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TOWERS IN THE MUD: HONORIUS AUGUSTODUNENSIS THROUGH THE LENS OF
PEDAGOGY

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the thought of Honorius Augustodunensis with special attention to his understanding of creation and to his pedagogical method. Honorius was a popularizer, a pedagogue, and a talented author notable not only for his success in appealing to a wide medieval audience, but also for his synthesis of a bewildering variety of sources into simple, easily memorized forms which were used in daily pastoral care. He represents a vital and important strand of thought, centered on creation and the liturgy, which profoundly shaped the society of the Middle Ages.

As Honorius left us with virtually no biographical information, my investigation begins by drawing out his character through an examination of the few biographical tidbits that he does provide—that he was a reforming priest and schoolmaster. From there, I explore his use of sources, particularly his unique appropriation of the thought of John Scottus Eriugena. I then detail Honorius's theology of creation and contemplation, noting that the core idea which animates his work is a vision of the cosmos as a harmonious and beautiful salvific engine that inexorably draws humanity back towards its creator. I follow with a study of Honorius's authorial methods—his use of dialogue, rhyme, and ekphrasis—arguing that these tools are a concrete manifestation of his theology, intended to shape his readers' memories in order to enable them to attain contemplative vision. Finally, I consider the underlying harmony and unity of his catalog, allowing a portrait of the man to emerge from his words. With this portrait, we see that Honorius is a profoundly incarnational thinker, one who understands pedagogy as the key to the salvation of the individual and of the cosmos as a whole. It is a striking vision, yet the very act of making it explicit led to the erosion of the unity that sustained it. Honorius set the stage for the intellectual transformations of the twelfth century and beyond, yet his own vision

faded away, as did his identity. A victim of his own success, but a window for us into the intellectual ferment of the twelfth century.

Chapter I - *Discipulus, Scholasticus, Presbyter, Inclusus*

Despite an expansive and extremely popular catalog of works, Honorius Augustodunensis remains a mystery. Even to his contemporaries, Honorius was an author defined largely by his words, rather than his life. They cite his autobiographical remarks, list his works, and move on, showing little to no awareness of the person who lay behind those works. He is defined by and obscured within the text he produced, an outcome which may be precisely what he desired, but which has undoubtedly contributed to the benign neglect that plagues the contemporary study of his works. How are we to discuss an author who resists any attempt to situate him amongst his peers or among the dominant schools and intellectual currents of his era?

Certainly, the early part of his career was marked by a desire for anonymity. In the *Elucidarium*—the first and most popular of his works, a handbook of answers to common theological questions—he writes in the preface that “I desired my name be hidden in silence, lest consuming envy order its own to neglect a useful work through neglect.”¹ There was perhaps good reason to seek refuge from the *venenoso dente* of the envious, as quite a few of Honorius’s positions had the potential to generate opprobrium.² He was a vociferous advocate of reform, railing extensively against unworthy clerics, married priests, uneducated monks and simoniac bishops. All of whom might take exception to his invective, particularly when it verged on suggesting that they were unable to perform the sacraments. He campaigned vigorously for the rights of the Church against secular authority, fanning the flames of controversy in an era plagued by the struggle between ecclesiastical and secular authority. His theological positions

¹ Nomen autem meum ideo volui silentio contegi, ne invidia tabescens suis juberet utile opus contemnendo negligi, Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarium*, in *L’Elucidarium et les Lucidaires*, ed. Yves Le Fèvre (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1954), prologue, p. 359.

² Honorius Augustodunensis, *Imago mundi*, ed. V.I.J. Flint, *Archive D’Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 49 (1982), incipit, p. 48.

too approach the limits of orthodoxy. He relied heavily on the writings of John Scottus Eriugena, even going so far as to write a digest of the Carolingian scholar's *Periphyseon*, despite the air of heresy which attended Eriugena's works. Neither the concern for reform nor his borrowings from Eriugena are mere footnotes to his catalog, both are indeed absolutely central to his authorial project, and thus anonymity might have been a means to allow him to continue with his project in the face of the resistance his positions engendered.

On the other hand, there is some indication that Honorius's desire for anonymity relented as his career progressed. By the time he completed the second recension of the *Inevitabile*, likely very early in his career, he had no qualms signing his works, even trading on his reputation as a talented author and exegete in the prologues of his later works. He tells us that is due to the success of his commentary on the Psalms that he is tasked with commenting on the Song of Songs and the brothers requesting the *Sigillum* explain that it is because the "spirit of wisdom" at work in the *Elucidarium* revealed so much to them that they now ask Honorius to explain the mysteries of the liturgical readings for Mary's feast day.³ Furthermore, he displays evident pride in his writings, particularly the Biblical commentaries, in the autobiographical passage that concludes *De luminaribus*. There, he records that he has explained the Psalms in, "a wonderful manner," while the commentary on the Song of Songs is "such that it seems never to have been expounded before."⁴ Thus, the desire for anonymity may have stemmed from the uncertainty of a new author, fading as his reputation became established or perhaps as external circumstances enabled him to publish with less fear of reprisal.

³ *In cantica canticorum*, PL 172:347C. *Sigillum*, PL172:495D. On the shift from anonymity to signing his works "Honorius," see Walter Hannam, "The 'Inevitabile' of Honorius Augustodunensis" (PhD diss., Boston College, 2013), 36-7.

⁴ *Expositionem totius Psalterii cum Canticis miro modo; Cantica canticorum exposuit, ita ut prius exposita non videantur. De luminaribus*, PL172:234A.

Yet, it is distinctly possible that signing his works “Honorius” is another veil with which Honorius preserved his obscurity. The name was not common in the twelfth century, and a number of scholars have suggested that it was a pseudonym or perhaps a name taken upon entrance into the monastery, possibly inspired by the sainted Honorius of Canterbury, a member of the Gregorian mission whose relics had been translated and *vita* composed shortly before Honorius began his literary career. Centuries of scholarship have yielded no definitive answer on the question. Flint’s suggestion that his name may have been Henry is, like many of the theories surrounding Honorius’s identity, plausible but ultimately too speculative to endorse with any certainty.⁵ Thus, even Honorius’s name is ephemeral, perhaps a mere placeholder for “the man who wrote these works,” it becomes an expression of his literary output, another way in which he resists our attempts at biography.

Honorius does, however, offer an autobiographical fragment in one of his works, a passage that seems to offer us some solid ground to stand upon. Yet, even this apparent solidity proves illusory. The passage comes at the conclusion of *De luminaribus*, a catalog in four parts of the authors of the church relying in turn on Jerome, Gennadius, and Isidore, followed by Honorius’s addition of seventeen authors including himself to their lists. The entry on Honorius, which concludes the book, describes him thus:

Honorius, priest and schoolmaster of the church Augustodunensis, produced little works not to be despised, the *Elucidarium* divided into three books: the first on Christ, the second on the Church, and the third on the future life; a book on Holy Mary, which is entitled *The Seal of Holy Mary*; one on free will, which is called *Inevitable*; one book of sermons, which is named *The Mirror of the Church*; on the incontinence of priests, which is called *The Stumbling Block*; a *Summa of the whole*, on every kind of history; *The Jewel of the Soul*, on the divine offices; the *Sacramentary*, on the sacraments; *The New Cosmos*, on the first six days; a *Eucharistion*, on the Body of the Lord; *Knowledge of Life*, on God

⁵ Flint’s case is based to a large degree on a set of English manuscripts attributing Honorius’s works to a certain Henricus (Valerie Flint, “Henricus of Augsburg and Honorius Augustodunensis: Are they the Same Person?” *Revue Bénédictine* 92 [1982]: 148-158, further developed in Valerie Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg* [Aldershot: Variorum, 1995], 117-8).

and eternal life; *Image of the World*, on the disposition of the world; *The Highest Glory*, on the apostolic and the imperial; *The Ladder of Heaven*, on the grades of visions; *On the Soul and God*, some excerpts from Augustine set down as a dialogue; an *Exposition of the Whole Psalter*, with the canticles in a wonderful manner. He expounded the Song of Songs such that it seems never to have been expounded before; the Gospels that blessed Gregory did not expound; the *Key of Nature*, on the natures of things; a *Refreshment of the Mind*, on the feasts of the Lord and of the saints; the *Food of Life*, on the principal feasts; this book *On the Lights of the Church*. He flourished under Henry V. Who will write after him, posterity will see.⁶

The association of Honorius with a specific church Augustodunensis, the church “of imperial height,” appears to set a definitive locus for his career, at least part of it, but the precise identity of this church has proven elusive. The seemingly obvious answer is Autun, called Augustodunum since the time of Augustus himself and to which the only other use of Augustodunensis in Honorius’s catalog—a passage in the Jerome-derived section of *De luminaribus* describing St. Reticus, bishop of Autun in the fourth century—unambiguously refers.⁷ However, there is absolutely no other evidence pointing to Honorius’s tenure in that city. There are no specific references to Autun or Burgundy in his writings. Indeed, the only places that merit special mention are Canterbury, referenced in the prologue of the *Speculum ecclesiae*, and Regensburg in the *Imago mundi*, where the city is given special mention.⁸ Honorius’s

⁶ Honorius, Augustodunensis Ecclesiae presbyter et scholasticus, non spernenda opuscula edidit: Elucidarium in tribus libellis; primum de Christo, secundum de Ecclesia, tertium de futura vita distinxit. Libellum De sancta Maria, qui Sigillum sanctae Mariae intitulatur: unum De libero arbitrio, qui Inevitabile dicitur: unum libellum Sermonum, qui Speculum Ecclesiae nuncupatur: De incontinentia sacerdotum, qui Offendiculum appellatur; Summam totius, de omnimoda historia; Gemmam animae de divinis officiis Sacramentarium de sacramentis, Neocosmum de primis sex diebus, Eucharistion de corpore Domini; Cognitionem vitae de Deo et aeterna vita; Imaginem mundi de dispositione orbis; Summam gloriam de Apostolico et Augusto; Scalam coeli, De gradibus visionum, De anima et de Deo quaedam de Augustino excerpta, sub dialogo exarata; Expositionem totius Psalterii cum Canticis miro modo; Cantica canticorum exposuit, ita ut prius exposita non videantur. Evangelia, quae beatus Gregorius non exposuit; Clavem physicae de naturis rerum; Refectionem mentium; De festis Domini et sanctorum. Pabulum vitae, de praecipuis festis; hunc libellum De Luminaribus Ecclesiae. Sub quinto Henrico floruit. Quis post hunc scripturus sit, posteritas videbit. *De luminaribus*, PL172:232B-234A. The authenticity of the passage has been challenged. However, the sources for the first three books of *De luminaribus*—Jerome, Genadius, and Isidore—all included similar autobiographical entries in their own works (*De luminaribus*, PL172:211A-212B, 222A, and 228C, respectively). For Honorius to do the same is entirely reasonable. Finally, all the early manuscripts of the text contain the entry, thus if it was an interpolation by another hand, it was a near immediate one (Flint, *Honorius*, 98).

⁷ *De luminaribus*, PL172:206A.

⁸ *Imago mundi*, I, 23, 60.

historical writings, in both the *Summa totius* and *Imago mundi*, are predominantly concerned with the Empire as are his discussions of reform. Outside of his writings, there is no trace of Honorius in Autun, no likely mentions in monastic histories, in necrologies, or any significant presence of his manuscripts. Finally, whether Autun was referred to as Augustodunensis at all in the early twelfth century is questionable.⁹

In light of the problems associating Honorius with Autun, scholars have turned to other candidates for the designation Augustodunensis, with suggestions ranging from Ireland to England to southern Germany. It is the last of these that is the most compelling locus for the bulk of his career. Germany has the highest concentration of Honorius's manuscripts, and this fact coupled with the special mention of Regensburg in the *Imago*, that the city of Augsburg appears to have been referred to as Augustodunensis by writers in the time in which Honorius wrote, and the likelihood that the dedicatees of his writings can be plausibly identified with figures in the vicinity of Regensburg, creates a plausible case for the assertion that the bulk of his career was spent in that region.

However, there is the possibility that "Augustodunensis" is being used by Honorius as a facade to conceal his true identity; that it is some sort of wordplay or riddle designed to disguise his actual location. If so, such wordplay is relatively unique in Honorius's corpus. The possible exception is his description of Eriugena, also in *De luminaribus*. The entry has been inserted amidst Isidore's entries, between the two fifth century authors and Eriugena is described as "Joannes Scotus vel Chrysostomus."¹⁰ Was this placement an honest mistake or an attempt to

⁹ H. Menhardt was unable to find any contemporary references to Autun as "Augustodunensis," but did find reference to the designation being applied to locations in Germany, particularly Augsburg, H. Menhardt, "Der Nachlass des Honorius Augustodunensis" *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 89, no. 1, (1958): 42.

¹⁰ *De luminaribus*, PL172:222C.

disguise the heterodox thinker who served as such a fundamental source for Honorius? We have no indication either way, but it should be noted that using the designation “Chrysostomus” for Eriugena was not unique to Honorius as Anselm of Laon does the same in his *Sententiae*.¹¹ Furthermore, the auto-biographical passage itself gives no indication that Honorius is attempting such deception. It is otherwise written in a matter-of-fact tone, so perhaps he assumes that his readers will simply know of what church he is speaking.

Even if we were able to discern some locus for Honorius’s career from the entry in *De luminaribus*, it is not the *ecclesia Augustodunensis* that forms the core of the entry but rather his list of works. For Honorius himself, it is his catalog that was his preeminent means of expressing himself. He wishes to be known as an author, and, accordingly, it is into his works that his identity has become subsumed.

Pinning Honorius down in place, in his career, and in his schooling is made even more difficult by the general instability in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, a period in which identities were in flux and the contours of intellectual life, of religious life, and of schooling were hotly contested. Increased communication between various schools of thought, increased mobility, and the increasing emphasis on the ideal of stability of the individual, as opposed to stability of place, complicates our accounts of the regional, professional, and scholastic identities of the era. For a writer to go through career transitions such as Odo of Tournai’s journey from canon to hermit to monk to bishop, or geographical shifts such as Anselm’s moves from Italy to Normandy to England, with frequent travel in between, was not particularly uncommon, and the distinct possibility that Honorius went through similar career and geographical shifts means that, in the absence of external evidence, pinning him down

¹¹ Anselm of Laon, *Sententiae*, 90d in Lottin, *Psychologie et morale aux XIe et XIIIe siècles* (Louvain: Abbaye du Mont César, 1959), 167.

regionally or intellectually is exceedingly difficult. In resisting classification regionally and within the schools, Honorius reveals the weaknesses of any history concentrating too much on either category.

Although the career of Honorius remains largely enigmatic and elusive, it does not follow that scholarship on his life has failed to yield any important data. We can draw some conclusions with a relative degree of certainty. First, following the catalog in *De luminaribus* supplemented by other works that can be reasonably attributed to his pen based on stylistic and other similarities, we can say that Honorius wrote slightly more than thirty works, twenty-two of them classed by Flint as “major.”¹² The majority of these were likely written during the period he provides for his *floruit*, the reign of Henry V, which lasted from 1106 to 1125. The dates match even more closely if we take Honorius to be dating Henry’s reign from his ascension to King of Germany in 1099 rather than his coronation as Emperor, as the latter date is very likely the year in which Honorius began his literary career. That career ultimately outlasted Henry, seemingly coming to a close around 1139, the date of the final recessions of the historical section of the *Imago mundi* at Honorius’s hand.¹³ The list of works in *De luminaribus* also seems to be roughly chronological, giving us evidence of the development of his interests as his career unfolded. Similarly drawing on the *De luminaribus* passage, there is no serious reason to challenge his self-designation as priest and schoolmaster, while in the manuscripts there is a consistent identification of him as a monk—something that squares with the general sympathies expressed in much of his catalog, particularly in *Quod monachis liceat predicare*—and as an

¹² Flint, *Honorius*, 95.

¹³ For general chronology, see Flint, *Honorius*, 129-53. On the dating of the *Imago*, Flint, *Imago Mundi*, 39.

inclusus or *solitarius*.¹⁴ Thus, we have at least some idea of the temporal bounds of his career and some indication of his profession(s).

We may also reasonably suggest geographic centers of his career, England, in the early years, and southern Germany, for the remainder. For both locales, his works provide internal clues that are backed up by manuscript evidence. As previously mentioned, we have the prologue of the *Speculum ecclesiae*, which indicates that the work was requested by the *fratres Cantuarienses*, among whom Honorius had recently spent some time. The early works also show a reliance on English source material, some of which was available elsewhere, but taken together with the dedications and manuscript evidence bolster the theory of an English beginning to Honorius's career. The most striking use of sources, one which will be discussed at greater length below, is his very early use of the arguments of *Cur Deus homo* in the *Elucidarium*. The latter was completed by 1101 at the latest, only three short years after Anselm completed the former.¹⁵ Meanwhile, the latest source used in the *Sigillum beatae Mariae*, his second work if we accept the ordering of *De luminaribus*, is a sermon of Ralph d'Escures, who fled to England in 1100, becoming bishop of Rochester and later succeeding Anselm as archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁶ Flint has also claimed that Honorius relies on works that were exclusively found in England, citing sermons of Wulfstan of Worcester used in the *Speculum ecclesiae* and the presence of passages drawn from *De officiis ecclesiasticis*—which she claims only survives in England—in the *Gemma animae*. However, Hannam has pointed out that the latter source was

¹⁴ It is possible to read an affinity towards the regular canons over monks in other works, particularly in the *Liber duodecim quaestionum*. However, this reading is far from definitive, particularly in light of the rest of his catalog, as Honorius does not make a specific claim regarding the superiority of either way of life in the *Liber duodecim*.

¹⁵ Flint, *Honorius*, 100.

¹⁶ Flint, *Honorius*, 102.

indeed available elsewhere, including in Germany, and that it is entirely possible that the material used in the *Speculum* was similarly more widespread than Flint imagined.¹⁷

In later works, we see a shift towards German sources and references, most obviously in the aforementioned reference to Regensburg in the *Imago mundi*. Moreover, there seems to be a generally German and Imperial focus in these later works. His additions to the entries of Jerome et al. in *De luminaribus* are predominantly German authors, all situated temporally by reference to the Emperors as is his own autobiographical entry. Similarly, the historical works are almost exclusively concerned with the history of the Empire. There seem also to be close connections between the concerns of Honorius, both theological and reforming, with other German authors, particularly Rupert of Deutz, with whom he might have shared a patron, and the circle centered on Hirsau.¹⁸

The manuscript evidence is in accord with these hints within the texts. The oldest and best manuscripts of his early works, particularly the *Elucidarium*, are found in England, while the bulk of later manuscripts are found in southern Germany.¹⁹ Honorius's works seem also to have influenced the art of the area, most notably in the Abbey of St. Jakob in Regensburg and potentially also at Pruefenig.²⁰ It should be noted, that his apparent influence on church art does not necessarily indicate a physical presence in or near the church. Honorius's texts were, as has

¹⁷ Hannam, *Inevitabile*, 34-5.

¹⁸ See Wanda Cizewski, *The Doctrine of Creation in the First Half of the Twelfth Century: Selected Authors* (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1983) and Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis*, Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1983), 312-3. On a potential connection between Anselm and Hirsau, see Rober Darwin Crouse, *Honorius Augustodunensis: 'De Neocosmo'* (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1970), 92 fn.71.

¹⁹ Flint, *Honorius*, 101.

²⁰ Endres in his study *Das St. Jakobsportal in Regensburg und Honorius Augustodunensis* (Kempten: Verlag der Jos. Kösel, 1903), makes a convincing case that the sculpture crowing the entryway of the church is directly inspired by original images from his commentary on the Song of Songs. Interestingly, others have seen the hand of Honorius in the sculpture of St. Lazarus of Autun as well, see Victor Terret, *La sculpture bourguignonne aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Autun: L'Auteur, 1914), 94 and Jacek Dębicki, *Zachodni portal katedry świętego Łazarza w Autun* (Krakow: TAIWPN Universitas, 2002), 73.

been noted, widely distributed and extremely popular in the region. Again, we have case of evidence for his career that is tantalizing, but not definitive. Reforming women's communities in the south of the Empire also seem to have made good use of Honorius, as exemplified by the *Hortus deliciarum*, which relies heavily on excerpts of his texts and whose vivid illuminations are in a large part derived from those excerpts, although this too does not definitively demonstrate his presence nearby.²¹

The dedicatees of Honorius's works make perhaps the best case for his presence in southern Germany during the latter part of his career. In all, six of his books are dedicated to six, potentially five, different men. The Song of Songs commentary is dedicated in some editions to a certain "C" or in others Cuno, likely the same man, the Psalms commentary and later editions of the *Imago mundi* to Christianus, the *Liber duodecim quaestionae* and *De animae exsilio* to Thomas, early versions of the *Imago* to Heinricus and *De libero arbitrio* to Gottschalk.²² Of these, we seem to be able concretely to identify two: Cuno and Christianus. The first is Cuno of Raitenbuch, bishop of Regensburg from 1126–1132 who also patronized Rupert of Deutz, while the second was almost certainly Christianus, the abbot of the abbey of St. Jakob of Regensburg, an important site of reform and also the site of the above-mentioned St. Jakobsportal. While the other dedicatees remain unfortunately obscure, the Christianus and Cuno dedications strongly suggest that Honorius wrote both in and for the communities surrounding Regensburg, though where precisely he wrote them from has proven impossible to say.

In light of the veil of obscurity that surrounds Honorius's career and the unlikelihood that we can glean any further concrete information barring some unexpected discovery in the manuscript tradition, the prudent course seems to be to use the evidence within his writings

²¹ See Fiona Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 64-72.

²² Flint, *Honorius*, 95-6.

themselves, particularly the ideals underlying the designations given to Honorius both by himself and others. Through this investigation we might be able to overcome at least some of the resistance to classification we encounter in Honorius's works by understanding how he conceived of himself. The chapter will thus primarily concern itself with unpacking precisely what he understood to be at stake in declaring himself as *presbyter* and *scholasticus*. This discussion will be bracketed by an exploration of the two most enduring external designations given to Honorius, those of a student of Anselm and an *inclusus* or *solitarius*.

Discipulus

Given the apparent obscurity of Honorius even to his contemporaries, there are only a few long-standing traditions about him that are not obviously derived from the autobiographical portion of *De luminaribus*. One enduring tradition, perhaps the one which most persistently attaches itself to him in modern scholarship, is that Honorius was in some way associated with the circle surrounding Anselm of Canterbury, typically as a student. Often this association with Anselm has not been to Honorius's credit. For all his positive qualities, he was certainly not as skilled a theologian as his supposed teacher and is thus often classified as merely a poor imitation of the archbishop, a derivative follower who has little to say in his own right, offering only "un pâle résumé" of his teacher.²³ Leaving aside the unfairness of criticizing an author for not being as brilliant as one of the most gifted thinkers of the Middle Ages, the purported association with Anselm is worth exploring in its own right. For while we cannot definitely prove a link between the two men, it is apparent that the two authors complement each other—stylistically, pedagogically, and in their conceptions of the cosmos. Exploring the connections

²³ Lottin, *Psychologie et morale aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, 446.

between them, therefore, provides a window both into the theological and pedagogical concerns of the era and into the ideas that shaped Honorius's general outlook.

The belief that Honorius was associated with Anselm dates back to at least the fifteenth century. It first manifests in Johannes Trithemius's catalog of notable Benedictines, *De viris illustribus*. Here he describes Honorius as:

Honorius, monk in England and for the love of Christ an *inclusus*, singular friend of the Blessed Anselm of Canterbury, some of his letters to whom are extant, a learned and devout man, he wrote some devout little works, of which are, a book of diverse questions and responses and certain letters useful for compunction. He became famous during the time of Anselm, in 1080AD.²⁴

A few things are curious about this entry. First, the description of Honorius's works suggest that Trithemius was not particularly familiar with Honorius's catalog, knowing perhaps only the *Elucidarium* and the supposed correspondence with Anselm, which if it ever actually existed has now been lost. It is possible that Trithemius includes some of Honorius's writings that position themselves as written entreaties under the category of *quaedam epistolae ad compunctionem utiles*, but it is unclear which of Honorius's specific works these might be. Trithemius also records a date for Honorius's career that is far too early, matching neither the floruit Honorius himself provides nor aligning with the sources he used in his writings. Honorius could hardly have written the *Elucidarium*, drawing on *Cur Deus homo* eighteen years before that book was written. Interestingly, in another collection of short biographies, *De scriptoribus*, published earlier but compiled later than *De viris illustribus*,²⁵ Trithemius provides another portrait of Honorius's career, clearly deriving from the mention in *De luminaribus* and omitting the

²⁴ Honorius monachus in Anglia et pro Christi amore inclusus, B. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi singularis amicus, ad quem eius nonnullae extant epistolae, vir doctus et devotus, scripsit nonnulla devota opuscula, de quibus est, Quaestionum et responsionum diversarum liber et quaedam epistolae ad compunctionem utiles. Claruit temporibus Anselmi, anno Domini millesimo octogesimo. Trithemius, *De viris illustribus*, Cap CVII.

²⁵ Crouse, *De neocosmo*, 10.

reference to Anselm and a career in England.²⁶ This suggests a number of different possibilities, including the possibility that Trithemius was simply mistaken in the *De viris* entry; that he had been misled by the attribution of some of Honorius's works to Anselm into devising a connection between the two men and perhaps had also conflated Honorius with an earlier correspondent of Anselm as a consequence. However, it may also have been that Trithemius simply discovered the *De luminaribus* account in the interim between the composition of both works and believed that Honorius's own account was more than adequate for the purposes of *De scriptoribus*. Whatever the case may be and despite the inconsistencies between Trithemius's two accounts, the idea that Honorius had a special connection to Anselm has persisted.

Trithemius's suggestion of the connection with Anselm is not without support in Honorius's works. We have already discussed the very early use of *Cur Deus homo* in the *Elucidarium*, and the early manuscripts of that text suggest an even deeper connection with the archbishop than the mere use of him as a source. These manuscripts contain glosses detailing the sources upon which Honorius drew for his answers to the disciple's questions, likely as aids to further study. In those sections drawing on Anselm, he identifies his source simply as *magister*, tantalizingly raising the possibility of tutelage under the archbishop

Moreover, *Cur Deus homo* is not the only work of Anselm upon which Honorius heavily relies. The *Elucidarium* also makes use of Anselm's description of the joys of heaven that closes the *Proslogion*, though in typically Honorian fashion, modifies those descriptions by making them more concrete, adding specific examples to make Anselm's already fairly accessible descriptions even more palpable to the reader by associating them with specific Biblical

²⁶ Trithemius, *De scriptoribus*, LXXXI.

figures.²⁷ In addition, the *Cognitio vitae* clearly draws on the *Monologion* in its overall purpose of rationally exploring the divine nature and in its structure and content, much of which is directly pulled from Anselm's writings.

More complicated and intriguing is the case of the *Inevitabile*, one of Honorius's two treatises on free will and likely one of his earliest works. It falls third in the *De luminaribus* list, and the prologue calls back to the *Sigillum*, apparently presented to the same group of *fratres*.²⁸ The *Inevitabile* appeared in two major recensions that differ dramatically in their definitions of free will. The earlier work posits a conception of free will as, "only the freedom of choosing the good or evil," and elaborates the definition with language largely drawn from Augustine.²⁹ However, on closer examination, the apparently simple "Augustinianism" of the text proves to be a mask for a deeper contemplation of the salvation as a whole, understood primarily in terms of a metaphysical schema derived almost wholly from the fifth book of Eriugena's *Periphyseon*.³⁰ In the second recension, however, explicitly rejects the prior recension's definition, and instead turning the definition found in Anselm's *De libertate arbitrii*.³¹ Thus, free will is now defined as, "Freedom of choice is the power of preserving intact rectitude of the will, for the sake of rectitude itself," and Anselm's interventions into the debate on free will are added on to the already extant Augustinian-Eriugenian base of the first recension.³² The existence of these two recensions immediately complicates our picture of Honorius's relation to

²⁷ Anselm, *Proslogion* trans. M.J. Charlesworth in *Anselm of Canterbury: The Major Works* ed. Brian Davies and G.R. Evans (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 101-2. *Elucidarium*, III.Q118, p. 473-4.

²⁸ *Inevitabile*, lines 6-9, p. 229.

²⁹ *Inevitabile*, 523. *Liberum enim arbitrium est tantummodo libertas bonum uel malum eligendi*, *Inevitabile*, line 313, p. 258.

³⁰ Hannam explores the complexity of Honorius's read in his *Inevitabile*, 161-193. Recall also, that Honorius's digest of Eriugena, the *Clavis physicae*, effectively reproduces the fifth book of the *Periphyseon* in its entirety.

³¹ *Inevitabile*, lines 105-118, p. 360-1.

³² *Inevitabile*, 564. *Libertas arbitrii est potestas seruandi rectitudinem uoluntatis, propter ipsam rectitudinem*. *Inevitabile*, line 159, p. 363. Anselm, *De libertate arbitrii*, ed. F.S. Schmitt (Edinburg: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1946), III.

Anselm. The question arises of how, if Honorius was a student of the archbishop or simply in regular contact with Canterbury, could he not have been aware of *De libertate arbitrii* published two decades years prior to the *Inevitabile*?

Of course, nothing in the manuscripts or text of the *Inevitabile* suggests that Honorius was in fact present at Canterbury when he composed the work, and the difficulties of obtaining and disseminating books during the time period are well known. Moreover, Anselm's tenure at Canterbury was notably turbulent, peppered by exile and political disruption. There was thus no guarantee that even if Honorius was a student of Anselm at some point in his career that he would have had uninterrupted access to his master's works. Finally, the identification of Honorius as a *student* of Anselm, common in later scholarship, remains rather tenuous. It is not uncommon for someone to be relied on heavily as a source, even referred to as *magister* in citations without being a literal, physically accessible teacher. It is important to note also that Trithemius, our earliest mention of the Anselm-Honorius connection, describe Honorius not as a student, but as a "singular friend" and correspondent.³³

The revisions of the *Inevitabile* also suggest the possibility that Honorius had no personal relationship with Anselm at all, but was simply an admirer of his thought who happened to get his hands on an early copy of *Cur Deus homo* during a well-timed visit to Canterbury, which is later referenced in the prologue of the *Speculum*. As is so often the case with Honorius, nothing is definitive. Whether or not there was a concrete, physical connection between Anselm and Honorius, the two writers appear to share the same general concerns, both as authors and thinkers, and to be striving for the same pedagogical ends via a strikingly similar pedagogical method.

³³ Trithemius, *De viris illustribus*, Cap CVII

While the full scope of the two authors' theological and authorial affinities will be evident only after our exploration of Honorius's theological principles and authorial method in later chapters, it is still worth elaborating the basics of the relationship between the two authors' thought and methods. Most importantly, we see that—aside from the direct borrowing from Anselm's writings in the *Elucidarium*, the *Inevitabile*, and elsewhere—there are a set of fundamental principles that animate both authors' conception of the cosmos and authorial project. These principles are unity, harmony, and order.

That these overarching principles are deeply important to Anselm has long been recognized,³⁴ and their importance can be discerned in virtually everything he wrote, particularly in the two greatest of his works, the *Proslogion* and *Cur Deus homo*. In the former, the great intellectual struggle Anselm undergoes is not merely recognizing the *unum argumentum*, but rather recognizing that from the single formulation of the *argumentum* flows knowledge of the divine attributes.³⁴ Their unity in God is captured within the unity of the IQM. The most difficult of these attributes for Anselm to reconcile are God's mercy and justice, and Anselm himself seems to recognize that his reconciliation is not ideal, as the unity of mercy and justice is also the subject of *Cur Deus homo*. That work reaches its emotional and theological climax in the union of the two apparently disparate divine qualities in the twentieth chapter of the second book, which also signals the reconciliation of the Old and New Testament. The Incarnation is thus the supreme unifying point of the cosmos and of our understanding of God.

The structure of *Cur Deus homo* similarly reflects Anselm's preoccupation with order and harmony. Christ's incarnation can be denied at the outset, only to re-emerge from the darkness of denial, because the very order of the cosmos and of the divine justice that shapes that

³⁴ Note that only three chapters of the *Proslogion* are dedicated to the question of God's existence, while twenty address His other attributes.

cosmos necessitates that God become man. We can recognize this necessity in turn because reason itself accords with that order. Sin is cast as a disruption of the cosmic order, and the mission of the God-Man is fundamentally recapitulative; a repair and restoration of the order of things.³⁵ The whole text, therefore, is essentially a meditation on the order and unity of creation and the necessity of the harmony-restoring Christ to sustain that order.

Similarly, the search for the *unum argumentum* that so troubled Anselm prior to the insight which revealed the key to the *Proslogion* disturbs the harmony of Anselm's being.³⁶ The lack of an intellectual keystone, the *argumentum*, throws him into turmoil and the recognition of that keystone as a unity from which unfolds awareness of the ordered harmony of God's attributes ends his disquiet. The struggle that preceded the work is the search for a single unifying principle by which the divine attributes might be brought under a unified formulation, a unity in the mind mirroring the unity of the divine. Here too the book ends in a contemplation of the harmony of joy and love in heaven, made perfect through union with the other elect:

Therefore in that perfect and pure love of the countless holy angels and holy men where no one will love another less than himself, each will rejoice for every other as for himself. If, then, the heart of man will scarcely be able to comprehend the joy that will belong to it from so great a good, how will it comprehend so many and such great joys? Indeed, to the degree that each one loves some other, so he will rejoice in the good of that other; therefore, just as each one in that perfect happiness will love God incomparably more than himself and all others with him, so he will rejoice immeasurably more over the happiness of God than over his own happiness and that of all the others with him. But if they love God with their whole heart, their whole mind, their whole soul, while yet their whole heart, their whole mind, their whole soul, is not equal to the grandeur of this love, they will assuredly so rejoice with their whole heart, their whole mind, and their whole soul, that their whole heart, their whole mind, their whole soul will not be equal to the fullness of their joy.³⁷

³⁵ Anselm, *Why God Became Man*, trans. Janet Fairweather in *Anselm of Canterbury: Major Works*, 288.

³⁶ Eadmer, *The Life of St. Anselm*, trans. R.W. Southern (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), I.XIX, p. 29-30.

³⁷ Anselm, *Proslogion*, 102-3.

Though his writings never approach the profundity of Anselm's masterpieces, the same concerns with unity, order, and harmony likewise dominate Honorius's thought. Indeed, these principles lay even closer to the surface in his catalog, particularly in his use of vivid image to depict the cosmos as a great zither, a choir perfectly blending high and low notes, or a painting balancing light and dark.³⁸ Sin is, as in Anselm, cast as a distortion of the order of things, while reform is urgently needed to restore the proper place of the clergy in relation to the people, of the bishops and pope in relation to the Emperor.³⁹ Without harmony between the ecclesiastical and temporal order, creation itself frays, leading to disasters both spiritual and natural.⁴⁰ We also see, over and over again, the order of the cosmos as a principle that animates our reasoning and provides the rubric by which theological difficulties are resolved. Our reason, for Honorius, converges on the harmony and unity of creation and when properly aligned with that harmony, provides glimpses of the eternal harmony, a foretaste of heaven that marks the culmination of virtually all of his works. So too for Anselm, for whom reason leads inexorably from the unity of the *unum argumentum* upwards to the joys of heaven that conclude the *Proslogion*. Honorius even, as mentioned above, appropriates Anselm's language from the *Proslogion* to describe those joys.⁴¹

This convergence of reason on harmony and unity points to a further similarity in the theological outlooks of both authors: their understanding of the relation between reason and authority. Both evince an unshakable confidence in reason and a conception of authority as essentially reason written down. In Anselm's writings, this conception is most evident in the

³⁸ *LDQ*, PL172:1180C, *LDQ*, PL172:1179B-C, and *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1019, respectively.

³⁹ Cf. *LDQ*, PL172:1179D-1180A

⁴⁰ *Summa gloria*, PL172:1268D-1269D.

⁴¹ Honorius may also have appropriated another image from Anselm, that of ship of faith. The image was used repeatedly by Honorius, and Anselm seems to be the first post-classical author to make use of it. See, Susan Rose, *The Medieval Sea* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), 36-7.

Monologion, his attempt to arrive at the truths of Christianity *sola ratione*. Strikingly, proceeding from reason alone does not merely enable Anselm to arrive at a wholly orthodox understanding of God, but at the very same understanding that is found in Augustine's *De Trinitate*.⁴² His assurance that nothing can be found in his work that is not already present in Augustine safeguards the orthodoxy of his project on the one hand and, on the other, configures *De Trinitate* in a new light. Augustine's book becomes a distillation of truths that might be worked out on our own, independent of revelation. That is not to say that Anselm conceives of Augustine's work as wholly independent of revelation, but rather that reason in its proper operation converges on the same truths found in the writings of the Church doctors. A similar understanding animates *Cur Deus homo*. Even after denying the incarnation, reason leads us to the truth revealed in Scripture. The two simply cannot conflict; they exist in a harmonious continuum, not as distinct, potentially conflicting spheres of knowledge. Eadmer tells us that this unwavering faith in the truth of Scripture and its accordance with reason lay at the heart of Anselm's contemplative method.⁴³ Authorities are authorities precisely because they have written down and clearly express the conclusions of right reason, itself a gift of God.

Turning to Honorius, we see this conception of reason and authority. He writes, echoing Eriugena, "Nothing else is an authority except truth which is proved through reason."⁴⁴ Apparent conflicts between reason and authority, whether this authority is Scripture or the writings of the doctors of the Church, are the fault of the reader, whose vision has been occluded either by sin or mental slowness.⁴⁵ Reason and authority converge upon each other. They are

⁴² Anselm, *Monologion*, trans. Simon Harrison in *Anselm of Canterbury: Major Works*, 6.

⁴³ Eadmer, *The Life of St. Anselm*, I.VII, p. 12-3.

⁴⁴ Nihil est aliud auctoritas, quam per rationem probata veritas, *LOQ*, PL172:1185B. Following Eriugena, *Periphyseon* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), CCCM161, 69.

⁴⁵ For a fuller discussion of the relation of authority and reason in Honorius, see below, 103-112.

ultimately identical. Both are manifestations of the unitary truth of the divine. It is perhaps this attitude that leads Honorius and Anselm to eschew the direct citation of authorities, preferring instead to layer indirect references throughout their writings.

The theological outlooks of both Anselm and Honorius are thus fundamentally similar. They live in the same world, one characterized by unity, order, and harmony proceeding from the inner nature of God, and, to a large degree, one accessible to human reason as written down in the past by the great authorities of the Church and explored in the present in their own writings. What is more, they choose to write about that world in the same way; they complement each other as authors. Both evince a deep care for the circulation and reception of their works, they use the same stylistic devices, and the pedagogical purpose that animates the whole of Honorius's literary output was a key component of Anselm's pastoral mission. Anselm's concern for the integrity of his works is well known and the degree to which he attempted to shape readers' receptions of his writings is evident from even the most cursory glances at their prologues. For instance, in the *Prayers and Meditations*, he carefully details both the optimal mindset of his readers and the way in which they should proceed through the book:

They are not to be read in a turmoil, but quietly, not skimmed or hurried through, but taken a little at a time, with deep and thoughtful meditation. The reader should not trouble about reading the whole of any of them, but only as much as, by God's help, he finds useful in stirring up his spirit to pray, or as much as he likes. Nor is it necessary for him always to begin at the beginning, but wherever he pleases.⁴⁶

We see the same concern in his correspondence, which was clearly curated by Anselm to condition his letters' circulation and reception.⁴⁷ This care signals a deep concern for his readers

⁴⁶ Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations of St. Anselm with the Proslogion*, trans. Benedicta Ward (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), 89.

⁴⁷ For a detailed study of Anselm's correspondence, see Sally Vaughn, *St. Anselm and the Handmaidens of God* (Turnhout: Brepols), 2002.

and an awareness of himself as author that echoes throughout his writings, shaping both style and content.

Honorius too makes use of prologues to condition the reception of his writings. These carefully crafted introductions first establish Honorius's authority as a teacher and untangler of theological and exegetical difficulties, then outline the precise subject matter and method of exploring that subject matter that will be used, and finally they explain the title of the work, all to condition the reader's reception of the text.⁴⁸ This reception is further conditioned by the chapter headings, apparently original to Honorius, and the highly structured character of his exposition. Moreover, he, like Anselm, seems to have envisioned his works as bound together, parts of a greater whole, although he never states it so directly.⁴⁹ We do have, however, the aforementioned prologue of the *Inevitabile* calling back to the *Sigillum*, the prologue of which itself makes reference to the *Elucidarium*, giving the impression that the works were intended to be viewed as a series that first addressed basic theological questions before diving into more complex explorations of the liturgy and the question of free will.⁵⁰ Meanwhile, the commentary on the Song of Songs makes reference to his earlier, Marian, commentary on that same book with the suggestion that readers would do well to consult that work for more insight into the Canticle.⁵¹ His readers appear to have heeded this advice, as the works were often bound together, along with Honorius's commentary on Genesis, *De neocosmo*.

The authorial care of Honorius and Anselm extends also to the stylistic aspects of their writings. Both make use of rhyme and rhythm, Anselm in his prayers and Honorius in virtually

⁴⁸ For more on Honorius's use of prologues, see below, 157-170.

⁴⁹ Anselm, of course, does state that his dialogues on grammar, truth, and free will ought to be read together, and more that they all "pertain to the study of Sacred Scripture." Anselm, *On Truth*, trans. Ralph McInerny in *Anselm of Canterbury: Major Works*, 151.

⁵⁰ *Sigillum*, PL172:495D.

⁵¹ *In cantica canticorum*, PL172:494C-D.

everything he wrote.⁵² Both also are writers of dialogues. Indeed, Anselm and Honorius's works marked the beginning of a rebirth of the form that would greatly impact the discourse of subsequent centuries.⁵³ For both, dialogue is in service of the clear exposition of teaching—Anselm writes that, “matters which are explored by means of questions and answers are clearer to many people, particularly to slower intellects, and are correspondingly more pleasing”⁵⁴—and as a form of devotion. It is no accident that their dialogues terminate in the contemplation of the divine.

Beyond these surface similarities, the rhythm of both authors' writing, their emotional cadence, itself mirroring that of the Psalms and other Biblical antecedents is fundamentally alike. In Anselm, this rhythm is most evident in the *Prayers and Meditations* and, in his treatises, in the *Proslogion*, where reason from the abject depths of the absence of God ascends to the heights to the most sublime insight before plunging back into the depths of ignorance and despair at the infinite distance between man and God.⁵⁵ In a more concrete, visually-rich fashion we see the same swings in Honorius's early works. So, for example, the *Elucidarium* where the joys of heaven follow quickly on the heels of the dialogs descent into the punishments of Hell and plunge the reader back down again before reaching its consummation in joy.⁵⁶

It is in the pedagogical where the complementary character of Anselm and Honorius's works most clearly manifest, because it is here that their theology culminates. It is pedagogy that their authorial tendencies are ultimately in service of. First, however, a word of conclusion on

⁵² Eileen Sweeney, *Anselm of Canterbury and the Desire for the Word* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2012), 22.

⁵³ See, Alex Novikoff, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

⁵⁴ Anselm, *Why God Became Man*, 265.

⁵⁵ For more on the “rhythm” of Anselm's thought, see M.B. Pranger, *The Artificiality of Christianity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), especially 97-198 and Sweeney, *Anselm of Canterbury and the Desire for the Word*, especially 323-7.

⁵⁶ It is worth noting, however, that the emotion found in Honorius is considerably less explicit and violent, than what we find in Anselm's prayers and meditations.

the relation of Anselm and Honorius. Though evidence of a direct connection between Anselm and Honorius is not definitive, there is no question that their careers complement each other. Novikoff has described Honorius as effectively “braiding” the different strands of thought we find in Anselm, particularly the use of dialogue as a tool for devotion, exegesis, and pedagogy and additionally, following Fulton Brown, in engagement with Jewish-Christian debates during the period.⁵⁷ We have seen that there are additional strands of Anselm’s thought weaved throughout Honorius’s catalog, particularly in his stylistic tendencies and conception of the cosmos as an ordered harmony that characterizes every level of Creation. The universe is looked to by both authors as a hierarchically ordered unity, where the distinctions between reason and revelation are not rigid demarcations, but differences on a continuum. Everything is pregnant with the revelation of God, visible to the properly trained mind that shows all possible contradictions and difficulties to be merely a product of our own inadequacy and inability to pierce the obfuscatory darkness of sin. Even when denying God, He emerges from the darkness, shining undeniably through the light of our reason, leading us ever upwards towards Him. Thus, while Honorius may have never studied at the feet of the great archbishop, we can, with Trithemius call him a *singularis amicus* of Anselm, a man dedicated to the same mission and seeking to accomplish that mission through the same means.

Scholasticus

A consistent metaphor used to describe Anselm’s ideal of pedagogy was that of the teacher as mother hen, gently nurturing her chicks as they took their first steps into the wider world.⁵⁸ A key part of this mothering was adapting his teaching to the unique needs and abilities

⁵⁷ Novikoff, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation*, 56-60. Fulton, *From Judgement to Passion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 280-5.

⁵⁸ Anselm, ep. 205. The model here is Christ, whom Anselm calls a mother hen in his 10th prayer, to St. Paul, Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, 10.397-9, p. 153.

of his audience, whether in writing or in speech; Eadmer repeatedly highlights Anselm's skill in this regard.⁵⁹ Honorius too was especially attuned to his audience, using simple language and vivid images to engage his readers in much the same way. He also shows an attentiveness to the practical realities of preaching to others in his sermon collection, where he outlines how the preacher ought to present themselves for maximum effectiveness and allows room for them to adjust their teachings to the specific needs of the audience, including if the church happens to be too cold for them to sit still for a long sermon.⁶⁰ The model for this ideal, and it is an ideal that went beyond merely the circle of Anselm—we see, for example, John of Salisbury praising Bernard of Chartres for the same ability to adjust his teachings to his students' capabilities—was Christ and the general understanding of Scripture as a text which concealed profound truths under often common language.⁶¹ Honorius notes Christ's manner of speaking to the capabilities of his audience when discussing the physical reality of Hell in the *Scala coeli major*, and in *De neocosmo* expands this characterization to Scripture as a whole.⁶²

For Honorius, attuning his teaching to his readers' abilities was especially important because those readers were not necessarily well educated. He refers to his readers a number of times as the *stultus* or *infirmus intellectus*, students baffled by the mass of conflicting opinions that multiplied during the later eleventh and early twelfth centuries, who were unable to cut through the fog that surrounded the question of who ought to be understood as a legitimate authority, and how they ought to deal with points when authorities appeared to conflict.⁶³ These

⁵⁹ Eadmer, *The Life of Anselm*, I.XXII, p. 37-40.

⁶⁰ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, as quoted in Eva Marie Sanford, "Honorius, Presbyter and Scholasticus," *Speculum* 42, no. 3 (1948, 412).

⁶¹ John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, trans. Daniel McGarry (Philadelphia: Paul Dry Books, 2009), I.17 & I.24.

⁶² *Scala coeli major*, PL172: 1238B. *De neocosmo*, lines 671-89, p. 221-2.

⁶³ Perhaps a hint to the identity of these *stultus* can be found in Hugh's *Didascalicon*: "There are those who, while they are not unaware of their own dullness, nonetheless struggle after knowledge with all the effort they can put forth and who, by tirelessly keeping up their pursuit, deserve to obtain as a result of their will power what they by no

questions were in many ways the most pressing of the era, as the educational system shifted from one centered around personal charisma and the oral communication of ethical mores to an intellectual culture centered around grappling with theological questions arising from the study of texts.⁶⁴ Meanwhile, increased urbanization, professionalization, and the centralization of Church and state authority created an ever greater demand for an educated class capable of teaching, wrangling with the law, and running the ever more complex mechanisms of the world. Increased communication between intellectual centers brought increasing theological conflict. These conflicts reached an early height in the Eucharistic controversy between Berengar and Lanfranc and during Honorius's own lifetime in the condemnations of Abelard. It is against this background of conflict and uncertainty that Anselm and Honorius's pedagogical interventions must be evaluated. Their pedagogical moves were not without controversy, but rather entries into a raging debate that would continue well beyond their lifetimes—although Honorius himself gives little indication that anything he writes could be viewed as controversial, preferring to maintain an attitude of bluff confidence in the indisputable truth of his reasoning and the impossibility of disagreement of his sources.

Another pressing concern of the era was the lack of books and the potentially poor quality of those books that were available. Lanfranc had been plagued by a deficiency of adequate reading and teaching materials at Caen, expending tremendous effort to bolster its library.⁶⁵ Anselm's correspondence also bears witness to this concern, as in the case of a copy of Gregory's *Moralia in Job* that he experienced considerable difficulties in obtaining, copying, and

means possess as a result of their work." Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon*, trans. Jerome Taylor (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), preface, p. 43.

⁶⁴ This shift has been detailed extensively in Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

⁶⁵ Watkins, "Lanfranc at Caen," in *Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe*, ed. Sally Vaughn (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 80-1.

disseminating.⁶⁶ Eadmer further tells us that Anselm spent a significant amount of time correcting those books he had available to him.⁶⁷ Honorius sought to address the issue in a different manner; his books are expressly intended as aids for those without access to extensive libraries.⁶⁸ Indeed, there is a sense that his authorial output is essentially an attempt to create a complete theological library, depicting the whole world, exploring the liturgy, resolving the most common and pressing theological difficulties, and providing commentaries on the most important books of the Bible. Where Anselm had responded to the paucity of books by arranging for copies to be made and by correcting existing copies, Honorius's approach is more direct. Instead of correcting and procuring copies of existing books, he set about synthesizing the apparently very large collection of works that he had at his disposal into concise and easily digestible editions that could provide his readers with everything they might need to know in order to preach, teach, and seek the vision of God.

Unlike Anselm, Honorius did outline a concrete program of education, in his treatise *De animae exsilio et patria*. The treatise depicts the course of education as a physical journey of the soul from the exile of ignorance through ten cities of the arts—Honorius notably adds the mechanical arts, medicine, and economics to the traditional seven liberal arts—en route to its true homeland: union with Christ through the contemplation of Scripture and creation as His twin revelations. The short work is notable both for its content, providing us with a concise distillation of the sources, purposes, and progression of an ideal education, and for its form, which reveals how this pedagogical program becomes manifest in his authorial method.

⁶⁶ Anselm, ep. 23, 25, and 26.

⁶⁷ Eadmer, *The Life of St. Anselm*, I. VIII, p.13-4.

⁶⁸ Cf. *Summa totius*, PL172:189A.

The latter of these, the form of the work, ought to be analyzed first. The journey Honorius outlines from ignorance to wisdom is highly systematized, largely through the making of distinctions within the arts. The first of these distinctions is, of course, the ten cities themselves. The number ten, Honorius tells us,

is wrapped in many mysteries. For instance, the divine law is contained in ten commandments, and secular wisdom is bound within ten categories. But the whole Church is compared to ten virgins, because this number is posited at as the limit of all the various numbers, whence also in the vineyard a denarius is promised to the laborers.⁶⁹

Mathematics, the structure of the Church, the sacred law, and all the categories of secular learning are thus intimately linked, firmly anchoring his program of education within a broader web of associations. Moreover, the denarius is elsewhere used by Honorius, following Christ's parable, as an image of salvation and, specifically, as the reward for intellectual labor, the prize for working out the intricacies of Scripture and helping others to unlock the same.⁷⁰

We also find that each city, thus each art, is further sub-divided, with these divisions richly rendered in architectural and geographical images. For instance, the city of grammar is entered by the four-fold gateway of the voice, through which there is a highway composed of the three types of letter, leading to the eight districts of the city—conforming to both the beatitudes and the parts of speech. These parts of speech also are likened to the city's citizens. Nouns and verbs are the consuls while pronouns and adverbs serve as proconsuls and prefects, respectively. Meanwhile, the other parts of speech are dignitaries, served by the slaves of gender, case, time, and species. Together they rule the villages of the poets: tragedy, comedy, satire, and lyrics. Each of these villages is associated with a specific writer—Lucan, Terence, Persius, and

⁶⁹ multis sacramentis est involutus. Nam et divina lex decem praeceptis comprehenditur: et saecularis sapientia decem categoriis includitur. Sed et tota Ecclesia decem virginibus comparatur; quia hic numerus limes omnium multiplicium numerorum ponitur: unde et in vinea laborantibus denarius repromittitur. *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1243B.

⁷⁰ Cf. *Sigillum*, PL172:495D-496D, *Summa totius*, PL172:187D-189A.

Horace—and wandering through the city are the two great teachers, Donatus and Priscian, who “teach travelers new ways of speaking, and with clear rules lead walkers through the road to the fatherland.”⁷¹ Note that the purpose of the rules of grammar is revealed in this passage. By learning them we are led to the fatherland, but how?

The key is that these distinctions are easily remembered, particularly when coupled with the vivid images of a city, its gates, fortifications, and rulers. The divisions, not only of grammar but of rhetoric, dialectic, and all the other arts, act as mnemonic signposts for Honorius’s reader. These signposts mark out stages of education, simultaneously something to be surpassed as we move beyond each city to the next stage of the journey and to be retained as a guide, shaping our thinking by reshaping our memory. In addition, the mnemonic scheme of *De animae* acts as a useful framework to which the more extensive content of Priscian, Donatus, and others might be attached. The divisions Honorius gives, handily represented by easily stored visual images, act as containers for the actual material of an education in the liberal arts.

Education is not a utilitarian process of becoming a more adept clerk or even a better preacher for Honorius. These are byproducts of an education, but not the point. Rather, the point of an education is salvation, and he makes this clear over and over again throughout the text. Ignorance is not merely a lamentable lack of knowledge, but the separation of humanity from God. It is the darkness of sin, and the only way we can be led out of the “dark swampland” of ignorance is through wisdom, knowledge of divine things: “The way home from this exile is knowledge, for knowledge is in physical things but wisdom is contemplated in the divine”⁷² The conclusion of the treatise makes clear that this homeland is heaven: “At last she [wisdom] will

⁷¹ docent novam linguam viantes, et certis regulis deducunt per viam ad patriam ambulantes. *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1243D.

⁷² De hoc exsilio ad patriam via est scientia, scientia enim in rebus physicis: sapientia vero consideratur in divinis. *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1243B.

lead him [the traveler] into the heavenly Jerusalem, in which the King of Glory, whose beauty the sun and moon marvel, will be seen in His splendor.”⁷³ More than simply leading us to eventual salvation after death, education allows us to gain a foretaste of the heavenly feast in this life through the intellectual contemplation of Christ’s presence within both Scripture and creation, “now to meditate on such things is to contemplate heaven.”⁷⁴

The role of the teacher in this process is to prevent the student from wandering off the path. The teacher does not pour knowledge into the student’s mind or encourage him to chart his own way, but leads him carefully down an already delineated path, enabling him to recognize the signposts laid by the authorities who teach in Honorius’s cities. Honorius uses his pen to indicate the way, and the sites alongside it, serving as a guide and illuminator of the path ahead.⁷⁵ Even the authorities to whom he points his readers did not create new knowledge. Instead, they simply described something already latent within the human mind, implanted in our very being at creation and ultimately sourced in God—arts that “slumber heavily” within us.⁷⁶ The task of the teacher is to awaken these arts, or, more precisely, it is to guide the student to a place where they might be awakened by the true teacher, God. For the earthly teacher can merely gesture, towards the true nature of things, and it is God who provides true understanding by allowing the learner a glimpse of things as it truly are: ideas present in His mind.⁷⁷

There is also a salvific character to the act of teaching. Although he never states it directly, Honorius seems to imagine teaching as the ultimate vocation of anyone sufficiently educated, a vocation that saves the teacher’s soul as well as that of the student. He ends *De*

⁷³ Demum in coelestem Hierusalem introducet, in qua rex gloriae in decore suo videbitur, cujus pulchritudinem sol et luna mirantur. *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1245D.

⁷⁴ Talia nunc meditari est coelestia contemplari. *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1246B.

⁷⁵ *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1241D-1242D.

⁷⁶ sopitae graviter, *De anima et de Deo*, 244.

⁷⁷ *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1025.

animae with a command, “In these things train yourself, teach others them, that you might escape [the vision of Hell], and attain to [the vision of Heaven].”⁷⁸ This conception gives us a sense of the urgent purpose underlying his literary output; his works were not only written to save the souls of others, but to save his own soul as well, and, indeed, many of the teaching dialogues end with the disciple seeing heaven and in turn praying that the magister might experience the same vision.

The path to awakening the arts travels first through the trivium. From grammar, we learn the clear directions that lead the soul towards its home, while, in the city of rhetoric, Cicero teaches the traveler civic responsibility and how to exercise this responsibility by speaking eloquently. Furthermore, it is in the city of rhetoric that we are first trained in virtue, for our civil conduct and speech must be regulated by the cardinal virtues; prudence, courage, justice, and temperance.⁷⁹ From rhetoric, we pass on to the great fortress-city of dialectic. Here Aristotle provides the weapons with which the student can destroy the enemies of the faith, particularly heretics, wicked priests, and pagans.⁸⁰

Journeying beyond the trivium, the soul reaches the cities of the quadrivium and here too the upward movement of the soul towards God becomes more pronounced. In the city of mathematics, Boethius guides the traveler to learn “that God arranges everything in measure and number and weight.”⁸¹ The author of the *Consolation* continues to teach in the city of music,

⁷⁸ In his te exerce, haec alios doce: ut ista evadas, ad illa pervenias. *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1246D.

⁷⁹ *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1244A

⁸⁰ *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1244A-B. We see elsewhere that this is one of the core responsibilities of preachers, to protect their flocks from the ravaging wolves that seek to tear the faithful asunder with their teeth, Cf. *Summa gloria*, PL172:1259A.

⁸¹ quod Deus omnia in mensura et numero et pondere disposuit. *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1244C. A reference to Wisdom 11:21. This reference may hold deeper significance for Honorius than the brief mention in *De animae exsilio* indicates. McEvoy notes that the passage was integral to Augustine’s understanding of the relationship of the universe to its creator, and that Eriugena took Augustine’s analysis further, taking the passage to gesture towards the theophanic character of the cosmos, the *exitus* and *reditus* motion of salvation history, and the dialectical interplay of being and non-being in creation. James McEvoy, “Biblical and Platonic Measure in John Scottus Eriugena,” in

where “travelers are taught to pass through the melody of morals to the concert of the heavens.”⁸² Learning music is thus configured as a fundamentally moral enterprise, a modulation of the morals to the melodies of heaven. It is by attuning ourselves to the music of the cosmos, the grand harmony of creation, that we enter into the choir of angels. That the harmony of the cosmos is fundamentally musical and that the end goal of salvation is bringing our inner being into attunement with the cosmic song is a consistent, though at times subtle, theme throughout Honorius’s works.

Honorius devotes relatively little attention to geometry, which he understands as essentially identical to geography. In the city corresponding to this art, Aratus provides the traveler with a map of the world; a map perhaps similar to the “disposition of the whole world” that Honorius draws in the minds of his readers with the *Imago mundi*, an object of contemplative grazing that nourishes the soul.⁸³ Astronomy too directs the traveler towards God. Tutored by Hyginus and Julius Caesar—the latter due to his reform of the calendar—the traveler witnesses the dancing of the heavenly bodies in praise of their creator.⁸⁴ The journey of the traveler through the quadrivium is the same course of the order of seeing God in creatures that Honorius outlines in the *Scala coeli major* and *De anima et de Deo*.⁸⁵ Thus, we see that progress through the trivium equips us to recognize the presence of God in created things, while the quadrivium is concerned with actually attaining that recognition. We learn the disposition of creation—in order, measure and geography, attune our being to this order, and thus gain the

Eriugena: East and West, ed. Bernard McGuinn and Willemien Otten (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1994), 166-76.

⁸² In hac urbe docentur viantes per modulamen morum transire ad concentum coelorum. *De animae exilio*, PL172:1244D.

⁸³ dispositio totius orbis, *Imago mundi*, incipit, p. 49.

⁸⁴ *De animae exilio*, PL172:1245A.

⁸⁵ Cf. *Scala coeli major*, PL172:1231B-1232A.

ability to recognize and participate in the dance of the heavens, a cosmic praise of God reminiscent of the eighteenth psalm:

The heavens shew forth the glory of God, and the firmament declareth the work of his hands. Day to day uttereth speech, and night to night sheweth knowledge. There are no speeches nor languages, where their voices are not heard. Their sound hath gone forth into all the earth: and their words unto the ends of the world.⁸⁶

Having completed the quadrivium, the traveler then enters into the arts that Honorius has appended to the traditional seven; *physica*, *mechanica*, and *oeconomica*. These arts are less concerned with directing the traveler towards the contemplation of God and more ordered towards the practical enactment of the spiritual gifts attained on his journey. In the first, *physica*, the traveler learns the nature of plants, stones, and animals and is guided by Hippocrates through these natures from the healing of bodies to the healing of souls. Departing from this city, the traveler proceeds to what Honorius calls *mechanica*, which encompasses all manners of building and artistic creation.⁸⁷ For Honorius, the work of artistic creation is a direct imitation of God, whom he frequently refers to as an *opifex* and more rarely as an *artifex*.⁸⁸ Creation itself, whether as it currently exists or as the new creation at the end of time, is virtually always described by him as an artistic product; a painting, a song, a piece of jewelry, a book, or a building. Both *physica* and *mechanica*, therefore, enable the traveler to imitate the divine, healing bodies and souls, as did Christ, and bringing forth beautiful creations from the mind, as did the Father.

⁸⁶ Psalms 18:2-5.

⁸⁷ *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1245B.

⁸⁸ Honorius uses the former to refer to God more often, almost always speaking in terms of architectural metaphors, constructing the Heavenly Jerusalem, the temple, and so on. His description of God as an *artifex* is rarer and typically refers to the pre-creation of all things as ideas within the mind of God before their procession into material actuality.

Finally, the traveler reaches the city of economics, “through which,” Honorius tells us, “he is led to the fore-court of the fatherland.”⁸⁹ It is in this city that the traveler is able to contemplate his own salvation, where he grasps the dignity and worthiness of earthly ranks and comes to understand how the earthly hierarchy will conform to the heavenly. This city teaches men the order of their merits and to what order of angels their merit has earned them a place amongst.⁹⁰ The question of which of the many mansions we will occupy in heaven is an important one for Honorius and quite often contemplation of our place in God’s house concludes his descriptions of the afterlife.⁹¹ For instance, in the *Liber duodecim quaestionum*, it is the association of the earthly hierarchy with the heavenly that enables Honorius to answer the question that motivates the work, whether monks, who derive from St. Michael, or canons, descending from St. Peter, are more worthy.⁹² The same conceit figures heavily in his depiction of heaven that concludes *De animae* as well, with the addition that the same is true for the damned. Whatever vices they indulged in will run before their eyes for all time, “various and multiplex visions of vice, like savage beasts, run before them, which they always want to flee, but are not able to escape; because other visions always assail them, and they sink into the endless abyss of sadness and despair.”⁹³ Note that in both cases, our end is characterized as fundamentally visual. The endpoint of education and of our individual lives is a sort of vision, either of the joys of the celestial feast or of the terrors of Hell.

⁸⁹ per quam pervenitur ad patriae atria. *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1245B.

⁹⁰ *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1245C

⁹¹ His interest likely stems from Eriugena’s emphasis on John 14:2 in his discussions of the afterlife throughout the *Periphyseon*.

⁹² *LDQ*, PL172:1181C-1182A.

⁹³ Sed eis variae et multiplices vitiorum phantasiae, ut truces bestiae, occurrunt, quas semper volunt effugere, sed non valent evadere; quia aliae prae aliis semper se ingerunt, et in immensum barathrum tristitiae et desperationis demergunt. *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1246D.

Passing through the final city, the traveler emerges into his true fatherland, Scripture, a great house where wisdom reigns. This house is supported by the gifts of the Holy Spirit, seven columns, and has four walls, the four modes of exegesis: historical, allegorical, tropological, and anagogical.⁹⁴ As in the cities of the arts, which were capped by the understanding of our place within the hierarchy of creation and salvation, it is the anagogical mode that represents the culmination of these senses of Scripture. The deepest, highest meaning is that which relates directly to God, which transcends creation and leads us towards the contemplation of eternal life. Grasping this, the traveler is finally led by wisdom to see the King of Glory.⁹⁵ He joins the company of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and virgins, and may finally behold Christ transfigured. The end point of education, therefore, is a sort of recognition, an intellectual vision of God's presence in creation and Scripture that inexorably leads us to greater and greater heights of contemplation, and, though this is not emphasized by Honorius, greater degrees of moral perfection.

