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THE PLACE AND PURPOSE OF THE WORKS OF HONORIUS AUGUSTODUNENSIS

The aim of this paper is, despite its pretentious title, to introduce a provisional handlist of surviving twelfth century Honorius manuscripts. No firm analysis of Honorius's works can be made until they are edited afresh, and so no statement about their place and purpose can be definitive. The handlist is meant to serve as a beginning to this Herculean task. The search for the manuscripts, and the re-reading of the treatises they contain have, however, given rise to a suggestion which I have been encouraged to a limited extent to explore. The suggestion is an expansion of one already made. I have tried recently to argue that the *Elucidarius*, Honorius's first acknowledged treatise, was written as an answer to the special needs of the Benedictines in England in their support of the movement for ecclesiastical reform.¹ I now suspect that the serving of the Benedictine Order, in its pursuit of influence in the reformed church, formed the focus of Honorius's whole productive life. The bewildering scale and variety of his output, and even his changes of habitation from England to Bavaria,² were brought about, I would suggest, by the force and constancy of this single aim. The exploration of this suggestion has followed three separate routes : through the monastic background against which Honorius wrote, through the evidence of his writings, and through the evidence of the surviving twelfth century manuscripts of them. It seems sensible, therefore, to re-enact it under these three headings.

1. V.I.J. FLINT, *The 'Elucidarius' of Honorius Augustodunensis and Reform in late eleventh Century England*, in *Rev. bénéd.* 85 (1975), p. 178-198. On the deep concern shewn by Honorius for the monastic life see M.-O. GARRIGUES, *Bref témoignage sur la vie monastique du XII^e siècle*, in *Studia monastica* 16 (1974), p. 45-53.

2. I have suggested that this change was made in about 1103 : V.I.J. FLINT, *The Chronology of the Works of Honorius Augustodunensis*, in *Rev. bénéd.* 82 (1972), p. 241. Splendid short accounts of the nature and contents of his works may be found in E.M. SANDFORD, *Honorius, Presbyter and Scholasticus*, in *Speculum* 23 (1948), p. 397-425, and, of course, in J.-A. ENDRES, *Honorius Augustodunensis*, Kempten-Munich 1906.

I. THE MONASTIC BACKGROUND

It is now a commonplace to observe that the last years of the eleventh century and the first decades of the twelfth saw a crisis in the history of Benedictine Monasticism in the West ; and that this crisis was intimately related to the reform. The monks most deeply affected by it were those who, without undergoing any radical reform themselves, were anxious to play a continuing rôle in the general movement. The crisis, although it took, of course, different forms at different times, ¹ was compounded of certain basic ingredients. One of these was a developing inclination to pass public honours in the reformed church, appointments, that is, for the mediation of its newly fortified sacramental life, to men educated outside the old Benedictine tradition. Another was the drawing away of recruits by the reformed monastic orders ; another the urge towards the solitary devotional life. Yet one further ingredient was the denial of the rights of monks to tithes. Urban II went some way towards realising their worst fears on this score. ² And if they were to have no tithes, it followed, for many, that they should have no 'cura animarum' and no public priesthood. ³ The two were necessarily very closely related. Such a denial was deeply damaging to those monks who found themselves in the situation I have described. It could serve such a variety of interests, from the most rabidly secular to the most radically monastic. ⁴ It was undoubtedly an attack

1. See N. CANTOR, *The Crisis of Western Monasticism*, in *American Historical Review* 66 (1960), p. 47-67, criticised by D. BETHEL, *English black Monks and episcopal Elections in the 1120s*, in *English Historical Review*, no. 333 (1969), p. 673-698.

2. Urban II ruled that monks may in future acquire tithes only with the consent of the bishop : G. CONSTABLE, *Monastic Tithes from their Origins to the twelfth Century*, Cambridge 1964, p. 92-93.

3. Cfr the ruling of the Lateran Council of 1123 : "Interdicimus abbatibus et monachis publicas poenitentias dare, et infirmos visitare, et unctiones facere, et missas publicas cantare. Chrisma et oleum, consecrationes altarium, ordinationes clericorum ab episcopis accipiunt in quorum parochiis manent" (J.D. MANSI, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* 21, col. 285).

4. The severity of this challenge at precisely this time may be gauged by the fact that the problem of the monastic priesthood first finds a place, in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, in the theoretical literature of monastic spirituality. Cfr J. LECLERCQ, *On monastic Priesthood according to the ancient medieval Tradition*, in *Studia monastica* 3 (1961), p. 138. The literature on the rights of monks to pastoral care is immense, but for this period : R. FOREVILLE and J. LECLERCQ, *Un débat sur le sacerdoce des moines au XII^e siècle*, in *Studia anselmiana* 14 (1957), p. 8-116 ; U. BERLIÈRE, *L'exercice du ministère paroissial par les moines dans le haut Moyen Âge*, in *Rev. bénéd.* 39 (1927), p. 227-250 ; Ph. HORNEISTER, *Mönchtum und Seelsorge bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, in *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens* 65 (1953-1954), p. 209-273, are helpful.

on the rights and economies of the unreformed Benedictines as they stood ; but it could very easily be disguised as a means to the true monastic vocation. Tithes could be seen as a reward for respectable spiritual services to the laity : but they could also be taken as a symptom of a type of secular involvement inimical to true monasticism. Persecutors of the old Benedictines and supporters of the new could, on this point, join forces, producing an almost intolerable situation ; for it was doubly hard for the Benedictines themselves to defy, in the name of the reform, men who denied them these rights for the highest of principles and in the same name. Finally, and perhaps worst of all, there appeared 'regular' competitors for the 'cura animarum' and its accompaniments. These were the Augustinian Canons.¹ They too appeared as a force in different places at different times,² but their rights were unassailable.³

The old Benedictines had their defenders, but there is a sense, even in the most generous of these, that time is running out. They have an air rather of comforting the victim than of vanquishing the foe. They adopt negative expedients. They vilify enemies, soften criticism, laud tradition for tradition's sake.⁴ It

1. The position in which the canons found themselves at this time is beautifully set out by B. METZ. It is worth quoting in full here because it is so close to that which I have ascribed, at the beginning of this section, to the Benedictines and may serve more fully to illustrate their shared yet dangerously distinct vulnerabilities : « Ainsi l'*ordo antiquus*... se trouve finalement pris entre deux feux. Au même titre que le monachisme traditionnel, il est menacé dans son prestige, dans son statut d'*arctior religio*, par les réformateurs de tendance érémitique ... Inversement, face aux moines aussi bien qu'aux chanoines séculiers, l'*ordo antiquus* souffre, malgré sa prétention à remonter à S. Augustin et même aux apôtres, de sa position de nouveau venu dans l'Église, dépourvu de l'autorité et de la sécurité que confère une longue tradition. L'auteur du *Libellus* appartient donc à un groupe menacé — ce qui a pu l'inciter à prêcher la tolérance — et mal intégré à une Église qui vit encore sur l'opposition de l'*ordo clericorum* et de l'*ordo monachorum* — ce qui l'amène à se distancer de l'ecclésiologie traditionnelle » : *A propos du 'Libellus de diversis ordinibus'*, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 68 (1973), p. 820.

2. The literature on canons, too, is enormous, but an excellent bibliography may be found in M. PEUCHMAURD, *Le prêtre ministre de la parole dans la théologie du XII^e siècle*, in *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 29 (1962), p. 52-53.

3. Ch. DEREINE, *Vie commune, règle de Saint Augustin et chanoines réguliers au XI^e siècle*, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 41 (1946), p. 403. Cfr the authorization granted to St. Botolph's Colchester by Pascal II (W. DUGDALE, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, VI, p. 106-107) and also HOFMEISTER, *art. cit.*, p. 210.

4. Thus letter 192 of Ivo of Chartres for the consolation of the Benedictine community of Coulombs (PL 162, col. 196-202). Ivo encourages the Benedictines to object primarily to that arrogance and hypocrisy which will allow the attempted imposition of one man's view of spiritual poverty upon another.

is difficult to find any sober, coherent, positive advocacy of the part the Benedictines still have in the post-Gregorian church.¹ The reform, in short, had set afoot schemes of action and modes of contemplation which left the Benedictines with little ground on which to fight and, apparently, few means with which to join.

Honorius spent the greater part of his productive life in Germany, most probably in Regensburg. That part occupied the years approximately 1103-1140. I have said that it is difficult to find any positive advocacy on behalf of the Benedictines; but, interestingly, the most positive there is comes from Germany. Three major spokesmen undertook this advocacy before the middle of the century: Rupert of Deutz, Idung of St. Emmeram—and Honorius himself. Rupert, a monk of St. Laurence of Liège and of Siegburg, then as abbot of Deutz, was far removed from Honorius in space. He was in time, however, very near to him, and the gap in space was narrowed by the appointment of Cuno, Rupert's abbot at Siegburg, to the bishopric of Regensburg in 1126.² We have long been aware of certain striking similarities between the works of Rupert and Honorius.³ Idung seems to have begun to write just after Honorius's active life had ended; but he was directly associated with Regensburg, first as 'magister scolae' there, then as monk at Prüfening.⁴ Rupert defended with ferocity the rights of monks to the priesthood, to preach,⁵ and to

See also the defence of Orderic Vitalis: M. CHIBNALL, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis* IV, Oxford 1972, p. 314-320.

1. Ivo was himself, of course, most inclined to support the canons regular: cfr Ch. DEREINE, *Les coutumiers de Saint-Quentin de Beauvais et de Springiersbach*, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 43 (1948), p. 418-419.

2. For Cuno, cfr R. BAUERREISS, *Honorius von Canterbury (Augustodunensis) und Kuno I, der Raitenbucker, Bischof von Regensburg 1126-1132*, in *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens* 67 (1956), p. 306-313, and below. For Rupert and Cuno, cfr R. BAUERREISS, *Regensburg als religiös-theologischer Mittelpunkt Süddeutschlands im XII. Jahrhundert*, in *Wahrheit und Verkündigung* (ed. L. Scheffczyk, W. Dettloff, R. Heinzmann) II, p. 1143.

