

The Inevitable of Honorius Augustodunensis: A Study in the Textures of early Twelfth-Century Augustinianisms

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Boston College

The Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

Department of Theology

THE *INEVITABLE* OF HONORIUS AUGUSTODUNENSIS:
A STUDY IN THE TEXTURES OF EARLY TWELFTH-CENTURY AUGUSTIANISMS

a dissertation

by

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The *Ineuitabile* of Honorius Augustodunensis: A Study in the Textures of early Twelfth-Century Augustinianisms

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Despite several centuries of scholarly activity, one of the most outstanding figures of the twelfth-century renaissance, Honorius Augustodunensis, remains an elusive figure. Almost nothing is known of his life—where he was born, where exactly he lived, or where he died. Yet in his own day, Honorius's considerable literary output was extremely popular, was copied in profusion, and housed in libraries across Europe. Unfortunately, most studies of Honorius's works have consisted of very general surveys that oversimplify his thought and present Honorius himself as a 'simplistic' thinker. Based upon a new critical edition of the two surviving recensions of Honorius's dialogue, *Ineuitabile*, this study seeks to redress this problem. After a careful review of the scholarly literature on the text, from 1552 to 1996, several passages from both redactions of the *Ineuitabile* are carefully analyzed to illustrate both the complexity of Honorius's use of his sources (*auctores/auctoritates*), and his masterful blending of literary allusion with dialectic, which is the foundation of his theological methodology. Finally, it is shown that the doctrine of predestination in the earliest recension of the *Ineuitabile*, which has traditionally been labelled 'Augustinian', is in fact based, in large measure, on the teachings of John Scottus Eriugena. This study seeks to change the way that Honorius's texts are read and interpreted, in the firm conviction that only by engaging with the intricacies of his sources and methodology, can his true achievement be understood and the purpose behind his vast *corpus* of writings be grasped.

MATRI CARISSIMAE
VXORIQUE DILECTISSIMAE
HOC OPVSCVLVM
MVNERI
DEDI DEDICAVIQUE

PREFACE

Honorius Augustodunensis was one of the most prolific among the first generation of authors of the so-called Twelfth-Century Renaissance. Yet very little information about him survives. Much scholarly effort has been expended in various and sundry attempts to reconstruct his life and context, but the results of these investigations are often fraught with many difficulties and cannot withstand careful scrutiny. This study has arisen from the firm conviction that Honorius must be understood, first and foremost, from a careful study of his writings, the content of which has all too often been vastly oversimplified in the literature, and treated only ‘by the way’, as presenting possible indications of doctrinal affiliations that have seemed to have placed him in contact, at some time or other, with one or another *magister* of ‘school’.

This investigation of the *Ineuitabile* is based on, and has arisen from, my work of editing the text in the two surviving recensions that can be traced to Honorius’s own pen. What emerged during the course of my philological investigations was the sheer complexity of the problem of Honorius’s sources. While this complexity has been noted before by editors of Honorius’s works (most notably by Yves Lefèvre, Robert Crouse, Valerie Flint, and Marie-Odile Garrigues), the manner in which Honorius used his sources, and especially the relation of his sources to his theological method, has yet to be fully appreciated.

The first two chapters of the present work constitute two historiographical investigations. The purpose of the first of these, which makes no claim to be exhaustive, is twofold: to examine the reconstructions of Honorius’s life from the early-modern period onward that still have some influence upon Honorius studies, and to establish the current state of the question as to Honorius’s biography. The results are mostly negative, indicating the often minimal evidential bases upon which theory’s of his *uita* generally rest. In the second chapter I have examined and

evaluated every treatment of the *Ineuitabile* that I have been able to find, from 1552 to the present.

Chapter three seeks first to demonstrate to the reader something of the complexity of the problem of Honorius's relation to his sources (*auctoritates/auctores*). It then passes on to a detailed analysis of several passages from the *Ineuitabile*, in order to demonstrate how Honorius combines the use of allusion and dialectic in his theological method. Chapter four examines several important passages from what seems to have been the earlier of the two recensions of the *Ineuitabile*, demonstrating the fundamentally Eriugenian texture of Honorius's Augustinianism in this text. It is hoped that these last two chapters will incite others to more careful investigations of Honorius's works on their own terms, so that, as his intention in his writings is more firmly understood, more secure conclusions about his life can be established.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation could not have been completed without the support and assistance of many. First and foremost, I must thank my supervisor and mentor, Professor Stephen F. Brown, for his gentle guidance, patience, and encouragement. His insightful substantive comments and careful reading, not only of the chapters of my dissertation, but also of my critical editions and English translations, have improved the results of my project on every level. Professor Brown embodies, for all his colleagues and students, what is best in Catholic scholarship and teaching, and I am grateful to be one of many who stand in his debt. I also wish to thank my readers, Professors Boyd Taylor Coolman and Stephen J. Pope, for insightful comments during the course of my defense, and for suggesting, along with Professor Brown, possible new trajectories for my future research. Professor Pope's encouragement and kindness have been especially important to me throughout my program of doctoral studies; I am especially grateful for the chance I had to learn from his tremendous pedagogical skills, both as his student and as his teaching assistant, and for his having involved me in his own academic projects. I should also like to express my gratitude to the Rev'd Professor Matthew L. Lamb of Ave Maria University, Naples, for the role he played in the early stages of this project.

The topic of this dissertation was worked out in close consultation with another mentor, the late Rev'd Professor Robert D. Crouse of Dalhousie University and the University of King's College, Halifax, Nova Scotia. Father Crouse first introduced me, not only to the idiosyncrasies of the enigmatic Honorius, but also to the riches of the Classical tradition as transmitted and transubstantiated by the Greek and Latin Fathers and their medieval interpreters. My theological outlook and scholarly method took shape, in large measure, during his seminars at Dalhousie, and both were deepened in many wonderful conversations over a period of more than fifteen

years. Without his friendship, support, and example this dissertation would never have been begun, let alone completed. *Lux perpetua luceat ei.*

I owe a debt of gratitude to all of my teachers. The late Professor J. Patrick Atherton first led me to a deep appreciation of the works of Aristotle and Plotinus and led me carefully through their texts. Professor Peter F. Kussmaul showed me the depths of the richness of the Latin language, without which my philological investigations of Honorius and his sources would have been impossible. Professor Cynthia J. Neville of Dalhousie University and Professor David Vanderhooft of Boston College taught me the importance of understanding the presuppositions underlying historical reconstructions, how to sift the results of historiography in a critical manner, and the need for scholarly reserve in forming hypotheses that cannot be substantiated with sufficient and clear evidence. Their continuing support for and interest in my work, even though not in their own areas of specialization, has been overwhelming and extremely encouraging.

Many colleagues and friends have provided support in one form or another. My colleagues in the Saskatoon Theological Union have broadened my outlook and reminded me often that dissertations can, in fact, be completed. Professor Walter Klaassen and Mark C. Fleming were my guides through the vagaries of nineteenth-century German prose, always available to help construe a difficult sentence or to explain an archaism. John Botari gave me invaluable assistance in constructing the stemma of the Cassandrian version of the *Inevitabile*, and helped me to unwind many knotty problems over Thursday evening dinners. Dr. Antonia Atanassova of Boston College and Dr. Stephen Blackwood of Trinity College, Toronto, very kindly assisted me in verifying some last-minute references. My Principals at the College of Emmanuel and St. Chad, Saskatoon, Dr. Walter Deller and the Rev'd Professor William

Richards, encouraged me in both my writing and teaching, and allowed me the opportunity to grow as a scholar in that wonderful manner that the combination of teaching and research alone can bring about.

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The library staffs of the Saskatoon Theological Union, the University of Saskatchewan, St. Thomas More College, Boston College, Dalhousie University, the University of King's College, Trinity College, Toronto, and the College of Geographic Sciences, Lawrencetown, Nova Scotia, have provided me with borrowing privileges and inter-library loan services. I am also grateful to the Keeper of Special Collections of the Bodleian Library in the University of Oxford for having granted me permission to examine *in situ* three twelfth-century codices containing the *Ineuitabile*, or portions thereof, and to the staff of the Houghton Rare Books Library, Harvard University, for providing me with photostatic reproductions of Cassander's and

Conen's *editiones principes*. The Hill Monastic Manuscript Library provided microfilms of most of the codices from which I prepared my critical editions of the *Ineuitabile*.

Boston College and the Bradley Foundation provided financial support for the first years of my doctoral studies.

Finally, and above all, I thank my wife, Sarah Benson, and my mother, Dorothy Hannam, for their support, their unstinting love, and their faith that I could use whatever talents have been lent to me to good effect. They have been my constant companions and closest friends, without whose encouragement I would almost certainly have lost all hope of ever completing this project, which I dedicate to them.

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STANDARD ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------|---|
| BA | <i>Bibliothèque Augustinienne.</i> |
| CC CM | <i>Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis.</i> |
| CC SL | <i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina.</i> |
| CSEL | <i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.</i> |
| MGH | <i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica.</i> |
| MGH SS | <i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores.</i> |
| Schmitt | <i>S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia</i> , ed. F.S. Schmitt (Edinburgh : Nelson, 1938-61) |
| PL | <i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols. Plus supplements (Paris, 1844-71) |

Part I

The Author and the Text

Chapter 1

Who was Honorius?

