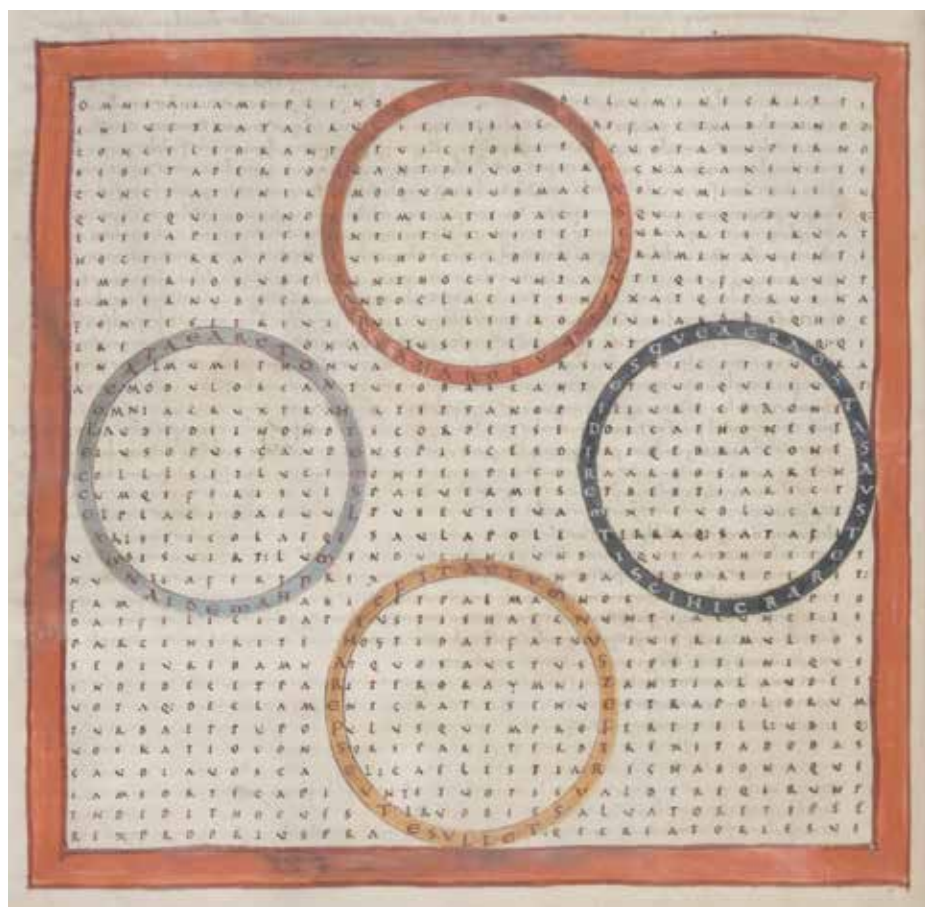
Yapp is a magazine created by the 2012-2013 Book and Digital Media Studies master's students at Leiden University.

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Hrabanus Maurus: 'Omnia iam splendent'. Amiens Bibliothèque municipale Ms. 0223, f. 012v.

Poet, geometer, architect, scribe:
The medieval cruciverbalist and the art of grid poetry
hilary drummond

The notion of a close affinity between a building and a well-crafted poem [...] is firmly rooted in classical periodic rhetoric. (xiii)

The art of making poetry was always, so it seems, associated in the human mind with the act of divine creation, the second world or nature of the poet being fashioned in imitation of, and in response to, the primary poësis of the deity. (p. 25)

The [figure] poet uses “simple geometrical constructions” as his basis. Such constructions embody the medieval concept of the divinity as either architect or geometer who imposes form on the cosmos by using a compass. (p. 40)

