

# EXSILIUM HOMINUM IGNORANTIA EST. HONORIUS AUGUSTODUNENSIS AND KNOWLEDGE IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

JOSÉ MIGUEL DE TORO  
UNIVERSIDAD CATÓLICA DE LA SANTÍSIMA CONCEPCIÓN  
CHILE

Date of receipt: 13<sup>th</sup> of September, 2018  
Final date of acceptance: 27<sup>th</sup> of November, 2018

## ABSTRACT

During the twelfth century, Honorius Augustodunensis wrote a number of encyclopaedic works. In *Imago mundi* (circa 1110) he presents the system of the cosmos based on the traditional authorities of the early Middle Ages. By contrast, in *De animae exsilio et patria* (circa 1140), he proposes an updated educational curriculum for his time, influenced greatly by the arrival of the Greco-Arab knowledge in Europe. An analysis of these works reveals the evolution of Honorius' thinking, with two particular points of interest emerging: 1) that Honorius, rather than reacting to the twelfth century Renaissance, in fact contributed to it through his divulgation works, and 2) that new knowledge was already beginning to spread across the Holy Roman Empire during the first half of the century.<sup>1</sup>

## KEYWORDS

Honorius Augustodunensis, 12<sup>th</sup> century Renaissance, Liberal arts, Holy Roman Empire, Encyclopaedism.

## CAPITALIA VERBA

Honorius Augustodunensis, Duodecimi saeculi renovatio, artes liberales, Sacrum Romanum Imperium, encyclopaedismus.

## 1. Introduction

From the final 30 years of the eleventh century onwards, a large-scale philosophical and scientific movement began to emerge in Western Europe, which has come to be considered a 'Renaissance'. Driven by a new, less allegorical and symbolic view of nature, medieval knowledge experienced renewal across a wide range of disciplines related to the material world.<sup>2</sup> The new thinkers or 'intellectuals' played an important role in this renewal process, which would culminate in the incorporation of the complete works of Aristotle during the thirteenth century.<sup>3</sup> These masters dedicated themselves to learning, abandoning the cloisters for the increasingly developed urban centres of scholarship.<sup>4</sup> The boldest set out in search of new knowledge and debate, travelling to the Iberian Peninsula, the south of Italy and other centres dotted around the Mediterranean, where disciplines concerning the natural world were thriving under Arab influence. A legion of Greek, Hebrew and Arabic translators<sup>5</sup> produced and circulated a considerable number of ancient and modern treatises on natural philosophy, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, astrology and alchemy.

It is during this period that Honorius Augustodunensis is traditionally considered to have lived. One of the most enigmatic figures of the medieval West, he consciously concealed himself behind long-lasting anonymity.<sup>6</sup> Although history is unclear as to his birthplace, his academic career, or whether he eventually became

1. This article is part of FONDECYT research project number 11160240, CONICYT, Government of Chile, entitled "Restoration of knowledge in the medieval West: the influence of encyclopaedism in twelfth century historical writing".

2. On the abundant bibliography that exists on this subject, some general works of especially useful are Haskins, Charles Homer. *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927 (foundational work, with an essential role in spreading the concept); Brooke, Christopher. *The Twelfth Century Renaissance*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1969; Benson, Robert L.; Constable, Giles; Lanham, Carol D., dirs. *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982; Swanson, R.N. *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance*. Manchester-New York: Manchester University Press, 1999; Verger, Jacques. *La Renaissance du XIIIe siècle*. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1999. See also the essay of Le Goff, Jacques. "What did the Twelfth-Century Renaissance mean?", *The Medieval World*, Peter Linehan, ed. London: Routledge, 2001: 635-647.

3. For the limits of the paradigmatic change due to the introduction of Aristotelian physics in Europe, see Franklin-Brown, Mary. *Reading the World. Encyclopedic Writing in the Scholastic Age*. Chicago-London: The University of Chicago Press, 2012: 52-54. She shows well enough the survival of the symbolic tradition and its coexistence with the description of the properties of things, the core of the Aristotelian method.

4. Riché, Pierre; Verger, Jacques. *Des nains sur des épaules de géants. Maîtres et élèves au Moyen Âge*. Paris: Tallandier, 2006: 83-117. See also the classic work of Le Goff, Jacques. *Les intellectuels au Moyen Âge*. Paris: Éd. du Seuil, 1985 (published for the first time in 1957).

5. Martínez Gázquez, José. *The Attitude of the Medieval Latin Translators Towards the Arabic Science*. Florence: SISMELE-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2016: 20. This author counts several dozen translators working actively on Arabic texts alone between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries.

6. A very good summary of the few things that we know about the life of Honorius in Garrigues, Marie-Odile. "L'œuvre d'Honorius Augustodunensis: Inventaire critique". *Abhandlungen der Braunschweigischen Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft*, 38 (1986): 7-136, 39 (1987): 123-228, and 40 (1988): 129-190. See also Flint, Valerie. *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*. Aldershot: VARIORUM. Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1995.



a teacher,<sup>7</sup> it is fairly certain that he settled in the south of the Holy Roman Empire (in Regensburg or its environs),<sup>8</sup> and that he died sometime after 1156. He was a prolific writer, although, owing to his anonymity, the full extent of his production is yet to be established. However, some forty works on a variety of subjects can safely be attributed to him,<sup>9</sup> including cosmographic and didactic texts that are highly representative of the encyclopaedic movement taking place in western Europe at the time. The present article will analyse two treatises that are of particular relevance to understanding Honorius' encyclopaedic thinking and the contribution he made to the cultural transformations of the time: *Imago mundi* and *De animae exsilio et patria*. Both have a clear divulgation tone, a feature common to all of his works.<sup>10</sup>

## 2. *Imago mundi*: structure and philosophical foundations

According to Elizabeth Keen, the *Imago mundi* is part of a broader work on the subject of the universe that also includes *De neocosmo* and *Clavis physicae*.<sup>11</sup> The first, written around 1102-1105,<sup>12</sup> is a slim volume of five chapters covering the six days of the creation. The second, dated 1110-1115,<sup>13</sup> is a divulgative version of the *Periphyseon* (*De divisione naturae*) by John Scotus Eriugena (d. circa 877) and, as

---

7. It is possible that Honorius was of Irish origin. See Reynolds, Roger E. "Further Evidence for the Irish Origin of Honorius Augustodunensis". *Vivarium*, 7 (1969): 1-7. Based on the limited evidence available to us, we know that he moved around a great deal in his youth. He began his studies in England, where he may have attended classes with master Anselm of Canterbury, moving then to France as a student at one of the prestigious early twelfth century schools (for example, Paris, Chartres, or Laon). It seems unlikely that he became a master himself, and if he did, this would have been for a very short period. There is also uncertainty as to whether he spent time in Autun (Burgundy), although one contemporary document refers to him as *Augustodunensis Ecclesiae presbyter et scholasticus*. Augustodunensis, Honorius. "De luminaribus ecclesiae", *Patrologia Cursus Completus*. Paris: J. P Migne editorem, 1854, CLXXII, col. 232B. However, there is no documented evidence of a secular school in Autun at that time, and the city's archives —kept in relatively good order— contain no mention of any of Honorius' works. Garrigues, Marie-Odile. "L'œuvre d'Honorius...", 39 (1987): 172.

8. A large number of manuscripts of Honorius' works originate from this region, particularly from Regensburg and its environs: Würzburg, Gaming, Melk, St. Florian, Kremsmünster, Göttweig, Windberg and Lambach. See Sanford, Eva Matthews. "Honorius, *Presbyter* and *Scholasticus*". *Speculum*, 23 (1948): 398-399. Flint also links Honorius with Regensburg because of the tension between the reform of the Church in South Germany and the local monastic traditions. Flint, Valerie. "The Place and Purpose of the Works of Honorius Augustodunensis". *Revue Bénédictine*, 87 (1977): 104-105.

9. Garrigues, Marie-Odile. "L'œuvre d'Honorius...", 40 (1988): 171.

10. Flint, Valerie. *Honorius Augustodunensis...* : 129.

11. Keen, Elizabeth. "Shifting horizons: the medieval compilation of knowledge as mirror of a changing world", *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, Jason König, Greg Woolf, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013: 287.