3. M. MAGRASSI, *Teologia e storia nel pensiero di Ruperto di Deutz*, Rome 1959, p. 248 and 272-276.

4. Idung was *magister scolae* at Regensburg in 1133 and perhaps for some years afterwards. He became a monk at Prüfening in the diocese of Regensburg in about 1144 and, before he wrote his *Dialogus*, it seems, a Cistercian, possibly in Austria. The *Argumentum* was composed before 1145, and the *Dialogus* after 1153. Cfr R.B.C. HUYGENS, *Le moine Idung et ses deux ouvrages: 'Argumentum super quatuor questionibus' et 'Dialogus duorum monachorum'*, in *Studi medievali* 13 (1972), p. 296-298. Idung's memories of the persecution of monks under Bishop Hartwig, Cuno's predecessor, were vivid: cfr *Argumentum*, *ibid.*, p. 362.

5. For him the two rights were intimately connected; cfr *Allercatio monachi et clerici quod liceat monacho predicare* (PL 170, col. 542). Such a connexion

receive due reward. For him, the argument 'no "cura animarum" no tithes' could be turned with a compelling logic upon its head to read 'if "cura animarum" then tithes'.¹ Idung's arguments, set out in two of the four questions in his *Argumentum super quattuor questionibus* are similar.² They shew some irritation but no doubts. One and the same person can be both 'clericus' and 'monachus'; the latter office not only does not negate, it actually improves, the former.³ If a monk can receive clerical orders he can preach; if he preaches he deserves just rewards in the form of tithes and offerings. If a monk-bishop can rule a large parish, surely a monk-priest can rule a small.⁴ There is more to bring Rupert and Idung together, however, even than this. Rupert has a clear enemy in some of his diatribes: the Augustinian Canons. They seem, according to him, to offer a severe challenge to Benedictine preachers.⁵ Idung does not single out the canons for attack in the *Argumentum*. He objects to a broader world of 'clerici' and not, it seems, quite so violently as Rupert.⁶ In the *Dialogue*, however, his second work, the case is different. The enemy is the same, and Idung is quite as fierce about it as Rupert. It is worth quoting from this treatise, for Idung summarizes the position very clearly, and gives a reason for the hostility with which the Augustinians were regarded. The Cluniac of the dialogue asks the Cistercian why it is that Augustinians claim the name canon and refuse the name monk. The Cistercian replies:

Aut imperitia aut vana gloria aut utrumque fecit eos errare. Gloriantur enim se esse predicatorum et doctores, dicendo: "Monachus non habet officium docentis", nos habemus, haec eadem verba Ieronimi nequaquam recte intelligentes nec adtendentes quod apostolus dicit; "Quomodo predicabunt nisi mittantur?" Itaque sola missio facit predicatorem. Et illi: "Nos", inquit, "quia clerici sumus, ex clericatu

seems to have been general at this period; cfr M. PEUCHMAURD, *art. cit.*, p. 52-77. Also Bernald of St. Blaise (*MGH Libelli de Lite* II, 98).

1. Letter to Everard (*PL* 170, col. 542-544).

2. HUYGENS, *art. cit.*, p. 343-370. The *Argumentum* is also printed in E. DEMM, *Reformmönchtum und Slawenmission im 12. Jahrhundert*, Lübeck and Hamburg 1970, p. 113-133.

3. HUYGENS, *art. cit.*, p. 347. It is difficult to sustain the view expressed by Dom Jean Leclercq (*art. cit.*, p. 150) that Idung's position is merely an elaboration of that of Hugh of St. Victor. Idung openly contradicts Hugh at several points in the *Dialogus*, for example HUYGENS, p. 429-431, 433-434, 459.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 367-368.

5. Rupert describes the sharpness of the contention between Augustinians and Benedictines in the *In Regulam S. Benedicti* IV, 1-2 (*PL* 170, col. 525-526).

6. *Argumentum*, *ibid.*, p. 362.

officium habemus". Quibus cum respondetur : "Ergo et monachi sacrum ordinem habentes, quia clerici sunt, ex clericali officio predi-
candi habent", illi satis imperite respondent, dicentes : "Monachi habent
clericatum ex indulgentia, nos ex debito." Errant enim in utroque,
in hoc quod dicunt : "nos ex debito" et in hoc quod dicunt : "illi ex
indulgentia".¹

The Augustinians felt, it seems, that their very name gave them a standing both more secure than, and superior to, that of the Benedictines. This opinion asked for condemnation and received it.

Honorius's views will be set out in the next section. For now, three points may be made about this polemic. The first is that the positive side of the advocacy lies in the stress all the spokesmen place on the contribution monks have still to make in the field of pastoral care. Secondly, all have an identifiable and assailable enemy : the Augustinian Canons. The fact that the enemy could be so identified perhaps helped the spirit of retaliation.² Thirdly, it appears that for some reason there was, in Regensburg, ground upon which to fight. All three are worth investigating closely, for they bear directly upon Honorius.

Those canons and monks who most wanted to be active in the reformed church came to South Germany and Austria in two main streams. One stream came by way of Passau, and one by way of Hirsau.³ The Canons Regular were supported first in the diocese of Passau by Bishop Altman (1056-91).⁴ St. Pölten and St. Florian stemmed from his early efforts. The archdiocese of

1. *Ibid.*, p. 428-429.

2. I should say here that the first two basic ingredients of the crisis I mentioned at the beginning, the competition of the schoolmen and the call of the solitary life, do not appear at this point to have been deeply important in this area. Gerhoh of Reichersberg maintained, in Regensburg in the 1130s, a furious independence of the teaching of the masters Anselm of Laon and William of Champeaux. Cf P. CLASSEN, *Gerhoh von Reichersberg*, Wiesbaden 1960, p. 24 and 50-51. For the comparative lack of hermits see H. GRUNDMANN, *Deutsche Eremiten, Einsiedler und Klausner im Hochmittelalter (10.-12. Jahrhundert)*, in *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 45 (1963), p. 63-65.

3. H. JACOBS, *Die Hirsauer* (Kölner Historische Abhandlungen, IV), Köln 1961, p. 205. The diatribes of Boto of Prüfening against this pre-occupation on the part of his contemporaries perhaps serve to underline it : "Sed sicut iam supra dicere coepimus, neglecta communitate noxiam singularitatem induci in monasteria videmus, ab his qui in monastico ordine curam animarum susceperunt. Communem namque utilitatem Domus Dei postponentes, privatam singularitatem, quae humanis favoribus magis quam divinis iussionibus servire solet, sectantur" (*De Statu Domus Dei* III ; *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum* 21, p. 501).

4. J.C. DICKINSON, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England*, London 1950, p. 45-46.

Salzburg under Archbishop Conrad (1106-47): welcomed them enthusiastically.¹ They were fortified by the bitter memories of imperial persecution and the contrasting political attitudes of the Welf Dukes of Bavaria, and they spread within Conrad's diocese and outside it in the 1120s with remarkable rapidity.² The Hirsau reform, by way of the abbey of St. George in the Black Forest,³ made great inroads at the same time. From St. George Hirsauer monks went to Ottobeuren, Benediktbeuern, Tegernsee, Admont, St. Ulrich in Augsburg, Prüfening. From Admont, under Abbots Wolfhold (1115-37) and Gottfried (1138-65)⁴ the Hirsau reform reached Attl, Seeon, St. Peter's Salzburg, Ossiach, Prül, St. Emmeram's Regensburg, Melk, Weißenstephan, St. Lambrecht, Göttweig, Millstatt, Michelsberg, Biburg, Kremsmünster, St. George on the Langsee, Bergen, Odilienberg.⁵ Prüfening was, of course, a Hirsauer house when Idung went there as a monk.

Regensburg, however, seems to have been a place apart; this in two ways. First of all, it had a proud and independent monastic tradition. Regensburg was a centre of the Gorze-Trier reform in South Germany.⁶ The city had a distinguished monastic history and provided, in St. Emmeram's and Weih St. Peter's, a haven for those scholarly 'inclusi' the Gorze reform favoured so highly.⁷ It stood aside from Hirsau (William of Hirsau had originally been a monk of St. Emmeram's and had left it and St. Emmeram's did not receive Hirsauer customs until 1143) but was vul-

1. Ch. DEREINE, *Les chanoines réguliers dans l'ancienne province ecclésiastique de Salzbourg d'après les travaux récents*, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 55 (1960), p. 909-915. Some valuable pages on both the tensions and common ground to be found between canons of the *ordo novus* and monks in the archdiocese of Salzburg may be found in P. JOHANEK, *Ein Mandat Papst Hadrian IV für die Mönche von Seeon und die Ordensreform in der Kirchenprovinz Salzburg*, in *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens* 83 (1972), p. 162-175.

2. J. MOIS, *Das Stift Rottenburg in der Kirchenreform des XI.-XII. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 1953, p. 146-148.

3. R. BAUERREISS, *St. Georgen im Schwarzwald, ein Reformmittelpunkt Südostdeutschlands im beginnenden 12. Jahrhundert*, in *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens* 51 (1933), p. 196-201, and 52 (1934), p. 47-56.

4. For an admirable summary cfr U. FAUST, *Gottfried von Admont*, in *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens* 75 (1964), p. 273-275.

5. H. JACOBS, *op. cit.*, p. 69ff.

6. R. BAUERREISS, *Kirchengeschichte Bayerns* II, St. Ottilien 1950, p. 53-87.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 168-171. The eleventh century St. Emmeram's manuscript of the chronicle of Hermannus Contractus (now clm 14613) has, in the margins, a pointing finger to indicate important facts about St. Emmeram's and about distinguished monks.

nerable to the impact of the Canons Regular, by way of Rottenbuch, relatively early. Certainly Bishop Hartwig, Cuno's predecessor, favoured them.¹ Secondly, under Bishop Cuno, Regensburg was a place in which great efforts were made to establish a harmonious and working relationship between monks and canons. The Siegburg reform had been devised to bridge this gap and Cuno, when he left Siegburg and came to Regensburg, brought it to Mondsee (1127), to Weltenburg (1127/28) and perhaps to St. Emmeram's.² Cuno was able to handle both canons and monks with sympathy and tact,³ so much so that he won the enthusiasm of the redoubtable Gerhoh of Reichersberg.⁴ This at last brings us to Honorius.