– R. Eriksen, *The Building in the Text*

The metaphors we use to describe language are often analogous with construction. Ideas, once formed, can be shaped. Questions are raised; conclusions are drawn. If an argument is unfounded, it must either be reinforced or torn down. Language itself is a human construct, and of all the uses of language it is no coincidence that poetry—perhaps more than any other literary genre—resembles most closely the Platonic concept of ποιησις [*poiêsis*] (“creation” or “making”) in both orthography and definition; it is created specifically for a purpose (τέλος [*télos*], “end”) apart from normal language use. Furthermore, presuming that poetry is often composed so that format is harmonious with content, it could then be argued that of all the written poetical genres figure poetry—a type of visual poetry which blends text with images, whose origins can be traced to Plato’s era—most closely adheres to the precept of *poiêsis*, since its format is not only harmonious but synonymous with content. However, since only fragments and witnesses of figure poetry remain from the time of Plato, we will move our focus to the Middle Ages, when Alcuin of York is credited with sparking a renaissance of the genre circa ninth century. Inspired by the poets of antiquity, monks and scribes of the medieval period created a number of exceptional figure poems, many of which have been preserved and allow for close study.

If, as certain authors have suggested, the relevance of the textual aspects

of medieval figure poetry has been understudied, then the study of the physical aspects and scribal practices used in the transcription of figure poetry is a woefully neglected area of scholarship. In light of this oversight, this essay will attempt to contribute by looking closely at some physical aspects of grid poetry, a subgenre of figure poetry suggested by the German scholar Ulrich Ernst. It will be argued that the text of grid poetry, taken as a separate entity, does not in itself qualify as poetry by any traditional standards; therefore it is only the combination of the text with the physical aspects of this kind of poetry—notably its particular layout, spatial orientation of “intext” (to be defined in the following section) and grid components—that allow it to be included in the poetical genre at all. By examining archival material, in particular the grid poetry of Hrabanus Maurus (of which many copies have been preserved), this essay will show that this type of figure poetry required a *mise-en-page* that differed from not only the transcription of standard, linear verse, but all other subgenres of figure poetry as well, as defined by Ernst in the following section. Unconventional scribal practices, including horizontal pricking, are further evidence for the significance of physical aspects in the definition of grid poetry. By examining a variety of these physical aspects, it will be shown that the construction and layout of grid poetry is integrally linked with its usage, meaning that accurate design and transcription is essential for the reader to comprehend the various levels of textual (and visual) meaning.

Hrabanus Maurus and the genre of figure poetry

Figure poetry, ‘about which very little has as yet been written’, is defined by Ulrich Ernst as follows:

...In the broadest sense, a lyrical text [...] constructed in such a way that the words – sometimes with the help of purely pictorial means – form a graphic figure which in relation to the verbal utterance has both a mimetic and symbolic function.

Ernst acknowledges that there exist conflicting or overlapping definitions of the various kinds of figure poetry, and in the interest of clarifying terminology he offers his own definition of a separate “species” of figure poetry consisting of five subgenres. The unifying trait of these subgenres is that unlike other types of figure poetry, like micographics or calligrammes, they all utilize at least two textual levels (the second referred to as “intext”).¹ These are: the outline poem, the cubus, the spatial line poem, the intextual imago-poem, and the grid poem. For the purposes of this essay we will discuss only the final subgenre, grid poetry, which Ernst defines as:

...constructed on an equilateral or rectangular text-surface into which colored versus intexti are set. These are formed in the manner of an acrostic [...] into a figurative network of words, which is both mimetic in shape and symbolic in meaning. While in the outline form the figura is constituted by the simple text alone, in the grid poem it is the intext rather than the square or rectangular base text that determines the figure.

It should be noted that correct colouring of the intext, whether by rubrication or other kinds of pigmentation, is so essential to the understanding of the second textual level of the poem that it is included in the definition (fig. 1). It should also be noted that since grid poetry is a subgenre of figure poetry, the two terms can be used interchangeably when discussing grid poetry.