The pedagogical ideal we find in Honorius's writings is, thus, fundamentally anagogic, directed towards eternal life, and eternal life is gained through seeing, "Those who attain to this kingdom will in this manner see the King of Glory in all his majesty, and He will be their joy, like the light of their eyes."⁹⁶ The vision found within this kingdom is not confined to the words of the Bible but encompasses all creation: "In this fatherland, all the studious (studiosi) ascend onto the mountain of contemplation, in which they see Christ shining like the sun in white vestments between Moses and Elijah, because they understand him, judge of the living and dead,

⁹⁴ *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1245C.

⁹⁵ *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1245D.

⁹⁶ Qui ad hanc patriam perveniunt, hoc modo Regem gloriae in decore suo videbunt, qui erit gaudium eorum, ut lux oculorum. *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1246D

coequal of the father through sacred scripture and visible creation which are his vestments.”⁹⁷

The culmination of education is to see creation and Scripture, the twin revelations of God, linked through Christ, who is in turn the hermeneutic key for unlocking both of them. In the end, therefore, it is a supremely incarnational vision.⁹⁸

Seeing properly, being educated, moves us up the hierarchy of being, making us more like God as our intellects are brought into conformity with him, and thus drawing us inexorably upwards towards salvation. As he writes in the *Cognitio vitae*, "to rationally investigate the essence of the divine is to hasten to eternal life."⁹⁹ In the eschatological union with God that is our true homeland, we ourselves become like God.¹²⁴ Salvation is the end point of the traveler's journey through the arts, and education culminates in deification.

Presbyter

Honorius's pedagogical concerns did not arise within a vacuum, but as the central aspect of his broader call for the reform of the Church and society. He was, of course, not unique in making this call. Indeed, demands for urgent reform have been an integral part of Christendom since its very formation, whether in the voices crying out for spiritual reform from the deserts of Egypt, the educational program of the Carolingians, or the monastic foundations originating in Cluny. The eleventh and twelfth centuries saw especially vigorous calls for reform, as the same societal forces that dramatically reshaped ideals of education during the period, likewise fostered a new self-conception of the Church, with attendant challenges to the existing order. In particular, the new-found stability of the era in the wake of the cessation of the calamitous invasions of previous centuries, coupled with improved communications, and the consolidation

⁹⁷ In hac patria quoque studiosi in montem contemplationis ascendunt, in quo Christum inter Moysen et Eliam in nivea veste, ut sol, radiantem conspiciunt: quia eum iudicem vivorum et mortuorum, Patri coequalem per sacram Scripturam, et visibilem creaturam, quae sunt vestes ejus, intelligunt. *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1246A.

⁹⁸ For further discussion of the incarnational character of Honorius's thought and project, see below, 211ff.

⁹⁹ Divinitatis ergo essentiam rationabiliter investigare, est ad vitam aeternam festinare. *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1005

and centralization of the Church led to a desire to address the fundamental questions of what it actually meant to be a Christian and what shape Christian society ought to take, culminating in the proclamations of Lateran IV. The struggle for reform was multifaceted, almost infinitely complex. As the precise bounds of Christian life were delineated, opinions multiplied, competing interests of canons, monks, bishops, kings, local nobility, the laity, secular clergy, intersected. New religious orders flourished, each responding to the perceived failings of existing structures and each offering unique modes of addressing those failures. Reform was an ideal appealed to by virtually everyone, including the guardians of the old order. There is thus no discrete set of propositions that can be pointed to as constituting the ideal of reform, and it is consequently not enough to simply designate Honorius as a reformer. Instead, we must investigate what his conception of reform was in particular, and this investigation, we shall see, turns on how he understood the role of the *presbyter*.

A key issue within virtually every permutation of reform in the long twelfth century was the question of the distinctions between the clergy and laity. There was a concerted effort to separate the two more clearly, particularly through the establishment of disciplines and concomitant privileges for the former. This discipline both solidified the control of the broader Church hierarchy over the individual priest and his message, and also more fully set the priest apart from broader society. In so doing, the Church was able to increase the aura of sanctity that surrounded priests and their rituals, particularly the sacraments, which saw their importance dramatically increased. The status of the clergy and their administration of the sacraments, therefore, became a focal point around which reform was centered. Moreover, the Church had a vested interest in distinguishing itself from the secular hierarchy, in casting itself as not simply another powerful landholder but as something radically different, outside the secular order. As

part and parcel of this distinction, the campaign against simony decreed that clerical offices could no longer be purchased in the manner of other appointments; they must be of a different kind. Similarly, priests must not shed blood, must not participate in the still endemic warfare that was the primary profession of the other members of the upper reaches of society—many of whom were almost certainly their family members. Perhaps the biggest mark of distinction between the laity and the clergy, however, was celibacy, which signaled the dramatic removal of the priest from the world of marriage and family ties that defined society. This ideal of celibacy as one of, if not the primary, mode of distinguishing Christian holy men from their peers had a long lineage within Christianity, and the efforts to enforce this ideal was one of the most marked characteristics of twelfth century reform.¹⁰⁰

Honorius follows this broader trend and focuses his reforming efforts squarely on the clergy. He assumes the leading role of priests in shaping the moral character of society and ensuring the stability and success thereof. Good shepherds result in a good flock, so much so that reforming efforts need to focus little on that flock. If the top of the grand hierarchy of society is reformed, the bottom will follow. Priests are “a light,” guides through whom the rest of the world is brought to salvation.¹⁰¹ Accordingly, they receive greater rewards for their sacrifices and leadership and risk greater peril should they fail to uphold their responsibilities. Good priests earn the company of angels, while monks, if they live well, “will be judges with the Lord,” but if not, “are more pitiable than all men, because they have neither the world nor God.”¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ The classic study of this is Peter Brown’s *Body and Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988).

¹⁰¹ *Speculum ecclesiae*, PL172:861D.

¹⁰² *Speculum ecclesiae*, PL172:863B. Si propositum suum religiose vivendo impleverint, cum Domino iudices erunt; sin autem, miserabiliores sunt omnibus hominibus, quia non habent nec saeculum nec Deum, *Elucidarium*, II.Q53, p. 427.

In considering Honorius's clergy-focused reform, we shall explore three key aspects of his conception of the *presbyter*. The first is the relation of the hierarchy of the Church to secular authority, Honorius's contribution to the raging debates of the Investiture Controversy that were especially heated in Germany where he spent the bulk of his career and which had also defined Anselm's tumultuous tenure as archbishop of Canterbury. Second, we will investigate his portrait of priests as teachers and leaders of the populace. This issue is predominantly one of preaching—who ought to preach and what ought they be preaching? Finally, there is the moral reform of the clergy. Honorius regularly engages in passionate invective against married and simoniac priests, whom he repeatedly castigates in vicious terms as bandits and robbers, excommunicates casting themselves and their flock into the outer darkness.

Honorius's tract the *Summa gloria de apostolico et augusto* addresses, as the title indicates, the fraught relationship between the clergy and secular authorities. Delineating this relationship is vital, in his eyes because it is upon the shoulders of priests and kings that the “machine of the whole universe” rests.¹⁰³ Note the cosmic import of this understanding. It is not merely human society that is supported by the twin pillars of altar and throne, but the whole of the cosmos. Disorder here shakes the very foundation of creation itself. Honorius further likens priests and kings to the twin nature of Christ, the divine and human respectively. It is through both that Christ is made present on Earth. Yet, they are not equal partners in this making present. The divine must take precedence, and thus in the great contest between religious and secular authority, the religious must supersede the secular.

His primary way of demonstrating this truth is through historical examples, predominantly drawn from Scripture. Cain and Abel, Japheth and Shem, Ishmael and Isaac,

¹⁰³ *machina totius universitatis*, *Summa gloria*, PL172:1257B.

Esau and Jacob, all demonstrate the inherent superiority of priests to kings. The case of Cain and Abel is representative of his exegesis on this point. Abel, the shepherd, represents the priest, watching over his flock and protecting them from the wolves of heresy. He offers a lamb foreshadowing the sacrifice of Christ and has no children, just as priests are precluded from having children by their vows of celibacy. He is murdered by his brother, because priests, Honorius tells us, “[are] often oppressed by a king.”¹⁰⁴ Cain, the founder and ruler of the first city, is the forerunner of future kings, and his sacrifice represents an usurpation of Abel’s office. It is not the place of kings to sacrifice, just as—we are meant to understand—it is not the place of kings to appoint bishops. In His attitude to their sacrifices, God “most evidently declares” the priority of the priestly office and condemns Cain’s intrusion into the domain of priests.¹⁰⁵

The superiority of priests is further demonstrated by the temporal primacy of priests, even in times when the people lacked a king, God did not neglect to appoint priests to guide His people. Such was the case of the ancient Israelites prior to the election of Saul and during the exile in Babylon. The primacy of priests is even evident in the history of the pagans, despite the fact that these priests worshiped demons.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, history decisively answers the question of whether bishops may be appointed by kings. The answer is, of course, that they absolutely may not. In fact, the reality is precisely the opposite. Not only, Honorius argues, does the emperor have no authority over the bishops, the emperor himself ought to be elected by them and confirmed by the Pope. The case is clearly proven by Leo’s coronation of Charlemagne and Samuel’s anointing of Saul and David. Not only history, but reason itself, rebels against the

¹⁰⁴ saepe a regno opprimitur, *Summa gloria*, PL172:1259A.

¹⁰⁵ evidentissime declarant, *Summa gloria*, PL172:1259B.

¹⁰⁶ *Summa gloria*, PL172:1262B-1263B.

notion of lay investiture. Kings are both unworthy and unable to confer the spiritual dignity of priestly office.¹⁰⁷

In a properly ordered world, earthly rulers are to serve as the spiritual order's sword, to protect against external threats and against those internal enemies who prove recalcitrant to the efforts of the clergy; unconverted pagans, heretics, and priests who refuse the demands of reform.¹⁰⁸ Thus, it is entirely legitimate to appeal to secular authorities as a cudgel when the religious have become irredeemably corrupt. Protecting the Church is the prime responsibility of kings, and those who fail to do so are tyrants, and they have excommunicated themselves, "in communion, they must be avoided by everyone."¹⁰⁹ This excommunication need not be officially pronounced. It merely *is* whenever a ruler has seriously lapsed in his duties or has slipped from protecting the Church to oppressing it. Despite being excommunicate, tyrants are not to be rebelled against. They must instead be tolerated, for they are likely a trial imposed by God on the faithful as a consequence of their sins.¹¹⁰

These trials, however, are not limited to "mere" oppression by tyrants. As the secular and sacred hierarchies support the structure of the whole universe, their being out of balance is a cosmic calamity. Instability in the Empire is caused by the rejection of ecclesiastical authority, and Honorius recounts a number of examples of kings whose reigns end poorly due to their oppression of priests.¹¹¹ We witness the same pattern in his historical chronicles, where the oppression of priests is inevitably accompanied by political, military, and natural disasters.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ *Summa gloria*, PL172:1268A.

¹⁰⁸ *Summa gloria*, PL172:1264A-B.

¹⁰⁹ *in comunione per omnia declinandus*, *Summa gloria*, PL172:1267C.

¹¹⁰ *Summa gloria*, PL172:1267B-C.

¹¹¹ *Summa gloria*, PL172:1269A-C.

¹¹² Cf. the *Summa totius*, PL172:189A-196D.

Thus, the proper regulation of the sacred and secular orders is vital to the maintenance of society and the salvation of souls.

Beyond rulers, the laity receive little attention from Honorius. They are to be cared for, tended by their shepherds, but their own duties are few. In his *Sermo Generalis*, he explains that farmers must faithfully pay their tithes, obey their priests and local rulers, and give alms. If they do so, they will avoid the depredations of storms, plague, violence, and fire, and achieve eternal reward.¹¹³ Similarly, the married can achieve salvation if they simply pray here and there—upon rising, at meals, and before bed—attend church and the liturgical feasts, raise their children in the faith, give alms, avoid murder, fornication, and contact with the excommunicate, and are obedient to their priest.¹¹⁴ In both cases, it is obedience to the authorities, calendar, and structure of the Church that is key. The Church takes care of their salvation, and thus the proper conduct of priests is vital to the laity's attainment of heaven. The place of the masses in the grand order of the cosmos is low and their responsibilities correspondingly light. Even their lapses are to be forgiven:

To the same extent that light differs from darkness, so does the order of priests differ from the laity. If the laity fornicate or commit other acts against the rules of religion, the Church does not therefore deprive them from communion, but patiently tolerates and calls them to penitence unless they have conspicuously rebelled, disobeyed their priests and defended their iniquity.¹¹⁵

With the proper guidance, the prospect of those engaged in honest trades, such as farmers, are fairly good. In the *Elucidarium*, the disciple inquires about the prospects for salvation of farmers, and the magister replies: "For the most part they are saved, because they live simply and

¹¹³ *Speculum ecclesiae*, PL172:866A-B.

¹¹⁴ *Speculum ecclesiae*, PL172: 867C-870C.

¹¹⁵ Quantum differt lux a tenebris, tantum differt ordo sacerdotum a laicis. Si laici fornicantur aut aliud quid contra regulam religionis agunt, non ideo aeclesia eos communione privat, sed patienter tolerat et ad penitentiam provocat, nisi forte rebelles extiterint et sacerdotibus non obedirent et suam iniquitatem defenderint, *Offendiculum*, 38, p. 51.

feed the people of God with their sweat.”¹¹⁶ The ease in which they might attain salvation compared to the religious, however, is balanced by the superiority of the rewards that await monks and priests. In God’s house there are many mansions, and final placement in these mansions is determined according to one’s conduct and station on Earth, with the more difficult stations in the earthly hierarchy associated with the more exalted ranks of angels.¹¹⁷

Key, therefore, to the peoples’ salvation is the education and good preaching of the clergy, another of the central pillars of Honorius’s vision of reform. He imagines the people as a flock of sheep constantly in danger of being ravaged by bandits, thieves, and wolves—that is, false priests, demons, and heretics. Their spiritual leaders must be educated in order to recognize and combat these threats, to serve as watchdogs in the home of God, i.e. the Church.

Uneducated priests and religious are the “dumb dogs,” bemoaned by Isaiah, “not able to bark, seeing vain things, sleeping and loving dreams.”¹¹⁸ Thus, it is vital that preachers are trained in the fundamentals of Christian doctrine so that they might recognize challenges to that doctrine and defeat the enemies of the faith.

That it was the clergy’s responsibility to protect and guide their flock does not entail that the laity were to be wholly uneducated. The *Elucidarium* makes clear that Honorius thought it important that priests be able to provide ready answers to common questions such as, how long were Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden? or whether it is necessary for salvation to be buried in a church cemetery?¹¹⁹ Similarly, his sermons are laden with theological content, and while much of this content was likely directed towards a monastic audience, a good portion was

¹¹⁶ Ex magna parte salvantur, quia simpliciter vivunt et populum Dei suo sudore pascunt, ut dicitur: “Labores manuum qui manducant beati sunt.” *Elucidarium*, II.Q61, p. 429. Note that in the same passage he tells us that the majority of monks are destined for Hell.

¹¹⁷ *LDQ*, PL172:1180D-1181C.

¹¹⁸ *Offendiculum*, 30, p. 48; Isaiah 56:10.

¹¹⁹ The answers are seven hours and no, respectively. *Elucidarium*, I.Q90. p. 377 and II.Q103, p. 441.

undoubtedly directed towards the laity, including calls for them to avoid the false priests, heretics, and demons who daily besiege the just.

Thus, preaching was fundamental to the protective duty of the clergy and Honorius was keen to see that it was done well and only by those who possessed the necessary education and moral rectitude. He goes so far as to suggest that it is only monks and canons who are adequately equipped to meet the challenge in his treatise defending the rights of monks to preach against that their duty is merely “to weep,” *Quod monachis liceat predicare*. This tract, based on Pascasius Radbertus’s of the same name though far more polemical than its Carolingian predecessor, is ostensibly motivated by a request from a group of unnamed brothers who know full well that monks are able to preach, baptize, and forgive sins, but who are unable to supply the necessary arguments and authority to “block the mouth of those speaking manifest iniquities.”¹²⁰ To prove his case, Honorius marshals historical arguments similar to those used to demonstrate the proper relation of the sacred and secular hierarchies in the *Summa gloria*. The lives of Martin, Gregory, and Jerome all prove that it is wholly acceptable for monks to preach, especially notable in the case of Jerome, whose example neatly subverts the use of his “it is not the duty of monks to teach, but to weep” by the opponents of monastic preaching.¹²¹

Ultimately, the belief that monks are unable to preach, Honorius tells us, stems from a misunderstanding of the designation *monachus*. The word is a designation of *merit* not one of *office* and thus does not preclude the possibility of holding the office of priest. It is this office that gives the right to perform the sacrament of baptism, to forgive sins, and to preach, the three

¹²⁰ os loquentium iniqua manifesta auctoritas obstruat. *Quod monachis*, 147.

¹²¹ Jerome, *Against Vigilantius*, 15. The debate over the proper pastoral role of monks was a heated one, see for instance, Giles Constable, “Monasteries, Rural Churches and the *Cura animarum* in the Early Middle Ages,” *Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo* 28, no. 1 (1982), 349-89; Carolyn Muessig, “What is Medieval Monastic Preaching?” in *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 3-16; Caroline Bynum, *Jesus as Mother* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 29-30.

actions that most directly lead the laity toward salvation¹²² Thus it is necessary to defend monks' ability to perform all three in order to ensure that they have a role in the *cura animarum*.

Honorius's conception of monasticism is not a full retreat from the world, therefore, but one that includes a vital outward-facing mission, deeply concerned with the salvation of the whole of society, not merely through prayers but through active intervention in the lives of the laity.

Honorius spares no invective in his condemnation of unworthy priests, particularly those engaged in simony and fornication. The crime of the former is two-fold. First, simony involves simple avarice—simoniac priests reveal in their simony that they are ultimately only concerned with money, power, and the honor that derives from ecclesiastical office, not with God.¹²³ Second and with more serious implications, simoniac priests are guilty of attempting to enter the Church through improper means. This forced entry is a violation of the rightful order of things, and offends Honorius's sense of order. A disruption of this sort cannot be tolerated, and thus neither can those who practice simony. Ultimately, these men cannot even be truly said to have entered into the Church at all, which Honorius demonstrates via a syllogism:

He who, having not been admitted through the door by the shepherd, but climbing over the wall invades the sheepfold is either a thief or a bandit or a wolf. But these men, have not been admitted by Christ the shepherd nor have they entered through the door of ecclesiastical custom to the governance of the Church, but through money like an armed man violently burst into the sheepfold of the Lord. Therefore they are robbers, bandits, or wolves, and therefore they are outside the Church.¹²⁴

Having excluded themselves from service to God, there is only one other possible master of these bandits and wolves, Satan.

¹²² *Quod monachis*, 148.

¹²³ *Offendiculum*, 6, p. 40.

¹²⁴ Qui a pastore non intrinmissus per ostium non intraverit, sed scandendo per murum in ovile irruerit, aut fur aut latro aut lupus est. Sed ipsi a pastore Christo intrinmissi non sunt nec per ostium aecclesiasticae institutionis ad aecclesiae regimen intraverunt, sed per pecuniam quasi armata manu violenter in ovile Domini irruperunt. Igitur fures, latrones, lupi sunt et ideo extra aecclesiam sunt. *Offendiculum*, 18, p. 43. Honorius is drawing here on Christ's parable at John 10:1, perhaps one of the syllogisms which he tells us swim through Scripture like fish in the sea, *In Psalmos*, PL172:279C.

The same is true of priests who presume to take wives, and Honorius is far more concerned with these men than with simoniac priests, perhaps pointing to which of these sins was more widespread among his audience. The Old Testament, he tells us, makes clear that priests ought not to be married. Those who would point to passages which seem to indicate that married priests are acceptable are easily rebutted by further exegesis.¹²⁵ We know his reading of Scripture is correct, moreover, because Christ, the supreme model of all priests and the lens through which the Old Testament is read, was himself unmarried.¹²⁶ Furthermore, reason is in perfect accord with Honorius's read of Scripture, and, as was the case with simoniac priests, he is able to demonstrate this truth beyond the shadow of a doubt with a syllogism. Those who serve the "demon of filth" cannot serve Christ, and all who are guilty of fornication are living lives of filth, thus they must be ministers of that demon, not Christ.¹²⁷ What is more, similar logic proves that the supposed wives of priests are in reality concubines, not legitimate spouses but fornicators, and their children bastards:

Priests of the Church either live chastely and are priests, or unchastely and are fornicators. But these men lead an unchaste life, therefore they are fornicators. The wives are illicitly joined to these men; therefore, they are fornicators [also].¹²⁸

Like simoniacs, these wicked priests and their concubines are not members of the Church; but excommunicates.

Having argued repeatedly that wicked priests are outside the Church, he goes on to explore the implications of this position, and is adamant that the efforts of the wicked do nothing

¹²⁵ *Offendiculum*, 19, p. 43

¹²⁶ *Offendiculum*, 21, p. 44.

¹²⁷ *Offendiculum*, 32, p. 49

¹²⁸ Presbyteri aecclesiae aut caste vivunt et sacerdotes sunt, aut inceste et fornicatores existunt. Sed ipsi incestuosam vitam ducunt, igitur fornicatores sunt. Mulieres autem illis illicite iunctae sunt, igitur fornicariae sunt. *Offendiculum*, 33-4, p. 49-50.

to please God, but only anger Him. This enraging of God has calamitous effects, both in the spiritual realm and the physical:

Whence, it is clear that the people, because of the iniquity of priests, are seized by enemies, scattered, killed, and the sacred places having been contaminated by them are laid waste by fire or by hostile incursions, because not only those who do [evil], but those who consent to the doing, are worth of death. Thence is why various disasters—now storms, now drought, now famine, now war, now pestilence and others of this sort—frequently come into the world.¹²⁹

The question immediately raised by Honorius's position is whether these apparently excommunicate priests are able to offer the sacraments and preach, and indeed this is the question that motivates his most extensive treatise on reform, the *Offendiculum*. Here, the brothers writing to Honorius ask, "if it is useful or permitted for Christians to hear the masses of these [simoniac or married priests] or to receive the other sacraments from them."¹³⁰ The question is a particularly pressing one, because Honorius also insists that the majority of priests are in fact wicked.¹³¹ Does this mean that the majority of the faithful are deprived of the sacraments? Are their baptisms valid? Is the legitimacy of the ordinations of good clergy are in question? Honorius must navigate dangerous waters, not only because his condemnations surely offend those guilty of the sins he attacks but also because in the strength of his invective, he risks undermining the whole of the ecclesiastical order.

Despite these disastrous consequences of priestly impurity, Honorius is quick to note that it is not the man who makes the sacrament, but the power of God. Thus, the ordinations of the wicked are still efficacious, provided the one so ordained honestly serves the Church.¹³² God

¹²⁹ Insuper et archa, videlicet gloria eorum sanctificationis, ab eis est ablata et ad imicos eorum allophilos allata. Unde et patet, quod populus ob iniquitatem sacerdotum sepe ab inimicis capiatur, dispergatur, occidatur, et sacra loca ab eis contaminate aut incendio aut hostili incursione vastentur, quia non solum, qui faciunt, sed et qui consentiunt facientibus, digni sunt morte. Inde est, quod crebro veniunt in mundum diversae clades, nunc tempestates, nunc siccitas, nunc fames, nunc bella, nunc pestilentiae et alia huiusmodi. *Offendiculum*, 47, p. 54-5.

¹³⁰ *Offendiculum*, p. 38.

¹³¹ *Offendiculum*, 31, p. 48-9.

¹³² *Offendiculum*, 51, p. 56.

also makes further allowances for the just, for sacraments of the good do not merely benefit those in their immediate vicinity. Faithful masses benefit the whole Church, and the zealous participate together in a liturgy which transcends geographical bounds, and which cannot be impeded by the wicked.¹³³ Finally, Honorius introduces a key distinction between public and private sin, the former far graver than the latter:

A priest sinning in secret is tolerated by the church...and all the sacraments offered by him are judged as if offered by the best, particularly since by the best they are not made better nor worse by the worse. But he who contrary to God and the decrees of the Church dirties himself publicly in filth, and moreover defends his shamelessness, he must be held as a heathen, rejected by all and despised.¹³⁴

Notice, just as with the sins of the laity, the potential for corrupting others is something Honorius takes especially seriously. If sinners insist on defending their sins, publicly persisting in the face of condemnation, they provide an incitement to others, acting as a satanic inversion of the virtuous whose example is a beacon leading souls to heaven. These persistent, defiant, and public sinners beckon souls toward damnation and must therefore be dealt with in the harshest manner.

The aftereffects of Honorius's positions on reform can be difficult to discern. Many of his positions were ultimately codified by Lateran IV; the proscriptions of simony and clerical marriage, the emphasis on the moral reform of the clergy. Yet, the stridency of his position was perhaps too extreme to be maintained. Certainly, in the face of the challenges raised by anti-sacerdotal reformers, the Church did not want to offer up the possibility that the sacraments of wicked priests were not valid, though this suspicion would persist well through the Reformation.

¹³³ *Offendiculum*, 48, p. 55.

¹³⁴ Sacerdos occulte peccans ab aeclesia toleratur et causa eius, ut dictum est, cordium inspectori reservatur, et omnia sacramenta ab eo exhibita ut ab optimo erunt rata, praesertim cum ab optimo non meliorentur nec a pessimo peiorentur. Qui vero contra Dei et aeclesiae instituta publice in inmundicia sordescit, insuper et suam impudiciciam defendit, hic ut ethnicus habendus erit, et omnia respuenda et proconculcanda. *Offendiculum*, 42, p. 52-3.

Paradoxically, Honorius's intense focus on the clergy provides a strong incentive for the incubation of lay piety. If wicket priests imperil both the souls and physical well-being of their flocks there is tremendous motivation for the laity to remove these priest from power, perhaps appealing to the sword of the Church, secular authorities, to do so. Moreover, his repeated contention that contemplative vision hastens our journey to heaven—and the wide dissemination of this contention in his preaching handbooks, sermons, and so on—could be seen as lurking behind the explosion of lay piety in subsequent decades, especially since that piety attached special importance to the vision of God.¹³⁵ Thus, his ideals of reform seem to have a long afterlife, though perhaps not in the forms he intended.

Against this backdrop an image of Honorius's ideal *presbyter* emerges. A priest ought to be educated, well-spoken, and morally exemplary. He must chastely model the Christian life to serve as a beacon that leads others to heaven, while defending them against the innumerable enemies—internal and external—that beset the faithful. Ideally, a priest should be living according to a rule in order to ensure his moral rectitude. For his service he will be rewarded, both by the contemplative foretaste of heaven that is the end point of learning and by a prized place in the heavenly court, association with the highest angels. Examined closely, Honorius's prologues paint him as just such a figure, who labors tirelessly for the salvation of others, risking the vicious teeth of envy and condemnation to train others to become like him. He is a model through his texts, living the ideal of *scholasticus et presbyter* within.

Inclusus

The reason why Honorius may have chosen to embody himself so fully into the text, to allow his identity to recede behind his words, may lie not in a desire to escape the opprobrium of

¹³⁵ Cf. the discussion in Barbara Newman, "What Does It Mean to Say 'I Saw'?" *Speculum* 80, no. 1 (January 2005), 25.

his peers, because he was worried that his extreme positions on reform or the potential heterodoxy of his sources would lead to his condemnation, but rather because he had dramatically removed himself from the world with his written words in search of God, leaving his works as the only remaining connection between his cell and the outside. This seclusion is suggested by the final label that has consistently affixed itself to Honorius over the centuries: *inclusus* or *solitarius*.

This designation stems from his works themselves and their manuscripts. For example, the epistle that opens the *Gemma animae*, is addressed to “Honorius *Solitarius*.”¹³⁶ Meanwhile, in the chapter headings of later recensions of the *Imago mundi* describe the encyclopedia as “the book of Honorius *inclusus* on the image of the world.”¹³⁷ He is also remembered as an *inclusus* in the above-cited entry in Trithemius’s *De viris*, and in one of the few contemporary mentions of Honorius, the *Annales Pallidenses*, as a *solitarius*.¹³⁸ Surprisingly then, Honorius rarely speaks directly of the enclosed life. An exception can be found in his commentary on the Psalms. Here, he compares the different forms of life within the Church to musical instruments. Priests are trumpets, monks are psalters, drums martyrs, the chorus regular canons, and *inclusi* are harps, singing praise to God.¹³⁹ Interestingly, he immediately precedes this exposition with the claim that the chorus, horn, and harp signify the mind, the spirit, and the body, and further, that together they correspond to the Trinity, presumably with the harp, always classed by him as corresponding to the body or to the earth, standing for Christ.¹⁴⁰ Beyond this mention, however,

¹³⁶ *Gemma animae*, PL172:541.

¹³⁷ *Imago mundi*, incipit, p. 49.

¹³⁸ *Annales Pallidenses*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS, vol. 16 (Hanover: Impensis. Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1859), 52.

¹³⁹ *In Psalmos*, PL172:308A.

¹⁴⁰ *In Psalmos*, PL172:307C, for the harp as signifying the body, *In Psalmos*, PL172:306D.

Honorius has little to say about the *inclusi* in general, although he does mention a number of saints who were *inclusi* in the *Speculum ecclesiae*.¹⁴¹

Despite the lack of internal evidence, such a career choice on Honorius's part would not have been especially remarkable for the time period. The oft-remarked upon religious churn of the early twelfth century led many figures to change their vocations over the course of their lives, and the degree to which existing religious groups failed to address the needs and anxieties of the populace—particularly due to their perceived laxity—led increasing numbers to adopt the extreme life of the hermit or recluse. The already mentioned Odo of Tournai, for instance, began his career as a canon, became a hermit, then later a monk and bishop. Honorius's career could have easily followed a similar track. Indeed, Flint argues that Honorius too began as a canon before becoming a monk and eventually an *inclusus*.¹⁴² We can see also in Eadmer's life of Anselm, that he considered becoming a hermit before embarking on his monastic career at Bec.¹⁴³ Anselm regularly corresponded with eremites, praising their lifestyles and signaling them out as great inspirations for the people.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, the area around Regensburg, where it is almost certain Honorius ended his career, was noted as supporting a sizable contingent of recluses.¹⁴⁵

Pinning down precisely what it meant to be an *inclusus* or *solitarius* is difficult for a number of reasons. The greatest of which is the fact that the mode of life lived by the men and women who chose to adopt this lifestyle was not necessarily a stable one, but an ideal that shifted, along with virtually every other way of religious life, throughout the eleventh and twelfth

¹⁴¹ For instance, St. Thais, *Speculum ecclesiae*, PL172:892C-94B.

¹⁴² Flint, *Honorius*, 127-8. The case she outlines is certainly a plausible one, however, it is simply too speculative to be truly convincing.

¹⁴³ Eadmer, *The Life of St. Anselm*, I.VI, p. 10.

¹⁴⁴ Anselm, ep. 3.

¹⁴⁵ Endres, *Honorius Augustodunensis* (Kempten München: J. Kösel, 1906), 6-8.

centuries. The most famous description of the *inclusi*, indeed the only comprehensive account that has survived, is the rule for solitaries of Grimlaicus, a tenth century monk at Metz.¹⁴⁶ For Grimlaicus, taking up the life of the solitary was a means for especially holy monks to ascend to a higher plain of perfection while remaining physically attached to their home church or monastery—typically in a small cell from which they could participate in the liturgy and have limited contact with other monks, without ever setting foot outside its bounds. The *inclusus* of Grimlaicus’s rule represented the highest culmination of the “death to the world” that all monks ostensibly underwent, complete with a pseudo-funeral at the time of their enclosure.¹⁴⁷ As the “living dead,” the *inclusus* acted as a nexus between our world and the next, intensifying the dislocation of the monk from the secular realm, participating directly in the afterlife. He “draw[s] more freely on the sweetness of celestial life,” in the words of Anselm, writing to Hugh the Hermit. What Anselm contemplates from afar Hugh, “discern[s] by savoring; and what I, with a hungry mind, mutter with my lips, you gulp down to your heart’s content.”¹⁴⁸ This form of enclosure also accounts for the relative paucity of information about them, both practically and conceptually. Practically, the monk or nun who had thus enclosed themselves was expected to live the remainder of their lives within the narrow confines of their cell, and thus did not have the opportunity to do much that would be particularly notable to contemporary chroniclers. Conceptually, the *inclusi* were dead to the world, so removed from the general course of life that there was little to say, little that could be said, about them.

¹⁴⁶ Interestingly, the work was translated into German in Regensburg, Paul Dietrich, *Eruditio Sacra* (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1981), 15.

¹⁴⁷ Phyllis Jestice, *Wayward Monks and the Religious Revolution of the Eleventh Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 105-6.

¹⁴⁸ Anselm, ep. 112, p. 268.

While Grimlaicus's rule provides a useful window into the lives of a group little written about by others, there is ample evidence to indicate that the ideal laid out by Grimlaicus is *an* ideal of the eremitic life, rather than *the* ideal. Indeed, the form of the eremitic life found in Grimlaicus appears to be one that increasingly fell into disfavor as the long twelfth century unfolded, particularly as the vocation of hermit became more attractive to monks just beginning their careers.¹⁴⁹ These hermits were considerably less isolated from other human contact than their predecessors, while simultaneously surpassing them in geographical isolation. Typically dissatisfied with the perceived laxity of existing monastic foundations, they tended to establish small communities in the nearest wilderness, marking a decisive shift from living as isolated individuals within a larger community to creating isolated communities independent of pre-existing structures.¹⁵⁰ Herluin of Bec was a famous early example of this sort, establishing the foundation of Bec with like-minded companions after first becoming a monk-hermit, rather than becoming a hermit after a long period of seeking spiritual perfection as a monk.¹⁵¹ The emergence of this new eremitical mode, one which allowed for greater contact with the outside world and which contributed to the founding of innumerable communities, led to the even further obfuscation of the lives of the *inclusi* in comparison. For, unlike the *inclusi*, these hermits were not dead to the world, cordoned off as if in the tomb, but rather active community builders and regular actors in the political and ecclesiastical spheres.

Despite the indeterminacy of the anchorite ideal during Honorius's time and the obscuring fog that cloaks these men and women from our contemporary view, there are

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Mari Hughes-Edwards, *Reading Medieval Anchoritism* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012) and Henrietta Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism* (London: Palgrave, 1984) for useful studies of the varieties and development of anchoritic experience in the twelfth centuries and beyond.

¹⁵⁰ Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism*, 19-20.

¹⁵¹ Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini* in *The Works of Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster*, ed. G.R. Evans and Anna Sapir Abulafia (London: Oxford University Press), 183-212.

important strands of the anchorite identity that recur across the different forms of eremitical life and similarly feature heavily within Honorius's writings. For instance, the anchorites of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were often deeply invested in reform, not surprising given that they often withdrew from the world, whether it was to the wilderness or enclosures within the monastery, to escape the corruption and temptations of the prevailing religious society. In particular, the anchorites of southern Germany were instrumental in the campaign against simony.¹⁵² Moreover, the anchorite served as a model of the ideal monk, a sort of super monk exceeding others in holiness, a model of holiness and light of the type Honorius calls his readers to be. Their authority to act as such a model was rooted in the contemplative foretaste of heaven that Anselm described as the special reward attained by hermits, the seeking of which animated virtually the whole of Honorius's authorial output. Perhaps Honorius's career followed the path laid out in his writings, moving from the earthly life, to the monastery, and then beyond, to participation in the celestial life through the living death of enclosure as an *inclusus*.

The extreme withdrawal and living death of the *inclusus* would seem to be at odds with their serving as guides to the larger community, but precisely the opposite is true. It is their very removal from this world that enables them to interact with the broader world on a level far beyond that of the average monk. The *inclusus*, through their utter alienation from broader society and their passage from life within this world to regular contact with the divine, becomes a great teacher, a living conduit of God's wisdom. This idea of solitary as teacher was common across almost all forms of the eremitical life. As Jestice notes, the holiness of the solitary both authorized their teaching and protected them from pollution that might result from contact with the laity:

¹⁵² Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism*, 70.

Almost every one mentioned in the extant sources is praised as a spiritual advisor, often with prophetic powers, who was a center of religious instruction and empowerment for an entire region. Physical contact was impossible because of their vows, but verbal contact with the laity and the other religious appears to have been part of their daily lives. This stands in stark contrast to monks of the reformed houses, whose customaries urged them to avoid contact, including speech, with the laity, for fear of the pollution with which even such well-regulated monks could become tainted.¹⁵³

In other words, to become a solitary was precisely to become the sort of authoritative teacher that Honorius portrayed himself as.

The ideal of *inclusus* as teacher was fundamental to their self-conception of their duties. Grimlaicus states simply, “Solitaries ought to be teachers,” and continues that they must be well educated so that they may, “be able to water with the flowing streams of doctrine the parched hearts of those neighbors who come to them...it is their task, moved by love alone, to nourish those who come to them with a banquet of spiritual words and humbly and privately to inspire people to serve God and so be converted.”¹⁵⁴ The salvation of others is, as for Honorius, the ultimate purpose of both learning and teaching. Furthermore, Grimlaicus’s description of how the *inclusus* ought to teach matches up with the ideal we observed in both Honorius and Anselm, that of careful condescension to the abilities of one’s audience. He even uses the same Scriptural passage used by Honorius in *De neocosmo* to justify such an approach:

The speech of solitaries, however, ought to be pure, simple, and open, full of dignity and honesty, full of sweetness, grace, and gentleness. It is their special duty to explain the mystery of the Law, the doctrine of the faith, the virtue of self-control, and the discipline of justice; to read the divine Scriptures, to peruse the canons, to imitate the examples of the saints in order to know beforehand what they should bring forth, to whom, when, and how they should speak of it. One and the same advice should not always be given to everyone, but each person should receive different counsel, given to everyone, but each person should receive different counsel, depending on the nature of that person's conduct and state in life. It takes a firm reprimand to correct some people, while a mild reprimand corrects others. Just as expert physicians use various medicines to suit the various kinds of wounds, so solitaries ought to apply to individual people an appropriate remedy of advice. They should declare to each person what is appropriate for that one's age, sex, and

¹⁵³ Jestice, *Wayward Monks*, 91.

¹⁵⁴ Grimlaicus, *Rule for Solitaries*, trans. Andrew Thorton (Collegeville: Cistercian Publications, 2011), 20, p. 65-6.

state in life. Not everything that is hidden should be revealed. That is to say, there are many people who cannot grasp such things. Especially to ignorant and carnal people, what is preached should be simple and common matters, not the most exalted and difficult to understand. That is why the Apostle says: "I was not able to speak to you as to spiritual people, but as to carnal. As though to babies in Christ I gave you milk to drink, not solid food." In speaking to carnal souls, as we have said, one must not speak either about the lofty things of heaven or about earthly things, but rather in ordinary language and with discretion.¹⁵⁵

Grimlaicus also expects solitaries to possess the level of erudition we find in Honorius. They must read extensively, in order that they know what to bring forth from their memory when instructing others, and thus should pass a large portion of their time either engaged in the *lectio divina* or discussing what they have read with others.¹⁵⁶

Finally, Grimlaicus suggests that solitaries could use disciples as intermediaries to bring their teaching to the masses without risking contact that might compromise their enclosure.¹⁵⁷ If Honorius was indeed an *inclusus*, might his writings not share the same purpose? To allow him to teach even though he has physically withdrawn from the world, without risk of pollution or attack from the "envious" that plagued his early career? Honorius certainly gives indications in his prologues that requests for written works disturb his efforts at seeking contemplative vision and of reluctance to engage himself with concerns of the broader world, though this, of course, may simply be a trope.¹⁵⁸

None of these commonalities between the life and ideals of the *inclusus* and what we find in Honorius's writings constitutes definitive proof that he did in fact become a recluse, even when combined with the manuscript evidence. Advocacy for reform, the pursuit of the contemplative vision of God, the priority of teaching as a means for guiding others to salvation,

¹⁵⁵ Grimlaicus, *Rule for Solitaries*, 20, p. 66.

¹⁵⁶ Grimlaicus, *Rule for Solitaries*, 24, p. 77.

¹⁵⁷ Grimlaicus, *Rule for Solitaries*, 16, p. 56.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. The preface to the *Gemma animae*, PL172:543.

and the ideal of teaching with special attentiveness to one's audience were widespread throughout the Middle Ages, intensified perhaps in the life of an *inclusus* but not unique to that life. As with so many aspects of Honorius's biography, he resists decisive judgment. However, it is this very resistance that in a sense makes Honorius a true *solitarius*. He is a man unmoored from the schools, geography, vocations, and identities of his era, teaching and preaching behind a wall of self-created anonymity that conceals him from our sight just as effectively as the walls any solitary's cell. The attempt to seek out the man behind his words only leads us back to his words, for it is within them that Honorius chose to embody himself. He faded away from the world, leaving behind only his labors. It is to those labors that we now turn in order to paint a picture of the man within.

Chapter II - The Three Columns

In the *Elucidarium*, Honorius describes the “machine” of his work and the “whole of the Christian faith” which is depicted therein, as supported by four pillars: the authority of the prophets; the dignity of the Apostles; the exposition of the sages; and the skillful subtlety of the teachers.¹ It is these pillars that hold up the vast edifice of Christian faith, which provide the means to understand it and grant the authority guaranteeing its truth. These same pillars undergird Honorius’s pedagogical mission; namely, to clear up controversies and communicate the basics of Christian doctrine to his readers while simultaneously elevating them to the contemplation of God. Given that Honorius generally engages with the authors of Scripture, the prophets of the Old Testament and the Apostles of the New, in the same manner—reading them through each other as individual components that can only be properly understood in light of the larger whole—it is reasonable to group these two into a single category in our exploration of Honorius’s thought. This leaves us with three columns that provide the foundation for and sustain his theological and authorial enterprise: the authors of Scripture, the doctors of the Church (the sages of the *Elucidarium*), and his own authority as a teacher, with the last of these predicated on his deft use of reason and rhetoric in expositing the former two. The interweaving of these three columns provides the authoritative foundation and content for Honorius’s authorial project, and their pervasive, harmonious interplay the model for both his writing style and the theology that is expressed through it. Indeed, the free interplay of Scripture, doctors, and reason is the key that lies at the very heart of his thought. His project might be described as synthesizing and harmonizing these columns, eliminating contradiction and confusion to give his

¹ Fundamentum igitur opusculi supra petram Christum jaciatur et tota machina quatuor firmis columnis fulciatur: primam columnam erigat prophetica auctoritas; secundam stabiliat apostolica dignitas; tertiam roborat expositorum sagacitas; quartam figat magistorum sollers subtilitas. *Elucidarium*, prologus, p. 359.

readers a totalizing picture of reality as a thoroughly Christian cosmos, a picture which mirrors the vision of creation transformed into the New Creation, the reward of the just.

Honorius's deft use of Scripture, the doctors, and reason, both in the considerable range of sources from which he draws and their elegant re-presentation in a form simple enough to be easily comprehended yet simultaneously providing fertile ground for further meditation and contemplation, displays a level of rhetorical sophistication that belies accusations of crudity and excessive simplicity in Honorius's thought. Indeed, it is the apparent simplicity of his writing that most emphatically demonstrates the sophistication of its construction. It is no easy task to briefly synthesize Bede, Eriugena, Anselm, and many others in an easily read, easily memorized package; it requires a deep grasp of the sources involved and an acute awareness of one's audience. More than just making his words easy to digest, the simplicity and matter-of-fact manner in which Honorius proffers his often-controversial theological opinions removes the possibility of doubt from the reader.² Christian doctrine, as understood by Honorius, is presented as settled and definite, with contradiction an impossibility. Any apparent contradiction or point of difficulty is only due to the weakness of vision on the part of those unable to glimpse the ordered clarity of divine truth. Honorius simply offers no opportunity for doubt, gives little hint of controversy, and suggests that any discontinuities merely a matter of unclarity that can be overcome by his own simple and direct approach.

The question of authority was of great importance to the thinkers of the twelfth century, as a rising educated class struggled to reconcile the multitudinous and seemingly contradictory

² See S. Flanagan, *Doubt in an Age of Faith* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009) for an exploration of the manifestations of doubt in the twelfth century, and particularly 31-2 and 57-66 on the using intermediaries, trusted teachers and those considered to be blessed with special spiritual gifts, including recluses, to resolve those doubts.

range of trusted sources inherited from the previous centuries.³ Honorius responds to this societal and intellectual anxiety by posing himself, over and over again, as an authoritative teacher, as a representative of the fourth pillar described in the *Elucidarium*, whose skillful subtlety sustains the Church. The cornerstones of this subtlety, and thus the grounds of his claims to personal authority, are his rhetorical eloquence, his deployment of reason, and his claims of having personally attained the pinnacle of wisdom, contemplative vision of God. The claim that rhetorical excellence substantiates the authority of his writing is most apparent in the prologues to his works which, following the Aristotelian rhetorical standard, appeal to ethos, establishing Honorius as a trusted, credible source.⁴ His prologues generally take the form of written entreaties, first on the part of those who have requested the work, then Honorius in reply. They bear obvious signs of the authorial care that Honorius has taken in his writings, establishing why they were written, how they should be read, and placing in the mouth of those who have requested the work praises of Honorius as authoritative teacher and eloquent writer.⁵

For example, in the prologue to his sermon collection, the *Speculum Ecclesiae*, we are told that the brothers desire to hear more of Honorius sermons for: “When you resided nearby in our convent, and you produced the word to the brothers according to the wisdom given to you by

³ See the description in Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe, Volume 1: Foundations* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1995) of the twelfth century as an age particularly concerned with the classification, clarification, and transmission of knowledge.

⁴ For the general Aristotelian schema, which was likely mediated to Honorius via Cicero. Cf., *On Invention*, trans. H.M. Hubbell (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), 1.98-109 or *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, trans. Harry Caplan (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), 2.47. Honorius cites Cicero as the preeminent teacher of rhetoric in *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1244A.

⁵ We might compare these prologues to Jerome’s in the Vulgate. Like Jerome, Honorius consistently emphasizes that his efforts were demanded by others and justifies himself against possible detractors. However, we find in Jerome none of the claims to contemplative experience as grounding the authority of the text, and Honorius is in general considerably less defensive; deflecting challenges to his authority more by implication than direct address. See Jerome’s prologues in *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, ed. Robert Weber (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1975).

the Lord, to all who were present it seemed that it was not you but an angel of God who spoke.”⁶ The disciples of Honorius’s dialogues similarly extol his eloquence. In the *Inevitabile*, the disciple, having been rapt by Honorius’s words to a vision of the cities of the damned and blessed and the battle of the end times between the two exclaims with gratitude, proclaims: “It was the blessed God, who inspired the brethren to wish me to direct these matters to you, so that I might be worthy to perceive these marvelous things from your mellifluous mouth.”⁷ It is the beauty of the magister’s words that propels the disciple onwards towards the inescapable conclusions of his arguments, and so the disciple continues, “[t]hrough your description I finally see all the beauty of the Lord’s House.”⁸ The beauty of these words must therefore be seen as a key facet of Honorius’s argument itself.⁹

Honorius’s shoring up of the foundations of his authority, however, extends beyond the mere aesthetic appeal of his words. Indeed, his theology derives from his ability to navigate among the columns of Scripture, the doctors, and reason. Honorius is able to act as an authoritative interpreter of Scripture precisely because he is able to interpret Scripture in a manner useful and comprehensible for his reader. There is a self-reflexive interaction, an inter-referentiality, between the sources of his thought, the content he draws from them, and the authority that grounds that content. His understanding of his sources is reflected in how he writes about them, and his writing ultimately takes on the form and flavor of those sources, particularly Scripture. There is a conscious mirroring at every stage of Honorius’s writing, each

⁶ Cum proxime in nostro conventu resideres, et verbum fratribus secundum datam tibi a Domino sapientiam faceres, omnibus qui aderant visum est non te sed angelum Dei fuisse locutum. *Speculum Ecclesiae*, PL172:813. Similar conceptions of divinely granted eloquence as grounding an author’s authority are found in letters requesting theological advice from Hildegard of Bingen. Flanagan, *Doubt*, 61-2.

⁷ *Inevitabile*, 556-7. Benedictus deus qui hæc inspiravit fratribus, ut uellent me ad te dirigere, / quatenus hæc mira mererer a tuo mellifluo ore percipere. *Inevitabile*, lines 1359-60, p. 346.

⁸ *Inevitabile*, 549. Iam totum decorem domus domini te demonstrante conspicio, *Inevitabile*, line 1103, p. 325.

⁹ Stephen Jaeger notes the importance of eloquence in the pre-twelfth century understanding of teaching authority throughout his study of pre-twelfth century education, but especially at Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, 131-9.

part reflects the larger whole, which itself is conceived of as a reflection of the hidden depths of Truth itself.

To begin the process of unpacking Honorius's thought, therefore, this chapter will explore his basic understanding and use of the three columns of authority which undergird his work, Scripture, the doctors, and reason.

Scripture

For Honorius, Scripture obviously serves as the highest authority and as the template by which all other authorities, indeed all other forms of truth, are to be understood. Scripture thus serves as a model and guide to how reality itself operates and how it ought to be read. His project is, in a very important sense, one of "scripturalizing," rendering the cosmos, history, the doctors of the Church, and reason itself in fundamentally literary terms, as things to be exegeted, chewed through, to arrive at a core of divine revelation that lies within. This process imbues all things with a symbolic richness. Just as every word in Scripture contains an infinity of meaning, stemming as it does from the revelation of an infinite godhead, so too do all other expressions of truth conceal an inexhaustible unfolding of the truth, wrapped in layers which alternatively reveal and conceal the divine light within. The images Honorius draws from Scripture and explores make the doctrinal truths he is attempting to communicate both simple and memorable, while providing for the possibility of an infinity of meaning expanding from something as simple as the eyes of a dove to encompass all of Scripture and the procession of the Church towards the ultimate *reditus* of all things to God.¹⁰ Moreover, a good part of Honorius's authority as teacher, author, and interpreter stems from his ability to unwrap these layers and to provide a "key" to his readers which allows them to see this hidden core of divine truth. Consequently, understanding

¹⁰ *Sigillum*, PL 172:505D-506A.

Honorius's basic conception and deployment of Scripture is fundamental to grasping the foundations of his pedagogical and authorial mission.

Honorius wrote a number of commentaries on Scripture, most prominently his *Expositio in Psalmos* and *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum*, two works in which he displays evident pride, telling us in *De luminaribus* that the former was written “in a marvelous manner,” while the latter is “such that it seems never to have been expounded before.”¹¹ None of his other works listed in *De luminaribus* are acknowledged by Honorius with such high praise or, indeed, any praise at all. These two commentaries were likely written around the same time, during the middle point of his career.¹² Both, like many of Honorius's works, are badly in need of an editor. The only current editions, those in the Patrologia, are incomplete, particularly the commentary on the Psalms. That edition contains commentary on only seven of the psalms and utterly omits his exegesis of the canticles “Benedictus,” “Magnificat,” “Nunc dimittis,” “Orationem Dominicam,” and “Symbolum apostolorum.” This neglect is particularly unfortunate considering the absolutely central position of the Psalms to the religious life of Honorius's predominantly monastic audience—a centrality that is repeatedly stressed throughout the text—and because the commentary offers a novel and early use of the *accessus ad auctores* as a technique conditioning the exegesis of Scripture. The Song of Songs was similarly important to medieval devotion, particularly in the centuries following Honorius's career, and his commentary on the text was one of his most popular works, again making the lack of a complete

¹¹ Expositionem totius Psalterii cum Canticis miro modo; Cantica canticorum exposuit, ita ut prius exposita non videantur *De luminaribus*, PL172:234A.

¹² The commentary on the Psalms was likely written between 1115 and 1120 and the commentary on the Song of Songs seems to have been Honorius's next work, if we take the list in *De luminaribus* to be roughly chronological and can trust the prologue of the Song commentary. Flint, *Honorius*, 110-1.

edition especially glaring. The commentary survives in more twelfth century manuscripts than anything in his catalogue save the *Imago mundi* and the *Elucidarium*.¹³

In addition to these commentaries, Honorius composed another commentary on the Song of Songs, the *Sigillum sanctae Mariae*, which is distinguished as the first Marian commentary on that text. This was an exegetical move that anticipated a twelfth century trend to interpret the Song in this manner; for instance Rupert of Deutz's lengthier commentary, of which the *Sigillum* was once thought to be an inferior derivative.¹⁴ He also wrote an exegesis of the hexameron, *De neocosmo*, two sets of *quaestiones*, one on Proverbs and Ecclesiastes and the other on John and Matthew and a commentary, now unfortunately lost, on the "Gospels which the blessed Gregory did not exposit."¹⁵ Clearly, the correct interpretation of Scripture was of great concern for Honorius and, judging by the popularity of his commentaries, his audience was greatly interested in what he had to say on the matter. Beyond the commentaries themselves, Scripture pervades Honorius's works. It is simply impossible to discuss his thought without reference to it, and his reading of Scripture could not but have influenced his extensive and broad audience.

How then does Honorius's exegesis in these works proceed? Perhaps the most obvious characteristic of his approach to Scripture, particularly in the *Expositio in Psalmos* and *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum*, is its systematic and pedagogical character. Honorius is deeply concerned with properly classifying the elements of Scripture, both at the level of the whole book under consideration and at the level of individual passages and Psalms. To this end, he applies a rigid and consistent structure to his exegesis. In the commentary on the Psalms, each

¹³ Flint, *Honorius*, 167-9.

¹⁴ For Rupert's commentary, see PL168:839A-962B. Flint demonstrated the earlier date of Honorius's commentary in Flint, "The Commentaries of Honorius Augustodunensis on the Song of Songs", *RB* 84 (1974), 196-211. See also, Rachel Fulton Brown's study of the *Sigillum* in *From Judgment to Passion*, 244-88.

¹⁵ *Evangelia, quae beatus Gregorius non exposuit. De luminaribus*, PL172:234A. It's unclear which Gospels Honorius is speaking about here, as Gregory's famous collection of homilies touches on all four.

individual Psalm is provided an *accessus*, an introductory preface which became increasingly popular in the twelfth century as a guide for beginners interpreting a text—although not typically applied to Scripture—of which Honorius was an early adopter.¹⁶ These prefaces provide the *titulus, materia, intentio, utilitas*, and *divisio* of each Psalm and serve an obviously pedagogical purpose, shaping interpretation and making it easier for the reader to quickly remember the import of a given Psalm. Thus, he tells us that the *materia* of the fiftieth Psalm is “the penitential prayer of David”, the intent “is to educate us by the example of David to penitence and prayer,” and it is of great utility to the faithful, preventing the just from being overly certain of their righteousness and the sinner from despairing in sin.¹⁷ Honorius also provides an *accessus* for the Psalms as a whole, in the process laying out one of the fundamental divisions through which he interprets Scripture and providing a helpful account of his terms and categories.

Most interesting is his account of what parts of philosophy the books of Scripture pertain to. Honorius offers three possibilities:

Philosophy is the love of wisdom, indeed “philo” means love, “sophia” wisdom: this is divided into three parts, into physics, ethics and logic; that is into natural, moral, and rational. For physics means natural, ethics mores, logic reason. To physics pertains Genesis which speaks of natural things; the Pauline Epistles which discuss morals pertain to ethics: the Psalter to logic, which is called “theoria,” that which speaks of the principle of knowledge of the divine.¹⁸

¹⁶ For more on Honorius’s use of the *accessus* and a broader survey of its use, see below, 161-170.

¹⁷ *Materia hujus psalmi est oratio poenitentis David: intentio est nos exemplo David informare ad poenitentiam et orationem. Magna utilitas in hac oratione fidelibus confertur; ut justus de justitia sua non confidat, cum justissimum David cecidisse videat: et peccator non desperet dum tantum peccatorem veniam consecutum audiet. In Psalmos*, PL172:283-284A.

¹⁸ *Philosophia est amor sapientiae; philo quippe amor, sophia dicitur sapientia: haec dividitur in tres partes, in physicam, ethicam et logicam; id est in naturalem, moralem, rationalem. Physis namque natura, ethys mos, loys ratio dicitur. Ad physicam pertinet Genesis, quae de naturis loquitur; Epistolae Pauli ad ethicam pertinent, quae de moribus tractant: Psalterium ad logicam, quae et theoria dicitur, eo quod de ratione divinae scientiae memorat. In Psalmos*, PL172:270B. The source of this division seems to be Augustine’s account of Platonic philosophy in *City of God*, trans. George McCracken (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), VIII.4. It is interesting to note that Augustine asserts that the ultimate object of natural philosophy is contemplation, which accords with Honorius’s broader understanding of creation that shall be the subject of Chapter III. Augustine also does not single out logic as relating expressly to knowledge of the divine, but instead to understanding the nature of truth. Elsewhere, Honorius shows special interest in the identity of God with the truth, and vision of God as consisting of recognizing this truth in *De anima*. For example at *De anima*, 271.

Those three categories of philosophy encompass our understanding of all facets of creation, human action within it, and the Creator. It follows, therefore, that within Scripture is encoded the totality of human knowledge, hidden perhaps, but there nonetheless.

Strengthening this connection between creation and Scripture is Honorius's insistence that the Bible mirrors the form of creation as it extends in both time and space:

This book is known to have been ordered to the form of the world, which is divided into three periods: of which one is reckoned before the law, the other under the law, the third under grace. Thus this book is separated into three sets of fifty psalms, in which the whole of the saints are discovered. Indeed, the first fifty psalms manifest all the just, who were before the law from Abel all the way to Moses... The second set of fifty psalms bring forth all the just, who existed under the law from Moses all the way to Christ... The third set of fifty psalms sing of all the saints, who under grace will rise from Christ all the way to the end of the world.¹⁹

The resonance between creation and Scripture also maps unto the physical world through the four elements, which are made manifest in the Psalms because the shape of the Psalter is the same as the letter delta, the fourth letter of the alphabet.²⁰ Similarly the microcosmos, man is likewise revealed by the Psalter:

Certainly the Psalter imitates the form of man, who consists of higher and lower parts, namely body and soul: who ought to strike the lower, that is to afflict his body with fasting and prayers, that thus the higher is able to sweetly resound melodies to God.²¹

God's revelation in creation and in Scripture are ultimately images of each other, reflecting the same truth, expressing the unity that is at the heart of Honorius's theological enterprise.

¹⁹ Hic liber ad formam mundi ordinatus cognoscitur, qui in tria tempora dividitur: quorum unum ante legem, aliud sub lege, tertium sub gratia computatur. Sic hic liber in ter quinquaginta psalmos partitur, in quibus universitas sanctorum invenitur. Primi quinquaginta psalmi quippe omnes justos praeferunt, qui ante legem ab Abel usque ad Moysen fuerunt... Secundi quinquaginta psalmi omnes justos depromunt, qui sub lege a Moyse usque ad Christum exstiterunt... Tertii quinquaginta psalmi omnes sanctos cantant, qui sub gratia tempore Christi usque ad finem mundi consurgent. *In Psalmos*, PL172:273D-274A.

²⁰ *In Psalmos*, PL172:271D.

²¹ Exprimit etiam Psalterium formam hominis, qui constat ex superiori et inferiori, corpore videlicet et anima: qui debet inferius percutere, id est corpus suum jejuniis et orationibus affligere, ut sic superius possit dulce melos Deo reddere, *In Psalmos*, PL172:271D-272A.

Moreover, the interpretive schema of the *accessus* was, as noted above, typically used to interpret non-Scriptural authors, demonstrating another layer of hermeneutic continuity in Honorius's thought between the analysis of Scripture and the doctors of the Church. Scripture is unique in its preeminence over other sources and in the sheer depth and accessibility of the knowledge within, but it is ultimately understood in the same manner.²² It is not, therefore, a subsumption of Scripture into the broader curriculum, but an assertion of the fundamental unity of Honorius's educational project.

Also notable in Honorius's description of the three modes of philosophy is his use of the verb *memor* with its connotations of remembrance when discussing knowledge of the divine. Memory, learning, and knowledge in Honorius are, as we shall see, inexorably linked. To be taught is ultimately being called to recollection. This is especially the case with regard to knowledge of the divine.²³ We turn inwards to memory in contemplation, transcending it by understanding, *intellectus*, a type of vision which can only be achieved through divine aid in which we can see and truly begin to know God, and creation in God, as it truly is.

Finally, the divisions of philosophy highlight the hierarchical character of Honorius's thought. Though this hierarchy is only implicit in his initial definition of the three modes of philosophy, it is apparent that his placing of the Psalms into the class pertaining to logic demonstrates the superiority of that mode, for he goes on to describe the Psalms as, "the key of heaven and the door of paradise: indeed through this heaven is restored, through this eternal life is entered. Therefore, from this all who through books must be taught take the beginning of

²² See Gross-Diaz for an argument that Gilbert of Poitiers's use of the *accessus* in his exegesis of the Psalms represents the absorption of Scripture into the curriculum of the schools. Theresa Gross-Diaz, *The Psalms Commentary of Gilbert of Poitiers*, (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 66.

²³ cf. *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1024-5.

learning.”²⁴ This hierarchy is reinforced by another division of the books of Scripture that Honorius offers, namely, the division of Scripture into prophetic, narrative, and hagiographical books, “History is that which narrates things having past; the prophets announce that which will be; hagiography that which rejoices in the joy of eternal life.”²⁵ The hagiographical books seem to form an “inner canon” of the Old Testament for Honorius, seven books, seven columns which support and draw readers to the house of God:

Hagiography is that which treats eternal things, like David. However, there are seven hagiographical books, which are joined to the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, namely Job, David, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song, the Book of Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus. From these Job is ascribed to the spirit of wisdom, David to the spirit of intellect, Proverbs to the spirit of counsel, Ecclesiastes to the spirit of fortitude, the Song to the spirit of knowledge, the Book of Wisdom to the spirit of piety, the Book of Jesse son of Sirach to the spirit of fear. These are seven columns, by which the great house of Wisdom is propped up.²⁶

Among these hagiographical books, it is the two books that provide knowledge, *scientia*, and understanding, *intellectus*, of God, the Song of Songs and Psalms respectively, that have pride of place. It is no accident that these books received such detailed exegetical attention from Honorius. For, as he tells us in *De animae exsilio*, “The way from this exile to the fatherland is knowledge.”²⁷

Patterns have thus emerged in Honorius’s exegesis of Scripture. The first is his desire to classify things, to assign them to their proper place within an ordered hierarchy which ultimately

²⁴ Hic liber est clavis coeli et janua paradisi: per hunc etenim coelum referatur, per hunc ad aeternam vitam intratur. Ideo ab hoc sumant omnes initium discendi, qui per libros sunt docendi. *In Psalmos*, PL172:273A.

²⁵ Historia est, quae praeterita narrat; prophetia, quae futura nuntiat; hagiographia, quae aeternae vitae gaudia jubilat. *In Psalmos*, PL172:273B. This division has a long heritage and was likely passed on to Honorius via Jerome’s Vulgate prologues, though Jerome and Honorius differ on where specific books fall within the categories. See for instance Jerome’s prologue for the Book of Kings, *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* 364-5.

²⁶ Agiographia est quae tractat aeterna, ut David. Sunt ,autem agiographiae septem libri, qui coaptantur septem donis Spiritus sancti, scilicet Job, David, Parabolae, Ecclesiastes, Cantica, liber Sapientiae, Ecclesiasticus. Ex quibus Job ascribitur spiritui sapientiae, David spiritui intellectus, Parabolae spiritui consilii, Ecclesiastes spiritui fortitudinis, Cantica spiritui scientiae, liber Sapientiae spiritui pietatis, liber Jesu filii Sirach spiritui timoris. Hae sunt septem columnae, quibus suffulta est magna domus Sapientiae. *In cantica canticorum*, PL172:350D-351A.