12. Garrigues, Marie-Odile. "L'œuvre d'Honorius...", 38 (1986): 53.

13. Garrigues, Marie-Odile. "L'œuvre d'Honorius...", 39 (1987): 152.



such, has a marked Neoplatonic and Augustinian tone.<sup>14</sup> We will not enter into an analysis of these streams of philosophical thought, as rather than proposing his own natural philosophy, Honorius shares those put forward by the Carolingian thinker.<sup>15</sup>

It is generally considered that the *Imago mundi* was written at the beginning of the twelfth century, specifically around 1110.<sup>16</sup> It takes the form of a three-volume encyclopaedia presenting the ‘world system’ and the ‘book of nature’, adopting the nomenclature of Bernard Ribémont,<sup>17</sup> and dedicating a significant section to the subjects of computus and history. The first book is ordered according to the elements that make up the universe. First comes the element earth, where he describes the globe, climatic zones, inhabited areas, regions, and islands, as well as Hell, which is described as being a space located within the Earth itself.<sup>18</sup> The description of the *orbis terrarum* or inhabited world follows the traditional principles of scholarly geography—most likely with the help of a map of the world—<sup>19</sup> and passing from one region to the next from east to west, first around the northern hemisphere, and then around the southern. Honorius also refers to its inhabitants: men, monsters and beasts. He goes on to present the element water, where he covers the ocean, fresh and salt waters, marine phenomena, and aquatic animals. Thirdly, he describes the air, including the wind, the clouds, and atmospheric phenomena. He then proceeds with an analysis of fire, the lightest of the elements, wherein the heavenly bodies—the planets, fixed stars and constellations—reside, where celestial phenomena take place (shooting stars, comets, etc.) and from whence the signs of the zodiac exert their influence. He concludes with the Heaven of the angels, and finally the Heaven of God, or the heaven of heavens, *Cælum cælorum*.<sup>20</sup>

14. For the influence of John Scotus Eriugena on Honorius Augustodunensis, see Crouse, Robert D. “A Twelfth Century Augustinian: Honorius Augustodunensis”, *Congresso Internazionale su s. Agostino nel XVI Centenario della conversione. Roma, 15-20 settembre 1986*. Rome: Institutum Patristicum «Augustinianum», 1987: III, 170 and 173; Crouse, Robert D. “Honorius Augustodunensis, Disciple of Anselm?”, *Die Wirkungsgeschichte Anselms von Canterbury*, Helmut Kohlenberger, ed. Frankfurt: Minerva, 1975: 131-139.

15. We refer instead to the seminal work by d’Alverny, Marie-Thérèse. “Le cosmos symbolique au XIIe siècle”. *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 28 (1953): 35-69, where the intellectual alignment, borrowings, and adaptations (including misinterpretations) made by Honorius from John Scotus’ *De divisione naturae* are explained.

16. An overview of the work, including the sources used by Honorius in its composition, may be found in Flint, Valerie. “World history in the early twelfth century; the ‘Imago Mundi’ of Honorius Augustodunensis”, *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages. Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, R.H. Davis, J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, eds. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981: 211-238. The critical edition of *Imago mundi* can be found in Flint, Valerie. “Honorius Augustodunensis ‘Imago Mundi’”. *Archives d’Histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age*, 49 (1982): 7-153.

17. Ribémont, Bernard. *La «Renaissance» du XIIe siècle et l’Encyclopédisme*. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002: 13.

18. *Infernus ideo dicitur inferus quia inferius est positus. Sicut enim terra est in medio aere, ita est infernus in medio terræ*. Flint, Valerie. “Honorius Augustodunensis ‘Imago...’”: 66.

19. Gautier-Dalché, Patrick. “Maps in words. The descriptive logic of medieval geography, from the eighth to the twelfth century”, *The Hereford World Map. Medieval World Maps and their Context*, Paul D.A. Harvey, ed. London: The British Library, 2006: 230-231.

20. Flint, Valerie. “Honorius Augustodunensis ‘Imago...’”: 92.



Book II is a summary of the treatise on computus which, for Honorius, while an eminently practical discipline, is also theoretical in the Pythagorean sense: numbers are the abstract reason of the universe. He therefore begins by saying: *Priori libello globum totius mundi oculis corporis representavimus, sequenti iam tempus in quo volvitur oculis cordis anteponamus.*<sup>21</sup> There follows a study of time, its constituent parts (atoms, seconds, minutes, hours, days, weeks, months, years), phenomena relating to processes of transformation (seasons of the year, equinoxes, solstices, eclipses), the *climata*, and the reckoning of time and contemporary date systems, concluding with an overview of liturgical time.

Book III is the book of history, which is effectively a reconciliation of everything that has come before: it is in history that material beings and time come together. There is a degree of debate as to whether this book formed part of the original edition of *Imago mundi*,<sup>22</sup> but what is certain is that it was added soon after, and that Honorius himself continued to alter it as he reviewed the different versions of the work, the last and most complete of which is dated 1152.<sup>23</sup> This book also has an encyclopaedic structure. It is a universal chronicle based on a mixed framework that distils the six ages of the world and positions the kingdoms as political units. As is standard in this type of text, the patriarchs and the kings of the Jewish people provide the central thread or main story for establishing the time-scales of the ancient kingdoms, including the Assyrians, Scythians, Egyptians, Arcadians, Edomites, Argives, Athenians, Amazons, Trojans, Thebans, Cretans, Mycenaean, Italics, Macedonians, Albanians, Babylonians, Persians, the Empire of Alexander the Great, the kingdoms of his successors, and the consuls of Rome and its emperors. Honorius then provides a list of Roman persecutions of Christians; in other words, a history of the early Church. The tenth persecution, beginning with the emperor Diocletian, allows him to follow the line of the emperors, piecing together European history as far as Conrad III of Germany, who ruled between 1138 and 1152.

The work as a whole is built on the foundation of the period's most canonical texts. Books I and II deal with cosmography and are influenced by the writings of Pliny the Elder, Solinus, Orosius, Macrobius, Isidore, Martianus Capella, Bede, Rabanus Maurus, Hyginus and numerous Fathers of the Church; writings which, in other words, were sacred by tradition. In fact, Honorius intended precisely this, declaring in the prologue to *Imago*: *Nichil autem in eo pono, nisi quod majorum commendat traditio.*<sup>24</sup> The same conservative approach to use of sources can be seen in Book

21. "In the first book we have witnessed, through the eyes of the body, the sphere of the whole universe. In the second, let us now expose with the eyes of the heart the time in which this exists". Flint, Valerie. "Honorius Augustodunensis *Imago*...": 92.

22. Garrigues, Marie-Odile, "L'œuvre d'Honorius...", 38 (1986): 29, proposes that the historical portion of the *Imago mundi* did not initially form part of the encyclopaedia, and is the result of subsequent reflection. This would explain the inclusion of a second preface at the beginning of this book.

23. Being such a widespread work, the chronicle of Book III received numerous addenda, and the manuscripts offer versions of differing lengths. For further detail, see Flint, Valerie. "Honorius Augustodunensis 'Imago...': 42-43.

24. "I include nothing more than that which belongs to the tradition of the ancients". Flint, Valerie. "Honorius Augustodunensis 'Imago...': 49.