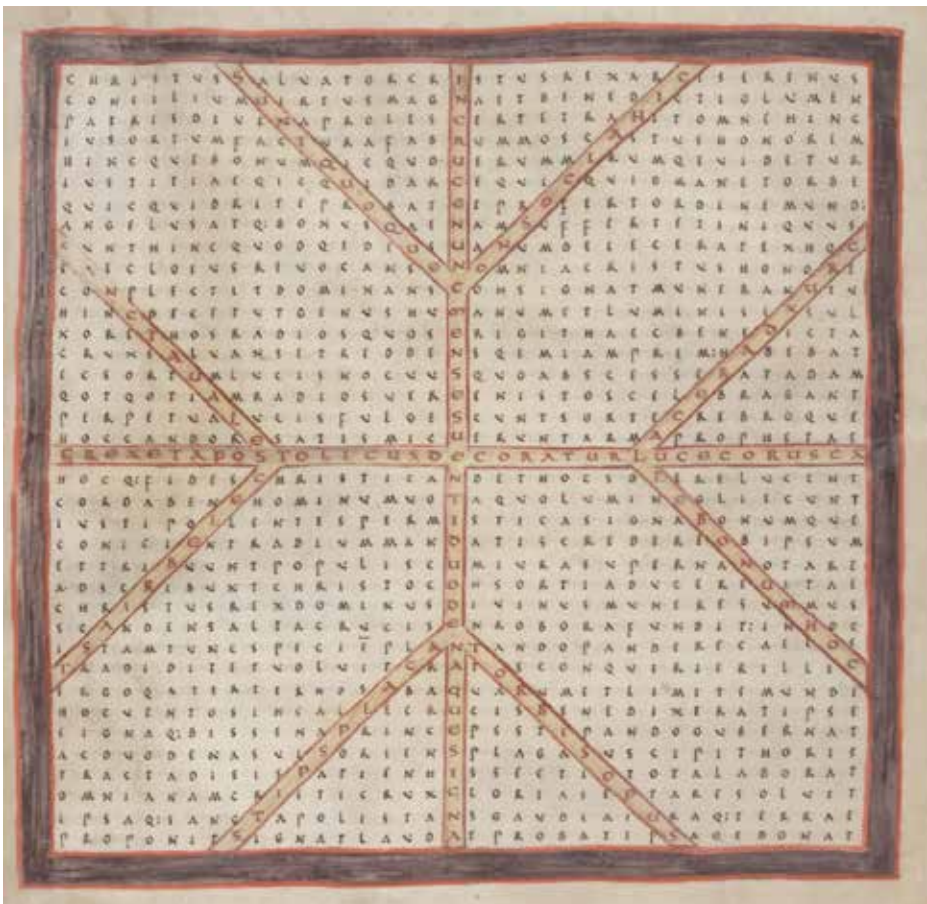


Fig. 1: Example of intext in Hrabanus Maurus' 'Christus Saluator'. Amiens BM Ms. 0223, f. 013v.

The earliest known records of figure poetry date back to the outline poems of Simmias of Rhodes (c. 300 BCE) and Laevius (c. 100 BCE) as well as the acrostics of Theocritus (c. 270 BCE). The genre is traced in one form or another by Higgins throughout the Roman period, including the impressive acrostic works of Fortunatus Venantius (c. 540-c. 605), some of which were presented as images of buildings. Little is known about the transmission of figure poetry between the period of late Roman antiquity and the Carolingian Renaissance; what is known is that the genre enjoyed a revival in popularity after Alcuin of York (c. 735 – 804) presented a collection of figure poems to Charlemagne's court, including a libelli containing the well-documented *Carmina Figurata* of Optatianus Porphyrius, a fourth century exiled Roman citizen (fig. 2). Alcuin was personally interested in figure poetry and authored several acrostic grid poems. His work inspired several other medieval monks and scribes such as Joseph Scottus (who had studied under Alcuin at York) and Abbo of Fleury (c. 945 – 1004) to try their hands at figure poetry. It was also via Alcuin that Hrabanus Maurus (c. 780 – 856), then a young monk at Fulda who would later become the Archbishop of Mainz, first came into contact with the genre and began experimenting with it, authoring and transcribing his own figure poems, many (but not all) of them grid poems. His seminal work is a collection of thirty figure poems (twenty-eight meditations on the cross and two prefatory poems) known as *In laudem sanctae cruce*s. According to Perrin, eighty-one copies of this work survive.²

Although of course it is impossible to definitively comment on the mental, emotional, or spiritual state of a medieval monk engaged in authoring a figure poem, the complexity with which they are constructed could indicate that the work was more than just an act of divine meditation and communion through textual composition. In fact, it is entirely possible that constructing grid poetry was a medieval game of solitary wordplay that both entertained and pleased the monks.³ Edwards suggests that this was the case with Porphyrius,⁴ and Sedgwick described figure poems as 'ancient jeux d'esprit'. It is a clever double-headed phrase that invokes both religious and personal satisfaction,