Honorius and his writings appeared in South Germany exactly where and exactly when the Benedictines were most involved, both urgently and hopefully, in the battle for pastoral care. We know that Honorius dedicated later works to Cuno, but he arrived in fact before Cuno, before the Hirsau reform had begun to gain strength and when the influx of the canons and the support given to them by Hartwig was just beginning to be felt. He came, it seems, to Weith St. Peter's. It would be too much to decide that he was brought deliberately; but it is not too much to claim that he took an active and effective part. This battle, indeed, later waged with success by Cuno and still later by the Hirsauer, seems to provide, in its beginnings, the clue to Honorius's activities we have needed for so long. As in England, so in Regensburg, the underlying cause of monks and the reform, and the particular tensions of the place in which he was called upon to serve it, provide the solution to the place and purpose of his works. In the case of England I suggested that he was prompted to write by a peculiar combination of political opposition and monastic opportunity; a combination, moreover, given a special force by the pressure of time. The pressure of time remained a force in South Germany, but the political opposition was replaced by a political

1. *Ibid.*, III, p. 32-37; MOIS, *op. cit.*, p. 166-168; HUYGENS, *Idung*, art. *cit.*, p. 362.

2. J. SEMMLER, *Die Klosterreform von Siegburg. Ihre Ausbreitung und ihr Reformprogramm im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert*, Bonn 1959, p. 84-85.

3. Siegburg had maintained good relations with Rolduc and perhaps with Rottenbuch when Cuno was Siegburg's abbot and, of course, Norbert entered Siegburg while Cuno was in office. Cf. J. MOIS, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

4. *Chronicon Magni Presbyteri Reichersbergensis* (MGH SS 17, p. 492); GERHON, *De Edificio Dei* (MGH, *Libelli de Lite* III, 137). Gerhoh was persuaded to allow monks pastoral work as a justification of their collection of tithes; cf. CLASSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 42, 45, 177.

sympathy for which the Benedictines had competitors. In Regensburg there was ground on which the Benedictines could take a stand, but the whole was complicated, made both easier and harder by the pride of the local monastic tradition, by its distinctness and by the concentrated nature of the competition. He was met there by an even larger challenge and he confronted it with an even fiercer productive energy.

II. THE EVIDENCE OF THE WRITINGS

At those rare moments when Honorius stops being a compiler, he turns promptly to polemic. There is no mean between these two apparently very different activities. When he turns to polemic two pre-occupations above all stand out. One is with the dignities and responsibilities of the priesthood in general. The other is with the distinction of the monastic life and the rights, especially the rights to the priesthood, to which it can lay claim.

Honorius expresses his views on the priesthood most forcefully in the *Offendiculum*, in the *Elucidarius* and in the *Summa Gloria*. The position he takes up is that of the extreme reformer.

'Quantum differt lux a tenebris, tantum differt ordo sacerdotum a laicis.'

'Presbyteri ... qui speculum debent esse laicorum.'¹

The priesthood is the power which rules the world,² and, indeed, controls its salvation.³ It follows that priests must be men of blameless public life and, of course, celibate.⁴ Anyone departing from these standards is worthy of the severest punishment.⁵ The implication of these demands is strong, but there is a firm direct suggestion also that only monks and Regular Canons take the care required to furnish men suitable for such an office.⁶

If the priesthood is so vital to the renewal of the church, and

1. *Offendiculum*, chapters 38, 39 (*MGH Libelli de Lite* III, 51).

2. *Summa Gloria*, chapter 23 (*ibid.*, p. 73).

3. "Presbyter enim dicitur praebens iter ... scilicet populo de exsilio huius mundi ad patriam coelestis regni. Horum officium est missas celebrare, pro populo sacrificare, corpus Domini dispensare, praedicare, baptizare, poenitentes absolvere, infirmos ungere, mortuos sepelire, populum ad missam, vel nuptias, vel arma, vel peras, vel baculos, vel judicia ferre, et aquas, vel candelas, vel palmas, vel cineres, vel quaslibet res ad cibum pertinentes benedicere" (*Gemma Animae* I, 181; *PL* 172, col. 599).

4. *Offendiculum*, chapter 28 (*loc. cit.*, p. 47-48).

5. *Elucidarius* I, 185-189, 2003-2006; ed. Y. LEFÈVRE, *L'Elucidarium et les lucidaires*, Paris 1954, p. 395-397, 401-402.

6. *Offendiculum*, chapter 28 (*loc. cit.*).

monks make good priests, perhaps the best available, then it follows that monks must live up to their calling.¹ It follows, too, that monk-priests must make themselves heard in the church. This is the burden of Honorius's other polemical treatise, the *Quod Monachis Liceat Predicare*.² Preaching, it should be said, is only a part, though an important one, of those priestly activities Honorius claims for monks. The treatise is written, as he says, to counter those who :

Sententias patrum, quas non intellegunt, pravo sensu ad errorem suum pervertunt, dicentes Christi sacerdotibus in monachica professione constitutis non licere verbum dei populo predicare, pueros baptizare, penitentes suscipere, assumentes in patrocinium sui erroris sententiam Hieronimi eximii doctoris, quia dicit, quod monachis officium non habet ... docentis sed lugentis.³

These are the enemies Idung had to meet, and Honorius uses the same weapons and makes the same claims. Monks are to have full pastoral rights. He goes further, even, than this. He claims that the rights of monks to a share in the pastoral priesthood are not merely distinct from but superior to those of the Canons Regular.

... ecclesia habet duas professiones religionis, videlicet monachicam et regularem, hoc est communem vitam sub regula sancti benedicti vel sancti augustini ducentium ... Igitur sicut ecclesia de officio laicali aliquos ad clericale assumit, ita de utraque professione dignos ad clericale officium elegit, quos in diversa ministeria distribuit.⁴

He goes on :

Regularium itaque vita quanto a canonica est districtior, tanto a monachica remissior, et quanto ab illa altior, tanto ab ista inferior ac seculari vicinior ... Unde sicut a canonica licet cuique ascendere ad regularium vitam, ita licet a regulari cuique ascendere ad monachicam, nulli autem licet a monachica ad regularem sicut nec de regulari ad canonicam. Monachica etenim vita est arcta et angusta via ... Per

1. This is the point forcibly made by the *De Apostatis*, attached, in the early manuscripts, to the *Offendiculum*.

2. Printed by J.-A. EXIMES, *op. cit.*, p. 147-151.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 148. Also : "Nec episcopus aliter consecrat regularem presbyterum quam monachicum presbyterum, quia licet diversa sit professio, uterque eodem fungitur officio. Nec aliter celebrat missam presbyter monachus, nec aliis utitur vestibus in sacramentis quam regularis. Sicut ergo presbytero regulari non ex regula sed ex officio suo licet missas celebrare, predicare, baptizare, penitentes suscipere, ita nihilominus eodem modo presbytero monacho non ex regula sed ex officio sacerdotali licet missas celebrare, predicare, baptizare, penitentes absolvere".

hanc artam viam summi viri gregorius, cassiodorus, ysidorus, martinus et alii innumerabiles ambulaverunt et per multas tribulationes regem glorie in gloria adierunt. Qui huic vite derogent, longe se a consortio illius alienant.¹

These were fighting words, especially in view of the specific rulings of Urban II, later incorporated into the *Decretum*, against the transference of Regular Canons to the monastic life.²

If monks, then, were to win this battle, and it was a battle for no less than influence over the guiding principles of the reformed church, they must be supplied with suitable ammunition. When we turn from the polemic to the compilations, these last may be seen to provide the sort of ammunition which was needed. They fall into four main groups. Firstly there are works which bear upon the liturgy. These, the *Gemma Animae*, the *Sacramentarium*, the *Sigillum*, the *Eucharisticon*, go well beyond the purely monastic aspects of this.³ Secondly, there are the works upon the Bible: the *Commentary on the Psalter*, that on the *Song of Songs*, the lost *Evangelia*, the exposition of the first chapters of Genesis known as the *Neocosmum* or *Hexaemeron*. These books of the Bible are surely among those most distinguished for their 'pastoral' bearing. Thirdly, there is a larger collection of works associated more generally with man's place in the world, his history and his moral purposes: the *Imago Mundi*, *Summa Totius*, *Libelli Quaestionum*, *Clavis Physicae*, *Cognitio Vitae*, *Elucidarius*, *Inevitable*, *De Decem Plagis*, *Scala Coeli*, *De Animae Exilio et Patria*. Some of these are written in the form of simple catechisms and none of them is without pastoral application. Lastly there are the sermon collections. Two of these are lost but only one, the *Refectio Mentium*, was specifically confined to the brethren in chapter and one, the *Speculum Ecclesiae*, was certainly meant for popular audiences.⁴

When one turns to the contents of the compilations, the popular

1. *Ibid.*, p. 149-150.

2. Ch. DEREINE, *L'élaboration du statut canonique des chanoines réguliers, spécialement sous Urbain II*, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 46 (1951), p. 552-553.

3. Dom Bauerreiss draws attention to the special stress Honorius lays upon the symbolic aspects of the liturgy. Cf. R. BAUERREISS, *Kirchengeschichte Bayerns III*, St. Ottilien 1951, p. 146-147.

4. The gift of frater Heinricus describes these as "sermones dulcissimi ad populum". Cf. T. GÖTTLIEB, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs I*, Vienna 1915, p. 11. The sermons, for example *De Nativitate* (PL 172, col. 824-825), contain directives which certainly go far beyond the immediate needs for monks.

intent becomes more evident. The *De Decem Plagis*, for instance, contains, in the setting of the infection of the plagues against the medicine of the commandments, vivid material for instruction and exhortation. The *Scala Coeli* encompasses all who would climb to heaven yet get lost on the way.¹ The *Elucidarius* asks and answers questions of a very broad scope indeed :

Est grave peccatum ducere cognatam ?
 Quid sentis de militibus ?
 Quam spem habent mercatores ?
 Prodest Hierosolymam petere aut alia sacra loca invisere ?
 Peccant ministri qui a iudicibus jussi damnatis mortis supplicium inferunt ?²

This treatise, although written in England, was, of course, widely copied, especially in the area with which we are concerned. The *Cognitio Vitae* was similarly unrestricted :

Omnes ergo fideles ad lignum vitaeque fontem curramus, cuius gustu in aeternum beate vivamus. Libellus autem nomen, cognitio vitae, sortiatur : dum in eo vera vita tardioribus intellectu cognoscibilis reddi videatur.³

Many more examples could be given. Honorius may, in this, be contrasted with his near neighbour and contemporary, Boto of Prüfening, who was rigidly opposed to the pre-occupation of the Benedictine order with the pastorate.⁴ The full contrast between them cannot be properly pursued until we know more about Boto's works, few of which can at the minute be identified.⁵ The *De Statu Domus Dei*, however, is certainly more reflective, more suitable to the study and to the meditative turn of mind than anything Honorius wrote, and at least one of Boto's books is specifically described as 'legentibus satis gratum'.⁶

1. E.g. chapter 9 (PL 172, col. 1234).

2. II, 46, 54, 63, 77, 82 (LÉFÈVRE, *op. cit.*, p. 425, 428-429, 431, 436).

3. PL 40, col. 1007.

4. See above, p. 102, n. 3.

5. Boto lived at Prüfening between the years approximately 1121-1168. Endres has set out extracts from his unpublished works ; cfr J.-A. ENDRES, *Boto von Prüfening und seine schriftstellerische Thätigkeit*, in *Neues Archiv* 30 (1904-1905), p. 634-640.