²⁷ De hoc exsilio ad patriam via est scientia, *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1243B.

encompasses and mirrors all things. His pedagogical approach is, in a great degree, dedicated to enabling his readers to see things in their proper place, to grasp the underlying order of creation and revelation. A second pattern can be discerned in Honorius' commitment to the investigation of how Scripture pertains to eternal things, which by extension is to knowledge and an understanding of God. This knowledge ultimately leads to union with God, a deifying vision of the creator in the heavenly Jerusalem. The books which pertain to this most directly are the most important books and, as will become evident in our discussion of the Songs commentary, the mode of exegesis that pertains to eternal life and union with God is the highest form of interpretation.

In his commentary on the Song of Songs, Honorius uses a different systematic mode of exegesis than the repeated *accessus* of the Psalms commentary.²⁸ Here, he laboriously spells out the four-fold interpretation—historical, tropological, allegorical, and anagogical—of each passage selected from the Song. As with the commentary on the Psalms' use of the *accessus*, this is a pedagogical strategy, providing both interpretations and a model to future interpretation for a wide variety of Biblical passages, allowing the reader a glimpse into how a consistent and full reading of Scripture might operate.

And his read is nothing if not full. Honorius unpacks the Song, line by line, according to the four-fold mode of interpretation, introducing further distinctions along the way: the “best ointments” of the second verse of the Song unfold into the three modes of perfection, each of which are subject to analysis according to their historical, tropological, allegorical, and anagogical meaning,²⁹ while the oil of the same verse, we are told, has six significations, each of

²⁸ For a fuller exposition of Honorius's method in the Song commentary see E. Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 58-76.

²⁹ *In cantica canticorum*, PL172:362A-C. Described in greater detail by Matter, *Voice of My Beloved*, 70-1.

which ultimately designate Christ.³⁰ In the latter case, we see the recursive character of Honorius's exegesis. His interpretations tend to circle back upon each other. Words rapidly change meaning and images significance, as they dance through salvation history and across the whole of the world. For example, the name that is poured out like oil is knowledge of Christ, only gained after His incarnation. It is variously the name of Joseph, the name of Moses, the name of Joshua son of Nun, the name of Joshua the Priest, and the name of Christ again, which in turn stands for the preaching of the New Testament, proclaimed throughout the world.³¹ The range of interpretations is dizzying and seemingly limitless, while at the same time carefully constrained and delineated by the four-fold mode of interpretation. The end result is a sort of contained explosion of creative excess, an infinitude of meaning within the exegetical confines of the *accessus* and the sense of Scripture

In keeping with his pedagogical purpose, Honorius also defines the senses of Scripture for his readers at the outset:

Sacred Scripture is understood by four modes, namely history, allegory, tropology, anagogy...history, when a thing just as it occurred is narrated. Allegory, when a thing is expounded about Christ and the Church. Tropology when it is brought back to the soul and spirit. Anagogy, when it is understood about the celestial life.³²

Of course, the precise manner of interpreting Scripture, both in the specific interpretation itself and in the broader hermeneutic of reading the whole text, was not a settled and uncontroversial issue in Honorius's day. Characteristically, when dealing with controversial issues, Honorius refuses to acknowledge any possibility of controversy and instead presents his interpretation as settled, definite, and utterly in keeping with all legitimate authorities and reason. In contrast,

³⁰ *In cantica canticorum*, PL172:364B-C.

³¹ *In cantica canticorum*, PL172:363D-364B

³² *Sacra Scriptura quatuor modis intelligitur, scilicet historice, allegorice, tropologice, anagogice...historia, cum res sicut gesta est narratur. Allegoria, cum de Christo et Ecclesia res exponitur. Tropologia ad animam et spiritum refertur. Anagoge, cum de superna vita intelligitur. In cantica canticorum*, PL172:359B-C.

Abelard, in the prologue of *Sic et Non*,³³ gives a series of criteria for adjudicating between apparent disagreements in the recognized authorities of the Church. Arguably, Honorius's heuristic is considerably simpler, at least in theory if not in practice. There are no considerations of textual corruption, of older authorities outweighing newer, but instead a deep conviction that the doctors of the Church present a unified vision and that apparent disagreements are consequences of our own epistemic limitations.³⁴ The process then is not one of adjudicating between authorities in order to determine which is correct, but harmonizing them in such a way that the fundamental unity of their teachings can emerge.³⁵

Honorius's tendency to bluntly refuse to acknowledge the potential for contradiction has led, perhaps more than any other quality of his work, to complaints about the "crudeness" of his thought. Rather than crudeness, however, it appears more likely that presenting controversial issues in this matter was a deliberate rhetorical choice, simultaneously suggesting that Honorius's positions were definite, uncontroversial and obvious, while cutting through the mass of conflicting opinion to provide his readers with a simple formulation of often confusing issues. Indeed, Honorius's prologues often make it clear that the latter is precisely the point of many of his works. For instance in the opening to *De neocosmo*, Honorius explains:

Because many have written much on the first six days / and by a variety of diverse opinions have rendered them more obscure to the simple, / your community asks it is set

³³ Peter Abelard, *Petri Abaelardi Sic et non*, ed. Ernst Henke and George Lindenkohl (Marburgi Cattorum: Sumtibus et typis Librariae academ. Elwertianae, 1851), 1-17.

³⁴ Cf. *LOQ*, PL172:1185C-D.

³⁵ A further distinction between the two authors emerges in their attitude towards questioning and doubt. While they both are committed to the idea that asking questions is the premier means of gaining truth—as is manifest in Honorius's repeated use of question and answer texts and dialogues and in Abelard's claim "Haec quippe prima sapientiae clavis definitur, assidua scilicet seu frequens interrogation" (Abelard, *Sic et non*, 16)—Honorius would certainly not agree with Abelard's famous dictum that "Dubitando enim ad inquisitionem venimus; inquirendo veritatem percipimus." Instead, he takes for granted the basic truth and unity of Christian doctrine and views the very purpose of his authorial mission to remove doubt from the reader to enable them to glimpse that truth. In other words, rather than doubting so that he made be led to questions and from there to the truth, Honorius believes so that he might understand and thus remove the obscuring clouds of doubt.

down in writing, / what must best be known about these things in the literal sense. / Thus, following greater authority, / I unfold for you the obscurity of this text.³⁶

His authority as an interpreter derives precisely from his ability to work through these thorny knots of controversy.

The success of his past efforts, whether in conversation or in prior written works, licenses and motivates his continued pedagogical endeavors. We see this in the prologue of the *Inevitabile* in which the monks of Canterbury ask him to resolve a theological controversy because Honorius has:

...unlocked for them by your ministry such great mysteries about [Mary] in the Song. For this reason, and on account of your elucidation of other things unknown to many, you have added to her praise, [and] have placed this most-holy Virgin, and all those who honor her, in your debt. It is on their legation that I am now engaged, and these same [brethren], with the utmost devotion, implore you to loose for them the inextricable knot of free choice³⁷

It is Honorius's ability to successfully render his exegetical conclusions in a concise, easily graspable fashion that lends credence to those conclusions and that warrants him to write more.

Returning to the modes of understanding Scripture, the highest of these in Honorius's estimation is clearly the anagogical. In the Psalms commentary, every psalm ends with a depiction of soul's union with God in eternal life. The exegesis of the 150th psalm culminates in the end of time, where Honorius—blending images from the conclusion of the Book of Revelation, the Song of Songs and the final psalm in a mass of rich allusions—brings us into the age:

When the building of Jerusalem shall complete...in which the new Jerusalem will be sung by all the saints, when they will rejoice in their marriage beds, when, the judgment

³⁶ Quia multi multa de primis sex diebus disseruerunt / et diuersa sentientes, obscuriora simplicibus reddiderunt; / postulat coetus uester litteris pomendum, / quid potissimum de his ad litteram sit sentiendum. / Maiorum itaque sequens auctoritatem, / Pando uobis huius textus obscuritatem. *De neocosmo*, lines 176-6, p. 175-6.

³⁷ *Inevitabile*, 512. tot eis in canticis de ea reserauit per te mysteria. / Ob hanc causam, et ob alia que multis incognita elucidans in laudem eius addidisti, / Ipsam sacrosanctam uirginem, et omnes ipsius cultores tibi debitores fecisti. / Illorum nunc fungor ego legatione, / et ipsi summa deposcunt deuotione, / ut soluas eis nodum liberi arbitrii inextricabilem, *Inevitabile*, lines 9-14, p. 229-30.

having been completed, the bridegroom King will lead his bride the queen into the new Jerusalem, and the angels will sound trumpets for the king, all the saints will raise shouts of joy with instruments and cymbals for the Bridegroom in eternity.³⁸

The same is true for the exegesis of individual passages in the Song of Songs, each concludes with the consummation of creation at the end of history, “After which the universal Church, the bride of Christ, through the flesh united with the Word of God, will be crowned with glory and honor for her struggle [against the Antichrist], and in the bride-chamber of glory, that is in the manifest vision of God she will be joined with her groom.”³⁹

Outside of the Biblical commentaries, we find the same pattern. For instance, every sermon in the *Speculum Ecclesiae* ends with an invocation of the “things which eye has not seen, and ear not heard, and which have not come into man's heart, which God has prepared for them that love him.”⁴⁰ This anagogical end is deeply intertwined with the cosmic scope that Honorius regularly appeals to throughout his catalog. He consistently pulls the reader from considerations of specific issues to the cosmic scale, whether these issues are matters of Scriptural interpretation, as in the *Sigillum*, where he draws the reader along with Mary up a path through the cosmos to the heavenly city of the angels, only to go beyond to the true heaven, union with God or in the *Liber duodecim quaestionum*, where, from a seemingly simple argument between a monk and canon over their respective status, Honorius rapidly expands the

³⁸ cum Jerusalem aedificans consummabit...in qua nova Jerusalem erit hymnus omnibus sanctis, cum laetabuntur in cubilibus suis, cum peracto iudicio Rex sponsus reginam sponsam in novam Jerusalem introducet, et angeli tubis ut regi personabunt, omnes sancti organis et cymbalis ut Sponso in aeternum jubilabunt. *In Psalmos*, PL172:311A-312A.

³⁹ Post quod universalis Ecclesia, Christi sponsa, per carnem unita Verbo Dei, gloria et honore pro certamine suo coronabitur, et in thalamo gloriae, id est in manifesta visione Dei sponso suo copulabitur. *In cantica canticorum*, PL172:496B.

⁴⁰ Drawing on 1 Corinthians 2:9. The passage was a favorite of Anselm's as well. Eadmer mentions that he often used the passage in his sermons, and it is used in the conclusion of the *Proslogion* as well to describe the joys of heaven. Margaret Healy-Varley, *Anselm's Fictions and the Literary Afterlife of the "Prologion"* (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2011), 56-7; Anselm, *Proslogion*, XXV-XXVI.

discussion to a consideration of the whole cosmic order, creation, and the final judgment.⁴¹ He deftly moves between the senses of Scripture always in service of this cosmic, anagogical end, explaining away any possible difficulties or points of contention in service of his pedagogical and ultimately contemplative goals.

Holding Honorius's exegesis together is his use of allusive webs; brief, densely-layered references to Scripture and the doctors which provide the fabric and texture of his writing. These dense networks of allusions, first highlighted by Hannam in his study of the *Inevitabile*,⁴² bring into relief the rhetorical sophistication of Honorius's construction and demonstrate the care by which he goes about his pedagogical goals, constructing these webs to provide grounds for future reflection and contemplation. Brief references mentioned in passing are elaborated later in the text or are understood more clearly when the original sources have been read, offering deeper connections on repeated readings and in the process of chewing over Honorius's words in contemplation.

This technique is utilized throughout Honorius's writings, and his earliest exegetical work, the *Sigillum*, is no exception. This short commentary has, based on its placement in the presumably chronological list in *De luminaribus* and the prologue which makes reference to Honorius's *Elucidarium* as having been especially helpful to the "discipuli" who are requesting the commentary, typically been understood to have been Honorius's second work with a likely date of composition around 1100.⁴³ The commentary addresses the question of why the Song of Songs is read on the feast day of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, when the Biblical text

⁴¹ *LDQ*, PL172:1177A-1179B.

⁴² Hannam, *Inevitabile*, 117-124.

⁴³ Amelia Carr, *The Seal of Blessed Mary* (Toronto: Peregrina Publishing Company, 1991), 13.

seems to have little to do with her.⁴⁴ Honorius begins his response with a set of densely packed scriptural allusions:

Quia pondus diei et aestus decrevi in vinea Domini pro denario portare, / nolo terram, ut sterilis ficulnea, in vacuum occupare, / sed ut oliva fructifera domui Dei aliquid decoris adducere, / ut merear in ea quandoque mansionem percipere.⁴⁵

[Because I have determined to bear the burden of the day and the heats in the vineyard of the Lord for a mere penny, / I do not wish to occupy the Earth in vain, like a sterile fig tree, / but to provide some adornment for the House of God, like a fruitful olive, / so that someday I will deserve to occupy a mansion therein.⁴⁶]

Taking the references in turn, the vineyard of the Lord is an obvious reference to the parable of Matthew 20:1-16. The vineyard, Honorius later explains, is the Church,⁴⁷ the fruit of the vine, Christ. Later, he tells us Mary is also that fig tree and that the oil she produces is the mercy and charity of Christ.⁴⁸ He thus positions himself as a devoted follower of the Virgin, continuing the mission which she began. Both strive to provide adornment for the House of God. Mary provides charity and mercy, while Honorius offers the keys to unlock the pages of Scripture to show his readers her presence within so that they may receive her gifts and, through these gifts, see God. He labors within the Church to make Christ manifest to his readers, just as Mary labored to bring Christ into material creation.⁴⁹ Honorius poses himself as the laborer who has worked throughout the day, and his readers, implicitly, are those who have arrived later, and who will receive the same reward, salvation.

The image of the sterile fig tree is drawn from Matthew 21:19, and Luke 13:6-9 and is elsewhere taken by Honorius to refer to the Synagogue, which inhabits the vineyard (i.e. this

⁴⁴ This attempt to account for a specific liturgical reading in this manner is itself somewhat unique. Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, 248.

⁴⁵ *Sigillum*, PL 172 495D-496D.

⁴⁶ *The Seal of Blessed Mary*, 47.

⁴⁷ Vineae, id est Ecclesiae, *Sigillum*, PL172:503B.

⁴⁸ *Sigillum*, PL172:499A.

⁴⁹ Nam vinea nostra floruit, id est Maria Christum peperit. *Sigillum*, PL172:503D.

world), but produces no fruit.⁵⁰ The plight of the Jews and Mary's role in that plight is a major theme of the *Sigillum*,⁵¹ and readers familiar with the traditional exegesis of the Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard and the sterile fig tree are thus primed by the opening passage to be sensitive to this aspect of the text. Moreover, it more closely draws the connection between Honorius and the Virgin. Just as Mary over the course of the *Sigillum* draws the Jews into her protection, and eventually into her Church, so too does Honorius labor to make the fig tree bloom through providing what the laborers lack, an awareness of Mary and her place in the cosmos.

The mansions of the final passage reference the "many mansions" which can be found in the house of the Father in John 14:2. Eriugena also regularly turns to the concept of the many mansions as a favorite image for the rewards of heaven.⁵² Finally, the verb *percipere*, has the connotation of grasping via the senses, as can be found throughout the Psalms or in Job 13:17, "Hear ye my speech, and receive with Sour ears hidden truths." Honorius is ever attentive to the idea of passing from the perception of sensible creation to an understanding of divine truth. Some of these images and associations would likely have been known to Honorius's readers, others are only discernable after they had read his exegesis of the Song.

Finally, there are those references that require a grasp of the broader context of Honorius's theology to be fully comprehensible, as in the case of God's many mansions, which are explored most fully in the *Clavis*. These densely packed allusions provide ample material for further meditation, which is deepened by additional reading, and for the continual chewing over of Honorius's words. These allusions also give his writing a Scriptural flavor. The *Sigillum*

⁵⁰ *LDQ*, PL172:1083A.

⁵¹ See Fulton, *From Judgement to Passion*, 280-5.

⁵² Cf. *Periphyseon*, I.448C-D and *passim*.

reads like Scripture, the most authoritative of all sources and that with which Honorius's readers would be most familiar, precisely because it is so replete with Scriptural allusion. Moreover, these allusions firmly immerse the Song of Songs and Honorius's exegesis of it within the broader context of Scripture as a whole. In this, as in all things, Honorius is deeply concerned with stressing the harmonious unity of revelation.

The allusions also further establish his authority as an authoritative teacher. First, through the use of Scripture to associate himself with Biblical figures,⁵³ and second, by allowing him to declaim any accusations of novelty through the use of the words of established doctors of the Church. He claims that nothing found within his works is his own, that he is merely reproducing the thought of the great doctors of the Church whose authority is unquestionable and who are safely removed from contemporary theological controversy. Declaiming originality, he tells his readers that, having finished his commentaries, "they will have come to know that in this work there is nothing of mine except the labor alone, the opinions however are those of the saints"⁵⁴ Exegesis of Scripture is thus densely woven with and expounded through the words of Scripture itself alongside recognized doctors. It is these doctors whom Honorius arranges to unfold his unique and powerful understanding of the cosmos in a manner easy to read and understand, stripped of subtleties and difficulties, presented as matter-of-fact and settled. As a consequence, Honorius can escape accusations of novelty and heterodoxy behind the screen of merely being a compiler. How, after all, can he be heterodox when all he is doing is repeating the words of the saints? The question arises, therefore, who are these doctors for Honorius, and how does he understand them in relation to each other?

⁵³ Besides the example of Mary above, Hannam points to Honorius casting himself in the role of Moses, Joshua, and, ultimately, Christ in the *Inevitabile*. Hannam, 118-9.

⁵⁴ Et noverint in hoc opere nihil esse meum praeter solum laborem, sententias autem esse sanctorum *In Psalmos*, PL172:312B.

The Doctors

The doctors of the Church whom Honorius relies upon are the *expositores* and *magistri*, who along with the prophets and apostles stand as the “immovable columns” which support the Church,⁵⁵ and whom he identifies elsewhere as the mouth and teeth of the mystical body of Christ on Earth.⁵⁶ Surprisingly, however, these doctors are almost never cited by Honorius. The most significant exception to Honorius’s unwillingness to provide citations are the marginal notes present in early manuscripts of the *Elucidarium* that might, Flint has argued, derive from Honorius’s own hand and were likely intended to provide aids to further study.⁵⁷ Unfortunately for us, he did not continue this practice in later works. This lack of direct citation makes determining the precise identity of Honorius’s sources extremely difficult, as it is often unclear, in common with many medieval authors, whether he has encountered a source directly or whether it was mediated through some other source. Adding to this difficulty is the fact that Honorius often alters quotations when necessary to better fit his rhyme scheme. However, it is possible to identify some of the most important sources for Honorius thanks to his persistent use and quotation of them throughout his catalog.

Unsurprisingly, the single greatest extra-Biblical influence throughout the whole of Honorius’s catalog is Augustine. On subjects ranging from anthropology to the liturgy and from creation to the nature of vision, *beatus Augustinus* is the greatest of the doctors and one of the few authors whom Honorius directly cites. Described as one of the *peritissimi pictores*, who “has adorned the House of the Lord with wonderful engravings and various beautiful pictures,”⁵⁸ Augustine grants warrant to Honorius’s use of dialogue, provides a model for his sermons, and

⁵⁵ *Elucidarium*, prologus, p. 359.

⁵⁶ *Elucidarium*, I.Q179, p. 394.

⁵⁷ See Valerie Flint, “The Sources of the *Elucidarius* of Honorius Augustodunensis” *Revue Bénédictine* 85 (1975), 190-98.

⁵⁸ *Speculum Ecclesiae*, PL 172:813.

stands, along with Boethius, as one of the *summi philosophi* of Christian thought, a titan surpassing any classical authority.⁵⁹ Two of Honorius's works, *De anima et de Deo* and the second half of *De neocosmo* are explicitly digests of Augustine's writings, and the rest of his works are so littered with Augustinian quotations and concepts that it is safe to describe the bishop as ever present throughout Honorius's catalog.

Assessing the direct influence of Augustine within a medieval text is often a difficult task. The Bishop of Hippo's influence was so pervasive throughout the Middle Ages that the entire history of thought in the era might be reasonably classified as a contest between competing Augustinianisms. Moreover, this ever-present Augustinianism obscures precisely which texts an author had direct access to, which concepts come out of a reading of Augustine himself and which are derived from other sources re-presenting his thought. Honorius is no exception. It is certain that he had access to *De quantitate animae*, quoted at length in *De anima* and the source of much of his thought on the soul, *De civitate Dei*, which is often referred to in Honorius's hexameral and historical writings and in his treatise on free will, the *Confessions*, likewise quoted heavily in *De anima* and a major part of Honorius's speculation on creation throughout his catalog, *De Trinitate*, referenced throughout his catalog, and *De Genesi ad litteram*, which is the basis for the second half of *De neocosmo* and features prominently in a number of Honorius's other texts. Beyond that, however, any supposition as to whether Honorius had read more of Augustine is necessarily speculative.⁶⁰ The task of understanding Honorius's appropriation and use of Augustine is largely a process of mapping precisely what flavor of Augustinianism Honorius offers, and which other authorities mediated this particular read.

⁵⁹ *Clavis physicae*, ed. Paolo Lucentini (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1974), 1, p. 3.

⁶⁰ For a fuller survey of Honorius's use of Augustine see Hannam, "Honorius Augustodunensis" in *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, ed. Willemien Otten and Karla Pollmann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 1153-4.

The first of these mediators was Gregory the Great, surely the single greatest influence on medieval understandings of Augustine and an inescapably important voice within the Benedictine tradition of which Honorius was, by most indications, a part. Like Augustine, Gregory is one of Honorius's *peritissimi pictores* and is also cited directly by Honorius, particularly on the subject of angels, a subject on which Gregory was an acknowledged master in the Middle Ages.⁶¹ This expertise was not without controversy, however, as we shall see in our investigation of the disciple's worries in the *Libellus octo quaestionum* below. Honorius also openly relies on Gregory on questions of the liturgy, on preaching, and on free will. His importance to Honorius's read of Scripture is also reflected in the desire to provide exegesis of the Gospels "which the blessed Gregory did not exposit," suggesting that there was no need to further examine the Gospels which Gregory had already discussed.⁶²

More than any direct doctrinal influence, it is the mission and attitude of Gregory that seems to have been most influential on Honorius. Gregory's *Dialogues* sought "to simplify and present for a popular audience much of Augustine's thought and to integrate something of the spirituality of the Eastern tradition with that of the west in a way that balanced the active and the contemplative in the Christian life,"⁶³ just as Honorius's did. Similarly, Gregory advocated the use of examples to raise the simple to higher things, and regularly uses vivid imagery in his sermons, which he took care to appropriately craft to the capabilities of his audience.⁶⁴

It is unsurprising then, given both the esteem Honorius had for Gregory's sermons and the affinity of the two authors' mission, that many of Honorius's images derive from Gregory.

⁶¹ Cf. *LDQ*, PL172:1181C.

⁶² *De luminaribus*, PL172:234A. Gregory's tendency towards allegorical interpretation over the literal, and the comparative freedom of interpretation he evinces compared to Augustine, mirrors Honorius's own typical method of handling Scripture. R.A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and His World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 47-50.

⁶³ Novikoff, *Medieval Culture of Disputation*, 25.

⁶⁴ Gregory, *Pastoral Care*, trans. Henry Davis (New York: Paulist Press, 1978), III.6.

His alteration of these images neatly illustrate how he tends to modify his sources. For example, in the *Speculum Ecclesiae*, he writes, drawing from Gregory's *Moralia in Job*:

After the first parent through wood fell into the sea of this world, as into the whirlpool of a shipwreck, and greedy Leviathan swallowed all the race of mankind with cruel death, it pleased our Redeemer to raise the banner of the sacred cross and by the fishhook of his flesh to bind the scaly throat of the enemy, in order that he, having been transfixed by the spear of the wood of life, vomit those who through the forbidden wood had been devoured by the vile destroyer.⁶⁵

Graphically depicting Christ's incarnation and defeat of the devil through death within the divine *economia*, made concrete in the wood of the cross, the image of the devil, his throat impaled, being forced to vomit up those whom he has greedily devoured is striking and memorable, likely to imprint in the minds of those who heard the sermon.⁶⁶ The erection of the cross and the binding of Leviathan acts as moment of dramatic inversion, signaled also by the change in rhyme scheme. Where once the beast devoured mankind, now he is forced to vomit, his greed having become his undoing as souls pour from his mouth. Compare this to Gregory's initial use of the image in the *Moralia*, which continues for several chapters beyond the selection below:

But this Leviathan was caught with a hook, because when in the case of our Redeemer he seized through his satellites the bait of His Body, the sharp sting of His Godhead pierced him through. For a hook held as it were the throat of its swallower, when both the bait of the flesh appeared for the devourer to seize, and at the time of His passion His Godhead was concealed, in order to kill him. For in this abyss of waters, that is, in this boundlessness of the human race, this whale was rushing hither and thither with open mouth, eager for the death, and devouring the life of almost all. But a hook for the death of this whale was suspended by a marvelous arrangement in this gloomy depth of waters. The line of this hook, is that genealogy of the ancient fathers recorded in the Gospel. For when it is said, Abraham begat Isaac, Isaac begat Jacob, and the other descendants are described, with the insertion of the name of Joseph, down to Mary, the betrothed Virgin, a kind of line is spun, for the Incarnate Lord, that is to say, this hook to be bound to the end of it; Whom this whale would catch at with open mouth when hanging in these

⁶⁵ Postquam primus parens per lignum in pelagus saeculi hujus quasi in vorticem naufragii corruit, atque avidus Leviathan saeva morte totum genus humanum absorbit, placuit Redemptori nostro vexillum sanctae crucis erigere et hamo carnis suae squamea hostis guttura constringere, ut cuspidem vitalis ligni perfossus evomeret quos per vetitum lignum improbus praedo devorasset. *Speculum Ecclesiae*, PL172:1002D.

⁶⁶ The imagery of this sermon was reproduced visibly in the *Hortus Deliciarum*, a lavishly illustrated book written for and by the nuns of Hohenburg in Alsace, see Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights*, plate 8.

waters of the human race, but when it was bitten by the cruelty of his satellites, he would no longer have power to bite. That this whale then, who is lying in ambush for the death of men, might no longer devour whom he wished, this hook held firm the jaws of the spoiler, and wounded him that bit it. God, therefore, as pointing out to his faithful servant the Incarnation of His Only-begotten Son, says, Wilt thou be able to draw out Leviathan with a hook? Thou understandest, As I; Who send My Only-begotten Son in the flesh for the death of the spoiler; in Whom while mortal flesh is seen, and the power of His immortality is not seen, a kind of hook destroys, as it were, him who swallows it, by concealing the keenness of the power, with which He wounds.⁶⁷

Gregory's image is stripped down and vividly re-described by Honorius, with the exegetical context eliminated in favor of brevity and visceral impact. The image is now associated with the concrete image of the cross, the concrete practice of the liturgical year—the feast of Mary's nativity—and the connection to Job only present via allusion. The Scriptural source of the image remains available for those familiar with Job, still fodder for their meditation, but the utility of the image has been broadened and made accessible to those without intimate knowledge of Scripture and firmly implanted in the memory thanks to its forcefulness. This pattern of stripping down and making vivid and concrete is typical of how Honorius deals with his sources and is in keeping with broader Gregorian ideas of aligning theological discourse precisely to the needs of the intended audience.⁶⁸ The theological content is still present, but latent, present for his readers only with sustained meditation, rumination, and drawing mental connections to the broader corpus of Scripture and the writers of the Church.

Bede, in his authorial productivity, similarly acts as a model for Honorius's own prolific career and as a major source for wide swathes of his thought. Bede's exposition of Genesis is

⁶⁷ Gregory, *Moralia in Job*, ed. Marcus Adriaen (Turnhout, Brepols, 1979), XXXIII, 17.

⁶⁸ Gregory, in the *Moralia*, writes that while contemplation of the Divine is the ultimate goal—the food of preachers—their listeners are not capable of grasping such exalted things, and thus ought to be nourished by the blood of the crucified Lord. The simple are unable to soar like an eagle to the heights of divine contemplation but seeing the eagle from afar, are still led towards greater heights after death. The sentiment here may very well have been expressed by Honorius. It is one of the key animating ideals of his pedagogical and authorial mission. Gregory, *Moralia in Job*, XXXI.103-6. I was led to this passage by John Moorhead, *Gregory the Great* (London: Routledge, 2005), 29.

the unacknowledged source for the first half of *De neocosmo* in which Honorius tracks the physical unfolding of creation from unformed matter to the elements and into the multiplicity of created beings, finally culminating in the unfolding of history according to the Augustinian notion of the six ages of human history, conforming to the six days of creation. Within the portion of *De luminaribus* which is original to Honorius, Bede is, along with Anselm, given special attention. Honorius describes him as “monk and priest in the province of England, author of innumerable works,” which Honorius proceeds to list over four full columns in the *Patrologia*, considerably more space than is dedicated to any other author.⁶⁹ Bede also serves as the source for a significant amount of the *Imago mundi*, Honorius’s encyclopedia which was completed around 1110 and updated throughout Honorius’s career until the apparent end of his literary career in 1139,⁷⁰ particularly within the second book, which treats the subject of time. In general, Bede seems to be Honorius’s preeminent source for matters relating to concrete knowledge of the world.⁷¹ Whether describing the material unfolding of creation, the divisions of time, geography, or historical events—Bede’s history is one of the major sources of Honorius’s chronicle, the *Summa totius*—Honorius turns to the Englishman over and over to illuminate material creation.

The *Imago* also bears witness to the profound influence of the Carolingians on Honorius. The text was intended to contain the whole of the cosmos, so that it may be held in the physical form of a book before the eyes of the body while it is grazed (*depascere*) upon in the soul by the

⁶⁹ monachus et presbyter Anglicae provinciae, scripsit infinita, *De luminaribus*, PL172:227D-230A.

⁷⁰ Flint, *Imago mundi*, 8. Indeed the end of recensions of the *Imago mundi* by Honorius’s own hand is typically how his date of death is estimated.

⁷¹ This is perhaps a consequence of Bede’s own tendency to strip metaphysical speculation out of the patristic exegetes he draws from in his writings. Bede is taken by Honorius as a premier source for understanding the material cosmos and for the exploring the physical unfolding of creation, because these were precisely those areas in which Bede was most interested. John Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 4.

eyes of the heart “as in a mirror.”⁷² And it succeeded, as Flint notes: “The cosmos was contained, for those who wished it so, with great dexterity; the popularity of the text shews that many did.” and, “The cosmos so contained was overwhelmingly that of the Carolingians.”⁷³ We find a sizeable number of passages in the *Imago* drawn directly from Carolingian authors, particularly Rabanus Maurus, and large portions of the *Imago* are also taken from Isidore, an author who greatly shaped the Carolingian world, and whose *Etymologies* were the prototype for the medieval encyclopedic tradition. Honorius also drew heavily on Isidore for his catalog of Church authors as one quarter of the entries in *De luminaribus* are taken directly from Isidore’s own catalog. In the *Imago*, Isidore is supplemented by the other mainstays of the encyclopedic tradition, who tended to quote each other freely. Specifically, Pliny, Orosius, Macrobius, and Martianus all make an appearance.⁷⁴ Honorius was obviously well read in this tradition and draws virtually all his geographical and historical knowledge from the encyclopedic tradition available to the Carolingians.

The influence of the Carolingians on Honorius extends beyond encyclopedic entries. For instance, in a very rare citation of a specific work, he directly references “Cogitis me, O Paula” a sermon of Paschasius Radbertus, which Honorius misattributes to Jerome, as a source of possible contradiction to his assertion—taken from Gregory and integral to his argument in the text that canons have more dignity than monks—that the elect will be associated with the orders of the angels according to their merits in the *Liber duodecim quaestionum*.⁷⁵ The same sermon was one of the only texts prior to Honorius’s *Sigillum*, which offers a Marian interpretation of the Song of

⁷² eo quod dispositio totius orbis in eo quasi in speculo conspiciatur, *Imago mundi*, incipit, p. 49.

⁷³ Flint, *Imago mundi*, 18.

⁷⁴ Flint, *Imago mundi*, 13.

⁷⁵ *LDQ*, PL172:1181C.

Songs and serves as a major source of Honorius's commentary in the *Sigillum*.⁷⁶ Amalar of Metz is also the major source for his lengthy commentary on the liturgy—the most substantial commentary on the subject since Amalar himself—the *Gemma animae*.

More than simply drawing from Carolingian sources, however, there is a degree to which Honorius's thought as a whole has the same "flavor" as these earlier authors. Like the Carolingians, he is profoundly attached to the written word and, like them, he often assumes a cosmic scope in his writing. His profoundly pedagogical aim, the use of dialogue and question and answer texts to achieve that aim, and his attitudes towards potential disagreements within sources similarly reflect a character similar to what we find in the works of the great Carolingian masters. In the matter of ethics as well, Honorius writes with an apparent instruction that learned contemplation of Scripture, creation, and the doctors will, in conjunction with the careful guidance of the teacher, lead the reader onward towards moral perfection without need for specific ethical instruction.⁷⁷

We must be careful, however, to avoid classifying Honorius as a backward-looking figure, as for example Flint describes him in her article on his Songs commentaries.⁷⁸ Instead, what the Carolingian flavor of Honorius's writings forces us to recognize is that the ideals of the Carolingian era still represent a vital, influential, and popular intellectual force within the twelfth century. Innovation does not necessarily entail the rejection of what came before, and we should not suppose that traditional ideals were abandoned because new ideals have emerged on the

⁷⁶ Carr, *The Seal of the Blessed Mary*, 14.

⁷⁷ Cf. his brief discussion of the virtues in the *Scala coeli minor*, PL172:1239B-1242C. On Carolingian education, Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 21-35.

⁷⁸ Valerie Flint, "The Commentaries of Honorius Augustodunensis on the Song of Songs," *Revue Benedictine* 84, (1974), 208-9. She notes the popularity of the commentary suggests that Honorius's thought represented a large core of the ecclesiastical community, but insists on denigrating it as fundamentally uncreative, and perhaps even motivating outbursts of creativity among those who were turned off by its didactic, "cramping" character.

scene or because those traditional ideals are being presented in new forms.⁷⁹ Indeed, the latter is precisely the manner in which Honorius innovates, remaining grounded in the tradition while repackaging it in a manner palpable and useful for future generations.

Perhaps more than anything, it is in Honorius's attachment to the ideal that the reform of the priesthood properly orients society towards God and that this is therefore the most vital battleground in which the souls of the faithful are lost and won that his Carolingian mindset is most evident. A passionate advocate of reform, Honorius dedicated a number of his works to inveighing against clerical abuses and he dedicates a wide swathe of the *Elucidarium* to the same, instructing the disciple who wonders if wicked priests are able to placate God on behalf of the people:

Rather they offend more. For by their entrance they contaminate the sacred places, the sacred vestments and vessels dedicated to God they pollute with their touch and their name will perish from memory. The assembly of angels abhor them, the Lord himself flees them... The prayer of these men is not accepted, but becomes sin, because the Lord will not hear them. Their blessing is turned into a curse, as is said "I will turn your blessing into a curse, says the Lord."⁸⁰

Indeed, those suffering under bad priests are irrevocably stained by their perfidious shepherds.⁸¹

When it comes to the laity, Honorius has comparatively little guidance. In his "Sermo generalis," a sermon among those collected in the *Speculum Ecclesiae*, he lays out the relatively light obligations of the laity, many of which, paying tithes, honoring the liturgical feasts, attending Church, raising their children in the Church, directly depend on the proper conduct of

⁷⁹ An analogue might be found in the persistence of the ideals of Benedictine monasticism during the era, which is often classed as one of crisis for that ideal. See, John Van Engen, "The 'Crisis of Cenobitism' Reconsidered" *Speculum* 61, no. 2 (1986), 269-304.

⁸⁰ Immo magis offendunt. Suo enim ingressu loca sacra contaminant, vestes sacras et vasa Deo dicata suo tactu commaculant et nomen horum absque memoria peribit. Hos abhorret angelorum conventus, hos fugit ipse Dominus... Oratio eorum non suscipitur, sed fiet in peccatum, quia non exaudiet Dominus. Benedictio eorum in maledictionem convertitur, ut dicitur: "Convertam benedictionem vestram in maledictionem, ait Dominus." *Elucidarium*, I.Q194, p. 398-399.

⁸¹ *Elucidarium*, I.Q187-190, p. 396-7.

priests.⁸² This construct is rooted in his belief that priests shape society, and that it is the duty of priests to properly direct that society, including secular powers, to recapitulate the proper order of things in order to bring as many souls as possible to heaven.⁸³

The greatest of Honorius's Carolingian doctors, however, and the source which makes Honorius so unique amongst his peers, is John Scottus Eriugena. Like Honorius, Eriugena is a somewhat enigmatic figure, about whose identity and career we know very little. Like Honorius, Eriugena is also a unique thinker; similar to his contemporaries in many important ways while nevertheless distinct enough so as to defy easy categorization. And like Honorius, Eriugena is often considered a sort of off-shoot from the main branches of medieval intellectual development, "the loneliest figure in the history of European thought,"⁸⁴ fascinating in the scope of his intellectual achievements but with little to tell us about the larger scale intellectual currents of the Middle Ages. This understanding of Eriugena, however, is rooted in reasons almost precisely the opposite of the similar judgment of Honorius. Whereas Honorius is generally assumed to be too simple, too popular, and too unoriginal to warrant serious attention, Eriugena is perceived as too complex, too weird, and too original, a strange hybrid of Greek and Latin thought, at home in neither tradition. This perception of Eriugena has begun to shift in recent decades towards a more balanced appraisal, which sees him less as an outlier and more as an outstanding representative of the Carolingian tradition of erudition.⁸⁵ Indeed, it seems that Eriugena had considerable scholarly resources at his disposal and a number of students who grasped the essentials of his thought. Eriugena's influence over his contemporaries was

⁸² *Speculum Ecclesiae*, PL172:861C-870C.

⁸³ Honorius's *Summa gloria de apostolico et augusto* (PL172:1257B-1270D) makes clear the preeminence of the clergy and ecclesiastical hierarchy over secular authorities.

⁸⁴ Deidre Carabine, *John Scottus Eriugena* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 13.

⁸⁵ Cf. Willemien Otten, "Eriugena's Periphyseon: A Carolingian Contribution to the Theological Tradition," in *Eriugena: East and West*; Marenbon, *Circle of Alcuin*.

particularly pronounced on the question of essences and the reception of Aristotle's *Categories*, with portions of the *Periphyseon* apparently being used as a textbook to teach the subject.⁸⁶ However, this influence had largely faded by Honorius's time, and with his relative lack of concern for the final points of ontology and the question of universals, Honorius finds quite a different use for the Irishman's thought.

We know that Eriugena hails from Ireland, both "Eriugena" and "Scottus" indicating his Irish heritage. Beyond that, the details of his early life, his education, and how precisely he found his way to the Carolingian Empire are obscure. It is similarly unclear whether Eriugena was a priest, monk, or layperson. Prudentius refers to him as "of no ecclesiastical rank,"⁸⁷ though whether this indicates that Eriugena was a layman or simply a monk or priest holding no higher office is unclear. He served as a teacher of the liberal arts and as a poet at the court of Charles the Bald,⁸⁸ apparently beginning around 840, and from here first emerged in the historical record due to his invited intervention in a controversy on predestination stirred up by Gottschalk of Fulda during the latter part of that decade.⁸⁹ His work on the subject, *De praedestinatione*, seems to have satisfied precisely no one on either side of the debate,⁹⁰ and Eriugena disappeared back into obscurity for a period after its release. Around 860, he was commissioned by Charles to undertake the translation from the Greek of the works of Pseudo-Dionysius, the fifth or sixth century Syrian Neoplatonic thinker who had identified himself as the Athenian disciple of St. Paul converted in Acts 17:34, and whose works had been presented to

⁸⁶ Marenbon, *Circle of Alcuin*, 88-138.

⁸⁷ nullis ecclesiasticae dignitatis gradibus insignitum, PL115:1043A.

⁸⁸ See the numerous poems Eriugena wrote in honor of Charles, including complaints about his low pay. *Iohannis Scotti Eriugena Carmina*, ed. Michael W. Herren (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1993). On Eriugena's career as a poet, see Paul Dutton, "Eriugena the Royal Poet," in *Jean Scot ecivain*, ed. G.H. Allard (Montreal: Bellarmin, 1986).

⁸⁹ Carabine, *John Scottus Eriugena*, 14.

⁹⁰ See the criticisms of Prudentius, PL115:1149A and *passim*.

Charles the Bald's father by the Byzantine emperor under the impression that this Dionysius was identical to St. Denis, the first bishop and patron saint of Paris. Eriugena's translations replaced those of Hilduin, an abbot of St. Denis, whose translation of thirty years prior was widely regarded to be insufficient, despite and perhaps because of its close adherence to the original text.⁹¹ It is through these translations that Eriugena unquestionably made his biggest impact on subsequent centuries, and especially on the twelfth which witnessed a great uptick in enthusiasm for Pseudo-Dionysius's works.

Despite his enthusiasm and affection for Eriugena, it is unclear if Honorius was aware of the Irishman's translation. He adds to Jerome's list of ecclesiastical authors which form the first quarter of *De luminaribus* an entry for, "Dionysius the Areopagite, philosopher, by the Apostle Paul converted, ordained bishop of Athens, writer of the book *On Hierarchy* and many others."⁹² Yet, direct citations of Dionysius or Eriugena's commentary on the *Celestial Hierarchy* are absent from his writings, and he chooses to adopt Gregory the Great's hierarchy of angels in his own discussions with no reference to the alternative hierarchy offered by Pseudo-Dionysius in the *Celestial Hierarchies*.⁹³

Eriugena's translations were undoubtedly of extreme importance to later generations. The capstone of his career, his magnum opus, was unquestionably the *Periphyseon*. A massive dialogue, often referred to by the subtitle of its first book "On the Division of Nature" and

⁹¹ On Eriugena's willingness to depart from the text in service of comprehensibility and his own interpretation of the Areopagite, see Paul Rorem, *Eriugena's Commentary on the Dionysian Celestial Hierarchy* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2005), 47-75.

⁹² Dionysius areopagita, philosophus, a Paulo apostolo conversus, Athenis episcopus ordinatus, scripsit librum De hierarchia, et multa alia. *De luminaribus*, PL172:199C-D.

⁹³ The fact that Honorius did not make use of Ps. Dionysius does not necessarily indicate that he did not have access to Eriugena's translations. There was an extensive collection of Ps. Dionysius's works at Bec by the middle of the twelfth century and, indeed, virtually all of the writings of the Greek fathers that had been translated into Latin would likely have been available to Honorius. Giles Gasper, *Anselm of Canterbury and His Theological Inheritance* (Burlington: Routledge, 2004), 80.

described by Honorius as treating “the nature of all things,”⁹⁴ the *Periphyseon* elegantly synthesized the thought of the Greek and Latin tradition, bringing – among others – Pseudo-Dionysius, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory Nazianzen, and Maximus Confessor into conversation with Augustine, Ambrose, and the western tradition in a complex tapestry of meditative speculation on creation, God, human nature, and eschatology. The work consists of five books tracing out the four divisions of nature: that which creates and is not created, God as creator; that which is created and creates, the primordial causes of things in the mind of God; that which is created and does not create, the created effects of these causes as instantiated in material creation; and that which neither creates nor is created, God as the final end of all things. The dialogue between *nutritor*, teacher, and *alumnus*, student, does not proceed through these divisions systematically, but is filled with digression, repetition, and doubling back, engendering confusion, frustration, and epiphany on the part of the *alumnus*. In this it resembles a meditation, perhaps the inner dialogue of Eriugena as he “frequently pondered, so far as [his] talents allowed...[the] fundamental division of all things which either can be grasped by the mind or lie beyond its grasp.”⁹⁵ The scope of the text is dizzying, the culmination of Eriugena’s thought. It is, simply put, the greatest work of theological and philosophical achievement of the era between Augustine and Thomas Aquinas.⁹⁶

Unfortunately for Eriugena, the *Periphyseon*’s highly complex and speculative character also carried the hint of heresy, leaving subsequent generations deeply suspicious of his writings. This wariness even predated the *Periphyseon*. Eriugena’s *De praedestinatione* had, as

⁹⁴ *De luminaribus*, PL172:222C.

⁹⁵ *Periphyseon*, Book I, 441A. Saepe mihi cogitanti diligentius que quantum uires suppetunt inquirenti rerum omnium quae uel animo percipi possunt uel intentionem eius superant primam summam que diuisionem esse in ea quae sunt et in ea quae non sunt, CCCM 161:3.

⁹⁶ Henry Bett makes the same assessment, as quoted in Carabine, *John Scottus Eriugena*, 13.

mentioned above, not proved appealing to his contemporaries. A Council at Valence in 855 condemned his opinions and memorably described *De praedestinatione* as “Irish porridge.”⁹⁷ Eriugena’s reputation further suffered in the Eucharistic controversies engendered by Berengar of Tours, who relied heavily in his disputes with Lanfranc on a treatise written by Ratramnus, another Carolingian author and a monk living in the same monastery as Paschasius, which he falsely attributed to Eriugena.⁹⁸ This suspicion of heresy carried over into Honorius’s era. For instance, William of St. Thierry criticized Abelard for his use of the term *involucrum*, which he associates with the thought of “John the Scot...who frequently used this word and who himself is noted for the subtlety of his heresy.”⁹⁹ Honorius himself was quite aware of Eriugena’s reputation. In his dialogue *Clavis physicae*, the disciple comments on a summary of Eriugena’s views on God’s immanence: “This will be judged monstrous, even by those who are considered to be wise...And unless you proved these things by example according to nature, you contradicted them with great heresy.”¹⁰⁰ Honorius displays a similar awareness of the potential heterodoxy of the radical immanence imagined by Eriugena in the *Cognitio vitae*, “Therefore this scandalizes the weak intellect, and having been silenced it ponders to himself”¹⁰¹

A century later, the *Periphyseon* was formally condemned in Paris due to connections to the pantheist speculations of Amaury of Bène, a theologian at the University of Paris associated with the Almaricians, whom Aquinas claimed were guilty of suggesting “that God is the formal

⁹⁷ John Scottus Eriugena, *Treatise on Divine Predestination*, trans. Mary Brennan (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003), X.

⁹⁸ Cf. Berengar, *De sacra coena*, ed. W.H. Beekenkamp (Hague Comitatus: M. Nijhoff, 1941), I.10-11.

⁹⁹ Johannem Scotum... qui frequentius hoc inusitato vocabulo usus est et ipse pro sua subtilitate de haeresi notatus est. (PL180:332A). Interestingly, Eriugena does not make regular use of the term “involucrum.” It only appears a single time within the whole of his catalogue (at CCCM 164:132). Honorius, on the other hand, uses the term in his distillations of the Irishman’s thought and in his Biblical commentaries.

¹⁰⁰ quod monstruosum estimabitur etiam his qui putantur sapientes ...Et nisi haec naturali exemplo probaveris, magna heresi redargueris. *Clavis physicae*, 141, p. 110.

¹⁰¹ Hoc iterum infirmum intellectum scandalizat, et tacitus apud se volutat. *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1020.

principle of all things.”¹⁰² Around this time too, Eriugena’s translations of Pseudo-Dionysius were supplanted by new editions, and his commentaries likewise replaced by those of more unambiguously orthodox scholars. Although his influence was preserved in fragments in the *Glossa Ordinaria*, a sermon on the Gospel of John which was mistakenly attributed to Origen, and other scattered references, it had effectively shifted underground.¹⁰³ The *Periphyseon* was later included on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* in 1687 after the publication of Thomas Gale’s 1681 edition where it remained until the *Index*’s abolishment in the mid-20th century. Following these condemnations, the major avenue by which Eriugena’s thought reached later generations was through the pages of his most devoted student, Honorius.

The most obvious manifestation of Honorius’ enthusiasm for Eriugena is the *Clavis physicae*, a digest version of the *Periphyseon* which, though unacknowledged as such, mirrors his digests of Augustine. Like the *Periphyseon*, the work is a dialogue and is typically placed among Honorius’ later works, both because of its placement within the catalog in *De luminaribus* and its highly speculative character, certainly it contains the most complex cosmological speculation of Honorius’ writings. The editor of the critical edition of the *Clavis* places the composition of the work sometime between 1125 and 1130.¹⁰⁴ The *Clavis* excerpts at length from Eriugena’s original and neatly organizes these excerpts under clear chapter titles. Honorius greatly truncates the original text, retaining around 36 percent of Book I, 27 percent of Book II, 52 percent of Book III, and 38 percent of Eriugena’s fourth book.¹⁰⁵ The fifth book,

¹⁰² *Summa Theologica* (Westminster: Christian Classics, 1981), I.3.8. See, however, the argument of Lucenti that Eriugena was not in fact condemned for his association with Amalrics, but rather as a consequence of the conflicts over the reception of Aristotle in the early part of the twelfth century. Lucenti, “L’eresia di Amalrico,” in *Eriugena Redivivus*, ed. Walter Beierwaltes (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1987), 174-191.

¹⁰³ See, Sheldown-Williams, “Eriugena and Citeaux” for a survey of Eriugena’s somewhat “stealth” influence on later thinkers, particularly within the Cisterican tradition. Honorius similarly found a warm reception amongst the Cistercians. Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis*, 156.

¹⁰⁴ Lucentini, *Platonismo Medievale* (La Nuova Italia, 1980), 60-75.

¹⁰⁵ Lucentini, “La *Clavis*,” 413.

which treats primarily of the return of all things through human nature to unity with God as that which does not create and is not created, is retained in its entirety and makes up the second half of Honorius's text.¹⁰⁶ In this, Honorius is more faithful to the original text than to the Augustinian sources of *De anima et de Deo* and *De neocosmo*, both of which often diverge widely from their original source material to conform more closely to Honorius's general metaphysical understanding and interests. In itself this distillation of Eriugena's thought would mark Honorius out as the most complete student of John, in the twelfth or any other century, but the Irishman's influence extends far further than the *Clavis*. Indeed, on closer examination, the hand of Eriugena can be found in virtually all of Honorius's writings, from the beginning of his career to its close.

Flint's study of the marginal notations found in certain early manuscripts of the *Elucidarium* revealed at least seven clear references to "Chrysostomus," Honorius's appellation for Eriugena which he shared with a number of twelfth century authors including Anselm of Laon.¹⁰⁷ These citations, as might be expected in what is – save his sermons – his most obviously basic and introductory work, do not directly detail Eriugena's more complex speculations; nor do they serve a particularly important function within the larger arguments of the *Elucidarium*. For example, in one of the more extensive passages which he draws from Eriugena, Honorius references Eriugena's etymology of "theos" in the *Periphyseon*, which Eriugena derives from Gregory of Nyssa: "Even before he created the world, he knew ahead of time all the names, characters, inclinations, conversations, deeds and thoughts of absolutely

¹⁰⁶ Jeuneau hypothesizes that the *Clavis* also retains the original ending of the *Periphyseon* which he argues has been lost in our current editions of Eriugena's text. Jeuneau, "La Conclusion du *Periphyseon* Comment un Dialogue Devient Monologue," in *Divine Creation in Ancient, Medieval, and Early Modern Thought*, ed. Michael Treschow, Willemien Otten, and Walter Hannam (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 223-34.

¹⁰⁷ Flint, "The Sources of the 'Elucidarius,'" 190-6. On the use of "Chrysostomus" as a name for Eriugena, see Crouse, "Intentio Moysi" *Dionysius* 2 (December 1978), 151 fn. 58.

everyone, both men and angels, as if they were present. For this reason, he is called 'theos' in Greek that is, 'all seeing.'"¹⁰⁸ Hannam, however, has pointed to an early passage that he persuasively argues demonstrates a far more subtle and meaningful use of Eriugena.¹⁰⁹ In response to the disciple's inquiry of whether God was alone prior to the creation of the world, the magister responds: "It is written, 'What was made, in him was life'. From this it is clear that each creature which afterwards appeared to the creature itself in creation, was always visible in God's predestination."¹¹⁰ This notion of the creature, present in the mind of God, becoming apparent to itself through creation epitomizes Eriugena's notion of theophany, "the forms of visible and invisible things, through whose order and beauty God's existence is made known."¹¹¹ The passage highlights the deep influence of Eriugena on Honorius and Honorius's skill at rendering the exceeding complex thought of Eriugena in a concise and comprehensible form, even though it is possible that the subtleties of Eriugena's doctrine might have been lost on the more simple reader.

Later works only confirm the important of Eriugena to Honorius. Eriugenian concepts feature prominently in *De neocosmo*, *Cognitio vitae*, *Expositionem in Cantica Canticorum*, the *Scala coeli major* and *minor*, *De animae exsilio et patria*, *De anima et de Deo*, and both *Libri quaestionum*, and, on close examination, run beneath the surface, as they do in the *Elucidarium*,

¹⁰⁸ Et antequam mundum crearet, omnium omnino prorsus et angelorum et hominum nomina, mores, voluntates, dicta, facta, cogitationes ac si praesentialiter praescivit, unde graece theos, id est omnia videns dicitur. (Honorius, *Elucidarium*, 263). "θεός is interpreted to mean "He Who sees", for He sees in Himself all things that are [while] he looks upon nothing that is outside Himself because outside Him there is nothing (*Periphyseon* I, 452C, CCCM 161, 18). Yves Lefèvre notes that the Eriugenian etymology differs from that in general use "L'étymologie proposée par Isidore de Seville...et plus généralement répandue, rattache deus à θεός, 'crainte'," in Lefèvre, *L'Elucidarium et les Lucidaires*, 102 n.2.

¹⁰⁹ Hannam, *Inevitabile*, 158-161.

¹¹⁰ "Quod factum est, in ipso uita erat." In quo patet omnem creaturam semper fuisse visibilem in Dei praedestinatione, quae postea visibilis ipsi creaturae apparuit in creatione, *Elucidarium*, I.Q15, p. 263.

¹¹¹ *Periphyseon*, Book V, 919C. Theophanias autem dico uisibilium et inuisibilium species, quarum ordine et pulchritudine cognoscitur deus esse. (CCCM 165, 84). Compare to Honorius's statements in *De anima* that it is through creatures that we are able to understand God, *De anima*, 254.

of the whole of his thought. The simple fact that Eriugena had an influence, even a tremendous influence, on Honorius's thought having been established, the question of how precisely Honorius understand Eriugena and how this understanding relates to his reading of other sources, particularly Augustine, remains to be seen. Perhaps more important is the question of why Eriugena was so fundamental to Honorius? What was the appeal of this, at the very least, quasi-heretical and exceedingly difficult Carolingian thinker, barely referenced by Honorius's contemporaries, to an author whose works are distinguished by their simplicity and popular character? Honorius is utterly unique in his pervasive use of Eriugena. What purpose, therefore, does the Irishman serve for him?

To answer this question we turn to Honorius's description of Eriugena in *De luminaribus*. Here, Honorius describes the Irishman as "Joannes Scotus vel Chrysostomus, in Scripture most remarkably learned, he wrote in an elegant style the book *Periphyseon*, that is, *On the Nature of All Things*."¹¹² Curiously, Honorius situates Eriugena amidst authors of the fifth century in a section of the text otherwise derived from Isidore between Paschasinus, bishop of Sicily around 440, and Julianus Pomerius, a fifth century priest and author from Gaul. Whether this was a result of an attempt to "disguise" Eriugena, as some have suggested,¹¹³ or whether it was the result of some extant tradition or misapprehension is unclear. In any case, no other author in *De luminaribus* is referred to as so "extraordinarily" [*insigniter*] learned in Scripture. Honorius seems to be especially impressed by Eriugena's skill as an exegete. Specifically, he seems to regard Eriugena as a particular authority on Genesis. This conclusion is borne out by Honorius's actual engagement with Eriugena. For instance, Book III of the *Periphyseon*, of which Honorius

¹¹² Joannes Scotus vel Chrysostomus, in Scripturis insigniter eruditus, scripsit eleganti stylo librum *Periphyseon*, id est *De natura omnium rerum*. *De luminaribus*, PL172:222C.

¹¹³ Cf. Crouse who also suggests that this may lay behind Honorius's use of the name "Chrysostomus" (cf. *De luminaribus*, PL172:222C) as well, Crouse, "Intentio Moysi," 151.

retains more than any other portion of the text save Book V, contains the majority of Eriugena's literal hexameral explorations. Most of the works in which Eriugena's voice is particularly prominent deal extensively with creation and Eriugena is continuously used to mediate Honorius's reads of other sources on the hexameron.

Genesis was, and is, one of the most commonly commented on books of the Bible and was especially influential during the twelfth century, an era often cited for its "discovery of nature."¹¹⁴ It also held deep significance for Honorius. Outside his own hexameron, he returns to creation again and again in his works. Ultimately, creation proves to be the foundation upon which the entire edifice of his theology is constructed. In his commentary on the Psalms, Honorius describes philosophy as "the love of wisdom...this is divided into three parts, into the physical, ethical, and logical; that is into the natural, moral, and rational."¹¹⁵ Each of these divisions is linked to a different book of Scripture. The letters of Paul treat with ethics, the Psalms with logic, and "to the physical pertains Genesis, which speaks of natural things,"¹¹⁶ and the ultimate object of the study of natural things, we learn from Honorius's source for this division—Augustine's *City of God*—is contemplation.¹¹⁷ Here, we might discern the reason behind Honorius's choice of title for the *Clavis physicae*. Just as the *clavis David* unlocks the deeper wisdom of Scripture providing the means to unravel the *involucra* which obscure God's revelation,¹¹⁸ so Eriugena's exegesis opens the *involucra* of nature revealing the divine truth hidden within. Moreover, Eriugena's thought posits a deep unity between creation and

¹¹⁴ Cf. the survey by Crouse in Crouse, *De neocosmo*, 118-137. On the discovery of nature in the twelfth century, see Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 1-48. For a useful corrective, see Sara Ritchey, "Rethinking the Twelfth-Century Discovery of Nature," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39, no. 2 (2009): 225-255.

¹¹⁵ Philosophia est amor sapientiae...haec dividitur in tres partes, in physicam, ethicam et logicam; id est in naturalem, moralem, rationale, *In Psalmos*, PL172:270B.

¹¹⁶ Ad physicam pertinet Genesis, quae de naturis loquitur, *In Psalmos*, PL172:270B.

¹¹⁷ Augustine, *City of God*, VIII.4.

¹¹⁸ Cf. *Sigillum*, PL172:496D.

restoration, between the procession of all things from God and their return at the eschatological culmination of history. This link, and the nature of the *reditus* of all things, is detailed at length in Book V of the *Periphyseon* which, recall, Honorius retains in its entirety in the *Clavis*. This unwillingness to cut down Eriugena's text underscores the deep importance of Book V's arguments to Honorius's thoughts on the nature of the return. Thus, the key of nature which Eriugena mediated and simplified by Honorius provides unlocks more than just the proper understanding of physical creation. It reveals the ultimate destiny of that creation and especially the ultimate destiny of creation's most exemplary representative, the very reason for material creation's existence, humanity.¹¹⁹

Eriugena's thought serves as more than an exegetical key, even an incredibly important exegetical key, to the Genesis. It is also the lens through which Honorius reads his other extra-Biblical sources especially the most influential of those authors, Augustine. Crouse noted Honorius's essentially Eriugenian understanding of Augustine in his examination of Honorius's *De neocosmo* writing:

The substance [of *De neocosmo*] is clearly Augustinian, drawn mainly from *De Genesi ad Litteram* and *De Civitate Dei*; but everything Honorius draws from those texts is what Eriugena, in the *Periphyseon*, has already found there. The implication seems unavoidable, that while Honorius certainly knew the texts of Augustine directly, his selection, interpretation and emphasis were shaped by his attachment to the 'physiology' of Eriugena.¹²⁰

This description could be applied to a wide swathe of Honorius's writings. While the influence of Augustine is a constant, precisely how Honorius choose to develop his own thought beyond that of the Bishop of Hippo is dictated by Eriugena. Two works in which this pattern is

¹¹⁹ Cf. *Elucidarium*, I.Q67, p. 373.

¹²⁰ Robert Darwin Crouse, "A Twelfth Century Augustinian" *Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 26 (1987), 172-3.

especially evident, the *Scala coeli major* and *De anima et de Deo*, exemplify how Honorius's Eriugenian flavor of Augustinianism tends to look in practice.

The *Scala coeli major*, subtitled "a dialogue on the order of knowing God in creatures," is one of Honorius's minor works, occupying a scant five pages in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*. It does not seem to have been particularly popular in its time, only four manuscripts have survived to the present day.¹²¹ The dialogue is essentially contemplative. It seeks to erect a ladder from the "mud" of the material world to heaven, by which the soul might ascend to vision of God and the eternal life.¹²² The influence of Eriugena on the text has long been noted. Sanford went so far to suggest that, "The whole treatise, especially the description of the immaterial nature of the true hell and the true heaven, is based on John the Scot."¹²³ However, Bell has noted that this conclusion is an overstatement, observing that the plan of the text hews very closely to the latter chapters of Book XII of Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram* upon which Eriugenian additions have been grafted.¹²⁴ Sanford is correct, however, to highlight Honorius's discussion of hell and heaven as especially linked to Eriugena's thought. Honorius and Eriugena both insist that the sufferings of Hell must be understood as spiritual. The soul of the damned, weighed down by sin, is said to be submerged in the Earth because it "having been punished by bodily death, suffers not corporeal things but spiritual in the likeness of corporeal things, is afflicted by pain, grief, and sadness."¹²⁵ Eriugena, writes,

They also call [hell] ΛΥΠΗ, which means 'sorrow' or 'grief' or 'mourning;' and ΑΧΟΣ which signifies the burden of despair, which drags down and submerges as in a deep whirlpool the evil desires when they are afflicted by their need for those temporal things

¹²¹ Flint, *Honorius*, 172.

¹²² *Scala coeli major*, PL172:1230D-1231A.

¹²³ Sanford, "Honorius, Presbyter and Scholasticus," 424.

¹²⁴ David Bell, "The Basic Source of the *Scala coeli major* of Honorius Augustodunensis" *Revue Bénédictine* 88 (1978), 169-170.

¹²⁵ corpore penitus mortuo, non corporalia, sed spiritualia corporalibus similia patitur, sed et dolore, moerore ac tristitia afficitur. *Scala coeli major*, PL172:1237C-D.

which in this life they incontinently desired and engulfs them in the fogs of the insubstantial phantasies of sensible things by which they are tormented.¹²⁶

Both Eriugena and Honorius use the example of Dives and Lazarus to discuss the immateriality of Hell, a major theme of Book V of the *Periphyseon*. Both also refer to the Bible's description of this hell as physical as a concession to Christ's audience. Honorius states, "I believe this rich man was in the sixth hell of which I spoke: but the Lord spoke of the fourth, that is about punishment of the flesh, but because that which was in truth they were not able to grasp, He related it to them as about torment of the body."¹²⁷ Similarly, Eriugena writes:

Therefore, neither hell, nor the everlasting fire which shall consume the wicked, nor the worm which dieth not can have any place within the sensitive and corporeal creation. All these expressions are employed by Holy Scripture in allegory, as St. Ambrose testifies and as is clear from the Greek expressions... All these terms used by the Greeks clearly show that hell and its torments are not sensible objects situated in space or time, whether in one of the four elements which are the parts of this world or in the whole of it.¹²⁸

In addition, and unnoticed by Bell, the passages selected from *De Genesi ad litteram* are very often those with which Eriugena wrestles in the *Periphyseon*.¹²⁹ Finally, the *Scala coeli major* evidences an underling concern for the harmony and unity of creation. The ladder leading the soul to heaven is arranged "harmoniously,"¹³⁰ and the soul is drawn up this ladder via reasoned

¹²⁶ *Periphyseon*, Book V, 971B. Item ΛΥΠΗ uocatur, cuius interpretatio est tristitia, uel maeror, uel luctus. ΑΧΘΣ quoque solet appellari, hoc est desperationis grauitas, quae demersas oppressas que malas cupiditates egestate temporalium rerum, quas in hac uita intemperanter concupiuerant, afflictas ueluti in profundissimam quandam uoraginem in que uanarum phantasiarum rerum sensibilibus caligines, in quibus cruciantur. CCCM 165, 155.