III: the Bible, Orosius, the chronicle of Eusebius and Jerome, Isidore, Cassiodorus, Bede, Frutolf of Michelsberg, the *Historia Miscella* and Hermannus Contractus of Reichenau, the latter being used to piece together the history of the sixth age.<sup>25</sup> Ultimately, in the words of Valerie Flint, the work's editor, "there are no tremendous surprises; no Arabs, nothing particularly new. Neither in the contents of the three books nor in the materials from which he constructed them does Honorius seem to have been breaking fresh ground".<sup>26</sup>

That said, the structure of Book I of the *Imago mundi* does present a certain peculiarity: the description of the cosmos is presented in ascending order, progressing from the Earth up to Heaven, or from the centre of the cosmic sphere outwards. This approach is far from commonplace: medieval encyclopaedias tend to follow the reverse order, i.e., beginning with God and descending to Man.<sup>27</sup> In a way, this ordering of the material represents a progression from the most solid and substantial to the most sublime and subtle, and is in stark contrast to his contemporary writers. William of Conches (d. 1154), author of the *Dragmaticon philosophiae*, a philosophical treatise on cosmology, presents the information by starting at the periphery and working in towards the most central and intimate. He begins with the notion of God, passes through the ether, and concludes with Man, the senses and the soul.<sup>28</sup> The same structure is present in the *De naturis rerum* by Alexander Neckam (d. 1217), which progresses from the most transcendental (God) to the most physical, passing through the elements of fire, air, water and earth.<sup>29</sup> The closest equivalent to the pattern adopted by Honorius is found in the *Quaestiones naturales* by Adelard of Bath (d. circa 1150), although the aim of this work was not to present a systematic representation of cosmology; rather, it posed problems and questions to do with understanding the functioning and interaction of the elements.<sup>30</sup>

Similarly, the inversion of the traditional ascending order of the elements is an indication of how the *Imago* sought to distance itself from biblical commentaries and from the commentary on the Hexameron. Basing itself on the six-day creation story, this literary genre—which was very much in vogue during the twelfth

25. Flint, Valerie. "World history in the early twelfth century...": 213.

26. Flint, Valerie. "Honorius Augustodunensis 'Imago...': 13. Notwithstanding this, the editor recognises the novelty of the way in which Honorius selects and uses his sources.

27. Hüe, Denis. "Structures et rhétoriques dans quelques textes encyclopédiques du Moyen Âge", *L'Encyclopédisme. Actes du Colloque de Caen, 12-16 janvier 1987*, Annie Becq, ed. Paris: Éditions Aux amateurs de livres, 1991: 312-313.

28. Ronca, Italo; Curr, Matthew, eds. *A Dialogue on Natural Philosophy (Dragmaticon Philosophiae)*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997.

29. Wright, Thomas, ed. *Alexandri Neckam De naturis rerum libri duo. With the poem of the same author, De laudibus divinae sapientiae*. London: Longman, Roberts and Green, 1863. Book I concludes with the inhabitants of the air (an extensive description of all birds), and Book II opens with the theme of salt water. Following a description of the aquatic animals, it passes finally to the Earth: metals, plants, beasts and Man.

30. Burnett, Charles, ed. *Adelard of Bath, Conversations with his nephew, On the same and the different, Questions on natural science, and On birds*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.



century— refers to the elements as the products of creation, following the biblical order from God to Man, and passing through the heavens, the waters and the Earth. However, a comparison made by Emmanuel Bain between the *Imago mundi* and the *De neocosmo* reveals the difference between the former, an encyclopaedic text concerned with the search for scientific answers to questions of nature, and the latter, a biblical commentary.<sup>31</sup> In fact, Honorius makes almost no reference to the Bible in the *Imago mundi*,<sup>32</sup> even in Book I, which deals with cosmology, one of the favourite subjects of commentaries on the book of Genesis. His justification lies in the fact that the sacred text employs allegorical language and, as such, does not constitute a scientific authority. Thus, as confirmed by Francesco Chiovaro, the way in which Honorius presents the material reflects his decision to substitute the customary hierarchical order for a more pedagogical form.<sup>33</sup>

The *Imago mundi* is a divulgation encyclopaedia whose purpose is not to philosophise, but to bring knowledge to a broader public. It was this purpose which drove its impressive popularity at the time, as evidenced by the 100 or so surviving twelfth century manuscripts and the diversity of adaptations and translations into vernacular languages (French, Italian) from the thirteenth century onwards.<sup>34</sup> In short, it is a work which represents—and to a certain degree establishes, albeit at a very basic level—the encyclopaedic spirit of the twelfth century, both in the main features of its content and in its aims: nature is a reflection of the Creator, and the encyclopaedia is, in turn, a reflection of nature. Thus, the encyclopaedia becomes an instrument of salvation, in that it assists the soul in its ascension to its Creator.<sup>35</sup>

31. Bain, Emmanuel. “Hexaemeron et encyclopédisme au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle”, *Encyclopédie. Formes de l’ambition encyclopédique dans l’Antiquité et au Moyen Âge*, Arnaud Zucker, ed. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013: 174.

32. The few direct biblical references are in I, 2 (*De creatione mundi*), I, 5 (*De forma terre*), I, 37 (*De nominibus inferni*), I, 41 (*De voragine*) and II, 79 (*De saeculis*).

33. Chiovaro, Francesco. *L’Ymagine del mondo* (Firenze, Bibl. naz. cod. Palat. 703). Naples: Loffredo Editore, 1977: 25-26.

34. Garrigues, Marie-Odile. “L’œuvre d’Honorius...”, 38 (1986): 27. Flint, Valerie. “Honorius Augustodunensis ‘Imago...’: 18-20, counts only 42 twelfth century manuscripts, which even so is a considerable number. Among the adaptations, we can mention those of Peter of Beauvais (*La mappemonde*, 1184-1218), *La petite philosophie* (Anonymous, circa 1230), Gossuin of Metz (*Ymage du monde*, 1245), Perot de Garbelai (*Divisiones mundi*, circa 1300), and *Ymagine del mondo* (14<sup>th</sup> century). See Jostkleigrew, Georg. “L’espace entre tradition et innovation. La géographie symbolique du monde et son adaptation par Gossouin de Metz”, *Construction de l’espace au Moyen Âge: pratiques et représentations*, Société des historiens médiévistes de l’Enseignement supérieur public, ed. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2007: 372-374.

35. Vergara Ciordia, Javier. “El sentido del saber en la Escolástica medieval”. *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie III. H.a Medieval*, 13 (2000): 424-425.



### 3. *De animae exsilio et patria: the pedagogical nature of the new science*<sup>36</sup>

*De animae exsilio et patria* (1140?)<sup>37</sup> is perhaps the work through which the arrival of new ideas within twelfth century intellectual circles may be felt most strongly. The treatise tackles the problem of education in a similar manner to Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* and Rabanus Maurus' *De clericum institutione*, taking the form of an allegorical journey inspired by the image of the *regio dissimilitudinis* developed by Augustine of Hippo.<sup>38</sup> On this journey, Honorius demonstrates his commitment to intellectual training and the cultivation of the disciplines,<sup>39</sup> ascribing value to each as necessary steps on the road to wisdom. At the same time, he proposes a curriculum to guide orderly advancement and avoid omissions. According to this logic, the worst of all evils is ignorance:

*Sicut populo Dei exsilium erat in Babylonia, Jerusalem vero patria, sic interioris hominis exsilium est ignorantia, patria autem sapientia. [...] De hoc exsilio ad patriam via est scientia, scientia enim in rebus physicis: sapientia vero consideratur in divinis. Per hanc viam gradiendum est non passibus corporis, sed affectibus cordis. Haec quippe via ducit ad patriam tendentes per decem artes, et libros sibi adhaerentes, et quasi per totidem civitates et villas sibi servientes.*<sup>40</sup>

Thus, Honorius develops a curriculum leading to the highest peaks of knowledge, basing it on the framework of the liberal arts, but updating and expanding it to encompass ten disciplines —pictured by him as ten cities— and forming a solid proposal in the footsteps of Augustine of Hippo in *De doctrina christiana*:

---

36. For the use of the image of the 'road' and the 'pilgrimage', one of the favorite symbolisms of Honorius, see Crouse, Robert D. "Honorius Augustodunensis: The Arts as 'Via ad patriam'", *Arts libéraux et philosophie au Moyen Âge. Actes du Quatrième Congrès International de Philosophie Médiévale (Université de Montréal, Montréal, Canada, 27 août - 2 septembre 1967)*. Montreal-Paris: Institut d'Études Médiévales-Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1969.

37. Garrigues and R.D. Crouse agree on this date, based on Honorius' use of the *Topics* of Aristotle, a work that had recently been translated. See here other possible dates. According to Flint, this work was written after 1111 following the writing of the *De cognitione vitae*. Flint, Valerie. "The chronology of the works of Honorius Augustodunensis". *Revue Bénédictine*, 82 (1972): 232-233.