6. The works of Boto are set out in a chapter of the Passau test of the *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis* of the so-called Anonymous of Melk : "Boto presbiter et monachus de cenobio bruviningerensi, ab adolescentia sua in scribendo et dictando occupatus, scripsit inter alia omelias super evangelia xxx et librum sermonum legentibus satis gratum ; scripsit etiam librum qui intitulatur de domo domini et alium de opere sancte trinitatis ; scripsit etiam commentum in ierarchiam Dionisii ; scripsit quoque libellum qui vocatur 'Dominicus' de die dominica ; scripsit etiam librum grandiusculum super extremam partem

I do not mean to suggest that Honorius's treatises could not be read in the cloister : merely that it is extremely unlikely that it was for this end primarily that they were designed. This brings me finally to a consideration of the way in which the compilations as a whole were put together and presented. Honorius's works have two distinguishing features : complexity of composition and simplicity of exposition. The material he uses is often difficult, in some cases modern and sophisticated. It is drawn from an amazing variety of sources and encompasses a vast range of subjects. The really hard work, however, is directed to the end of giving the most reliable answers available ; never towards the asking of more questions and the furthering of discovery. One can find in the *Elucidarius* a multitude of instances wherein Honorius refuses to put his arduous reading at the service of further questioning. Many instances also are to be found in works less evidently catechetical. In the first book of the *Imago Mundi*, for example, for which Honorius consulted a quite bewildering number of authorities, he stops short again and again at the moment of doubt and deeper enquiry.¹ He does the same, perhaps more importantly, in his long commentary on the *Song of Songs*.² Whilst intellectual energy of a sort is clearly employed, it seems that intellectual enquiry is, even if this means injustice to the enquiries of the Fathers, to be ruthlessly suppressed.

The result is that complexity is always subordinated to simplicity ; and simplicity becomes therefore the outstanding characteristic and the all pervasive one. Yet Honorius does not let matters rest here. He seems to devote to the elaboration of simplicity all that solicitude he had refused to the elaboration of doubt. It becomes as art and with its aid he not merely gives

Ezechielis de edificio in monte ; scripsit quoque libellum de arte musica et aliū de officio missae et super 'Te igitur'. Cfr P. LEHMANN, *Neue Textzeugen des Prüfener Liber de viris illustribus (Anonymus Mellicensis)*, in *Neues Archiv* 38 (1913), p. 555. The sermons on Ezechiel may also be meant rather for reading than for preaching ; cfr ENDRES, *art. cit.*, p. 633-634.

1. For example I, 6. Here Honorius refuses to follow the conflict between Macrobius and Bede over the question of the existence of the Antipodes though both sources were, quite clearly, open before him. Cfr *PL* 172, col. 122. MACROBIUS, *Commentariorum in Somnium Scipionis*, ed. F. EYSENHARDT, Teubner-Leipzig 1892, II, 5, 1-4 ; BEDE, *De Temporum Ratione*, in C.W. JONES, *Beda Opera de Temporibus*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1943, IX, p. 202-204. Again, I, 8-9 and 87, he suppresses St. Augustine's anxieties about the literal interpretation of Genesis 2, 4 and 24, although he clearly knew the relevant works. Cfr *PL* 172, col. 123, 141. AUGUSTINE, *De Civitate Dei* 13, 21 (*PL* 41, col. 394-395) ; *De Genesi ad Litteram* 10 (*PL* 34, col. 271-272).

2. V.I.J. FLINT, *The Commentaries of Honorius Augustodunensis on the Song of Songs*, in *Rev. bénéd.* 84 (1974), p. 207-208.

answers but positively injects them. This brings me to an aspect of Honorius's literary talent which has not, I think, previously been noticed. He displays an amazing sense of audience. There is a deal to be learnt from him in this field. He is fond of movements :

Veterem cisternam relinquamus, ad fluentia novi fontis veniamus.¹
Ignea inferni loca inspeximus, ad refrigerium aquarum confugiamus.²

and a sudden change of view :

Veni huc ad supercilium montis, unde cuncta aedificia conspicere possis damnatae civitatis.³

He has an instinct for when his readers flag which is rarely found in contemporary treatises, and a fine sense of when the threads of an argument are to be gathered together. This is the function of the discipulus in many of his works.⁴ Honorius betrays, in fact, a considerable dramatic talent, with all the feeling for effect that that implies. He calculates the distance in communication between himself and the people he addresses with far more care than he ever calculates that in argument between one point and the next. The sheer charm of the tableaux he creates is so compelling that the most intractable of material is transferred almost without pain. For example, in the *Cognitio Vitae*, he sets up an argument he wishes to destroy in the form of ineffective siege engines :

Fugatis tenebris de structura sacrae aedis, jam ad dissolvendas machinas contra eam erectas accingamur. Deum allucini esse substantialiter, et ubique potentialiter, repugnat firmitati totius jam elaboratae disputationis, et subruitur impulsu evidentissimae rationis ... Hujus falsissimae opinionis machinamenta facile dissolvunt hujus sacrae turris instrumenta.⁵

In this way the battle is won before, on the grounds of argument, it has been fought. The discipulus continues good humouredly to advance these doomed constructions :

Discipulus. Hujus ruinam non moleste ferimus, sed ad frangorem ejus potius fautores applaudimus, quia per hujus casum turris introitum speramus. Sed cum haec machina sit disjecta, ecce alla stat contra turrim erecta.

1. *Offendiculum*, chapter 21 (*loc. cit.*, p. 44).

2. *Imago Mundi* I, 37 ; PL 172, col. 133.

3. *Inevitabile* ; PL 172, col. 1220.

4. *Ibid.*, PL 172, col. 1202.

5. 28-29 ; PL 40, col. 1021-1022.

with the same result. Honorius is nearer in this to stage direction than he is to any other form of literary endeavour and stays so.

In sum, Honorius's compilations are prodigious efforts at covering ground. They succeed in covering an enormous amount of ground extremely thoroughly. They are not, however, devised for the furtherance of monastic meditation, nor even for purely monastic instruction. They are meant for projection on a very much larger scale. For this reason, the dramatic contriving within them is of a very high order, so high indeed that almost nothing remains to be done. In the *Speculum Ecclesiae*, to give a last, but particularly striking, example, Honorius 'produces' not merely the material but the speaker :

Cum autem sermonem facis, non debes protenta manu quasi verba in faciem populi jaculare, nec clausis oculis vel in terram fixis, aut supino vultu stare; nec caput ut insanus movere, vel os in diversa contorquere; sed, ut rhetorica instruit, decenti gestu pronunciare, verba composite et humiliter formare, tristia tristi voce, laeta hylari, dura acri, humilia suppressa proferre. Ut magis auditoribus videatur ipsas res spectare quam te audire, verbis eas debes repraesentare.¹

Honorius's compilations seem, in fact, to be very closely associated with his more directly expressed ambitions for the success of the reform and for that active monastic priesthood which he saw as essential to it. The distinction between polemic and compilation is itself, to this extent, artificial. It seems that we may find, both in his own stated views and in the nature of the labours to which he put himself, evidence of the tenacity of these ambitions.

III. THE EVIDENCE OF THE SURVIVING TWELFTH CENTURY MANUSCRIPTS

This evidence falls into two classes: the surviving single treatises, of which a handlist is appended, and the codices in which one or more of Honorius's writings are found bound up with other works. The last class is the one which has the most immediate bearing upon the suggestion I have been attempting to pursue. This last class may be divided into a further two. The first of these divisions is made up of codices, often large and beautifully written, containing, together with Honorius's works, complete copies of long treatises. Examples of these are WORCESTER *Cathedral*

1. PL 172, col. 861-862.

Library Q. 66, and LONDON *British Museum Royal 6.E. II*. The second is made up of codices, for the most part smaller in size and not as carefully written, containing, with the work or works of Honorius, an enormous variety of selections and fragments. This second division is overwhelmingly the larger one and has in it a number of books which, in this context, seem to demand a careful examination.

Most of the codices containing the *Elucidarius* fall into this second division. The *Elucidarius* is, when it appears in a collection, almost always hidden in a confusion of theological fragments. Sometimes this confusion has tested the compilers of the relevant catalogues of manuscripts beyond endurance. A few examples may perhaps be enough to shew this.¹ One is *Bodley Lat. Th. e 9* (32710). The *Elucidarius* in this codex is incomplete (ending at II, 43), the books have no headings and no attributions, and they are followed by a quite extraordinary miscellany. This includes the *Exaggeratio* of Heriger of Lobbes, part of a record of a council of Gregory VII, three pieces on the Lord's Prayer, the *Quindecim Signa*, a catechism on the creed, a passage 'De ordine clerici et quid sit clericus', a shortened version of Adso *De Antichristo*, extracts from a Bestiary, verses, extracts from the Fathers, part of a letter of Ivo of Chartres.² Another is *Bodley Fairfax 26* (3908). Again, confusion and extreme fragmentation confront one. The *Elucidarius* (f. 38) is complete in this manuscript and is followed, though not immediately, by Augustine's *Enchiridion*. Before, between and after these two come excerpts and fragments. The codex begins with a part of the *Summa Sententiarum* and continues with short sermons and moral extracts. There follow sentences of the 'school of Laon', selections from the Fathers (Fulgentius, Augustine, Gregory, Isidore, Bede, Jerome), sections from a Bestiary, the *De Duodecim Abusivis*, *De Septem Principali-bus Vitiis*, passages on sin, on vestments, on binding and loosing. After the *Elucidarius* come more 'sententiae', St. Bernard *De Laude Novae Militiae*, a sermon of Ivo of Chartres. After the *Enchiridion* we have more sermons and fragments of sermons.³

1. In numbering the contents of the codices I shall note only significant additions to the entries in the printed catalogues.