¹²⁷ Ego puto diuitem illum in sexto, quem dixi, inferno fuisse: Dominum autem de quarto, id est de corporali poena dixisse; sed quia id quod in re erat, capere non poterant, quasi de corporali tormento illis narrabat. *Scala coeli major*, PL172:1238B. In an earlier passage Honorius describes the sixth hell as spiritual: Sextus infernus est, cum anima, corpore penitus mortuo, non corporalia, sed spirtualia corporalibus similia patitur, sed et dolore, moerore ac tristitia afficitur. *Scala coeli major*, PL172:1237C.

¹²⁸ *Periphyseon*, Book V, 971B-C. Ac per hoc nullus locus intra sensibilem corporalemque creaturam inferno datur, neque aeterno igni in quo impii ardebunt, neque uermibus numquam morituris. Haec enim omnia tormentorum nomina figurate in sancta scriptura posita sunt, sancto Ambrosio attestante graecisque uocabulis... Quae cunctae significationes apud graecos infernum cum omnibus suis suppliciis non esse localem uel temporalem uel sensibilem seu in aliqua parte quattuor elementorum, quibus iste mundus constituitur. CCCM 165, 156.

¹²⁹ Compare Bell's table of citations in the *Scala* with the list of Eriugena's citations of *De Genesi ad litteram* in the CCCM edition. Bell, "Basic Source," 166-8 and CCCM 165, 898-901, respectively.

¹³⁰ *Scala coeli major*, PL172:1229D.

contemplation of nature in the diversity of created things leading back to their source in the primordial unity of God.¹³¹ This process recapitulates the *reditus* of all creation, through human nature to God, which Eriugena details as the culmination of the divine *economia*.¹³²

De anima et de Deo, likely completed around 1120,¹³³ presents itself as “certain excerpts from Augustine set down as a dialogue”, assembled in order to aid those lacking books or struggling with the density of Augustine’s style.¹³⁴ The first half of text, on the soul, broadly mirrors the composition of the *Clavis physicae*. It moves through the argument of Augustine’s *De quantitate animae* through a series of direct, or lightly modified, quotations, stripping the text to bare essentials and smoothing over any potential difficulties or controversies for the reader. In the second half of the text, which investigates the nature of God, Honorius abandons the method of hewing closely to the argument of and directly citing from a specific text and instead ranges widely through the arguments of *De Trinitate* and the *Confessions*, picking and choosing those concepts which conform to his general, and vaguely Eriugenian, conception of God and God’s relation to creation. The second half, therefore, more closely resembles *De neocosmo*, in which Honorius similarly relies on passages from *De Genesi ad litteram* and *De civitate Dei* with elaborations from Eriugena. Indeed the editor of *De anima* has noted both the similarity to the latter half of the text to *De neocosmo* and that, like *De neocosmo*, “le choix qu’Honorius a fait des formules augustiniennes est un choix orienté.” and that this orientation is that of Eriugena.¹³⁵ This influence is signaled by the very first line of the text, “Saepius mihi de anima cogitanti,”¹³⁶

¹³¹ *Scala coeli major*, PL172:1238D-1240A.

¹³² See Carabine, *John Scottus Eriugena*, 93-107 for a summary of Eriugena’s conception of *reditus*.

¹³³ Marie-Odile Garrigues, *De anima et de Deo* in *Recherches Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 12 (January 1977), 228.

¹³⁴ *quaedam de Augustino excerpta, sub dialogo exarata, De anima*, 237.

¹³⁵ Garrigues, *De anima et de Deo*, 234.

¹³⁶ *De anima*, 237.

an obvious reference to the opening line of the *Periphyseon*, “Saepe mihi cogitanti,” “often when I ponder.”¹³⁷

The latter half of *De anima* also dwells at length on the same concerns as the *Scala coeli major*, namely the progression of the soul through the contemplation of physical things to their creator. The likeness is so apparent that Garrigues has noted, “La *Scala* doit être de peu postérieur au *De anima*, les thèmes ‘joies du paradis, peines de lenfer’ y sont présentés dans les mêmes termes et le même ordre; la *Scala* est un reprise plus brève du *De anima*, sur un plan mystique.”¹³⁸ *De Deo* begins with the magister stressing, through Honorius’s typical method of moving through a dense web of authorities, Scriptural and from the tradition of the doctors, that God can neither be seen nor can he be perceived in any manner by sensory means. Prompting the disciple to wonder that, if this is the case, “in what manner is He able to be understood?”¹³⁹ To which the magister replies, “through creatures.”¹⁴⁰ He then proceeds to lead the disciple through the diversity of material creation to the vision of God in creation, vision of which simply is the kingdom of heaven that is the reward of the just after death.¹⁴¹ To see the plenitude of God’s goodness to recognize God as truth and to recognize that this truth is fundamentally a unity, a unity which is present, Honorius writes that God is:

Everywhere.... This is not greater in greater things nor less in the lesser, but wholly in all things, and wholly in each. For it is true that each rock is, it is true that each tree is, it is true that each beast is, that each man is, each angel, and furthermore it is true that all these simultaneously are. And through these truth is not divided, but wholly present in each one... Therefore, since it is true that certain things have been and it is true that this all is established eternally, truth and eternity are the same and this remains immutable and this is called the true and blessed and eternal life, when it will be seen by the saints face to face.¹⁴²

¹³⁷ CCCM 161, 3.

¹³⁸ *De anima*, 239 fn. 237.

¹³⁹ Et quomodo potest intelligi? *De anima*, 254.

¹⁴⁰ Per creaturam. *De anima*, 254.

¹⁴¹ Huius visio vocatur regnum caelorum. *De anima*, 259.

¹⁴² Vbique...Haec non est magis in maioribus nec minus in minoribus, sed in omnibus rebus tota et in singulis tota. Verum enim est esse singulos lapides, verum est esse singulas arbores, verum est esse singulas bestias, verum est

Garrigues notes that this “formules sont érigéniennes, on les retrouve diffuses dans la *Clavis*.”¹⁴³

The text concludes in the same unity with a description of the kingdom that God will inaugurate at the end of time, in which God will be all in all in the unity of the Holy Spirit, when we will see God in the supreme and perfect unity of the Trinity and, most importantly, remain there forever.¹⁴⁴ This same vision lies at the summit of the ladder that Honorius constructs in the *Scala coeli major*.¹⁴⁵

A clear pattern thus emerges in the *Scala coeli major* and *De anima et de Deo*, a pattern which Crouse has also observed in *De neocosmo* and which seems to hold across Honorius’s catalog. Augustine provides the foundation and basic vocabulary of Honorius thought, but this Augustine is selected and highlighted according to Honorius’s prevailing Eriugenian metaphysics, especially as it relates to the intimately bound subjects of creation and salvation. Any elaborations or departures from Augustine’s thought tend to draw heavily on the *Periphyseon*, and his works are quite often directed towards the vision through creatures of all creation as a harmonious unity in God. We might compare the role of Eriugena and his relation to Augustine in Honorius’s writings to Eriugena’s use of Maximus the Confessor and Maximus’s relation to Ps. Dionysius in the *Periphyseon*. Maximus, for Eriugena serves as an authoritative interpreter of Ps. Dionysius, shaping Eriugena’s read of the Areopagite, and guiding his synthesis

esse singulos homines, verum est esse singulos angelos, verum est etiam haec omnia simul esse. Et per haec non est divisa veritas, sed in singulis tota... Igitur, cum verum sit quaedam fuisse et verum sit haec cuncta in aeternitate fixa esse, veritas et aeternitas idem est et haec immutabilis permanet et haec vera et beata et aeterna vita vocatur, cum a sanctis facie ad faciem videbitur. *De anima*, 259-60.

¹⁴³ *De anima*, 259 fn. 241.

¹⁴⁴ *De anima*, 276-277. Previously Honorius stressed the difficulties of fixing our minds on the vision of God, *De anima*, 260.

¹⁴⁵ *Scala coeli major*, PL172:1239A-1240A. The most common alternative ending comes in many of the dialogues, where the disciple wishes that Honorius will one day be welcomed into this vision. With this ending, Honorius appears to be mirroring what Jeaneau has argued is the original end of the *Periphyseon*, preserved in the *Clavis*. Compare *Clavis physicae*, 529, p. 254 with, for example, *Inevitabile*, lines 1365-71, p. 347-8.

of Greek and Latin thought. Similarly, Eriugena acts as the lens through which Honorius reads Augustine. He takes Eriugena to be the authoritative commentator on the Bishop of Hippo's thought, who elaborates the cosmological consequences of Augustine's understanding of creation and who fully grasps the implications of these for the final end of humanity.

In keeping with his characteristic authorial method of dealing with his sources, Honorius uses material images to pare down and make comprehensible the complex Neoplatonic speculation of Eriugena. Within the *Liber duodecim quaestionum*, a text dealing with many of the same themes as the *Libellus octo quaestionum* and which was likely written around the same time,¹⁴⁶ he stresses that evil actions on the part of angels or men do nothing to detract from the harmonious beauty of God's creation, but in fact only serve to enhance that beauty:

Angel and man turning through free will from the highest good to the lesser good, like dissonant strings on the great zither, He took from the place of excellence and placed in a place of lowness, in which they create no dissonance but sing harmoniously to the whole.¹⁴⁷

This understanding of the cosmos as musical, with evil and good playing off each other in beautiful harmony, recalls similar imagery presented by Eriugena in Book V of the *Periphyseon*, and re-presented word for word in the *Clavis*.¹⁴⁸ More, it stresses the harmonious, unified hierarchy of creation, where even Hell is part of the beautiful, aesthetically balanced, whole, which is perhaps Honorius's greatest takeaway from Eriugena, and which shall be explored at length in the next chapter.

While Eriugena concerned himself with transcendent realities, the harmony of that which is not with that which is and with the fundamental non-existence of evil, Honorius speaks wholly

¹⁴⁶ Flint, "Chronology," 233.

¹⁴⁷ angelum et hominem per liberum arbitrium a summo bono ad minus bonum declinantes, quasi chordas in magna cithara dissonantes, de loco excellentium tulit, et in locum gravium posuit: in quo nullam dissonantiam faciant, sed universitati apte concinant. *LDQ*, PL172:1180C.

¹⁴⁸ *Periphyseon*, Book V, 966B-967D.

in material terms. This constant refocusing on the world of created things and concrete examples with which his audience would be familiar, such as the zither, yet focusing on one underlying truth beneath material things, is ever present throughout Honorius's writings, a clear reflection of his pedagogical aims and broad intended audience. Despite this refocusing, however, the fundament of Eriugena's thought is clearly conveyed, and may be meditated on by the reader to unlock the deeper truths expressed through the image.

Reason

In the *Libellus octo quaestionum*, Honorius offers a definitive summation of his view on the relation between reason and authority. "Nothing else is an authority," he writes, "except truth which is proved through reason: and what authority teaches must be believed, that which reason proves must be held."¹⁴⁹ With this, Honorius assimilates the writings of authorities, whether these are the books of the Bible or the works of the doctors, under the aegis of reason. Authority thus simply becomes reason written down. This conception is clearly inherited from Eriugena and, as a result, d'Onofrio's description of the consequences of it for the Irishman's thought applies equally to Honorius: "This means that the sources of science—reason, patristic authority, scriptural authority—are arranged by Eriugena in a line of progressive continuity in which they all form expressions of the same truth."¹⁵⁰ The continuity and unity of truth, wherever it is found, makes immediately explicable his unwillingness to acknowledge disagreement among his sources. If every authority makes manifest the same God-derived truth, how could these authorities disagree?

¹⁴⁹ Nihil est aliud auctoritas, quam per rationem probata veritas: et quod auctoritas docet credendum, hoc ratio probat tenendum. *LOQ*, PL172:1185B. This conception is drawn directly from the *Periphyseon*, CCCM161, 69, and repeated in the *Clavis*, 64, p. 44.

¹⁵⁰ Giulio d'Onofrio, "The *Concordia* of Augustine and Dionysius: Toward a Hermeneutic of the Disagreement of Patristic Sources in John the Scot's *Periphyseon*," in *Eriugena: East and West*, 116.

Two additional consequences follow. The first is that Honorius's conception of reason and authority tends to efface the distinction between Scripture, the writings of the doctors, and the operations of reason which Honorius himself provides in his works. This is not to say that he eliminates all distinction; he is clear that Scripture is incalculably richer than the writings of the doctors and his own teachings.¹⁵¹ However, it does strip away the sense of a hierarchy of authority among his sources. Unlike Augustine or Abelard, Honorius does not contend that the testimony of Scripture necessarily outweighs that of the doctors or that older works of the doctors are to be preferred to the new.¹⁵² Rather, when properly understood, all these sources express the same thing. There is no need to establish a distinction or hierarchy of authority amongst them, because the central truth is unitary.

Closely following upon this conclusion is the fact that placing Scripture and the writings of the doctors on the same continuum implies that they are, in the end, to be read in the same way. Just as with Scripture, therefore, the true meaning—the true reason—of the books of the doctors of the Church might lay beyond the literal meaning of the words on the page.¹⁵³ If one expression of reason in text condescends to the capabilities of the reader, so to might another, and this applies to Honorius's own works precisely as much as to doctors such as Augustine, Bede, or Gregory. He is, after all, continuously invested in shoring up his own status as an authoritative teacher, and the apparent disagreements within his catalog may likewise be said to be attempts to cater to the limitations of the *simplices* who make up his intended audience.

¹⁵¹ No work of the doctors is described as containing anything near the richness as even an individual book of Scripture, as for example the Psalms are described in his commentary. *In Psalmos*, PL172:273D-274A.

¹⁵² On the place of Scripture as superior to other authorities, see Augustine, *Epistulae*, ed. Alois Goldbacher (Vindobonae: F. Tempsky, 1895), 82.1.3, 148.4.15; Abelard, *Sic et Non*, 13-5; On preference for older authorities, see Augustine, *De ordine* ed. Therese Fuhrer (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 2.9.26; Abelard, *Sic et Non*, 10.

¹⁵³ Again, we see the same principle in Eriugena. J.C. Marler, "Dialectical Use of Authority in the *Periphyseon*," in *Eriugena: East and West*, 102.

That reason and authority are ultimately identical does not entail that reason can operate independently of the broader tradition, however. Honorius draws a sharp distinction between “secular” learning and proper philosophical inquiry, nourished by the Church. In his commentary on the Song of Songs, he condemns “the wine which inflates and inebriates its drinkers is secular wisdom, which drives mad and inflates those who take it up, like dialectic,”¹⁵⁴ and later he comments:

The wine which inebriates and drives mad is secular philosophy, which inflates the mind of men and elevates them in presumption. However, the breasts of the Church are better than wine, because the doctrine of the masters having been announced by each law [i.e. of the Old and New Testaments] that builds up in the twin loves [of God and neighbor] is more useful than philosophical doctrine which puffs up minds.¹⁵⁵

The use of reason must operate within a continuous line ultimately directed towards the contemplation of the Divine, as we see in his brief guide to the liberal arts, *De animae exilio et patria*, which casts the arts as instrumental in bringing the student to the contemplation of God. This theme is continued throughout his works. Later in the Song of Songs commentary, which contained the above-cited condemnation of secular reasoning, he extolls logic as the path to union with God.¹⁵⁶ While in the *Cognitio vitae*, he writes, “to rationally investigate the essence of divinity, is to hasten to eternal life.”¹⁵⁷ The Bible itself, in keeping with his conception of Scriptural authority as essentially reason gifted by the Divine and passed on through writing, is pervaded by logic, “Syllogisms hide in sacred Scripture, like fish in the depths of the water: and

¹⁵⁴ Vinum autem quod inflat bibentes et inebriat, est saecularis sapientia, quae se sumentes dementat et inflat ut dialectica *In cantica canticorum*, PL172:361D.

¹⁵⁵ Vinum quod inebriat et dementat est saecularis philosophia, quae mentes hominum inflat et in jactantiam elevat. Ubera autem Ecclesiae sunt meliora vino, quia doctrina magistrorum de utraque lege perlata est utilior, quia in gemina dilectione aedificatur; quam philosophica doctrina quae mentes inflat. *In cantica canticorum*, PL172:422B-C.

¹⁵⁶ Cantica canticorum logicae contulit, in quibus rationalem animam per dilectionem Deo conjungi voluit. *In cantica canticorum*, PL172:348C.

¹⁵⁷ Divinitatis ergo essentiam rationabiliter investigare, est ad vitam aeternam festinare. *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1005.

just as from the water fish are extracted in the use of man, thus syllogisms from Scripture are elicited for our benefit.”¹⁵⁸

Although Honorius never comments directly on his method of reasoning, the *Libellus octo quaestionum*, wherein he first explicitly detailed his understanding of the union between reason and authority, contains perhaps the most concise distillation of the means by which he expresses this union within his catalogue. Likely completed around 1111,¹⁵⁹ the *Libellus octo quaestionum*, subtitled “on angels and men,” is unquestionably a minor and not particularly popular entry in Honorius’s catalog, surviving in only seven manuscripts.¹⁶⁰ He fails to even mention the text in his list of works in *De luminaribus*, although its identification as Honorius’s has been longstanding and uncontroversial.¹⁶¹ This omission from *De luminaribus* may be a consequence of Honorius’s controversial notion of human deification found in the latter chapters. However, this seems unlikely given that he freely includes both the *Cognitio vitae* and the *Clavis physicae*, which advocate similar positions in far greater detail, in his catalog. More likely, the *Libellus octo quaestionum*’s exclusion was a consequence of the quality of the work. Honorius simply explored the subjects within in greater detail and with greater skill elsewhere. Nonetheless, it is the very brevity and simplicity of the text which makes it useful as an exemplar of Honorius’s method.

Like many of his works, the *Libellus octo quaestionum* takes the form of a dialogue between magister and disciple.¹⁶² The disciple inaugurates the discussion by requesting that

¹⁵⁸ Syllogismi latent in sacra Scriptura, ut piscis in profunda aqua: et sicut de aqua piscis in usum hominis extrahitur, ita syllogismus de Scriptura ad utilitatem elicitor. *In Psalmos*, PL172:279C.

¹⁵⁹ Flint, “Chronology,” 233.

¹⁶⁰ Flint, *Honorius*, 170.

¹⁶¹ Flint, *Honorius*, 170.

¹⁶² Honorius used the dialogue form more than any of his contemporaries, at least insofar as I have been able to determine (cf. Novikoff, “Anselm, Dialogue, and the Rise of Scholastic Disputation,” for a survey of the use of dialogue in the late-eleventh and early twelfth centuries.). This is likely because, as he tells us in the *Clavis*

Honorius address the question of “whether man would have been created if the angel had remained in heaven?”¹⁶³ The disciple’s confusion on the question of whether humanity exists as a consequence of the angels’ fall, a major controversy at the time,¹⁶⁴ arises from an apparent contradiction among the doctors. For, while others insist to the contrary, “the authority of a certain great person said that in order for the number of elect to be filled, one-tenth of man was created and for this alone the multitude of men were made.”¹⁶⁵ The disciple thus requests that Honorius resolve this difficulty using what may “be demonstrated to me by settled authority and proven by firm reason.”¹⁶⁶ In response, Honorius evinces utter confidence that reason and authorities, properly understood, simply cannot contradict each other. His solution to the disciple’s question is refreshing in its simplicity, and typical of his style. Scripture, he notes, clearly states that in the beginning God created heaven and Earth. If humanity had not been part of God’s original plan, then there would have been no need to create the Earth, as heaven would suffice for the angels.¹⁶⁷ He then proceeds to resolve the apparent discontinuity between this conclusion and Gregory by appealing to a dual creation, eternally through predestination and

physicae, he views the dialogue as the pre-eminent style in order to introduce new concepts to the beginner: visum est id genus docendi quam maximam vim optinere introducendi. *Clavis physicae*, 1, p. 3.

¹⁶³ *utrum homo crearetur, si angelus in coelo perstitisset?* *LDQ*, PL172:1185B. Honorius was quite interested in the relations between humanity and the angels. He addressed the subject here, in the *Libellus octo quaestionum*’s companion piece, the *Liber duodecim quaestionum*, and in the first part of *De neocosmo*. The *Elucidarium* is also notable as one of the first texts to detail the notion of individual guardian angels. Similarly, in the *Clavis physicae*, Honorius pays special attention to those passages of the *Periphyseon* in which Eriugena touches on angelology (Stephen Gersh, “Honorius Augustodunensis and Eriugena” in *Eriugena Redivivus*, 171).

¹⁶⁴ See, David Keck, *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 16-27; Vojtech Novotny, *Cur Homo?: A History of the Thesis Concerning Man as Replacement for Fallen Angels* (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2014). Augustine and Anselm were almost certainly the most important sources for Honorius’s thought on the question, with Augustine suggesting in *City of God*, XXII.1 that man’s purpose is to replace the fallen angels and Anselm dealing with the same question at length in *Cur Deus Homo*, particularly at I.16-19.

¹⁶⁵ *cum enim auctoritas cuiusdam magni dicat, ut impleretur electorum numerus, homo decimus creatur: videtur ad hoc solum facta multiplicitas hominum*, *LOQ*, PL172:1185B. The “certain great person” is Gregory the Great.

¹⁶⁶ *Vellem mihi certa auctoritate monstrari, ac firma ratione probari*. *LOQ*, PL172:1185B.

¹⁶⁷ *LOQ*, PL172:1185C-D.

temporally through the manifestation of this predestined creation in the material world, and concludes by efficiently sketching out these two processes of creation.¹⁶⁸

Again we see Honorius's response to controversy: simply pushing aside any possibility of doubt. He poses himself as an authority capable of resolving any apparent difficulty and authoritatively interpreting the doctors and expositors of the Church. Disagreement is rhetorically posed as a simple matter of not seeing clearly, not being able to grasp the totality of the doctrine of creation or the principles of the divine plan. Gregory cannot be allowed to disagree with other doctors, to do so would be to compromise the unity of Christian thought which is absolutely vital to Honorius's understanding of truth, thus reason must seek the way in which the doctors of the Church can be made to agree, and he acts as a willing and determined guide in this process. Honorius seems to see little merit in his readers working out theological controversies for themselves in contrast to, for example, the attitude of contemporaries such as Abelard.¹⁶⁹ For Honorius, what is important is imparting the content of doctrine simply and directly, using the truths themselves as building blocks for contemplative insight, which is attained when these truths are understood at a higher level, in the vision of God. Contemplative ascent comes from knowing, and meditating on that knowledge, rather than from determining what that knowledge ought to be in the first place.

Accepting this account, the disciple raises another issue, this time arising from an apparent contradiction between an authority, in this case Scripture, and reason. Namely, if as Scripture repeatedly states, Christ's Incarnation was a consequence of sin and the Incarnation is unquestionably good, it would seem that sin is not an evil at all, but a great good.¹⁷⁰ Here again

¹⁶⁸ *LOQ*, PL172:1185D-1187A.

¹⁶⁹ Abelard, *Sic et Non*. 11-18, 330-350.

¹⁷⁰ *LOQ*, PL 172:1187A-B.

Honorius moves briskly, appealing to an allegorical read of Scripture and to God's predestination, coupled with fairly matter-of-fact dialectic to assure the disciple that Christ's Incarnation is not in fact the result of sin:

But the cause of the incarnation of Christ was the predestination of the deification of humanity. Indeed it was predestined by God from eternity that man be deified, the Lord speaking: "Father, you loved them before the creation of the world," understand this as deifying through me [Christ]. Moreover, just as God is immutable, so his predestination is immutable, it is required therefore that he be incarnated, so that man is able to be deified, and thus it does not follow that sin was the cause of his incarnation, but even more it follows, that sin is not able to change what had been set forth by God about the deification of men. Accordingly, the authority of sacred Scripture and clear reason declare that God would have assumed men, even if man had never sinned.¹⁷¹

The disciple's confusion on this question has serious consequences. Situating the cause of Christ's incarnation as sin necessitates that God's action is in some sense dependent on humanity, indeed on humanity doing evil. This grants a reality to sin that Honorius's neo-platonic cosmological picture cannot tolerate. Linking the cause of Christ's incarnation back to the foreordained deification of humanity emphatically demonstrates to the disciple, and by extension the reader, the inalterability of God's plan, the orderly operation of the universe, and the cosmic schema of *exitus* and *reditus* that shapes Honorius's understanding of reality. Moreover, it aligns with Eriugena's account of Christ's incarnation, found in Book V of the *Periphyseon* and repeated by Honorius verbatim in the *Clavis*.¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ Causa autem Christi incarnationis fuit praedestinatio humanae deificationis: ab aeterno quippe a Deo erat praedestinatum, ut homo deificaretur, dicente Domino: Pater, dilexisti eos ante constitutionem mundi, subaudi, per me deificandos. Sicut autem Deus est immutabilis, ita et praedestinatio ejus est immutabilis: oportuit ergo hunc incarnari, ut homo posset deificari. Et ideo non sequitur, peccatum fuisse causam ejus incarnationis; sed hoc magis sequitur, peccatum non potuisse propositum Dei immutare de deificatione hominis. Siquidem auctoritas sacrae Scripturae et manifesta ratio declarat, Deum hominem assumpsisse, etiamsi homo nunquam peccasset. *LOQ*, PL172:1187C.

¹⁷² N. Why did He descend? A. Tell me, I pray. N. For this reason only, I think: that in His humanity He might save the effects of the Causes which in His Divinity He possesses eternally without change; and that He might call them back into their Causes that they might be preserved in them by a mystical unification, just as the Causes are also preserved. *Periphyseon*, 912A-B. Note the departure here from Anselm's position in *Cur Deus Homo*, whose arguments Honorius reprises in the *Elucidarium*. Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo*, 2.I-III.

A similar pattern emerges in subsequent questions, some conflict between reason and a recognized authority, between the doctors, or between rational conclusions already reached by the magister in the dialogue is raised and these conflicts are resolved through concise and easy to follow logical arguments, rooted in allegorical interpretations of brief Scriptural passages. The third category of conflicts is especially interesting because it suggests that Honorius, through the mouthpiece of the magister, ought to be taken as an authority in his own right, guaranteeing the conclusions of his dialectical and Scriptural reasoning. It also mirrors the progression of a schoolroom discussion, initiated by a reading or question found in recognized authorities, but progressing as the arguments develop with answers rooted in the authority of the teacher.

The magister's answer to the disciple's final question, however, departs from this pattern, as we seem to have reached the upper bounds of reason, beyond which no discussion is possible. Here, the disciple inquires into the nature of God's justice; why does God not grant the rewards of heaven to infants, seemingly innocent, who die unbaptized? Honorius responds, "But why he does this we are not able to investigate, any more than we are able to investigate why angels were not made archangels, why they were not made thrones or women not made men or beasts birds or why to peacocks he gave such beautiful feathers beyond other birds and many similar things."¹⁷³ Honorius almost always addresses problems of this nature, which we might today refer to as questions on the "problem of evil" by appealing to the disposition of creation.¹⁷⁴ Everything, from human salvation to the damnation of the apparently innocent to the beauty of a peacock's feathers is intimately bound up in creation, a binding we also witness in Honorius's

¹⁷³ Cur autem hoc faciat, non plus possumus investigare quam illud possumus indagare: cur angelos non fecerit archangelos, vel illos non fecerit thronos; vel feminas non fecerit viros, vel bestias non fecerit aves, vel cur pavoni, tantum decorem pennarum prae caeteris avibus dederit et multa his similia. *LOQ*, PL172:1192C. Interestingly, Eriugena famously uses the feathers of a peacock to describe the beauties of the endless depths of Scripture. CCCM164, 13. Honorius, though, speaks of creation where Eriugena spoke of Scripture.

¹⁷⁴ Mirroring God's response to Job from the whirlwind. Job 38-42.

regular appeals to God's creation of all things simultaneously in his eternal predestination throughout the *Libellus octo quaestionum*.

Although Honorius is always confident in the powers of reason informed by authority, or rather of the continuous unfolding of reason in both our own minds and in the writing of the doctors and authors of Scripture, there is always a sense of hierarchy that properly situates within the order of the cosmos. We simply cannot understand the totality of God's plan, because we are ultimately unable to grasp, to see, the whole except in brief flashes of contemplation—flashes which Honorius, of course, claims to have experienced. The “beautiful picture”¹⁷⁵ painted by God can only be seen by God, at least until the inauguration of the New Creation. However, Honorius displays utter confidence in the ordered harmony of God's creation, in the fact that no dissonant note may sound—whether through human sin or the apparent incomprehensibility of things—and it is this principle which acts as the hermeneutic key to the proper use of reason. Thus, even when we reach the edges of our knowledge, Honorius understands there to be a continuity to how the world is to be known. Every difficulty, every contradiction, every confusion and division can be resolved if only we stretch our vision higher, closer and closer to God.

Here a picture of Honorius's typical process of reasoning emerges. Drawing from Scripture he tends to move via simple, plainly-stated dialectic to positions that eliminate any possible contradictions between the doctors, between the doctors and reason, and between the conclusions of reason itself. Within this reasoning, creation and God's predestination never seem to be far below the surface, especially on questions relating to the ultimate end of humanity. Moreover, his reasoning tends to unfold in the manner of a classroom disputation,

¹⁷⁵ Honorius often uses this image of God as an artist and creation as a supremely beautiful artistic creation. See, for instance *Inevitabile*, 524-25 or, for the specific image of God as a painter, *Inevitabile*, 544.

treating subjects as they follow more or less organically from an initial difficulty, with the digressions and omissions this sometimes entails. The fundamental principle underlying this unfolding and shaping his reasoned exegesis of both the doctors and Scripture is one of unity and continuity between these authorities and the use of reason. Apparent disagreements are consequences of our epistemic limitations, and may be resolved by carefully working through these difficulties to show the underlying harmony and unity of the sources of truth.

His picture of the interplay of doctors, Scripture, and reason is ultimately, therefore, a mirror of the broader picture of the cosmos. This is because they all derive from and mirror their common source, God. Reason and authority cannot disagree, because they both stem from God, and there can be no disagreement within the Divine. Instead, it is humanity which introduces dissonance to the “beautiful picture” of the cosmos. Disagreement is a produce of our minds, occluded by sin. Unable to grasp things on the proper level which resolves these difficulties, we are left confused and blind. Consequently, the goal of Honorius’s use of his sources and of the reason which is both embedded within them and which allows use to understand them is to provide us with a view of the larger picture; to eliminate the dissonance and reveal the harmony and unity of the cosmos, itself a mirror of the hidden depths of the divine.

Chapter III - The Mirror and Lens of Creation

Upon even a cursory examination of Honorius's major works, it rapidly becomes evident that he is an author deeply concerned with creation, both as the primordial moment in which "He that lives forever created all things simultaneously"¹ and as the presently existing extension of that moment in time and space which is encountered in the daily lives of his audience. It is this concern which is the greatest inheritance drawn from and elaboration of the Eriugenian Augustinianism that defines his thought. The prominence of this theme throughout Honorius's catalogue strongly suggests that it is either the key reason for, or the most pronounced result of, his intense interest in the *Periphyseon*. With seeming inevitability, the theological questions Honorius addresses tend towards a discussion of creation, whether they regard the Eucharist,² the liturgy,³ soteriology,⁴ or the relative status of monks and canons,⁵ humans and angels.⁶ In addition, we find throughout his works a great delight in the world and confidence that it will yield its secrets to the determined investigator. This confidence, along with his utter conviction of the unity of Christian doctrine, the agreement of authorities, Scripture, and reason, makes Honorius an archetype of the great optimism of the twelfth century noted by Chenu in his famous study.⁷ For while this world is a dark prison,⁸ it is nevertheless the sight of great joy and wonder:

And thus to any who examine it all of God's creation is a great delight, since in some things there is beauty, as in flowers, in others, medicine, as in herbs, in still others

¹ Sir.18.1, oft cited by Honorius in *De neocosmo* and elsewhere. Augustine's exegesis of the passage is the obvious source of Honorius's use. Cf. Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, trans. John Hammond Taylor (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), 4.33-34, 52-53.

² Cf. *Eucharistion*, PL172:1250C-1251B, *Gemma animae*, PL172:576C.

³ Cf. *Gemma animae*, PL172:626A.

⁴ *Intentio quippe Moysi est restaurationem humani generis per Christum figuraliter narrare. De neocosmo*, lines 18-9, p. 176.

⁵ *LDQ*, PL172:1177A-1186A.

⁶ *LOQ*, PL172:1185B-1192C.

⁷ Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, 83-4.

⁸ Cf. *Speculum Ecclesiae*, PL172:816B.

nourishment, as in fruit, and in others significance, as in worms or birds. All things, therefore, are good and all were created for of man.⁹

In his enthusiasm for the joys of creation, Honorius might be compared to his contemporary and fellow German, Hugh of St. Victor, in whose *On the Three Days*, written about twenty years after the *Elucidarium*, we find similar delights in the multifarious permutations of creation:

Again we are amazed at other things because they are in some way monstrous or ridiculous. The more their shape is alien to human reason, the more readily it can compel the human mind to amazement. Why does the crocodile not move its lower jaw when it is eating? And how does the salamander stay unharmed in a fire? Who gave the hedgehog spines and instructed it to wrap itself with fruits scattered by a storm with the result that freighted with them it goes along sounding like a wagon? And the ant that knows winter is approaching and so fills her granary with grains? The spider, too, fashioning its webs from its own innards to capture prey? These are witnesses to the wisdom of God.¹⁰

There is more than just delight present here. Creation is not simply wonderful, it is useful. The delight engendered by it has a purpose, just as does the food and medicine it produces. That purpose is, as Hugh puts it, to serve as a witness to the wisdom of God, to serve as signs. The Augustinian roots of this conception are obvious, and indeed Lefèvre identifies the sources of the above-cited passage of the *Elucidarium* as the first of Augustine's tractates on John and *De Genesi litteram*.¹¹ Honorius, however, places more emphasis on the utility of creation, particularly the utility of creation for the human race, even when speaking of signification. As we will see, signifying, gesturing towards a hidden inner reality, for the benefit of humanity proves to be the fundamental reason for creation itself. Given this enthusiasm for creation and the centrality of Honorius's account of creation to his thought, our investigation must, like his

⁹ Omnis itaque Dei creatio consideranti magna est delectatio, dum in aliquibus sit decor, ut in floribus, in aliquibus medicina, ut in herbis, in quibusdam pastus, ut in frugibus, in quibusdam significatio, ut in vermibus vel avibus. Omnia igitur bona et omnia propter hominem creata. *Elucidarium*, I.Q67, p. 373.

¹⁰ Hugh of St. Victor, *On the Three Days*, I.ii.2. Poirel situates its date of composition as likely before 1120 and certainly before 1125. *Trinity and Creation*, ed. Grover Zinn and Hugh Feiss (Hyde Park: New City Press, 2011), 52.

¹¹ Lefèvre, *L'Elucidarium*, 117 fn. 1.

own, tend towards the beginning of things if we are to grasp what those signs point to and for what purpose they point.

Defining Creation

Early in the *Imago mundi* Honorius offers a five-fold definition of *creatio*. The term may be understood, he instructs us:

in five modes, first, that in which before worldly time the universe of the world was conceived in the divine mind. This conception is called the archetype of the world. Whence it is written: "That which was made in him was life." Second, when to the archetypal exemplar this sensible world was created in matter, just as is read: "He who remains in eternity created all things instantaneously." The third when through species and forms over six days this world was formed, just as it is written: in six days God created his works very good." The fourth when one from another, as for instance a man from a man, a beast from a beast, and each tree from a seed of their own kind are born, just as is said: "My father is always working." The fifth is when the world so far will be renewed, just as is written: "Behold I make all things new."¹²

The bulk of his definition draws on the opening Bede's *De natura rerum*¹³ where Bede, in turn, is drawing on Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram*.¹⁴ Interestingly, we see a subtly different focus and emphasis in all three authors. Augustine sets out his categories in terms of modes of existence: things can be rightly said to exist eternally in the Word of God, latent in the elements of the world, in the disposition of things during the first six days, and in seeds by which those primordial dispositions continue to be instantiated, as in plants emerging from the Earth.¹⁵ Bede, on the other hand, emphasizes the categories as stages in the unfolding of God's power and

¹² *Creatio mundi v modis scribitur, i. quo ante tempora saecularia universitas mundi in mente divina concipitur. Quae conceptio archetipus mundus dicitur. Unde scribitur: Quod est factum in ipso vita erat. Secundo cum ad exemplar archetipi hic sensibilis mundus in materia creatur, sicut legitur: Qui manet in eternum creavit in omnia insimul. Tercio cum per species et formas sex diebus his mundus formatur, sicut scribitur: sex diebus fecit deus opera sua bona valde. Quarto cum unum ab alio, ut puta homo ab homine, pecus a pecude, arbore unumquodque de semine sui generis nascitur, sicut dicitur: Pater meus usque modo operatur. Quinto cum adhuc mundus innovabitur, sicut scibitur: Ecce nova facio omnia. Imago mundi, I.2, p. 40.*

¹³ See *Periphyseon*, 441B-442A; *Imago*, p.40 fn.2.

¹⁴ See Bede, *De natura rerum*, trans. Calvin Kendall (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), I.192; Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, 6.10.

¹⁵ Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, 6.10.

governance of the world, highlighting the temporal dimension of these stages, particularly the fourth.¹⁶ Honorius draws from both definitions, emphasizing with Bede the sense of each category as a further stage in the procession of things from God, yet in his references to the divine archetype stressing both the continued existence of things in this archetype and the conception of the world as a reflection of the divine model with the latter stages of procession enacting that which is contained in the prior. With this construction, he deemphasizes the role of the primordial causes—Bede particularly emphasizes their importance in the fourth category¹⁷—simplifying the ontological structure of creation and stressing the immediacy of God’s power in the continued unfolding of creation. The importance of the primordial causes is similarly downplayed in the *Clavis physicae*.¹⁸ Honorius prefers to see God as acting directly on creation, rather than working through intermediaries.

Moreover, by the addition of the fifth definition (not found in Bede), Honorius emphasizes the intimate connection between creation and eschatology, the sense in which the procession forward of the universe from the divine archetype to material things through time is completed by its return and renewal at time’s end. Consequently, an understanding of the New Creation, both at the level of individual salvation and on the cosmic scale, requires a deep exegesis of Genesis, the opening verses of John’s Gospel, and other Biblical texts treating the origins of the world.

Note that creation and, more commonly, the attendant terms which Honorius uses to denote the result of God’s creative act, *mundus, universitas, cosmos*—does not merely encompass the physical order of things, which he typically refers to as *physica*,¹⁹ but the entirety

¹⁶ Bede, *De natura rerum*, I.192.

¹⁷ Bede, *De natura rerum*, I.192.

¹⁸ Gersh, “Honorius Augustodunensis and Eriugena,” 171.

¹⁹ Cf. *In cantica canticorum*, PL172:348C.

of all that is not God, including the primordial causes and the spiritual world of the angels. This understanding conforms to the opening division of the *Periphyseon*, “the first and fundamental division of all things which either can be grasped by the mind or lie beyond its grasp is into those that are and those that are not.”²⁰ The latter is God, the former all things which are not God and which, consequently, can be conceived of in at least some fashion by the human race.

Honorius’s reluctance to view the unfolding of creation as a product of intermediary causes may also account for his apparent lack of interest in the idea of *natura* as an independent creative or animating force. There is little trace of the personified *natura*, which is such a notable feature of authors such as Bernard Silvestris and Alain of Lille, and which has so shaped our conception of the twelfth century view of nature.²¹ And while we do find traces of personified nature in some of the famous and oft-reproduced illuminations of the *Clavis*,²² it is unclear to what extent, if any, Honorius’s own ideas shaped that art. Nor do we encounter the idea of *natura* as an independent force, an increasingly common conception in the twelfth century that Otten has identified as *natura operans* where, “the universe is seen as setting and defending its own goals more or less on its own.”²³ Such a conception is simply not tenable in Honorius’s thought. It is God’s direct action that still today directs and provides the vivifying force of creation. In Honorius’s fourth mode of speaking about *creatio*, that mode dedicated to its unfolding in the present, we clearly see this: “The fourth when one from another, as for instance a man from a man, a beast from a beast, and each tree from a seed of their own kind are

²⁰ *Periphyseon*, 441A.

²¹ For a broad view of the development of the goddess *Natura*, see George Economou, *The Goddess Natura in Medieval Literature* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), particularly 58-103 on the figure’s emergence in the twelfth century; Newman, *God and the Goddesses* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), particularly 51-137.

²² Cf. Ms. Paris, BnF, Lat. 6734, f. 3v. Newman discusses these images in Newman, *God and the Goddesses*, 56.

²³ Willemien Otten, *From Paradise to Paradigm* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 4.

born, just as is said: ‘My father is always working.’”²⁴ William of Conches, whose *Philosophia Mundi* has been falsely attributed to Honorius,²⁵ writes similarly in his glosses on Boethius:

The work of nature is that by which like is born from like, as men from men and similar. But someone says: surely this is the work of the Creator that man from men is born? To which must be answered: through this I take away nothing from God. God made all things which are made in the world except evil. But some things He makes by the working nature of things, which is the instrument of certain divine activity. And these are called the works of nature because they are made by God in subservience to nature.²⁶

Although William has no desire to detract from the divine, in comparison to Honorius it seems that he does. His description of nature is one step closer to the independent goddess that would emerge in the middle part of the century, a step far enough that it necessitates his assurances that he does not intend to minimize God’s role.

On the other hand, there is no sense of God using instruments in Honorius’s thought, no sense of a nature through which God creates. There is only his creation and in that creation God is supremely immanent, always and everywhere present, and that presence is an active one. With this unifying divine presence, a presence which ultimately constitutes the essence of every being,²⁷ creation is bound into a whole, and the divide between creation and Creator appears to be less of a chasm and more of a continuum, one which might be traversed in contemplative ascent. In this understanding there is simply no room for an independent nature, no need for her. The veils between creation and Creator are too thin, His agency too active and ever-present.

²⁴ *Imago mundi*, I.2, p. 40.

²⁵ See for instance its inclusion among Honorius’s works in PL172:39A-102A.

²⁶ *Opus naturae est quod similia nascantur ex similibus, ut homines ex hominibus et similia. At dicet aliquis: nonne hoc est opus creatoris quod homo ex hominibus nascatur? Ad quod respondendum: nichil per hoc deo detraho. Omnia quae in mundo fiunt deus facit praeter malum. Sed alia facit operante natura rerum, quae est instrumentum diuinae cuiusdam operationis. Et ea dicuntur opera naturae, quia a deo fiunt natura subseruiente.* William of Conches, *Glosae super Boetium*, ed. Lodi Nauta (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 150-1.

²⁷ Cf. *Clavis*, 259, p. 211.

The blurring of lines between cosmos and Creator is typical of the twelfth century, even among those authors who make use of the figure of personified nature.²⁸ The absence of that figure in Honorius only blurs the lines further, particularly when this de-emphasis on nature is coupled with his relative lack of interest in emphasizing the distance of God from his creation, his repeated use of very concrete physical metaphors and images to describe God—comparisons to the light and the sun being most common²⁹—and his tendency to cast the lack of unity between created beings and God as a consequence of our cognitive limitations rather than their true essence. At times Honorius appears to be approaching the supposed pantheism of Eriugena.³⁰ However, he largely avoids this simply by his blunt refusal to dwell on metaphysical subtleties. The deeper implications of his assertion that the true reality of all things is their essence as conceived in the mind of God and that their physical instantiations are in some sense identical to those essences are left unexplored, and thus, seemingly, remain uncontroversial. However, what is clear is that creation cannot truly be considered independently or understood at all except in reference to its Creator. It is no accident that the structure of the first book of the *Imago mundi*, which draws the reader with an explicit sense of movement through a survey of earth to water to fire and finally to the celestial bodies, maps on to the path of contemplative ascent detailed, among other places, in the *Scala coeli major*.³¹

Even leaving aside the figure of *natura* personified or as an active force in the unfolding of creation, Honorius rarely uses the term to indicate anything more than the individual natures of things, to contrast rational with irrational nature, to speak of the subtlety of angelic nature, or

²⁸ Cf. Otten, *Paradise to Paradigm*, 14 and ff.

²⁹ Cf. *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1013.

³⁰ On the debates over Eriugena's pantheism or lack thereof, see for example: Moran, "Pantheism in Eriugena and Nicholas of Cusa"; Dermot Moran, *The Philosophy of John Scottus Eriugena* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 84-9; Otten, *The Anthropology of Johannes Scottus Eriugena* (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 80-9.

³¹ On the sense of movement in the *Imago mundi*, cf. *Imago* I.57, p. 72. On the schema of contemplative ascent in the *Scale coeli major*, see PL172:1231B-1232A.

the twin nature of water as liquid and solid. This disinclination persists despite the great theological influence of Eriugena, whose unique conception of *natura* provided the starting point and subject of the *Periphyseon*. Yet Honorius minimizes his use of the term even in his distillation of the *Periphyseon*, often substituting *physica*.³² In other works there are even fewer traces of *natura* used as a category encompassing the whole of reality. Instead, we have *cosmos*, *mundus*, and *universitas*; terms which connote order and place, rather than activity and dynamism.

The sense of locality conveyed by terms like *mundus* or *cosmos* points towards the key principle lying at the heart of Honorius's understanding of creation: the universe is, above all, the place where Christ became incarnate. Honorius's conception is, like Eriugena's, profoundly guided by John's Gospel, which Honorius takes to be the preeminent book of the Bible; "indeed, John's Gospel is regarded as first in the canon," he writes in *De neocosmo*.³³ Everything that is was made in Christ, was made to provide the circumstances for the Incarnation of Christ, and points humanity back towards Christ.³⁴ It is this incarnational presence in creation, not nature, which leads us to God. Creation is the collection of everything we might encounter, assembled in a vast and beautiful whole, and it is within this assemblage that we encounter the divine and upon which a great portion of Honorius's contemplative pedagogy concentrates. In his dialogues, the *magister* takes the disciple by the hand saying, "Let us walk through creation step by step and in it seek the Creator."³⁵

Viewed in this way, his emphasis on *creatio* and de-emphasis of *natura* is quite explicable and reflective of broader trends in the twelfth century. As Ritchey has pointed out, it

³² *Physica igitur, id est natura omnium rerum, Clavis physicae, 4, p. 4.*

³³ *Ioannis quippe euangelium in canone primum ponitur. De neocosmo, line 180, p. 188.*

³⁴ *Cf. De neocosmo, lines 490-99, p. 209-10.*

³⁵ *per creaturam gradatim gradiamur et in ipsa creatorem quaeramus, De anima, 256.*

was not to nature that twelfth century authors—such as Hildegard, the author of the *Speculum virginum*, or Herrad of Landsberg—turned to situate the physical site of the salvation of humanity or to discuss the Incarnation, but creation both as primal event laying the ground for and as the currently extant site of humanity’s restoration.³⁶ This immanence and concreteness of creation, mirrored by the immediacy and concreteness of the images which Honorius deploys throughout his writings, the physicality of his understanding of creation, coupled with its salvific character that is key to this distinction. *Natura* could be and was used to speak of the whole of creation, the grand-scale order of the cosmos.³⁷ Indeed, this is how Eriugena often used the term, but Honorius is deeply concerned with the materiality of things in addition to their cosmic scope, and thus focuses his reader squarely on creation, while nature, at least named as such, simply does not make her presence felt. Salvation is not the product of a distant, abstract process but a continuously unfolding process, but rather is occurring right here, right now in the lived experience of his readers, and it is built into the very structure of the cosmos. The order of creation has no ends in itself, no purpose beyond leading us step by step to the Creator.

In the deep linking of beginning and end, protology and eschatology, lies a hint of the movement of all creation, drawn from Eriugena and the general Neoplatonic vein in which Honorius writes: *exitus* and *reditus*. This is the dominant model in which everything that is participates, the rhythm of the world. All things have processed outwards from and will in turn proceed towards God. More, it is not simply that they move towards God, but that this is the very reason for their procession into being in the first place:

For the end of motion is its beginning: for nothing else is ended except by its beginning, by which it began to be moved and to which it always desires to return as it stops and rests in it...through this all make known the return of our nature to its beginning, by

³⁶ Ritchey, “Rethinking the Twelfth-Century Discovery of Nature,” 225-255.

³⁷ Economou, *Goddess Natura*, 3.

which in was made and in which and through which it is moved and to which it always strives to return.³⁸

Creation exists so that it may return. The motion of the cosmos, its ultimate purpose and nature which echoes throughout each individual element, is thus one controlled movement of unfolding and recapitulation. The endpoint of creation is reunification with the beginning. We might therefore conceptualize the *exitus* and *reditus* as the twin processes around which Honorius's thought revolves, with the recognition that these movements are ultimately identical, unified in the Cross which bore their common end and initiator. This is signaled by both the content and arrangement of his writings. The *Elucidarium*, for instance, begins with creation and redemption, unfolds in a discussion of creation's manifestation in the present, and concludes with a return to the New creation, the world renewed and newly seen by the just at the end of time.

As a result, any theological discussion in Honorius inevitably tends towards a discussion of creation, for in the instantaneous moment of the first creation, the whole of the divine economy, the unfolding of all things in time and space, is present essentially and eternally.³⁹ From the beginning, God has disposed reality in such a way as to effect the return of man, and in this disposition the nature of all things is laid bare. For example, we see in both the *Libellus octo quaestionum* and *Liber duodecim quaestionum*, respectively, that questions on the relation of humanity's redemption to the fall of the angels and on the relative merits of monks and canons almost immediately lead to a grand-scale survey of the order instituted by God in the

³⁸ Finis enim motus est principium sui: non enim alio fine terminatur nisi suo principio, a quo incipit moveri et ad quod redire semper appetit ut in eo desinat atque quiescat...Per hec omnia intimatur reditus nostre nature ad principium suum, a quo facta est et in quo et per quod movetur et ad quod redire semper tendit. *Clavis physicae*, 301, p. 252-3. Honorius justifies this by pointing to the cycles of exit and return present in nature, such as the movements of the stars, tides, and sun. *Clavis physicae*, 301, p. 252-3.

³⁹ Cf. *De neocosmo*, lines 490-99, p. 209-10.

beginning.⁴⁰ This may be expected in the *Libellus octo quaestionum*, given the primordial nature of the Fall, but it is surprising that his intervention in the argument of “two who met by chance in the road, of whom one was a canon, the other a monk.”⁴¹ does not touch on the actual duties or day-to-day actions of canons and monks but is instead entirely concerned with their place in the cosmic hierarchy, their affiliation with the pre-appointed orders of angels and saints in heaven. Even more common is his tendency to appeal to the cosmic order when dealing with the existence and fate of the reprobate, as we see in, among other places, the *Libellus octo quaestionum*.⁴² Here, there seems to be an echo of the Book of Job, where God responds to Job’s complaints with an assertion of His creation and ordering of the universe, and a challenge to Job as one who cannot grasp that order and thus cannot understand why the world unfolds as it does.⁴³ Similar appeals to God’s disposition of creation appear throughout the other books included in Honorius’s “wisdom canon”,⁴⁴ which he consistently uses to gloss Genesis.⁴⁵ These then, along with the Gospel of John, are filtered through Eriugena and Augustine and form the interpretive lens through which creation is conceived of and described by Honorius.

Creation as Revelation

How, therefore, is creation ultimately understood? What shape does it take in Honorius’s writing and what are its essential characteristics? First and foremost, creation is a theophany, a revelation of the inner depths of the divine. Recall the above-cited passage of the *Elucidarium*: “It is written, ‘What was made, in him was life’. From this it is clear that each creature was always visible in God’s predestination, which *afterwards appeared visible to the creature itself*

⁴⁰ *LOQ*, PL172:1185B-1187A; *LDQ*, PL172:1178B-1179A.

⁴¹ Duo in itinere casu convenerunt, quorum unus canonicus, alter erat monachus. *LDQ*, PL172:1178A.

⁴² *LOQ*, PL172:1192B-C.

⁴³ Job 38ff.

⁴⁴ See above, 67.

⁴⁵ Dietrich, *Eruditio Sacra*, 111.

in creation.”⁴⁶ The cosmos is conceived of as God’s self-expression to us. This is a profoundly Eriugenian idea, one of the key concepts in the *Periphyseon*, described by Eriugena in the wonderfully memorable and oft-cited passage:

For everything that is understood and sensed is nothing else but the apparition of what is not apparent, the manifestation of the hidden, the affirmation of the negated, the comprehension of the incomprehensible, the understanding of the unintelligible, the body of the bodiless, the essence of the superessential, the form of the formless, the measure of the measureless, the number of the unnumbered, the weight of the weightless, the materialization of the spiritual, the visibility of the invisible, the place of that which is in no place, the time of the timeless, the definition of the infinite, the circumscription of the uncircumscribed, and the other things which are both considered and perceived by the intellect alone and cannot be retained within the recesses of the memory and which escape the sharpness of mind.⁴⁷

Creation understood in this way becomes a second locus of revelation, alongside Scripture one of the twin garments of the risen Christ glimpsed—in an image borrowed from Eriugena, though originating in Maximus Confessor—at the height of wisdom, at the conclusion of the learning described in *De exsilio*:

Also in this homeland the studious ascend the mountain of contemplation, on which they see Christ between Moses and Elijah in snow-white vestments shining like the sun: because they understand him to be the judge of the living and the dead, coequal to the Father through sacred Scripture and visible creation which are his vestments.⁴⁸

The likeness to Scripture is not confined to creation’s nature as theophany, for Honorius often likens the universe to a sort of text or speech—the distinctions between the two are

⁴⁶ Scriptum est: “Quod factum est, in ipso vita erat.” In quo patet omnem creaturam semper fuisse visibilem in Dei praedestinatione, quae postea visibilis ipsi creaturae apparuit in creatione, *Elucidarium*, I.Q15, p. 363. Emphasis mine.

⁴⁷ *Periphyseon* III, 633A-B, CCCM 163, 22: Omne enim quod intelligitur et sentitur nihil aliud est nisi non apparentis apparitio, occulti manifestatio, negati affirmatio, incomprehensibilis comprehensio, ineffabilis fatus, inaccessibilis accessus, inintelligibilis intellectus, incorporalis corpus, superessentialis essentia, informis forma, immensurabilis mensura, innumerabilis numerus, carentis pondere pondus, spiritualis incrassatio, inuisibilis uisibilitas, illocalis localitas, carentis tempore temporalitas, infiniti diffinitio, incircumscripti circumscriptio, et caetera quae puro intellectu et cogitantur et perspiciuntur et quae memoriae sinibus capi nesciunt et mentis aciem fugiunt.

⁴⁸ In hac patria quoque studiosi in montem contemplationis ascendunt, in quo Christum inter Moysen et Eliam in nivea veste, ut sol, radiantem conspiciunt: quia eum iudicem vivorum et mortuorum, Patri coaequalem per sacram Scripturam, et visibilem creaturam, quae sunt vestes ejus, intelligunt. *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1246A.

regularly blurred in his writing.⁴⁹ Here, in the *Liber duodecim quaestionum*, he likens the act of creation to writing:

A dictate having been composed by me and not yet written, in a certain manner lives in me, which I contemplate as an exemplar, when I write it on a tablet: and that, which appears as written outside, is a shadow of that which is not yet written, that hides within. And the exterior can be reduced to nothing, but the interior remains incorrupt; but on the inside it is simple and uniform, on the outside multiplex and variable, namely in letters and in speech, and in syllables and cases, in times, in schemes, in figures. Thus the created universe conceived in the divine mind is simple, invariable, and eternal, in itself however it is multiplex, variable, and transitory namely in genera, in species, in individuals. However, he who created all simultaneously remains in eternity; as if he said; God the Father eternally begat the Son, that is, his wisdom from himself in which he made all things simultaneously.⁵⁰

It follows that the revelation of creation can and ought to be read in a similar manner to Scripture, chewed over and meditated upon in order to progress from a surface level understanding which encompasses both the physical and higher spiritual truths revealed by the world.

In the exegesis of Scripture this process takes the form of movement through the four modes of reading Scripture, culminating in the anagogical union of our souls with the divine.⁵¹ In creation it follows a similar trajectory mapping roughly on to both the four senses of Scripture and the three-fold division of philosophy given by Honorius in his commentary on the Psalms:

This is divided into three parts, into physics, ethics, and logic; that is into natural, moral, and rational. Physics is called natural, ethics moral, logical rational. To physics pertains Genesis, which speaks about natures; the Pauline Epistles, which treat about morals,

⁴⁹ For more, see below, 184-197.

⁵⁰ Dictamen a me compositum, et adhuc non scriptum, quodammodo in me vivit, quod quasi exemplar inspicio, dum illud in tabulis scribo: et illud, quod foris scriptum apparet, est umbra illius non scripti, quod intus latet. Et exterius quidem potest redigi in nihilum, interius autem manet incorruptum; sed intrinsecus est simplex et uniforme, forinsecus multiplex et varium, scilicet in litteris et in dictionibus, et in syllabis et in casibus, in temporibus, in schematibus, in figuris. Sic universa creatura in divina mente concepta est simplex, invariabilis et aeterna, in seipsa autem multiplex, variabilis, transitoria videlicet in generibus, in speciebus, in individuis. Manet autem in aeternum qui creavit omnia simul; quasi diceret: Deus Pater Filium, id est, sapientiam suam ex se aeternaliter genuit, in quo omnia simul fecit. *LDQ*, PL172:1178C-1179B.

⁵¹ *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1245C-1246D.

pertain to ethics; the Psalter pertains to logic, which is also called *theoria*, because it speaks of the reason/rationality of divine knowledge.⁵² This is the path taken in *De neocosmo*, which begins with an account of the physical unfolding of creation drawn from Bede, a description of the separation of the elements and their procession into the physical world as we know it. A knowledge of the physical world, an exercise of *physica*, like knowledge of the historical sense of Scripture, must come first, as the necessary groundwork, before higher spiritual truths can be adduced.⁵³

Honorius then moves to a short discussion of the ages of history and human life and their prefiguration in the six days of creation.⁵⁴ This brief interlude details the locus of the ethical dimension of philosophy, for it is from history that ethical lessons are drawn and it is in history, and in the stages of human life, that our moral actions occur. The connection is made explicit in the prologue of the *Summa totius*, where he seeks to resolve the problem of humanity falling away from virtue by presenting them with a vision of history.⁵⁵ Characteristically, Honorius does not devote much space to the ethical read,⁵⁶ choosing instead to move quickly towards an exploration of creation as an instantaneous moment in the Word of God and the consummation of creation in the new creation, which is of course signaled by the title of the work.⁵⁷ Here, in this last section, we have both the allegorical sense, “when things are set forth about Christ and

⁵² haec dividitur in tres partes, in physicam, ethicam et logicam; id est in naturalem, moralem, rationalem. Physis namque natura, ethys mos, loys ratio dicitur. Ad physicam pertinet Genesis, quae de naturis loquitur; Epistolae Pauli ad ethicam pertinent, quae de moribus tractant: Psalterium ad logicam, quae et theorica dicitur, eo quod de ratione divinae scientiae memorat. In *Psalmos*, PL172:270B. For more on Honorius’s classification of Scripture, see above, 67.

⁵³ Witness how Honorius moves through each stage in sequence in his exegesis of the Song of Songs. Cf. *In cantica canticorum*, PL172:259C-260C.

⁵⁴ *De neocosmo*, lines 437-481, p. 206-8.

⁵⁵ *Summa totius*, PL172:187D-189A.

⁵⁶ Honorius is surprisingly little interested in concrete discussion of ethics, with the exception of the *Libellus octo quaestionum* and brief mentions in his sermons. Ethics largely seems to be subsumed in other aspects of his thought, particularly his discussion of the cosmic order. There is a sense that if the student is sufficiently refined by contemplation of Scripture and creation, the ethical dimensions will take care of themselves. In this, we see another aspect of Honorius’s outlook which seems Carolingian in character. See Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, 21-5.

⁵⁷ For the importance of titles as guides to interpretation in Honorius, see below, 157-8.

the Church”,⁵⁸ as the instantaneous creation is situated explicitly within Christ as pre-existent word, and the anagogical, pertaining to the union of all things with God. Both may be classed under the logical division of philosophy. Thus, we have the world understood as mirroring of and being understood in the same fashion as Scripture, an understanding that persists in Honorius’s other works. For instance, the *Imago mundi*, which offers the most detailed examination of the physical and temporal unfolding of creation in his catalog, evinces a similar structure to *De neocosmo*. It moves from a physical survey of the world to an historical one, though it lacks the allegorical-anagogical conclusion of his hexameron. Attendant to the mirroring of creation and Scripture then is an eliding of the lines between text and cosmos, allegory and physics, allowing for the free-flowing interplay between the two that, as we shall see below, is so characteristic of Honorius’s thought.

The process of reading or contemplating necessary to grasp the full import of God’s revelation through creation is also indicative of the ontological status of creation as essentially a shadow or reflection of a greater reality, contained within the mind of God, “And therefore if all which is made in Christ is life and truth, and life and truth is God; then all creatures themselves are a shadow of life and truth, and just as there was always life and truth, there was always a shadow of it.”⁵⁹ In this image Honorius preserves both the distance of God from creation and the

⁵⁸ Allegoria, cum de Christo et Ecclesia res exponitur. *In cantica canticorum*, PL172:359C.

⁵⁹ Quod si omne quod factum est, in Christo vita et veritas est, et vita et veritas est Deus; igitur omnis ista creatura est umbra vitae et veritatis est; igitur omnis ista creatura est umbra vitae et veritatis: et sicut semper fuit vita et veritas, ita semper fuit umbra eius. PL 172:1178C. Eriugena reaches a similar conclusion on the inextricable link between creator and creation: “I should assert, what I most certainly know, that God is from all eternity both Creator and Lord of his creation, and that therefore there could not have been at any time lacking a creature for Him to be Lord over, for if the creature had not been from all eternity subject to the Lord, it would follow that neither would the creator from all eternity have been Lord over His creation. But he was always Creator and Lord: therefore it must follow that the creature over which he is Lord was always a created being,” Periphyseon, V, 908D-909A, CCCM 165, 69 Si asseruero quod firmissime scio, deum uidelicet et semper creatorem et dominum creaturae fuisse, ac per hoc et semper creaturam seruientem substitutam non defuisse – nam si semper seruiens creatura non fuit, sequitur neque creatorem neque creaturae semper dominatorem extitisse; at uero quia et semper creator et dominus erat, necessario sequitur semper creaturam seruientem creatam substituisse.

limitations on human knowledge that preclude us from a full, or even partial, grasp of the depths of God's being. Like a shadow, the world points unswervingly towards its point of origin, but it also obscures, leaving the finer details in darkness, inaccessible to the eye clouded by sin and the lowliness of humanity within the cosmic hierarchy. The universe is further described as a "divine metaphor",⁶⁰ something which gestures towards a truth similar to but lying beyond appearances and words. Metaphors are intended evince vivid pictures, to enthrall us in the captivating vision of the something greater.⁶¹ The metaphor of creation is something grasped with the interior, wordless vision of the intellect. The truth lies not in material creation but in the object towards which it points.

Yet, God's presence remains as the underlying substance which gives the shadow its form, He is the original of which creation is a distorted reflection. Thus, Honorius's description also captures the supreme immanence of God in creation and he is at great pains to emphasize this throughout his writings, as for example in the *Cognitio vitae*:

For God is not partly in heaven, nor partly in the world; nor at sometimes wholly in heaven, sometimes wholly in the world; nor through a single place having been divided, nor in separate individuals whole; but existing in himself and through himself outside all places, filling all places, and penetrating all creatures that he contains in himself, uniting the universe through substance, everywhere, namely wholly in all and outside of all, and remote from no place. Just as the light of a lamp illuminates the whole in the eyes of all bystanders, and yet remains whole in itself; and does not recede from itself so as to reach those present, nor leaves one to shine on another, but rather illuminates the whole through any and all at the same time, and in itself remains wholly itself, so God everywhere and

⁶⁰ *divinam metaforam Clavis physicae*, 18, p. 13.