For contemporary scholarship, problems concerning the *Ineuitabile*—the number of its recensions, its literary form, and its doctrinal content—have become inextricably interwoven with more general questions concerning the identity its author. The enigmatic¹ Honorius *Augustodunensis*,² to whom authorship of the treatise is generally ascribed,³ is rather a shadowy figure in the history of twelfth-century thought. Émile Amann’s assertion that “[n]ul écrivain du moyen âge n’est plus profondément mystérieux que celui-ci” is hardly exaggeration.⁴ This is almost certainly the result of Honorius’s own desire for anonymity,⁵ to which his famous declaration in the Prologue to the *Elucidarium*—generally thought to have been his earliest

¹ As Robert Crouse pointed out, such descriptors for Honorius are commonplace in the literature (“Honorius Augustodunensis: *De neocosmo*. A Critical Edition of the Text with Introduction and Notes,” Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1970, p. 2). *Inter alia* are: Wilhelm Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter bis zur mitte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, 4th ed., vol. 2 (Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz, 1878), p. 197: “Honorius . . . rätselhaft ist”; Rudolf Rochell, “Honorius Augustodunensis,” *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* 8 (1897): 704-40, 704: “Eine ‘rätselhafte’ Erscheinung des zwölften Jahrhunderts”; Émile Amann, “Honorius Augustodunensis, dit Honoré d’Autun,” in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. 7 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1922), cols. 139-58: “On a prononcé à son propos le nom de ‘grand inconnu’”; Franz Bliemetzrieder, “L’oeuvre d’Anselm de Laon et la littérature théologique contemporaine, I: Honorius d’Autun,” *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiéval* 5 (1933): 275-91, 275: “l’énigmatique Honorius d’Autun”; Romuald Bauerreiß, OSB, “Zur Herkunft des Honorius Augustodunensis,” *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens* 53 (1935): 28-36, 28: “den rätselhaften Honorius”; Joseph de Ghellinck, S.J., *L’Essor de la Littérature Latine au XIIe Siècle*, vol. 1 (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1946), p. 114: “Malgré les nombreux travaux consacrés à ses œuvres, Honorius . . . demeure toujours un des personnages les plus énigmatiques . . . de l’histoire littéraire du XIIe siècle”; CarlAndrew Volz, “Honorius Augustodunensis – Twelfth-Century Enigma,” Ph.D. diss., Fordham University, 1966.

² I have adopted the practice of italicizing the adjective ‘*Augustodunensis*’ from Giles Constable (*The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996]), in order to emphasize the both the Latin adjectival form and the uncertainty of its meaning, despite the best efforts of modern scholarship. Crouse (*De neocosmo*, p. 1, n. 1) quite rightly pointed out that the adjective ought properly to be spelled *Augustudunensis*, as it is found in the surviving manuscripts of *De luminaribus ecclesiae*, our only source for this designation of Honorius. I have maintained the modern usage as more familiar to the reader.

³ On the question of Honorian authorship *vide infra*, Introduction to Editions, section 1.

⁴ Amann, “Honorius Augustodunensis,” 140.

⁵ On a possible change of the character of Honorius’s anonymity during his lifetime, *vide infra*, section 1.3, pp. 30-31.

work—seems to attest: “But I have desired that my name be cloaked in silence, lest, through disdain, consuming envy bid its own to neglect a useful work; yet let the reader ask that it be written in heaven, and that it never be struck out of the book of the living.”⁶

Although the “riddle of Honorius”⁷ has been the subject of over five centuries of scholarship, the veil of secrecy beneath which Honorius concealed his identity has never been lifted. The evidence upon which scholarly attempts to reconstruct Honorius’s *uita* have been (or indeed can be) based are, with one notable exception discussed in the next section of this chapter,⁸ limited to allusive references in certain of Honorius’s own works, and to information relayed through historical documents by authors who may or may not have had any first-hand knowledge of his identity, or even of the entire content of his *corpus*.⁹ The paucity of the evidence has left speculation open to a great deal of subjective elaboration ‘between the facts’, with predictable results. Robert Crouse’s 1987 assessment of the matter is as accurate as it is succinct:

⁶ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarium, Prologus*, in Yves Lefèvre, *L’Elucidarium et les Lucidaires* (Paris: E. De Bocard, 1954), p. 359: “Nomen autem meum ideo uolui silentio contegi, ne inuidia tabescens suis iuberet utile opus contemnendo negligi; quod tamen lector postulet ut in caelo conscribatur nec aliquando de libro uiuentium deleatur.” All citations of the *Elucidarium*, unless otherwise noted, will be from this edition.

⁷ The expression is Crouse’s, “*De neocosmo*,” p. viii.

⁸ Viz. the final chapter of Honorius’s treatise *De luminaribus ecclesiae*.

⁹ The most important of these latter sources are the so-called *Donatio Gottwicensis* (discussed below at n. 125 et sq.) and the *Annales Pallidenses* (the *Pöhlde Annals*), ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS, vol. 16 (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1859), p. 52. The author of the *Pöhlde Annals* draws his information on Honorius from Honorius’s own treatises, the *De luminaribus ecclesiae* and *Imago mundi*. A notice concerning Honorius may once have been contained in the *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, now ascribed to Wolfger of Prüfening. While the lemma ‘Honorius Monachus’ occurs in the *index auctorum* of two surviving manuscripts, however, the notice itself has not survived, if it ever existed (*uide* Francis Roy Swietek, “Wolfger of Prüfening’s *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*: A Critical Edition and Historical Evaluation,” Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1978). While Swietek contends that the lemma is genuine, the fact that it survives in only two manuscripts—viz. MSS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Palatinus latinus 4236, saec. XV and Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek, Amplonius 173, saec. XIV—both of which are late, may indicate that it was added by a scribe who knew the *De luminaribus* and wanted to ensure that the index was complete (*uide* *ibid.*, pp. 76-7, 80-1).

[Honorius's] identity and biography remain persistently obscure, despite the exertions of historians during several centuries. He has been pursued across the face of Europe, from France to Germany and Austria, to England, Ireland and Italy. Various reconstructions of his life have placed him, for instance, in Autun, Laon, Mainz, Augsburg, Regensburg, Lambach, Götting, Canterbury, Worcester, and Cashel, and various combinations of these and still other places. Hypotheses continue to proliferate, but the evidence is profoundly unsatisfactory; the field abounds in hasty and ill-founded conjectures.¹⁰

As the present study is not an historical investigation into Honorius's biography per se, but primarily an introduction to and partial examination of the theological content of one of his works, no attempt will be made at offering definitive statements about his life. Neither will there be any systematic attempt to summarize all of the relevant historiography and its results, which has been done ably elsewhere.¹¹ The first two sections of the chapter will simply review the most important interpretations of the biographical content of the final chapter of the treatise *De luminaribus ecclesiae*, our only contemporary source for Honorius's life, from the eighteenth century to 1950. Next, the work of the two most important authors who have written on Honorius's life since 1969 will be examined and evaluated. Two discoveries from my own research will then be introduced as suggestive of possible lines of future inquiry, after which some general conclusions about what can be known about Honorius's life with reasonable

¹⁰ Robert Darwin Crouse, "A Twelfth Century Augustinian: Honorius Augustodunensis," in *Congresso internazionale su S. Agostino nel xvi centenario della conversione. Atti III*, Studia Ephemerides 'Augustinianum' 26 (Rome: Institutum Patristicum 'Augustinianum', 1987), p. 169.

¹¹ The most complete account of the historiography, extending from 1494 to 1969, is found in Crouse, "*De neocosmo*," pp. 1-117; the sections of this study relevant to Honorius's supposed association with Anselm were published in idem, "Honorius Augustodunensis: Disciple of Anselm?" in H. Kohlenberger, ed., *Die Wirkungsgeschichte Anselms von Canterbury. Akten der ersten Internationalen Anselm-Tagung*, Analecta Anselmiana 4 (Frankfurt: Minerva, 1975), 131-39. Volz made a less complete survey three years earlier, which is still useful for its summaries of the works he examined ("Twelfth-Century Enigma," 1-28). Volz's conclusions on pages 28-32 are suggestive in places, but hardly conclusive. Paul Alan Dietrich's survey ("*Eruditio Sacra*: Symbol and Pedagogy in the Thought of Honorius Augustodunensis," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1981, pp. 1-5) is largely dependent on Crouse, but is still useful for its clear and accurate summary of the results of Crouse's monumental study of what he described as "the extensive, and by now nearly unmanageable, literature on the subject" ("*De neocosmo*," p. 3).

assurance will be drawn, followed by a suggestion as to the best manner in which the study of Honorius and his writings can proceed.

1.1.1. The witness of *De luminaribus ecclesiae*

The single most important witness to Honorius's life and literary output is the concluding chapter of one of his own works.¹² The treatise *De luminaribus ecclesiae* is a compendium of ecclesiastical writers, essentially an abridgement of the treatises *de uiris illustribus* of Jerome, Gennadius of Marseille, and Isidore of Seville, to which have been added twenty-four chapters on authors not treated in these earlier works.¹³ The final chapter of the work treats Honorius himself.

Honorius, a priest and 'scholasticus' of the church *Augustodunensis* produced little works not to be despised: (1) an *Elucidarium* divided into three books: the first on Christ, the second on the Church, and the third on the future life; (2) a book on Holy Mary, entitled *The Seal of Holy Mary*; (3) one on free choice, which is called *Ineuitabile*; (4) one book of sermons, which is named *The Mirror of the Church*; (5) on the incontinence of priests, which is called *Stumblingblock*; (6) a *Summa of the whole*, on every kind of history; (7) *The Jewel of the Soul*, on the divine offices; (8) a *Sacramentary*, on the sacraments; (9) *The New Cosmos*, on the first six days; (10) a *Eucharistion*, on the Body of the Lord; (11) *Knowledge of Life*, on God and eternal life; (12) *The Picture of the World*, on the ordering of the world; (13) *The Highest Glory*, on the apostolic and the imperial; (14) *The Ladder of Heaven*, on the degrees of visions; (15) *On the soul and God*, some excerpts from Augustine set down as a dialogue; (16) an *Exposition of the whole Psalter*, with the canticles [explained] in a wonderful manner. (17) He expounded the Song of Songs such that it seems never to have been expounded before; (18) the Gospels that blessed Gregory did not expound (19) a *Key of Nature*, on the natures of things; (20) a *Refreshment of the Mind*, on the feasts of the Lord and of the saints; (21) a *Pasture of Life*, on the principal feasts; (22) this book *On the Lamps of the Church*. He flourished under Henry V. Posterity will see who will write after him.¹⁴

¹² This chapter must necessarily prescind from the question of the authenticity of the final chapter of the *De luminaribus*. The most important twentieth-century proponent of the chapter's inauthenticity (a minority view) was Hermann Menhardt, "Der Nachlass des Honorius Augustodunensis," *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterum und Deutsche Literatur* 89/90 (1958-1959): 23-69.