2. For the analysis of this part of the manuscript I am indebted to Miss A.C. de la Mare.

3. Ff. 1-8, *Summa Sententiarum*; PL 176, col. 104 ff. Among the sermons and extracts (ff. 8^v-16) are some from St. Bernard (f. 10; PL 183, col. 299) and Geoffrey Babion (ff. 10^v, 11, 11^v, 14, 14^v; PL 171, col. 728, 547, 535, 531, 463, 911). Ff. 16-16^v, *sententiae* of the 'school of Laon' (cf. O. LOTTIN, *Psychologie et morale aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles* V, Louvain 1959, nos 229, 137). Ff. 17-

Many more codices containing the *Elucidarius*, though not quite so complex in construction, display the same traits. *Bodley Laud Misc.* 237, for instance, has sermons, extracts from the *Verba Seniorum* and, perhaps, the *Vision of Wettin*.¹ *B.M. Royal 5.E.VI* has parts of the Pseudo-Isidore's *De Numero*, miscellaneous theological notes, a fragment from the 'school of Laon',² Gilbert Crispin's *Dialogue between a Jew and a Christian*, medicinal remedies in Old French. *B.M. Royal 15.A.XX* has Ciceronian tracts, notes, a letter of Ivo, Ghost Stories. *Corpus Christi College CAMBRIDGE 439* has the *Liber Scintillarum*, theological extracts and the Pseudo-Isidore's *De Ortu et Obitu Prophetarum*. For the enormous compilation which is *CAMBRIDGE University Library Kk.IV.6* it is perhaps best to refer directly to the catalogue entry,³ but one may note the inclusion of the *De Arca Noe* of Hugh of St. Victor, enormous numbers of extracts and, again, the *De Ortu et Obitu Prophetarum*.

Two of the codices noticed above include items which bear directly upon the 'cura animarum'. The letter of Ivo of Chartres contained in *B.M. Royal 15.A.XX* is about the rights of canons regular to pastoral care and the ways in which these rights are to be defended.⁴ *Corpus Christi College CAMBRIDGE 439*, has the conciliar decision ascribed to Pope Boniface IV ('Quod liceat monachis cum sacerdotali officio ubique ministrare').⁵ At least two more of the twelfth century codices known to me contain, with the *Elucidarius*, Pope Gregory the Great's *Cura Pastoralis*.⁶ The books containing the *Elucidarius* seem, in short, to be for the most part 'pastoral' books, codices made up, that is, to serve the needs of a man or community with a care of souls.

It may be said that all this merely confirms that which has long

21^v, selections from the Fathers. F. 22, Bestiary. F. 23^v, *De Duodecim Abusivis*. F. 23^v, *De Septem Principalibus Vitiis*. Ff. 24-48, extracts on sin and the sacraments. Ff. 54^v-59^r, *sententiae*. F. 59, *De Laude*. F. 63, sermon 5 of Ivo (*PL* 162, col. 535-553). Ff. 76-76^v, two fragments of sermons of St. Bernard: 87 and 59 (*PL* 183, col. 703, 682). F. 77, sermon of Ralph of Escures 'Intravit Ihesus' (*PL* 158, col. 644).

1. It is not certain that the *Vision of Wettin* was bound originally with the other two.

2. 'Tria sunt genera hominum Deo servientium' (cfr O. LOTTIN, *op. cit.*, n° 420).

3. *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge III*, 1858, p. 642-647.

4. F. 162; *PL* 162, col. 88.

5. F. 48; J.D. MANSI, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* 10, col. 504-505.

6. KLOSTERNEUBURG 793, GÖTTWEIG 37.

been suspected about the place of the *Elucidarius*. We have not suspected it, however, of the other works ; and yet, when the codices containing them too are submitted to inspection of this sort, striking similarities emerge. Take, for example, codices containing the *Imago Mundi*, one of the least evidently 'pastoral' of Honorius's works. Among the earliest of these are MUNICH *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* clm 536, 14348, 14731. All three of these contain, together with the *Imago Mundi*, the 'letters of Paul to Seneca', and identical passages from the Fathers on the moral interpretation of Genesis, Isaiah, Joel.¹ Clm 536 and 14348 have, in addition, a Bestiary and the *De Duodecim Abusivis*. The pattern begins to take on a familiar appearance. Clm 536 contains a lapidary and a fascinating series of mixed Latin and German charms, formule, aphorisms, miracle stories, the *Vision of Wellin*. It also has the same supposed pronouncement of Pope Boniface IV on the rights of monks to sacerdotal office.² Clm 14348 has sermons, extracts, Rupert of Deutz on the *Canticum*, a collection of miracles of the Virgin, an anonymous treatise on the Assumption, the *Elucidarius* and the *Visio Pauli*. Clm 14731 has more extracts attributed to Rupert, selections from the *De Concordia Evangelistarum*, notes on the liturgical year, the seven wonders of the world. PARIS *Bibliothèque Mazarine* 708 binds, with the *Imago Mundi*, the *Sententiae Divinae Paginae*, and the *Summa Sententiarum* of Otto of Lucca. One last codex containing the *Imago Mundi* which I have been able to examine with some care is ADMONT 400. We have the same pattern once again : questiones, a florilegium and sententiae of the style of the 'school of Laon' accompany Honorius's work.³ The selections of the questiones made in this manuscript are particularly interesting, for they all bear upon the constitution of the church, the importance of its preachers, baptism, free will, sin—especially sexual sin—confession and renewal. These matters are pursued relentlessly, to the neglect of less unambiguously moral concerns.⁴ The

1. Clm 536, ff. 57-65^v ; clm 14348, ff. 242-246 ; clm 14731, ff. 51-59.

2. F. 85^v. This is not noted in the catalogue.

3. Ff. 74^v-118^v, parts of the *Questiones super Genesim, super Exodum, super Leviticum, super Numeros, super Deuteronomium, super Ihesu Nave* printed in *PL* 93, also the *De Benedictionibus Patriarcharum* of Adrevaldus of Fleury. Ff. 118 on have a florilegium of passages from Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose Bede, interspersed with some questiones of the 'school of Laon' only one of which we have been able to identify : f. 135 (cf. O. LOTTIN, *op. cit.*, n° 109).

4. This can only be seen by taking the selections and setting them against the main text. Here, for example, are some of the selections from the Book of Genesis (in the manuscript they follow one another immediately) : "Planta-

florilegium is pre-occupied with these concerns as well, although the range is somewhat greater, including, as it does, tithe paying and usury. A quotation from the collection of 'sententiae' in the manuscript may help to make its pre-occupations clear. The 'sententiae' are attributed by the scribe to Jerome on Ezechiel :

Item. Quamdiu anima in infancia est constituta peccato caret. Item. Ihierusalem in medio mundi sita est. Unde umbilicus terre dicitur. Iuxta illud operatus est salutem in medio terre. Item. Si vir cum muliere cocat dum menstruum patitur, concepti fetus vivium seminis trahit, ita ut leprosi et elephantici ex hac conceptione nascentur. Et feda in utroque sexu corpora parvitate et enormitate membrorum sanies corrupta denegetur. Item. Nec de rapinis et usuris et alieno malo panem quaesitum vertamus in miseriam, redemptio enim anime viri proprie divicie quod multos facere conspiciamus qui divites et pauperes spoliunt et agricolas. Ut taceam de militancium et iudicum violencia vel furta committunt, ut de multis parva pauperibus tribuant et in celeribus gloriantur. Publiceque diacones in ecclesiis recitant offerentium nomina, tantum offert ille, ille tantum pollicitus est, placentque sibi ad plausum populi, torquente eos conscientia. Damusque miseris mannam ut gaudeant ad ea quae tribuunt et non lugeant ad ea quae rapiunt.¹

It would be foolish, of course, to argue that these considerations were not proper to twelfth century Benedictines simply as Benedictines. Doubtless they would have been of assistance to all not yet proficient in the religious life and to all with casual contact with the outside world. But it seems foolish, too, to confine them to this rôle. The least that can be said of them is that they appeal to the least angelic and most human aspect of the monastic life ; that they blur the line between the monk and the christian living in the world. In company with the other contents of these manuscripts, however, it does seem that they were meant to serve a wider and more positive end than this.

It is not possible to analyse all the codices here, but certainly many of those containing other works by Honorius, works not, like the *Elucidarius* and *Speculum Ecclesiae*, so obviously pastoral in intent, yield similar results. Examples are ZWETTL 380, LINCOLN Cathedral Library 199, B.M. Royal 6.A.XI, containing

verat ... morte morietur" (PL 93, col. 269), "Quatuor esse ... mittatur eternum" (col. 270), "Serpens autem ... oculus obscuretur" (col. 278-279), "Quia seculum asperum ... amisit" (col. 279). The quotations on Genesis are also to be found in the *De Sex Dierum Creatione Liber* (PL 93, col. 207-234). Again, information purely instructive and not susceptible of a moral interpretation is omitted.

1. Ff. 119^v-120. I have lately discovered a similar collection of 'sententiae' in another *Imago Mundi* manuscript : PARIS, Bibl. Arsenal 93, ff. 129-139^v.

the *Gemma Animae*, KREMSMÜNSTER 114, VIENNA Nationalbibliothek 1959, ADMONT 579, containing the *Sigillum* and *Neocosmum*, VIENNA Nationalbibliothek 953, containing the *Cognitio Vitae*. Again we find sermons and fragments of sermons, exempla, sententiae of the 'school of Laon', treatises on virtues and vices, the *De Numero*, the *Bestiary*, the *De Antichristo* of Adso, excerpts from the *Enchiridion*, *Lapidaries*, *Passiones*, miracles of the Virgin, the *Liber Scintillarum*.