38. Michel, Paul. "Ignorantia exsilium hominis' Zu einem enzyklopädischen Traktat des Honorius Augustodunensis", *Strenarum lanx. Beiträge zur Philologie und Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, Martin Graf, Christian Moser, eds. Zurich: Achijs, 2003: 121-122.

39. Raña, César. "Magistrorum lectio. Una lección en el siglo XII". *Revista Española de Filosofía Medieval*, 17 (2010): 83.

40. "Just as God's people were exiled in Babylon from their homeland in Jerusalem, so the exile of man is in ignorance, and his homeland is wisdom. [...] The path that leads from exile to the homeland is science, because science concerns nature, and the focus of wisdom is the divine. It is not with physical steps that we make this journey, but through the power of the heart. For those who follow it, the path leads to their homeland, meandering through ten arts and the books that hold them, and, as it were, through the many other cities and towns that serve them". Honorius Augustodunensis. *De animae exsilio et patria*, 1. For this text, we used the Latin-Spanish edition by Raña, César. "Honorio de Autún (1090-1152): El exilio y la patria del alma, o sobre las artes". *Revista Española de Filosofía Medieval*, 17 (2010): 171-179.



*Sic in huius mortalitatis vita peregrinantes a domino, si redire in patriam volumus ubi beati esse possimus, utendum est hoc mundo, non fruendum, ut invisibilia dei per ea quae facta sunt intellecta conspiciantur, hoc est ut de corporalibus temporalibusque rebus aeterna et spiritualia capiamus.*<sup>41</sup>

Thanks to a re-interpretation of Plato's *Timaeus* and the inclusion of the works of Aristotle,<sup>42</sup> the liberal arts were undergoing a process of reconsideration and updating at the time, and this is evident in the works of a number of authors of the period, including Hugh of Saint Victor (d. 1141), William of Conches (d. 1154), and Gilbert de la Porrée (d. 1154).<sup>43</sup> In Honorius' formulation, the disciplines are updated to meet the needs of the time; for example, rhetoric:

*hujus porta est civilis cura, iter vero tripartitum genus curarum, videlicet demonstrativum, deliberativum, iudiciale. In una parte hujus civitatis praesules Ecclesiae Decreta componunt, in altera reges et iudices edicta proponunt. Hinc synodalia promulgantur, inde forensia jura tractantur.*<sup>44</sup>

It is a reference to one of the major phenomena of the time: the resurgence of Roman Law, and the appearance of Secular (common) and Canon Law, the latter being set down by the celebrated *Decretum* of Gratian (1140-1142).<sup>45</sup> However, this allusion is absent from the works of both William of Conches and Hugh of Saint Victor, despite the latter's apparently deep connection with Honorius evidenced by

41. "So in this mortal life we are like travellers away from our Lord: if we wish to return to the homeland where we can be happy we must use this world, not enjoy it, in order to discern 'the invisible attributes of God, which are understood through what has been made' or, in other words, to ascertain what is eternal and spiritual from corporeal and temporal things". Hippo, Augustine of. *De doctrina christiana*, ed. and transl. R.P.H. Green. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995: 16-17. See: 2 Cor. 5,6 and Rom. 1,20.

42. Lindberg, David. *Los inicios de la ciencia occidental*. Barcelona-Buenos Aires-México: Paidós, 2002: 250-259. For the limits of the platonism in the twelfth century, see Lemoine, Michel; Picard-Parra, Clotilde, eds. *Théologie et cosmologie au XIIe siècle*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2004: XVII-XXI; they qualify it as *platonisme composite, incomplet, divers*.

43. Lértora, Celina. "El concepto y la clasificación de la ciencia en el Medioevo (ss. VI-XV)", *A ciência e a organização dos saberes na Idade Média*, Luis Alberto De Boni, ed. Porto Alegre: EDIPUCRS, 2000: 57-83. Riché, Pierre; Verger, Jacques. *Des nains sur des épaules...*: 106, consider that Hugh of Saint Victor "understands the cultural evolution of his time". For the novel classification by Hugh, in particular to do with intellectual 'authorities', see Di Marco, Michele. "'Auctores' e 'auctoritas' nel 'Didascalicon' di Ugo di San Vittore", *Auctor et auctoritas in latini Medii Aevi litteris. Author and Authorship in Medieval Latin Literature*, Edoardo D'Angelo, Jan Ziolkowski, eds. Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2014: 303-20.

44. "Its door is a civil concern; its path addresses three types of cares, namely demonstrative, deliberative and judicial. On one side, the leaders of the Church compose the decrees, and on the other, the kings and judges propose the edicts. There, the decisions of the synod are made; here, regional law is enacted". Raña, César. "Honorio de Autún (1090-1152)...": 177. The origin of this distinction in three 'types of cares' is to be found in Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, II, 1-4.

45. García y García, Antonio. "El renacimiento de la teoría y la práctica jurídicas. Siglo XII", *Renovación intelectual del occidente europeo (siglo XII)*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra. Departamento de Educación y Cultura, 1998: 99-118.



the presence of one of the oldest copies of *De animae* in the Abbey of Saint Victor during the twelfth century.<sup>46</sup>

Dialectics is also brought up to date with the *Topics* of Aristotle which, although the name was well-known, had only recently been translated from the Greek by James of Venice in 1138.<sup>47</sup> Meanwhile, arithmetic saw the arrival of mathematics brought by the Arabs. Honorius makes reference to procedures and instruments belonging to this new knowledge, including the Sieve of Eratosthenes used to calculate prime numbers, and the abacus.<sup>48</sup> Although the latter was already known thanks to texts by Boethius and Gerbert of Aurillac (Sylvester II, d. 1003), it was not used in the teaching of arithmetic during the Early Middle Ages. Similarly, Isidore makes no mention of it in Book III of the *Etymologies*, which concerns mathematics.

For the study of geometry, Honorius evokes the authority of the Greek author Aratus,<sup>49</sup> whose work *Phaenomena* had been widely known in antiquity.<sup>50</sup> While knowledge of this work had reached the West thanks to a number of translations made by the Romans and an error-riddled Latin version from the seventh century, it was not traditionally included as a model in the educational *cursus*. There is no mention of this author by Cassiodorus, Martianus Capella, Rabanus Maurus or in the *Etymologies* of Isidore,<sup>51</sup> and it is not until the end of the eleventh century and early in the twelfth that his work began once again to circulate in its entirety.<sup>52</sup> That said, Aratus does not offer a description of the *orbis terrarum*, but as Scott Fitzgerald Johnson explains, Aratus and other cosmographers of antiquity did not make a categorical distinction between geography and cosmology<sup>53</sup> and, as such, their reflections served as a broad framework for various branches of knowledge. It

46. Garrigues, Marie-Odile. "L'œuvre d'Honorius...", 39 (1987): 187.

47. Honorius Augustodunensis. *De animae exilio et patria*, 4. Cassiodorus had made reference to the *Topics* in its translation by Cicero (*Institutiones saecularium litterarum*, III), and there existed a *versio antiquior* ascribed to Boethius. Yet there was no mention of them prior to 1140. Garrigues, Marie-Odile. "L'œuvre d'Honorius...", 39 (1987): 189.

48. Raña, César. "Honorio de Autún (1090-1152)...": 177. As the editor explains, the Sieve of Eratosthenes *es un algoritmo, un procedimiento, para determinar todos los números primos hasta cierto número natural dado*. Raña, César. "Honorio de Autún (1090-1152)...": 173, note 12.

49. *Sexta civitas est geometria, per quam inquiritur patria. In hac Aratus mappam mundi expandit, in qua Asiam, Africam, Europam ostendit* ("The sixth city by which the homeland is sought, is geometry. In it, Aratus explains the map of the world, which includes Asia, Africa and Europe"). Raña, César. "Honorio de Autún (1090-1152)...": 178:

50. Honorius mentions him in the *Summa totius* in reference to the time of king Ptolemy Philadelphus: *Ipso tempore in Egypto claruit Aratus et Eudoxus, astroscopi*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 382, f. 43r.