¹³ The additional chapters are conveniently listed in PL 172, 233C-234C. On the genre *de uiris illustribus* from Jerome to Wolfger of Prüfening *uide* Swietek, "De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis," pp. 1-24 with bibliographical information there.

¹⁴ Honorius Augustodunensis, *De luminaribus ecclesiae*, IV, xvii, PL 172, 232B-234A: "Honorius, Augustodunensis Ecclesiae presbyter et scholasticus, non spernenda opuscula edidit: (1) *Elucidarium* in tribus libellis; primum de

Several pieces of information, seemingly straightforward, are reported in this notice: the author's name, the fact that he was a priest and 'scholasticus' of the church *Augustodunensis* (or perhaps "a priest of the church *Augustodunensis* and a 'scholasticus'"), his *floruit*, and a list of twenty-two of his works. Unfortunately, however, the notice raises more questions for the historian than it seems, at least at first sight, to answer.

1.1.2. *Augustodunensis Ecclesiae presbyter et scholasticus*

Perhaps the most problematic aspect of the Honorius notice in the *De luminaribus*, and the most resistant to interpretation, has been the statement that Honorius was "*Augustodunensis Ecclesiae presbyter et scholasticus*," and most especially the meaning of the descriptor *Augustodunensis*. In its most obvious sense, the phrase ought to mean that Honorius was a priest and 'scholastic' (i.e. a school teacher) of the church of Autun in Burgundy. As early as the mid-eighteenth century, however, the Burgundian medievalist, Jean Lebeuf, concluded that an identification of *Augustodunum* with Autun, in this instance, could not be sustained by any available evidence. Earlier authors, he argued, had been misled by the writings of Johannes Trithemius, "*qui le premier a employé le terme d'Augustodunensis*,"¹⁵ and it had been in the

Christo, secundum de Ecclesia, tertium de futura uita distinxit. (2) Libellum De sancta Maria, qui *Sigillum sanctae Mariae* intitulatur: (3) unum De libero arbitrio, qui *Ineuitabile* dicitur: (4) unum libellum Sermonum, qui *Speculum Ecclesiae* nuncupatur: (5) De incontinentia sacerdotum, qui *Offendiculum* appellatur; (6) *Summam totius*, de omnimoda historia; (7) *Gemmam animae* de diuinis officiis (8) *Sacramentarium* de sacramentis, (9) *Neocosmum* de primis sex diebus, (10) *Eucharistion* de corpore Domini; (11) *Cognitionem uitae* de Deo et aeterna uita; (12) *Imaginem mundi* de dispositione orbis; (13) *Summam gloriam* de Apostolico et Augusto; (14) *Scalam coeli*, De gradibus uisionum, (15) *De anima et de Deo* quaedam de Augustino excerpta, sub dialogo exarata; (16) *Expositionem totius Psalterii* cum Canticis miro modo; (17) *Cantica canticorum* exposuit, ita ut prius exposita non uideantur. (18) Euangelia, quae beatus Gregorius non exposuit; (19) *Clauem physicae* de naturis rerum; (20) *Refectionem mentium*; De festis Domini et sanctorum. (21) *Pabulum uitae*, de praecipuis festis; (22) hunc libellum De Luminaribus Ecclesiae. Sub quinto Henrico floruit. Quis post hunc scripturus sit, posteritas uidebit."

¹⁵ Jean Lebeuf, "Dissertation où l'on combat le sentiment commun, qu'il a existé autrefois dans l'Eglise d'Autun un Prêtre nommé Honorius Auteur de differens ouvrages. Et où l'on fait voir que l'Ecrivain connu sous le nom d'Honorius d'Autun, a écrit et fleuri in Allemagne et non en France," in *Recueil de divers écrits pour servir d'éclaircissements à l'histoire de France, et de supplement à la notice des Gaules*, vol. 1 (Paris: Jaques Barois Fils,

interests of the church of Autun to uphold the traditional hagiography of the illustrious “*pretendu Prêtre Autunois*.”¹⁶ Lebeuf pointed out that an examination of the internal evidence of Honorius’s works gives no indication of French residence, but is replete with references to the German Empire. The *Imago mundi*, for example, reveals an author with no interest in France whatsoever, but with a tremendous interest in the Emperors of Germany and the foundation of German towns.¹⁷ The majority of authors listed by Honorius in the fourth (entirely original) book of *De luminaribus* are German,¹⁸ and their chronology is generally reckoned according to the reigns of German emperors.¹⁹ Furthermore, Honorius’s liturgical works, the *Gemma animae* and the *Sacramentarium*, flatly contradict the ecclesiastical privileges and liturgical practices of the medieval church of Autun as the great historian had seen them described in the historical documents.²⁰ Finally, Lebeuf commented that a lost work *de Papa et Imperatore*—presumably the *Summa gloria*, described in *De luminaribus* as “*de Apostolico et Augusto*”—reported in the catalogue of Honorius’s writings, had the ‘feel’ (*ressent*) of Germany, and he suggested that the disputes between Gregory VII and Henry IV provided a probable context for such a discussion.

1738), p. 258. Lebeuf admits, however, that Trithemius “de lui-même . . . ne signifie point Autun, à l’exclusion d’une autre ville qui auroit eu le même nom en Latin.”

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 255-7.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 259-63.

¹⁸ Lebeuf lists Amalarius of Metz, Rabanus Maurus, Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, Notker of Liège, Hermann of Reichenau, and Rupert of Deutz.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 624-5.

²⁰ Lebeuf comments that in limiting the use of the pallium to archbishops (*Gemma animae*, I, ccxxiii), Honorius seems to display his ignorance of the fact that this privilege—“*bien plus ancien que son siècle*”—had been granted to the bishops of Autun; he also makes no mention of the King of France in his discussion of princes (*ibid.*, I, cxxxiv). Honorius describes several liturgical details that Lebeuf claims conflict with the ancient use of Autun. To give only three examples: he places the veneration of the Cross on Good Friday before the Liturgy of the Presanctified (*ibid.*, III, xcvi), when in it followed the Communion the medieval missals of Autun; he explains that the *Quicumque uult* is not sung in Easter week (*ibid.*, III, cxxiv), when in Autun “*il a toujours été chanté cette Semaine-là*”; the Paschal sequence (*Prose*) differs from that which would have been used in Autun (*ibid.*, IV xvii).

Having situated Honorius in German territory, Lebeuf next sought a precise location to which the name *Augustodunum* might legitimately apply. He noted that the anonymous author of the life of St Agilus²¹ had referred to the church of Augst, near Basel—usually referred to in Latin as *Augusta*—as *Augustodunensis ecclesiae*.²² Lebeuf opined, however, that it was possible that Augsburg, in south-west Bavaria—also generally designated *Augusta*—had also been known as *Augustodunum*.²³ Towards the end of his *dissertation*, Lebeuf mentioned in passing that future scholars might be able to identify Honorius *Augustodunensis* with a certain English ‘Honorius’, to whom some scholars (he mentions the Jesuit authors Phillip Labbe and Theophilus Raynaud) had ascribed some of his works.²⁴ Were this to be proven, then perhaps, he thought, *Augustodunum* ought to be identified with the English town of *Augustald* (Hexham).²⁵

The last serious defense of Autun as Honorius’s *patria* and the primary locus of his literary activity,²⁶ was published in 1763, in volume 12 of the monumental *Histoire littéraire de la France*.²⁷ Reacting against Lebeuf’s *dissertation*, the anonymous author first sought to undercut the two pillars of Lebeuf’s argument: his claim that Trithemius was the first to have

²¹ Published in *Acta sanctorum*, August, vol. 6. The reference is found at col. 557B.

²² Lebeuf, “Dissertation,” p. 269.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Although Lebeuf seems not to be aware of the fact, the idea of an English ‘Honorius *monachus*’ stems from a notice in Trithemius’s *De uiris illustribus ordinis S. Benedicti*, which some had interpreted as referring to an author other than the Honorius *Augustodunensis* of whom Trithemius had written in his *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*. On the subsequent confusion about the two ‘Honorii’ *uide* Crouse, “*De neocosmo*,” pp. 12-15 and *idem*, “Disciple of Anselm?” p. 133.

²⁵ Lebeuf refers his reader to his earlier and more thorough discussion of the use of *Augustodunum* for Hexham (*Mercuré de France* [June, 1730]: 1063) in a marginal note (p. 271).

²⁶ Some later scholars (e.g. Franz Baeumker, Émile Amann, and Carl Volz) have argued for a connection with Autun, but have agreed that most of Honorius’s life must have been spent in the Danube region of Germany.

²⁷ The essay was reprinted in PL 172, cols. 13-36, from which all citations will be taken.

described Honorius as ‘*Augustodunensis ecclesiae*’ and his identification of *Augustodunum* with either Augst or Augsburg.²⁸

Before turning to the treatment of these questions in the *Histoire littéraire*, however, it must first be said that Lebeuf’s claim that Trithemius had inaugurated the tradition of designating Honorius as *Augustodunensis ecclesiae* is certainly curious, even in the context of the *dissertation* itself. Lebeuf had clearly read the final chapter of *De luminaribus*, the *locus classicus* of this designation, since he reports that in it Honorius “*est dit avoir fleuri, sub quinto Henrico.*”²⁹ How could he have not known that Trithemius’s use of *Augustodunensis* derived from this source? It is possible that Lebeuf had worked from a defective manuscript of the text, or perhaps it was simply a slip of the pen that went uncorrected to the press.