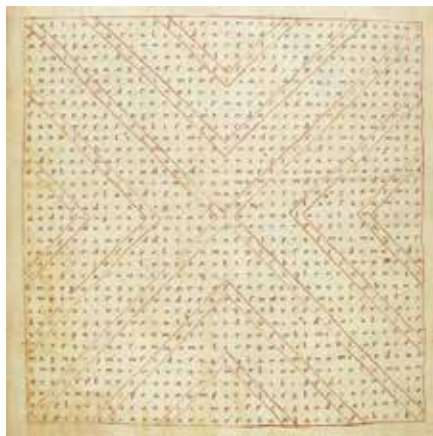


Fig. 2: Optatianus Porphyrius, Poem X of *Carmina Figurata*. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 2421, f. 051v.

and opens the discussion to further scholarly inquiry into the culture of medieval people at play, especially those constrained by the strict tenets of a religious order.

The architecture of layout

Scribal convention for the layout of figure poetry differed greatly from that of more standard, linear verse being transcribed during the Carolingian period. According to Clemens and Graham, ‘in the early medieval period poetry written in the vernacular was usually not laid out in verse lines but had the same lay-out as prose [...] [it] was structured by meter and alliteration rather than rhyme [...] and used punctuation as a way of marking the meter’. Latin poetry, however, was copied linearly, with each poetic line assigned a new line on the page. Punctuation in Latin verse was used in the same way as prose, although ‘many scribes preferred to place these punctuation marks at the far right [...] so that the punctuation formed a column that paralleled the column of initials on the left side of the page’.

Although the symmetrical transcription of initials to punctuation in standard verse indicates a distant relationship to the symmetrical construction of grid poetry, its layout is nevertheless in stark contrast to the layout of both vernacular and Latin verse in that it uses none of the structured elements associated with either: no alliteration, meter, line-breaks, stanzas, rhyme or punctuation. In the following section (‘The definition of the intext’) it will be shown that the base text of figure poetry was intentionally badly written in order to accommodate the symmetry and intext. If this is taken to be true, and if it is also the case that the base text apparently contains no basic poetic elements (stanza, rhyme, etc.), and if it is furthermore not transcribed using the same scribal conventions as standard verse was, how then can it be described as poetry at all? As mentioned previously, it is the argument of this essay that the concept of *poiêsis*, or the significance of the construction or “making” of the poem, and by proxy its layout and visual presentation, is precisely why it is considered to be poetry.

It should be noted that one element figure poetry might have in common with standard verse is that from the ninth century ‘it became common to begin each line of poetry with a capital letter.’ Occasionally in grid poetry the first letter of each line (the initials that formed the vertical acrostic line) as well as the intext would sometimes be transcribed slightly larger than the rest of the base text to highlight the different textual levels, but more often than not the size of the letters would remain uniform throughout. Furthermore, like Latin verse, in grid poetry each “poetic” line was given its own line on the page, but the lines were written according to the constraint of the number of letters per line rather than a semantic or poetic division.

The lack of spaces between the words of the base text is also of interest,

as this practice was quickly implemented for standard verse but never adopted for grid poetry, as it would have disturbed the symmetry (and therefore the geometry) of the grid. Laying out the base text with no spaces is a practice that continues today in the example of modern crossword puzzles. In medieval figure poetry, is it simply a question of presentation (no room in the grid for spaces, and aesthetically displeasing to have gaps in the symmetry of the grid), or is it more complicated than that? Did the lack of spacing indicate that the reading of figure poetry was a form of *lectio divina*, or prayer through textual meditation?⁵ Was figure poetry meant to be read aloud? Perhaps not, if the “quality” of the base text is judged by so many scholars as poetically substandard. But if it was intended to be vocalized, the initial acrostic line as well as the intext could be viewed as a lovely caesurae after the base text had been read: the reader would need to lift his eyes (and perhaps take a breath) before returning to a different part of the page and reading the acrostic line and each intext, as they are often physically separated on the page by several word lengths. They are also often written vertically, crossing the base text; this unusual format requires a different way of reading altogether. Again, this unconventional reading practice is all due to the multi-tiered construction of figure poetry.