⁶¹ Cf. the definition of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*: Metaphor occurs when a word applying to one thing is transferred to another, because the similarity seems to justify this transference. Metaphor is used for the sake of creating a vivid mental picture, as follows: "This insurrection awoke Italy with sudden terror"; for the sake of brevity, as follows: "The recent arrival of an army suddenly blotted out the state"; for the sake of avoiding obscenity, as follows: "Whose mother delights in daily marriages"; for the sake of magnifying, as follows: "No one's grief or disaster could have appeased this creature's enmities and glutted his horrible cruelty"; for the sake of minifying, as follows: "He boasts that he was of great help because, when we were in difficulties, he lightly breathed a favouring breath"; for the sake of embellishment, as follows: "Some day the prosperity of the republic, which by the malice of wicked men has withered away, will bloom again by the virtue of the Conservatives." They say that a metaphor ought to be restrained, so as to be a transition with good reason to a kindred thing, and not seem an indiscriminate, reckless, and precipitate leap to an unlike thing. *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 4.XXXIV.

in all things is whole, and remains whole in himself; he does not recede from himself but draws all things together in himself.⁶²

Moreover, as it is impossible for God to be present only in part, each individual element of the cosmos must gesture towards, and in a sense contain, the whole of divine reality, allowing an inexhaustible expansion of meaning from any single part of the world, or passage of Scripture. Meditated on, each element of creation acts as a sort of Mandelbrot set, a constrained yet inexhaustible form expanding into greater permutations and revelations as it is more deeply examined.

The immanence of God in all creation serves as the universal factor that holds the cosmos together, the guiding structure that allows even apparently dissonant elements to form aspects of God's great artistic design. Honorius stresses this in the face of those who might strongly object to its seemingly heretical consequences: "Here perhaps the infirm soul says to himself, 'If God is in all creatures, then He is in mud and in the inferno, and in brute animals, indeed He is in demons, which are certainly creatures.' This plain reason shows no disagreement."⁶³ The inability to recognize God's presence in all things is cast, like apparent disagreements between authorities or troubling instances of evil, as a consequence of our limitations. It is our "slowness" and "infirmity" which is the issue, not the grand cosmic order of the divine plan.

⁶² Deus ergo nec partim in coelo, nec partim in mundo; nec aliquando totus in coelo, aliquando totus in mundo; nec per singula loca divisus, nec in singulis disjuncte totus; sed extra omnem locum in se et per se existens, omnem locum replens, et in se continens, cunctam creaturam penetrans, universa per substantiam continuans, ubique, scilicet in omnibus et extra omnia totus, et a nullo loco remotus. Sicut lumen lucernae in oculis omnium circumstantium totum lucet, et in se ipso totum manet; non a se ipso recedit ut ad praesentes perveniat, nec unum relinquit ut alii luceat, sed potius singulis et omnibus simul totum lucet, et in se ipso totum manet; sic Deus ubique et in omnibus est totus, et in se ipso permanet totus; a se non recedit, sed cuncta in se colligit. *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1022.

⁶³ Hic fortassis infirmus animus apud se dicit, Si Deus in omni creatura est, tunc et in coeno, et in inferno, et in brutis animalibus, imo et in daemonibus est, quae utique creaturae sunt. Hic nullam inconvenientiam aperta ratio probat. *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1019.

The purpose of that plan is, as noted above, the return and redemption of all things in the *reditus*. The linchpin of that *reditus* and thus of the cosmos itself is the microcosmos, that being which participates in every level of creation, humanity. Material creation, in fact, exists solely for our sake, “And if man had not been created, nor would this world have been created.”⁶⁴ It is a consequence of and corrective for the Fall. Even noxious beasts exist to forward God’s plan for humanity, “Indeed serpents or other similar animals are proved to be good in this, / because they inflict just punishment on men / or are useful for various medicines.”⁶⁵ All things must be understood as attuned to the spiritual needs of the human race.

However, our participation in the rest of creation runs far deeper. Honorius approaches the concept of human nature as microcosm from a number of different angles throughout his catalog, providing a variety of ways in which it might be understood. Fundamentally, human nature is linked to the cosmos via participation. We contain within ourselves some aspect of every creature and are thus ontologically linked to the larger whole. This participation might be understood in physical or geographical terms. We hold within ourselves all the elements⁶⁶ and the four corners of the Earth.⁶⁷ We also participate in the sweep of time. All the ages of history

⁶⁴ Et si homo non fuisset conditus, nec hic mundus creatus. *LDQ*, PL172:1178B.

⁶⁵ Serpentes uero uel caetera animalia his similia in hoc comprobantur bona, / quo iusta ad hominibus exigunt supplicia, / uel ad diuerses medicinas sunt utilia. *De neocosmo*, lines 405-7, p. 203-4.

⁶⁶ De quatuor elementis; unde et microcosmus, id est minor mundus dicitur. Habet enim ex terra carnem, ex aqua sanguinem, ex aere flatum, ex igne calorem. Caput ejus est rotundum in caelestis sphaerae modum; in quo duo oculi, ut duo luminaria in caelo, micant; quod etiam septem foramina, ut septem caeli harmoniae, ornant. Pectus, in quo flatus et tussis versatur, simulat aerem, in quo venti et tonitrua concitantur. Venter omnes liquores, ut mare omnia flumina, recipit. Pedes totum corporis pondus, ut terra cuncta, sustinent. Ex caelesti igne visum, ex superiore aere auditum, ex inferior olfactum, ex aqua gustum, ex terra habet tactum. Participium duritiae lapidum habet in ossibus, virorem arborum in unguibus, decorem graminum in crinibus, sensum cum animalibus. Haec est substantia corporalis. *Elucidarium*, I.Q59, p. 371.

⁶⁷ Cum esset minor mundus, accepit nomen ex quatuor mundi climatibus, quae graece dicuntur anathole, disis, arctos, mesembria, quia genus suum quatuor partes mundi erat impleturum. In hoc etiam habuit similitudinem Dei, ut, sicut Deus praest omnibus in caelo, sic homo praeeset omnibus in terra. *Elucidarium*, I.Q64, p. 372

are recapitulated in humanity,⁶⁸ so too is the cyclical progression of the seasons.⁶⁹ These physical relations pertain to the outer man of the famous Pauline dichotomy, and it is the linking of the outer (physical) with the inner (spiritual) man by which humanity is able to most fully act as the center around which redemption turns. For the inner man is the *imago* Dei, a mirror of the incarnate Word:

The interior man is that part of the soul in which we having nothing in common with beasts. This is distributed into reason and mind. Reason pertains to present knowledge, mind to eternal understanding, reason to action, mind to contemplation, knowledge to the humanity of Christ, wisdom pertains to divinity.⁷⁰

And in our unifying of the spiritual and material aspects we mirror both the structure of the cosmos, and, the incarnate Word in which that cosmos is created and through which it is sustained. Intimately bound to the whole of the cosmos in this way, human nature becomes, to use an Eriugenian term, the “workshop,” *officina*, of creation. Consequently, when human nature is deformed by sin, the whole of creation is stricken,

Before sin man held all things in subjugation; / but after sin he himself was subject to all. / Before the sin of man the earth produced nothing noxious, no poisonous herb, no sterile tree; / afterwards in punishment of men it introduced poison into herbs, / took fruit from the trees. / Also birds did not live by seizing others, / nor did wild beasts tear apart others to eat, / but all took nourishment in common from the herbs of the earth.⁷¹

And it is only through the redemption of human nature that the cosmic order might be restored.

⁶⁸ *Imago*, III.78, p. 110.

⁶⁹ Hisdem qualitatibus est humanum corpus temperatum, unde et microcosmus, id est minor mundus, appellatur. Sanguis namque qui vere crescit, est humidus et calidus. Et hic viget in infantibus. Colera rubea, crescens in estate, est calida et sicca. Et haec habundat in iuvenibus. Melancholia, id est colera nigra, crescens autumnus in provectoribus. Flegmata quae hieme dominantur in senibus. *Imago* II.59, p. 106.

⁷⁰ Interior homo est illa pars animae in qua nihil habemus commune cum bestiis. Haec distribuitur in rationem et mentem. Ratio pertinet ad scientiam praesentium, mens ad intelligentiam aeternorum, ratio ad actionem, mens pertinet ad contemplationem, scientia ad Christi humanitatem, sapientia pertinet ad divinitatem. *De anima*, 273.

⁷¹ Ante peccatum homo omnia subiecta habuit; / post peccatum uero ipse omnibus subiicit. / Ante reatum hominis terra nil noxium, nullam herbam uenentam, nullam arborem sterilem protulit; / quae postmodum in poenam hominis uenum herbis intulit, / fructus arboribus abstulit. / Aues quoque non raptu alitum uiuebant, / nec ferae bestiolas ad esum lacerabant, / sed omnia communiter de herbis terrae alimenta sumebant. *De neocosmo*, lines 371-9, p. 201.

Humanity, thus conceived, stands at the far end of the procession of the created order outward from God. The creation of men and women is, as Genesis affirms, the final act of creation, and to best understand this act, Honorius regularly turns to comparison with the first act of creation, the formation of the angels. Purely rational and entirely spiritual, angelic nature lies at the closest remove from God's own nature, and it is within the comprehension of the angels that the movement away from perfect, divine nature and into the imperfection and messiness of materiality is first realized over the so-called six days of creation,

And thus it was made, namely in angelic cognition, / which already perceived what subsisted in the Word of God, / that which was yet to exist in reality.⁷²

In contrast, human nature by virtue of both its materiality, encompassing as it does the whole of the physical cosmos, and its turning away from its source and creator through sin lies at the greatest remove from that source. Yet the divine element within humanity, our nature as *imago Dei* acts as an anchor, tying us back to God and inexorably drawing back the most distant point of the *exitus* to its origin point. Angel and human therefore are the two rational end points of the whole span of creation, the first and last, the high and low notes of the great cosmic song that is the universe.⁷³ More, the two orders of angel and human are also the site of the two great instances of dissonance in that song, the primordial angelic and subsequent human rebellions against the created order. Their fate is thus necessarily bound, "God, wishing to repair this ruin [the fall of the angels], created man from the mud,"⁷⁴ and in humanity's salvation the damage caused to the cosmic order by the fall of the angels is restored, "For today [Christmas Day] the king of heaven wished the earth to see His presence and to repair the damage in heaven created

⁷² Et factum est ita, scilicet in cognitione angelica, / qui uidelicet conspiciebant iam in uerbo Dei subsistere, / quod adhuc futurum erat in re. *De neocosomo*, lines 733-735, p. 225.

⁷³ Cf. *LOQ*, PL172:1186C. Here, angels are described as created from the first of elements, fire, and humanity from the last and lowest, earth.

⁷⁴ hujus ruinae volens Deus reparare, de limo hominem condidit *Speculum Ecclesiae*, PL172:941D

through the ruin of the angels.”⁷⁵ This is not to say that humanity exists solely to replace the angels, a position that Honorius is at pains to argue against. For that conclusion would, indeed, be an affront to the created order, the act of something being placed in the wrong place.

And thus man has his proper place in the universe, just as angels have their place. Therefore, man was not created for angels but for himself, otherwise the worm, who has his place, would have greater dignity than man, who would lack his own place and occupy the place of another and in this way dissonance would occur in the universe. But God would also be careless to place something in the place of another. And because this is against the truth, true reason demonstrates: if all the angels had remained in heaven, man would fully have had his proper place in heaven.⁷⁶

Instead, the first and last elements of creation prove to be mirrors of the movement of the whole, the *exitus* is resolved by the *reditus*, the unfolding of all things in angelic awareness is recapitulated and reversed by their return in humanity, and ultimately in human awareness, as we shall see below. The fall of the angels is rectified by the return of man. This is why Honorius dwells so much on the angels;⁷⁷ they establish through contrast and comparison the nature of humanity and our place in the plan of redemption.

Given the centrality of human nature, we must understand the cosmos as supremely anthropocentric. The world was made for us, “Indeed this world was made because of man,”⁷⁸ and it can only be brought into fullness by the reconstitution of the created order through us. More properly, however, human nature itself is not the linchpin of creation in Honorius’s conception, but rather it is the perfection of human nature, of which our nature is but a pale

⁷⁵ Hodie namque rex coelorum terras sua praesentia visitare et damnum in coelo per ruinam angelorum factum per homines voluit reparare. *Speculum ecclesiae*, PL172:815A

⁷⁶ ita et homo in universitate habet suum proprium locum, sicut et angelus suum proprium. Igitur homo non est pro angelo, sed pro seipso creatus, alioquin majoris dignitatis vermis esset, qui proprium haberet, quam homo, qui proprio loco careret; et alterius locum occuparet sicque dissonantia in universitate fieret. Sed et Deus improvidus esset, qui aliquid in loco alterius poneret. Et quia hoc veritati repugnat vera ratio probat: si omnes angeli in coelo permansissent, homo in coelo proprium locum pleniter habuisset. *LOQ*, PL172:1179D-1180B.

⁷⁷ The relation between humans and angels is touched on in the *Liber duodecim quaestionum*, *Libellus octo quaestionum*, and *De neocosmo*, and is one of the more prominent themes he draws from Eriugena in the *Clavis*.

⁷⁸ *LOQ*, PL172:1185C.

image, which stands at the center of things. Creation is anthropocentric, yes, but the supreme *anthropos* is the incarnate Word, and thus creation is, above all, grounded upon and reflective of that Word. It is Christocentric. Christ, his humanity and the union of that humanity with the divine, is the true centerpiece of creation, and thus of Honorius's thought as a whole. So, for instance, in his commentary on the Psalms, it is Christ who is the ultimate microcosmos and the rest of humanity which is the reflection of that microcosmos:

The psalter which sings of Christ and the Church, expresses the body of Christ in its form. For when the lower is struck, the higher resounds; and when the body of Christ is suspended on the wood of the cross, divinity resounds through miracles. The delta, to whose form the Psalter is made, is noted as the fourth letter in the order of the alphabet, and the body of Christ is joined together from the four elements: or, the Church, which is His body, is built by the four gospels.

The psalter also expresses the form of man, who is composed from a higher and a lower part, namely body and soul: who ought to strike the lower, that is to inflict his body with fasting and prayers so that thus the higher is able to return sweet melodies to God;⁷⁹

Similarly, it is Christ's uniting of material creation and the divine which initiates the redemption of the cosmos. His bringing together of God's revelation as manifest in creation with God's hidden inner nature, effectively effect and cause, completes the created order, as Honorius joyously recounts in his Christmas sermon:

With good reason the earth is admonished to rejoice today, because today Truth risen from the earth came to liberate it from malediction and to unite earth begotten men with the heavenly angels; that earth which made known to the world today its exceeding joy, when with God born in its bosom, it immediately poured from its viscera a fountain of oil and brought it to the surprised onlookers: The mountains also are roused to jubilation in praise of the Lord.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Psalterium, quod Christum et Ecclesiam concinit, forma sua corpus Christi exprimit. Dum enim inferius percutitur, superius resonat: et corpus Christi dum ligno crucis suspenditur, divinitas per miracula resonat. Delta, ad cuius formam Psalterium fit, quarta littera in ordine alphabeti notatur, et corpus Christi quatuor elementis compaginatur: sive Ecclesia, quae est corpus ejus, quatuor Evangelis aedificatur.

Exprimit etiam Psalterium formam hominis, qui constat ex superiori et inferiori, corpore videlicet et anima: qui debet inferius percutere, id est corpus suum jejuniis et orationibus affligere, ut sic superius possit dulce melos Deo reddere; *In Psalmos*, PL172:271D-272A.

⁸⁰ Merito etiam admonetur terra hodie exultare, quia veritas hodie de terra orta venit eam a maledictione liberare et homines de terra progenitos in coelis angelis consociare; quae nimiam exultationem suam hodie mundo innotuit,

This action is then mirrored or recapitulated in individual human redemption, similarly drawing the cosmos into union with God, and thus into the New creation, but along a path already blazed by Christ. Human nature and the incarnate Word that it reflects may therefore be viewed as twin chokepoints in the process of *exitus* and *reditus*, moments in which the divine's union with creation is most apparent and actual, where the work of salvation is most fully accomplished.

The supremely Christocentric character of creation has far-reaching consequences in both Honorius's thought and the way he presents his thought. If we understand that creation is a theophany, a shadow, metaphor, or mirror of the divine, we must recognize that the incarnational moments lying at the apex of the movement from *exitus* to *reditus* are not simply confined to Christ and human nature. Instead, they must be reflected everywhere, in everything, for it is the Word in which all things were made that is precisely what creation is a theophany of. The whole of creation shines forth with this incarnational character, if we have eyes to recognize it. What is more, just as the divine light shines more clearly through different instances of human nature—in the saints the *imago Dei* is more evident⁸¹—so too are the incarnational moments reflected within creation present in varying degrees of intensity. Thus, for instance, in the monastery,⁸² the liturgy,⁸³ the Eucharist,⁸⁴ even in certain animals⁸⁵ the veils between the material and the spiritual grow thin and the light within more apparent. The truly adept will be able to recognize it everywhere, to see creation as it truly is, as it exists in the mind of God. Making this apparent,

dum Deo suo in gremio suo nato, mox de visceribus suis fontem olei fundens, mirantibus protulit: Montes etiam ad jubilandum in laude Domini adhortantur. *Speculum Ecclesiae*, PL172:815A-B.

⁸¹ *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1027-8.

⁸² *De vita claustrali*, PL172:1247A-1248C.

⁸³ *Gemma animae*, PL172:543.

⁸⁴ *Eucharistion*, PL172:1250A-1258A.

⁸⁵ *Elucidarium*, I.Q67, p. 373.

enabling us to *see* is the ultimate purpose underlying Honorius's project both theologically and as an authorial enterprise.

This recognition is not simply, however, a passive act of perception. It is instead a participation in and affecting of the movement of the cosmos, the union of all things with God. Vision thus conceived is transformative, of the individual and of the universe forged in the workshop of his nature. The remainder of this chapter will seek to explore this recognition, this vision, which Honorius seeks to inculcate throughout his catalog and towards which all his thought inclines.

The Beauty of Creation

How then does creation conceived of as fundamentally theophanic and Christocentric look? And how do we see it? To answer the former, it is illuminating to call to mind the most evocative and vivid images of the cosmos Honorius provides us: a cosmic zither, a vast choir, a beautifully arranged painting, "The great craftsman made the universe like a great zither on which He placed various strings to yield a multitude of sounds."⁸⁶ He conceives of creation as a work of art, a fundamentally aesthetic production, made beautiful by the harmonious, hierarchical arrangement of disparate parts in perfect union. This aesthetic understanding, and Honorius's descriptions of the cosmos-as-art, lead us to the fundamental characteristics of God's revelation through creation, the things which are most clearly revealed in the grand-scale picture of the cosmos and reflected at every level within. These are order, harmony, unity, and beauty.

The sense that the perfection of creation is dependent on things being in their proper place has been lurking behind many of Honorius's arguments and images that we have

⁸⁶ Summus namque opifex universitatem quasi magnam citharam condidit, in qua veluti varias chordas ad multiplices sonos reddendos posuit. *LDQ*, PL172:1179B. Other examples include God as a painter, *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1019, or as a goldsmith, *Inevitabile*, lines 352-8, p. 261-2.

encountered throughout our investigation. It is the need for things to be properly ordered which necessitates that humanity reconstitute the orders of heaven, diminished by Satan's rebellion, and also why the human race cannot be conceived of as a simple replacement for the lost angels. It is why it is imperative that the privileges of the Church be respected by secular rulers⁸⁷ and how we know that canons precede monks in dignity, though perhaps not in happiness.⁸⁸

The image of God, or more specifically the Son, as orderer also comes to the forefront in Honorius's exegesis of Genesis.⁸⁹ Though not expressly endorsing the heterodox, though never entirely vanished, idea that God's creation consisted of disposing pre-existent primordial matter, there is a sense in which Honorius simply adds an additional step. God first creates the *hyle*, "chaos or unformed matter", but the bulk of the work of creation is an ordering.⁹⁰ The order instilled in creation is, it must be remembered, theophanic. Not only is it God's design that things occupy the place they do, but since this design is the self-expression of God to his creation, the order of things is itself a reflection of God. To accord with that order, therefore, is to become more like God, and to disturb that order is to make creation more distant from the divine. Hence the vital need for reform, on both a personal and institutional level. Hence also the value of knowledge, knowledge properly arranged, which grasps at the proper place of things in space, in time, and within the spiritual order. It is for this reason, perhaps, that Honorius includes *economia*—"through which [the soul] is led to the fore-courts of its homeland. This city disposes kingdoms and honors, distinguishes offices and orders. This teaches those hastening to their homeland that men will be joined according to the order of merits to the ranks

⁸⁷ *Summa gloria*, PL172:1257B-1270D.

⁸⁸ *LDQ*, PL172:1182A-B.

⁸⁹ Deo Patri acribitur mundi creation. Filio rerum disposition, / Spiritui sancto omnium uiuificatio uel ornatio. *De neocosmo*, lines 76-8, p. 181.

⁹⁰ *De neocosmo*, line 109ff. Honorius appears to draw this from Calcidius, see Crouse, "*Hic Sensilis Mundus*" in *From Athens to Chartres* ed. Haijo Westra (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 283-288.

of angels”⁹¹—among the liberal arts and situates it as the stage of education immediately prior to our entry into our celestial homeland, knowledge of God in Scripture and creation. Recognizing and acting in concord with the order of creation is of cosmic consequence.

The order of things is inextricably bound to their harmonious interactions with each other. It is only because creation is a unity that this order exists and is a beautiful reflection of the divine, for the divine itself must be conceived as the most perfect harmonious union: three in one, trinity in unity. Unity is, for Honorius, the principle and source of all things:

And thus by unity it is understood that God is the very font and principle of all things / who alone is truly said to be one / from whom is born the binary, / when spiritual, creation is produced from Him, / from whom in turn the ternary is brought forth, / when the corporeal world is established.⁹²

In addition, since all things are created simultaneously within the supreme unity of the divine mind, all creation exists within God as a single point which processes outward into material being:

God the Spirit is invisible essence, incomprehensible to all creatures, possessing essentially at once the whole of life, the whole of wisdom, the whole of eternity: being life itself, wisdom itself, truth itself, justice itself, eternity itself, it contains all creatures within itself as a point.⁹³

This point, located as it is within the divine mind, is the truest and most perfect creation, that which is closest to and most reflective of God. It is the truly real, the ultimate grounding of things. It is also on this level that we can truly appreciate the goodness of creation as a whole, a cosmos,

⁹¹ per quam pervenitur ad patriae atria. Haec disponit regna et dignitates, haec distinguit officia et ordines. Haec docet ad patriam properantes juxta ordinem meritorum homines conjungi ordinibus angelorum. *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1225B-C

⁹² Per unitatem itaque ipse fons et principium omnium rerum Deus intelligitur, / qui uere solus unus esse dicitur, a quo binarius nascitur, / dum spiritualis creatura ab eo producitur, / a quo item ternarius gignitur, / dum corporeus mundus conditur. *De neocosmo*, lines 709-14, p. 223-4.

⁹³ Deus spiritus est essentia invisibilis, omni creaturae incomprehensibilis, totam vitam, totam sapientiam, totam aeternitatem simul essentialiter possidens: vel ipsa vita, ipsa sapientia, ipsa veritas, ipsa justitia, ipsa aeternitas existens, omnem creaturam instar puncti in se continens. *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1010.

All things which God made are good individual things when considered through themselves, / when numbered in in the universe, however, they are very good; / because although one may seem contrary to another, / every one of them is nevertheless proved necessary.⁹⁴

Here Honorius paraphrases Augustine,⁹⁵ but in doing so shifts the import of the passage.

Whereas Augustine stresses the ultimate congruity of all things taken together, Honorius emphasizes their necessity and utility to the salvation of humanity just as he did in response to the Disciple's question about noxious beasts in the *Elucidarium*.⁹⁶ Even the devil is conscripted into God's salvific plan.⁹⁷ This then is why Honorius's theological discussions seem to inevitably tend towards grand-scale surveys of the cosmos as a whole, because it is in the view of the cosmos as a supremely unified harmonious order that the underlying divine order is most clearly seen. The view must always telescope back to the cosmic scale where the interplay of high and low, dark and light, good and evil can be viewed in its full harmonious beauty and which makes clear the reality of creation as an engine of salvation, a world especially designed to bring about the restoration of the human race.

Sin, in Honorius's universe, acts as a disruption of the order and unity of creation. We might conceive with him of it as a sort of dissonance. Everything ought to be in its proper place, and it is a gross failing if it is not:

And it must be noted that everything is established in its proper place, nor is any one in the place of another. Indeed, in genera neither does a bird arise for a fish nor a fish for a beast, nor a stone for a tree, nor does a tree follow for a stone. Similarly, in species, neither does an eagle for a stork, nor a palm for an olive, nor topaz for a chrysotile arise: in this way man also has his proper place in the universe, just as the angels have theirs.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Cuncta quae fecit Deus per se considerata sunt bona singula; / in uniuersitate autem numerata sunt ualde bona: / quia licet unum alteri contrarium uideatur, / unumquodque tamen necessarium comprobatur. *De neocosmos*, lines 386-90, p. 202-3.

⁹⁵ Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), VII.xii-xiii; *De Genesi ad litteram*, III.24.

⁹⁶ See above, 130 fn. 65.

⁹⁷ *De neocosmo*, lines 391-404, p. 203.

⁹⁸ Et notandum quod unusquisque in proprio loco fundatur, nec ullum pro alio locatur. In generibus quippe nec avis pro pisce nec piscis pro bestia, nec lapis pro arbore surgit, nec arbor pro lapide succedit. Similiter in speciebus nec

Nevertheless, God is able to arrange things such that the apparently dissonant notes of sin and disorder are ameliorated and indeed serve only to magnify the beauty of the whole. For, as Honorius puts it,

It is just like a painter when he is about to arrange single colors each in its own place as seems good [to him]. He assigns all things that are black in color to the bottom, so that the adornment of the whole picture might shine more brightly. In the same way, when God disposes as He wills all the variety of his preeminent work, He will separate the reprobate from the elect at the bottom, like black from a more precious color, so that from the blackness of the one people's suffering the splendor of the other's joy might be made more splendid.

Accordingly, in God's picture, the patriarchs and prophets are understood for the color green, apostles for blue, martyrs for red, confessors for saffron, monks for purple, virgins for white, the continent for crimson, married women for dark red, and sinners for black. The angelic order girds all these about like a variegated gold-colored belt. That highest beauty, which manifests the color that properly belongs to itself among single things, adorns and illuminates all these things.⁹⁹

There is a striking affinity in this conception of sin to the Anselmian understanding in *Cur Deus homo*. There, we see that the "honor" of God which has been offended by humanity's transgression is in fact the beauty and order of creation:

When such a being desires what is right, he is honouring God, not because he is bestowing anything upon God, but because he is voluntarily subordinating himself to his will and governance, maintaining his own proper station in life within the natural universe, and, to the best of his ability, maintaining the beauty of the universe itself. But when a rational being does not wish for what is right, he dishonours God, with regard to himself, since he is not willingly subordinating himself to God's governance, and is disturbing, as far as he is able, the order and beauty of the universe.¹⁰⁰

aquila pro ciconia, nec palma pro oliva, nec topazius pro chrysolitho surgit: ita et homo in universitate habet suum proprium locum, sicut et angelus suum proprium. PL172:1179D-1180A

⁹⁹ *Inevitabile*, 548-9. Sicut pictor cum singulos colores posuerit, / unumquemque in suo loco prout uisum fuerit, / ad ultimum nigro colore cuncta discriminat, / ut totius picture ornatus melius clarescat, / ita deus cum omnem uarietatem sui preclari operis prout uult disposuerit, / ad extremum reprobos ab electis ut nigrum a pretioso colore segregabit, / Hęc uniuersa illa summa pulchritudo ornat et illustrat, / quę singulis suum proprium colorem prestat. / ut de nigredine illorum supplicii, / splendidior fiat claritudo istorum gaudii. / Denique patriarchę et prophetę pro uiridi colore, / apostoli pro aereo, / martyres pro rubeo, / confessores pro croceo, / monachi pro purpureo, / uirgines pro albo, / continentes pro criseo, / coniugate pro ferrugineo, / peccatores pro nigro in pictura dei accipiuntur, / quę omnia ordo angelicus cingit, ut uariis auricolor limbus. *Inevitabile*, lines 1083-1100, p. 323-325. We might see a literary expression of this same idea beautifully captured in Tolkien's *Ainulindalë*. J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Silmarillion* (Mariner Books, 2014), 1-12.

¹⁰⁰ Anselm, *Why God Became Man*, 288.

Honorius was, recall, an early adopter of Anselm’s theology of atonement. Indeed, it seems that he may have been the single earliest advocate of the Archbishop of Canterbury’s thought on the matter, reproducing the arguments of *Cur Deus homo* in the years immediately following the publication of that work in his *Elucidarium*¹⁰¹ and serving an instrumental role in popularizing Anselm’s ideas throughout the continent. This, coupled with his repeated emphasis on the aesthetic character of creation—the references to creation as a work of art, to God as supreme artist, and to the harmony and beautiful contrasts of the disparate elements of creation—suggests that the aesthetic read of Anselm’s thought was perhaps more popular and important among his contemporaries than is generally assumed today.¹⁰²

Creation, along with the divine order which it reveals, is fundamentally beautiful, and God is thus conceived of as the ultimate artist communicating His own inner and hidden beauty to His creations.¹⁰³ Honorius’s definition of God in the *Elucidarium* cues us to this idea of beauty as defining divine characteristic, “God is a spiritual substance of such inestimable beauty, such ineffable sweetness, that the angels, who surpass the sun seven-fold in their beauty, always desire insatiably to gaze into Him.”¹⁰⁴ As an image or reflection of this, creation is conceived as an aesthetic object, whose essential purpose is to communicate beauty and which is understood through a recognition of that beauty. Honorius repeatedly tells us that we must see God through creatures, and it is through the beauty of those creatures that our minds pass from contemplation

¹⁰¹ Flint, *Honorius*, 100-1.

¹⁰² For more see David Bentley Hart, *The Beauty of the Infinite* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 360-373.

¹⁰³ Cf. *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1015.

¹⁰⁴ Deus est substantia spiritualis tam inestimabilis pulchritudinis, tam ineffabilis suavitatis, ut angeli, qui solem septuplo sua vincunt pulchritudine, jugiter desiderent in eum insatiabiliter prospicere. *Elucidarium*, I.Q2, p. 361.

of creatures to their creator.¹⁰⁵ We might also see his depictions of heaven, which conclude virtually all of his works, as further emphasizing this point. There, in heaven:

O what pleasure of vision will they have there, they who will see with eyes closed as well as opened. Every limb will be like the eye of the sun, and will discern the king of glory in his beauty...O what pleasure of their hearing, in which the harmonies of heaven will resound without end, the concert of the angels, the sweet-sounding voices of all the saints!¹⁰⁶

The overall impression communicated is of the divine as fundamentally beautiful, whether considered as the beginning of all things, as the revelation communicated by the unfolding of creation from that beginning, or as creation's end. Honorius's vision for his intended audience is the recognition of creation as fundamentally beautiful, as an aesthetically crafted whole that draws us inwards and upwards through our contemplation of its beauty towards that purest beauty of which it is a fleeting shadow.

Seeing Creation

Vision of God is therefore the highest end, the culmination of both the individual and cosmic flowing forth and return of all things, but of what precisely does this vision consist? How is it that we see that which is, by definition, invisible? Honorius lays out, in numerous places throughout his catalog, a three-fold division of vision. For example, in the *Liber duodecim quaestionum*:

It must be known that we see in three modes, bodies by corporeal sight, images by the spirit, thoughts or our wills by the mind. In this third mode we see God and the spirits. And just as by the sight of the body, we distinguish the body of man from the body of a horse, and just as by the spirit we separate the mental image of a man from the image of a woman, and just as by the mind we separate the knowledge of grammar from knowledge of dialectic, so we discern the persons of the spirits by the intellect.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ *De anima*, 251.

¹⁰⁶ O qualem voluptatem visus ipsi habebunt, qui ita clausis quam apertis oculis videbunt! Quibus singular membra ut oculus solis erunt, qui regem gloriae in decore suo cernent...O qualis voluptas auditus illorum, quibus incessanter sonant harmoniae caelorum, concentus angelorum, dulcisona organa omnium sanctorum! *Elucidarium*, III.Q106, p. 469. Honorius goes on to describe the joys experienced by the other senses in the same passage.

¹⁰⁷ Sciendum est quod tribus modis videmus, visu corporali corpora, spiritu imagines, mente cogitationes vel voluntates nostras. Hoc tertio modo videmus Deum et spiritus. Et sicut visu corporis, corpus hominis a corpore equi

Honorius's understanding of vision is clearly derived from Augustine's account in book twelve of *De Genesi ad litteram* read through an Eriugenian lens that stresses that those things seen with the intellectual vision constitute the true essence of what is grasped by corporeal and spiritual vision.¹⁰⁸

The three-fold division of vision, as might be expected, maps on to other hierarchical three-fold categorizations which appear in his writings, such as the three senses of "heaven", each glimpsed by corresponding "eyes."

Here indeed air is called the first heaven in a historical sense, just as you have, the birds of heaven, because in heaven, that is, in the air they are seen to fly. The aether is named the second heaven, as you have, the stars of heaven [*stellae coeli*], because in it the planets are carried on their wandering course. The third heaven is called the firmament, as you have, the heavenly bodies [*astra coeli*], because the stars are said to have been fixed in it. It is also meaningful to read about the three heavens because it is not unknown by the wise that there are three visions, namely sensual, spiritual, and intellectual are.¹⁰⁹

Similar too are the three ways of speaking, with the mouth, with the heart, and with the mind.¹¹⁰

Human nature proves to mirror God, here the Trinity, in the whole of its composition. Echoes of Anselm's discussion of whether the fool actually says there is no God might be discerned here as

secernimus, et sicut spiritu imaginationem viri ab imaginatione mulieris sequestramus, et sicut mente scientiam grammaticae a scientia dialecticae separamus: sic personas spirituum intellectu discernimus. *LDQ*, PL172:1183A-B.

¹⁰⁸ See Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, XII.6.15ff. Eriugena also draws on the twelfth book of *De Genesi* for his definition of vision, see CCCM163, 160. Honorius quotes this in the *Clavis*, 215, p. 170. For a similar use of *De Genesi* elaborated by Eriugena in the *Scala coeli major*, see Bell, "The Basic Source of the *Scala coeli major* of Honorius Augustodunensis," 163-170. Compare also Hugh of St. Victor, who outlines a similar hierarchy of vision, yet contends that the third, contemplative eye has become entirely occluded by sin. Hugh of St. Victor, *De Sacramentis*, I.10.2.

¹⁰⁹ Hic quippe aer primum coelum historialiter vocatur, sicut habetis, Volucres coeli, quia in coelo, id est, in aere volare videntur. Secundum coelum aether nominatur, ut habetis, Stellae coeli, quia in eo planetae vago cursu feruntur. Tertium coelum appellatur firmamentum, sicut habetis, Astra coeli, quia sidera in eo fixa traduntur. Significative quoque tres coeli leguntur; quia tres visiones, scilicet sensualis, spiritualis, intellectualis a sapientibus non nesciuntur. *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1028

¹¹⁰ Tribus modis fit verbum: ore, corde, mente. Verbum oris est sonus litteralis ut "homo". Verbum cordis est similitudo soni homo. Verbum mentis est cogitata substantia "homo". *De anima*, 271.

well, but appears recast in terms of kataphatic and apophatic theology.¹¹¹ Thus, we have three stages of seeing and three objects of that vision. Our physical eyes see physical things, sense impressions from objects in the world around us. The eyes of the spirit see those same objects as they are rendered as phantasms in the memory, shades of the object without now present within. It is with these eyes that the prophets saw their visions and which are witness to the elaborate images that Honorius so delights in crafting.

The second vision is spiritual, by which we spiritually see not things but images resembling things, just as we are accustomed in dreams, and just as we know John saw in the Apocalypse, and the prophets saw many things: and this vision is called the second heaven because in this things are truly hidden by similitudes.¹¹²

Finally, there is the third sight, for which we utilize the “eyes of the mind” or, elsewhere, the “eyes of the heart” The object of this vision does not lie outside or within us, but beyond in the mind of God. This vision therefore is the truest and most perfect vision and, paradoxically, a vision which is ultimately imageless. In this sense, seeing with the eyes of the heart appears more akin to understanding or recognition. It is a grasping of the truth of things, at a deep and intuitive level. Honorius compares it to being able to distinguish grammatical forms¹¹³ or to recognizing the truth of mathematics,¹¹⁴ a striking way to imagine the union with God achieved in true vision of Him.

An important point must be made about the objects of the three types of vision which Honorius lays out, one which renders clear one of the fundamental tenets of his understanding of

¹¹¹ Honorius offers an interesting take on Anselm’s fool in the *Clavis*, “Si quis ergo vel ore vel corde dixerit: ‘Non est Deus’ quia non potest eum videre oculis corporis, utique insipiens est. Qui autem disputans de Deo dixerit: ‘Non est Deus’ quia scit eum super omne quod dicitur et intelligitur, utique sapiens est.” *Clavis physicae*, 111, p. 82.

¹¹² Secunda visio spiritualis est, qua non res, sed imagines rebus similes spiritualiter videmus, sicut in somniis solemus, et sicut Joannem in Apocalypsi, et Prophetas multa vidisse novimus: et haec visio secundum coelum nuncupatur, quia verae res in his similitudinibus celantur. *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1028. Interestingly, demons are also able to instigate visions of this sort, *De anima*, 270.

¹¹³ *LOQ*, PL172:1185A-1186A.

¹¹⁴ *De anima*, 258.

creation. Specifically, the objects of the varying levels of sight are, at their core, not distinct. Unity remains a key principle when understanding the individual aspects of creation just as with the whole. The image of a chair conjured before the mind's eye in remembrance of a chair once seen *is* that chair. It is the chair as it exists within the mind. The mental image points to both the thing itself in the external world and the true grounding principle which gives that physical chair its existence, its conception in the mind of God. All represent not distinct objects, but stages of understanding, distinguished by our conception of them, but united in reality. We might conceive of the idea in the divine mind as the hidden center lying latent in both the physical and mental instantiation of the chair, unifying the three in their essence. Therefore, while the mental and ultimately divine images of something are higher and in an important sense more real than the physical form, they do not negate it or compromise its existence as an actual thing existing in the world. Further, he tells us that our mental image of the globe contains within it all that exists within world itself, birds, fish, cities and men, though we may not be picturing these at any given time:

M. Now are you able to contemplate the globe of the world in this mirror?

D. Easily. For I see the heaven with the stars, the air with birds, the sea with fish, the earth with cities and races as simultaneously present.¹¹⁵

Our knowledge of a thing, that which we hold in our mind and view with the eyes of the heart, is the truest and highest essence of that thing and thus encompasses the thing in its inferior, material, form.¹¹⁶ The object of our contemplation is the object itself, as it exists in material reality and, ultimately, as it exists in its most perfect form in the mind of God. The more perfect our understanding, the more like that perfect form, and the closer we bring the object of

¹¹⁵ M. Num globum mundi poteris in hoc speculo contemplari? / D. Perfacile. Caelum namque cum sideribus, aerem cum volucris, mare cum piscibus, terram cum urbibus et gentibus simul ad praesens intueor. *De anima*, 241.

¹¹⁶ *Clavis*, 259, p. 211.

contemplation to its archetype within the divine mind. Thus, Honorius's purpose in the *Imago mundi*, to place the world before our eyes like a mirror,¹¹⁷ is not simply to provide knowledge of the world to his readers, but to place the world itself in its fullness, its very essence, within them.

We have noted the affinity between Scripture and creation in Honorius's thought, and it seems quite likely that Honorius's understanding of the unity between objects of mental and physical vision, and the sense in which our grasp of them consists of greater and more spiritual levels of knowing, is drawn directly from exegetical principles. Therefore, a comparison to Biblical interpretation may be helpful to understand his point more clearly. David's contrivances to murder Uriah were an historical event, and though that event has a higher spiritual significance—indeed, one which dramatically reverses the nature of the story, casting Uriah as Satan¹¹⁸—that does not mean the history did not occur, or that David is not an adulterer and murderer. So too with objects in the world, just because the worm acts as a figure of Christ,¹¹⁹ does not mean that worms are not also animals existing in the world, nor does it mean that it is possible to glimpse or think of a worm without, at least in a limited fashion, being directed towards the God figured in it.

This understanding plays a vital role in Honorius's educational project. It is the basic building block of his pedagogy, one which he sees as being drawn directly from Scripture, which he tells us guides the reader like a mother:

Sacred Scripture conforms itself to the intellects of men / as a mother to the behavior of an infant, / or as wax conforms itself to diverse impressions of seals. / With a maternal gait it walks with the slow, / with the capable it flies to the heights. / It laughs at the

¹¹⁷ *Imago*, p. 48.

¹¹⁸ *In Psalmos*, PL172:282C-283D.

¹¹⁹ *Elucidarium*, I.Q67, p. 373. Whereas Eriugena dwells at great length on the worm as a dissimilar symbol for Christ in his commentary on Ps. Dionysius's *Celestial Hierarchies* (Eriugena, *Expositiones*, 2.5), Honorius simply mentions the significance of the worm in passing. Apparently not having access to Eriugena's translation of or commentary on Ps. Dionysius, Honorius seems to view all things as equally pointing towards the Word in which they are established. Although the worm was likely chosen, following Ps. 22, due to its seeming incongruence with Christ, there's no sense that this incongruence makes the worm a more or less appropriate figure for the divine.

proud with its height, / it terrifies the attentive with its depths. / It nourishes the great with truth, / the small it feeds with kindness. / Thus scripture narrates to the wise that God created all things simultaneously in one day, / to the slow that God accomplished his works in six days, / by the capable it is barely understood that God is read to have created all things simultaneously in one day – indeed in the blink of an eye! / However, it is easily accepted by the slow, / as an apple broken into pieces is eaten by a child, / that the creation of all things was completed over six days.¹²⁰

He is deeply attentive to the need to lead his readers, the ostensibly simple and unlearned, gradually through the stages of knowledge to the height of truth, “Gradually, however, reason walks through corporeal things, lest the infirm of intellect, striving through steep places, having been shattered by difficulty fall back.”¹²¹ Again the structure of *De neocosmo* is illuminating. The physical description of creation offered in the first part of the book is an introductory stage of exposition, a true account, necessary to understanding Genesis in its fullness, but not the whole or most important part of the story. The full truth lies latent within the physical, awaiting our recognition of it, guided by Honorius’s exposition of the historical and spiritual truths elaborated by Augustine and Eriugena.

This conception of understanding progressing through hierarchical stages accounts for the apparent disagreements within Honorius’s catalog on certain theological points. For example, he dedicates a considerable amount of space in the *Elucidarium* to describing vividly the physical pains of the damned in hell. Yet he is elsewhere insistent that hell cannot be understood as a physical place, that punishments there are entirely spiritual in nature, “when the soul, with the

¹²⁰ Sacra scriptura se conformat hominum intellectibus / ut mater infantium moribus, / aut ueluti cera diuersis sigillorum impressionibus. / Materno namque incessu cum tardis ambulat, / cum capacibus ad alta uolat, / altitudine superbos irridet, / profunditate attentos terret, / ueritate magnos pascit, / affabilitate paruulos nutrit. / Haec ergo una die Deum cuncta in simul creasse sapientibus narrat, / haec tardioribus sex diebus Deum opera sua expleuisse commemorat. / A capacibus quippe uix intelligitur quod Deus una die immo uno ictu oculi omnia in simul creasse legitur. / A tardioribus autem facile capitur, / ut pomum fractum a paruulis manditur, / quod sex diebus omnis factura absoluta traditur. *De neocosmo*, lines 671-89, p. 221-2.

¹²¹ Pedetentim autem ratio per corporalia gradiatur; ne infirmus intellectus per ardua nitens, difficultate confractus relabatur. *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1011.

body wholly dead, does not suffer bodily sufferings but spiritual ones similar to the bodily, it is also afflicted by pain, grief, and sadness.”¹²²

Similarly, Bynum has highlighted an apparent disparity in Honorius’s position on the resurrection in the *Elucidarium* and later works, particularly the *Clavis*. In the former text, Honorius offers profoundly material images of the resurrection, stressing the beauty, strength, and other physical attributes of the risen body. In the latter, the spiritual character of the resurrected body is emphasized, even ridiculing the notion of distinction and materiality in risen bodies.¹²³ It is not clear, however, that he sees these as contradictions at all. Given his attitudes towards supposed disagreements between authorities or within Scripture that we surveyed above, it seems rather unlikely. Rather, the simpler, generally physical accounts might be seen as condescension to the capabilities of his readers, of the same sort that Christ made use of in His teaching, as in the case of the parable of Lazarus and the rich man: “I believe this rich man was in the sixth [spiritual] hell of which I spoke: but the Lord spoke of the fourth, that is about punishment of the flesh, but because that which was in reality they were not able to grasp, He related it to them as about torment of the body.”¹²⁴ These teachings are not false because they are coverings for a deeper spiritual truth, but means by which all can grasp the fundamentals of the Christian faith, even without the ability to penetrate to its metaphysical subtleties.¹²⁵ The basic teaching covers and contains within itself the deeper truth and is thus suitable for beginners,

¹²² cum anima, corpore penitus mortuo, non corporalia, sed spirtualia corporalibus similia patitur, sed et dolore, moerore ac tristitia afficitur. *Scala coeli major*, PL172:1237C.

¹²³ Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 140-1, 146-153.

¹²⁴ Ego puto divitem illum in sexto, quem dixi, inferno fuisse: Dominum autem de quarto, id est de corporali poena dixisse; sed quia id quod in re erat, capere non poterant, quasi de corporali tormento illis narrabat. *Scala coeli major*, PL172:1238B.

¹²⁵ We might view creation itself as a type of condescension. Just as Christ’s words and Scripture conform themselves to the abilities of the listener in order to draw them towards a hidden and ultimately salvific inner truth, so too does God make manifest His inner being in material creation so that humanity might be redeemed.

while the more advanced are capable of grasping the teachings of his more complex texts. Thus, holding and understanding simple statements of doctrine *is* holding the deeper truth, even if we are unaware of it, just as our mental pictures of Rome are Rome, even if we cannot see each individual citizen before the eyes of our memory.¹²⁶

Implicit in this idea is the conviction that the appearances of things serve as *involucra*— wrappings or envelopes—outer layers concealing a divine truth at their center.¹²⁷ The things of the cosmos are, to use a Dionysian phrase, veiled lights, simultaneously revealing and concealing. These wrappings or veils are necessary to preserve the integrity of the divine. It simply would not be fitting for the secrets of God to be laid bare for all to see, whether in creation or in Scripture. As Honorius tells us about the Psalms, “the mysteries of this book were hidden through wrappings and enigmas, lest having been uncovered they would be contemptible to all.”¹²⁸ Instead, the secrets latent in things must be carefully unwrapped, turned over— *versus*—in contemplation and understood in stages. Honorius’s writings seek to guide us through those stages and inculcate within us methods of unwrapping. Consequently we regularly encounter language, particularly in the exegetical works, of unlocking or uncovering. For example, in the *Sigillum* he tells his disciples that in response to their inquiries, “I will give to you a work to unlock through the key of David that about which you seem to doubt.”¹²⁹ Or the

¹²⁶ Cf. *De anima*, 241; *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1020.

¹²⁷ The idea of *involucra* is not, of course, unique to Honorius, but was, alongside the similar concept of *integumentum*, fairly common among authors of the twelfth century. Oftentimes, the concept was used to license the uncovering of Christian truths within non-Christian, even scandalous non-Christian texts. Honorius’s totalizing use of the concept sets him somewhat apart from his peers, however, as does his insistence that the unwrapped meanings are uniformly propaedeutic to the redemption of the human race. See a fuller discussion of *involucra* and *integumentum*, see Peter Dronke, *Fabula* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), passim.

¹²⁸ Ideo autem mysteria hujus libri sunt per involucra et aenigmata tecta, ne vilescerent omnibus aperta. *In Psalmos*, PL172:269C.

¹²⁹ dabo operam per clavem David vobis reserare, de quibus videmini dubitare. *Sigillum*, PL172:496D.

commentary on the Psalms in which he strives “to unlock the outpouring of heavenly sweetness enclosed in the Psalms with my pen.”¹³⁰

Of course, given what we have learned about the deep affinity and mirroring between Scripture and creation, it ought to come as no surprise that his thought entails that we must unlock the cosmos as well. As a further consequence, the mirroring of Scripture and creation licenses his pedagogical methods. They are both licit and necessary because they are a reflection of the structure of the universe itself. In proceeding inwards and upwards from material wrapping to divine center, we recapitulate the *reditus* of our minds moving through the stages in which all creation will one-day pass, from the multiplicity of the material world to unity within the divine mind. It is no accident therefore that Honorius’s distillation of the *Periphyseon* is entitled the *Clavis physicae*. He sees Eriugena as the premier exegete of Genesis, and Genesis, which he tells us, is the book that most pertains to our understanding of nature.¹³¹ Bear in mind also that the key which unlocks Scripture is described in the *Sigillum* as that “key of David” held by Christ in John’s apocalyptic vision.¹³² The theophanic mirroring of the Word which underlies the cosmos is thus revealed in our attempt to unlock it. The revelation within creation and Scripture is of the Incarnation and revealed through the Incarnation, a self-reflexive process of greater and greater understanding of the ubiquity of Christ’s presence in all things and their presence in Him. What better, then, to unlock the secrets of nature than the Christocentric conception of the cosmos he draws from Eriugena?

In *De anima*, the disciple asks “in what manner is [God] able to be understood?” to which the master replies “through creation.”¹³³ This is our only option. God cannot be grasped by any

¹³⁰ redundantiam videlicet supernae dulcedinis in Psalmis clausam stylo reserare. *In Psalmos*, PL172:269A.

¹³¹ Ad physicam pertinet Genesis, quae de naturis loquitur. *In Psalmos*, PL172:270B

¹³² Rev 3.7.

¹³³ *De anima*, 254.

other means. The limitations of human knowledge are such that we simply cannot see the higher spiritual realities, so badly is our sight occluded by sin. It is no longer in our nature to see the divine, any more than it is in the nature of rocks to feel or cattle to speak.¹³⁴ Pedagogy then, with respect to knowing creatures must be a restorative process, training our minds to clear away the wrappings which obscure divine immanence in the world. The key of nature, which Honorius seeks to provide, unlocks vision of God in and through creation, makes apparent the theophany which is the ultimate grounding reality of the physical world, and this vision is a sort of totalizing understanding, an almost intuitive recognition of God's presence in all things and their presence in God.

By seeing creation in this manner—with the eyes of the heart—true learning and understanding (*intellectus*) transforms us. As we pass into a more complete knowledge of things, our understanding of them mirrors ever more clearly their grounding in the mind of God. Moreover, Honorius tells us, in knowing we become one with the thing known: “For in all which the pure intellect perfectly knows, is made in it and made one.”¹³⁵ Thus, the more fully we grasp things in their fullness, the greater affinity which exists between our minds and the mind of God, the more we become like God, and the more we are united to Him. In our recognition of the cosmic order in things, we bring ourselves into that order and restore it, recapturing the knowledge lost as a consequence of the Fall.

Our exile from Paradise, conceived of in this manner, is ignorance and the homeland that we seek is knowledge, “thus the exile of the interior man is ignorance, the homeland, however, is wisdom. Indeed, those, having been placed in ignorance as in a dark region, remain, whence

¹³⁴ D. Cur non videt homo spiritum? / M. Cur non sentit lapsis ictum percutientis, vel cur non intelligit pecus verba hominis loquentis? *De anima*, 262.

¹³⁵ In omni siquidem quod purus intellectus perfecte cognoscit, fit eique unum efficitur. *Clavis*, 259, p. 211.

they are known as sons of darkness. Those located in wisdom, however, abide as in a luminous region, therefore they are called sons of the light.”¹³⁶ The more we see, therefore, the closer we are to heaven. And it is not only we who are brought closer to heaven in this vision, but the things seen as well. We have noted that the knowledge of a thing is the thing itself.¹³⁷ As a consequence, when we elevate our understanding of things within our minds, finally glimpsing them in their proper place in the cosmic order, we establish them more firmly in that order, confirming in the microcosmos the plan of the cosmos. Within our minds, material things are brought back into union with their divine antecedents. As we approach God in creation, we mirror in reverse the procession of things from God and become like Him. In our contemplation, we pass from corporeal things, to the heavens, beyond the sun to the orders of angels, which we ascend in turn to their source, the super abundant light next to which the sun is but a spark. In the dazzling world of the intellect, which can—and indeed in contemplation does—contain within itself the whole span of the cosmos, we ascend further into “the inaccessible light, which the essence of God inhabits, that may be seen by the pure of heart alone.” This light is the very essence of God Himself, “the light which in the heavens satiates the angels and souls through vision of it. This is what illuminates the pure of heart through contemplation. This is what provided the light of the sun for those tarrying in the world, as the light of a candle for those placed in prison; by which they are able to return from darkness to light, from death to life, from exile to the fatherland.”¹³⁸ In our vision of this light we become one with it—we are deified—

¹³⁶ sic interioris hominis exsilium est ignorantia, patria autem sapientia. In ignorantia quippe positi quasi in tenebrosa regione commorantur, unde et filii tenebrarum cognominantur. In sapientia autem locati quasi in lucida regione conversantur, ideo et filii lucis appellantur. *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1243A

¹³⁷ *Clavis physicae*, 254 p. 202-4.

¹³⁸ Cum itaque ratio Deum veraciter esse probaverit, et hunc vitam, sapientiam, veritatem, iustitiam et aeternitatem veris assertionibus essentialiter esse docuerit; restat nunc ut ad hunc quoque videndum aliquam fenestram aperiat, per quam mens per quosdam gradus scandens prospiciat, quatenus regem gloriae in decore suo videre praevaleat. Pedetentim autem ratio per corporalia gradiatur; ne infirmus intellectus per ardua nitens, difficultate confractus relabatur. In primis igitur hunc corporeum solem mente consideremus, cujus magnitudine totum mundum calefieri,

and with us the cosmos through which we have ascended. The deifying character of education extends to the things known just as much as to the knower.

To see things as they really are, therefore, as ideas in the mind of God, is to see and make actual the New creation, and this is what the kingdom of heaven consists of, “‘In God is the plenitude of all good’ is to say nothing other than God is the plenitude of all good. This vision is called the kingdom of heaven”¹³⁹ The souls of the just do not move to heaven, they see it, and in those moments in which the union between heaven and earth is especially apparent we, still living in the exile of this world, are given a foretaste—fleeting and limited as it might be—of the joys of the celestial Jerusalem:

cujus claritudine totum orbem illuminari videmus. Post hunc millia millium Angelorum Deo ministrantium attendamus, quos singulos ratione monstrante, septies, imo centies sole splendidiore sciamus; nam hic sol est minister mundi, Angeli autem templa Dei. Quantum ergo differt templum Dei a servo mundi, tantum differt claritas Angelorum a claritate solis. Deinde decies millies centena sublimium Angelorum Deo astantium perpendamus, quos singulos centies, imo millies prae sole clariores pro certo noscamus. Sicut enim luna stellas, sol lunam in claritate excellere cernitur; sic quilibet superior ordo Angelorum inferiorem, ab Angelis usque ad Seraphim, gloria, dignitate, claritate praecellere creditur. Post nos innumerabilia millia sanctarum animarum inspiciamus, quas singulas longe sole lucidiores, Angelis beatitudine et claritate coaequandas non dubitamus. Tot et tantis luminibus singulariter consideratis, singulorum etiam magnitudinem contemplemur; quatenus ad id quod intueri anhelamus, facilius sublevemur. Cogitemus itaque animam splendidum ignem, cujus minima scintilla ratione instruente vincat hunc solem. Omne enim quod ab alio includitur, minus eo quod se includit, esse necessitate convincitur; sed cogitatio animae, quae ejus scintilla est, non solum hunc solem, sed et totum mundi ambitum brevi spatio includit, et totus orbis eam minime circumscibit: igitur constat quamque animam toto mundo longe majorem fore. Angeli autem sicut ab animabus beatitudine, ita etiam differunt magnitudine. Hic nemo magnitudinem corporalis quantitatis intelligat, sed illam potius intellectualem, quae hunc mundum corporeum, et cuncta in eo corpora ad parvitatem redigat. Hinc jam mens se in alta elevet, cor suum quantum potest dilatet, tot lucas inaestimabili claritate, incomparabili magnitudine resplendentes sub se prospiciat; super se vero quamdam admirabilem lucem, quae omnium illarum lucium lux sit, intendat, quae sic super tot et tantas lucas longe refulgeat, sicut sol super omnes stellas luceat; cujus lucis ineffabilem magnitudinem et admirabilem pulchritudinem illae tot et tantae lucas jugiter admirentur, et in cujus affluentissimam dulcedinem indefesse prospicere delectentur. Haec profecto est lux inaccessibleis, quam inhabitat essentia Dei, solis mundicordibus visibilis. Nullus hic cogitet luce Deum, quasi tabernaculo hominem circumdatum; quasi aliud sit Deus qui lucem inhabitet, et aliud lux quam inhabitet: sed potius ipsam lucem essentiam Dei sciat, in qua universa bona simul locata intelligat. Haec est lux quae Angelos et animas in coelis sua visione satiat. Haec est quae mundicordes per contemplationem illuminat. Haec est quae solis lucernam in mundo commorantibus, ut candelae lumen in carcere positus praestitit; qua de tenebris ad lucem, de morte ad vitam, de exsilio ad patriam remeare possint. Ergo in oratione taliter mens vestra Deum meditetur, taliter intentio vestra imaginem ejus contempletur, scilicet talem lucem, quae sic super solem, ut sol super candelam, resplendeat; immortalem, quae sic super innumera Angelorum et animarum millia prae sole centies splendida, ut sol super sidera, refulgeat. Unde dicitur Pater luminum in Canonica Jacobi: Omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum desursum est descendens a Patre luminum. Non multum quippe a veritate aberrat qui talem Dei imaginem ante oculos cordis in oratione versat. *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1011-2.

¹³⁹ In deo est plenitudo omnium bonorum nihil aliud est dicere quam Deus est plenitudo omnium bonorum. Huius visio vocatur regnum caelorum. *De anima*, 259.

But since the kingdom of heaven is read to be nothing other than peace and joy, / no delightfulness of place or of buildings or beauty of the most precious things, corporeal or incorporeal, / is proven to exist; / but the vision of the omnipotent God alone is revealed, / in whose contemplation the blessed eternal peace and the fullness of / joy and all abundance of every good / perpetually enjoy, / and with delighting always are insatiably satisfied without end.¹⁴⁰

The consequence of Honorius's understanding of creation as theophany is that salvation becomes the understanding, the grasping or seeing, of what it is revealed by that theophany. Unwrapping the *involucra* is both the cosmic and individual path to the New Creation, and it is the end point of Honorius's whole mission. It is no accident that almost every work ends in an image of heaven, or that every sermon concludes with Paul's words from the first letter to the Corinthians, "That eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what things God hath prepared for them that love him."¹⁴¹

The centrality of creation to Honorius's thought cannot be overstated. Indeed, it provides a base upon which everything else follows, or perhaps, more usefully, a lens through which the rest of his thought might be understood and which makes clear the overarching goals of his pedagogical and authorial efforts. What then is creation for Honorius? It is a vast theophanic engine, profoundly incarnational and anthropocentric, which continuously directs us towards the salvific, deifying vision of God. Our role in this great engine is to see things properly, to grow in understanding by making use of the incarnational key which Honorius offers in his works in order to recognize the supreme immanence of the divine in the world and to act accordingly in order to attain salvation. Our purpose is to use creation in order to get to heaven and in doing so

¹⁴⁰ Sed cum regno coelorum non aliud quam pax et gaudium legatur, / nulla locorum uel aedificiorum amoenitas aut pretiosissimarum rerum corporalium uel incorporalium pulchritudo esse comprobatur; / sed sola uisio omnipotentis Dei declaratur, / in cuius contemplatione beati aeterna pace et pleno gaudio et omni abundantia omnium bonorum perpetualiter perfruuntur, / et perfruendo semper insatiabiliter sine fine satiabuntur. *De neocosmo*, lines 649-85, p. 220.

¹⁴¹ 1 Cor. 2:9.

to bring creation with us to union with God in the workshop that is our human nature. Through the path blazed by Christ, our knowledge follows the path of *exitus* and *reditus*, recapitulating the initial act and procession of creation via a flowing back towards our source and end.

Honorius's catalog, like creation itself, strives endlessly to communicate the truth of this and, more, act as engines to make us see, to force vision upon us. It is to the question of how his achieve this end that we shall now turn.

Chapter IV - An Authorial Cosmos

Honorius is an eminently practical author, who displays an obvious care for the rhetorical structure of his works. This care is supplemented by an acute sense of his audience. The "simplicity" of that audience is always on his mind, both in the near constant pitching down of the material drawn from his sources—casting his theology in terms of concrete, visual images—and also in his grasp of just when a rhetorical flourish, a vivid image or aside, is necessary to retain the reader's interest and to propel them further along the argument. Moreover, his works have a clear and largely consistent purpose, which is both pedagogical and anagogical. He is out to educate, and the end point of that process of education is contemplation, salvation, and deification. To bring about this end, he relies on a set of authorial tools; tools which he expects to work not only at the level of conveying his thought clearly, but also at a deeper level within his readers. His educational program is not simply one of supplying information, but of re-ordering the very being of the reader, shaping the inclination of their mind, and turning it from the world of material creation to the next world—creation as it subsists in the mind of God.

What is more, in his use of these tools Honorius is quite often innovative. If not the first author to use these techniques, he is regularly the most enthusiastic, and in many cases an early adopter. This early adoption is frequently the sole manner in which Honorius emerges into modern histories of the twelfth century. He is cited as an early innovator of prose rhyme, a prolific writer of dialogues, or one of the first to recognize the dramatic character of the liturgy, before the discussion moves on to consider later, ostensibly more sophisticated authors. While the import of Honorius's theology ought not be diminished nor his uniqueness in drawing heavily on Eriugena and bringing him into conversation with the broader tradition, it is in the realm of form and effectiveness in which Honorius truly innovates and which most distinguishes

him from his contemporaries. In order, therefore, to accurately assess Honorius as a thinker and to gauge the import of his writings, it is vital to take stock of the most common authorial tools and structures that he utilizes. We must recognize the authorial care which went into his work and recognize this authorial construction as a vital part of Honorius's project, if we are to understand that project at all.

The authorial care which Honorius dedicated to his works is evident from the very outset. The prologues of his writings are obviously crafted both to guide the readers' reception of the work and to establish Honorius as a credible authority. They are typically posed as either epistles or as responses to demands from Honorius's fellows requesting that he untangle knots of theological confusion or provide a "key" by which the mysteries of Scripture might be unlocked. These requests, as noted previously, also often present Honorius as having successfully done so in the past, granting credibility to both his current efforts and prior works. Surely, if these past works proved so useful to the monks that request the current work, the text being introduced might likewise be illuminating for others. These requests in the prologues, with their often effusive praise—“to all who were present it seemed that it was not you but an angel who spoke,”¹—were an essential part of establishing his authority as a teacher.

In the prologues, Honorius also takes care to maintain his control as a writer. He carefully spells out the titles of his works, and the reasons for those titles. For example, the *Elucidarium* is so named, “because in it the obscurity of diverse things are elucidated,”² while in the *Speculum Ecclesiae*, “all priests consider a mirror before the eyes of the Church, that in it the bride of Christ sees what as yet displeases her spouse in her, and to his image composes her

¹ Cum proxime in nostro conventu resideres, et verbum fratribus secundum datam tibi a Domino sapientiam faceres, omnibus qui aderant visum est non te sed angelum Dei fuisse locutum. *Speculum Ecclesiae*, PL172:813.

² quia in eo obscuritas diversarum rerum elucidatur. *Elucidarium*, prologus, p. 359.

mores and deeds,”³ and the *Gemma animae* is so named, “Because just as gold is adorned by a gem, thus the soul is decorated by the divine office.”⁴ These titles, and the reasoning behind them, are particularly worth noting because Honorius understands the title of a work as an extremely important guide to understanding. He writes in his commentary on the Psalms, “the title however is named from Titan, that is the sun: because just as the rising sun illuminates the world, thus the accompanying title illustrate the whole work,”⁵ and later, “the title is considered as sort of key; because just as a door is opened by a key, thus understanding of the psalm is unlocked by the title.”⁶ Thus, from the outset of his works, Honorius has provided an illuminating key, a guide to interpreting his works generally in the form of a concrete image such as a gem or a mirror.