In any case, the author of the “*Histoire de la vie d’Honoré,*” however, based his argument on another explanation of the mistake. In the course of his argument that Honorius’s manner of dating authors in the final sections of the *De luminaribus*—namely, by identifying the German king during whose reign they flourished—was evidence of his German residence, Lebeuf had hypothetically conceded to a possible gainsayer that “[*c*]omme *c’est tout à la fin de son livre De luminaribus Ecclesiae, il peut se faire que cette addition (viz. the final chapters of the work) ne soit pas de lui.*”³⁰ He went on to say, however, that even if those passages were not original to the text, their inclusion was a strong indication of the treatise’s German origin. Misreading the concession as an assertion, however, the Benedictine critic argued that Lebeuf had considered the final chapter of the *De luminaribus* “*une addition faite par une main étrangère.*”³¹ Yet even

²⁸ Anon., “*Histoire de la vie d’Honoré,*” col. 13-4.

²⁹ Lebeuf, *ibid.*, p. 265.

³⁰ Lebeuf, *ibid.*, p. 265. Emphasis added.

³¹ “*Histoire de la vie d’Honoré,*” col. 13-4.

in if the forgery be admitted, the he remarks, “*du moins faut-il convenir qu’elle précède de beaucoup l’âge de Trithème, puisque tous les manuscrits sur lesquels ont été faites les différentes éditions de ce traité, la renfermaient.*”³² While this is certainly true, the critic’s assertion that Honorius had identified himself as Honorius *Augustodunensis* “à la tête des productions de sa plume” is most emphatically not.³³ Turning to the matter of the identification of *Augustodunum* with Augst or Augsburg, the author points out, quite legitimately, that Lebeuf cites no example of the use of the name for the latter, and also that, by the twelfth century, Augst had been destroyed and its see joined to that of Basel.³⁴

Turning to Lebeuf’s examination of the Germanic content of Honorius’s writings, the anonymous Benedictine stated that this evidence really only indicates a German origin of the specific texts that Lebeuf had cited (viz. the *Imago mundi*, *Gemma animae*, *Sacramentarium*, and *De luminaribus*). They therefore provide evidence that Honorius had lived in Germany, but not that he had never lived in Autun. Surely the most likely solution was that Honorius had moved to Germany to take up a monastic life after his retirement from his position as ‘*scholasticus*’ at Autun:

*Le choix d’une terre étrangère, de la part d’un homme qui veut se devouer à la vie solitaire, n’a rien qui doive nous étonner. Les exemples de transmigrations causées par un semblable motif sont trop communs.*³⁵

All that the anonymous critic felt assured in saying about the remainder of Honorius’s life was that he had probably moved to Germany (somewhere in the territories of the Duke of Austria),

³² Ibid.

³³ Some of the prologues identify the author as ‘Honorius’, but not as ‘Honorius *Augustodunensis*.’

³⁴ “Histoire de la vie d’Honoré,” col. 13-4.

³⁵ Ibid.

that this likely occurred around 1120, and that he was still alive during the pontificate of Innocent II.³⁶

The nineteenth century saw an enormous output of scholarship on Honorius from scholars across several disciplines.³⁷ One of the most influential reconstructions of Honorius's life, which has had a far-reaching effect on Honorius scholarship down to the present day, was that of Julius Dieterich in the preface to his editions of the *Offendiculum*, the *Summa gloria*, and a *quaestio 'Vtrum sit peccatum nubere uel carnes comedere,'* published in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* in 1897. Dieterich had become convinced that Honorius must have been a canon regular, at least early in his life. In the first instance, he argued, this conclusion emerged naturally from the internal evidence of Honorius's writings. For instance, the '*fratres*' to whom several of Honorius's works were addressed must surely have been "*sodales 'collegii' cuiusdam, ergo clerici regulares,*"³⁸ especially as it would have been unthinkable that a monk, pledged to stability, could have led the life of a wandering scholar, sending back writings to his motherhouse, as the prologues to several of Honorius's treatises appear to suggest.³⁹ Furthermore, Dieterich argued, the title '*praepositus*', by which Honorius had addressed the recipient of his *De libero arbitrio*, was not a monastic title, but was reserved for the 'foremost' of a collegiate church (*ecclesiae collegiatae praepositus*). Moreover, Honorius's sermon

³⁶ Crouse ("*De neocosmo*," pp. 21-2, n. 29) pointed out that the acceptance of the Austrian locus of Honorius's 'retreat' stemmed from Lebeuf's misreading of a remark by Bernard Pez.

³⁷ The literature is treated with remarkable completeness in Crouse, "*De neocosmo*," 24-41. A useful list of nineteenth-century authors arranged by discipline (apparently dependant on Crouse) is found in Dietrich, "*Eruditia Sacra*," p. 2.

³⁸ Julius Dieterich, "*Libelli Honorii Augustodunensis presbyteri et scholastici*," in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum saeculis xi et xii conscripti*, volume 3 (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1897), pp. 30-1. The works to which Dieterich refers are the *Elucidarium*, the *Sigillum*, *Ineuitabile*, *Speculum ecclesiae*, *Offendiculum*, *De apostatis*, *Gemma animae*, *Cognitio uitae*, and *Suum quid uirtutum*.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 31: "Ad hoc saepius peregrinatus fratribus in 'collegio' relictis litteras librosque misit, quod monachus uix facere potuisset, cum conuersis ex monasteriis discedere illa aetate perraro liceret."

collections, both the *Speculum ecclesiae* and the lost *Refectio mentium* and *Pabulum uitae*, indicate that Honorius was engaged in some form of preaching ministry—a ministry that, in Dieterich’s view, Honorius’s own *Quod monachis liceat predicare* would suggest monastics had not normally been allowed to perform.⁴⁰ Honorius’s own self-identification in *De luminaribus* as ‘*presbyter et scholasticus*’ was also problematic. One could conceive of a regular cleric (*clericus*) using these titles, Dieterich maintained, but they could hardly be considered monastic.

The final piece of internal evidence that Dieterich believed indicated definitively that Honorius had been a canon regular is to be found in one of his *opuscula*—the *Liber XII quaestionum*.⁴¹ The work itself is a contribution to the twelfth-century debate *cur homo*,⁴² in which Honorius examines several problems concerning the place of the angelic and human natures in the cosmos. The prefatory letter to the text, however, claims that the work reports Honorius’s previous oral response to an argument between a monk and a canon, who “happened to meet along the road,”⁴³ as to whose patron—Michael the Archangel or Peter the Apostle—was of greater dignity (*digniozem*). Dieterich considered that Honorius “*canonicum uincentem fecit*”⁴⁴—further evidence of his *quondam* ecclesiastical state. Although Dieterich did not specify precisely what constituted this victory—and it is important to note that in the course of the *quaestiones* themselves Honorius never actually mentions monks or canons—he was very probably referring to chapter VI of the text, which states, in part, that:

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ PL 172, cols. 1177-1186.

⁴² On the controversy *cur homo*, uide Marie-Dominique Chenu, “*Cur homo? Le Sous-Sol d’une controverse*,” in *La théologie au douzième siècle* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1957), pp. 52-61.

⁴³ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Liber XII quaestionum*, Prologus, col. 1177: “Duo in itinere casu conuenerunt, quorum unus canonicus, alter erat monachus.”

⁴⁴ Dietrich, *ibid.*, p. 31.

. . . quantum ordo seraphim praecellit dignitate ordinem archangelorum, tantum praecellit Petrus princeps apostolorum Michaellem unum de ordine archangelorum. Hinc est, quod Roma caput mundi Petro apostolo, non Michaeli archangelo primatum regiminis obtuli; et uniuersa Ecclesia per orbem non solum in priuatis locis, sed etiam in praecipuis urbibus episcopalem sedem Petro contulit.⁴⁵

Possibly Dieterich intended chapter VII:

. . . quaeritur: quis dignior sit, homo an angelus? Resp. Absque dubio: homo est dignior . . . , quia homo in Christo est Deus, quod non est angelus; et angeli adorant supra se hominem Deum, non hominem angelum.⁴⁶

In any case, at no point does Honorius pronounce an opinion in this treatise on the superiority of one state of life over another (unless these two passages are interpreted as an extremely implicit statement of such an opinion).

Yet Dieterich believed that he had also found external evidence that not only supported his interpretation of this data, but that also appeared to identify the locus of Honorius's early career, and possibly his *patria*. In a codex formerly belonging to Sawley Abbey,⁴⁷ the main text of the *Imago mundi* is preceded by a sentence that identifies the author of the treatise ('*Iste Henricus*') as "*canonicus s. Mariae ciuitatis Maguntie*."⁴⁸ This was solid evidence, Dieterich claimed, that Honorius must have been a canon of the church of Sancta Maria in Campis in Mainz. The ascription to 'Henricus' Dieterich blamed on an error of the scribe, who, he believed, had obviously inserted this common name for the 'H' in his exemplar. Dieterich produced what he considered corroborative evidence for this location of Honorius in Mainz from the dedications of two of Honorius's works. The 'Henricus' to whom the first redaction of the

⁴⁵ Ibid., VI, cols. 1181-2.

⁴⁶ Ibid., VII, col. 1182.

⁴⁷ Viz. MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 66.

⁴⁸ Dietrich, *ibid.*, p. 31. Cf. Valerie Irene Jane Flint, "Honorius Augustodunensis: *Imago mundi*," *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Litteraire de Moyen Age* 49 (1982): 7-153, 24.