Finally, a brief note on the script. While the *Carmina* of Porphyrius survives only in fragmentary form, all known copies were transcribed in a display script, most commonly Rustic Capitals, which Parkes claims to be the oldest Roman book hand. This is also true for other figure poetry of the ancient period attributed to Simmias and Venantius. As the genre moved into the Middle Ages, the tradition of transcribing the base text in Rustic Capitals or another form of majuscule script continued. This further differentiates the transcription of figure poetry from other genres of verse, since majuscule scripts were mainly used for titles and headers, not for large blocks of text. Parkes attributes this consistent use of Rustic Capitals to the connection between a scribe selecting a typeface and the significance of ‘certain texts’ (in this case, figure poetry) to a reader:

When a particular script had been preferred for a certain text, or kind of text, which had a special significance for readers, the image of the handwriting could itself acquire an emblematic significance by association. Carolingian scribes developed a hierarchy of scripts incorporating ancient scripts, but with its own conventions. The rank of a script in this hierarchy was eventually determined by its function in the layout and presentation of the text on the page. A primary display script was employed for titles [...] The choice of scripts for these different functions was usually made by scribes. Display scripts were sometimes used for text, most notably in copies of figure poems.

If the choice of a particular script by a scribe was determined by its 'function in the layout and presentation of the text' what does the choice of display scripts for figure poetry say about its function in medieval times? This question, as well as the lack of base-text spacing and how it relates to medieval monastic reading practices, are surely topics for further inquiry.

The artistry of the intext

Figure poetry was considered a form of religious art that incorporated aspects of both image and word, presenting them as a single unit, while the three levels of comprehension—first, the acrostic lines of poetry that make up the background of the grid, then the secondary poems embedded in the primary text (intext), and finally the visual pattern or image (or sometimes even a third layer of text) that became apparent when the intext was highlighted—indicate a mystical relationship with the unification of the trinity and further strengthen Chazelle's argument that both the creation and the reading of figure poetry were considered a way of communing with God. The central axis of the grid forms a natural cross, and the theme of crucifixion is seen throughout. It has even been suggested that rubrication on the central axis could represent the blood of Jesus on the cross (figures 3-4).

During the period of antiquity, Higgins claims, the figure poems of Porphyrius 'in their original form, according to the scholia in the Kluge and Polara editions, [were] executed in precious metal letters on dark blue or purple

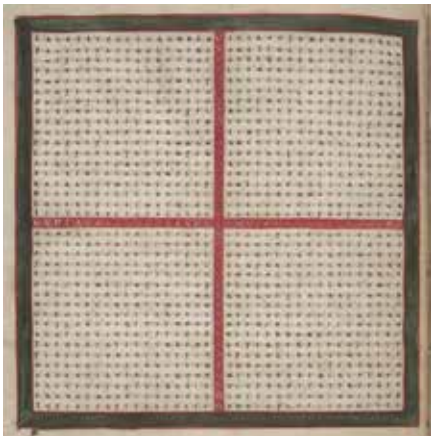


Fig. 3: Simple intext showing the central cross image in Hrabanus Maurus' *Ergo prophetarum*. Amiens BM Ms. 0223, f. 031v.

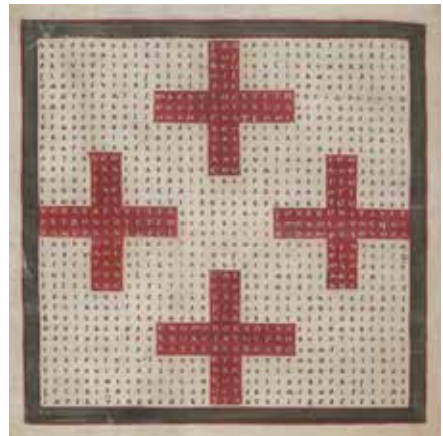


Fig. 4: More complex intextual images of the cross in Hrabanus Maurus' *Arbor odore potens*. Amiens BM Ms. 0223, f. 018v.

backgrounds'. Purple pigment was difficult to come by and very expensive, indicating that the poetry held a relatively high societal status (whether literary, religious, artistic—or perhaps all three—is impossible to say). In the Middle Ages, figure poetry continued to be highly regarded. Perrin describes a luxurious illuminated copy held at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, and other richly decorated copies made at Fulda and intended as gifts. However, there also survive several simpler, unattributed copies, demonstrating that there was a popular demand for the poetry as well.