It also appears that Honorius took care to craft the chapter headings of his works. Just as he takes the titles of individual Psalms to have an illuminative function, in the same way that the title of the book as a whole guides understanding,⁷ he expects these chapter headings to similarly guide the reader through his works. These headings are typically more direct and descriptive than the titles of his works, telling the reader precisely what to expect in the upcoming passages, conditioning them to recognize what Honorius takes as most important and what they ought to take away from his words. For instance, the fourth chapter of the *Cognitio vitae* tells us that he will be discussing; “The mind is the mirror of the soul. Whence knowledge comes to us. Spiritual things are attained by faith, not reason. Spirit defined in six ways in Scripture. Air. Wind. The

³ *speculum omnes sacerdotes ante oculos Ecclesiae expendant, ut sponsa Christi in eo videat quid adhuc Sponso suo in se displiceat, et ad imaginem suam mores et actus suos componat. Speculum Ecclesiae, PL172:815.*

⁴ *Quia videlicet veluti aurum gemma ornatur, sic anima divino officio decoratur. Gemma animae, PL172:543.*

⁵ *Titulus autem dicitur a Titane, id est a sole: quia sicut sol oriens mundum illuminat, ita titulus sequens totum opus illustrat. In Psalmos, PL172:271A.*

⁶ *titulus quasi quasdam claves apposuit: quia sicut janua clave aperitur, ita titulo intellectus psalmi reseratur. In Psalmos, PL172:271B*

⁷ *Indeed, even the absence of a title tells us something profound about the Psalm in question, “Primus psalmus non habet titulum, quia proprie est de Christo qui nullum habet initium.” In Psalmos, PL172:274C.*

life of brutes.”⁸ The chapter heading groups the disparate concepts discussed into a mnemonic package. In this case, air, beasts, knowledge, and spirit are all conceptualized together, so that future mentions of any of these might lead us to remembrance of the others.

In this care for maintaining the titles and structure of his works, Honorius resembles his supposed teacher, Anselm, who similarly provides careful explanations for his titles and seems to expect them to also guide interpretation of his books.⁹ Anselm also made an effort to maintain the chapter headings and structure of his writings through the often scattershot and diffuse methods of medieval publication. So, Anselm insists that Gaunilo's challenge and his response to that challenge be published alongside the original text of the *Proslogion* and writes in *Cur Deus Homo*,

It is my earnest request that all who wish to copy this book should place before its opening this little preface, along with the chapter headings of the whole work. My intention is that anyone into whose hands it comes may discern, as it were, from its facial appearance whether there is anything, within the whole body of the work, which he might find worthy of respect.¹⁰

Perhaps Honorius also hoped that his chapter headings would help guide readers to his works, and serve as helpful references as to where they might find useful material within. Eadmer also emphasized the care which Anselm took in ensuring that the works of others were copied accurately.¹¹ Ultimately, these efforts were only partially effective for Anselm,¹² and we might expect the same for Honorius, despite his best efforts.¹³

⁸Mens animae speculum. Scientia unde nobis. Spiritualia fide attingi, non ratione. Spiritus sex modis in Scriptura dicitur. Aer. Ventus. Vita brutorum. *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1009.

⁹ Flint, *Honorius*, 141.

¹⁰ Anselm, *Why God Became Man*, 262.

¹¹ Eadmer, *Life of St. Anselm*, I.8.

¹² Sharpe, “Anselm as Author” *Journal of Medieval Latin* 19 (2009) with conclusion and general lessons for medieval publishing in general at 79-80.

¹³ Unfortunately, an extensive study of the transmission of Honorius's works does not yet exist.

The prologues make clear Honorius's desire to condition his readers for what is to unfold over the course of his works. By providing them with the reasons for why the works were created and with titles intended to "unlock" an understanding of what is within, Honorius is able to dictate the use of his writings. What is more, he provides a window into how he understands the process of exploring reality more generally through these attempts to condition the reader. He sets out to resolve controversies, to create a text which might act as a mirror for the Church, to guide readers to knowledge of God through the knowledge of physical things, to help them teach others, and, most of all, to unlock creation and Scripture. His titles are images epitomizing the whole of a given text, a text which contains within it further images riddled with theological import. This mirrors the inexhaustible symbolic meaning that unfolds from each aspect of God's revelation—i.e., any passage of Scripture, any element of creation—and that meaning is unwrapped through the steady hand of Honorius guiding his reader every step of the way. The prologues thus indicate that the way his works operate are at one with his ultimate hermeneutic of reality. They both convey and mirror this reality in text and seek to project this image into the mind of the reader, in an effort to enable them to utilize this hermeneutic to see God.

From the theological principles explored in the previous chapter, we see Honorius's deep concern with unity and harmony, and through an analysis of his authorial method, we see that this concern extends to the concrete nature of his writings as well. There is an integration of form and content at almost every level of his works. Honorius's pedagogy guides his choice of authorial tools, and these tools in turn guide his pedagogy. Just as the interactions of the three pillars which underlay his theology serve as a mirror of the free interplay of text, creation, and Scripture which pervades his theological thought, and which draws the reader inexorably

upwards towards their anagogical end, so too is this interplay and inclination towards contemplative vision of God mirrored in his careful authorial construction and in the tools he returns to again and again in his works. Perhaps most fundamental and notable of these tools are his use of rhyme, dialogue, and ekphrasis—vivid descriptions intended to place images before the inner eyes of the reader—and it is an examination of these tools that will be the major focus of this chapter. In addition, we will also briefly consider his use of the *accessus ad auctores*, not because of its pervasiveness—indeed he only makes use of the technique in his exegetical works—but because it represents another area in which Honorius innovated, as one of the first authors to apply the *accessus* to the exegesis of Scripture, and because it serves as a useful illustration of his general methodology and way of integrating the form and pedagogy in his writings. Throughout, special attention will be paid to how Honorius's authorial tools bring about the ends of his pedagogical enterprise.

The *Accessus ad Auctores*

Unlike the other authorial techniques considered in this chapter, Honorius did not make extensive use of the *accessus ad auctores*. However, the technique features prominently in his commentary on the Psalms, in the commentary on the Song of Songs, and to a limited extent in his hexameron, *De neocosmo*. This use of the *accessus* as a tool to explore two of the most important books of Scripture was unique, and provides insight into both the concrete structures around which he constructed his works, and the underlying conceptions of the written word and its relation to God's revelation which animated his thought. It also demonstrates further the authorial care that Honorius dedicated to his writings. His statements about and use of the *accessus* make clear that there is an ideal towards which Honorius is aiming, one of unity between form and content which is present in the greatest authors and particularly in the authors

of Scripture. More, this unity is embedded in the very fabric of creation itself and might be uncovered through the same tools which allow us to unlock the written word.

The *accessus ad auctores* was used in a variety of contexts throughout the Middle Ages and became especially popular during the twelfth century.¹⁴ The *accessus* was essentially a form of introduction. It established basic facts about the text which it introduced and assigned it to specific categories which aided in subsequent interpretation. As such, it seems to have been largely intended for beginners, new to an author or a specific book, who required this foundation before penetrating more deeply. Thus, the *accessus* typically, though not always, told the reader who wrote the text, its title, the intent of the author, its utility, what part of philosophy the work pertained to, and the final cause. Helpfully, and in keeping with his pedagogical aims, Honorius also explains what precisely is gained from knowledge of each of the categories delineated by the *accessus*. We have already seen this in the case of titles and from the other categories, he tells us that we learn:

The author, so that you are familiar with the name of the writer, whether he was Pagan or faithful, a Catholic or Heretic. The subject matter, so that you know whether it is about war or marriage, or which things it treats. The intent, so that you learn whether it persuades or dissuades you the thing which it treats or what usefulness the book that is read confers.¹⁵

Elsewhere, we discover that the *cui parti philosophiae supponatur* lets the reader know whether the book is concerned with natural philosophy, ethics, or knowledge of divine things, though

¹⁴ Quain, "The Medieval *Accessus ad Auctores*" *Traditio* 3 (1945), 216. Other studies of the *accessus* include Richard William Hunt, "The Introduction to the 'Artes' in the Twelfth Century" in *The History of Grammar in the Middle Age* (Amsterdam: Benajmins, 1980); Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theories of Authorship* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 9-72; Huygens, "Notes sur le *Dialogus super Auctores* de Conrad de Hirsau et le *Commentaire sur Theodule* de Bernard d'Utrecht," *Latomus* 13, no. 3 (1954), 420-8; Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 63-86; and Gross-Diaz, *The Psalms Commentary of Gilbert of Poitiers*, 66-96.

¹⁵ Auctor, ut noveris nomen scriptoris, utrum ethnicus, an fidelis, utrum Catholicus an haereticus fuerit. Materia, ut scias utrum de bellis an de nuptiis vel de quibus rebus tractat. Intentio, ut cognoscas utrum rem de qua tractat suadeat vel dissuadeat, vel liber lectus quid utilitatis conferat. *In cantica canticorum*, PL172:347D.

Honorius shows little interest in the former two categories, except as subsets of the latter.¹⁶ The categories of the *accessus* could be applied to a wide range of writings, and the *accessus* was therefore used in a multitude of different settings; to introduce philosophical and legal works, to illuminate the writings of authors both pagan and Christian, and to explore poetry.

With the increasing demand for educational texts and methods with which to parse the masses of seemingly contradictory authorities that developed over the course of the twelfth century, the *accessus* gained greater popularity, achieving its most famous expression in the writings of Honorius's contemporary Conrad of Hirsau in his *Dialogus super Auctores*. In that work, an introduction to authors, both Pagan and Christian, whose writings formed the curriculum of the schools, Conrad also provides one of the few theoretical accounts of the *accessus*. The pupil in his dialogue requests that the teacher, "explain briefly and in summary form what we must look for in each of the school authors who are used in training the blossoming mind of beginners," before spelling out the various categories of *accessus* which Conrad will provide.¹⁷ The conversation between teacher and student also makes clear that this method is a traditional one, not a recent innovation. That it applies to both "ecclesiastical or pagan authors," and that it is meant strictly for beginners. It is only, "a little milk to nourish the very young."¹⁸ The *accessus* is something to be used as a beginner's framework and then surpassed by more serious study of the text. Notable also is that Conrad does not apply the tool to the authors of Scripture.

¹⁶ In *Psalmos*, PL172:270B.

¹⁷ It is worth noting that Conrad includes among these categories the final cause of a work, which Honorius omits in his own *accessus*, and does not place as much importance on the title.

¹⁸ Conrad of Hirsau, *Dialogue on the Authors*, in *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c. 1100- c. 1375*, ed. Alastair Minnis, A.B. Scott, and David Wallace (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 40-41.

In this, Conrad was in keeping with the broader tradition of the *accessus* prior to the twelfth century. The technique has been traced back by Quain to Late Antique commentaries on Aristotle, which eventually solidified into a standard set of categories that were to be elucidated at the start of a work by the sixth century.¹⁹ This philosophical form was epitomized and transmitted to the schools of the Middle Ages through Boethius's commentary on the *Isagoge*. In the centuries between Boethius and Honorius, the tool had developed semi-independently in various disciplines, ranging from law to poetics and became widely popular. Yet, despite the popularity of the *accessus* it was not used with Scripture prior to the twelfth century. Indeed, Honorius represents one of the first—potentially *the* first depending on when we date his commentary on the Psalms relative to that of Gilbert of Poitiers²⁰—to use the *accessus* in this manner.

Various alternative introductions which conditioned the exegesis of Scripture had been used before this, of course. Jerome's famous prologues to the books of the Vulgate deal heavily with the difficulties of translation, justifying his own editorial choices while classifying the books of Scripture and likening our learning of them to learning the alphabet. Bede and Gregory made use of an alternative sort of *accessus*, using a three-fold system which describes the work's *persona*, *locus*, and *tempus* in their commentaries on Revelation and Ezekiel, respectively.²¹ These categories flowed out of rhetorical training, particularly the *circumstantiae*—the questions necessary to ask in order to formulate an argument about something.²² These questions

¹⁹ Quain, "The Medieval *Accessus*," 262-3.

²⁰ Gilbert seems to have written his commentary around 1117 (Gross-Diaz, *Psalms Commentary*, XIII), while Honorius's exposition of the Psalms was likely written between 1115 and 1120 (Valerie Flint, "Some Notes on the Early Twelfth Century Commentaries on the Psalms" in *Ideas in the Medieval West* [London: Routledge, 1988], 81).

²¹ For Bede, PL93:195. For Gregory, PL76:795.

²² For a history of the use development of *circumstantiae*, see Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation*, 66-9.

originated in Hermagoras, were more fully developed in Cicero, particularly in *De inventione*,²³ and attain the form in which they would prove most influential on Medieval authors in Boethius, who elevate these questions to the basic procedures which underlie all rhetorical construction.²⁴ The use of these fundamentally rhetorical tools as methods for guiding the exegesis of Scripture signals that exegesis itself is, at least to some degree, a type of invention, a searching for arguments and interpretations predicated upon the *circumstantiae*. The bounds of the *circumstantiae* establish the bounds in which the exegesis of the author operate and license, under the guise of setting forth the basic structure of the text in question, any interpretations which operates within these bounds. The exegete merely expounds what this proto-*accessus* has told us is already present within the text.

The older, three-fold form was considered largely outmoded as a form of introduction by Honorius's time, though we do encounter them in Hugh of St. Victor's commentaries.²⁵ By the twelfth century, we instead find the *accessus* used more and more common in explorations of Scripture, signaling the integration of Scripture into the broader school tradition, an integration we also witness in Honorius's educational handbook, *De animae exilio*.²⁶ This integration into the broader curriculum should not lead us to suspect that the new form of *accessus* eliminated the understanding of Scriptural exegesis as rhetorical invention conditioned by the introductory material. As Conrad noted, the *accessus* fundamentally tells us "what to look for,"²⁷ where the invention that we exercise in interpreting a text should be directed. The *accessus* used by Honorius made this process even more systematic, particularly in the Psalms commentary where

²³ Cicero, *On Invention*, I.24.34-28.43.

²⁴ Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation*, 69.

²⁵ Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation*, 66, Gross-Diaz, *Psalms Commentary*, 72-3. For Hugh's use, cf. PL175:74.

²⁶ PL:172:1245C-1246D.

²⁷ Conrad of Hirsau, *Dialogue on the Authors*, in Minnis, *Literary Theory*, 40.

it is applied to every individual psalm. He also retains the sense that what we find through this process of invention is not merely interpretation, but arguments, things intended to convince. Scripture is rife with syllogisms, if we know where and how to look.²⁸ Discovering these changes our minds; convincing of us of the truth of scripture, convincing us that apparent disagreements and confusions are merely apparent, and directing us to the proper contemplation of the Scriptural text.

Honorius's unconventional application of the *accessus* to Scripture, particularly to the Psalms, which were so central to the devotion of his era, is indicative of the audience and purpose towards which his commentary is geared. Clearly, this is not a work for sophisticated exegetes, but beginners, the "indoctis" who sing the Psalms.²⁹ These readers are unable to make headway into the Psalms; where they ought to be drinking "heavenly nectar" from the words within, they only sip "tasteless water", only hear "empty sounds." Thus, it is necessary for Honorius to unlock the book so that they might truly enjoy the sweetness within.³⁰ This requires a full and detailed *accessus*, with an explanation of the features of the technique and a rigorous application not only to the Psalms as a whole but to each psalm in turn. Meanwhile, the limited use of the categories of the *accessus* in his hexameron indicates an audience perhaps more familiar with the text. These readers do not stand helpless and parched before the locked doors of the book, but are instead confused by the mass of opinions on the interpretation of Genesis, a confusion which implies that they are at least somewhat familiar with these opinions in the first place.³¹ Here, therefore, Honorius does not provide a full *accessus*, but only makes passing

²⁸ Syllogismi latent in sacra Scriptura, ut piscis in profunda aqua: et sicut de aqua piscis in usum hominis extrahitur, ita syllogismus de Scriptura ad utilitatem elicitor. *In Psalmos*, PL172:279C.

²⁹ *In Psalmos*, PL172:269B

³⁰ *In Psalmos*, PL172:269A

³¹ *De neocosmo*, lines 1-10, p. 175-6.

reference to the *intentio* and *materia* of the work, in order to delve into the question of why Moses narrated the fall of the human race, but not the fall of the angels.³²

This difference in usage of the *accessus* might also point to the different understandings of the two books of Scripture for Honorius and his audience. The Psalms were absolutely central to devotional practice, an everyday feature of life for the monks, priests, and canons who made up the vast majority of Honorius's readership. They were indeed the most important of the "hagiographical" books that Honorius situates as a sort of canon within the canon of the Old Testament, the books which provided their readers with knowledge of God.³³ Meanwhile, "Genesis pertains to natural philosophy, which speaks of nature."³⁴ Genesis was vital to understanding the basic structure of creation and, with it, the mode of creation's redemption, but its anagogical content was more heavily veiled. It was simply less useful than the Psalms for Honorius's grand goal of leading his readers to the vision of God. As a result, it was not necessary to provide an extensive *accessus* which would serve as a basis for continual interpretation and "chewing over" in search of "heavenly sweetness", but instead it was enough for Honorius to provide the correct interpretation which would properly orient his readers towards the correct reading of the text and creation.

In the commentary on the Psalms, his use of the *accessus* for every psalm adds another layer of interpretive depth to his commentary, allowing the reader to exegete the text on the level of the individual psalm or within the context of the book as a whole. Thus, through the various smaller *accessus* we find that all the psalms may be said to proceed from the first psalm, while the fiftieth psalm describes the whole sweep of history, all the ages of the Church. That psalm's

³² *De neocosmo*, lines 12-14, p. 176.

³³ For more on Honorius's division of Scripture, see above 67; 125-6.

³⁴ *Ad physicam pertinet Genesis, quae de naturis loquitur. In Psalmos*, PL172:270B.

title, a single verse, contains within itself the history of David, the salvific mission of Christ, and the coming of the Antichrist.³⁵ Each part contains and reflects the whole, all speaking to the same ultimate truth, fully revealed in every part of revelation. Each part contains the full and inexhaustible symbolic richness of God's revelation, unfolding before our eyes if we have the proper interpretive framework by which to taste and see.

Unity also exists between the different categories detailed in the *accessus*, particularly between the material and intent of a work. This unity is particularly present and perfected in the sacred authors, "It must be noted, however," he tells us, "that the authors of the books [of Scripture] especially attended to harmony in their writings, by which their intention is able to agree uniformly with the material."³⁶ This unity is a reflection of the most perfect unity, that of all things in God and revealed in creation, and the authors of Scripture, participating in God's unveiling of himself, thus must evince this same unity. The creative act of the author is a recapitulation of the creative act of God. This is the underlying principle of the structure of Honorius's authorial efforts and how he understands the authorship of others. Thus, the answer to the question which motivates *De neocosmo* is revealed to lie in a proper understanding of how the unity of *intentio* and *materia* in a text align. Why did Moses neglect the fall of the angels? Because "the intention of Moses is to figuratively narrate the restoration of the human race through Christ,"³⁷ and, "his subject matter is this sensible world in which man has been driven after the fall, and the advent of the only begotten Son of God into this world."³⁸ He, therefore, had no reason to speak about the fall of the angels. It is not only Moses's narration of the

³⁵ *In Psalmos*, PL172:274C-D and *In Psalmos*, PL172:290A-291B, respectively.

³⁶ Sed sciendum est auctores librorum precipue concordiam in scriptis suis attendere, / quo possit intentio cum materia uniformiter concurrere. *De neocosmo*, lines 15-7, p. 176.

³⁷ Intentio quippe Moysi est restaurationem humani generis per Christum figuraliter narrare. *De neocosmo*, lines 18-9, p. 176.

³⁸ Materia autem sua est hic sensibilis mundus / in quem homo post lapsum est pulsus, / et aduentus unigeniti Dei in hunc mundum. *De neocosmo*, lines 42-5, p. 178-9.

restoration of humanity for which the material world and the advent of the Son of God provides the *materia*, but also for the means by which God Himself affects this restoration in the first place. There is thus a complex doubling of authors, of *intentio*, and of *materia*. God, whose creative agency is akin to an author, unites in perfect harmony the intention of reconciling all things to Him and His *materia*, creation, and Christ's salvific mission. Likewise, Moses's intent to narrate this is crafted in harmony with his material, an account of this created universe and Christ's action within it. Honorius understands his own exegesis in the same manner. He harmonizes his intent to demonstrate how Moses narrated the above with his *materia*, the exegesis of Genesis provided by authorities like Augustine, Bede, and others, especially Eriugena.

Ultimately then, God's revelation in creation or Scripture, is subtly construed as a book. It has an author, an intent, material, and a final cause. This fundamental sense of the cosmos as an artistic creation is repeated again and again throughout Honorius's catalogue. God is regularly described as a painter,³⁹ creation as a beautiful song:

When the great craftsman made the universe like a great zither in which He placed various strings to yield a multiple sounds, He separated his universal work into two, namely two parts contrary to each other. While spirit and matter, like a man's and a boy's chorus blending bass and treble sound, are dissenting in nature, they are in harmony in essence of the good.⁴⁰

Creation is beautiful, characterized by wondrous harmony and the potential for inexhaustible aesthetic delight. It is a "divine metaphor",⁴¹ a representation of a truth which lies beyond sensible things, and which can be unwrapped through the proper interpretive framework. Just as

³⁹ This image is used repeatedly throughout his writings. Cf. Honorius, *Inevitabile*, 549.

⁴⁰ Summus namque opifex universitatem quasi magnam citharam condidit, in qua veluti varias chordas ad multiplices sonos reddendos posuit : dum universum suum opus in duo, vel duo sibi contraria distinxit. Spiritus enim et corpus quasi virilis et puerilis chorus gravem et acutum sonum reddunt, dum in natura dissentiunt, in essentia boni conveniunt. *LDQ*, PL172:1179B-D.

⁴¹divinam metaforam, *Clavis physicae*, 18, p. 13.

the *accessus* can take us from the interpretation of a single psalm to an understanding of the Psalms as a whole, we might see yet another interpretive layer operating, a sense in which Honorius's entire body of writings acts as an *accessus* to the totality of God's revelation, in space, in time, and in Scripture. His extensive and diverse catalogue is one great introductory tool, to teach and guide beginners so that they might drink the "heavenly nectar" of God's revelation and be saved.

Rhyme

The use of prose rhyme is the most distinctive and pervasive of Honorius's stylistic choices. Virtually all of his works, in whole or in part, are written in some form of prose rhyme, generally of a fairly simple character consisting of common word endings at the conclusions of lines marked off by punctuation. Thus, in *De neocosmo*:

Nullum autem hominum scire posse puto quantum inter creationem angelorum et huius
mundi tempus defluxerit
nisi cui Deus reuelauerit;
praesertim cum adhuc tempus non fuerit,
sed cum isto mundo coeperit
et nichil aliud tempus sit nisi diei ac noctis
vel anni, ut puta ueris, aestatis, autumni, hiemis uicissitudo
uel rerum de praeterito in praesens, de praesenti in futurum transmutatio.
Omnia enim quae Deus creauit in aeternum permanere creduntur
licet alia in alia permutentur.⁴²

[However, I believe that no man is able to know how much time between the creation of the angels and of this world passed / unless God were to reveal it to them / especially since time did not yet exist, / but began with this world / and time is nothing other than the change from day to night / or the change of year, for example, from spring, to summer, to autumn, to winter; / or the transition of things from past into present, from present into future. / For all things which God created are believed to remain in eternity / even though some things are completely changed into something else.]

⁴² Nullum autem hominum scire posse puto quantum inter creationem angelorum et huius mundi tempus defluxerit / nisi cui Deus reuelauerit; / praesertim cum adhuc tempus non fuerit, / sed cum isto mundo coeperit et nichil aliud tempus sit nisi diei ac noctis / vel anni, ut puta ueris, aestatis, autumni, hiemis uicissitudo / uel rerum de praeterito in praesens, de praesenti in futurum transmutatio. / Omnia enim quae Deus creauit in aeternum permanere creduntur / licet alia in alia permutentur. *De neocosmo*, lines 533-545, p. 212-3.

On occasion, he also makes use of internal and near-rhyme, examples of which we will see below, and his usage of different sorts of rhyme appears to be dictated by aesthetic sensibilities and the theological import of individual passages, rather than any systematic standard. This device, prose rhyme, had a long pedigree in Latin literature by Honorius's time, having been used in the divine office for centuries, and the device would only become more common, reaching its apex of popularity in the years which followed the end of Honorius's career.

However, Honorius, as in so many things, stands apart from his peers in terms of the sheer ubiquity of rhyme throughout his catalog. So much so that it is identified by Garrigues as one of the primary means, and certainly the primary stylistic means, by which a work might be identified as authentically his.⁴³ Such an ostentatious stylistic choice cannot have been made without reason and the sheer pervasiveness of rhyme in Honorius's writings, the lengths to which he will go in order to maintain his rhyme scheme—manipulating even direct citations of his sources to make them fit—entails that a thorough understanding of his authorial project simply must offer an account of why he resorted to this device over and over again.

Unfortunately, neither Honorius nor his contemporaries are particularly forthcoming on their reasons for making use of rhyme or the effects they hope this use might engender in their readers. Thus, the purpose and effects of the device must be reconstructed from its use, coupled with whatever sparse theoretical descriptions are available. The authors of the rhetorical handbooks of the Middle Ages classed prose rhyme, especially *homeoteleuton*, meaning repetition of ending or near rhyme, or the closely related *homoeoptoton*, whereby several parts of a sentence end with the same case or inflection, as figures of epideictic rhetoric, that form

⁴³ Le troisième est le style: belle prose rimée et rythmée, qui a été analysée par K. Polheim et que A. Lisenmayer tient pour absolument personnelle. Garrigues, "Quelques recherches sur l'oeuvre d'Honorius Augustodunensis" *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 70, no. 2 (1975), 417.

especially dedicated to praise or blame into which much medieval literature falls.⁴⁴ As *homeoteleuton* was a relatively rare figure in classical rhetoric, its discussion in classical handbooks is correspondingly brief and occasionally dismissive. For example, the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* notes that the repeated use of rhyme could prove trying for the listener, making the argument appear unserious, and that the rhetor ought to be sparing in his use of it.

Figures which rely on word or case endings (*homoeopaton*):

seem more suitable for a speech of entertainment than for use in an actual cause. Hence the speaker's credibility, impressiveness, and seriousness are lessened by crowding these figures together. Furthermore, apart from destroying the speaker's authority, such a style gives offence because these figures have grace and elegance, but not impressiveness and beauty. Thus the grand and beautiful can give pleasure for a long time, but the neat and graceful quickly sate the hearing, the most fastidious of the senses. If, then, we crowd these figures together, we shall seem to be taking delight in a childish style; but if we insert them infrequently and scatter them with variations throughout the whole discourse, we shall brighten our style agreeably with striking ornaments.⁴⁵

Honorius obviously did not adhere to this view of rhyme's limited utility. He chose to do precisely what is discouraged by the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, crowding the figures together with near-relentlessness; so much so that it is the passages which do not rhyme that are few and far between and strike the reader by contrast.

Instead, he perhaps adhered to an understanding similar to that found in Bede's *De schematibus et tropis*.⁴⁶ Here, Bede offers a more positive appraisal of *homeoteleuton*, which offers some threads that might indicate what attracted Honorius to use the figure. First, Bede

⁴⁴ Cf. *Ad Herennium*, IV.20.28.

⁴⁵ *Ad Herennium*, IV.23.32. This view persisted well past Honorius's time. For example: "There are two kinds of rhetorical colors which are to be rejected in preaching, *similiter cadens* [*homoeoptoton*] and *similiter desinens* [*homeoteleuton*]...Although the former color is sometimes acceptable, the latter color, *similiter desinens*, is laughable in a sermon." Thomas of Chobham, *Summa de arte praedicandi* 7.2.4 in *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric*, ed. Rite Copeland and Ineke Sluiter (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 635-6.

⁴⁶ Honorius does not appear to cite this work directly, but was familiar with and made regular use of a large swathe of Bede's catalogue. He does reference the work in his entry for Bede in *De luminaribus*, PL172:229B.

cites Gregory the Great as a regular user of *homeoteleuton*.⁴⁷ Gregory is one of the few authorities that Honorius mentions by name, and he seems to have admired him greatly, not only for his theological insight but as a model for Honorius's own pastoral project and as an elegant stylist. For instance, in the *Speculum ecclesiae*, Gregory is described alongside Augustine as one of the most skillful painters who adorn the Church with their words.⁴⁸ It is no surprise that Honorius, dedicated to a similar mission and obviously quite concerned with the style of his works, appropriated Gregory's stylistic choices in the same way that he adopted images from the saint's sermons and theology from his commentaries.

Bede's description of the figure also highlights the oral character of *homeoteleuton*. It is, Bede writes, "the type of address which Jerome refers to as the elegant declamations of orators."⁴⁹ Honorius's thought, as we have seen, and his stylistic choices, as we will see, trended to blur the distinction between oral and written discourse. Both are ultimately only coverings, cues to the understanding of an inner, unitary truth which can only be penetrated once the words themselves are transcended by inner, mental vision. Thus, his writings "speak." Indeed, in heaven, we find that the distinction between the hearing and seeing vanishes, to the saints they are the same.⁵⁰ Practical considerations might also play a part here as well, the very nature of what Honorius is writing—concise, settled answers to often rudimentary theological questions—lends itself to oral recitation. A memorized fragment of, say, the *Elucidarium* could be recited in response to a parishioner or brother monk's doctrinal concerns, the elegant style giving the recitation greater impact, perhaps more impact than in longer passages where the repeated simple

⁴⁷ Bede, *De schematibus et tropis*, trans. Guisse Hecht Tanenhaus *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 48, no. 3 (October 1962), 243.

⁴⁸ peritissimi pictores *Speculum Ecclesiae*, PL172:813.

⁴⁹ Bede, *De schematibus et tropis*, 243.

⁵⁰ *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1026.

rhymes might become tedious, as Pseudo-Cicero warned. It may also have been the case that Honorius's writings were intended to be read aloud in a classroom setting; the teacher first reading aloud from the text and the students repeating, as glosses within the *Hortus deliciarum*, comprised in a large part of excerpts from Honorius, suggest.⁵¹ Rhymed prose lends itself to the quick comprehension and repetition that this form of learning requires.

There is also a level of rhetorical force provided by the oral recitation of rhymed passages, which is most evident in the writings that Honorius undoubtedly intended for oral delivery, the sermons collected in the *Speculum ecclesiae*. Witness, for example, the rapid sets of rhymed pairs in his sermon "In conventu fratrum":

Dominum et Regem nostrum sponte fugimus;
fraudentum praedonem,
crudelem latronem,
apostatam furem transfugae secuti sumus;
amoenam patriam,
immensam gloriam,
omnium deliciarum affluentiam deseruimus,
in exilium, in periculum,
in laborem et dolorem,
in angustiam et in omnem miseriam decepti pervenimus;⁵²

[Our Lord and King we freely fled / deceitful robber / cruel thief / apostate bandit we, deserters, followed; / pleasant fatherland / boundless glory / the abundance of all delights we forfeited, / into exile, into danger, / into labor and sadness, / into pain and into all misery deceived we have entered;]

The near-rhyme links the dissonant catalogue of our crimes, the joys forfeited and the penalties incurred as a consequence, while the rhymed verbs—*fugimus*, *secuti sumus*, *deseruimus*, *pervenimus*—establish the framework of the sermon and simultaneously create a sensation of movement—we flee, we follow, we abandon, we enter. The rhyme fixes the rhythm of the

⁵¹ Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights*, 175-6

⁵² *Speculum Ecclesiae*, PL172:1087A-B.

sermon and this sense of movement away from God as a counterpoint to our movement towards him described immediately after:

Hic docuit nos itinera impiorum declinare,
per viam caritatis ambulare,
et sic de hac Babylonia ad supernam Hierusalem remeare.
Haec quippe est via justorum,
haec recta semita rectorum,
ducens per se ambulantes ad atria beatorum.
Beati immaculati in hac via qui ambulant in lege Domini.
Lex Domini est Deum et proximum diligere
et hac lege per hanc viam gressum ad patriam paradysi dirigere.
In hac via repatriantes praeuia dux sapientia debet nos ducere;
sacrae Scripturae scientia,
velut lucerna,
ante nos splendescere,
coelestae gaudium nos trahere,
gehennae timor impellere,
et ne a regia via liceat a dextris vel sinistris deviare,
hinc consilium, inde discretio rectum callem praesignare.⁵³

[He teaches that we are to avoid the paths of the wicked, / to walk through the way of charity, / and thus from this Babylon to the heavenly Jerusalem return. / Indeed this is the way of the just, / this is the unwavering way of the righteous, / leading those walking on it to the halls of the blessed. / Blessed the immaculates on this path who walk in the law of the Lord. / The law of the Lord is to love God and neighbor / and by this law via this way direct our step to the fatherland of paradise. / Wisdom, as trailblazing leader, must guide us as we repatriate on this way; / the knowledge of sacred Scripture, / as a lamp, / it must shine before us / celestial joy must drag us, / fear of hell impel us, / and lest from the royal way we be allowed to deviate to the right or the left, / here counsel, there discretion must mark out the right footpath.]

The repeated *nos*-infinitive construction signals a different sort of movement, a shift in the agency of the moved. We flee God, but the joys of heaven drag us back. The geographical movement, from here to there is subsequently mapped on to a temporal movement as the sermon continues in a litany of progressions in virtue:

Hinc sanctorum potentia, inde viciorum pumentia.
Hinc requies sancta, inde quietudo appetenda.
Hinc ratio, inde reverentia.

⁵³ *Speculum Ecclesiae*, PL172:1088A-C

Hinc remissio, inde redemptio.
Hinc remuneratio, inde reconciliatio
Hinc religio, inde rectitudo.
Hinc sapientia, inde scientia.
Hinc spes, inde morum salus
Hinc sustinentia, inde sufferentia.
Hinc sollicitudo, inde sanctitudo.
Hinc suavitas, inde sobrietas.
Hinc societas, inde sinceritas.
Hinc sanctitas, inde stabilitas.⁵⁴

[Here the power of the saints, there the swelling⁵⁵ of the vices. / Here sacred rest, there quietude of desiring. / Here reason, there reverence. / Here remission, there redemption. / Here remuneration, there reconciliation / Here duty, there rectitude. / Here wisdom, there knowledge. / Here hope, there soundness of habit / Here sustaining, there enduring. / Here solicitude, there sanctity. / Here sweetness, there temperance. / Here society, there purity. / Here sanctity, there stability.]

and vice:

Hinc superbia, inde socordia.
Hinc saturitas, inde severitas.
Hinc scurrilitas, inde simultas.
Hinc tristicia, inde temulentia.
Hinc temeritas, inde tenacitas.
Hinc timiditas, inde tumiditas.
Hinc tarditas, inde torvitas.
Hinc terror, inde torpor.
Hinc titillatio, inde turbatio.
Hinc vanitas, inde voluptas.
Hinc vinolentia, inde violentia.
Hinc versutia, inde vexordia.
Hinc violentia, inde vexatio.
Hinc veneficia, inde vaniloquia.
Hinc xenodoxia, inde ypocrisis.⁵⁶

[Here pride, there sloth. / Here abundance, there severity. / Here buffoonery, there enmity. / Here sadness, there drunkenness. / Here rashness, there miserliness. / Here cowardice, there swelling. / Here lateness, there torpor. / Here titillation, there confusion. / Here vanity, there passion. / Here intoxication, there violence. / Here cunning, there vexation. / Here violence, there hardship. / Here arrogance, there hypocrisy.]

⁵⁴ *Speculum ecclesiae*, PL172:1090B

⁵⁵ Reading “tumentia” for “pumentia.”

⁵⁶ *Speculum ecclesiae*, PL172:1092A.

The alphabetical catalogue, the alliteration, and the driving rhyme forcefully press down on the listener with the weight of sins, before offering a release, freedom within the walls of the cloister.

Recordemur quod saeculum pro superna patria relinquimus,
et quia claustralem servitatem pro aeterna libertate subivimus.
Claustralis namque disciplinae observatio est quasi cujusdam camini examinatio,
in qua rubigo peccatorum nostrorum debet purgari et imago Dei in animabus nostris
reformari.
Postquam vero in igne tribulationis ut aurum probabimur,
tunc de fornace sumpti in palacio coelestis regis angelis coequabimur.⁵⁷

[Let us recall that we leave this world for the heavenly fatherland, / and that we have entered into the servitude of the cloister for eternal liberty. / For the rule of the discipline of the cloister is like the trying of a certain furnace, / in which the rust of our sins ought to be purged and the image of God in our souls reformed. / But after in the fire of tribulation we will be proved as gold, / then taken from the furnace into the palace of the celestial king we will be made coequal with the angels.]

Here the movement of the sermon culminates. The cloister is the ultimate *hinc* where the rhythmic litany of progress in virtue can be enacted in a single point and place, a single “here”, which will be paid off in the *inde* of the world to come. Honorius’s rhyme, spoken aloud, creates a rhythm, a movement and a sense of climax in the sermon, pulling the listeners along to the cloister—the very place where they are presumably sitting and hearing the sermon in the first place—and towards the foretaste of heaven it provides.

All this force is lost, however, if it slips from the listener’s mind the moment the sermon ends, or from the reader’s when the book is closed, and it is to prevent this which is almost certainly the single most important motivation behind Honorius’s use of rhyme. He is deeply concerned with memory, and the mnemotechnical utility of rhyme ought to be obvious to anyone who has had an advertising jingle or hook from a pop song stuck in their head. The appeal, therefore, of this figure to Honorius is similarly obvious, especially given the above-mentioned

⁵⁷ *Speculum ecclesiae*, PL172:1092B-C.

probability that many of his works were geared towards providing material that could be recited in response to inquiries by students, fellow monks, and laypeople seeking pastoral care. Indeed, we often see him using rhyme to create “chunks” which serve as ready responses to questions.

For instance, in the *Elucidarium*,

D. Quare vocatur Pater?

M. Quia ipse est fons et origo, a quo omnia procedunt, cujus sapientia Filius appellatur.

D. Quare Filius?

M. Quia ut splendor a sole, ita a Patre generatur.

Amborum autem amor Spiritus Sanctus nuncupatur.

D. Quare Spiritus sanctus?

M. Quia de utroque aeternaliter procedens, quasi ab eis spiratur.

Illa itaque vis Divinitatis, quae omnia creando patrat, Pater vocatur;

illa autem quae omnia continet ne in nihilum dissolvantur, Filius appellatur;

illa vero quae omnia inspirando vivificat et ornat, Spiritus sanctus nuncupatur.

Ex Patre omnia, per Filium omnia, in Spiritu sancto omnia.

Pater memoria, Filius intelligentia, Spiritus sanctus voluntas intelligitur.⁵⁸

[D. Why is He called Father?

M. Because He himself is the font and origin, from which all proceeds, whose wisdom is called the Son.

D. Why the Son?

M. Because like brightness from the son, thus He is generated from the Father. /

However, the love of both is called the Holy Spirit.

D. Why the Holy Spirit?

M. Because, He proceeds from each eternally, as if He is breathed from them. / And thus that force of Divinity which by creating brings about all things, is called Father; /

However, that force contains all things lest they dissolve into nothingness is called the

Son; / but that force who through in-breathing vivifies and adorns all things, is called the

Holy Spirit. / From the Father are all things, through the Son all things, in the Holy Spirit

all things. / The Father is understood to be memory, the Son intelligence, the Holy Spirit

will.]

The rhyme holds together the descriptions of the Trinity, spanning the disciple’s interruptions and stressing the unity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, which is later affirmed in the penultimate line’s breaking of the pattern.

⁵⁸ *Elucidarium*, I.Q4-6, 361-2. For these definitions, Honorius appears to be drawing primarily on Anselm in the *Monologion* and *De processione Sanctus Spiritus*, and Augustine in *De Trinitate*, Lefèvre, *L’Elucidarium*, 105 fn.4-6.

These chunks of rhyme could serve not only as ready-made answers for theological questions but also as raw material for contemplation and the exegesis of Scripture. This end goal seems especially likely in the case of his encyclopedia where we witness similar patterns in rhyme use:

Habitabilis zona quae a nobis incolitur,
in tres partes Mediterraneo mari dirimitur,
quarum una Asia, altera Europa, tertia Affrica dicitur.
Asia a septentrione per orientem usque ad meridiem, Europa ab occidente usque ad
septentrionem, Affrica a meridie usque ad occidentem extenditur.⁵⁹

[The habitable zones which are dwelled in by us, / are divided into three parts by the Mediterranean Sea, / of which one is called Asia, another Europe, the third Africa. / Asia is extended from the north through the east all the way to the south, Europe from the west to the north, and Africa from the south to the west.]

Notice how both the set of the three habitable zones and their geographical locations is contained and linked to the prevailing rhyme scheme created by the third person passive verb endings. In this way, the information is easily remembered, easily associated, and readily available to the memory. The very structure of the encyclopedia provides a mnemonic framework for these discrete bits of memorized information, “locating” them in relation to a larger whole.⁶⁰

Honorius’s thought is thus anchored in the reader’s mind, both through rhyme and through the associative linking of these rhymes with the geographical and temporal structure of creation.

The most common and powerful mnemonic anchors, and consequently the most commonly used by Honorius, are drawn from Scripture. So, for example, a brief passage of

⁵⁹ *Imago*, I.7, p. 52.

⁶⁰ On the locational character of medieval memory and memory in the Middle Ages more generally, cf. Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008); Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Francis Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Random House UK, 2014); Janet Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture*, ed. Elma Brenner, Meredith Cohen, and Mary-Franklin Brown (Burlington: Routledge, 2013).

rhyme might begin with a Scriptural passage that has almost certainly already been memorized by the reader:

*Terra autem in erat inanis et uacua.
Hoc est corporalis creatura adhuc informata,
sed in uerbo dei causaliter posita.*⁶¹

[But the earth was void and empty. / That is the corporeal creatures were as yet unformed, / but causally situated in the Word of God.]

Here the doctrine of the pre-creation of all things causally within the Word, which is absolutely central to Honorius's thought, is distilled simply and clearly and lodged in the reader's mind as naturally following from the passage of Genesis. This provides both an explanation of the passage itself and allows for the passage to be used as fodder for speech, contemplation, or further exegesis. Linked to this rhyme, the words of Scripture become a short hand for Honorius's explanation, the text imbued with deeper meaning by his exegesis.

As Honorius is generally unwilling to modify Scripture to fit into his rhyme scheme, it often creates a break in that scheme, the dissonance which results emphasizing the centrality of Scripture as both a mnemonic anchor and the basis of the surrounding exegesis:

*Hoc est dicere: Omne quod postmodum factum est materialiter ac formaliter,
semper in uerbo Dei fuit causaliter ac praedestinaliter.
Unde scriptum est: Qui fecit quae futura sunt.
Coeli autem ac terrae nomine uniuersaliter
omnis creatura comprehenditur.*⁶²

[This is to say: All which afterwards was made materially and formally, / always was in the Word of God causally and through predestination. / Whence it was written: He who has formed the things that are to come. / But by the name of heaven and earth universally / all creation is understood]

⁶¹ *De neocosmo*, lines 515-7, p. 211.

⁶² *De neocosmo*, lines 497-502, p. 210.

Again, we encounter the doctrine of the instantaneous pre-creation of all things in the Word of God, drawn in this case from the second book of the *Periphyseon* and linked through the passage from John with the fundamental unity of all created things in that act of creation.⁶³ Moreover, in the broader scheme of *De neocosmo*, from whence the passage derives, Honorius's joining of passages through rhyme has linked the Johannine account of creation with a definitive point in Genesis, connecting the two testaments.

Honorius also inverts this structure, breaking a rhyme pattern initiated by Scripture to interject a question before returning to the rhyme and to Scripture, in order to provide an answer to that question:

Pater dilexisti eos, sicut et me dilexisti, ante constitutionem mundi.
Quomodo ante mundum dilecti sunt,
qui tempore Herodis pene omnes nati sunt?
Et tamen sunt a deo dilecti,
quia ad gloriam per predestinationem electi.⁶⁴

[Father, you have loved them, as you have also loved me, before the creation of the world. / How before the world were they loved, / who were nearly all born in the time of Herod? / And yet they were loved by God, / because to glory through predestination they were elected.]

This seems to be another instance of rhyme used to mimic oral discourse, the *-unt* lines breaking in as if another voice seeking clarification.

Breaks in rhyme may also emphasize certain points, with a shift in ending driving home a summary of doctrine previously discussed at greater length:

quia videlicet per senarium activae vitae actio designatur,
propter sex opera Evangelii quibus in istis sex diebus quasi in vinea laboratur,
per quaternarium vero contemplativae vitae perfectio propter quatuor Evangelia figuratur,
quibus contra hostes animarum, scilicet vitia et daemones, jugiter vigilatur;
per sex ergo psalmos in vinea Domini laborantes declarantur,
per quatuor lectiones in castris Domini vigilantes demonstrantur,

⁶³ CCCM 162, 31. Eriugena's source in turn is Augustine in *De Genesi*, I.4.9-5.10, reflecting the common pattern of Honorius using selections from *De Genesi* which Eriugena has drawn from in the *Periphyseon*.

⁶⁴ *Inevitable*, lines 40-5, p. 232-3.

per Responsoriam alacritas laborantium denotatur.⁶⁵

[namely that through six the conduct of the active life is designated, / because of the six works of the Gospel through which he labors in those six days as in a vineyard, / but through four the perfection of the contemplative life is figured because of the four Gospels, / by which he is continually vigilant against the enemies of the soul, namely vices and demons; / therefore through six psalms those laboring in the vineyard of the Lord are declared, / through four readings those keeping watch in the fortress of the Lord are demonstrated, / through the Responses the alacrity of those having striven is denoted.]

The numerological association, itself a mnemonic device, is emphasized and better remembered through its displacement from the pattern of surrounding lines. In all these cases, something already memorized is used as an anchor to which Honorius's doctrine is connected by chains of rhyme.

There are also instances of Honorius's use of rhyme in which the rhythms of the passage created by the rhyme mirror the content of his teaching, as in his description of the psalter:

Multa sunt indoctis de Psalterio dicenda;
sed pauca doctis summatim stylo perstringenda.
Psalterium est musicum instrumentum,
decem chordis distentum, triangulum,
in modum deltae litterae formatum,
et dicitur Hebraice nabla, et Latine organum,
inferius latum, superius concavum.
Quod inferius percussum, superius reddit sonum.⁶⁶

[Many things are to be said to the unlearned about the Psalter; / but few are to be pressed briefly to the learned with a pen. / The Psalter is a musical instrument / distended over ten chords, triangular, / formed in the manner of the letter "delta", / and it is called in Hebrew nabla, and in Latin an instrument, / below it is wide, above it is concave. What is struck below renders sound above.]

The interior rhyme, particularly the doubled *-um* endings, call to mind the musical pattern of the instrument, the striking of what is below and sounding on high. This is in turn linked to the general structure of the cosmos as Honorius's exegesis continues. He tells us that the shape of

⁶⁵ *Gemma animae*, PL172:624D.

⁶⁶ *In Psalmos*, PL172:269B.

the Psalter bears special significance; for delta is the fourth letter of the alphabet, just as there are four elements which make up Christ's body and four Gospels which edify the Church. The triangular shape too, expresses the Trinity, and the union of higher and lower parts mirrors the union of Christ and the Church, of contemplative and active life, and the mortifications of the flesh which we undergo so that we may receive spiritual rewards. But most of all the striking of the lower so that the higher resounds makes manifest that about which the Psalms sing, the incarnate Christ whose divinity, Honorius tells us, resounded with miracles while his body hung on the cross, afflicted by tortures.⁶⁷ In turn, Christ is a microcosm of all creation, his nature a model of the relation between heaven and earth, spirit and matter—we have already seen how the low notes struck in the cloister described in the sermon "In conventu fratrum" similarly resound in the world to come. There is thus a unity between the form of the text and the nature of the cosmos in which the monastery is included, a unity which is a hallmark of Honorius's stylistic tendencies and his thought as a whole.

A near-endless series of examples of this sort might be drawn from Honorius's works, and in the absence of critical editions which preserve the rhyming structure of the original manuscripts, our inquiries into his use of rhyme are necessarily limited. However, this preliminary inquiry does allow us to arrive at some conclusions. In his use of rhyme, we have a mnemotechnical and rhetorical technique which, on the most basic level, serves Honorius's practical ends of clearly and effectively communicating his through to the reader in a memorable fashion. More subtly, the rhyme conveys the "shape", rhythm, and movement of his works, which mirrors that of his pedagogy. It is not merely the raw information that is conveyed but the manner in which it is conveyed, the form of the text that is key to understanding. Honorius's

⁶⁷ *In Psalmos*, PL172:271D-272B.

rhymes act as a sort of theological jingle, imprinting themselves vividly in the wax of our minds, and, in our remembrance of those rhymes, conditioning us to grasp the deeper contemplative resonances of what he teaches. The use of rhyme also signals the oral, performative aspect of his writings and the blurring of the boundaries between spoken and written word that this entails. Besides the works explicitly positioned as “spoken”—the dialogues and question and answer texts—and those obviously intended to be recited—the sermons—the use of rhyme in virtually all his works ensures that Honorius’s writings will not merely be read, but heard, all the more powerful as reshapers of memory as a consequence.

Dialogue

One of the more notable characteristics of Honorius’s catalogue is his affinity for the dialogue form. He wrote at least nine dialogues, surpassing any of his contemporaries in his affection for the genre. Two of these were distillations of dialogues written by other authors: *De anima et de Deo*, drawing primarily from Augustine’s *De quantitate animae* and the *Clavis physicae*, from Eriugena’s *Periphyseon*. In addition, he composed a number of question-and-answer texts, which were closely akin to dialogues. The lines between the two genres for Honorius were often quite blurred. For example, the *Libellus octo quaestionum* is a dialogue which is quite simple. The disciple within does little more than provide the next question for the magister, with little in the way of reaction or elaboration. On the other hand, the *Liber duodecim quaestionum* is a question-and-answer text, but one which is explicitly situated as a written representation of a verbal debate.⁶⁸ His interest in texts understood in performative, spoken terms also extends to the books of Scripture on which he wrote his most extensive commentaries. The Song of Songs, on which he wrote two commentaries, was commonly conceived of as a

⁶⁸ *LDQ*, PL172:1177A-B.

dialogue, and is explicitly cast one in the *Sigillum*. He also imagines the Psalms as another sort of verbal performance, a book of soliloquies.⁶⁹ Dialogue or, more broadly, the casting of text in performative, spoken terms was thus obviously quite important for Honorius. The question arises then, why? What did Honorius hope to accomplish through his use of dialogue, his casting of text as speech?

Unlike the majority of his authorial choices, Honorius actually gives us some explanation for his use of dialogue. In the prologue of the *Clavis physicae*, he writes, “Therefore, [Eriugena’s] style I turn into a dialog, because to the greatest philosophers, namely Socrates and Plato and Cicero and also our Augustine and Boethius, it seemed that genre of teaching which possessed the greatest power of introducing a subject.”⁷⁰ This idea, that dialogue is an ideal form for introducing beginners to a subject is, of course, a common one, dating back to the origins of the genre. Cicero claims to write, “in the form of debate so it may be more easily followed and in this way probable truth discovered.”⁷¹ While Augustine notes that the best way of learning is asking questions, and that dialogue is an excellent way of fostering this mode of investigation in a student.⁷² We see this ideal persist throughout the Middle Ages. For instance, the great Carolingian schoolmaster Alcuin portrays questions and answers as a tool used by students just beginning to grasp the rules of grammar.⁷³ Conrad of Hirsau similarly notes that dialogue aids weaker minds in grasping difficult concepts.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ *In Psalmos*, PL172:271A.

⁷⁰ Cuius stilum ideo verti in dialogum quia summis philosophis, Socrati scilicet et Platoni ac Tullio nec non nostro Augustino et Boetio, visum est id genus docendi quam maximam vim optinere introducendi. *Clavis Physicae*, 1, p. 3.

⁷¹ Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, trans. J.E. King (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), I.IV.

⁷² Augustine, *De Magistro*, I.I.8-9.

⁷³ Alcuin, *Ars Grammatica* in *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric*, 277

⁷⁴ See, Novikoff, *Anselm, Dialogue, and the Rise of Scholastic Disputation*.

Thus, Honorius's use of the dialogue in his pedagogical, beginners-oriented catalogue had a long pedigree, even if the popularity of the genre had ebbed in the centuries preceding his own before experiencing a rebirth which seems to have originated in Lanfranc's school at Bec. Anselm, of course, made regular use of dialogue and his *Monologion*, a soliloquy, and *Proslogion*, an allocution, are also depicted as performative, spoken works.⁷⁵ Given the possibility that Honorius was as a student of Anselm and that he was, at the very least, deeply familiar with the archbishop's works, it seems likely that his own use of the genre was inspired and, at least in part, shaped by Anselm's model. This model was both pedagogical and devotional. Anselm was noted by his biographer for his ability to conform his speech to the ability of his students,⁷⁶ and Honorius was a master of doing the same in his writings, even if it came at the expense of theological complexity. The ultimate model here was likely Scripture, which Honorius tells us:

Sacred Scripture conforms itself to the intellects of men / as a mother to the behavior of infants, / or as wax conforms itself to diverse impressions of seals. / With a maternal gait it walks with the slow, / with the capable it flies to the heights. / It laughs at the proud with serenity, / it dazzles the attentive with depth. / It nourishes the great with truth, / the small it feeds with kindness.⁷⁷

The ideal teacher, therefore, and the ideal conversation between teacher and student mirrored Scripture and the process of reading Scripture. Just as the basic words of scripture concealed hidden depths which could be attained through increasing understanding of the text via investigation and contemplation, so too the conversation between teacher and student worked

⁷⁵ Anselm, *Proslogion*, 83.

⁷⁶ Eadmer, *Life and Conversation of Anselm*, I.22.

⁷⁷ *Sacra scriptura se conformat hominum intellectibus / ut mater infantium moribus, / aut ueluti cera diuersis sigillorum impressionibus. / Materno namque incessu cum tardis ambulat, / cum capacibus ad alta uolat, / altitudine superbos irridet, / profunditate attentos terret, / ueritate magnos pascit, / affabilitate paruulos nutrit. De neocosmo*, lines 671-9, p. 221. John of Salisbury also notes and praises Bernard of Chartres ability to do the same, John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon* I.17 & I.24.

from basic, introductory principles towards elevated contemplation of the divine, whether in the Bible or in the world around them.

The *Elucidarium* is a perfect example of Honorius's use of dialogue to introduce beginners to the tenets of Christian theology. The *Elucidarium* provides basic answers to a wide range of common questions which might be encountered in the day to day *cura animarum* of the reformed twelfth century priesthood. The concreteness of these questions, the way they range from seemingly minor concerns, how long were Adam and Eve in Paradise?,⁷⁸ to big theological issues, why did God become man?,⁷⁹ to practical concerns, ought one obey a wicked priest?,⁸⁰ gives the sense that these were real, common questions actually encountered by Honorius or those he taught, a sense which persists in Honorius's other dialogues as well. His replies to these questions are often very matter of fact, providing little room for disagreement, controversy, or theological speculation. How long did Adam and Eve spend in Paradise? "Seven hours."⁸¹ "Have minstrels any hope of salvation? None."⁸² It is obvious how such a work might serve as an easy reference for priests and monks engaged in regular pastoral care and this conception of the text as an introductory reference is strengthened by the presence in some early manuscripts of marginal notes, potentially in Honorius's own hand, which point the reader to further readings in the subject, likely as suggestions for continued study.⁸³ Many of the question and answer texts could be said to serve a similar function. They pose questions that chart the development of a basic theological issue which might come up in the context of pastoral care or classroom discussion, handling objections as they arise, and resolving any apparent

⁷⁸ *Elucidarium*, I.Q90, p. 377.

⁷⁹ *Elucidarium*, I.Q104-118, p. 380-2.

⁸⁰ *Elucidarium*, I.Q197, p. 400.

⁸¹ Septem horas. *Elucidarium*, I.Q90. p. 377.

⁸² D. Habent spem joculatores? M. Nullam. *Elucidarium*, II.Q58, p. 428.

⁸³ Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis*, 130.

contradictions between reason, authority, and Scripture which had the potential to baffle lesser students. However, a closer examination reveals that even these obviously introductory texts conceal something deeper, an end which lies over and above mere introduction and a sophisticated and deliberate level of authorial, performative construction.

To understand his nuanced and layered approach, we turn to Honorius's description of teaching and learning found in one of his more advanced works, the *Cognitio vitae*. In the *Cognitio*, Honorius as the magister informs the disciple that although many are called "magister", there is only one true teacher and master, God acting within us:

If it is rightly considered, nothing at all is learned through men. Teachers only plant and water by recalling to mind (commemorando) without, but the Truth which dwells in the soul [i.e. God], gives growth by teaching within....I only have brought forth the sounds of words, but he has learned the words and things signified through words by means of the truth that examines within. Thus for you also, if I have spoken to you with many words about the elephant, you do not know what an elephant is unless you have seen him; in the same way we read many things about David, and we know him as a redheaded man, beautiful to look at, but if he entered right now would we recognize him? Not a chance I think. Why? Because we were unable to learn from masters that which hasn't been proven by the truth of vision. For doctors offer only the sound of words but the hearers learn by the truth that teaches within, words through mind, things through vision.⁸⁴

The fundamental task of the teacher, or of a pedagogical text standing in for the teacher, therefore, is to somehow move from exterior words which can only communicate sounds to the interior and true words, the product and source of true learning, which are not heard but *seen* with the inner eyes. Of course, text adds an additional level of complexity to this task, for the author must first capture these exterior spoken words in a static, lasting, and easily disseminated form.

⁸⁴ Si recte perpenditur, nihil prorsus per hominem discitur. Magistri tantum commemorando foris plantant et rigant; veritas autem quae in anima habitat, intus docendo incrementum dat...Ego tantum sonos verborum protuli; ipse vero verba et res per verba significatas veritate intus examinante cognovit. Sic vos quoque, si multa vobis de elephante dixerō, nescitis quid sit elephas, nisi eum videritis; sic multa de David legimus, et quasi rufum hominem et pulchrum aspectu eum novimus, qui si ad praesens intraret, num illum agnosceremus? Puto minime. Quare? Quia a magistris discere nequivimus, quod veritate visus non probavimus. Doctores etenim tantum sonos verborum proferunt; auditores autem veritate intus docente, verba mente, res visu discutunt. *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1025.

Honorius's dialogues are an attempt to do just that. They strive to capture the living voice of the teacher in text and, in so doing, capture his voice, his charisma, and his ability to lead the disciple inwards towards vision of the true interior word. This aspect of the dialogue form, like its pedagogical usefulness, has been a commonly recognized feature from the earliest examples of the genre, and Honorius could observe it in action in all the authors which he cited as masters of the genre in the *Clavis*. For instance, in Calcidius's commentary on the *Timaeus*, Socrates is regularly described as speaking through the text.⁸⁵ Cicero also highlights the capacity of the dialogue to preserve the voices of great teachers by passing their words to the minds of the reader. He writes in their voice so, "that I might, as far as I should be able, rescue their fame, now upon the decline, from silence and oblivion."⁸⁶ By placing his words into dialogue form and further placing them in the mouths of eminent men, Cicero also grants authority to what is said, making his teachings more certain, more likely to be accepted.⁸⁷ The preservation of the voice of the teacher brings with it the authority of the teacher as well. It is sustained through his presence and charisma embodied in the written word. This ideal persists in Boethius and Augustine, both of whom inherit the Platonic and Ciceronian conceptions of dialogue.⁸⁸ Gregory the Great similarly speaks of retaining the residue of his speech, by putting down his words in dialogue form.⁸⁹

So too, in Honorius writers "speak" from the pages of their works. In *De animae exsilio et Patria*, the authorities within the various cities of learning which Honorius surveys still teach

⁸⁵ Calcidius, *On Plato's Timaeus*, trans. John Magee (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 5-6.

⁸⁶ Cicero, *De Oratore*, II.II.7.

⁸⁷ Cicero, *De Oratore*. I.VI.23.

⁸⁸ See Novikoff, *Medieval Culture of Disputation*, 25 for a broad discussion of the legacy of classical understandings of dialogue. On Augustine specifically, Brian Stock, *Augustine's Inner Dialogue* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), particularly 47-52. On Boethius, Seth Lerer, *Boethius and Dialogue* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

⁸⁹ Gregory, *Dialogues*, trans. Odo John Zimmerman (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2002), I, 5.

with living voices, guiding us onward towards ultimate understanding.⁹⁰ The sense of voice preserved in writing was likely strengthened through the mode in which it was received by Honorius's readership. We have indications from as early as Plato that dialogues were often intended to be read aloud, their dramatic character enhanced by audible recitation.⁹¹ This practice continues into the Middle Ages, as books were often read aloud whether in individual study, the murmur of monks engaged in the *lectio*. We also have already discussed the indications that Honorius's works read in the classroom aloud in the classroom.⁹² The process of actually speaking the written representation of a verbal debate could only have emphasized the presence of a true, audible voice within the text.

Consequently, we see in the very conception of the dialogues the blending and interplay which is so characteristic of Honorius's thought. Oral and written are assimilated together, both captured on the page and imprinted within the mind of the reader. The free movement between speech and writing can be seen throughout Honorius's dialogues. For instance, the epistolary prologues of many of his works are clearly structured as written communications. These then shift without interruption from Honorius's written response to the requester's letter to the speech of the magister, neatly situating Honorius as authoritative teacher and the petitioner--by extension the reader--as disciple along the way.⁹³ The disciple nevertheless remains aware of their status as a character within a written text, as we can see in Honorius's dialogue on free will, the *Inevitabile*. Towards the conclusion of the book the disciple exclaims, "You have shown forth a great spectacle [*spectaculum*] to all who are reading these things."⁹⁴ The disciple is

⁹⁰ cf. *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1243C-D.

⁹¹ cf. Plato, *Theaetetus*, trans. Christopher Rowe (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015) 143B-C.

⁹² Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights*, 175-6.

⁹³ This is perhaps most obvious in the prologue to the *Inevitabile*. *Inevitabile*, lines 3-95, p. 229-38.

⁹⁴ *Inevitabile*, 555. Magnum spectaculum prebusti tu omnibus hec legentibus. *Inevitabile*, line 1324, p. 343.

simultaneously a character within the text, it is after all he who in the drama of the dialogue actually sees, and the monk reading Honorius's words. Moreover, the disciple is clearly situated as a member of the community which requested the work,⁹⁵ further stressing the identification of reader and disciple and blurring the lines between text and speech. Honorius's writings and—remember that he understands the Song of Songs as a dialogue and the Psalms as soliloquies, so this extends to Scripture as well—other authors' works as well are not mute. They speak to us, transmitting the sweetness of the living voice which has been captured in writing.

Capturing the voice of the teacher is the means by which true teaching is accomplished, but the goal of this teaching is not the mere acquisition of knowledge. Instead, like everything he writes, Honorius's dialogues have a contemplative, anagogical end. The goal is not simply knowledge (*scientia*) but understanding (*intellectus*), achieving the vision of God. The dialogues are teaching tools, unquestionably, but they are also contemplative *via*, paths of guided ascent to salvific vision. Honorius makes this explicit in the dialogues themselves. Thus, in the prologue of the *Scala coeli major* on the order of seeing God in creatures, he describes the work as a ship and a ladder which leads the reader “from the mud to heaven” via “harmonious steps” to where “they will see the king of glory in his splendor.”⁹⁶ Along the same lines, he writes in the *Cognitio vitae* that, “it pleases me to level a path through this thicket [of confusion] with my pen on which the infirm of intellect, having relinquished the deviance of error are able to freely walk through the plane of truth.”⁹⁷ The dialogue is itself a ship or a path, but within the dialogue is

⁹⁵ Benedictus deus qui hæc inspiravit fratribus, ut uellent me ad te dirigere, / quatenus hæc mira mererer a tuo mellifluo ore percipere. *Inevitabile*, lines 1359-60, p. 346.

⁹⁶ Sunt namque plures qui ad spiritualia scandere nituntur, sed ordinem graduum ignorantes, per abrupta se præcipitant; . . . atque in profundæ fabulæ opiniones et tenebras ignorantiae errabundi resiliunt. Quorum animi inopia pie permotus, navem eis de exsilio ad patriam opimis opibus instruxi, et scalam congruis gradibus ordinabiliter disparatam de coeno ad coelum erexi: quam si rite scandere contendunt, regem gloriæ in decore suo videbunt. *Scala coeli major*, PL172:1229C-1130C.