Imago mundi had been dedicated, he identified as the sometime archdeacon of Mainz of the same name. Provost Gotteschalk, the recipient of *De libero arbitrio*, he identified with the provost of the collegiate church of which he believed Honorius had himself been a canon.⁴⁹

The matters of the interpretation of *Augustodunensis* and of Honorius's identification as 'monachus,' 'solitarius,' and 'inclusus' in the manuscripts of many of his works, Dieterich explained as the result of a *peregrinatio*, the result of a political crisis in Mainz. As he pointed out, Mainz under Archbishop Adalbert had initially been a hotbed of papal support. With the weakening of Adalbert's position in the wake of the Concordat of Worms, however, Honorius may well have found himself—Dieterich uses the one-word title of one of Honorius's own works—an *offendiculum*. At the same time, he noted, the final mention of the 'fratres' is made in the *Cognitio uitae*, placed in the (presumably chronological) list in *De luminaribus*, immediately before the *Imago mundi*, the second redaction of which dates to 1123. The third redaction of the *Imago mundi*, however, was written to one 'Christianus' (or 'Cuonus' or 'C'), whom Dieterich believed to have been the Abbot⁵⁰ 'Christian' to whom Honorius dedicated his *Expositio totius psalterii*.⁵¹ By this time, then, Honorius must have been a monk. A reasonable reconstruction of Honorius's itinerary, Dieterich argued, would be that he had left Mainz around 1123, travelling first to Autun, where he functioned as 'presbyter et scholasticus',⁵² then finally

⁴⁹ Dieterich, *ibid.*, p. 32.

⁵⁰ 'Christianus' is addressed twice as 'Pater' in the *auctoris dedicatio* (PL 172, cols. 269-70). Dieterich may also have found further evidence for his theory in Honorius's reference to 'uenerando abbati C' in the dedicatory epistle prefacing his *Expositio in Cantica Cantorum* (PL 172, col. 347C).

⁵¹ Dieterich, *ibid.*, p. 33. Interestingly, Dieterich made no attempt to identify 'Abbot Christian', nor did he make any reference to Otto von Doberentz's claim that 'Christianus' had been a 'presbyter scholasticus' of Regensburg. *Vide infra* at note 63.

⁵² *Ibid.*: "Multi enim clerici natione Germani tunc eruditionis causa in Galliam proficiscebantur, nonnulli etiam apud illius regni ecclesias scholasticorum muneribus functi sunt."

returning to Germany, where he entered the monastic state.⁵³ Retirement from the clerical to the monastic life was, after all, he noted, a natural *cursus*: “*persaepe ea aetate et clerici regulares, cum consenuissent, artiori regulae monachorum se subdiderunt.*”⁵⁴

At the turn of the twentieth century, Josef Endres, taking up a conjecture (*Hypothese*) that he mistakenly attributed to Otto von Doberentz,⁵⁵ located the sphere of Honorius’s mature literary activity in Regensburg “*mit Rücksicht darauf, dass Regensburg, die einzige, wie er meinte, in De imagine mundi aufgeführte deutsche Stadt sei.*”⁵⁶ In fact, von Doberentz had not placed Honorius in Regensburg at all, but only the ‘Christianus’ to whom he had dedicated the *Imago mundi*.⁵⁷ Von Doberentz seems to have been to satisfied by the earlier conjecture of Wilhelm Wattenbach,⁵⁸ who, having found Augsburg designated *Augustodunensis* in the *Gesta Friderici*, had placed Honorius there.⁵⁹ In any case, the mistake was of little import to Endres’s argument, as his first order of business was to dispute von Doberentz’s identification of ‘Christianus’ as a canon of Regensburg, and to substitute another, whom he believed a more

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 31.

⁵⁵ Otto von Doberentz, “Die Erd- und Völkerkunde in der Weltchronik des Rudolf von Hohen-Ems,” *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 12 (1881): 257-301, 13 (1882): 29-57, 165-223.

⁵⁶ Joseph Anton Endres, *Honorius Augustodunensis: Beitrag zur Geschichte des geistigen Lebens im 12. Jahrhundert* (Kempten and Munich: Joseph Kösel’schen, 1906), p. 3.

⁵⁷ Von Doberentz, “Die Erd- und Völkerkunde,” *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 13 (1882): 56: “Solte Regensburg damit gepriesen werden als wirkungsstätte seines freundes *Christianus*, von welchem Honorius, der presbyter et scholasticus Augustodunensis ecclesiae, im widmungsbrieft mit schmeichlerischer huldigung gesagt hatte: non solum laborem meum, sed et me ipsum tibi debeam.” Emphasis added.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 57: “Dürften wir, solcher vermutung nachgebend und vertauend, in jenem *Christianus* einen presbyter canonicus an der ecclesia major zu Regensburg finden, was läge dann näher, als in übereinstimmung mit Wattenbach, in Honorius einen presbyter und scholasticus an der Augsburger Kirche zu erblicken?” Emphasis added.

⁵⁹ Cf. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*, vol. 2, p. 197: “Es liegt . . . nahe, an eine Verwechslung mit *Augsburg* zu denken, welches auch Otto von Freising (*Gesta Frid.* IV, 3) so benennt.” Emphasis original.

likely candidate. Wattenbach had noted the fact that the only German city named in the version of the *Imago mundi* from which he was working⁶⁰ was Regensburg.⁶¹ Accepting this as significant, von Doberentz had combed the Regensburg necrologies, where he found a ‘Christianus’ who had been a ‘*presbyter scholasticus*’ in the city at the appropriate time.⁶² Endres cast his scholarly net more widely, comparing the dedication of the *Imago mundi*, as Dieterich had earlier done, with those of Honorius’s other works. He discovered that Honorius had dedicated another work—his *Expositio totius Psalterii*—to a certain ‘Christianus’, who, he argued, must surely have been the same person as the dedicatee of the *Imago mundi*.⁶³ He further identified this twice-mentioned ‘Christian’ (possibly under the influence of Dieterich)⁶⁴ with the ‘*uenerandus abbas C*’ referred to in the dedicatory epistle to the *Expositio in Cantica canticorum*. On the basis of this identification, Endres rejected von Doberentz’s theory and began to search for an abbot (rather than a canon) from Regensburg of the same name. He found the perfect (and, he believed, the only) candidate in Christian of Ratisbon, the abbot of the *Schottenkloster* of St. Jakob from 1133 to 1153.⁶⁵ As further evidence of the connection between Honorius and Christian, Endres noted that in later redactions of the *Imago mundi* Honorius made

⁶⁰ While von Doberentz was unaware that more than one version of the text existed, this qualification is extremely important. Honorius appears to have revised the *Imago mundi* throughout his life, and the text survives in several redactions. By 1906 Endres (p. 3) had discovered another version of the text that named Würzburg as well as Regensburg. The manuscript evidence is extremely complex, but is clearly discussed, and most of the problems solved, in Flint, “Honorius Augustodunensis: *Imago Mundi*,” pp. 7-153.

⁶¹ Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*, vol. 2, p. 197: “. . . die einzige Stadt, welche [Honorius] in der Beschreibung Deutschlands nennt, ist Regensburg.” Endres also mistakenly attributed this observation to von Doberentz, who had merely noted (following Wattenbach) the “ausdrückliche nennung der stad Regensburg” (“Die Erd- und Völkerkunde,” *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 13 (1882): 56).

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 56-7.

⁶³ Endres, *Honorius Augustodunensis*, p. 3.

⁶⁴ *Vide supra*, note 48.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

specific mention of a second German city, Würzburg, along with Regensburg. Endres explained this extension of Honorius's interest to a second, and therefore rare, explicitly-named German city as resulting from Abbot Christian's foundation of the *Schottenkloster* St. Jakob in Würzburg in 1134.⁶⁶

Endres also believed that his location of Honorius in Regensburg, and more especially his supposed association with Abbot Christian of Ratisbon, solved what had been another problematic matter—namely, how Honorius, who had identified himself as '*presbyter et scholasticus*' in the *De luminaribus*, had come to be identified as '*inclusus*' and '*solitarius*' in certain manuscripts of his works. Endres noted that the hermits who lived in the priory of Weih Sankt Peter, the motherhouse of St. Jakob's, which by Honorius's day had come under the authority of the abbot of its larger daughter house, had been known from the time of its foundation under Marianus Scottus for their apostolate as scribes.⁶⁷ Marianus himself was said to have written "*multos libellos multaque manualia psalteria uiduis indigentibus ac clericis pauperibus . . . pro remedio animae suae sine ulla spe terreni quaestus.*"⁶⁸ It had long been known that Honorius had written "*für den literaturbedürftigen Klerus Bücher*"; his association with Abbot Christian, Endres argued, was thus a sure indication of his residence among the solitaries of Weih Sankt Peter under Christian's authority.

All this, however, left unanswered the entire question of the meaning of the phrase *Augustodunensis ecclesiae* in the *De luminaribus*. Endres believed he had found the solution to this problem in an elaborate wordplay, whereby Honorius both made allusion (through the

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 4-5.

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 6-8.

⁶⁸ *Vita beati Mariani*, c. 2, *Acta Sanctorum Bolandiana*, February 2, 367 C, cited in Endres, *Honorius Augustodunensis*, p. 6.

immediate association of *Augustodunum* with Autun) to France, “*nach dem Lande, das bereits damals als der Born des Wissens galt,*” and also identified his true place of residence to those who understood his “*etymologische Spielereien.*”⁶⁹ The constituent parts of the adjective ‘*Augustodunum*’, Endres argued—namely, the Old Celtic word ‘*dunum*’ (hill) and the Latin ‘*Augustus*’ (emperor)—were a playful designation of the ‘hill of victory’ (‘*Zigetsberg*’ or ‘*collis uictoriae*’), upon which, according to local legend, the emperor Charlemagne had established Weih Sankt Peter—the very religious foundation to which he believed Honorius had belonged.⁷⁰

Endres attempted to say very little else about Honorius. Both his place of origin and how he ended his days, he said, lay “*in gänzlichem Dunkel.*”⁷¹ Nevertheless, to have established so firmly Honorius’s association with one of Regensburg’s twelfth-century institutions, and therefore something of his circle, was no small feat. Moreover, Endres’s ingenious explanation of the problematic phrase ‘*Augustodunensis ecclesiae*’ offered a solution to the problem that required no reference to any place of residence outside of Germany.⁷² In the fifteen short pages that constituted the first chapter of his monograph, Endres seemed to have settled the whole question of the historical context of Honorius’s literary activity in a self-contained description that appeared to have solved the problems of the various hypotheses of the previous two centuries. Moreover, his solution was the result of a rigorous application of modern historical method, based upon trustworthy witnesses to persons, places, and the communal memory of Honorius’s own day. As such, Endres’s work was received with enthusiasm.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 12.