51. Isidore does mention him in his work *De natura rerum*, XVII and XXXVIII, in the context of astronomy, but not related to the geography of the *orbis terrarum*.

52. Martin, Jean, ed. *Arati Phaenomena*. Firenze: "La Nuova Italia" Editrice, 1956: xii-xvii. See also the excellent work of Martin, Jean. *Histoire du texte des Phénomènes d'Aratos*. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1956.

53. Johnson, Scott Fitzgerald. *Literary Territories. Cartographical Thinking in Late Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016: 46.



is thus not unreasonable to view him as an authority on ‘geometry’, the discipline concerned with the precise measurement of the Earth.

In the city of astronomy, while he does mention the traditional authority of Hyginus, recognised for an astronomical treatise of the second century A.D., Honorius introduces the astrolabe for the study of the celestial sphere and the movement of the stars.<sup>54</sup> This instrument was known in Europe as a result of the works of the Scientist Pope Gerbert of Aurillac, who had studied at Vic, in Catalonia.<sup>55</sup> Honorius also makes reference to the authority of one Julius, a problematic name in terms of identification: *In hac Julius computum explicat, per quem annos saeculi per seriem regum enumerat*.<sup>56</sup> Both César Raña and Paul Michel identify him as Julius Caesar, reformer of the calendar in the year 46 B.C.<sup>57</sup> Honorius himself refers to the event in his work on universal history called *Summa totius*, identifying the Roman dictator as the inventor of the leap year.<sup>58</sup> However, the astronomical work of Julius Caesar had been lost a long time ago and had nothing to do with the series of kings.<sup>59</sup> Therefore, this Julius could also be Julius Firmicus Maternus (*floruit circa 335*), author of a major astrological treatise of importance during the eleventh century,<sup>60</sup> full of Stoic and Neoplatonic ideas.<sup>61</sup> The work was read by Gerbert of Aurillac in the Iberian Peninsula and was already available in Germany and France during the first half of the twelfth century, as evidenced by its use by William of Conches in his *Philosophia mundi*.<sup>62</sup> It is though unclear as to whether Honorius knew the work of Firmicus Maternus, as there is no mention of him in his *Summa totius*, despite claims made by Firmicus’ editor, Pierre Monat.<sup>63</sup>

A more logical explanation would be that the reference made by Honorius was to Julius Africanus (d. 240), the first Christian chronicler, who conducted a general

54. Raña, César. “Honorio de Autún (1090-1152)...”: 178.

55. Lindberg, David. *Los inicios de la ciencia...*: 241-43.

56. “In this discipline, Julius explains the calculation by which he counts the years of the century, based on successive kings”. Raña, César. “Honorio de Autún (1090-1152)...”: 178.

57. Honorius Augustodunensis. *De animae exsilio et patria*, 8. Raña, César. “Honorio de Autún (1090-1152)...”: 174, note 19. Michel, Paul. “Ignorantia exsiliium hominis’ Zu einem...”: 134, note 44.

58. Honorius Augustodunensis, *Summa totius: Iulius Cesar divinis humanisque rebus singulariter instructus bissestilis inventor rationis*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 382, f. 68r.

59. Unless Honorius was referring to the *fasti consulares posteriores*, which begins with the dictatorship of Caesar and are conserved in the manuscript tradition of Holy Roman Empire. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 3416, ff. 15r-24v.

60. Judging by the extant manuscripts of his work. See Kroll, Wilhelm; Skutsch, Franz; Ziegler, Konrat, eds. *Iulii Firmici Materni, Matheseos libri VIII*. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1968: II, v-x. See also the problems on computus and the reckoning of time in *Matheseos*, II, 26-28. The author was known above all for his conversion to Christianity and a polemic text denouncing pagans (*De errore profanarum religionum*). He was not employed in the study of astronomy until the eleventh century.

61. Zucker, Arnaud, ed. *L’encylopédie du ciel*. Paris: Robert Laffont, 2016: 864.

62. William of Conches, *Philosophia mundi*, II, 3, § 10. Conches, William of. *Philosophia*, ed. Gregor Maurach. Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1980: 44.

63. Monat, Pierre, ed. *Firmicus Maternus. Mathesis*. Paris: Le Belles Lettres, 2002: 1, 25. In fact, the editor was misled by the error made in the *Patrologia Latina* which, in Volume 172, attributes the *Philosophia mundi* to Honorius Augustodunensis.



recount of time since the creation of the world based on the lines of governors.<sup>64</sup> Although Julius Africanus was not engaged in the discipline of astronomy—at least as far as we can gather from the incomplete set of works ascribed to him—the science of the stars was inextricably linked to the discipline of time, particularly since the Carolingian Renaissance. This is demonstrated by Bernard Ribémont<sup>65</sup> and confirmed both in a large number of encyclopaedias and in Honorius' own *Imago mundi*.

Up to this point, Honorius has been following the traditional configuration of the seven liberal arts, updating and renewing their content. A more significant innovation, however, is his incorporation of three additional disciplines considered by him to be necessary to achieve the goal of wisdom. These are *physica*, *mechanica* and *oeconomica*, all of which combine both speculative and practical knowledge. The first relates to *vires et naturas herbarum, arborum, lapidum, animalium; et per medelam corporum deducit ad medelam animarum*.<sup>66</sup> Although this idea was inspired by Isidore of Seville, for whom medicine is a “second philosophy” (the first concerning the soul, the second the body),<sup>67</sup> this re-evaluation of medicine goes hand in hand with the cultural renewal taking place, where the disciplines of nature were undergoing great advances. Honorius, therefore, invokes the authority of Hippocrates, the great master of this discipline, a part of whose work had been translated in Italy from the Arabic by Constantinus Africanus at the end of the eleventh century.<sup>68</sup> *Mechanica* deals with knowledge related to manual work: metals, wood, textiles, the plastic arts, etc. In the absence of classical authors to cite as references, Honorius resorts to models taken from the Bible: Noah (builder of the Ark), Nimrod (architect of the Tower of Babel) and Solomon (creator of the Temple of Jerusalem). The last city is *Oeconomica*, which *disponit regna et dignitates, haec distinguit officia et ordines*.<sup>69</sup> In other words, the discipline concerns the political, economic and social dimensions of administration of public issues: in essence, the art of governing. The manuscript

64. Aurell, Jaume; Balmaceda, Catalina; Burke, Peter; Soza, Felipe. *Comprender el pasado. Una historia de la escritura y el pensamiento histórico*. Madrid: Akal, 2013: 63. Julius Africanus was a well known historical writer. In the *Summa totius*, Honorius points out the following notice: *Hucusque divina scriptura temporum seriem continet. Apud Iudeos vero quae postea gesta sint, de libro Machabeorum et Iosephi atque Africani scriptis exhibentur. Qui deinceps universam hystoriam usque ad romana tempora persecuti sunt. Equidem Africanus in.v. temporum volumine, huius temporis ita meminit*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 382, f. 33v.

65. Ribémont, Bernard. *La «Renaissance» du XIIe siècle...*: 85. The great authorities of the Early Middle Ages, such as Bede and Isidore, had also written their own *De natura rerum* where they dealt with time, the calendar, astronomy and cosmography. See also: García Avilés, Alejandro. *El tiempo y los astros. Arte, ciencia y religión en la Alta Edad Media*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 2001: 47-51.

66. “The power and nature of herbs, of plants, of stones, of animals; and by the healing of the body, so may the soul also be healed”. Raña, César. “Honorio de Autún (1090-1152)...”: 178.

67. Codoñer, Carmen. “De l’Antiquité au Moyen Âge: Isidore de Séville”, *L’Encyclopédisme. Actes du Colloque de Caen, 12-16 janvier 1987*, Annie Becq, ed. Paris: Éditions Aux amateurs de livres, 1991: 31.