⁹⁷ libet me per hæc condensa quasi quamdam semitam stilo complanare, qua infirmis intellectibus relicto erroris devio, per planum veritatis liceat libere ambulare. *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1006.

another way which the disciple climbs or builds; a ladder in the *Scala coeli major*, a siege tower in the *Cognitio vitae*. His books are in essence a contemplative path which contains a narrative of the disciple being guided along a contemplative path. Thus, the phenomenon observed with respect to the titles of his books repeats itself, images within images, reflecting each other and aligned towards the same end at every level of the text. The dialogues are a constantly flowing machine of contemplative movement.

The movement of the dialogues directs us inevitably upwards, to the top of the siege tower, the summit of the ladder. From this height, we can see everything, a complete vision of the cosmos as it extends in both time and space. This vision of the totality of things is the perspective of the divine, an image of reality as it truly is in the mind of God. We can see the cosmic scale at the end point of contemplative ascent in the *Cognitio vitae*. Within that book, Honorius describes the construction of a siege tower of reason,

It is useful that the defense of error is undermined and a tower of truth built whose foundation, because you have established it stably upon all creation, remains aloft so that you can shore up the engine/machine concerning the origin of creatures and build the end of the world by continuing from the beginning, and finish the roof in the height of the kingdom of heaven.⁹⁸

Notice that the tower spans all of God's creation temporally and spatially. It is established at the beginning of creation and stretches to the end. Its base is anchored in the earth and at the top we are amidst the stars, the third heaven of sensible creation mirroring our ascent to the third intellectual heaven of contemplative vision, where we can see God.⁹⁹ Achieving this summit is ultimately identical to attaining salvation, "Therefore he who—having been drawn by this chain [of virtue/argument]—climbing this tower will attain its summit, not only to know the true life

⁹⁸ Utile est munimen erroris subruui, et arcem veritatis construi, cujus fundamentum quia super omnia creantem stabiliter locasti, superest ut machinam super originem creaturae consolidas, ac finem mundi initio continuando aedifices, culmenque in alto regni coelorum consummes. *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1018.

⁹⁹ *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1028.

themselves but to live perennially in it, will rejoice because in it he will be a coheir of this glory.”¹⁰⁰ Dialogue is therefore a pedagogical and salvific enterprise, or rather, pedagogy is a salvific enterprise and dialogue is one of the premier tools by which to accomplish it.

As the disciple, with us alongside, approaches these heights, the emotional intensity of the dialogues ramp up. The images grow more and more vivid, the sense of drama more pronounced. The longest and most famously evocative images in the *Elucidarium*, for example, come at the end in his descriptions of the joys of heaven and the punishments of hell.¹⁰¹ These vivid images move the disciple to exclaim, “As the pleasant spring the thirsty farmer, so the delightful honey distilling from your mouth restores my soul. But oh, how incomparably blessed are they who are predestined to such ineffable good!”¹⁰² So too in the *Inevitabile*, the sense of narrative movement increases throughout. The disciple is “led through the gates” of the heavenly city, he walks alongside the master who points out the features of the imaginative landscape he is constructing. “I am setting you upon this mountain, and I will show you all the dwelling places of the profligate city [the city of the damned, Babylon].”¹⁰³ After a lengthy description of this foul city, with its adulterers, wicked priests and corrupt officials, the disciple is almost overwhelmed: “Oh god how many strange monsters I see!”¹⁰⁴ The master then, details the destruction of this city, the war between Jerusalem and Babylon: “presently God, the king of heavenly Jerusalem, will come with a host of angels and utterly overthrow this ruined city; and freeing his elect from there, he will bring them with himself into his celestial palace and will then

¹⁰⁰ Igitur qui hac catena tractus, hanc turrin scandens culmen ejus attigerit, non solum se veram vitam cognoscere, sed et perenniter in ea beate vivere se gaudebit; quia in ea hujus gloriae consors erit. *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1032.

¹⁰¹ Cf. *Elucidarium*, III.Q91-107, p. 466-70.

¹⁰² Sicut dulcis fons sitientem agricolam, ita delectabilis favus de ore tuo distillans meam refocillat animam. Sed o incomparabiliter beati, qui ad tam ineffabilia bona sunt praedestinati! *Elucidarium*, III.Q107, p. 470.

¹⁰³ *Inevitabile*, 549. In monte igitur hoc te statuo, / et uniuersa habitacula perditę ciuitatis demonstrabo. *Inevitabile*, lines 1118-9, p. 326.

¹⁰⁴ *Inevitabile*, 555. O deus, quanta monstra prodigiosa conspicio. *Inevitabile*, line 1306, p. 342.

furnish for them the following spectacle. This Babylon which you see (that is, the glory of this world with its prince, the devil, and all the citizens of this city-namely the lovers of this world) he will suddenly cast down into a lake of fire and brimstone, and then all things will be changed into a better state for the elect"...prompting the breathless response from the disciple, "you have shown forth a great spectacle to all who are reading these things!"¹⁰⁵ These vivid images and emotive moments seal the doctrinal truths Honorius sets forth in the dialogues on the minds of the reader, imprinting them as a seal makes an imprint in wax, preventing them from being effaced by time or forgetfulness. The images and emotions remain with us far more effectively than dry distillations of Christian teaching. The emotional resonances, and the way Honorius casts the reader as a character in the drama, swept away by his words, convince us of his conclusions and reshape our understanding by remapping our memory.

Honorius dialogues are transformative dramas. The disciple is altered by the path. Now, at the end, he can see what was previously locked away, can unwrap the mysteries of Scripture and created things. He is thus overcome with gratitude for his teacher, and offers prayers for the magister's salvation, prayers which the reader might also offer after having been guided to contemplative insight by him.¹⁰⁶ However, there is another level on which these prayers operate. As the reader internalizes the dialogue, the magister too is internalized. He exists within the memory of the reader, continuing to guide internally where the written words had guided externally. The prayers of the disciple are thus not only directed towards Honorius, but inwardly, towards our own internal magister. We pray that we might, through constant searching and instructing of ourselves, one day see what the disciple has seen.

¹⁰⁵ *Inevitabile*, 555. *Magnum spectaculum prebuisti tu omnibus hæc legentibus. Inevitabile*, line 1324, p. 343.

¹⁰⁶ *Inevitabile*, 557.

The internalization of the dialogues signifies another axis of movement. Alongside ascent is a passing inwards, upwards through the levels of the mind and deeper into ourselves.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, Honorius fixes the location of a number of the dialogues within the mind. The prologue of *De anima et de Deo* begins, with obvious echoes of the opening of the *Periphyseon*, “Often when I sit and ponder about the soul.”¹⁰⁸ Notably, it is the disciple who says this in *De anima*, not the teacher as in the *Periphyseon*. The dialogue is not a meditative journey which the teacher undertakes with the disciple alongside, but a guided meditation within the student. The *Scala coeli major* similarly highlights the meditative, interior character of the dialogues, “Frequently with the soul of meditation I turn as much as possible, with great difficulty, to the shining heights...”¹⁰⁹ The ascent engendered by the dialogues is therefore an internal one, mirroring the process of learning. The external voice of the teacher is captured in text, sealed with vivid images in the mind of the reader and made present in the memory as an internal voice, which when held on to, turned over and ruminated upon allows the reader to ascend to the inner, true word, which is revealed by the light of divine inspiration.

The inward movement of the dialogue mirrors our upward movement through the stages of contemplation, and the passage through each stage shifts the characters in the debate. We first engage in dialogue on the sensory level with an external teacher, distinct from us and presented to our senses through the written word. This exterior dialogue is, like the words of the teacher on the elephant only a shadow of the truth, something which must be transcended to grasp the reality lying within and behind it. As the dialogue passes into our minds, we engage in dialogue

¹⁰⁷ On the Augustinian grounding of this understanding of dialogue, see Stock, *Augustine's Inner Dialogue*, 230.

¹⁰⁸ Saepius mihi de anima cogitanti, Honorius, *De anima et De Deo*, 237. Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* similarly begin with a meditative stepping aside from daily life, though in Gregory's case, not a pleasant one: “In my grief I retired to a quiet spot congenial to my mood, where I could consider every unpleasant detail of my daily work and review all the causes of my sorrow as they crowded unhindered before my eyes.” Gregory, *Dialogues*, I, 3.

¹⁰⁹ Frequenti meditationum animo revolvo quam plurimos summo conamine ad ardua nitentes, *Scala coeli major*, PL172:1229C.

within the memory, interrogating our own souls for ever increasing knowledge of God. We become both master and disciple, still wrestling with the shadows of things with clearer but still obscured vision. The more filled out this vision becomes, the more true it is. The more perfectly it grasps the truth, the more like God our intellect becomes, the better we are able to see, as we are seen.

Finally, transcending ourselves we enter into conversation with God, and driven ever onward by rigorous seeking, we become disciples again in the presence of our true teacher, who bestows upon us the "understanding which surpasses all knowledge."¹¹⁰ This is the knowledge of things as they truly are, as revelations of God and instances of His supreme immanence in creation. Dialogue, therefore, imparts knowledge and trains us how to seek further knowledge. It continuously attunes the intellect so as to see things more clearly, to clear a path or navigate the seas within.¹¹¹ In the course of this journey, the disciple becomes the magister. He becomes more and more convinced of the truth of Honorius's words as the text goes on and more equipped to teach others. And by sealing his words within the memory of the reader, Honorius himself can, in an important sense, remain with them, even in the absence of his physical presence and the text itself, continuously guiding his students onward. His dialogues, therefore, simultaneously provide the material and the means of meditative ascent, the foundations, the endpoint, and the plan. Honorius's use of dialogue reveals the ultimate ideals of his pedagogy and the fundament of his underlying worldview, one in which all things serve as a theophany, accessed by interior "chewing over", seeking, questioning, and internal movement. They are a mirror of his educational program as a whole, an effort to drive the

¹¹⁰ Ipse autem intellectum tribuat, cujus sapientia omnem sensum superat. *Sigillum*, PL172:496D.

¹¹¹ These images are found at *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1006; *Scala coeli major*, PL172:1229D, respectively.

student beyond the visible shadows of creation, just as they are driven past the raw words of Scripture through *lectio*, to enable us to see the hidden, divine meaning within.

Image

Honorius's skill in crafting vivid images—images which are at turns bewildering, engrossing, horrific, and sublime—is unquestionable. Woven through almost every line of every work in his catalog, these images epitomize Honorius's authorial and pedagogical method. Rendering complex theology into concrete, visual terms is, to a great degree, simply what Honorius's project is, what all of his works strive to accomplish. These images are the practical manifestations of the quest for the vision of God that lies at the heart of the Christian life he espouses, and the popular appeal of his efforts was no doubt in a large part because of his deft handling of images. His works are useful and valuable precisely because they made it possible to “see” the complexities of theology through his vivid descriptions.

The use of images in medieval writings has been relatively understudied historically, but has experienced something of a renaissance in recent years with scholars increasingly challenging definitions of ekphrasis, which exclude medieval texts and emphasizing the visual dimension of medieval writing, particularly in poetic works.¹¹² These studies have rightly emphasized the “notional” character of medieval ekphrasis, that the images described by medieval authors are primarily richly imagined mental representations, artistic creations of the mind rather than works of physical craftsmanship.¹¹³ Honorius uses rich visual descriptions not only in his accounts of crafted images and art, even mental works of art, but to describe

¹¹² See, for example, Claire Barbetti, *Ekphrastic Medieval Visions* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Suzanne Akbari, *Seeing through the Veil* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Denery, *Seeing and Being Seen in the Later Medieval World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); *The Art of Vision* ed. Andrew James Johnston, Ethan Knapp, and Margita Rouse (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2015).

¹¹³ Barbetti, *Ekphrastic Medieval Visions*, 7. The concept of notional ekphrasis was first outlined in John Hollander, “The Poetics of Ekphrasis” *Word & Image* 4, no. 1 (January 1988), 209.

everything, people, places, events, and doctrines. The whole force of his works is dedicated to bringing the content of his catalogue, what lies behind and beyond the bare words on the page, to life before the internal eyes of the reader or listener.

The primacy of vision has a lineage which dates back to, at least, Heraclitus's maxim that "Eyes are surer witnesses than ears,"¹¹⁴ and we have seen over and over again how fundamental seeing is to Honorius's thought. The goal of the teacher is to facilitate inner vision, to weave words so that, "your hearers will think they actually see the events instead of hearing you."¹¹⁵ Note that this enjoinder comes from Honorius's advice for effective preaching in the *Speculum Ecclesiae*. Throughout, he gives directives on the optimal sort of tone to aspire to, the proper volume at which sermons ought to be delivered, and the need for gestures—emphatic but not overly so—in order to communicate effectively. He also gives consideration to the comfort of the listeners, building in points at which the preacher might end his sermon if the audience is growing restless or if the church is too cold.¹¹⁶ It is thus not merely the words themselves which are understood to paint a picture but how those words are delivered. Alone, a simplified recitation of, say, Anselm's conception of free will has little impact. Described in the manner of Honorius in the *Inevitabile*, however, with powerful accounts of the clash between demonic Babylon and heavenly Jerusalem in rhyme, dialogue, and images, the reader is forced not only to hear the words, but to see and understand. The text works as an engine, its arrangement and

¹¹⁴ ὀφθαλμοὶ γὰρ τῶν ὄτων ἀκριβέστεροι μάρτυρες. As quoted by, among others, Polybius, *The Histories*, trans. W.R. Paton (Cambridge: Harvard University Press: 2011), 12.27. The supremacy of vision is also attested by any number of Honorius's sources, for instance in Calcidius, Calcidius, *On Plato's Timaeus*, 236ff. and particularly at 267, where the utility of vision in teaching philosophy is especially highlighted. Honorius repeats the sentiment in the *Cognitio vitae*, "Nempe quidquid discitur, melius per visum quam per auditum capitur." *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1025

¹¹⁵ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, as quoted in Eva Marie Sanford, "Honorius, Presbyter and Scholasticus," 412. This passage is not present in the *Patrologia*.

¹¹⁶ Cf. *Speculum Ecclesiae*, PL172:830B.

style crafting images before the mental eyes of the reader and leading them into a reflexive cycle of meditation that generates progressively more complex and meaningful images.

Like all of Honorius's stylistic choices, the primary arena in which his ekphrasis operates upon the reader is within the memory. He explicitly recognizes the mnemotechnical power of vivid description in his "Sermo generalis," in which he describes the various duties of priests, judges, the rich, the poor, soldiers, merchants, farmers and married couples.¹¹⁷ Following each he inserts a story, generally with a particularly graphic account of the perils of not upholding those duties. The point of including these graphic stories is expressly commemorative. After the basic teachings have been outlined, he tells his audience that, "Lest the winds of oblivion remove this from your memory, let the chains of this image hold it fixed."¹¹⁸ Images are an anchor, a mnemonic place—by recounting them Honorius's teachings are "confirmed in your heart"¹¹⁹—to which doctrine and truth can be anchored. In his account of the duties of farmers, he describes the vision of an orphaned young woman; her father taciturn and hardworking, her mother lustful and frivolous. Meditating fitfully upon which example she ought to follow, she falls into a deep sleep and "a fiery presence" [*igneo aspectu*] appears before her, seizing her hand and dragging her to a beautiful field of flowers pervaded by heavenly smells and sounds of rejoicing. In its midst stands her father, who runs to her, takes her into his arms with tears of joy. Understandably, in the midst of such happiness reunited with her long-dead father, she wishes to remain, but Honorius tears our vision away from the heavenly field. The fiery specter steps back into the foreground, and:

Again the guide took her hand, and led her to see her mother. She looked down to the left into a deep valley filled with all horror, in which a furnace had been kindled, emitting

¹¹⁷ Incidentally, providing a window into his conception of the organization of society.

¹¹⁸ Ne autem vento oblivionis haec a memoria vestra tollantur, vinculo hujus exempli fixa teneantur. *Speculum Ecclesiae*, PL172:863D.

¹¹⁹ in cordibus vestris solidentur. *Speculum Ecclesiae*, PL172:865D

coils of fowls and putrid smoke. In this was her mother sunk all the way to the neck, and serpents of fire embracing her sucked her breasts. Loathsome spirits stood above and pushed her into the vortex of flame with iron forks. Looking up she perceived her daughter and with a great shout cried out: “Daughter, sweetest daughter, help your miserable mother now. Remember the pain which I had when I birthed you. Remember with what care I nourished you. I never showed you evil. For a diversion I carried on fornication and adultery. Now for these they contrive ineffable torments for me. Despise not the tears of your miserable mother, but extend your hand and lead me from this lake of misery.” But she, having been moved by this cry, was dissolved into tears.¹²⁰

Her guide releases her, and she awakes in bed. Profoundly moved by her inability to help her mother, the young woman becomes a nun, so as to remove all doubt of reunion with her father.

The vividness of hell, described at far greater length and with considerably more detail than the pleasant sweetness of the heavenly field, conveys a sense of almost bewildering horror. The protagonist is wreathed in flames and stench, disoriented by the shifts in perspective. She stands looking down into a deep valley, yet her mother is close enough to see clearly, close enough to reach out and touch, and yet—unlike her father—unreachable. Hell is imprinted on the listener’s mind as a place of despair, confusion and loneliness; heaven a land of placidity, simple joy, and reunion with our loved ones. More, the character of each parent’s life directly reflects their place in the afterlife. The loud, restless seeking of the mother lands her in the clamor and confusion of hell, while the quiet perseverance of the father prefigures the calmness and peace of heaven, and this prefiguration extends to the monastery, the one place where one can work with no doubt that it will result in the father’s reward. With this, Honorius fixes a

¹²⁰ Porro ductor manum ejus tenuit, et eam ad videndam matrem perduxit. Quae ad laevam prospexit vallem profundissimam omni horrore plenissimam, in qua erat fornax succensa, emittens tetri ac putridi fumi volumina. In hac erat mater ejus usque ad collum dimersa, et ignei serpentes eam circumplexi suxerunt ejus praecordia. Tetri spiritus superastabant, et eam cum furcis ferreis in flammae vorticem trudebant. Quae suspiciens filiam cognovit et magno ejulatu vociferavit: “Filia, filia dulcissima, nunc miseram matrem tuam adjuva. Recordare doloris quem habui quando te genui. Memento quali te cura nutrivi. Numquam tibi malum exhibui. Pro ludo duxi fornicationes et adulteria. Nunc pro his invenerunt me tormenta ineffabilia. Ne despicias lacrimas matris tuae miserae, sed extende manum et educ me de lacu miseriae.” Illa autem, clamore illius permota, in fletum est soluta. *Speculum Ecclesiae*, PL172:867A-B.

moral call to peace, hard work, and, ultimately, the cloister alongside the vivid consequences of departing from this path within the mind of his readers.

Images which offer ready-made systems of classification and which are easily divisible into component parts are especially useful as mnemonic tools. Thus, for instance, Honorius's description of the Church as a body:

As the body cleaves to the head, and by it is ruled, thus the Church through the sacrament of his body is joined to Christ; indeed, the body is made one with him: by him all the just are governed in their right place, as limbs by the head. The eyes of this head are the prophets, who foresaw the future: and they also are the Apostles, who have led others from the way of error to the light of justice. The ears are the obedient, the nose the discrete. The phlegm, which through the nose is ejected, are heretics, who by the judgement of the discrete are blown out of the head of Christ. The mouth is the doctors. The teeth are the expositors of Sacred Scripture, the hands the defenders of the Church. The feet are the farmers feeding the Church. Finally, the shit which is expelled from the belly of pigs, are the impure and immoderate ministers of the altar and the other evildoers within the Church, who burden the stomach of mother Church, whom, voided through death, demons, like pigs, devour. Thus the whole body is joined together into one by the union of truth and charity.¹²¹

The Scriptural resonances of this image were surely obvious to Honorius's readers. The image thus served as an elaboration of Paul's metaphor from 1 Corinthians, expanding out of a passage likely already built into a web of associations within the reader's mind, demonstrating Honorius's proclivity for erecting mnemonic structures upon Scripture and enhancing the pervasive sense in his writings of a deeper truth unfolding outwards from a Scriptural wrapping. The divisibility and expandability of the image allows it to serve as a sort of meta-image, containing within it sub-images which can themselves be used as anchors themselves, with their

¹²¹ Ut corpus capiti inhaeret et ab eo regitur, ita Ecclesia per sacramentum corporis Christi ei conjungitur; imo unum cum eo corpus efficitur: a quo omnes justi in suo ordine, ut membra a capite, gubernantur. Cujus capitis oculi sunt prophetae, qui futura praeviderunt; sunt et apostoli, qui alios de via erroris ad lumen justitiae deduxerunt. Aures, sunt obedientes. Nares, discreti. Phlegma, quod per nares ejicitur, haeretici, qui judicio discretorum de capite Christo emunguntur. Os sunt doctores. Dentes, sacrae scripturae expositors. Manus, Ecclesiae defensores. Pedes, agricolae, Ecclesiam pascentes. Porro fimus, qui de ventre porcis egreditur, sunt immundi et alii intfa Ecclesiam facinorosi, qui ventrem matris Ecclesiae onerant, quos per mortis egestionem daemones, ut porci, devorant. Quod totum corpus compage caritatis in unum conglutinatur. *Elucidarium*, I.Q179, p. 393-4.

own unique associative chains, or as containers for further subdivisions, hands into fingers, mouths into teeth. Each part of the body also carries with it native associations that allow the reader to understand the functions of the various members of the Church, even when these are not explicitly detailed. We do not need to be told that the obedient are the ears because they listen. The connection is obvious as given. The scatological association of bad priests with excrement also lends itself to easy remembrance. The humorous character of the image leaves a more vivid mark in the mind of the reader, while also inextricably linking unworthy priests to all the myriad associations one might have with feces.

Humor is an effective means of securing anchor images in the memory, but Honorius appears to consider terror even more effective, as witnessed by his repeated rich depictions of Hell and violence. These often have a synesthetic character and are examples of ekphrasis, which seeks to affix the image not only before our interior eyes, but before the ears, nose, and mouth of the mind as well. In Honorius' description of Hell in the *Imago mundi*, he describes hell as a land of darkness, obscured by "a fog of foulness" that mirrors the fact that those inside have forgotten God, and in turn been forgotten by Him. The vast pit of hell resounds with weeping and the gnashing of teeth, and fiery worms and dragons fill the abyss. It belches stench and heat, next to which earthly fire is but a shadow.¹²² We are wholly drawn into the image, pulled to an

¹²² Hic et stagnum ignis dicitur, quia ut lapis mari ita animae illic inmerguntur. Hic terra tenebrosa vocatur, quia fumo et fetoris nebula obscuratur. Hic terra oblivionis nuncupatur, quia sicut ipsi obliti sunt Dei, ita eorum obliviscitur Deus misereri. Hic dicitur tartarus ab horrore, et tremore, quia ibi est fletus et stridor dentium. Hic et gehenna, terra ignis nominatur. Ge enim terra dicitur. Cuius ignis noster ignis umbra esse perhibetur. Huius profunditas et recessus dicitur erebus, draconibus et igneis vermibus plenus. Huius patens os dicitur baratrum, quasi atra vorago. Huius loca fetorem exhalantia dicuntur acheronta, id est spiracula, scilicet immundos spiritus emittentia. Hic etiam stix, quod Grece sonat tristitia dicitur. Flegeton est fluvius infernalis, ob vicinitatem ignis et sulphuris fetore et odore horribilis. *Imago mundi*, I.37, p. 67. It is worth noting the major source of this passage is not Bede's *De natura rerum*, Isidore's *Etymologies*, or any other encyclopedic text. Instead, Honorius draws here from Haimo's commentary on the Apocalypse and the anonymous, fourth century *Visio Pauli*, an apocalyptic text which enjoyed wide circulation throughout the Latin west influencing even Dante's description of hell (*The Divine Comedy*, trans. Allen Mandelbaum (New York: Everyman's Library, 1995), p. 547), from which he draws appropriately terrifying visuals. *Imago mundi*, 67 fn. 37.

image of Hell that cannot but inspire feelings of terror and revulsion. This imagery then leaves a double-sided associative mark on our memories. The idea of Hell summons fear and disgust, and fear and disgust summon images of Hell. It is even more striking that this description is found in an encyclopedia entry, where we might not expect to encounter such vividness or to have stench, weeping, or visions of fiery worms pulled before our eyes. Indeed, the passage appears constructed to engender a sense of panic, which drives the reader into the relatively prosaic entries of oceans, rivers, and lakes which follow his description of the inferno. Honorius himself seems to step into the forefront as a guide through his encyclopedia, and having examined the terrifying fires of Hell, he takes our hand, “let us flee to the cooling refreshment of the waters.”¹²³

The same deep mnemonic impression might be accomplished in a positive sense through depictions of the joys of heaven. We see in a typically ecstatic description within the *Elucidarium* that, in heaven, sight predominates, “O what pleasure of sight they themselves will have, who thus will see with closed eyes as much as opened.”¹²⁴ The other senses are not woven through Honorius’s images, as in his description of Hell, but calmly dealt with in turn, and generally briefly. The images themselves, though profuse, convey none of the bewilderment and

Perhaps the best example of the effect this sort of image might have on the viewer is captured in Umberto Eco’s *The Name of the Rose*, in Adso’s encounter with the doorway of the abbey. Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose*, trans. William Weaver (Boston: Mariner Books, 2014) 40ff.

¹²³ Ignea inferni loca inspeximus, ad refrigerium aquarum confugiamus. *Imago mundi*, 37, p. 67.

¹²⁴ O qualem voluptatem visus ipsi habebunt, qui ita clausis quam apertis oculis videbunt! Quibus singular membra ut oculus solis erunt, qui regem gloriae in decore suo cernent, omnes angelos et omnes sanctos interius et exterius conspicient, gloriam Dei, gloriam angelorum, gloriam patriarcharum, gloriam prophetarum, gloriam apostolorum, gloriam martyrum, gloriam confessorum, gloriam virginum, gloriam omnium sanctorum videbunt, suos oculos, suas facies, omnia membra sua interius et exterius cernent, cogitationes singulorum intuebuntur, omnia quae sunt in novo caelo et in nova terra contemplantur, inimicos suos, qui se olim afflixerunt, jugiter in inferno videbunt et de his omnibus ineffabiliter gaudebunt. . . O quam magna dulcedo dulcedinis divitiarum, ubi in gudio Domini super omnia bona sua constituentur! Ecce tales sunt deliciae beatorum. Moysi sanitas illis esset infirmitas. Salus autem illorum a Domino, quos, si temptares impetere ferro, non plus posses nocere quam radium solis nunc secare. Talis est sanitas sanctorum. Malthusalae longaevitas esset illis prolixae mortis difficultas, quos mors et dolor fugiunt et qui in perpetuum vivunt. *Elucidarium*, III.Q106, p. 469-70.

chaos of the Hell found in the “Sermon generalis”. There we saw movement, vortexes and furnaces belching smoke which obscured our vision as they choked us with putrid fumes. In heaven, however, there is great clarity. Our sight is unimpeded, able to penetrate even the bodies of the saints and angels to see them within and without. Even the sight of the flames of Hell, so terrifying in the *Imago mundi* in the *Speculum Ecclesiae* and earlier in the *Elucidarium* itself, are transformed into a source of joy in the eyes of the blessed. In this image, we also witness the communal character of heaven. We do not see a landscape; there is no valley to peer into, no rivers emitting foul odors but instead other people, heroes of the Church, of the stories with which his audience was undoubtedly well familiar. In heaven, we find such health that the health of Moses seems to be infirmity, such longevity that Methuselah’s life seems to be nothing but death, and these mentions of Moses and Methuselah provide another reference point to allow the reader to construct their mnemonic vision of heaven. Note also that this construction involves the surpassing of the greatest conceivable image of health, the greatest conceivable image of longevity. The marvel engendered by the profusion of images reaches its pinnacle in these comparisons which shove us past our conception into a realization that heaven outstrips our ability to conceive at all.

Ekphrastic constructions also often serve as interpretive frameworks, for the exegesis of Scripture or the understanding of specific doctrines. These constructions often operate on the level of a single passage, as we see in the *Sigillum*:

King Solomon has made him a litter. Christ the true king of peace made him a litter, that is, a bed for a feast, of the wood of Libanus. That is, he chose the Virgin from among patriarchs and kings, in whom he reclined as in a bed placed for a feast, because the faithful feast on flesh, which he took from the Virgin. Its pillars he made of silver. The columns by which the life of the Virgin is upheld are the Gospels written of her, which are of silvery truth, meaning shiny forth and resounding with preaching. The seat of gold. This was the body of the Lord taken from her, upon which divinity reclined. This was of gold, meaning adorned with wisdom and charity. For the Virgin herself was the seat, in

whose womb Christ reclined; it was of gold because it shone with the splendor of chastity. The going up of ascent was purple. This was the holy cross, on which, by his suffering, her Son made an ascent for us to heaven. The midst he covered with charity, that is, he filled his public life with the sweetness of charity for the daughters of Jerusalem, that is, for the imitation of the faithful.¹²⁵

Here we glimpse the symbolic richness of Honorius's use of images. In this single, ornate image are concealed the truths of the virgin birth, the Incarnation, the sacrifice on the Cross, the Eucharist, Christ's deeds on Earth, the virtue of chastity, instructions for how to save one's soul, and the Resurrection. It is a veritable primer of Christian teaching encoded in a visual image where every element resonates with meaning and is woven into Scripture. With the image in our minds, an encounter with this passage liturgically—Honorius is expressly offering an explanation for the selection of specific liturgical texts for the feast of the Assumption in the *Sigillum*—or in the course of the *lectio* cues the beautifully adorned image of Christ's litter, each element thereof heavy with meaning and a further incitement to remembrance. Moreover, images of this sort communicate and emphasize the conception key to Honorius's understanding of God's revelation, whether in Scripture or creation, every part of that revelation contains the fullness of God's presence and, therefore, must be revelatory of the whole truth of God's self-manifestation to creation. Consequently, Honorius's presentation of images like Christ's litter not only enable us to recognize truths lying latent behind the words Scripture but also act as a model for our contemplative encounter with reality as a whole, a model which we can attempt to emulate and embody in our own meditation. The more we turn over and explore an image such

¹²⁵ Ferculum fecit sibi rex Salomon, Christus, verus rex pacificus, fecit sibi ferculum, id est lectum ad convivium, de lignis Libani, id est ex patriarchis et regibus Virginem elegit; in qua ut in lecto recubuit ipse positus ad convivium; quia fideles de carne, quam de Virgine sumpsit, epulantur. Columnas ejus fecit argenteas. Columnae quibus fulcitur Virginis vita sunt quatuor Evangelia de ea scripta, quae sunt argentea veritate, videlicet nitida et praedicatione sonora. Reclinatorium aureum, hoc fuit corpus Dominicum de ea sumptum; in quod divinitas se reclinavit. Quod fuit aureum, scilicet sapientia et charitate ornatum. Ipsa etiam Virgo fuit reclinatorium, in cuius Christus se reclinavit uterum; aureum, splendore castitatis fulgidum. Ascensum purpureum. Sancta crux fuit, in qua nobis Filius ejus sua passione ascensum ad coelos fecit. Media charitate constravit, id est communem vitam ejus dulcedine charitatis replevit, propter filias Jerusalem, id est ad imitationem fidelium. *Sigillum*, PL172:505A-C.

as Solomon's litter as elaborated by Honorius, the better grasp we have on the reality towards which that image points. Coupled with the sense of movement and direction provided by the image—one of circling around the central events of the life of Christ and the Virgin—this continual process of refining and remembering the pictures painted by Honorius's words is the mechanism which propels us upwards. The image, rightly conceived, is a machine, an engine, and this is made explicit by Honorius in his description of the siege tower of the *Cognitio vitae*.¹²⁶ The images he creates are thus conceived of as inherently active, mnemonic spurs towards the vision of God which remain present in the reader after the book has been closed.

The movement and active character of Honorius's images is not merely controlled by this meta-structure, however. Often, it is the content of the image, what precisely the words describe, and how they describe it which pushes our minds towards the contemplation of God. Consider, for example, the juxtaposition of wondrous opposites in the *Elucidarium*:

M. Therefore, just as those friends of God, happy beyond measure, will perennially glory in the Lord: thus on the contrary His enemies too, miserable and unhappy beyond measure, will be tortured always and, just as the former are adorned with the greatest beauty, thus the latter are defiled by the greatest horror...Just as the former obtain sacred freedom, thus the latter are oppressed by anxious servitude. Just as the former are delighted by boundless pleasure, thus the latter are made bitter by boundless misery...

D. O marvelous opposition! Just as the joys of those are inconceivable and unspeakable, thus the pain of these are incomparable and ineffable.¹²⁷

The rapid vacillation between delight and misery whips the reader between emotional states, generating wonder in the twinned incomprehensibility of reward and punishment in the afterlife.

¹²⁶ *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1022.

¹²⁷ D. Ita replesti cor meum gaudio, quod pene vidi faciem Domini in nubilo raptus in caeli gremio. Idcirco laetor super eloquia tua sicut qui invenit spolia multa. M. Sicut igitur hi amici Dei nimium felices perenniter in Domino gloriabuntur: ita, e contrario, inimici ejus nimium miseri et infelices jugiter cruciabantur et, sicut isti maximo decore illustrantur, ita illi maximo horrore deturpantur... Sicut isti augusta libertate potiuntur, ita illi anxia servitute opprimuntur. Sicut isti immensa voluptate deliciantur, ita illi immensa miseria amarificantur... D. O mirabilis contrarietas! Sicut illorum gaudia sunt inexcogitabilia et inedicibilia, ita istorum supplicia sunt incomparabilia et ineffabilia. *Elucidarium*, III.Q120, p. 475-6.

The interior rhyme of the passage further links heaven and hell together, joining them as a union of the starkest opposites, and thus more fully illuminating the nature of each. The freedom of the blest is just as incomprehensible as the servitude of the damned. Whichever is more readily accessible to his reader's mind becomes the template by which the other is understood, creating a self-reinforcing loop that pushes them towards deeper and deeper contemplation of the twin fates of humanity in the next world. Together, they highlight the incredible scope of God's creation. It contains an ineffable depth and height, extending beyond the scope of our imagining in every direction, and consequently engendering reverence and wonder in the sheer diversity that it encompasses, wonder which further solidifies Honorius's teachings in the memory.¹²⁸

A similar phenomenon may be witnessed in Honorius's image of the cosmic zither.¹²⁹ There, the reader is stimulated both by the sweeping beauty of the image, the vision of universal harmony which it proclaims, and by the dialectical interplay of opposites. The contrast of good and evil, elevated and base, is rendered into fuel for the generation of wonder at the power of God as supreme artist able to make beautiful the apparently discordant elements of His creation. This cultivates both the emotional affect and the proper inclination of the reader, towards both the cosmic scale and towards God.

¹²⁸ Augustine too notes that the beauty of the universe is made more brilliant by the contrast of opposites, citing Paul in 2 Corinthians 6:7-10: "In the word of truth, in the power of God; by the armour of justice on the right hand and on the left; By honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report; as deceivers, and yet true; as unknown, and yet known; As dying, and behold we live; as chastised, and not killed; As sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as needy, yet enriching many; as having nothing, and possessing all things." Augustine, *City of God*, XI.18

¹²⁹ Summus namque opifex universitatem quasi magnam citharam condidit, in qua veluti varias chordas ad multiplices sonos reddendos posuit: dum universum suum opus in duo, vel duo sibi contraria distinxit. Spiritus enim et corpus quasi virilis et puerilis chorus gravem et acutum sonum reddunt, dum in natura dissentiunt, in essentia boni conveniunt...Similiter corporalia vocum discrimina imitantur, dum in varia genera, in varias species, in individua, in formas, in numeros separantur: quae omnia concorditer consonant, dum legem sibi insitam quasi tinnulos modulibus servant. Reciprocum sonum Spiritus et corpus, angelus et diabolus, coelum et infernus, ignis et aqua, aer et terra, dulce et amarum, molle et durum, et sic caetera in hunc modum. *LDQ*, PL172:1179B-D.

The sheer complexity and self-referential depth of many of Honorius's images push beyond the bounds of comprehensibility and thus stretch our mental abilities to the breaking point. These images act as engines precisely because of their ultimate impossibility. Honorius expounds on a portion of the first verse of the chapter 4 of the Song, "thy eyes are doves' eyes, besides what is hid within" with a bewilderingly complex, recursive, and self-referential spiral of images:

Your eyes are simple, like dove's eyes, who, beholding other birds, do not desire to tear them apart. Thus you, seeing young men, did not desire to join yourself with them in impure embraces. And without that which is hid within, namely charity. The eyes of the Virgin are the prophets, who long ago foreseeing her, prophesied much about her. Her eyes are the apostles, who made known to the people her glories and the miracles of her son. Who were of doves because full of the Holy Spirit they lived simply. Also this blessed Virgin herself is the eye of the dove, because, leading the way, she is the guide of the Church.¹³⁰

This sort of endless depth in which something as seemingly simple as a bird's eye contains within it, Mary's chastity, her love, the prophets and their prophesies, the apostles and their preaching about Christ, the apostolic life, the true, hidden nature of the Virgin Mary known to God alone and the Virgin who is herself the very dove's eyes which are being expounded upon is characteristic of Honorius's exegetical style. This engenderment of wonder in the near impossible to conceive endless pattern of revelation, made even more complex by the fact that Honorius will go on to offer a number of other conflicting interpretations of the eyes of the dove (to say nothing of the fact that he writes another, lengthier commentary on the Songs which offers still more) all of which are supposed to be remembered and ruminated upon, is as a direct

¹³⁰ Oculi tui simplices ut columbarum, quae alias aves contuentes non cupiunt eas dilacerare, ita tu videns juvenes non cupisti te eis per obscenos amplexus sociare. Absque eo quod intrinsecus latet, scilicet charitate. Oculi Virginis prophetae sunt, qui eam longe ante praevidentes, multa de ea praedixerunt. Oculi ejus apostoli sunt, qui ejus magnalia et filii sui miracula populo demonstraverunt. Qui columbarum fuerunt, quia Spiritu sancto pleni, simpliciter vixerunt. Ipsa etiam beata Virgo oculus est columbae, quia praevia dux est Ecclesiae. *Sigillum*, PL172:505D-506A.

consequence of his conviction that the divine cannot be known, cannot be communicated in any image, but can only be spoken about in “nods and gestures.”¹³¹ The very impossibility of these images, the very bewilderment generated by their inexhaustible multitude of seemingly contradictory meanings, is what, when ruminated on, drives us beyond the image and into the imageless *intellectus* of the vision of God.

Honorius thus enlists images to make apparent the imageless. His ekphrasis crafts the raw material for contemplation, discrete parts which can be combined and broken apart, re-arranged and explored within the reader’s memory. Each of these component parts is relatively familiar, something concrete that might be commonly encountered in daily life or in common artistic representations. Indeed, the success of his project relies on this familiarity. We may not be able to picture the whole of the world, but we can certainly imagine an egg, and the mnemonic associations we bring to that picture may be then marshalled in order to better form an image of, and thus better understand, the world.¹³² Images do not stand on their own. They are not self-explanatory, but rely on webs of meaning beyond the image and text describing that image.¹³³ By remapping these webs, always with an inclination inwards and upwards towards the divine, Honorius remaps the whole of our encounter with the cosmos, our basic apprehension of the familiar.

The impossibility and incomprehensibility which act as spurs to greater contemplation is not a characteristic of these discrete, familiar components from which Honorius builds his

¹³¹ *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1008.

¹³² *Imago mundi*, I.1, p. 49. This image was common in the Middle Ages, often tied to complex cosmological speculations as in Abelard, who uses the image of an egg to give a complex picture of creation, or Hildegard, who weaves the egg into a dynamic image of the universe as the turbulent union of spirit and matter. In comparison, Honorius’s discussion of the egg is extremely simple. He merely offers the image as a way to conceptualize the world as an oval, with the shell conforming to the heavens, the yolk the air, and the fat of the egg the earth. Dronke, *Fabula*, 79-99.

¹³³ Indeed, they must be so, else we would have no way of comprehending them. See for instance, Bernau, “Feeling thinking: Pearl’s ekphrastic imagination” in *The Art of Vision*, 107.

images but from the manner in which they are assembled. It is not the Apostles, but the Apostles as eyes which forces the reader to reconsider the image, to turn it over and over again in the mind in an attempt to make it visible before the inner eyes, and it is this process of combining and recombining, of falling into the reflexive cycle of contemplation within the theater of memory which is where the real meditative work is accomplished, in the space beyond and between the images and in the very process of forging mnemonic chains to tie anchor them within our memories. Each progression through the remembrance of an image imbues it with more meaning, more associations, more connections, and more doctrine. There is a sense of play intrinsic within this progression. A near inexhaustible procession of meaning might emerge from the examination of any constituent part of creation, awaiting only our recognition of the multifarious ways in which it connects to the greater whole. In this sense, Honorius's images express both the inexhaustible depths of God's revelation laying just beneath the appearances of material things and the supreme unity of all creation in reference to their Creator. The images circle back, refer to, and process outwards into each other precisely because they are all revelatory of a single truth which lies beyond our capability to grasp in full. The impossible character of the images, the sheer variety and depth they contain, reflects the nature of the cosmos itself. Honorius's ekphrasis therefore is, in a sense, the purest expression of the task to which he dedicates his entire career. He uses images and vivid description to render complex theological truths into packages which can be grasped even by the "infirm" who make up his ostensible audience, and these mnemonic packages contain within themselves, written into the very style with which Honorius writes, the seeds of their own unwrapping.

Chapter V - “Blessed is the word of your mouth, which led the Son of God to me.”

The time has arrived to step back from the detailed analyses of Honorius’s conception of priest and schoolmaster, his use of sources, his theological outlook, and his authorial method and to consider the disparate fruits of this analysis in conjunction with each other to allow for the emergence of a more comprehensive picture of the man. He is an author intensely concerned with unity, and therefore it is as a unity that we must consider him. Only then might we overcome and fully understand the resistance to classification that characterizes his works and comprehend his thought and place within the history of his era.

Thus, this chapter shall offer a brief recapitulation of the preceding chapters, drawing out their core insights while bringing those insights into conversation with the prevailing trends that Honorius both participated in and shaped. From there, we will be able to understand Honorius as a fundamentally *incarnational* thinker. The lens through which he understands the cosmos and everything in it, up to and including written revelation, is Christ’s incarnate nature. The Incarnation is the ultimate making present of God to His creation, the supreme revelation of the hidden depths of the divine in the material world, which acts as the lynchpin to the cosmos, uniting spiritual and material, effect and cause, God and man. Moreover, he is consciously acting in *imitatio Christi* in everything he writes and in every aspect of his self-representation to his audience. Acting in *imitatio Christi* for Honorius is, at its heart, revealing the hidden depths of God concealed within the material world, unlocking Scripture and the world so that his readers can penetrate the material exterior of things to the presence of the divine which lies latent within and, in so doing, uniting themselves with the divine. Imitating Christ, therefore, is a

pedagogical enterprise, teaching others by word and example, uniting Christ with His Church.¹

Honorius thus offers us a comprehensive vision of the cosmos as essentially incarnational and seeks to create a catalog to match, one which provides his readers everything necessary to know the universe and to pass beyond mere knowing to the understanding that hastens salvation.

This chapter will conclude with an evaluation of the success of his vision. For while Honorius was incredibly successful as an author and while later authors would make use of him in myriad ways—whether by adopting his authorial strategies, his turns of phrase, his theological conclusions, or by simply lifting whole passages from his works to include in their own—the integrity of his vision was lost. Ultimately, the religious culture of subsequent centuries was deeply marked by Honorius, but not, seemingly, in the way he intended, and his theological outlook, his methods, and the vision that he tirelessly advocated faded away into the disputations of the universities, the preaching of the mendicants, and the verses of the poets. As his vision faded, so too did Honorius, becoming an ephemeral presence in our intellectual histories, a figure oft-cited and rarely explored, condemned to paradoxical obscurity by the utility of his words and the loss of the culture which sustained them.

In any examination of Honorius's identity, we must recognize that this identity is self-curated. We know essentially nothing about him that is not found in his works. And admittedly, his works provide paltry evidence of his profession, his heritage, his schooling, or the geographical locus of his career. Similarly, his peers and later medieval authors shed little insight into Honorius as a person. He seems to have been a mystery to them as well, though they had access to and made enthusiastic use of his writings. He had a tendency even in the immediate

¹ *Docere verbo et exemplo* is a special theme of Honorius's commentary on the Song of Songs. Cf. *In cantica canticorum*, PL172:400B and 413B.

aftermath of his life to fade behind his words, to become just “the man who wrote the *Elucidarium* and the *Imago mundi*.”

In part, this obscurity may have been intentional. As evidence for this intentional effort to disguise himself, we have the expressed desire for anonymity in the *Elucidarium*, the possibility that “Honorius” is a pseudonym and that the *ecclesia Augustodunensis* of *De luminaribus* a sort of cypher, and his apparent renunciation of the wider world when he adopted the vows of an *inclusus*. Yet, the obscurity of his identity does not merely stem from our uncertainty regarding his profession and place. For even his works defy classification by virtue of their content. He seems neither to belong to any easily identifiable school nor to any of the intellectual traditions that are typically taken to dominate the era. Nor does he stand decisively outside those traditions, rather he draws on and is later drawn upon by virtually everyone. There are traces of Honorius everywhere, but a definite presence nowhere. Even the long-standing tradition that he was a student of Anselm has only ambiguous support. The first mention of a connection between the two men comes centuries after their deaths, and while there seems to be a definite affinity in their theological outlook and authorial methods, there is no concrete evidence that this affinity stems from a student-teacher relationship or any other form of direct contact between the two.

Despite this resistance, we do have scattered bits of evidence that allow us to discern some things about Honorius. The distribution of his manuscripts indicates a presence in southern Germany and England, a surmise supported by internal clues within his works. Similarly, the manuscripts regularly identify him as a monk, and the sympathies displayed in his writings, particularly his treatises on reform, seem to confirm this identification. In later manuscripts, there is also a tradition that he became an *inclusus*, though this designation in some ways only

deepens the fog that surrounds him, as the *inclusi* themselves were fairly mysterious. The term might describe any number of eremitical traditions, living a variety of different sorts of lives, from a second death walled in a cell within the bounds of a monastery to small communities living outside the bounds of traditional ecclesiastical arrangements to a lone forest hermitages. Finally, from his use of sources, the bounds of the historical sections of the final recension of the *Imago mundi*, and his own description of his *floruit* as being “under Henry V,” we know that his career spanned the opening four decades of the twelfth century, beginning shortly after Anselm’s publication of *Cur Deus homo* and ending sometime after 1139.²

Beyond these few hints we can pull from the manuscript tradition, the rest of our knowledge of Honorius’s career must derive from how he presents himself to us, particularly in the autobiographical passage that concludes *De luminaribus*. Here, he describes himself as priest and schoolmaster of the mysterious church Augustodunensis, the identity of which has been the subject of innumerable theories yet which remains a deeply frustrating enigma.³ As with so many aspects of Honorius’s biography, there are a legion of possibilities, a number of churches can quite plausibly claim the title “Augustodunensis” but none decisively. Thus, what is apparently our best clue as to the location of his career is simply another ephemeral fragment. However, there is more substance to his self-description as priest and schoolmaster. Honorius not only chooses to apply those designations to himself but dedicates a considerable portion of his catalog to outlining the character of an ideal priest and schoolmaster and presenting himself as one who has attained that ideal, particularly in the case of the latter.

² On his self-described *floruit*, see *De luminaribus*, PL172:232B-234A. On the terminus post quem, see Flint, *Imago Mundi*, 39.

³ *De luminaribus*, PL172:232B-234A.

This self-representation is not merely an authorial conceit or a means of shoring up Honorius's authority on controversial questions—though it does accomplish that—but rather is an engagement with the tumultuous currents of reform that coursed through the intellectual life of the twelfth century. When he outlines the ideal priest and the ideal schoolmaster, he is taking sides, though, as is his custom, he tends not to acknowledge this fact. Rather, he presents his own positions on the most pressing questions of the era—the relationship of secular and ecclesiastical power, the differentiation between the laity and the clergy, who ought to be responsible for the *cura animarum*, and how this duty ought to be discharged—as unimpeachable and uncontroversial, challenged only by madmen and fools.

The issue of secular authorities' relationship to the ecclesiastical hierarchy perhaps hit home, if he did indeed have a relationship with Anselm whose later career was peppered by conflicts with the English king, and because of his later residency in the Empire, where the flames of the Investiture Controversy still raged. Honorius takes an uncompromisingly pro-Papal stance in his writings, insisting that secular rulers have no power over the leadership of the Church and that, in fact, their own rule is entirely dependent on the sanction of the clergy. His argument is predominantly a historical one, calling on examples from Biblical, pagan, and Christian history to demonstrate the inherent superiority of priests to kings, and the necessity of religious sanction for right rule.⁴ In his schema, secular leaders are tasked with protecting the Church and the faithful, and those who fail in their duties are excommunicate, though not—he is careful to note—to be rebelled against.⁵ The disruption of the proper relationship between

⁴ *Summa gloria*, PL172:1268A.

⁵ *Summa gloria*, PL172:1267B-C.

authorities is a disruption of the very order of the cosmos, resulting in war, famine, and other disasters.⁶ The right ordering of society is thus of cosmic consequence.

So too is the proper moral conduct of priests. Wicked priests, just like wicked rulers, enrage God and bring calamity down upon their flocks. Their wickedness does not merely endanger the physical well-being of their subjects, but their souls as well, for Honorius places great importance on priests as guides for the salvation of the laity. This guidance encompasses three key and interlinked responsibilities, all directly contributing towards the salvation of both the laity and the priest himself: administering the sacraments; acting as moral exemplars; and protecting the people from spiritual enemies. The increased importance of the sacraments, particularly the Eucharist, was a major trend of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as the guidelines for Christian life were increasingly codified and regularized. Baptism, confession, and the Eucharist were highlighted by Honorius as vital to salvation, though he devotes relatively little attention to the first two. On the Eucharist, however, he has a good deal to say, writing a treatise on the subject, the *Eucharistion* that addressed basic questions that might trouble priests or their congregations regarding the sacrament, and he explores the symbolic resonances of the Eucharistic celebration in the *Gemma animae*. Within his reforming treatises and the *Elucidarium*, he also addresses what appear to be deep-seated anxieties about the status of the sacrament when administered by wicked priests: was the host, consecrated by the wicked, still able to lead the just to salvation?⁷

It is notable that Honorius's concerns regarding the Eucharist are predominantly practical. His discussions of the underlying theology are largely intended to assuage potential doubts on the subject, to respond to basic questions that the Church's position, so recently

⁶ Cf. *Offendiculum*, 47, p. 54-5.

⁷ Cf. *Offendiculum*, p. 38.

contested in the Lanfranc-Berengar controversy, might raise. For instance, “Whether the body of the Lord is one thing in the mouth of the good, another in the mouth of the wicked?”⁸ The deeper engagement with the meaning of the sacrament in the *Gemma animae* is dedicated not to shoring up doubts about the real presence, but rather towards allowing his readers to more fully understand the deeper allegorical and analogical meaning of the mass, carving paths in their minds that would lead them to contemplate heaven while they participated in liturgical celebrations.⁹ Eliminating doubts and answering nagging questions also aids in the contemplative process, leaving our minds free to recognize God’s presence untroubled by confusion. Therefore, we see in his writings on the Eucharist an epitome of Honorius’s broader pedagogical mission. In these writings, he sought to practically enact within his readers a process of anagogic engagement with the world in order to bring about contemplative union with God and, therefore, salvation. His efforts at reform are dedicated to creating a clergy that was able to accomplish this contemplative union and well-equipped to facilitate others’ journey towards the same end.

Of course, the laity could not hope to attain the vision of God at the same level of monks and the clergy, whose entire lives were dedicated to that attainment. For this reason, it was vital that priests serve as “lights” for their congregations, models who stirred others to sanctity by their example and, in a sense, pulled their community along with them on the path to heaven. The laity do not play a particularly active part in this process. Their duties are few, their lapses forgiven, and the disposition of their souls determined, in a large part, by the actions of priests on

⁸ *Utrum corpus Domini aliud sit in ore bonorum, aliud in ore malorum? Eucharistion*, PL172:1255A. The answer, incidentally, is “no.”

⁹ On Honorius’s conception of the Eucharist in the context of the broader debates of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 65-8.

their behalf. As a consequence, the moral character of the priesthood is of paramount importance not simply to the individual preacher, but to the whole community.

Honorius insists that priests must adhere to an essentially monastic moral ideal. Indeed, he goes so far as to suggest that priests who do not adhere to a rule are almost certainly unworthy to preach and administer the sacraments, thus effectively restricting responsibility for the *cura animarum* to regular canons and monks.¹⁰ This assertion represents Honorius's intervention in at least two major contemporary debates. The first is perhaps the central question around which the era's reform centered, the relation of priests to the laity.¹¹ Honorius insists on a strict and rigid distinction, one that configures priests as distinct in their duties, their moral code, their dress, and even their eventual status in heaven. These added responsibilities and restrictions do not come without their rewards. Priests are most emphatically not to be the first among equals or normal members of their community, but leaders whose education and moral conduct shines out like a beacon, cleansing the world.

The second debate into which Honorius enters with his conception of the priesthood is the role of monks specifically in the *cura animarum*. Here, he again makes a decisive intervention, both insisting on the right of monks to preach and administer the sacraments and, further, suggesting that they are uniquely suited to the task. Of course, it seems that he himself was a monk-priest and thus had a vested interest in ensuring that the Benedictines maintained their status as preachers. Much of his catalog is dedicated towards assisting them in this task, the *Gemma animae*, *Speculum ecclesiae*, *Eucharistion*, *Pabulum vitae*, and *Refectionem mentium*—a commentary on the liturgy, book of sermons, treatise on the eucharist and catalogs of feast days, respectively—are all explicitly directed towards the performance of liturgical duties.

¹⁰ *Quod monachis*, 147-8.

¹¹ This contention is the central argument of Jestice in *Wayward Monks*. See also, Bynum, *Jesus as Mother*, 9-14.

Meanwhile, his commentary on the Psalms and the twin commentaries on the Song of Songs also have obvious liturgical utility. To this list we might also add the *Elucidarium*, which answers basic theological questions that a priest might be expected to encounter in pastoral care and which was used widely as a preaching handbook and the treatises concerned with the reform of the priesthood.

Honorius's understanding of the monastery is not as a sealed off world onto itself, but an institution that, while it is to some degree removed from the world, has a fundamentally outward-facing mission. Monks are not merely responsible for their own salvation, but the salvation of others, and, moreover, it is by working for the salvation of others that they are able to better secure for themselves a place at the celestial feast.¹² His position is not simply an attempt to seize or safeguard already acquired prerogatives for monks, but an argument for a specific ideal of Benedictine monasticism that was far from shared among the masses or among the Benedictines themselves. Indeed, this question of what Benedictines' role was in the larger world was also deeply intertwined with other struggles, including the Investiture Controversy. The partisans of Henry IV, for example, argued that Gregory VII had failed in his duties as a monk by stirring up controversy with the Emperor and ambitiously seeking higher office. In so doing, he became a traitor to his vows, unworthy of attempting to usurp the rightful prerogatives of Imperial authorities.¹³ Ultimately, the black monks themselves abandoned the ideal Honorius championed, withdrawing into the monastery as the "big tent" of Benedictine monasticism contracted with the emergence of new orders.¹⁴ This contraction on the part of the Benedictines did not signal the death of Honorius's ideal, but its triumph in another arena, as the mendicant

¹² Cf. *Offendiculum*, 30, p. 48.

¹³ Jestice, *Wayward Monks*, 265-72.

¹⁴ Jestice, *Wayward Monks*, 283.

orders enthusiastically adopted the outward-facing monastic life and became the dominant religious movements of subsequent centuries—one could hardly find a more concise encapsulation of Honorius’s pedagogical outlook than the motto of the Dominicans, *contemplata aliis tradere*—finally eclipsing the Black Monks.

Although his ideal of reform focuses almost exclusively on the priesthood, it paradoxically generates a considerable incentive for the laity to concern themselves with the moral character of their priests. The insistence on necessity of moral reform for clergy, with emphasis on the catastrophic consequences of priestly immorality, and the relative lack of control possessed by the laity over their salvation seems to encourage that the laity be anything but passive in the actual struggle for reform. If the unchastity of priests imperiled the spiritual and physical health of the whole community, then it was certainly in the community’s interest to enforce the moral demands of reform. Moreover, Honorius encourages secular authorities, in their roles as defenders of the Church, to aid the religious arm in removing wicked priests and bishops from power.¹⁵ Thus, his vision of reform creates a dynamic that encourages the active solicitation of secular and ecclesiastical authorities to remove bad priests by the laity and encourages them to seek alternative routes to salvation if these methods are ineffective. And thus, just as the ideal of monks dedicated to the *cura animarum* would come to dominate the next century, although not in the manner in which Honorius envisioned, so too does lay piety and lay demands on the priesthood increase thanks to anxieties that his ideas might engender, ultimately undermining his ideal of a society united under the stable, peaceful dominance of the reformed priesthood.

¹⁵ *Summa gloria*, PL172:1264A-B.

A comparison can be made to the dissolution of the humanist program that similarly took place over the course of the twelfth century. Otten has argued that it was the strength of the humanist outlook in presenting a multi-layered picture of reality that ended up leading to the downfall of that outlook, as the increasing diversity of knowledge and specialization of disciplines undermined the humanist attempt to present a comprehensive, unified picture of the whole, no matter how multi-layered that picture was.¹⁶ Similarly, what we see in the loss of Honorius's vision is the inability of an outlook so heavily interconnected and dependent on unity to cope with the increasing diversity of experience outside the culture in which that vision was created. The appropriation of various individual elements of that vision by disparate groups only hastens the loss of the web of associations and presuppositions that sustained the whole, and his popularity ensured that different people would indeed seize upon these elements for their own reasons.¹⁷

The final element that Honorius stressed over and over again in his calls for reform of the priesthood was the need for priests to be well-educated. The importance of education was threefold. First, it enabled priests to properly administer the sacraments.¹⁸ Second, education enabled priests to recognize evil that might threaten their congregation. It was only the educated priest that would be able to identify heretics, pagans, and demons—the wolves that threatened to rend the souls of the faithful—and to preach against them. Without education, the priest was merely a “mute dog,” worthless for protecting his master's flock.¹⁹ Finally, the education of priests was instrumental in their service as exemplars for the populace. Education is a means by

¹⁶ this argument is summarized in Otten *From Paradise to Paradigm*, 9-44.

¹⁷ The diversity of orders that made use of Honorius during the twelfth century alone is eloquently demonstrate by Flint's catalogue of the surviving manuscripts in Flint, *Honorius*, 159-75.

¹⁸ Hence the Eucharistion answering questions such as whether wicked priests could consecrate the host and what would happen if it were dropped and consumed by dogs. *Eucharistion*, PL172:1253B-1254A and 1255B-C, respectively.

¹⁹ *Offendiculum*, 30, p. 48.

which we can escape the darkness of this world and attain our true homeland. The educated priest, having attained a foretaste of the Heavenly Jerusalem, shines brighter with the reflected light of that city, beckoning his flock to follow.

We see, therefore, that Honorius's mission is fundamentally a pedagogical one. He seeks to guide his readers to heaven and to situate them to help others on the same path, and the means for accomplishing this is education. While his self-identification as *scholasticus* in *De luminaribus* points to at least some tenure at a cathedral or monastic school, we have no other information on Honorius as an actual classroom teacher. Instead, his dominant mode of teaching is through his writings, in which he constantly seeks to embody himself as a teacher. This attempt at embodiment within the text, of capturing his magisterial voice in words, is most clearly glimpsed in his dialogues, where he explicitly renders himself as *magister* and his reader as *discipulus*.²⁰ Yet in the works that are not dialogues, this oral character remains, such as in the *Offendiculum*, in which he regularly steps aside to pose questions on behalf of the reader and to demand that they *audi* to his replies. Even in his encyclopedia, the *Imago mundi*, his asides give the impression of our being guided through a tour of the cosmos, being taken on a journey by a narrator, "we have flown through the air, now we ascend to the fire of the ether."²¹ Through his whole catalog, there is an ever-present sense of guidance, of being led by a teacher towards an endpoint, which is almost always heaven.

Any attempt at capturing the teacher's voice points to the transitional character of Honorius's pedagogy. He stands at an inflexion point between the predominantly oral learning of the previous centuries and the textual traditions that would come to dominate the twelfth century and beyond. Jaeger has likened this period to the Athens of Plato, transitioning from the

²⁰ Cf. the prologue of the *Inevitabile*. *Inevitabile*, lines 3-95, p. 229-38.

²¹ *Aerem transvolavimus, iam etheris ignem conscendamus*. *Imago mundi*, I, 71, p. 75.

oral teaching of Socrates and Gorgias to the written dialogues of their students.²² Honorius, like Plato, attempted to capture and re-present the oral charisma of the master teacher in written form, though in Honorius's case, this teacher appears to be himself or an idealized version of himself. Embedded in this desire to capture the charisma of the physically present teacher in a more permanent and disseminatable form is a two-fold impulse. The first is to pass on the content and experience of the classroom to a larger audience, one which was not able to attend the lectures of Anselm or consult the libraries of Bec. Honorius confronts the paucity of great teachers by presenting his readers with teachers in text, essentially copying his own presence and spreading it throughout the Latin world. His impulse to engage in the *cura animarum* leads him to expand his classroom beyond those who were able to speak to him directly and to anyone with access to his words.

The second impulse is to preserve and to stretch towards the eternal and thus replicate the motion of the cosmos towards God. By rendering the speech of the *magister* in text his words do not merely dissolve into the air, forever lost, but are retained and may be consulted again and again eventually becoming sealed into memory. And it is within the memory that words are able to be truly preserved, for it is in the mental realm that the thing itself exists without corruption.²³ By helping the reader pass from transient spoken words to still-transient though more permanent written words to the permanent words of memory and ultimately to the eternal words in the mind of God—the place of true understanding—Honorius leads him along the path of *reditus*, the path which both the individual soul and the cosmos as a whole must follow, from impermanence to eternity.

²² Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, 14.

²³ *LDQ*, PL172:1178C-1179A.

It can never be forgotten that it is the eternal reality that is the end-point of his educational program. The purpose of learning is salvation, to use it to any other end is to become “puffed up,” filled with pride that leads to damnation.²⁴ The program of education itself, outlined in his short treatise *De animae exsilio*, works through the liberal arts, first the trivium, then the quadrivium, before moving on to the mechanical arts—Honorius’s unique addition to the conventional path of learning—and finally terminates in the contemplation of Christ’s presence in Scripture and creation. Each stage of the educational journey is ultimately salvific in character. Mastery of the trivium trains the student to recognize the traces of God in creation, while to exercise the arts of the quadrivium is to actually engage in that recognition. The mechanical arts, seemingly out of place as the last stage of education, prove to be the means by which we enact the learning of the previous stages. Through *physica*, we heal like Christ. Through *mechanica*, we create art, mirroring the primordial artist, and by *economica*, we enter into contemplation of the order of the cosmos and the celestial hierarchies.

This last stage points to an important aspect of Honorius’s educational program, and indeed his writing in general, which is only passingly acknowledged but runs below the surface of the whole process, the imitation of Christ. The true understanding (*intellectus*) that lies at the endpoint of the path in *De animae exsilio* is ultimately a grasp of things as they exist in the mind of God, their true reality. The more we see these things within God’s mind, the more our own minds come to resemble God, and thus the more intimately united we become with Him. As we are embodied beings, and the things through which we see recognize God’s presence in creation are themselves material creation, what we ultimately come to model must be God as He entered most fully into the material world, Christ. It is not by accident that the final vision attained in *De*

²⁴ Cf. *Speculum Ecclesiae*, PL172:1085D-1086D.

animae exsilio is of Christ transfigured, clad in the shining, white robes of creation and Scripture.²⁵ Pedagogy ends in the vision of God made manifest in creation and in the dissemination of this vision to others. Moreover, this vision occurs within the intellect, the highest of our faculties and the aspect of the mental trilogy of memory, intellect, and will that Augustine identified as corresponding with the Son.²⁶ Thus, it is through and in the mirror of Christ within us that we ultimately see Him.