As mentioned earlier, Ernst has already noted the importance of rubrication or other forms of colouration to figure poetry in general, and to grid poetry in particular. It is so important, in fact, that he includes it as part of the subgenre's definition. In grid poetry, not only does physicality follow function, but is synonymous with it. If the intext was not instantly visible, the user would be left with simply a symmetrical block of letters. Granted, the linguistic and grammatical gymnastics required to construct legibility within such a grid is still impressive, but scholars—such as Higgins—who have studied the text in depth seem to have reached a consensus that, independently of the rubrication, the text does not measure up as poetry. In the base text of the grid, the authors were often forced to misspell words or use questionable grammar in order to create the initial acrostic line as well as the intext. Higgins claims that Porphyrius' language 'was rather flat and extravagant, his imagery opaque. But that he is remembered at all is probably due to his visually striking works'. In fact, the acrostic lines were sometimes so difficult to read that in case of some figure poems, the grid poems were transcribed in addition to a more legible prose "translation", complete with annotations.

By comparing copies made over the years and in different locations, it seems that choice of colour for the borders and intext was largely arbitrary and left up to the scribe or the user to determine (compare figures 5-6), as long as it was there, although the intext was most often coloured with red. This contrasts with the use of rubrication in almost all other situations, as according to Clemens and Graham it was most commonly used for titles or underscoring text.

The geometry of the grid

That grid poetry necessitates a grid might seem like a redundant statement, but the implications of drawing a grid in medieval times required calculations beyond the conventional line ruling required for standard verse. Firstly, the scribe would have to know exactly how many squares the grid (or lattice, as it is often described in the literature) required before beginning to draw, meaning he would need to count or calculate the number of letters in the poem. According to Gwara, scribes marked up their page using references when copying figure poetry:



Fig. 5: Hrabanus Maurus' 'Christus, amor, uotum' with red intext. Amiens BM Ms. 0223, f. 027v.



Fig. 6: A later transcription of the same poem. The scribe made different choices when colouring the intext. BNF, MS lat. 2421, f. 025v.

... lattice references first provide the vertical coordinate followed by the horizontal coordinate. Only points at which the acrostic changes direction are indicated, even through the intervening letters comprise part of the intexta. A semicolon divides sections of the intexta.

Gwara uses 'coordinate' to describe referential points in the physical layout of the poem, and it comes as no surprise that mathematical references are found throughout the literature when describing figure poetry. Here it becomes obvious how the graphic elements of a figure poem's intext are quite literal as they are "drawn" on a graph, or a diagram that shows the relation between typically two variable quantities, each measured along one of a pair of axes at right angles. These axes form natural "crosses" in the grid, creating a satisfying harmony between the visual presentation of the poem and its subject—which was invariably dedicated to God—and showing a quite synonymous relationship between form and content. Williamson also writes about the use of coordinate grids in manuscripts of the Middle Ages:

...point-based grids were used to emphasize the focusing potential of the coordinate, either in and of itself or as the conjunction of two axes. This constructive logic supported the late medieval grid's symbolic status of a set of qualitative vertical relations between the superphysical above and the material reality below, which were divinely generated by means of point coordinates conceived as "thresholds".

Note the use of the word ‘constructive’, indicating the grid’s creative relationship to *poiêsis* as suggested in the introduction. Furthermore, quite apropos of our subject of poetry, a graph has the secondary meaning of a visual symbol that represents a unit of sound or other feature of speech, including not only letters of the alphabet but also punctuation marks. Alas, if the term “graphic” had not unfortunately taken on the connotation of “explicitly violent” in modern usage, this author would suggest that the more accurate term of “graphic poetry” should replace “grid poetry”.