Te

A word must be said, finally, about these codices which contain a large number of the works of Honorius bound together. The two most distinguished of these are Bodley Lyell 56, from the Benedictine abbey of Lambach, and clm 22225 from the Premonstratensian abbey of Windberg. The two contain similar, though not identical, collections of Honorius's writings arranged, for the most part, in the same order: that is (taking those acknowledged to be his), *Cognitio Vitae*, *De Libero Arbitrio*, *De Animae Exilio et Patria*, *De Duodecim Questionibus*, *De Decem Plagis*, *Quid Vasa Honoris*, *Quid sit Claustralis Vita*, *Quod Monachis Liceat Predicare*, *Questiones Octo de Angelo et Homine*, *Summa Gloria*, *Scala Coeli Major*, *Sententiae Patrum*, *Inevitabile*, *Sacramentarium*.¹ The Bodley manuscript adds the *Speculum Ecclesiae* to the beginning of its collection, clm 22225 adds the *Imago Mundi* to the end. KLOSTERNEUBURG 931, containing nine treatises certainly by Honorius follows these closely.² All these codices have bound with the works of Honorius 'questiones' of the style of the 'school of Laon' and a shortened version of the *De Arca Noe* of Hugh of St. Victor, and the first two contain the treatises of both Rupert and Honorius on the rights of monks to preach. It appears that the larger collections again, then, had at least some bearing on the pastorate. The pattern continues in the later larger collections, for instance in two fourteenth century codices, VIENNA Nationalbibliothek 1165 and ST. FLORIAN XI. 54. The first has seven works of Honorius bound up with the same shortened version of the *De Arca Noe* and the *De Miseria Conditionis Humanæ* of Innocent III; the second has five, bound with Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*. One of the five is the *Utrum Monachis Liceat Predicare*.

1. For Bodley Lyell 56 see the superb entry in ALBINIA DE LA MARE: *Catalogue of the Collection of Medieval Manuscripts bequeathed to the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, by James P.R. Lyell, Oxford 1971, p. 168-174.

2. The *Cognitio Vitae*, *De Libero Arbitrio*, *Inevitabile*, *Scala Coeli Major*, *De Animae Exilio et Patria*, *Libellus Octo Quaestionum*, *Liber Duodecim Quaestionum*, *Quid Vasa Honoris*, *De Claustrali Vita*.

This discussion of the codices which have in them the works of Honorius has been undertaken in order to suggest that his writings fit, for the most part, into a genre of books made up to serve the needs of those involved in pastoral care. I have come to believe in this genre from an independent assessment of the purposes of the *Elucidarius* and from an examination of the codices in which the *Elucidarius* appears ; and, since there does not, to my knowledge, exist any agreed definition of a twelfth century 'pastoral' codex, I have undoubtedly to some extent conjured it into being. There is, however, it seems to me at least one other method of discovering whether this is mere conjury or has a more respectable basis. This method calls into service those codices, mostly of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, which contain 'artes predicandi'. It throws, as it were, the machinery into reverse. We may perhaps suppose that at least some of the codices which contain treatises on the art of preaching were directed to the problems of pastoral care. If, then, we find that these codices are, in their general features, similar to those I have been describing, we may, then, have a little more reason to suppose that the latter also had this concern primarily in view. It may be said immediately that the two classes of codices are similar.¹ Codices containing instructions on the art of preaching contain too, almost without exception, confused collections of 'sententiae', apparently confused fragments, exempla, moral precepts, histories, short works of instruction on the Bible, thoughts on the errors of the Jews, miracles and wonders,² medicinal remedies,³ the *Cura Pastoralis*,⁴ the *Liber Scintillarum*,⁵ the *De Arca Noe*,⁶ the *De Miseria Conditionis Humanae*. More, even, than this ; some of those containing 'artes predicandi' contain also, even at this late date, a work of Honorius. Examples of this are clm 3764, 13410, B.M. Harley 3244, all of which have the *Elucidarius* ; GRAZ Universitätsbibliothek 348, the *Sententiae Patrum* and *Inevitable* ; B.M. Royal 6.E.,III, the *Cognitio Vitae* ; VIENNA Schottenstiftsbibliothek 311, an extract from the *Speculum Eccle-*

1. To establish this I took the list of manuscripts cited in Th.-M. CHARLAND, *Artes Praedicandi*, Paris-Ottawa 1936, p. 414-420, and examined, where the manuscripts were not accessible to me, the catalogue entries for the relevant codices. For the direction to Charland, as for so much else, I am indebted to Dr. R.W. Hunt.

2. Clm 4784, 5106.

3. E.g. clm 3580, 3590, 4760, 4784.

4. Clm 5983.

5. BASEL Universitätsbibl. B.X.9 ; clm 19130 ; BM Royal 7.C.I.

6. BASEL Universitätsbibl. B.IX.6.

siae ; clm 18957 Book I of the *Imago Mundi* ; clm 26691, the commentary on the *Song of Songs*.

CONCLUSION

The place of Honorius's writings may be defined within more stringent limits, and the writings themselves reflect a greater urgency of purpose than has previously been suspected. We may narrow his immediate activities most probably to the West of England, certainly to Regensburg. Honorius worked there within the confines of a certain section of the Benedictine Order : those who wanted, without great change and in the face of mounting challenge, to maintain their influence in the church. In that part of this influence had undoubtedly rested upon their rights to tithes, and in that these were inextricably bound with a claim at least to active priesthood, to maintain it the monks had to prove their ability to undertake the reformed priestly office. Deepening criticism and intensified competition put ever greater pressures upon them to do this. Honorius's purpose was to provide the Benedictines with the means to shew themselves fitted to undertake the care of souls just where and just when they were most urgently involved in the pursuit of it.

The handlist, finally, shews that he succeeded beyond his aspirations. The scale on which the works of Honorius were copied in the twelfth century is truly astounding. The list contains two hundred and sixty five separate items. One hundred and eighty nine of these can be traced with some certainty to their original libraries. Benedictine libraries predominate ; ninety four items come from Benedictine houses. Among these, the libraries of Hirsauer houses predominate. Houses of canons, however, Augustinian and Premonstratensian, run them a very close second with thirty seven items from Augustinian libraries and eighteen from Premonstratensian. Interestingly thirty four are of Cistercian origin. Only one comes from a Carthusian house. Honorius did his job so well that he was copied not merely by the Benedictines but by their rivals and their critics. The *Speculum Ecclesiae*, for instance, had a remarkable success with both. This is in one sense the ultimate accolade. Yet, was to be 'produced' so effectively an unmixed blessing for the Benedictines ? Was there not, in the field of learning, a good deal to be said for Boto's alarm ? The place and purposes of Honorius may be not merely more definable but also more sinister than we have supposed.

HANDLIST OF SURVIVING TWELFTH CENTURY MANUSCRIPTS OF THE WORKS OF HONORIUS AUGUSTODUNENSIS

This is a list of surviving twelfth century manuscripts of Honorius's works together with their place of origin, where these can be found. An asterisk marks those I have seen and examined. I have indicated any hesitations I have felt about their dates. Interesting items and additions or corrections to the printed catalogues are noted. The manuscripts are listed first of all under works, then by order of the countries in which they are found now.

De Animae Exilio et Patria :

HEILIGENKREUZ *Stiftsbibl.* 77 ; Heiligenkreuz.
KLOSTERNEUBURG *Stiftsbibl.* 931 ; Klosterneuburg*.
OXFORD *Bodl. Libr.* Lyell 56 ; Lambach* ¹.
MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* clm 22225 ; Windberg* ².

De Anima et de Deo :

OXFORD *Bodl. Libr.* Lyell 58 ; Melk* ³.

In Cantica Cantlicorum :

BALTIMORE *Walters Art Gall.* 387 ; Lambach ⁴.

1. *Bodley* Lyell 56. Items 2-22 of this manuscript are to be found in the same order in clm 22225 ; items 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 15, 18, 20 in HEILIGENKREUZ 77 ; items 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 15, 16, 18, 20 are in KLOSTERNEUBURG 931. These are the most important collections of Honorius's works which survive from the twelfth century. It is worth noting that they are all South German and Austrian, and shared between monks and canons. Items 2, 5, 10-14, 16, 17, 30 (1) are also in the fifteenth century manuscript PRAGUE XIII.G.15 (2382). The text in the Lyell manuscript of the *Speculum Ecclesiae* is similar to that in St. FLORIAN XI.244. There is a marginal addition (f. 18) to the sermon on the Purification (PL 172, col. 852) which is similar to the account of the Feast of the Purification given in the *Gemma Animae* (III, 24). Items 17, 19, 21 differ slightly from the edition printed in Migne.

2. Clm 22225. This can be dated exactly, 1154-1159, the abbacy of Gebhard of Windberg :

Pastor denotus Windbergensis Gebehardus
Abbas existens virtutibus undique florens
Hoc opus exiguum conscribere fecit in unum.
Pro culpe venia rogo suscipe Virgo Maria (f. 1).

The important features of it are its similarity to Lyell 56 and its unique version of the *Imago Mundi*.

3. *Bodley* Lyell 58. Three *quaestiones* in this manuscript, which may be by Honorius, are printed by ENDRES, *op. cit.*, p. 150-154. This is the only example of them I have found.

4. This is described as n^o 144 in J. ROSENTHAL, *Bibliotheca Medii Aevi Manuscripta* II, Munich 1928, p. 48-51. De Ricci and Wilson attribute it to Seitenstetten near Linz, but the references they give for this attribution offer, in fact, no proof. In their description of the manuscript, however, they do note that it once bore the number 94 ; cfr S. DE RICCI and W.J. WILSON, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and*

ADMONT *Stiftsbibl.* 436 (two books); Admont*.
 ADMONT *Stiftsbibl.* 255; Admont*.
 INNSBRUCK *Universitätsbibl.* 300.
 KLOSTERNEUBURG *Stiftsbibl.* 766; Klosterneuburg*.
 VIENNA *Nationalbibl.* 1023*.
 VIENNA *Nationalbibl.* 1059*.
 ZWETTL *Stiftsbibl.* 345; Zwettl*.
 OXFORD *Bodl. Libr.* Lyell 69*.
 TROYES *Bibl. Mun.* 544; Clairvaux.
 VITRY-LE-FRANÇOIS *Bibl. Mun.* 42; Trois-Fontaines.
 ERLANGEN *Universitätsbibl.* 54; Heilsbronn.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* clm 4550; Benediktbeuern.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* clm 5118; Beuerberg.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* clm 17091; Schefflarn.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* clm 18125; Tegernsee.
 WOLFENBÜTTEL *Herz. Aug. Bibl.* Guelf. 511 Helmst.; Lamspring.

De Claustrali Vita :

HEILIGENKREUZ *Stiftsbibl.* 77; Heiligenkreuz.
 KLOSTERNEUBURG *Stiftsbibl.* 931; Klosterneuburg*.
 OXFORD *Bodl. Libr.* Lyell 56; Lambach*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* clm 22225; Windberg*.

Clavis Physicae :

ADMONT *Stiftsbibl.* 579 (fragment).
 VIENNA *Nationalbibl.* Ser. nova 3605; Lambach*.
 ZWETTL *Stiftsbibl.* 293; Zwettl*.
 PARIS *Bibl. Nat. lat.* 6734.
 LONDON *Brit. Mus.* Harley 3851.