Honorius's educational program, and thus his conception of the *cura animarum* and his writings more generally, relies on the proper understanding and use of authorities. *De animae exsilio* makes this reliance especially obvious. Within each city of learning—corresponding to a specific art—the traveler is tutored by a specific authority, whether it is Boethius lecturing on music or Cicero on rhetoric. Similarly, in the *Elucidarium*, he tells us that the Christian faith itself rests on the pillars of authorities; prophets, apostles, sages, and teachers.²⁷ He poses himself as a mere compiler, an assembler and simplifier of the illustrious authorities of the past. The disclaimer that concludes his commentary on the Psalms, “nothing in this work is mine except the work alone, but the opinions are of the saints,” is typical of his attitude.²⁸ His works are as a consequence largely composed of direct quotes from a wide sampling of authors—most commonly Augustine, Bede, and the Carolingians—densely layered and often modified to fit his rhyme schemes. This patchwork style has led to accusations of unoriginality, that his works are nothing more than *florilegia* with a dash of authorial style, and that even this style is ultimately only in service of simplification, of stripping away nuance from his betters.

²⁵ *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1246A.

²⁶ Cf. Augustine, *On the Trinity*, XV, 6, 21.

²⁷ *Elucidarium*, prologus, p. 359.

²⁸ in hoc opere nihil esse meum praeter solum laborem, sententias autem esse sanctorum. *In Psalmos*, PL172:312B.

Yet, even the clumsiest synthesis involves creation and originality. The choices of which authorities to use, when they are used, how they are counterpoised with each other, and what positions they are used to support are all essentially creative choices, choices which allow the author to espouse their unique theological vision. Furthermore, the patchwork method grants imprimatur to controversial opinions. Honorius's own opinions on the hierarchy of angels might be rejected or challenged, but when that opinion is rendered in the words of Gregory the Great or Augustine or, better yet, the two combined? This use of sources whose orthodoxy is unchallenged to espouse controversial theological positions is most obvious in his use of Augustine's words to advocate Eriugena's thought. This use of Augustine need not signal a cynical motive on Honorius's part. He certainly seems to view Eriugena as an authoritative interpreter of Augustine, particularly on creation, and his use of Augustinian passages chosen with an eye towards Eriugena's thought may stem from this alone. However, these choices certainly have the effect of naturalizing Eriugena's controversial understanding of Augustine, and disseminating in a manner which avoided the odor of heresy that attended Eriugena's thought during the period.²⁹

Finally, Honorius is anything but clumsy in his use of sources. His erudition is vast, and his selective layering of authorities fiendishly complex, so much so that it can be difficult to unpack just who he is relying on for a given opinion, particularly since he only rarely cites his sources.³⁰ In his reliance on authorities, Honorius is, of course, not unique. It would be centuries before novelty in thought would become valued. However, during the time in which he wrote, the proliferation of texts and readers led to shifting understandings of authority and more comprehensive attempts to outline both who these authorities are and their relationship to each

²⁹ On Honorius's use of Eriugena, see above, 86-93.

³⁰ See the discussion of his layering of sources in Hannam, *Inevitable*, 117-124.

other. Honorius addresses the former with his encyclopedic catalog of Church authors, *De luminaribus*. Any author contained within the catalog was an authority, any work cited as theirs authentic. *De luminaribus* offers very little suggestion of any hierarchy among the authors of the Church, thereby illustrating Honorius's fundamental conviction that underlies his understanding of how authorities, including Scripture, related to one another. For Honorius, there was no need to establish a hierarchy among the doctors who had produced the writings of the Church, because it was simply impossible that these doctors conflicted. Nor could the writings of these doctors conflict with Scriptural authority or, ultimately, with reason.

If authorities cannot conflict, then each succeeding author's task is essentially one of eliminating confusion, demonstrating to the simple where their reasoning has gone astray, harmonizing the positions of the doctors, and demonstrating that this harmonization is rational. Moreover, the conviction that the apparent diversity of opinion masks a deeper unity and that recapturing this unity is a fundamental intellectual task reflects Honorius's understanding of the cosmos and the course of history more broadly. Creation itself derives from a unitary source, proceeds into apparent disunity that conceals an underlying harmony, and will eventually process back into unity with its source. Honorius's approach to authorities is essentially this process in miniature. Specifically, revelation was passed on through the words of Scripture, or the writings of the great doctors of the Church might appear to differ due to the limitations of language and the failures of our understanding. Yet, with the proper education, the proper guiding hand, Honorius's hand, we can be led back to the ultimate truth, God. His attitude on this question is indicative of the unity of his vision, and the degree to which his theological outlooks is a comprehensive one, extending to and shaping all areas of his thought and action. He understands the order and character to be recapitulated in the writings of the doctors, both express the same

truth and in the same essential manner. In turn, we gain true insight into these texts in the same manner, by processing from apparent disharmony in material manifestations to unity in God. This movement, finally, mirrors the movement of the soul from the world towards God and the ultimate *reditus* of the human race as a whole.

Honorius ultimately insists that written authority is itself simply a manifestation of reason. The doctors simply wrote down the conclusions of reason, while Scripture is the premier written revelation of Reason itself: “Nothing else is an authority except truth which is proved through reason”³¹ The source of the truth revealed by reason is unitary, God, and the differing instantiations of this truth are concessions to our abilities, which have been crippled by sin. Despite fixing the blame for apparent disagreement squarely on the reader’s limitations, it is a profoundly optimistic view. Truth lies open to the operations of reason and is readily available to even “tardy” intellects, given careful guidance and a hermeneutic that takes as its fundamental presupposition the denial of the possibility of disagreement. Even those without access to books are able to access the fullness of Christian doctrine, and we might understand the efforts of Anselm to grasp God, *sola ratione*, therefore, as in part an effort to address this lack and as stemming from the same intuition of the relation between reason and authority that Honorius advocates.³² We find this attitude as well in Honorius other great intellectual influence, Eriugena, who expresses the same attitude towards reason and authority and who works tirelessly to synthesize the writings of the Greek and Latin fathers, never allowing Maximus to disagree with Augustine or Gregory of Nyssa with Gregory the Great.³³

³¹ Nihil est aliud auctoritas, quam per rationem probata veritas, *LOQ*, PL172:1185B.

³² Healy-Varley, *Anselm’s Fictions*, 27.

³³ Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, CCCM161, 69. Perhaps the most striking distinction between the harmonizing strategies of the two authors is Honorius’s reluctance to cite authorities. The essential unity of Christian truth is further emphasized in his writings by its presentation as not the teaching of this or that doctor, but simply as the truth. See the fuller discussion of Eriugena and Honorius’s understanding of reason above, 103-12.

This understanding of reason, revelation, and authority had a long pedigree, and was nurtured in the intellectual culture of the Benedictine order, fed by the *lectio divina* that constantly sought the presence of God in the written word. It is thus no surprise that we find this ideal in Anselm, perhaps the greatest exemplar of Benedictine spirituality, and in Honorius, whose approach to the *cura animarum* sought to export the world of the monastery to the world as a whole.³⁴ However, the sustainability of this ideal outside of the monastery was tenuous. Without the firm commitment to the impossibility of disagreement, it was difficult to justify the often extensive interpretive work necessary to harmonize apparently disparate authorities, particularly if the anagogic end wherein this process of harmonization led to the contemplative vision of God was not at the forefront of the reader's mind. Thus, we see in Abelard the famous juxtaposition of authorities, without an attempt to synthesize their positions, and eventually the development of the scholastic method in which certain authorities were deemed correct on certain points and misinformed on others.

Honorius's conception of reason and authority also leaves open the question of what exactly is the Christian truth towards which our efforts at harmonization are directed. He presents his conclusions as self-evident and uncontroversial, disputed only by the mad, but they are, of course, anything but. In the absence of a shared communal hermeneutic, of the sort that might be found in a single monastic community or among the students of a single teacher, the question of why a certain harmonization is preferable to any other is left unresolved. As lines of communication between intellectual communities flourished, so too did areas of disagreement

³⁴ Illich argues that Hugh of St. Victor likewise attempted to capture the dynamics of monastic reading in his works (Illich, *The Vineyard of the Text* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 51-65). Indeed, the two authors can be seen as approaching the same question from slightly different angles, with the differences largely stemming from Honorius's adherence to Eriugena's view of creation. For him, the works of creation and restoration cannot ultimately be distinguished, and thanks to God's supreme immanence in the theophanic cosmos, the world is even more of an active participant in the *reditus* of the individual soul and creation itself to God.

and they spilled outside of the monastery, into the intellectual conflicts in which figures like Abelard cut their teeth. The bluff confidence of Honorius simply could not be sustained in the face of such turmoil, at least not amongst the intellectual elite, while the interpretive work of harmonization was beyond the less sophisticated.³⁵ In the case of the latter, Honorius's simple answers might suffice, but it was not a method designed to easily confront new questions.

It is not only within the written word or in the disclosures of reason, however, that the truth is captured. There is a second arena in which God makes Himself evident to His creatures, in creation. Creation is a theophany, one which offers us the most ever-present instance of God's revelation. Here too, we must "read" to penetrate the visible wrappings that veil the hidden core of the divine lurking within. His articulation of a theophanic cosmos is one of the more notable aspects of his theology, for it is in this articulation he makes explicit a long dominant view of the universe that runs throughout the thought of the Middle Ages.

Drawing heavily on Eriugena, whom he takes to be a master exegete of Genesis—he is a man, "in Scripture most remarkably learned"—and thus the one who offers the key to nature's secrets, Honorius describes creation as the great original self-disclosure of God to created things.³⁶ The cosmos, as a whole and in its constituent parts, both make God manifest and apprehend that manifestation, particularly through the human mind. Creation on this account can be imagined as an infinite series of mirrors, all reflecting the light of the divine in an inexhaustible series that extends through both space and time. This light of the divinity that is the origin and end of the cosmos is most clearly revealed in the ordered, harmonious unity of the

³⁵ Godman details the struggles over what constituted authoritative teaching in the era, and particularly the dynamics of this debate as the culture of monastic learning extended beyond the cloister in *The Silent Masters*, 3-31.

³⁶ in *Scripturis insigniter eruditus De luminaribus*, PL172:222C. "Quod factum est, in ipso uita erat." In quo patet omnem creaturam semper fuisse visibilem in Dei praedestinatione, quae postea visibilis ipsi creaturae apparuit in creatione, *Elucidarium*, I.Q15, p. 263.

universe's individual elements, which together are likened to a great work of art—a song or painting. In its unity and harmony, the cosmos reveals not only the incomparable skill of its *opifex* but also the supreme unity and beauty of the Godhead of which it is a passing shadow.

Given the vast gulf between humanity and God and given the incorporeality of the divine, it is only through creation that we can catch a glimpse of the divine at all, “in what manner is [God] able to be understood? Through creatures.”³⁷ Even Scripture and reason are encompassed in the notion of seeing through creatures. The written word is a creation of a creation, and even when inspired by God, it is an ephemeral image of a hidden, eternal truth. The truth revealed in text must still be rooted through, chewed upon to attain the sweetness within. Reason too, though it strains towards the divine in the fleeting flashes of contemplative insight, is bound by the limitations inherent to created things. True understanding is not inherent within us, but a gift from above, given sparingly and only received in part. Just at the moments in which we seem to attain the object of reason's grasping, the vision of God slips like wind through our fingers and we crash back down into the material world.³⁸

Creation, as the image of Christ transfigured implies, does not exist as a separate sphere of revelation, a theophany disconnected somehow from the revelation expressed through Scripture—and thus through reason and the writings of the doctors. Instead, it exists on a single continuum of God's self-disclosure, united to the other means of revelation, and understood by us in the same manner. There is an optimism in this conception similar to Honorius's attitude towards authorities, what Chenu has called his “cosmic optimism.”³⁹ Creation lies open to rational investigation and this investigation cannot but lead us to the Creator. Indeed, the

³⁷ Et quomodo potest intelligi? Per creaturam. *De anima*, 254.

³⁸ *Cognitio Vitae*, PL40:1012-3.

³⁹ Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, 83-4.

universe was designed for just this purpose, it is a corrective for the distance between humanity and God and the deleterious effects of sin. This optimism precludes the possibility, for Honorius, of nature as an independent, active force, as a mediator of God's power in the world. God is so apparent in the working of Creation and that working so obvious to the investigations of the rational mind that there is no need of an intermediary. Here especially we see Eriugena's influence on Honorius's thought, for he retains the Carolingian's extreme emphasis on God's immanence even in the face of scandal: "Therefore this scandalizes the weak intellect, and having been silenced it ponders to himself. If everything is in God, consequently wolves and serpents and, indeed, demons are also in Him."⁴⁰ It is only in the breakdown of the optimism Honorius embodies, an apprehension of the distance between God and the material world that he simply does not possess, that we see nature take the stage as an independent figure. Just as it is only necessary for Lady Philosophy to appear when Boethius has forgotten who he is, so too *Natura* only enters when the providential hand of God is less apparent, when the connection between God's power expressed through the generation of new creatures and the stirrings of the seasons, wind, and rain, and the grand salvific economy of creation become obscured in the distance between our perception and the divine.⁴¹ Honorius is not, therefore, discovering nature as a new subject, but rather continuing to articulate an older conception. He is expressing the view implicit throughout virtually the whole sweep of the history of Christian thought and utterly integral to that thought of the analogy between creation and scripture.⁴² From the beginning,

⁴⁰ Hoc iterum infirmum intellectum scandalizat, et tacitus apud se volutat. Si cuncta in Deo sunt, ergo et lupi et serpentes imo et daemones in eo sunt, *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1020.

⁴¹ Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. V.E. Watts (London: Penguin Books, 1999), 6. Otten, *From Paradise to Paradigm*, 59-79.

⁴² Otten, *From Paradise to Paradigm*, 45.

theologians had understood creation to be an expression and revelation of God's salvific plan in the material.

The fact that Honorius does not see nature as a distinct figure possessing her own power and that he rather construes the cosmos as akin to a text, something to be read, does not mean that creation is somehow passive.⁴³ The theophanic procession of God's revelation into material actuality and the development of this actuality throughout history is fundamentally active. It has a purpose, an end, and works to achieve it. That purpose is human salvation, and in the salvation of mankind the cosmos is restored through the union of the microcosmos, that element of creation encompassing within itself all things, with its Creator. Creation is therefore an integral player in its own restoration. All creation from the highest stars to the most noxious insects constantly goad us towards spiritual perfection, "All things, therefore, are good and all were created for man."⁴⁴ Every individual creature is a salvific engine, driving the universal machine that strains to lift us from the contemplation of the material world towards the truth that lies veiled within it.

This truth is the vision of things as they truly are, as ideas within the mind of God. These ideas constitute the ultimate grounds for material creation, that which they reveal, and, more, the vision of them is not simply a glimpse of what they *are* but of what they *will be*. For the ideas in

⁴³ Indeed, text itself is never passive for Honorius.

⁴⁴ Omnia igitur bona et omnia propter hominem creata. *Elucidarium*, I.Q67, p. 373. See also the similar comments in which even the creation of the Devil is said to be good, and useful to humanity, in *De neocosmo*, Similiter quaeritur de serpentibus / uel aliis animantibus / quae sunt noctiua, et ideo putantur esse mala. / Sed sciendum est quod diabolus a Deo quidem bonus / sit creatus, / a se ipso autem in malum commutatus; / qui tamen aliquo modo dicitur bonus / quia in Dei republica comprobatur necessarius, / dum aduersarios Dei iuste punit uelut tortor crudelissimus. / Serpentes uero uel caetera animalia his similia / in hoc comprobantur bona, / quod iusta ab hominibus exigunt supplicia, / uel ad diuersas medicinas sunt utilia. *De neocosmo*, lines 395-408, p. 203-4. The position that Satan is good insofar as he has been created is not, of course, unique to Honorius (cf. Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, XI 20.27-21.28). However, his insistence that even the most reprehensible beings in the "republic of God" exist in order to aid in humanity's salvation, however, is representative of his anthropocentric, salvation driven view of the cosmos.

the mind of God are both the origin and reality of things as they exist in the here-and-now and their end, what they will become in the new creation. To pass beyond material things and to penetrate into the mind of God is transformative, for both the viewer and creation itself. In this vision, our minds come to better resemble God, retaining scraps of the divine depths within us. Our eventual union with Him is thus hastened, heaven becoming more present within us. The things themselves are also brought into closer union with God through this process. The mental picture we form of Rome simply is Rome, Rome as present within our minds, and thus to bring this image into contact with the divine archetype brings the earthly Rome along with it. The things that have processed away from God as they proceeded outward into material actuality are drawn back through the human mind, and we recapitulate the cosmic rhythm of salvation history in our own individual contemplative—salvific—efforts, restoring the effects to their cause.

Thus, at the center of the cosmos is the microcosmos, human nature. Honorius's universe is profoundly anthropocentric. More precisely, it is Christocentric, for the most perfect manifestation of human nature is in the God-man, and it is by the incarnate Word, by Christ, that humanity is restored. Christ is the central unifying axis through which the cosmos was created and by which material creation is unified with its Creator. Honorius never lets the cosmic character of the Incarnation slip away from our view, particularly in his sermons. In his sermon on Christmas, the mountains and earth rejoice at the coming of God, for through His advent they are reunited. The rebellion of the angels and the subsequent rebellion of humanity were both cosmic catastrophes, sundering the foundations of the universe, through the Incarnation the damage is repaired, creation restored.⁴⁵ In a *universitas* characterized by harmony and unity, the

⁴⁵ *Speculum ecclesiae*, PL172:815A-C.

Word is the basic harmonizing and unifying principle, that through which the original harmony was inaugurated and by which the disruptions to that harmony are ameliorated, order restored.

The Incarnation therefore becomes for Honorius the template and model of all reality, and of his own pedagogical enterprise. It is the hermeneutic by which he understands text, creation, humanity, and God's relation to the world. Unsurprisingly, this hermeneutic is most evident in his exegetical works. He writes, for instance, in the *Sigillum* that he will unlock the mysteries of the Song of Songs with the "key of David," held by the resurrected Christ in Revelation and explicitly identified as Christ in the "O Clavis" antiphon: "O Key of David and scepter of the House of Israel; / you open and no one can shut."⁴⁶ With this key, Honorius reveals the Song as a dialogue between Christ and His mother, between God and she who made God manifest in visual creation.

We see this dynamic of the hidden God becoming visible flowing throughout all of his thought. So, when we turn to the Psalms, we find that the blessed man of the first psalm is, of course, Christ, and that this is the only psalm without a title, because it is itself the title of all the subsequent psalms and because Christ Himself has no beginning. Recognizing that this psalm is the title of all others, the sun which illuminates the work to follow, is the key to understanding the book as a whole, "all the other psalms are opened through it, when all are understood about Christ."⁴⁷ It is only by recognizing that the Psalms sing of Christ that we are able to understand them and unlock the mysteries of Christ hidden within. He is both the starting and ending point for our reading. Moreover, the intent of the whole book is to exhort us to the imitation of Christ, that we might become one with Him.⁴⁸ Similarly, Moses's intention in Genesis is to narrate the

⁴⁶ *Sigillum*, PL172:496D. O Clavis David, et sceptrum domus Israel; / qui aperis, et nemo claudit

⁴⁷ quia omnes per eum aperiuntur, dum omnes de Christo intelliguntur. *In Psalmos*, PL172:274C.

⁴⁸ *In Psalmos*, PL172:271A.

story of creation and of the travails of the Patriarchs only insofar as they serve his true intent, to describe to us the restoration of humanity through the advent of the Song of God.⁴⁹ Scripture and by extension all the writings of authorities are ultimately all about Christ, for He is the truth towards which reason extends and from which revelation flows. The nature of these writings consequently takes on the nature of the Word incarnate. Their words act as an outer wrapping—an *involucrum*—over a hidden, eternal and divine core.⁵⁰

Similarly, creation is another material manifestation of the secret depths of God. The true reality of creatures lies in these depths. All things are ultimately ideas in the mind of God, and thus the visible cosmos too is an *involucrum*, a covering of materiality over divine truth that must be unlocked by careful exegesis, such as that which Honorius provides in the *Clavis physicae*. The vision, borrowed from Maximus by way of Eriugena, in *De anima exsilio* of Christ transfigured garbed in the twin robes of visible creation and scripture is therefore a synecdoche of his theological outlook.⁵¹ It is fitting that this image originates in Maximus, because in his profoundly incarnational mentality Honorius strongly resembles the seventh century Byzantine monk. Maximus, more than Eriugena through whom he encountered the Confessor, envisioned a cosmos pervaded by and modeled upon the incarnate Word, in which the diverse *logoi* of created things extended outward, mirroring their source in the supreme *Logos* and processing back into it as salvation history unfolds.⁵² Accordingly, Honorius seized on Eriugena's re-presentation of Maximus's thought in the *Periphyseon*, and in the *Clavis physicae* has a tendency to modify

⁴⁹ *De neocosmo*, lines 18-9, p. 176.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Sigillum*, PL172:495D and *In Psalmos*, PL172:269C where the mysteries of Scripture are expressly described as *involucra*.

⁵¹ It does not seem that Honorius had direct access to Maximus's writings, though it would not have been impossible for him to get his hands on the Byzantine author's writings, WO: how so, other than through Eriugena's translation, which he might have had, and there is some small evidence that Anselm had encountered Maximus. WO: what evidence, and would it also have been through Eriugena? Gasper, *Anselm of Canterbury and His Theological Inheritance*, 29.

⁵² Cf. Louth's account of Maximus's thought in Louth, *Maximus the Confessor* (London: Routledge, 1996), 63-74.

Eriugena's Trinitarian speculation by shifting their emphasis towards their incarnational, Maximian elements.⁵³ Interestingly, both authors also primarily detail their incarnational outlook in terms of *vision*, of seeing God. Honorius's preoccupation with vision is inescapable, while Maximus's most sustained and profound meditation on the cosmic character of the Incarnation comes in his tenth Ambiguum, which seeks to explain a passage from Gregory Nazianzen on the divinizing vision of the saints.⁵⁴ His concern with seeing God leads both authors to center their thoughts on the point at which God became visible, when He assumed flesh, and both see this moment as extending through time and space, shaping the whole of the cosmos.

This dedication to Christ pervades every level of Honorius's catalog, all of which can be seen as an exercise in *imitatio Christi*. For instance, Christ is the perfect priest, the model towards which all priests must strive.⁵⁵ He is also the perfect schoolmaster, who makes God most perfectly apparent to creatures.⁵⁶ Thus, Honorius's program of reform is one which ultimately aims towards forming his readers as models of Christ. The point of reform is to make each individual, whether clergy or lay, more like Christ, and thereby to bring them into union with Christ Himself. Recognizing this desire to imitate, and spread the imitation of, Christ as the fundamental driving impulse of his works allows us to make sense of virtually everything within them. It is why he focuses so much on creation, for it is in creation—the great theophany—that God first becomes manifest and where the grand drama of Christ's salvific mission begins. The model of the Incarnate Word also accounts for his interest in Mary, the human who made God

⁵³ Gersh, 171-2.

⁵⁴ Maximus, *On the Difficulties in the Church Fathers*, trans. Nicholas Constas (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), Ambiguum 10, 151-343.

⁵⁵ *Offendiculum*, 21, p. 44.

⁵⁶ *Cognitio vitae*, PL40:1025.

visible. She also, is the one who attained most perfect union with her creator and son, the height of contemplative vision, “excelling by far all the understanding of the angels.”⁵⁷ Less obviously, Honorius’s incarnational outlook also accounts for the encyclopedic character of many of his writings. The point of the medieval encyclopedia was to interpret God’s revelation in creation, as Rabanus Maurus—one of the most important sources for the *Imago mundi*—puts it in the introduction to *De natura rerum*:

Therefore, I judged that it be ordered thusly, that the prudent reader find set down continuously the literal and mystical explanation of individual things: and thus, could in a certain manner satisfy his desire by finding the manifestation of both the historical and allegorical.⁵⁸

So too, do we see the increased prominence of drama and dialogue, both hugely important aspects of Honorius’s catalog, in theological discourse, accompanying increased interest in Christ as specifically incarnate, as God made flesh. For it is only when God becomes man that we are united with Him, and thus able to enter into conversation with Him, to re-enact His life in drama.⁵⁹ Finally, his striking use of material images, his simplicity, and his focus on the visual all stem from his desire to allow his readers to see the divine. Through creation, through Scripture, and through Christ, God makes Himself visible to His creations, and Honorius understands himself as accomplishing this same task, leading his readers to the paths that will

⁵⁷ omnem intellectum angelorum longe excellere, *Sigillum*, PL172:504C. In her union with Christ, Mary is the most perfect of representative of humanity: perpetua virgo Maria in Christo excellentius excoluisse praedicatur, *Speculum ecclesiae*, PL172:991D.

⁵⁸ Quod idcirco ita ordinandum aestimavi, ut lector prudens continuatim positam inveniret historicam et mysticam singularum rerum explanationem: et sic satisfacere quodammodo posset suo desiderio, in quo et historiae et allegoriae inveniret manifestationem. Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, PL111:9B-C. For a fuller discussion of the the encyclopedia as guide to revelation in creation, see Mary Franklin-Brown, *Reading the World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 33-92.

⁵⁹ Kobialka traces the increased importance of drama in the twelfth century to the increased emphasis on Christ as incarnate in Anselm’s thought, arguing that it is Anselm’s attention to the human nature of Christ that allows the Crucifixion, and the life of Christ more generally, to pass from a distant historical event to an object of mimesis and recapitulation in the present. Kobialka, “Historic Time, Mythical Time, and Mimetic Time” *Medieval Perspectives* 3, no. 1 (Spring 1988), 176-186.

allow them to unlock the presence of God lurking within these fragments of revelation, whether in the words of the prophets or in the world around them.

Honorius's insistence that the truth of things lies in the mind of God and that the material is a veil alternatively obscuring and revealing this inner truth is not a rejection of the material. The visible world, though transient, is inextricably linked to the eternal. The spiritual and earthly realms cannot be disentangled to the exclusion and denigration of the material, for it is only in materiality that the spiritual can become apparent. In revealing Himself by creating and entering into His creation, God sanctifies material things, rendering every single element of the cosmos, from the lowest to the highest an inexhaustible sign of the divine, pregnant with meaning, and an active participant in the great cosmic drama. Accordingly, Honorius makes constant recourse to the material in his writings. His works are awash in vivid images, concrete language, and analogies to common items of experience. Seeking to mirror Christ, he strives constantly to make apparent the invisible God apparent in this world.

We cannot rest in the material, however. If the cosmos, the words of Scripture, the rituals of the Church, and everything that is are wrappings, then they must be unwrapped to obtain true happiness in God. Honorius diligently sets himself to the task of unwrapping these mysteries and to condition his readers to do so even in his absence. His dedication to this specific mission is often explicit, particularly in his prologues, which are littered with the language of revealing and unlocking.⁶⁰ Nature too is unlocked through the keys he provides. Fittingly, it is "because many things hidden by nature are unlocked in it.," that the *Clavis physicae* is so-titled.⁶¹ We also find that it is to this great task that the prophets, apostles, and later authors of the Church dedicated themselves. Thus, unearthing the secrets of Mary, taking away the veil which conceals

⁶⁰ Cf. *Sigillum*, PL172:495D-496D. *De neocosmo*, lines 7-8, p. 175-6. *Speculum ecclesiae*, PL172:818A.

⁶¹ quia plurima phisice abstrusa in eo reserantur *Clavis physicae*, 1, p. 3.

her and driving the reader towards contemplation of her Son, only continues their work.⁶² The secrets of Mary inevitably lead us to Christ, and Honorius has, mirroring Mary and Christ, made God visible to his readers. At every level his project is shaped in reference to Christ, and in every aspect, it points the reader toward Him.

Honorius marshals a number of practical tools to affect this unveiling in the minds of his readers, and these too point towards his incarnational outlook. The most prominent of these are rhyme, dialogue, and ekphrasis. In the case of the first two of these tools, he is, while not the first, one of the most enthusiastic adopters of them. In the case of prose rhyme, this is a new form, only just gaining prominence. With dialogue, he is an instrumental figure in the revival of a genre that had fallen into disuse. Both dialogue and rhyme would go on to become increasingly popular over the course of the twelfth century, and it is entirely reasonable to suggest that Honorius had a hand in this increase. He was, even if all his other accomplishments are stripped away, exceptionally talented as an author, engaging and innovative in a manner that cast a long shadow over subsequent authors.

The use of all of Honorius's authorial tools show a special concern with memory. Their purpose is to reshape the inner disposition and associations of the reader, attuning their minds towards a specific type of movement, inwards and upwards to God. The image of a teacher leading his students down a path, used so often in his passing remarks on pedagogy, is an especially apt description of how Honorius conceives this project. The mnemonic tools deployed throughout his writings carefully channel the audience onto contemplative *viae*, groove the paths into their minds, and keep them on the path with repetition, simplicity, and an inter-referential character that brings the same themes to mind again and again.

⁶² *Sigillum*, PL172:509D.

Among his authorial techniques, the use of rhyme is the most obvious example of mnemonic guidance. Rhyme is also the most ubiquitous of his stylistic tools; we find it in virtually every one of his works, and he is more than willing to alter the quotes of recognized authorities to fit his rhyme scheme. The schema themselves tend to be fairly simple, but are often organized into discrete chunks, anchored to passages of Scripture or around important theological proclamations. The digestibility of these chunks allows his individual points to be easily memorized, lodged in the mind like a jingle where they can be endlessly chewed upon to uncover deeper insights. Thus, any time the reader encounters the second verse of Genesis, “and the spirit of God moved over the waters,” they are drawn to meditate on the role of the Trinity in creation:

Et nota Trinitatem: Deo Patri ascribitur mundi creatio,
Filio rerum dispositio,
Spiritus sancto omnium uiuificatio uel ornatio.⁶³

[And notice the Trinity: To God the Father is ascribed the creation of the world, / to the Son the disposition of things, / and to the Holy Spirit the vivification or ornamentation of all.]

The apparent simplicity of his rhymes betrays a deeper subtlety, a characterization that might be extrapolated to Honorius’s work as a whole. Rhyme helps him encode a rhythm into his writings, alongside the information conveyed by the text itself.⁶⁴ Rapid-fire rhyme heightens the tension of a textual moment, while a dramatic break in rhyme scheme can release the tension or signal the in-breaking of the eternal into the temporal.⁶⁵ Thus, the overall sweep of his thought is communicated just below the reader’s awareness, individual conclusions and the unified whole embedded in the memory, long after the book has been set down.

⁶³ *De neocosmo*, lines 76-78, p. 181.

⁶⁴ On the context of Honorius’s use of rhyme, see above, 171-4.

⁶⁵ Cf. the litany of sin and punishment, followed by a call to the peace of the monastery in the *Speculum ecclesiae*, PL172:1092B-C, described above, 174-7.

The purpose underlying Honorius's use of rhyme remains implicit in the text itself. Indeed, virtually no medieval author theorizes on the effects and purposes of rhymed prose. The use of images, on the other hand, is explicitly singled out for its mnemonic utility by Honorius. In his sermons, he tells us that theological lessons ought to be followed by especially vivid illustrations, "lest these [teachings] be erased from your heart."⁶⁶ Images might also help imprint complex interpretive or contemplative schema into our memory. Our reading of the Song of Songs is shaped by the image of the Shulamite carried in the chariot of Aminadab. She is the synagogue, held in captivity by the devil. The chariot bringing her to her groom, Christ, is the Gospel, its wheels the evangelists, the horses the apostles. Aminadab himself is a figure of Christ, and thus we once again see as the means by which we are led towards union with Himself, while at the same time the journey of the Shulamite encapsulates both the conversion of the Jews by Christ and the apostles and the eventual conversion of the synagogue before the end of time.⁶⁷ In one image is captured the evangelical mission of the Church, the relation of bride to bridegroom, the hermeneutic of Christ unlocking Scripture, and the historical fortunes of the Jews—among whom Christ's salvific mission began and where it will terminate. In other works, the contemplative journey from creatures to the Creator is imagined as a ship, passing through the rough seas of the world to the safe harbor of the Heavenly Jerusalem.⁶⁸ The whole of Honorius's pedagogical program likewise is conceived of as a grand journey through the cities of the liberal arts, each one of these cities a visual container that aids the reader in recalling the characteristics, authorities, and purposes of a given art and conceptualizing its relationship to the other arts and to the learning as a whole.

⁶⁶ Ne haec a corde vestro deleantur *Speculum ecclesiae*, PL172:865A.

⁶⁷ *In cantica canticorum*, PL172:352D-353B.

⁶⁸ Honorius uses this image often, for example in the *Offendiculum*, 1, p. 39.

His images, however, serve as more than mere mnemonic containers. Many of the images we find in his writings are maddeningly complex or even impossible to truly conceive. Their recursiveness, the way an image can circle back upon itself—even individual elements containing the whole in a sort of infinite regression—precludes any attempt to hold the image in our minds. Instead, our attempts to conceive the image leads us around and around as if we were attempting to walk on the surface of a Möbius strip. In the *Sigillum*, the litter of Solomon is a bed crafted by Christ, the wood is the Virgin, the feast itself her Son’s flesh. The pillars of the litter are the gospels, its seat the body of Christ, but the seat is also Mary, in whose womb he reclined. The litter is wrapped in purple, the cross, “a means of ascent for us to heaven.”⁶⁹ The impossibility of this image forces the reader towards increasingly deeper contemplation; the virgin, Christ, the cross, the Gospel, are all intertwined and interrelated. The recursive movement is etched with the image on the reader’s memory, laden with theological associations that proliferate endlessly, effectively forcing the reader to engage in the contemplative “chewing” that Honorius sees as key to our encounter with the divine in creatures. Moreover, that deeper truth the images seek to represent, the truth lying hidden within material or textual wrappings, is itself impossible to conceive due to the limits of human cognition and the impediment of sin. Thus, an impossible image—one that approaches the depths of divine mystery but cannot cross the threshold and gestures us onwards towards the illumination that

⁶⁹ Ferculum fecit sibi rex Salomon, Christus, verus rex pacificus, fecit sibi ferculum, id est lectum ad convivium, de lignis Libani, id est ex patriarchis et regibus Virginem elegit; in qua ut in lecto recubuit ipse positus ad convivium; quia fideles de carne, quam de Virgine sumpsit, epulantur. Columnas ejus fecit argenteas. Columnae quibus fulcitur Virginis vita sunt quatuor Evangelia de ea scripta, quae sunt argentea veritate, videlicet nitida et praedicatione sonora. Reclinatorium aureum, hoc fuit corpus Dominicum de ea sumptum; in quod divinitas se reclinavit. Quod fuit aureum, scilicet sapientia et charitate ornatum. Ipsa etiam Virgo fuit reclinatorium, in cuius Christus se reclinavit uterum; aureum, splendore castitatis fulgidum. Ascensum purpureum. Sancta crux fuit, in qua nobis Filius ejus sua passione ascensum ad coelos fecit. *Sigillum*, PL172:505A-C.

must come from above—better represents the ultimate character of God than a concrete picture tidily held before the eyes of the mind.

Dialogue has a similar function. It too works in the memory, passing the voice of the teacher into the student's mind.⁷⁰ A format of question and answer, whether in dialogue or the more stripped-down question and answer form of which Honorius also makes regular use, was widely recognized as a premier method of teaching, particularly for beginners.⁷¹ Questions and their answers can be easily recalled as discrete elements of a larger whole, capable of addressing our own concerns and of being repeated to other questioners—the latter particularly useful in the daily pastoral care that Honorius envisions priests engaged in. Thus, it is no surprise that an author as concerned with pedagogy and addressing the basic theological anxieties of the reformed priesthood and their parishioners was so attracted to dialogue. Yet, it was almost certainly the more meditative aspect of the genre that truly led to his enthusiastic adoption of it.

As the words of the *magister* in Honorius's dialogues were internalized, the voice of the teacher shifts from the external to the interior. He becomes an interior instructor, present within the mind of the reader, and the dialogue thus shifts from one occurring between an outside interlocutor and the reader, positioned as *discipulus*, to a conversation with ourselves. One part of the memory pulls another towards greater contemplative insight. Eventually, on rare occasions, this inner dialogue reaches its peak and another shift occurs. The reader's mind enters into dialogue with the true teacher, God, and attains the understanding only possible through divine illumination. The interiorized dialogue becomes the point of intersection between the self and God. The dialogue is itself, therefore—drawing on a tradition stretching back to Plato but especially realized in the two most pivotal of Honorius's sources, Augustine and Eriugena—a

⁷⁰ On the Augustinian grounding of this understanding of dialogue, see Stock, *Augustine's Inner Dialogue*, 230.

⁷¹ Honorius remarks on the pedagogical utility of dialogue in the *Clavis physicae*, I, p. 3.

contemplative *via*, a means, and perhaps the premier means, of achieving union with the divine.⁷² Each of Honorius's dialogues re-enacted his pedagogical program in miniature. They carefully guide the reader along a journey—often described as accompanied by movement within a landscape—beginning in the concrete and terminating in the vision of heaven.

The contemplative vision that lies at the apex of Honorius's pedagogical efforts is something trained for, something towards which we must devote considerable energy and discipline. Hence, Honorius's catalog seems constantly dedicated toward conditioning his readers for this contemplative enterprise so that the eyes of their mind are always directed inwards and upwards, constantly sifting through the memory in search of channels that will lead them beyond themselves.⁷³ The vision itself is imageless, a wordless understanding comparable to our intuitive grasp of mathematics or grammar.⁷⁴ Accordingly, the means that Honorius uses to drive the reader towards this understanding are intellectual in character: rhymes to aid in the chewing over of theological concepts, dialogues to bring us into conversation with God, and impossible images that point to divine incomprehensibility with the aporia between our conceptual capabilities and their richness.

The intellectual character of this vision of God, and the intense mnemonic training required to attain it, could not be sustained by the culture into which Honorius released his ideas, no matter how concrete his language or how much he held the hands of his readers through the process. For a monk or canon, the constant, totalizing reorientation of the mind towards God was difficult, for those more actively involved in the world, near impossible. All of Honorius's

⁷² Otten singles this attempt to meet God in conversation as one of the key aspects of the theologizing discourse of the period. Otten, *From Paradise to Paradigm*, 7.

⁷³ Remember also that all things were created for the purpose of facilitating our salvation. Thus, in training us to see God in creation, Honorius is training us to use creation as it is intended to be used, restoring the proper relation between microcosmos and cosmos.

⁷⁴ Cf. *LDQ*, PL172:1183A-B.

authorial tools, despite his skill in deploying them, were not sufficient to bridge the gap between immersion in the God-soaked world of the monastery—or, even more, the enclosure of an *inclusus*—and life in wider society.⁷⁵ Instead, a contemplative method that focused on imagining oneself as an eyewitness to the life of Christ, a part of the images and stories that already pervaded the religious landscape, was far easier to grasp. In Anselm’s meditations we see the beginning of this tradition that would only grow in popularity as the century wore on, and in Honorius we see what that tradition eclipsed, a more diffuse method, one that sought to turn everything into a potential contemplative *via*, but which, in its diffuseness proved a steep challenge for the budding contemplative.

Although Honorius himself does not advocate the sustained contemplation of Christ’s life, body, or suffering on the cross, the seeds of this contemplative enterprise are present in his works. He is, as we have noted throughout, strongly invested in the material as the locus of God’s self-disclosure to humanity and an advocate of the use of vivid, narrative pictures as mnemonic contemplative aids. Moreover, Christ’s life and, in particular, His crucifixion, are understood by Honorius as the *axis mundi* of creation; spatially, temporally, and ontologically.⁷⁶ In this moment, also, the whole emotional sweep of the salvific economy is contained—particularly, as we shall see, when it is re-enacted liturgically. Thus, the unifying axis of the cross reaches not only through the cosmos, but into the microcosmos as well, our intellectual and affective faculties united in Christ’s passion. Practically, to hold the image of Christ crucified before the mind, to chew it over in search of the savor hidden within the bitter image is certainly

⁷⁵ Ironically, the popularity of Honorius’s works and their wide dissemination may have added to the increased desire of the laity to see God, a desire that reached a fever pitch in the thirteenth century (Newman, “What Does it Mean to Say ‘I Saw?’” 25). His insistence that contemplative vision hastened salvation, his emphasis on the materiality of God’s revelation, and his condemnation of a wide swathe of the priesthood produced fertile ground for an expansion of lay piety centered on vision.

⁷⁶ Cf. *Gemma animae*, PL172:558D-559A. Dietrich explores at length Honorius’s conception of the wood of the cross as the *axis mundi* in Dietrich, *Eruditio Sacra*, 63-95.

in keeping with his contemplative method more generally. Finally, it is Christ who acts as both the model and the endpoint of Honorius's contemplative practice. Ultimately, it is God-as-Christ that we see revealed in the material world and His nature is the template by which all revelation is given. Thus, Honorius's works point to the attention towards the material that would characterize later contemplative practice, and he shares their intense focus on the Incarnation. He simply has not made the additional step of signaling out imagining the life of Christ as the practice best suited to contemplative vision. Perhaps this is a function of his imagined audience. Though his works spread widely throughout the Latin world, we should not forget that they were primarily directed towards priests, and further, that he expected these priests to be monks or, at the very least, canons. We might wonder if Honorius intended the contemplative method he espoused in his writings to be disseminated beyond the monastery at all.

There was one place in which intense devotion to Christ crucified and Honorius's own interests intersected. That was in the ritual where, every single day, the *axis mundi* was re-erected and Christ's sacrifice recapitulated, where our devotion was united with the culminating point of salvation history: the celebration of the Eucharist. In the Eucharist, therefore, that we see a number of the threads that run throughout Honorius's writings come together in a manner that would have powerful resonance in subsequent generations. Devotion to the body of Christ in the twelfth century and beyond closely tracked the increasing importance of the Eucharist to the medieval Church. In keeping with this trend, Honorius is particularly insistent on the bodily character of Christ's presence in the Eucharist.⁷⁷ For Honorius, there is a twofold union with Christ affected by the Eucharist, corporeal through the consumption of the flesh and spiritually through faith and love.⁷⁸ Only together is this union salvific, just as it must be within the God-

⁷⁷ Cf. *Gemma animae*, PL172:555A and *Eucharistion*, PL172:1252B

⁷⁸ *Eucharistion*, PL172:1254A-1255B.

Man, material creation and its divine source perfectly bound together, that the cosmos is restored. It is thus the epitome and culmination of salvation history, enacted before our eyes, and in this moment of recapitulation we can enjoy the fruits of our labor, union with God in affect, intellect, devotion, body, and soul.

The increased emphasis on God's bodily presence in the Eucharist also closely mapped on to the emphasis on seeing that so characterizes Honorius's writings and the theologizing of his era. Bec and, later, Canterbury were centers of this development, and thus we might see the emphasis on seeing and on the Eucharist in Honorius's catalogue as a further sign of his affinity for and intensification of Anselmian thought. Attendant also to the increased emphasis on the sacrament is the increased importance of the priest who administers it. The need for priests to possess the moral rectitude necessary to administer the body and blood of Christ is a driving concern of Honorius's treatises on reform and the unworthiness of the majority a persistent anxiety. So too might we see his Eucharistic focus as pushing him towards encouraging monks to become priests in the face of both traditional and contemporary ambiguity on the issue. If the Eucharist is continuous re-enactment of the central moment of history, the centerpiece of the cosmic drama and of creation, then the participation of monks is vital to both the devotional lives of the monks themselves—ensuring their constant communion with Christ present on earth—and of their flocks—for whom the purity of their priests is absolutely vital.

The liturgy that surrounds the Eucharist is especially thick with symbolic resonance. It is the moment in which the true character of the cosmos is most evident, the veils obscuring the divine at their thinnest. The singing of the divine office and the mass both offer the most complete recapitulation of salvation history and the fullest foretaste of the new creation.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Honorius is particularly interested in music as a gateway to heaven. The purpose of the Psalms as a whole is to hasten us towards eternal life (*In Psalmos*, PL172:305D-306A), and the singing of the gradual Psalms are a ladder

Correspondingly, Honorius dedicates a good deal of attention to the liturgy, most obviously by writing the *Gemma animae*, the first full-length commentary on the mass since Amalar of Metz's *Liber officialis*, three centuries prior. Honorius's lengthy commentary on the Psalms also has obvious liturgical relevance, as do his two books on the Church's feast days—the longer, now lost, *Refectionem mentem* and the shorter *Pabulum vitae*—and his writings on the sacraments: the *Sacramentarium* and *Eucharistion*. Meanwhile, his first commentary on the Song of Songs is motivated by a desire to explain liturgical readings.

In all these works, but especially within the *Gemma*, we get the sense that the liturgy is unique, not in what it represents, not in that it is so heavy with symbolism—though it is that—nor because it is instrumental to our salvation—though this too is never forgotten—but because in the liturgy the self-disclosure of the divine in creation and the drama of salvation history is not merely figured, it is *enacted*. The mass is imagined by Honorius as a drama, a tragedy to be specific, and the celebrant as a tragic actor:

It must be known that those who recited tragedies in theaters represented the acts of the fighters to the people by gestures. Thus our tragic actor represents by his gestures the fight of Christ to the Christian people in the theater of the church, and impresses on them the victory of his redemption. And thus, when the priest says the *Orate*, he represents Christ placed for us in agony, when he told the apostles to pray. By the whispered *secretum* he signifies Christ as a lamb without a voice having been led to the sacrifice. Through the extension of his hands he designates the extension of Christ on the cross.... When the sacrifice has been completed, peace and communion are given to the people by the priest, because our accuser has been cast down through battle by our champion, peace is announced to the people by the judge, and they are invited to a feast. Then by *Ite missa est* they are commanded to return home with joy. They shout for joy, *Deo gratias*, and return home rejoicing.⁸⁰

that lead us to heaven (*Speculum ecclesiae*, PL172:870C). Even in the *Imago mundi*, we move from the planets, to music, and onward to heaven (*Imago mundi*, 85-89, p. 79-81).

⁸⁰ Sciendum quod hi qui tragoedias in theatris recitabant, actus pugnantium gestibus populo repraesentabant. Sic tragicus noster pugnam Christi populo Christiano in teatro Ecclesiae gestibus suis repraesentat, eique victoriam redemptionis suae inculcat. Itaque cum presbyter Orate dicit, Christum pro nobis in agonia positum exprimit, cum apostolos orare monuit. Per secretum silentium, significat Christum velut agnum sine voce ad victimam ductum. Per manuum expansionem, designat Christi in cruce extensionem... Confecto sacramento, pax et communion populo a sacerdote datur, quia accusatore nostro ab agonotheta nostro per duellum prostrato, pax a iudice populo denuntiatur,

While Honorius is the first to make this comparison extensively, it would later become one of the more common ways to conceive of the mass.⁸¹ And from Honorius's use of the image, we might draw out a few implications.

First, it must be noted that Honorius's understanding of tragedy is not that of Sophocles or Shakespeare. No, for him, tragedies are about war.⁸² Here, it is the war of Christ against the devil, in which the celebrants of the mass are an army arrayed against a demonic host, like the Israelites against Amalek.⁸³ While there are moments of great distress and sadness in this war—the failure of the disciples, the terrible silence after Christ's final words—it nonetheless has a happy ending, the triumph of Christ recapitulated in His appearance on the altar. The army, victorious, retires in triumph and the people, having participated in the victory won through Christ's sacrifice and reenacted in communion, return to their homes full of joy.⁸⁴ Martial imagery abounds in the *Gemma*, and, coupled with the insistence in his reform treatises that the priest must constantly be on guard against the attacks of demons and heretics on his flock, points to an undercurrent of spiritual warfare running below the surface of Honorius's conception of the world. The battle against evil is no mere interior struggle, but a very real contest with an

ad convivium invitatur. Deinde ad propria redire cum gaudio per Ite missa est imperatur. Qui gratias Deo jubilat et gaudens domum remeat. *Gemma animae*, PL172:570A-C.

⁸¹ The classic history of the development of this idea is O.B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1965), particularly 35-79.

⁸² Tragoediae sunt quae bella tractant. *De animae exsilio*, PL172:1243D.

⁸³ *Gemma animae*, PL172:557C. Honorius's allegorical and anagogical reading of the liturgy is in keeping with his exegesis more generally—the liturgy too may be understood as standing on the same continuum as creation, scripture, reason, and the doctors. The emphasis on the martial character of the mass is in keeping with many of his contemporaries (see the overview of the conception of the Divine Office as a form of war in Smith, *War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture*, 28-38) and also signals Honorius's concern with history. Throughout his works, God's revelation in creation does not extend merely through space, but through time as well. Hence, the *Imago mundi* must conclude with a survey of history. Only when the temporal dimension of creation is included alongside the physical are we able to hold the whole before the eyes of our mind. Similarly, the culmination of the Eucharist must encompass this temporal dimension, and thus encompass not only the moment of Christ's victory on the cross, but the all the victories of Christ's people, including the coming victory against the Antichrist.

⁸⁴ Exercitus cum triumpho regreditur, quia percepta communione ad propria cum gaudio revertitur. *Gemma animae*, PL172:557D.

external threat that must be confronted every single day, a battle never-ending until the final cataclysmic struggle between Christ and the Anti-Christ in which Christ will triumph and inaugurate eternal peace.⁸⁵

The likeness of the mass to a drama also emphasizes the emotional rhythm present throughout Honorius's writings and especially intensified in the celebration of the mass. The rhythm is one found in the Psalms, the beginning and center of the religious life of his audience.⁸⁶ With this rhythm we ascend towards the heights of contemplation, only to crash down in despair before the inaccessibility of God—the result of the depths of our ignorance and sin—before being drawn up to new and overwhelming joy by the intervention of the eternal. Here, we see that this whole rhythm is contained within the consecration, a single point holding the whole emotive range of Scripture and salvation history.

Accompanying these emotional moves in the mass, we pass through God's revelation both temporally and spatially. For instance, the signs of the cross signed by the celebrant throughout the mass take us through the ages of history, the first set of three taking us from Adam to Noah, Noah to Abraham, and Abraham to Moses and so on throughout until with the final sign he recapitulates the eschatological culmination of the sixth age.⁸⁷ Each sign of the cross further inscribes the cross in our memory, reenacting the wounds of Christ before us.⁸⁸ So too space, the architecture of the church expresses the form of the world, while the call and response of the choir recapitulate the harmony of the firmament.⁸⁹ The actions of the priest, the

⁸⁵ The coming battle with the Anti-Christ features heavily in Honorius's conception of history. See for example, the *Elucidarium*, III.Q33-7, p. 452-4, and the extensive discussion of the Anti-Christ in the commentary on the Song of Songs, *In cantica canticorum*, PL172:453Aff.

⁸⁶ On the Psalms as the beginning of religious instruction, see *In Psalmos*, PL172:273A. They mark the end of the Christian life because it is the singing of the Psalms that presage our entry into heaven, *In Psalmos* 172:311A-312A.

⁸⁷ *Gemma animae*, PL172:559A-B and PL172:560B.

⁸⁸ *Gemma animae*, PL172:560A.

⁸⁹ *Gemma animae*, PL172:587C-D.

responses of the people, and the songs of the chorus all reprise the sweep of history; past, present, and future, bringing these moments into the unity of an eternal present that mirrors the eternity of God, all brought to fulfilment in their unity with Christ's presence on the altar, the central pillar of the performance. Through this enactment, creation is continuously elevated and restored. The earth is sanctified and "here the whole world is now made the temple of God."⁹⁰ Creation becomes the dwelling place of the Lord. More, it becomes a song singing of this presence, creation is liturgized. Through the mass, the presence of God in creation is performed and made apparent to the faithful, restoring their souls and uniting them in community with God.⁹¹

All of this performance centers on the Eucharist. As the host is elevated, Christ's cross is erected again, and the cross ties together the four corners of the world, the six days of creation, the Trinity, the Lord's passion, and the six ages of history.⁹² This single moment is the performative expression of what Honorius strives to make present in his writing. Creation extending through time and space, "the disposition of the whole world," which in the *Imago mundi* he seeks to make visible to our interior eyes, so that it might be grazed upon by the soul, here is held before the eyes of the congregation to be gazed upon, and then consumed, made one with their very being.⁹³ Here is the perfect self-manifestation of God in material, visible creation and at the heart of this self-manifestation, Christ.

⁹⁰ totus hic mundus jam factus est Dei templum, *Gemma animae*, PL172:584C.

⁹¹ *Gemma animae*, PL172:555B-C.

⁹² Hoc sacramentum tantum per crucem fit, quia Christus sacrificium Patris in cruce pependit, et in cruce quadruplum mundum redemit. Sex autem ordines crucum fiunt, quia sex diebus mundus perficitur et senario numero corpus Christi reficitur. Per imparem vero numerum, qui in duo paria non potest dividi, benedicitur; quia corpus Christi permanens non scinditur. Aut enim tres cruces facimus, et fidem Trinitatis exprimimus: aut per quinque signamus, et quinquepartitam Christi passionem denotamus. Per sex ordines cuncta mundi tempora comprehendimus, quae per crucem Christo unita exprimimus. *Gemma animae*, PL172:559B-C

⁹³ eo quod dispositio totius orbis in eo quasi in speculo conspiciatur, *Imago mundi*, incipit, p. 49.

This moment, and all the moments in the performance of the great tragedy, are not merely present during the mass itself, but are inscribed on the memory. Such an inscription of the entire plan of salvation cannot but spur the faithful to a greater imitation of Christ. Indeed, the mass has been instituted and is repeated every day in part for precisely this purpose, “so that, every day, the memory of the passion of Christ is impressed on the minds of the faithful to imitate.”⁹⁴ The endpoint of the liturgy and Honorius’s pedagogy, and therefore his entire catalog, thus converge on the mnemonic remaking of their participants into images of Christ—whether student, teacher, people, or priest. Everything in his thought and everything he seeks to accomplish as an author comes together into a grand unified vision through and in the imitation of Christ.

Honorius’s success as an author is unquestionable, but this does not mean that his authorial project succeeded in the way he intended. The great hallmark of his work is the unity of his vision. Pull on any single thread of his thought, even his writing style itself, and very quickly the whole tapestry of his theological outlook comes along with it. His writing on creation leads to his anthropology to his understanding of Christ to pedagogy, liturgy, and rhyme. To speak of one is to speak of them all. His vision, therefore, is steadily built upon a dense web of associative connections, all centered around Christ and the revelation of Christ in creation. Yet as his influence spread from one corner of Europe to another, leaping from Latin to the vernacular, from the Benedictine enclosure to the canon house and onward to the laity, the self-evident integrity of his vision was lost. Individual strands held great resonance for his audience and left a deep footprint in the thought of subsequent generations, but the totalizing unity that so marks his mentality did not survive. For, when these individual strands are

⁹⁴ ut memoria passionis Christi quotidie mentibus fidelium ad imitationem inculcetur, *Gemma animae*, PL172:555C.

detached from the whole, the incarnational unity that he works so hard to sustain throughout his catalog is obscured. Severed from the dense interconnectedness of his thought as a whole, the very possibility of the harmony he preaches becomes tenuous. Alternative means of adjudicating between authorities or seeing God in creation become necessary in the absence of the presupposition of unity upon which he depends, and thus his vision collapses. In this fracturing of his vision, we finally are able to understand why he so resists categorization. It is not that Honorius is an important figure in this or that movement, this or that school of thought, but rather that, dismembered, pieces of his ideal are spread through virtually all of them.

The strength of Honorius's thought is its insistence on unity and harmony amidst its disparate aspects, together each part of his theological outlook reinforces the whole. Yet, when they are separated from each other, the incarnational understanding that serves as the unifying core of these parts is obscured, and the possibility of his harmonious vision becomes tenuous in the absence of the associative web that Honorius weaves around his understanding of the cosmos and Christ.

In a way, he is a victim of his own success.⁹⁵ His vision of reform—the outward facing monk dedicated equally to contemplation and the *cura animarum*—becomes hugely influential, but not among the Benedictines who retreat back into the confines of the monastery. Instead, the banner is taken up by the Dominicans and Franciscans, vigorous new orders whose rise signals the end of Benedictine dominance. His push for an understanding of the priesthood where the shepherds must be morally exemplary in order to lead their flock, and the simultaneous assertion that the majority of priests are not worthy—and that this unworthiness brings disaster to the people—meanwhile tacitly encouraged the laity to police the clergy and seek alternative routes

⁹⁵ Flint draws a similar conclusion, though not necessarily for the same reasons, concentrating more on Honorius's mission to educate the clergy than as an exponent of a coherent, unified theological vision. Flint, *Honorius*, 154-7.

to holiness. Thus, we have Ginzburg's miller, the famous Menocchio, leaning on the *Elucidarium* to justify his rebellion against local clerical authority.⁹⁶ Honorius's attempt to shore up the established order of society ends up planting the seeds that would undermine it.

At the same time, the tremendous optimism we find in his writings, the blunt assumption that authorities and reason cannot contradict, falters under the weight of apparent disagreements. As the great lack of books in the monasteries that he worked tirelessly to alleviate is rectified, the sheer preponderance of different authorities, and the loss of the hermeneutic of continuity, in which reason and the writings of authorities are merely points on a unified continuum of knowledge, in the face of the introduction of Aristotle and the debates of the schools, erodes the certainty that undergird Honorius's optimism. Similarly, his mission to guide his audience to see God in creation, to capture the living voice of the teacher in text, and to represent the whole course of an education in simple, easily interiorized terms could not succeed outside the culture of meditation and *lectio divina* that nurtured it. His method is too abstract, despite his use of concrete images and plain language. Christ is present everywhere in his works, but subtly, lurking just behind his words, just behind visible appearances. To unwrap the *involucra* that veil Him and penetrate to the divine core of creation requires hard work and discipline. If this is the great means of hastening towards salvation, as Honorius maintains, what happens when that work proves too difficult? Honorius attempts to solve this problem through his authorial methods, through rhyme and dialogue, through creating an entire theological library dedicated to shepherding the learner down the path inwards and upwards to God, but literary form is not enough. The very anxieties that motivated the creation of his works overcome the integrity of his vision. The monastery cannot simply be turned inside out, its culture exported to the world at

⁹⁶ Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms*, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2013), 29ff.

large. The walls of the monastery were there for a reason and to survive outside them required an adaptation of Honorius's thought to a new world. And in that adaptation, something is inevitably lost.

Honorius sought to be a great revealer, the teacher who made apparent the implicit, the secret and hidden in creation. Reading him today, we find another way in that he remains someone who unlocks the gates and makes visible what was previous invisible, though this too not in the manner he intended. In his works, we see that Honorius makes explicit the theological principles that underlay the Benedictine monastic culture that had dominated western religious thought for centuries. We find in his works a cultural continuity with the Carolingians, themselves straining backwards for continuity with the Fathers of Antiquity. These principles still had tremendous appeal, still made a profound mark on subsequent centuries. His popularity alone testifies to that, even absent any consideration of how his ideals shaped others. His writings are a high water mark, a premier representative of the great attempt of monastic culture to answer the newly awakened needs of a tumultuous era. But the high water had to ebb. The very act of making this theological outlook explicit sent later authors down new paths, and the unity of Honorius's vision was washed away by the intellectual currents that flowed from his writings. He set the stage for the transformations of thought, literature, and education in the twelfth century and beyond. His works would help to define an age, yet his own vision would fade, his identity recede into his words. Not despite but because of his success, he remains a man apart, an *inclusus*.

Appendix – Honorius’s works, descriptions and rough chronology

Establishing a chronology of Honorius’s works has proven difficult due to the lack of hints within the works and of mentions in other sources. The manuscript evidence provides some hints and seems to indicate that the list of works found in *De luminaribus* is roughly chronological, with allowances made for the fact that many of his works appeared in multiple recensions over the course of his career. *De luminaribus* does provide rough chronological boundaries for Honorius’s *floruit*, telling us that he flourished during the reign of Henry V (King of Germany from 1099-1125, Holy Roman Emperor from 1111-1125). The list that follows, therefore, takes *De luminaribus* as its guide, with additions primarily drawn from Flint’s catalog in *Honorius Augustodunensis*.¹

Works acknowledged in *De luminaribus*

Elucidarium – a handbook of Christian doctrine presented in dialogue form, and Honorius’s most popular work. Completed sometime between 1098 and 1101.²

Sigillum – a Marian exposition of the Song of Songs, the first of its kind. The prologue indicates that it was composed shortly after the *Elucidarium*.

Inevitabile – a treatise on free will, whose prologue likewise suggests that it was composed for the same community for whom the *Elucidarium* and *Sigillum* were written. Appeared in two major recensions, the latter dramatically altering the understanding of free will found within in light of Anselm’s *De libertate arbitrii*.

Speculum ecclesiae – a collection of sermons.

Offendiculum – a treatise on reform ostensibly answering the question of whether unworthy priests are able to perform the sacraments.

Summa totius – an historical chronicle beginning with creation and ending with the coronation of Lothar II as Holy Roman Emperor in 1133.

Gemma animae – a lengthy commentary on the mass and divine office, the first since Amalar of Metz’s ninth century commentary.

Sacramentarium – a commentary on the sacraments.

De neocosmo – a hexameron, the first half detailing creation in primarily physical terms derived from Bede, the second explicitly re-presenting Augustine’s thought, interpreted through an Eriugenian lens.

Eucharistion – a short commentary on the Eucharist.

¹ Flint, *Honorius*, 129-53.

² Flint, *Honorius*, 100.

Cognitio vitae – a treatise on contemplation and eternal life, occasionally attributed to Augustine.

Imago mundi – an encyclopedia in three parts, the first dealing with the physical world, the second the divisions of time, and the third being a historical survey. The latest recension that appears to derive from Honorius's hand ends in 1139, the latest date we are able to conclusively assign to any part of his catalog.³

Summa gloria – on the relationship between secular and ecclesiastical authority.

Scala coeli major – a treatise on seeing God in creatures and the gradations of vision.

De anima et de Deo – a dialogue composed of extracts from Augustine, the first half largely drawing directly on *De quantitate animae* and the second a more freeform adaptation of the latter books of the *Confessions* and *De Genesi ad litteram*.

In Psalmos – a commentary on every one of the Psalms and the songs of the office, rigidly elaborating the four-fold sense of Scripture in every verse.

In cantica canticorum – Honorius's second commentary on the Song of Songs, makes reference to the prior commentary and is described in the prologue as being written immediately after the Psalms commentary and for the same community.

Commentary on the Gospels not expounded by Gregory the Great – a lost commentary on the Gospels.

Clavis physicae – a digest of Eriugena's *Periphyseon* in dialogue form. Greatly condenses the first four books of Eriugena's work and reprints the fifth book in its entirety.

Refectionem mentium – treatise on the liturgical calendar and feast days, now lost.

Pabulum vitae – a shorter treatise on the major feasts, also lost.

De luminaribus – catalogue of the authors of the Church, drawing on Jerome, Gennadius, and Isidore, with additions by Honorius. Our primary source of biographical information for Honorius.

Unacknowledged works

De decem plagis – an allegorical interpretation of the ten plagues of Egypt, included in the *Speculum ecclesiae*.

Scala coeli minor – a similar interpretation of Jacob's ladder, concentrating primarily on the moral interpretation, also included in the *Speculum*.

³ Flint, *Imago Mundi*, 39.

Libellus octo quaestionum (LOQ) – a dialogue on the place of men and angels in creation and the Incarnation.

Libellus duodecim quaestionum (LDQ) – a dialogue meditating on the same themes as the *LOQ*, ostensibly motivated by a debate between a monk and canon over their relative importance.

De animae exsilio et patria – a handbook on the course of education, in the form of a journey through the cities of the liberal arts.

De haeresibus – a catalog of heretics and their heresies, in a sense, an inverse of the *De luminaribus* catalog.

De claustrali vita – a work exploring the monastic life as a refuge from worldly troubles and a means of attaining salvation.

Quid vasa Honorius – a short text exploring similar themes, particularly the struggles of the monastic life as a trial to determine our worthiness for heaven.

Quod monachis liceat predicare – a defense of the right of monks to preach and administer the sacraments.

Quid sit scala ad coelum – another treatise on the monastic life as a ladder to heaven.

De libero arbitrio – a short treatise on free will, expanding on the definition found in the second recension of the *Inevitabile*.

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