The number of squares in the grid, or graph, corresponded to an odd number of letters composing the horizontal lines, and either an equal or greater amount of odd-numbered squares composing the vertical lines (not all grid poems were equilateral – some were rectangular) (fig. 10). Gwara continues:

Ultimately, Porphyry’s *Carmen 2* was one of the most imitated acrostic formats [...] Abbo’s acrostics follow a long-established pattern in their use of the 35-square lattice. On occasion, Venantius Fortunatus uses a grid of only 33 squares (Christ’s age at the crucifixion) and Hrabanus Maurus as many as 37.

The suggestion that the number thirty-three is a reference to Christ’s age presents the idea that the number of squares in the grid, though always odd-numbered (another tradition that continues today, in the construction of modern crossword puzzles), was far from arbitrary. Again, if sections one and two have not already provided enough evidence that the physical aspects of grid poetry are what defines it as poetry, here is another example of form expressing content through the visual representation of the cross as (literally) central to all things. Paired with the number of letters in the grid corresponding to Christ’s age, this practice suggests that the central cross caused by an odd-numbered lattice is not merely an aesthetic consideration. It suggests the possibility that above and beyond the already established trinity of understanding—base text



Fig. 7: An image of Christ is revealed through the coloured intext in Maurus’ ‘O Christe salvator’. BNF, MS lat. 2421, f. oiv.

acrostic, intext, image/letter/pattern—every figure poem might incorporate a fourth dimension of complexity in the hidden form of numerological and gematric calculation. This is a subject of much speculation among figure poetry scholars, and it is the mathematical nature of the grid that provides the context for this kind of speculation.⁶

Since it has already been established in the first two sections that the visual impact of the poetry was as important as the text itself, spatial symmetry of the lattice was essential and achieved through the practice of pricking. Although vertical pricking was a very common, standard practice, horizontal pricking with a wheel was only used in a case where a perfectly symmetrical grid or table was required. Tables that did not need to be symmetrical (for example, where the columns were of varying width but the rows stayed identical) were only pricked vertically, where horizontal rulings were made individually and as needed. Apart from figure poetry, in what other situation would a scribe need to prick both horizontally and vertically? Graphs are synonymous with charts and diagrams and most commonly associated with scientific or mathematical data sets, astronomical almanacs or geometric diagrams (suggesting perhaps a further logical connection with the gematric aspects of figure poetry). Apart from the unique exception of figure poetry, it is extremely rare to see other literary works of prose or poetry laid out in a grid format. It is therefore not too far-fetched to suggest that in medieval times, figure poetry might have been seen as a complementary bridge between the sciences, art and God, showing again that the physical form of the grid (coordinate-based central axes depicting a cross) was in perfect harmony with the content, or intention (divine communion through textual meditation) of the work.

Finally, when considering figure poetry in the context of medieval Christianity it is important to note that the physicality of the grid was not only relevant to the visual interpretation of the poem, but to its symbolic interpretation as well, as Williamson has shown.⁷

Conclusion

Although the Latinate term “cruciverbalist” is a relatively modern neologism and most often applied to constructors of crossword puzzles, when deconstructed into its phonemic components it can be interpreted as simply “one who practices crossing words”. This term is quite applicable to any participant in the creation, transcription or consumption of grid poetry. To conclude, we make the fitting “crossing” from modernity back to antiquity, where we refer once more to the school of Platonic philosophy at the age when the earliest examples of figure poetry were being recorded. There it was taught that excellence in *poiêsis* is achieved by τεχνη [technê] (“skill”), and it would be difficult to argue against the

presence of highly refined technê shown in the composition and transcription of medieval figure poetry. These cruciverbalists demonstrated geometrical and design skills akin to those employed by early architects, although their temples were built from ink rather than stone. It is precisely these specialized technical skills that were required in order to allow correct reading, comprehension, visual and symbolic interpretation of the poetry to occur. Any errors committed during the design or transcription process would have resulted in a flawed work. Therefore, as this essay has endeavoured to show, it can be argued that its complex and sophisticated process of construction makes grid poetry, among all poetical genres, not only an important subgenre of figure poetry but perhaps the most poetical of all.