68. Lindberg, David. *Los inicios de la ciencia...*: 260-62. For the translation of texts in Italy and the influence of Arab culture in this region see Obrist, Barbara. “Twelfth-Century Cosmography, The ‘De Secretis Philosophiae’, and Māshā’allāh (attr. to), ‘Liber de orbe’”. *Traditio*, 67 (2012): 235-76.

69. “Gives order to the kingdoms and honours, distinguishing responsibilities and social ranks”. Raña, César. “Honorio de Autún (1090-1152)...” 178.



concludes with theology and divine contemplation, the ultimate objective of the process and pinnacle of the pyramid of knowledge in the Middle Ages.<sup>70</sup>

In proposing these updates, Honorius is doing nothing more than returning to the spirit of classical Roman encyclopaedism aimed at the education of the *vir bonus*, the honest citizen. As Pierre Grimal points out, among the representatives of this original encyclopaedic thinking we find Cato the Elder, Varro and Celsus, all of whom considered medicine and knowledge of certain practical subjects to be fundamental to the formation of citizens.<sup>71</sup> Varro (d. 27 B.C.) was a model of erudition in the ancient world and perhaps the first “western” encyclopaedist. While influenced strongly by the prodigious work of Cato, in his *Disciplinarum libri IX* he identified nine subjects that would form a comprehensive education, including medicine and architecture.<sup>72</sup> This standard model would be replaced much later by the seven liberal arts.<sup>73</sup> In a way, Honorius aimed to re-establish this original curriculum, a purpose that went hand in hand with the reconsideration of the notion that the practical disciplines (no longer simply the theoretical study of nature) are an essential part of a deep intellectual education, and must therefore be incorporated in some form into the educational *cursus*.

This attitude is depicted wonderfully in a satirical poem dating back to the time of Honorius, entitled *Apocalypse of bishop Golias*, which has been attributed variously to Alain of Lille (d. 1202), Walter of Châtillon (d. 1180), Walter Map (d. circa 1210) and others (the only certainty being that it was written either in French or English).<sup>74</sup> Just as in the book of Revelation, John is guided by an angel to gaze upon the multitude of the saved and the throne of the Lamb, so the protagonist of the poem is guided by Pythagoras, who accompanies him along the path of the speculative and practical arts, and teaches him of the many ancient scholars who dedicated their lives to them.

*In fronte micuit ars astrologica, dencium seriem regit grammatica, in lingua pulcrius vernat rhetorica, concussis estuat in labris logica.*

*Est arismetica [sic] digitis socia, in cava musica ludit arteria, pallens in oculis stat geometria; quelibet arcium vernat vi propia.*

70. Riché, Pierre; Verger, Jacques. *Des nains sur des épaules...*: 16.

71. Grimal, Pierre. “Encyclopédies antiques”. *Cahiers d’Histoire Mondiale*, 9 fasc. 3 (1966): 470-77. Similarly, the Roman architect Vitruvius (d. circa 15 B.C.) gave thanks to his parents for having given him a holistic education—the *encyclios disciplina*—which for him encompassed both the philological (philosophical) and technical dimensions of knowledge. Gandillac, Maurice de. “Encyclopédies pré-médiévales et médiévales”. *Cahiers d’Histoire Mondiale*, 9 fasc. 3 (1966): 488.

72. Lindberg, David. *Los inicios de la ciencia...*: 185.

73. The establishment of the seven liberal arts was the result of the encyclopedia of Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*, in the fifth century. Beyer de Ryke, Benoît. “Le miroir du monde: un parcours dans l’encyclopédisme médiéval”. *Revue Belge de philologie et d’histoire*, 81 fasc. 4 (2003): 1247.

74. Pejenaute Rubio, Francisco. “Una aproximación a la vida y a la obra de Gautier de Chatillon”. *Archivum: Revista de la Facultad de Filología*, 39-40 (1989-1990): 401-02.



*Est ante racio tocius ethice, in tergo scripte sunt artes mechanicæ. Qui totum explicans corpus pro codice volam exposuit et dixit: 'Respice'.*<sup>75</sup>

According to Ernst Curtius, appealing to model characters to evoke the wisdom of antiquity was a literary *topos* employed throughout the Middle Ages, and it was not uncommon to find a pagan guide in those lands of knowledge.<sup>76</sup> In the poem, however, a mixture of traditional authorities and representatives of the new knowledge may be found among the ranks of scholars. Alongside Priscian, Cicero, Boethius, Lucan, Virgil, Ovid, Persius, Statius, Terence and Pythagoras himself, we find Aristotle, Ptolemy, Euclid and Hippocrates, authors whose works had begun to circulate around the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth.<sup>77</sup>

Thus, as Marie-Odile Garrigues states,<sup>78</sup> Honorius distances himself from the German scholars and theologians of his era. While for some scholars, the twelfth century Renaissance appears not to have reached German lands, leaving them to continue along the previous century's line of progress,<sup>79</sup> the work of Honorius reflects on the contrary a link with the intellectual buoyancy of France. This is apparent not only in its similarities with the discussions of the liberal arts there (and in the similarity between the *De animae exsilio et patria* and the *Didascalicon* of Hugh of Saint Victor), but also because

*c'est d'ailleurs à Chartres et à Laon, mais aussi à Sens, Beauvais, Auxerre, Reims que les portails sont ornés non plus seulement des sept arts du trivium et du quadrivium, mais des dix cités d'Honorius, puisque l'on y trouve les métiers, la mécanique et l'économique.*<sup>80</sup>

75. "On his forehead, the art of astrology shone, / grammar governed the rows of his teeth, / on his tongue, rhetoric flourished, / and on his agitated lips burned logic. / Arithmetic was the companion of his fingers, / music frolicked in his open throat, / pale geometry was in his eyes; / all of the arts bloomed with their own strength. / The reason of all ethics was written on his chest, / on his back the mechanical arts. / And presenting his whole body as though it were a book, / he offered me the palm of his hand, saying 'look'". *Die Apokalypse des Goliath*, 4-6, ed. Karl Strecker. Rome-Leipzig: W. Regenberg, 1928: 16-17.

76. Curtius, Ernst. *Literatura europea y Edad Media latina*. Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1995: II, 518-21. The best known is almost certainly Virgil, the guide in Dante Alighieri's *Divine comedy*.

77. Lindberg, David. *Los inicios de la ciencia...*: 260-62.

78. Garrigues, Marie-Odile. "L'œuvre d'Honorius...", 39 (1987): 191.

79. Thomson, Rodney. "The Place of Germany in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance", *Manuscripts and Monastic Culture. Reform and Renewal in Twelfth-Century Germany*, Alison I. Beach, ed. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007: 22-23.

80. "It is in Chartres and in Laon, and also in Sens, Beauvais, Auxerre and Reims that portals are no longer adorned only with the seven liberal arts of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, but with the ten cities of Honorius, where we also find the trades, the mechanics and the economy". Garrigues, Marie-Odile. "L'œuvre d'Honorius...", 39 (1987): 191.



#### 4. Conclusion: Honorius Augustodunensis and the new knowledge

Honorius Augustodunensis is a good example of the renewed appreciation of nature seen during the final decades of the eleventh century. Knowledge of nature is no longer solely the fruit of contemplation, but is increasingly the result of experience. The allegorical consideration of visible creation, by which the Creator's footprints may lead one towards discovery of the author of the universe, is enriched during the twelfth century by an incipient rational study bordering on 'naturalism'.<sup>81</sup> Although Honorius did not develop his own natural philosophy as such,<sup>82</sup> the new concept followed a more pedagogical path in terms of ascribing value to the disciplines of nature. For him, there is a clear distinction between wisdom and science. The former is the sublime result of philosophy and theology, while the latter is grounded in earthly reality; however, both dimensions are vital to intellectual development. Thus, the education proposed for scholars must combine in equal measure the speculative and practical disciplines, leaving no gaps.

His contemporary, Hugh of Saint Victor, advocates the same idea in his work *Didascalicon de studio legendi* (written prior to 1137), in which he proposes a complex system of study based on the fundamental distinction between the theoretical, practical, mechanical and logical sciences.<sup>83</sup> However, as it was true for the majority of thinkers during the period—followers, as they were, of Augustine of Hippo—Hugh shows concern and a defensive attitude with regard to the mechanical arts.<sup>84</sup> For his followers, the mechanical arts were inferior and concerned only with questions of rhetoric, having purely classificatory and encyclopaedic aspirations.<sup>85</sup> As such, the mechanical arts were no more than an 'illegitimate' and inconvenient distraction along the path up to the city of God; in short, a necessary evil.