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 12-3.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 15.

⁷² With the exception of a possible sojourn in Canterbury. *Vide infra*, p. 20.

Despite the almost universal appeal of Endres's Regensburg theory, however, several scholars in the first and second quarters of the twentieth century still took Honorius at his literal word in the *De luminaribus*, and argued that his residence in Regensburg at the end of his life was not inconsistent with interpreting the phrase *Augustodunensis ecclesia* as 'the church of Autun'. Franz Baeumker, in a work that explicitly expanded upon one aspect of Endres's investigations,⁷³ while accepting Endres's Regensburg theory,⁷⁴ and conceding credibility to the possibility that Honorius had lived at Weih Sankt Peter,⁷⁵ nevertheless postulated what he considered a more likely interpretation of the known facts. Baeumker conjectured that Honorius had begun his career as priest and 'scholasticus' (*Lehrer*) of the church of Autun, only to retire to Germany—most likely (*näherhin*) to Regensburg—to live the life of an 'inclusus.'⁷⁶ In some ways this *cursus* suggested by Baeumker resembled the hypothesis put forward in the *Histoire littéraire de la France* discussed above.⁷⁷ But Baeumker not only gave evidence both of Honorius's French residency and of his work as a 'scholasticus', but also advanced reasons for the flight. These he drew primarily from his examination of Honorius's writings, but also, ironically, from Endres's own findings. In the first place, Baeumker characterized two of what he considered to have been Honorius's three earliest works—namely, the *Elucidarium* and the

⁷³ Franz Baeumker, *Das Inevitable des Honorius Augustodunensis und dessen Lehre über das Zusammenwirken von Wille und Gnade*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, Texte und Untersuchungen, vol. 13, pt. 6 (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1914).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13: "Freilich arbeitete [Honorius] auch da wohl nicht ohne Anregung seitens von Mönchen, *vielleicht von Weih St. Peter . . .*" Emphasis added.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁷⁷ *Vide supra*, note 33.

*Inevitabile*⁷⁸—as “*die wissenschaftliche Zusammenfassung wohl des ganzen damaligen theologischen Lehrinhalts,*” which, as such, point “*auf die Schule als auf ihren Ursprung.*”⁷⁹

This was as much evidence of Honorius’s French residence, Baeumker claimed, as it was of his career as a teacher. The reason for Honorius’s flight Baeumker attributed primarily to doctrinal disputes that he believed had arisen in France. Endres had claimed that certain of Honorius’s teachings had been attacked “*bis von Frankreich her,*”⁸⁰ and Honorius’s doctrines of the ‘absolute predestination of the Incarnation’ (*seine Lehre von der absoluten Prädestination der Menschwerdung*),⁸¹ aspects of his Christology influenced by Eriugena,⁸² and his eschatology⁸³ were all bound to cause consternation amongst certain of his contemporaries. Moreover, Honorius’s use of the pseudonym ‘*Chrisostom*’ for Eriugena seemed to indicate his recognition that the Scot’s influence was considered at the very least suspect.⁸⁴ Surely, argued Baeumker, the most obvious interpretation of the evidence is that Honorius had been a priest of Autun and a

⁷⁸ On Baeumker’s relative dating of the *Elucidarium*, *Sigillum*, and *Inevitabile*, *vide infra*, chapter 2.3, at note 51 et sq.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10. Later on in the chapter (p. 12) Baeumker would also claim that only these two of Honorius’s works have the form of a dialogue between a student and teacher, and that this change of genre likely marks a transition in his career. This is simply not true. The *Scala caeli maior*, the *Liber XII quaestionum*, the *Libellus de VIII quaestionum*, and the *De cognitione uerae uitae* all take the form of dialogues between *magister* and *discipulus*. These are very likely late works, since, as Paolo Lucentini, *Platonismo medievale: Contributi per la storia dell’erigenismo*, 2d ed. (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1980), has pointed out, beginning with the *De neocosmo*, Honorius’s works display “un costante approfondimento della problematica erigeniana” (p. 60). Baeumker also ignored the evidence, already pointed out by Baeumker, of certain scholastic *quaestiones* printed in collections of Honorius’s works, and very probably by Honorius himself (cf. Endres, pp. 150-4). Of these *quaestiones* Lucentini has said: “Ma è nelle *Quaestiones theologicae* che la riflessione teologica di Onorio si monstra pienamente conquistata al pensiero di Giovanni.”

⁸⁰ Baeumker, *Das Inevitabile*, p. 11. Cf. Endres, *Honorius Augustodunensis*, p. 118. The accusatory author, whom Baeumker does not name, was Gilbert de la Porré (*vide* Endres, *Honorius Augustodunensis*, pp. 124-5).

⁸¹ Baeumker, *Das Inevitabile*, p. 11. Cf. Endres, *Honorius Augustodunensis*, p. 118.

⁸² *Ibid.* Cf. Endres, *Honorius Augustodunensis*, p. 118-19.

⁸³ *Ibid.* Cf. Endres, *Honorius Augustodunensis*, p. 119-23.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

scholastic (i.e. a teacher) in the school there. While living in France he had encountered the works of Eriugena,⁸⁵ whose ideas he had embraced with enthusiasm. Soon, however, he was forced to flee France, both on account of certain ‘envious’ (*invidi*) colleagues, who begrudged him whatever success he had achieved, and because of doctrinal skirmishes, occasioned by his Eriugenianism. The locus of Honorius’s later career, Baeumker thought, was almost certainly Regensburg. Endres’s evidence and arguments, he believed, had shown this clearly, even though his theory about the meaning of *Augustodunensis* was rendered unnecessary by Baeumker’s reconstruction of Honorius’s earlier career.

Baeumker’s emendation of Endres’s theory met with an appreciative reaction among historians, and more evidence was adduced in support of it. Franz Plazidus Bliemetzrieder, Cistercian historian, professor of Church History at the University of Graz, and editor of the Laon sentence collections, for instance, argued that the *floruit* given by Honorius in the *De luminaribus* (1106-1125) referred specifically to the time during which he had held the office of ‘recteur’ (Bliemetzrieder’s interpretation of the Latin *scholasticus*)⁸⁶ of the cathedral school of Autun. This made Honorius an exact contemporary of Anselm of Laon, who “*en ce même temps . . . était aussi, comme ‘scholasticus et magister,’ au sommet de son activité.*”⁸⁷ This tendency to favor a literal reading of the term *Augustodunensis* was almost certainly the result of a general feeling among historians of the time, voiced clearly by the Strasbourg theologian, Émile Amann, in his extensive article on Honorius in the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, that Endres’s

⁸⁵ Baeumker stated that France was the most likely place for Honorius to have encountered Eriugena, but gave no supporting evidence.

⁸⁶ Bliemetzrieder, “Honorius d’Autun,” p. 276: “Ici, le terme ‘*scholasticus*’ désigne indubitablement le détenteur de cette charge de recteur, car Honorius lui-même écrit d’Alcuin: ‘*officio scholasticus.*’” The reference (not cited by Bliemetzrieder) is to Honorius, *De luminaribus*, IV, ii, PL 172, col. 230.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

“*hypothèse compliquée*”⁸⁸ concerning the meaning of the phrase ‘*Augustodunensis presbyter et scholasticus*’ was somewhat contrived. Amann’s comments on Endres’s conclusions read very much like a précis of Baeumker’s work, accepting what was persuasive in Endres, but ultimately restoring Honorius to Autun: “*Si le séjour de notre Honorius à Ratisbonne semble incontestable, l’explication des mots Augustodunensis Ecclesiae presbyter et scholasticus, est beaucoup moins satisfaisante. Pourquoi ne pas traduire simplement Augustodunensis presbyter, par prêtre d’Autun?*”⁸⁹ While Amann did not offer an explanation for why Honorius had left Autun, he did mention Baeumker’s hypothesis, which he regarded as “*non sans vraisemblance.*”⁹⁰

This restoration of Honorius to Autun, however, did not meet with universal acceptance. A second group of scholars, equally dissatisfied with Endres’s interpretation of ‘*Augustodunensis*’, proposed an alternative to both theories, connecting Honorius’s early career with neither Regensburg nor Autun, but with Canterbury. The influence exerted on Honorius by certain works of Anselm of Canterbury had long been recognized. The Maurist editors of the *De cognitione uerae uitae*, for example, had noted that one finds “[e]osdem . . . sensus et ipsissimam Anselmi doctrinam ex ipsius Monologio expressam . . . atque huc translata[m].”⁹¹ (Endres regarded this dependence as “*eine feststehende Thatsache.*”)⁹² Moreover, at least some manuscripts of the *Speculum ecclesiae* identify certain “*Fratres Cantuariensis ecclesiae,*”

⁸⁸ Amann, “Honorius Augustodunensis,” col. 143.

⁸⁹ Ibid. Emphasis added.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ *Admonitio in subsequentem librum*, PL 40, col. 1005.