Notes

- 1 Ernst refers here to his colleague E. Kuhs, who agrees with him that poetry in which 'intext' develops as the main figured component should be seen as a genre unto itself. She calls this genre *Buchstabendichtung* or 'letter-poems' (Ernst, pp. 6-7), although no official definition in English yet exists.
- 2 Michel Perrin, a leading scholar of figure poetry, argues that the collection should be known as *In honorem Sanctae cruce* rather than the more familiar title, citing not only written instructions by Maurus 'donné à l'explicit du livre I par la totalité des manuscrits du IX^{ème} siècle', but that he was possibly making reference to his predecessor of the genre, Porphyrius:

Quelle est la difference entre les deux termes – laus et honor –, dont le sens est malgré tout très proche ? "In laudem sanctae cruce" rapproche le titre de l'œuvre de la louange du moine, du religieux et dont c'est pour ainsi dire la fonction : la poésie et sa rumination sont prière aux yeux de Dieu. "In honorem sanctae cruce" a une tonalité un peu autre, plus antique tardive et impériale sans doute... Ainsi, chez Porphyrius – le modèle de Raban –, le mot honos, employé seulement quatre fois, revient deux fois dans le poème 5 (vers 10 et 29) où il fait question très précisément de la gloire dont se couvrent Constantin et le César Crispus (Perrin, xxvi – xxix).
- 3 'The joy of a scribe in his task is stressed by E.K. Rand in his essay, "A Romantic Approach to the Middle Ages". To exemplify this attitude of the medieval copyist, the author chooses a couplet written in praise of the scribe by the ninth century abbot, scholar and scribe Hrabanus Maurus. I quote from Dr. Rand's essay: "Hrabanus is thinking not only of the writer's service in giving the precious of sacred writ its due immortality. Pleasure accompanies his task. Loving care goes in the tracing of the words and the joy of an artist accompanies their making.

Nam digiti scripto laetantur, lumina visu
Mens volvet sensu mystics verba dei
'Fingers delight in the writing and eyes in the sight of the letters
While there indwells in his mind mystic communion with God.'

 This is the joy, the sacred joy of the artist in his art.' (cited in W. Marry, *The Mediaeval Scribe*, p. 214) .
- 4 'The *Carmina* can thus be divided into at least two separate subsets. An early subset was created for personal enjoyment and represents the evolution of the creative process, much like the preliminary drafts of a modern scholarly article. A later subset, representing the best that Optatianus had to offer, was intended for imperial presentation, in the same way that a modern historian presents only his best and most refined work for publication.' (Edwards, 'The Carmina

of Publilius Optatianus Porphyrius and the Creative Process', p. 449).

- 5 J. Robertson on the questions of spacing and lectio divina:
 'Early medieval authorities testify, and modern studies of the manuscript have shown, that from the second century CE onward, the spaces and interpuncta which had been places between words disappeared, leaving the reader to contend with unseparated text (scriptura continua). In the era of Saint Benedict, a monk making his first approach to a text needed to vocalize in order to decipher the writing.'
- Many of Robertson's theories of lectio divina are applicable to the reading of figure poetry.
- 6 D. Howlett has produced a mind-bending analysis of computistic and gematric phenomena in the acrostic grid poetry of Abbo Fleury. See his "Computus in the Works of Victorius of Aquitaine and Abbo of Fleury and Ramsey" in I. Warntjes and D.Ó. Cróinin (eds), "The Easter Controversy of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages." *Studia Traditionis Theologiae* 10 (2011): 288–324.
- 7 Williamson writes extensively on religious symbolism and the grid in Medieval Christianity in 'The Grid: History, Use, Meaning':
 The true basis of the grid (and of God's design plan which it symbolizes) is in fact the cross itself. This conclusion is fully consistent with the medieval interpretation of the cross in which the horizontal and the vertical beams are seen to represent – as is Christ Himself – the conjunction of heaven and earth respectively. It is the point of heavenly and earthly conjunction that is of fundamental importance here (i.e. of God becoming flesh) rather than the perpendicular bypass of two axes. The combined emphasis on coordinate and intersection was thus indissolubly linked in the symbolism of the point-based grid in the later Middle Ages (p. 18).

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