This is not so for Honorius. For him, there is a portion of knowledge that cannot be satisfied through speculative reflection, but must instead be applied, this second portion being just as necessary as the former. Conscious of the practical and pragmatic aims of teaching this knowledge, he illustrates it by incorporating the 'new sciences' into the curriculum. The author of the *De animae* considers these to be of value in themselves in the context of education, and says so in his many works. In fact, Honorius enriched his chronicle *Summa totius* with numerous references to the mechanical arts, for example in the section detailing the conquest of Egypt by the Persian emperor Cambyses, who destroyed a statue of Memnon which could

81. Raña, César. "Natura optima parens. La naturaleza en el siglo XII". *Revista Española de Filosofía Medieval*, 16 (2009): 43-56.

82. In fact, Valerie Flint considers that Honorius exhibits a certain resistance towards the new knowledge, Flint, Valerie. "Honorius Augustodunensis...": 16-17. His orthodoxy does not, however, prevent him from referencing new authorities in his works, as covered earlier.

83. Lértora, Celina. "El concepto y la clasificación de la ciencia...": 66-67.

84. Allard, Guy H. "Les arts mécaniques aux yeux de l'idéologie médiévale", *Les arts mécaniques au Moyen Âge*, Guy H. Allard; Serge Lusignan, eds. Montréal-Paris: Bellarmin-J. Vrin, 1982: 13-31.

85. Allard, Guy H. "Les arts mécaniques...": 21-22, and 22, note 35. However, Di Marco, Michele. "'Auctores' e 'auctoritas'...": 309-11, considers that among Hugh's novel contributions is his inclusion of *mechanica*, considering it to be of a "redeeming" nature along with the liberal arts.



sing thanks to the mechanical arts.<sup>86</sup> Similarly, in the entry for the year 768, he refers to the gift sent by the Persian king Aaron (Harun al-Rashid) to Charlemagne of a magnificent water-clock made thanks to the mechanical arts, whose hands indicated the time perfectly.<sup>87</sup> In the prologue of one of his other works, entitled *Summa gloria*, Honorius states that it is not science itself that is inconvenient, but the large number of ignorant individuals who proclaim in the name of science, knowing not of what they speak and becoming conceited before the masses.<sup>88</sup>

As indicated by R.D. Crouse, Honorius took from John Scotus Eriugena the central idea that philosophy and the Holy Scriptures are not antagonistic, but in fact complement one another. Thus, while knowledge of earthly things is foundational in an instrumental sense, consideration of the details of visible creation is also one of the aspects of perfect divine contemplation.<sup>89</sup> He is therefore one of the few thinkers of the period to break with the notion that the mechanical arts perform a literary function alone —gaining a better understanding of the Bible, according to the counsel of Augustine of Hippo,<sup>90</sup> or growing one's vocabulary—<sup>91</sup> realising that, rather than playing the role of the lascivious young woman who entertains reason and leads it astray from its true wife, the liberal arts, they in fact constitute a necessary step along the path to wisdom.<sup>92</sup>

As an indirect testament to this, we may consider the manuscript found in the monastic library of Göttweig (Austria), number 14 (previously number 33). Folio 148v holds an inventory of 50 books donated during the twelfth century by one 'brother Henry'. Valerie Flint<sup>93</sup> identifies this man as Honorius, while Marie-Odile

86. *Kambises filius Cyri regnavit annis.viii. Qui devicta Egipto et usque Ethyopiam. cuncta eius religionem abominatus, ceremonias eius et templa deposuit. Destruxit etiam statuam [et Apin [sic]] Memmonis, arte mechanica [magica] canentem.* Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 382, f. 30v. The reference to *mechanica* as *magica* should not necessarily be taken as negative. In fact, Honorius' evaluation of the mages of antiquity is somewhat ambiguous. See, for example, the cases of Circe, Medea, Pythagoras and Hermes Trismegistus (ff. 11v, 12v, 13v, 16v, 28v, 29v and 31v).

87. Augustodunensis, Honorius. "Summa totius", *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores. Scriptores in folio*, ed. Roger Wilmans. Hannover: Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1852: X, 129: *Aaron rex Persarum Karolo tentorium bissinum et pallia serica pretiosa et balsamum et elephantem, nec non et horologium ex auricalco arte mechanica mire compositum, in quo 12 horarum cursus ad clepsidram vertebatur, cum totidem aereis pillulis quae completa hora decidebant...*

88. Augustodunensis, Honorius. "Summa Gloria", *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Libelli de Lite imperatorum et pontificum*, ed. I. Dieterich. Hannover: Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1897: III, 63.

89. Crouse, Robert D. "Honorius Augustodunensis: The Arts as 'Via...': 537-538.

90. Hippo, Augustine of. *De doctrina christiana...*: 106-111. See Lindberg, David. "The Medieval Church Encounters the Classical Tradition: Saint Augustine, Roger Bacon, and the Handmaiden Metaphor", *When Science and Christianity Meet*, David Lindberg, Ronald Numbers, eds. Chicago – London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003: 12-16.

91. Allard, Guy H. "Les arts mécaniques...": 20-21.

92. On the subject of false etymology, a conjecture that was very much in vogue during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was that the *artes mechanicae* were derived from the Greek verb *mechanaomai* (to make machines), associated with *moechari* (to be adulterous). The idea was repeated incessantly by thinkers of the time. See Allard, Guy H. "Les arts mécaniques...": 17-19.

93. Flint, Valerie. "Heinricus of Augsburg and Honorius Augustodunensis: Are they the same person?". *Revue Bénédictine*, 92 (1982): 148-158.



Garrigues<sup>94</sup> categorically refutes the association. The donation included many of the works written by Honorius, but what is also interesting is the number of other works covering the sciences and education that accompanied them.

In the inventory we find Plato's *Timaus*,<sup>95</sup> Theodulf of Orleans, a learned man of letters from the Carolingian Renaissance, to whom a treatise on geography called *Divisio orbis terrarum Theodosiana* or *World Map of Theodulf* is attributed,<sup>96</sup> the treatises on music by Odo of Cluny, the work *De medicina praecepta* by Quintus Serenus Sammonicus, with a collection of extracts from Galen and Hippocrates, the treatise on the abacus by Garland, the rhetoric of Priscian, Abbo of Fleury (celebrated for his writings on astronomy, mathematics and computus), books of rhetoric and grammar, extracts from cosmographer Martianus Capella, a geographical poem by Dionysius Periegetes (this was commonly available in a Latin translation by Priscian, but whoever recorded the inventory boasted of having it in Greek, along with a study of the abacus and a treatise on computus), and various historical and didactic sketches.<sup>97</sup> The large collection of works focusing on the liberal arts and the 'new sciences' is of particular note, but more striking yet is the presence of the very same authorities and tools which Honorius cited in his *De animae exilio et patria*, as well as the more traditional sources which he used to construct this work and the *Imago mundi*.<sup>98</sup> This reinforces the theory that the donor was indeed Honorius himself and, even if this is not the case, it does at least suggest a close association between the two people; the donation made by this brother Henry is a true reflection of Honorius' intellectual foundations, given his consideration of these works as the necessary instruments for comprehensive instruction.<sup>99</sup>

94. Garrigues, Marie-Odile. "Utrum Honorius ubique sit totus?". *Abhandlungen der Braunschweigischen Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft*, 35 (1983): 47-54.

95. In this case, the Latin translation by Calcidius. Crouse, Robert D. "'Hic sensilis mundus': Calcidius and Eriugena in Honorius Augustodunensis", *From Athens to Chartres. Neoplatonism and Medieval Thought*, Haijo Jan Westra, ed. Leiden-New York-Cologne: Brill, 1992: 287.