⁹² Josef Anton Endres, *Das St. Jakobsportal in Regensburg und Honorius Augustodunensis* (Kempten and Munich: J. Kösel’schen, 1903), p. 13.

amongst whom Honorius had at some time lived, as the petitioners requesting the work.⁹³

Endres, who accepted the reading as genuine, had explained Honorius's time in Canterbury as more probably the result of a brief visit there than an indication that Canterbury had once been his home (although he did not rule this out as a possibility).⁹⁴ The *Vita Mariani*, after all, speaks of Christian of Ratisbon, whom Endres believed to have been Honorius's abbot, as having twice visited Ireland; it was not inconceivable, therefore, that a member of a Regensburg *Schottenkloster* should have visited England.⁹⁵

Other scholars, however, sensed a deeper connection with Canterbury than that of a mere sojourn. Bliemetzrieder, for example, who, as has been seen, located Honorius's mature activity in the school of Autun, sensed in the preface to the *Speculum ecclesiae* “*un changement de scène*” in Honorius's life.⁹⁶ While stopping short of placing Honorius in the school of Anselm, properly speaking, his comments seem to point in that direction. He asked rhetorically, for example: “*Serait-ce par hasard que [l'Offendiculum] est placé immédiatement après le Speculum [i.e. in the De luminaribus] . . . et qu'il porte le même titre qu'une œuvre de S. Anselme de Cantorbéry?*”⁹⁷ Strangely, however, although Bliemetzrieder implied a connection with Canterbury and placed Honorius firmly in Autun, he only allowed for one ‘change of scene’. By the time Honorius wrote the *Gemma animae*, he notes, “*les discipuli ont*

⁹³ Endres, *Honorius Augustodunensis*, p. 30, note 1: “Cum proxime in nostro conuentu resideres.” *Vide etiam* PL 172, col. 813.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ Bliemetzrieder, “Honorius d'Autun,” p. 275, note 2.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* Emphasis added.

complètement disparu.”⁹⁸ But which disciples these were he does not say: Were they Honorius’s fellow-disciples at Canterbury or his own students at Autun?

While Bliemetzrieder was content to leave the matter of Honorius’s earliest life an open question, the Benedictine historian, Romuald Bauerreiß, considered the evidence for Honorius’s early association with Canterbury overwhelming.⁹⁹ Bauerreiß put forward the hypothesis that Johannes Trithemius’s notice of an Honorius, whom he identified as “*monachus in Anglia*,” in his *De uiris illustribus Ordinis s. Benedicti*, might have depended upon a missing chapter from the *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* of the so-called *Anonymus Mellicensis*, whom Bauerreiß identified as Boto of Prüfening.¹⁰⁰ While Bauerreiß admitted that Trithemius’s use of the *De scriptoribus* was a disputed matter among historians, and that any certainty on the matter would have to await more detailed researches (*eingehendere Untersuchungen*), he considered Trithemius’s abbacy of the monastery of St Jakob in Würzburg—the daughter house of Weih Sankt Peter, where Endres seemed to have located Honorius with such certainty—a likely guarantee of his knowledge of Honorius’s life. Significantly, Trithemius had identified this *monachus in Anglia* as “*Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi singularis amicus, ad quem eius nonnullae extant epistolae.*”¹⁰¹ While such an intimate friendship with Anselm would have to

⁹⁸ Ibid. Emphasis added.

⁹⁹ Romuald Bauerreiß, OSB, “Zur Herkunft des Honorius Augustodunensis,” *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens* 53 (1935): 28-36.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 31. The most recent editor of the *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* has identified the author as Wolfger of Prüfening. *Vide* Swietek, “*De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis.*”

¹⁰¹ Johannes Trithemius, *De uiris illustribus Ordinis s. Benedicti*, cited in Bauerreiß, “Zur Herkunft des Honorius,” p. 30.

remain undecided (*dahingestellt*), he said, it was at least a probability: “*Wohl stand der letzte große Benediktinertheologe mit Inklusen in freundschaftlichem Verhältnis.*”¹⁰²

There was a great deal of evidence external to Trithemius’s notice, however, that Bauerreiß believed could be considered as a proof (*Beweis*) of Honorius’s English associations.¹⁰³ The name Honorius, for instance, had definite associations with England, but none with Germany. The evidence of the *fratres Cantuarienses* of the *Speculum ecclesiae* spoke for a close association with Canterbury specifically, as did the influence of Anselm on several of Honorius’s works,¹⁰⁴ the more or less frequent ascriptions of the *Elucidarium* to Anselm in the manuscript tradition, and the similarities between Honorius’s *Offendiculum* and Anselm’s.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, the evidence of early manuscripts of Honorius’s works in England (but none in Autun), and especially of an Old English translation of the *Elucidarium* dating from 1125 (“*einer Zeit, in der unmöglich schon eine Kopie vom Festland nach England gekommen sein kann*”), which must have been ‘made to order’ (*auf Bestellung gefertigte*) for an English foundation, seemed to point to the English origin both of the *Elucidarium* and its author.¹⁰⁶

Finally, Bauerreiß argued that Honorius’s association with Canterbury might well solve the problem of the meaning of the mysterious term *Augustodunensis*. Could it not be the equivalent to *Augustinensis*, an adjective used by the brethren of the monastery of St. Augustine

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 32.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 34. By ‘*Beweis*’ Bauerreiß here seems to mean ‘proof’ rather than ‘evidence,’ to which the term ‘*Gründe*’ seems to correspond in his sentence: “All diese Gründe verdichten sich zu dem Beweis, daß die Bemerkung Tritheims über den Honorius als ‚*monachus in Anglia*‘ zu Recht besteht.”

¹⁰⁴ Bauerreiß mentions three—the *Sigillum*, the *Cognitio uitae*, and the *De libero arbitrio*. The influence of Anselm upon the *Sigillum* is from the Pseudo-Anselmian Ninth Homily, actually written by Ralph D’Escures. *Vide* Richard William Southern, *St Anselm and his Biographer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), p. 212.

¹⁰⁵ Bauerreiß, “Zur Herkunft des Honorius,” p. 33.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 34.

at Canterbury? Endres himself had held this theory, Bauerreiß noted, before he arrived at his later Zigetsberg hypothesis.¹⁰⁷

The results of Endres's monograph, as complemented by the work of Bauerreiß, were presented to the English-speaking world in an influential article by Eva Matthews Sanford, who considered that "[t]he combination of Canterbury and Regensburg [met] the requirements of the case [of Honorius's *vita*] better than any other theory."¹⁰⁸ Sanford's one difficulty with both authors was their explanations of the term '*Augustodunensis*'. She suggested what she considered a less contrived etymology than Endres's, which produced no need, as Bauerreiß's had, to account for how the term *Augustinensis* might have become *Augustodunensis* in the manuscript tradition.¹⁰⁹ Sanford noted evidence in three medieval authors that, taken together, she believed, indicated that Honorius's *Augustodunum* must have been Regensburg, and not just the area of Zigetsburg. The first clue was found in the opening sentence of the thirteenth-century *Gesta Caroli Magni*, in which the author spoke of 'four Romes' (i.e. four cities which "from ancient times" had been subject only to imperial and papal authority), the last of which was Regensburg.¹¹⁰ Heiric of Auxerre had explained, in his *Vita Sancti Germanus*, that the

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 34-5, p. 34, note 34. The reference is to Endres, *Honorius Augustodunensis*, p. ix. Endres had argued for the *Augustinensis* theory in *Das St.Jakobsportal*, pp. 13-14.

¹⁰⁸ Eva Matthews Sanford, "Honorius, *Presbyter* and *Scholasticus*," *Speculum* 23 (1948): 397-425, 401. Sanford (ibid., p. 401, note 20) compared the Endres-Bauerreiß reconstruction to Bliemetzrieder's theory discussed above (), but without any discussion of the inconsistencies and his failure to establish whether the '*discipuli*' addressed in the prologues were supposed to reside in Canterbury or Autun. Crouse (*De neocosmo*, p. 46) considered that the "implications" of Bliemetzrieder's argument "were that Honorius . . . had been a pupil of Anselm of Canterbury," but did not impute conclusions to Bliemetzrieder that he had not himself drawn.

¹⁰⁹ Bauerreiß had not offered any explanation of how *Augustodunensis* might have been read for *Augustinensis*. Endres had brought forth evidence of an eighteenth-century annotation in an Austrian manuscript (MS Linz, Studienbibliothek, Γ 9, no. 12, saec. XIII.XIV) that identifies the author of the *In Cantica canticorum* as '*Augustinensis ecclesiae presbyter et scholasticus uiuens circa 1120*' (*Das St.Jakobsportal*, p. 14), which he admitted "scheint wenig Beachtung zu verdienen," speculating that the notice could stem from an early exemplar of the *De luminaribus*.

¹¹⁰ *Die Gesta Caroli Magni der Regensburger Schottenlegende*, ed. Anton Dürrewaechter (Bonn: P. Hansteins, 1897), p. 145: "Ex antiquis temporibus quattuor principales ciuitates esse uidentur, quae subgaudent priuilegio unius

etymology of the Latin name for Autun (*Augustidunum*), which he termed ‘the Celtic Rome’, was equivalent to the Latin *mons Augusti*.¹¹¹ Honorius, assiduous reader of Carolingian texts that he was, must have known this etymology from Heiric, and had applied it to Regensburg, since “Heiric’s explanation of Augustodunum as *Augusti montem*, the Celtic Rome, [made] the name as appropriate for Regensburg as for Autun.”¹¹² As evidence that Heiric’s text was known in Honorius’s day, Sanford cited Sigebert of Gembloux’s direct quotation of Heiric in his *Vita Deoderici*.¹¹³ Positive evidence that the name *Augustodunum* (or *Augustidunum*) had been applied to Regensburg, Sanford argued, must have been lost during the Schmalkaldic wars, and specifically with “the complete destruction of Weih-St-Peter”—where, with Endres, she believed Honorius had lived—“in 1552.”¹¹⁴ Moreover, she argued, “[t]he same disaster must have destroyed any records of Honorius’ life which might otherwise have been preserved in the monastic archives.”¹¹⁵

At the middle of the last century, Endres and Bauerreiß’s researches, as modestly corrected by Sanford, seemed secure. In a fairly short time, however, two scholars would emerge to reexamine the evidence. Their conclusions were diametrically opposed, the result of two very different methods of interpreting the historical data. While other scholars have contributed to the literature concerning Honorius’s *uita*, these two authors represent what might

libertatis ac iuris unius, que nulli homini seruierunt uel subsunt, praeterquam apostolice auctoritati ac imperiali maiestati, quarum prima est Roma, alia Treueris, tercia Colonia ac Ratispona que quarta.”