Cognitio Vitae :

KLOSTERNEUBURG *Stiftsbibl.* 931; Klosterneuburg*.
 MELK *Stiftsbibl.* 532; Melk*.
 VIENNA *Nationalbibl.* 953*.
 OXFORD *Bodl. Libr.* Lyell 56; Lambach*.
 OXFORD *Bodl. Libr.* Lyell 58; Melk*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* clm 22225; Windberg*.

De Decem Plagis :

OXFORD *Bodl. Libr.* Lyell 56; Lambach*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* clm 22225; Windberg*.

Elucidarius :

YALE *Univ. Libr.* 112.
 GÖTTWEIG *Stiftsbibl.* 37 (R. 99); Göttweig.
 GRAZ *Universitätsbibl.* 1002.
 KLOSTERNEUBURG *Stiftsbibl.* 793; Klosterneuburg*.
 KREMSMÜNSTER, *Stiftsbibl.* CXXXIII; Kremsmünster*.

Canada II, New York 1935-1940, n° 2292. The 1863 catalogue of Lambach manuscripts, at present at the abbey, lists as n° 94 a codex with the same contents exactly as this.

MELK *Stiftsbibl.* 532 (fragment); Melk*.
 VIENNA *Nationalbibl.* 757 (part)*.
 VIENNA *Nationalbibl.* 807; ? Schottenkloster of St. Mary* ¹.
 VIENNA *Nationalbibl.* 864* ².
 VIENNA *Nationalbibl.* 1999; Neuss.
 CAMBRIDGE *Univ. Libr.* Kk.IV.6; Worcester* ³.
 CAMBRIDGE *Corp. Christi Coll.* 439*.
 GLASGOW *Univ. Libr.* 244*.
 LONDON *Brit. Mus.* Royal 5.E.VI*.
 LONDON *Brit. Mus.* Royal 11.A.VII*.
 LONDON *Brit. Mus.* Royal 15.A.XX; Byland*.
 LONDON *Dulwich Coll.* 22 (part).
 LONDON *Lambeth Pal.* 353*.
 OXFORD *Bodl. Libr.* Ashmole 1524 (fragment)*.
 OXFORD *Bodl. Libr.* Fairfax 26*.
 OXFORD *Bodl. Libr.* Lat. Th. e 9 (part); Flanesford*.
 OXFORD *Bodl. Libr.* Laud Misc. 237; Eberbach*.
 AMIENS *Bibl. Mun.* Lescalopier 31.
 ANGERS *Bibl. Mun.* 213.
 ANGERS *Bibl. Mun.* 296; Toussaints.
 GRENOBLE *Bibl. Mun.* 272; Grande-Chartreuse.
 LIÈGE *Bibl. Univ.* 164.
 PARIS *Bibl. Arsenal* 371; Micy*.
 PARIS *Bibl. Nat.* lat. 2155 and 3358 (one ms.); Moissac or Villencourt.
 PARIS *Bibl. Nat.* lat. 2877; St. Martial of Limoges.
 PARIS *Bibl. Nat.* lat. 2879.
 PARIS *Bibl. Nat.* lat. 5134.
 PARIS *Bibl. Nat.* lat. 10729.
 PARIS *Bibl. Nat.* lat. 12315; Corbie.
 PARIS *Bibl. Nat.* lat. 14985.
 TOURS *Bibl. Mun.* 472 (fragment); Marmoutiers.
 TROYES *Bibl. Mun.* 1429.
 TROYES *Bibl. Mun.* 1547.
 VERDUN *Bibl. Mun.* 54; St. Vanne.
 BERLIN *Deutsche Staatsbibl.* Phill. 1695.
 DRESDEN *Sächs. Landesbibl.* J.51 ⁴.
 ERLANGEN *Universitätsbibl.* 216.
 ERFURT *Wiss. Allgem. Bibl.* Amplon. 0-22.
 KLAGENFURT *Studienbibl.* Perg. 3; Millstatt.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* clm 13105; Prüfening* ⁵.

1. This manuscript, I have already tried to suggest, may have been the one mentioned as 'bene correctum' in the gift of Frater Heinricus. The text has the later variant for 11, 7, and a series of marginal additions which are, without exception, drawn from the last recension of the *Elucidarius*. Cfr V.I.J. FLINT, *The Career of Honorius Augustodunensis. Some fresh Evidence*, in *Rev. bénéd.* 82 (1972), p. 68-69.

2. The *Elucidarius* was not originally bound with this collection.

3. The *Elucidarius* is followed in this manuscript by another set of questions and answers (ff. 60-62^v). They are printed by J.-B. PITRA, *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi Parata* V, Paris 1888, p. 160.

4. War damage has rendered all but about thirty folios of this illegible.

5. This manuscript is discussed by A. BOECKLER, *Die Regensburg-Prüfening*

MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* clm 14348; St. Emmeram's Regensburg*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* clm 16057.
 DUBLIN *Trinity Coll.* 279; Rievaulx*.
 PADUA *Bibl. Antoniana Scall.* XXII.534.
 BASEL *Universitätsbibl.* B.VIII.23 (fragment).

Eucharisticon :

HEILIGENKREUZ *Stiftsbibl.* 215; Heiligenkreuz.
 VIENNA *Nationalbibl.* 863; ? St. Emmeram's Regensburg*¹.
 ERLANGEN *Universitätsbibl.* 227; Heilsbronn.

Expositio Psalterii :

SALZBURG *St. Peter's Stiftsbibl.* a.IX.5 (second book)*.
 VIENNA *Nationalbibl.* 910 (second book)*.
 ERLANGEN *Universitätsbibl.* 51; Heilsbronn.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* clm 4536; Benediktbeuern*.
 MUNICH *Bayer Staatsbibl.* clm 5117; Beuerberg*.

Gemma Animae :

ADMONT *Stiftsbibl.* 366; Admont*.
 GRAZ *Universitätsbibl.* 149; St. Lambrecht.
 GRAZ *Universitätsbibl.* 768; Seckau.
 GRAZ *Universitätsbibl.* 804; Millstatt.
 GRAZ *Universitätsbibl.* 806; St. Lambrecht.
 HOHENFURTH *Stiftsbibl.* 117; Hohenfurth.
 KLOSTERNEUBURG *Stiftsbibl.* 580 (to I.clv); Klosterneuburg*.
 LINZ *Studienbibl.* 385.
 LAMBACH *Stiftsbibl.* 35; Lambach*.
 VIENNA *Nationalbibl.* 801*².
 VIENNA *Nationalbibl.* 1025*³.
 VIENNA *Nationalbibl.* 1321 (to I.cix)*.
 ZWETTL *Stiftsbibl.* 380; Zwettl*.
 PRAGUE *Univ. Bibl.* XIII.F.20 (2358)*.
 CAMBRIDGE *Corp. Christi Coll.* 319; Lessness*.
 HEREFORD *Cathedral Libr.* O.I.V.
 LINCOLN *Cathedral Libr.* 217*.

Buchmalerei des XII. und XIII. Jahrhunderts, Munich 1924, p. 125, 129. He marks the appearance of the *Inevitable* and *Offendiculum* in the catalogue of 1140, and the *Elucidarius* in that of 1165. For later manuscripts of the *Elucidarius* see H. DÜWELL, *Noch nicht untersuchte Handschriften des 'Elucidarium' von Honorius Augustodunensis*, in *Scriptorium* 26 (1972), p. 337-342. I am indebted to Dr. Düwell, too, for some of the references to the twelfth century ones.

1. The first item in this collection, which is unidentified in the catalogue, is the *De Sacramento Altaris* of William of St. Thierry (PL 180, col. 341-366). This work is bound with the *Eucharisticon* in ERLANGEN 227 also.

2. This has (f. 67) the addition beginning 'Ecce filie hierusalem' noticed by ENDRES, *op. cit.*, p. 39-40. VIENNA NB 1025 and PARIS BN nouv. acq. lat. 363 have it also.

3. The last sentence of the *Gemma Animae* is written in a form very like that of the so-called anathema verse of manuscripts from Prüfening. Cfr BOECKLER, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

LINCOLN *Cathedral Libr.* 199; Heynings*.
 LONDON *Brit. Mus. Royal* 6.A.XI; Rochester*.
 LONDON *Brit. Mus. Royal* 6.E.II*.
 PARIS *Bibl. Nat. nouv. acq. lat.* 363.
 PARIS *Bibl. Nat. lat.* 11579.
 PARIS *Bibl. Nat. lat.* 13218.
 ERLANGEN *Universitätsbibl.* 184 (extracts); Heilsbronn.
 GOTH A *Forschungsbibl. Membr.* 1.72.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl. clm* 7974; Kaisheim*.
 ROME *Bibl. Vat. Reg. lat.* 328.

Hexaemeron :

BALTIMORE *Walters Art Gall.* 387; Lambach.
 ADMONT *Stiftsbibl.* 579; Admont*.
 MELK *Stiftsbibl.* 532; Melk*.
 VIENNA *Nationalbibl.* 1023*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl. clm* 4550; Benediktbeuern*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl. clm* 4625; Benediktbeuern*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl. clm* 5118; Beuerberg*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl. clm* 17091; Scheftlarn*.

Imago Mundi :

NEW YORK *Pierpont Morgan Libr.* 81 (fragment); Radford* ¹.
 ADMONT *Stiftsbibl.* 400; Admont*.
 GÖTTWEIG *Stiftsbibl.* 46; Göttweig*.
 MELK *Stiftsbibl.* 248; Melk*.
 SALZBURG *St. Peter's Stiftsbibl. a.IX.1*; St. Peter's*.
 VIENNA *Nationalbibl.* 427 (book 111).
 VIENNA *Nationalbibl.* 507*.
 VIENNA *Nationalbibl.* 539*.
 VIENNA *Nationalbibl.* 818; ? Mondsee*.
 VIENNA *Nationalbibl.* 2479*.
 ZWETTL *Stiftsbibl.* 172; ? Zwettl*.
 BRUSSELS *Bibl. Royale* 10862-5* ².
 CAMBRIDGE *Corp. Christi Coll.* 66; Sawley* (? early thirteenth cent.)
 LONDON *Brit. Mus. Add.* 38665; Kenilworth*.
 LONDON *Brit. Mus. Royal* 12.C.XIX (fragment)* ³.
 LONDON *Brit. Mus. Royal* 13.A.XXI; Hagneby*.
 LONDON *Brit. Mus. Harley* 4348; St. Mary's-outside-the-walls Trier*.
 LONDON *Brit. Mus. Cotton Cleopatra B.IV*; Byland*.
 OXFORD *Bodl. Libr. Rawlinson B.434* (I, IV-XXXVI); Winchester*.
 PARIS *Bibl. Arsenal* 93 (part); ? St. Victor*.
 PARIS *Bibl. Mazarine* 708*.