96. Gautier-Dalché, Patrick. "Notes sur la «carte de Théodose II» et sur la «mappemonde de Théodulf d'Orléans»". *Geographia Antiqua*, 3-4 (1994-1995): 91-108.

97. *Anselmus, de libero arbitrio. Eucherius, de hebreis nominibus. Ysidorus breviter super totam bibliothecam. Item sententię Ysidori de utroque testamento. Thimeus Platonis. Bucolica Virgilii. Theodolus. Musica Odonis. Serenus, de medicina arte, in quo excerpta Bedę de Gallieno et Ypocrate. Abacus Gerlandi. Priscianus abbreviatus. Abbo, de regulis. Focas, de arte grammatica. Item libellus de penultimis. Libellus versuum, in quo vita Marię Eg[ipti]acę et novus Cato. Rhetorica Alcvvini. Excerpta de Martiano. Priscianus constructionum, in quo et exemplar metrorum. Questiones diverse. Glose diverse. Computus Dyonsii grece, in quo abacus et mappa mundi. Martyrologium, in quo diverse pagine computi. Rodale, in quo septem artes liberales depictę. Item rodale, in quo Troianum bellum depictum. Item rodale, in quo varia pictura. Item quaternio depictus.* Gottlieb, Theodor ed. *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs. I. Band. Niederösterreich*. Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen, 1915: 12.

98. Flint, Valerie. "Honorius Augustodunensis...": 14-17. The most important bases of cosmology in the *Imago mundi*, such as Bede, Isidore, Rabanus Maurus and Helperic, are not mentioned here. However, this is of little surprise given the common practice of the era of silencing primary sources. Flint, Valerie, "World history in the early twelfth century...": 212.

99. Almost none of these authors are mentioned in Honorius' catalogue of celebrated authors entitled *De luminaribus ecclesiae* which, as the name suggests, sought to identify authors concerned with ecclesiastical matters, most specifically theology. Book I covers Jerome, Book II Gennadius, and Book III Isidore of Seville, while Book IV contains his own contribution, providing a list of all of his works up to the reign of



Knowledge requires a well-constructed plan based both on biblical models and on the authorities of antiquity. This approach was typical of the twelfth century Renaissance and of encyclopaedic thinking in general, specifying a formative process involving historicism and *ligado inexorablemente a la memoria del pasado, a las res gestae*, in the words of Javier Vergara.<sup>100</sup> As Bernard Ribémont states in his definition of the genre, the encyclopaedia is a *locus memoriae* of knowledge.<sup>101</sup> Thus the didactic and encyclopaedic work of Honorius Augustodunensis is the framework for an education based on the theory of refraction or catoptric knowledge. *Nomenque ei Imago Mundi indatur, eo quod dispositio totius orbis in eo quasi in speculo conspiciatur*,<sup>102</sup> states Honorius in the prologue. It was from this concept that the term *imago* or *speculum* became common in the titles of works from the twelfth century onwards,<sup>103</sup> encapsulating *toda una programación pedagógica y gnoseológica de carácter catóptrico*.<sup>104</sup> The author's commitment to the communication of knowledge is similarly implied in the prologue, when he declares that he has compiled the treatise *ad instructionem itaque multorum quibus deest copia librorum*.<sup>105</sup>

According to Michel de Bouïard, during the Carolingian era, thinkers complained that the framework of the liberal arts did not allow for the broad development of encyclopaedic knowledge.<sup>106</sup> It is perhaps for this reason that in the twelfth century, when spirits had become more mature (and prior to the return of the natural philosophy of Aristotle), Honorius attempts to revise this tradition and open up the propaedeutics of the seven liberal arts, offering a broader grounding of knowledge with the support offered by natural sciences.

Thus the work of Honorius Augustodunensis should be considered as a standalone and integral system, 'programme of studies', or even 'ideal of humanism', as

Henry V, the Holy Roman Emperor (d. 1125). See Augustodunensis, Honorius. "De luminaribus ecclesiae sive de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis libelli quatuor", *Patrologiae. Coursus completus*. Paris: J.P. Migne editorem, 1854, CLXXII, col. 197-234.

100. "Tied inexorably to the memory of the past, to the *res gestae*". Vergara Ciordia, Javier. "Enciclopedia especular en la Baja Edad Media. La teoría pedagógica del espejo medieval". *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia*, 18 (2009): 305.

101. Ribémont, Bernard. "On the Definition of an Encyclopaedic Genre in the Middle Ages", *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts*, Peter Binkley, ed. Leyden-New York-Cologne: Brill, 1997: 53.

102. "The title *Imago mundi* was chosen because the whole world can be seen reflected in it, as in a mirror". Honorius Augustodunensis. *Imago mundi*, Prologue. Flint, Valerie. "Honorius Augustodunensis 'Imago...': 49. This approach was deeply rooted in Holy Scripture and the patristic tradition, particularly the Pauline epistles: (1 Cor. 13:12-13: we see as in a mirror; Rom. 1:20: we see the invisible in the visible; 2 Cor. 3:18: we are the mirror which reflects the glory of the Lord). See also: Vergara Ciordia, Javier. "Enciclopedia especular...": 298-299.

103. Vergara Ciordia, Javier. "Enciclopedia especular...": 299-307.

104. "A whole catoptric pedagogical and gnoseological programme". Vergara Ciordia, Javier. "Enciclopedia especular...": 301.

105. "For the instruction of the many who lack the necessary books". Honorius Augustodunensis. *Imago mundi*, Prologue. Flint, Valerie. "Honorius Augustodunensis 'Imago...': 49.

106. De Bouïard, Michel. "Réflexions sur l'encyclopédisme médiéval", *L'Encyclopédisme. Actes du Colloque de Caen, 12-16 janvier 1987*, Annie Becq, ed. Paris: Éditions Aux amateurs de livres, 1991: 284.



Garrigues calls it,<sup>107</sup> as it expresses the spirit of the renewal of the notions of nature and teaching. It is also a dynamic system: a work in progress that begins in the early part of the century with the *Imago mundi*, but which he reprises and renews decades later with the writing of the *De animae exsilio et patria*. Despite the gap between their composition, a reading of the two works together enables one to appreciate the consistency and evolution of Honorius' thinking. As noted previously, the structure of the encyclopaedia is far from being a simple repetition of a model, although the sources used are very traditional.<sup>108</sup> By contrast, the second work is interesting for its innovative pedagogical design and for proposing contemporary 'scientific' authorities. Honorius incorporates the advances of the century, and in doing so creates a medium which provides an ideal platform for innovation. If the thirteenth century may be dubbed the *belle époque de la philosophie naturelle*,<sup>109</sup> characterised, among other things, by its advancement beyond the context of the *trivium* and *quadrivium* thanks to the renewal of knowledge and the incorporation of disciplines such as alchemy, medicine and optics, then Honorius may be considered a key precursor with an original proposal, rather than a simple populariser. Furthermore, this reinforces the notion that the lands of the Holy Roman Empire, far from remaining distant from the intellectual progress of the first half of the twelfth century, received from early on, through Honorius, an intellectual influx from the major French schools such as Chartres, Laon and Paris.

---

107. Garrigues, Marie-Odile. "L'œuvre d'Honorius...", 39 (1987): 191.

108. Aside from its structure, the German historian H.W. Goetz considers that the *Imago mundi* reflects the historical methodology of the era, based on the relationship between the elements of time, person, place and action, in accordance with the proposal by Hugh of Saint Victor. It is for this reason that the work includes one book covering the world and its constituent parts (place), one dealing with time, and a third addressing history (characters and actions). See Goetz, Hans Werner. "The Concept of Time in the Historiography of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries", *Medieval Concepts of the Past. Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, Gerd Althoff; Johannes Fried; Patrick Geary, eds. Washington D.C.-Cambridge: German Historical Institute-Cambridge University Press, 2002: 141-42.

109. Draelants, Isabelle. "Le «siècle de l'encyclopédisme»: conditions et critères de définition d'un genre", *Encyclopédire. Formes de l'ambition encyclopédique dans l'Antiquité et au Moyen Âge*, Arnaud Zucker, ed. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013: 93.