1. This was given to the Augustinian Priory of Radford, near Worksop, by Philip, canon of Lincoln. It very closely resembles *BM Royal* 12.C.XIX.

2. According to the catalogue the *Imago Mundi* ends on f. 166^v. It in fact ends at f. 139^r and is followed by the *De Libero Arbitrio* and the *Inevitable* (second recension).

3. See above, n. 1. I am indebted to Dr. M.-O. Garrigues for discovering for me two of the Paris manuscripts I mention, *Bibl. Arsenal* 93 and *BN lat.* 6560.

PARIS *Bibl. Nat.* lat. 6560*.
 PARIS *Bibl. Nat.* lat. 11130 (books 1-11)*.
 PARIS *Bibl. Nat.* lat. 15009; St. Victor (? early thirteenth cent.)*.
 BERLIN *Deutsche Staatsbibl. Preuss. Kult.* 956 (lat. fol. 307) (fragment);
 Havelberg.
 FULDA *Hess. Landesbibl.* B.3 (book 111); Weingarten*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* 536; Prül*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* 7793; Indersdorf*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* 7974; Kalsheim*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* 11336; Polling*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* 14348; St. Emmeram's Regensburg*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* 14731; St. Emmeram's Regensburg*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* 18918 (part of book 111); Tegernsee*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* 22225; Windberg*.
 STUTTGART *Württemb. Landesbibl.* Hist. 4.155; Comburg*.
 ROME *Bibl. Val. Reg.* lat. 471; St. Mary's Stolp*¹.
 ROME *Bibl. Val. Vat.* lat. 1890*.
 UPSALA *Universitätsbibl.* C. 699; St. Mary's Colbaz*.
 VIENNA *Nationalbibl.* 1180.

Inevitable :

HEILIGENKREUZ *Stiftsbibl.* 77; Heiligenkreuz*.
 KREMSMÜNSTER *Stiftsbibl.* CXXXIII; Kremsmünster*.
 MELK *Stiftsbibl.* 532 (excerpts); Melk*.
 BRUSSELS *Bibl. Royale* 10862-5*.
 OXFORD *Bodl. Libr.* Laud Misc. 237; Eberbach*.
 OXFORD *Bodl. Libr.* Lyell 56; Lambach*.
 OXFORD *Bodl. Libr.* Lyell 58 (extracts); Melk*.
 PARIS *Bibl. Nat.* lat. 2878.
 ERLANGEN *Universitätsbibl.* 227; Heilsbronn.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* clm 13105; Prüfening*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* clm 14348; St. Emmeram's Regensburg*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* clm 22225; Windberg*.
 LEIDEN *Rijksbibl.* Vulc. 100; St. Pantaleon*.

De Libero Arbitrio :

HEILIGENKREUZ *Stiftsbibl.* 77; Heiligenkreuz*.
 KLOSTERNEUBURG *Stiftsbibl.* 931; Klosterneuburg*.
 ZWETTL *Stiftsbibl.* 293; Zwettl*.
 BRUSSELS *Bibl. Royale* 10862-5*.
 OXFORD *Bodl. Libr.* Lyell 56; Lambach*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* clm 22225; Windberg*.

De Luminaribus :

KLOSTERNEUBURG *Stiftsbibl.* 949; Klosterneuburg*.
 ST. FLORIAN *Stiftsbibl.* X1.252; St. Florian.
 ZWETTL *Stiftsbibl.* 225; Zwettl*.

1. In this manuscript the *Imago Mundi* is immediately followed by a passage beginning 'Encas antenor Priamus fugerit de trois...'. Also bound with it are the *Libellus de VII miraculis mundi* and the *Adversus Paganos* of Orosius. In all this it is exactly like UPSALA C. 699.

Offendiculum :

KREMSMÜNSTER *Stiftsbibl.* CXXXIII; Kremsmünster*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* 13105; Prüfening*.
 LEIDEN *Rijksbibl.* Vulc. 100; St. Pantaleon*.

Questiones VIII & XII :

HEILIGENKREUZ *Stiftsbibl.* 77; Heiligenkreuz*.
 KLOSTERNEUBURG *Stiftsbibl.* 931; Klosterneuburg*.
 ZWETTL *Stiftsbibl.* 298 (fragment); Zwettl*.
 OXFORD *Bodl. Libr.* Lyell 56; Lambach*.
 DIJON *Bibl. Mun.* 42 (XII.Q); Citeaux.
 PARIS *Bibl. Nat.* lat. 15732.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* clm 22225; Windberg*.

Questiones in Joannem, Mattheum, Proverbia, Ecclesiasten :

VIENNA *Nationalbibl.* 807; ? Schottenstift of St. Mary*.
 ZWETTL *Stiftsbibl.* 73; Zwettl*.

Quid Vasa Honoris :

HEILIGENKREUZ *Stiftsbibl.* 77; Heiligenkreuz*.
 KLOSTERNEUBURG *Stiftsbibl.* 931; Klosterneuburg*.
 OXFORD *Bodl. Libr.* Lyell 56; Lambach*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* clm 22225; Windberg*.

Quod Monachis Liceat Predicare :

OXFORD *Bodl. Libr.* Lyell 56; Lambach*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* clm 22225; Windberg*.

Sacramentarium :

OXFORD *Bodl. Libr.* Lyell 56; Lambach*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* clm 22225; Windberg*.

Scala Coeli Major :

HEILIGENKREUZ *Stiftsbibl.* 77; Heiligenkreuz*.
 KLOSTERNEUBURG *Stiftsbibl.* 931; Klosterneuburg*.
 OXFORD *Bodl. Libr.* Lyell 56; Lambach*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* clm 22225; Windberg*.

Scala Coeli Minor :

OXFORD *Bodl. Libr.* Lyell 56; Lambach*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* clm 22225; Windberg*.

Sigillum :

BALTIMORE *Walters Art Gall.* 387; Lambach.
 ADMONT *Stiftsbibl.* 579; Admont*.
 INNSBRUCK *Universitätsbibl.* 300.
 KREMSMÜNSTER *Stiftsbibl.* CXIV; Kremsmünster*.
 VIENNA *Nationalbibl.* 1023*.
 VIENNA *Nationalbibl.* 1059*.
 CAMBRIDGE *Univ. Libr.* Kk.IV.6; Worcester*.

LONDON *Brit. Mus. Royal 4.C.XI* (part); Worcester* 1.
 OXFORD *Jesus Coll. 54*; Evesham* 2.
 OXFORD *Merton Coll. 181*; Malmesbury*.
 WORCESTER *Cathedral Libr. Q.66* (part); Worcester* 3.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl. clm 4550*; Benediktbeuern*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl. clm 5118*; Beuerberg*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl. clm 17091*; Scheftlarn*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl. clm 18125*; Tegernsee*.

Speculum Ecclesiae :

ADMONT *Stiftsbibl. 131*; Admont*.
 GÖTTWEIG *Stiftsbibl. 47* (R.104); Göttweig*.
 KLOSTERNEUBURG *Stiftsbibl. 478*; Klosterneuburg*.
 KLOSTERNEUBURG *Stiftsbibl. 480*; Klosterneuburg*.
 KLOSTERNEUBURG *Stiftsbibl. 1118* (extracts); Klosterneuburg*.
 KREMSMÜNSTER *Stiftsbibl. CXXII*; Kremsmünster*.
 ST. FLORIAN *Stiftsbibl. 244*; St. Florian.
 ST. FLORIAN *Stiftsbibl. 251*; St. Florian.
 SALZBURG *Universitätsbibl. M.134**.
 VIENNA *Nationalbibl. 880** 4.
 VIENNA *Nationalbibl. 950**.
 VORAU *Stiftsbibl. 167*; Vorau.
 VORAU *Stiftsbibl. 179*; Vorau.
 OXFORD *Bodl. Libr. Lyell 56*; Lambach*.
 PARIS *Bibl. Arsenal 518**.
 AUGSBURG *Bischöfl. Ordinariatsbibl. 11* (excerpts).
 ERLANGEN *Universitätsbibl. 279*; Heilsbronn.
 ERLANGEN *Universitätsbibl. 280* (part I); Heilsbronn.
 ERLANGEN *Universitätsbibl. 281* (part II); Heilsbronn.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl. clm 4580*; Benediktbeuern*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl. clm 4590**.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl. clm 5515*; Diessen*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl. clm 7700*; Indersdorf*.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl. clm 16022**.
 MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl. clm 18698*; Tegernsee*.
 WÜRZBURG *Universitätsbibl. Mp. th. 1. 76*.
 LENINGRAD *Publ. Libr. Irm. lat. 22*.

1. The two Worcester copies of the *Sigillum*, this one and WORCESTER Q. 66, are practically complementary. The first ends at 'consecrat' (f. 240; PL 172, col. 499), the second begins at 'Gloriosa virginis' (f. 145; PL 172, col. 499). Both are inserted later into the last folios of the codices in which they appear.

2. This is the earliest extant copy of the *Sigillum* and was once in the collection of Sir John Prise; cf. N.R. KER, *Sir John Prise*, in *The Library* 10, (1955), p. 9. On f. 1 is written, in an early twelfth century hand, 'Nobilis henrici cuius pereunt inimici'.

3. See above, n. 1.

4. This manuscript, and VIENNA 950, supply the lack in Migne noticed by J. KELLE, *Untersuchungen über das 'Speculum Ecclesiae' des Honorius und die 'Libri Deflorationum' des Abtes Werner*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 145 (1902), p. 2 ff.

ST. GALL *Stiftsbibl.* 1075; St. Gall.
ZURICH *Zentralbibl.* Rh. 33; Rheinau.

Summa Gloria :

OXFORD *Bodl Libr.* Lyell 56; Lambach*.
PARIS *Bibl. Arsenal* 93; ? St. Victor*.
MUNICH *Bayer. Staatsbibl.* clm 22225; Windberg*.

Summa Toliis :

VIENNA *Nationalbibl.* 382; Lambach*.

The University of Auckland
(New Zealand).

Valerie I.J. FLINT.