¹¹¹ Heiric of Auxerre, *Vita Sancti Germani*, I, iii, 34, PL 124, cols 1150AB: “Celtica Roma dein uoluit coepitque uocari./ Creuit amicitiae sensim per tempora robur; /Vrbs quoque proeuctum meritisque et nomine sumpsit,/ Augustidunum demum concepta uocari./ Augusti montem transfert quod Celtica lingua..”

¹¹² Sanford, “*Presbyter and Scholasticus*,” p. 402.

¹¹³ Sigebert of Gembloux, *Vita Deoderici ep. Mettensis*, *MGH SS*, IV, 477, line 32.

¹¹⁴ Sanford, “*Presbyter and Scholasticus*,” p. 403.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

be considered the opposite poles of Honorius scholarship, towards one or other of which most other scholars have more or less tended in methodology and findings.¹¹⁶ An examination of their writings can therefore be considered as representing the *status quaestionis* with respect to the reconstruction of Honorius's historical context at this time.

1.2 Two Late Twentieth-Century Investigations of the Riddle of Honorius

In the introduction to his 1970 critical edition of Honorius's *De neocosmo*, Robert Crouse performed a nearly exhaustive historiographical survey of studies on Honorius, across several disciplines, from 1494 to 1969. The evidence upon which the various reconstructions of Honorius's life had been based, he discovered, was slight, and the various interpretations extremely subjective. That Honorius had lived in Germany, he considered to have been "amply vindicated by two . . . centuries of scholarship."¹¹⁷ The concentration of manuscripts of Honorius's works in Bavarian and Austrian libraries were strong indicators of Honorius's residence in the German Danube region, while the internal evidence of Honorius's works (especially his interest in ecclesiastical reform, his use of dialectic, and his familiarity with the work of Eriugena) Crouse declared "thoroughly consonant" with a German context.¹¹⁸

Beyond this most general conclusion, however, Crouse did not believe one could move with any real certainty. The dedicatees of certain of Honorius's works, for example, whether in the form of Christian names or initials, had been variously identified, but with no convincing

¹¹⁶ The great exception to this rule was Marie-Odile Garrigues. Garrigues' work is idiosyncratic, voluminous, and extremely complex, and has yet to be examined carefully and answered adequately. An adequate examination and assessment of her research and findings will be the work of a generation of scholars. Some sense of the problems confronting anyone engaging Garrigues's work (especially the need to check every reference for accuracy) can be gained from reading the description of her handling of the problem of the *Inevitabile* in chapter 2.4 *infra*.

¹¹⁷ Crouse, *De neocosmo*, p. 60.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 61.2.

results.¹¹⁹ Indeed, he argued, the fact that several works were dedicated to different recipients in different manuscripts meant that it would be impossible even to decide which names to seek to identify until such time as all of the extant manuscripts had been consulted and the various recensions of the works in question traced.¹²⁰ The investigation of historical and geographical references in Honorius's works, attempts to identify literary and theological sources that could only have been available to him within a small geographical area, the evidence of medieval library catalogs—none had led to Honorius.¹²¹ Crouse's conclusions were stark and almost wholly negative:

[D]espite several centuries of persistent attempts by modern historians to identify him, [Honorius's] biography remains almost totally obscure. We do not know his national origin, nor where he was educated. We do not know precisely where, or in what manner, he lived, or where he died. In fact, his person is saved from . . . virtual extinction . . . only by the unmistakable internal coherence of the body of his surviving writings.¹²²

The virtual antithesis of Crouse's reticence was Valerie Flint. In a series of articles published between 1972 and 1982, and finally in a monograph published in 1996, Flint scoured all the available evidence, especially indications from the manuscript tradition and the internal evidence of Honorius's writings, in order to reconstruct his *vita*. Flint began from the assumption, shared with her mentor, R.W. Southern, that Honorius had been a student of Anselm at Canterbury, and that his earliest literary activity had taken place in England, in close proximity to Anselm himself. This assumption was based primarily on the undisputed fact that Honorius had depended upon certain works of Anselm, or of members of the 'school' of Anselm, in several of his works. The theory was certainly strengthened by the *Fratres Cantuariensis*

¹¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 63-4.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 66.

¹²¹ Ibid., pp. 67-72.

¹²² Ibid., p. 100.

ecclesiae dedication of the *Speculum ecclesiae*, as well as the survival in English libraries of a noteworthy number of early manuscripts of what they considered Honorius's earliest works. Yves Lefèvre's recent claim to have discovered teachings of Anselm in the *Elucidarium* that Honorius could only have known from the Archbishop's oral teaching, they considered further proof that Honorius must have been an intimate of Anselm's circle.¹²³

In the first of her series of articles, Flint suggested that Honorius had very likely been closely associated with both the Austrian abbey of Lambach and the cathedral priory of Worcester.¹²⁴ The idea of the Lambach connection was suggested to her by the contents of a document generally referred to as the *Donatio Gottwicensis* or the *Donatio Heinrici*.¹²⁵ The *Donatio* is a twelfth-century record, located in the abbey of Göttweig, of a donation of books, including many by Honorius, given by a certain 'Frater Henricus' to an unidentified '*ecclesia*'. Flint believed that she had located Heinrich's gift in several manuscripts that she had been able to trace back to Lambach (included amongst these was the largest number of surviving copies of works by Honorius traceable to one library, including most, but not all, of his works listed in the *Donatio*).¹²⁶ She believed that the most likely explanation of these facts was that 'Henricus' had been Honorius himself. As corroborative evidence for her theory, Flint brought forth manuscript evidence that Honorius had been remembered as 'Henricus' in England, which she believed to

¹²³ Vide Southern, *St Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 211 and Valerie Irene Jane Flint, "The Chronology of the Works of Honorius Augustodunensis," *Revue Bénédictine* 82 (1972): 215-42, 219. Neither Southern nor Flint credit Lefèvre with originating this claim, nor do they cite evidence of their own. On Lefèvre's evidence, *uide L'Elucidarium*, pp. 195-6 and *infra*, chapter 2, at n. 78. Crouse gave what he considered more likely explanations for the inclusion of the so-called 'oral teachings' in *De neocosmo*, pp. 87-8 and "Disciple of Anselm?" p. 13.

¹²⁴ Valerie Irene Jane Flint, "The Career of Honorius Augustodunensis: Some Fresh Evidence," *Revue Bénédictine* 82: 63-86.

¹²⁵ MS Göttweig 14 (formerly 33), fol. 148. The text is printed in Theodore Gottlieb, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, vol. 1., *Niederösterreich* (Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen, 1915), p. 11-12 and PL 172, cols. 33-6.

¹²⁶ Flint, "The Career of Honorius Augustodunensis," pp. 64-5.

have been the location of his early career: first, the attribution of the *Imago mundi* to a certain canon ‘Henricus’ in MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 66, previously noted by Dieterich (she did not mention that the scribe had also identified him as a canon of Mainz);¹²⁷ second, an inscription—“*Nobilis henrici cuius pereunt inimici*”—written “in an early twelfth century hand” on the first folio of an Evesham manuscript containing what she claimed as “the earliest exemplar we have of Honorius’s *Sigillum*.”¹²⁸

The evidence for Honorius’s association with Worcester was twofold. In the first place, of surviving early English manuscripts of Honorius’s works, the largest number for which Flint had been able to demonstrate a connection with a single geographical location had originated in the Diocese of Worcester (five manuscripts in all).¹²⁹ In itself, as she admitted, these associations would have been insignificant. More importantly, however, Flint had identified several Worcester manuscripts that she believed must have been close to Honorius. One set of these contained what Flint considered particularly good exemplars of several of Honorius’s works. Others held texts that she believed to have been sources for the *Sigillum*, *Speculum ecclesiae*, *Sacramentarium*, and *Gemma animae*. That so many of Honorius’s sources should have existed, sometimes together, in manuscripts from one relatively small area, Flint believed, could not be accounted for by mere coincidence. They must have been the actual codices from which Honorius had worked.¹³⁰ In a later study, Flint would make the further claim, though

¹²⁷ *Vide supra* at note 47.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 75. The manuscript to which Flint refers is MS Oxford, Jesus College 54.

¹²⁹ Flint did not identify any of these manuscripts, apart from the Evesham manuscript previously mentioned. The others were presumably MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B.434, MS Cambridge, University Library Kk.iv.6, MS London, British Library Royal 4.C.XI, and MS Worcester, Cathedral Library Q.66. *Vide* Valerie Irene Jane Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, *Authors of the Middle Ages* 6 (Aldershot, UK: Variorum, 1995), pp. 167 and 173.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 76-80.

without any demonstration, that the *Gemma animae* was in part “based upon material which may only have been available in England,” including the *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, which “survives only in one manuscript.”¹³¹

The final results of Flint’s work were gathered together in her 1995 monograph *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*.¹³² Without acknowledging him as her source, Flint presented Dieterich’s argument that Honorius had once been a canon. Because he was remembered in the manuscript tradition as *monachus, solitarius*, and *inclusus*, however, she also opined that while it “may perhaps be allowed . . . that Honorius spent part of his public life as a canon, perhaps of a certain church ‘Augustodunensis’ and perhaps in a German imperial city such as Mainz . . . , he later exchanged his profession for the vocation of a Benedictine monk.”¹³³ Repeating arguments from her earlier work,¹³⁴ she claimed that the *Elucidarium*, which she considered Honorius’s earliest work, had been written in England before the year 1101.¹³⁵ That the *Elucidarium* and *Sigillum* were of English origin she argued primarily on the basis of their dependence upon the writings of Anselm of Canterbury and his circle.¹³⁶ Based primarily on the associations with

¹³¹ Viz. MS Oxford, Bodley 843. Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, p. 104.

¹³² For the full citation *vide* n. 128.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 100 [6].

¹³⁴ E.g. from Valerie Irene Jane Flint, “The Original Text of the *Elucidarium* of Honorius Augustodunensis from the Twelfth Century English Manuscripts,” *Scriptorium* 18 (1964): 91-94; eadem, “The Sources of the *Elucidarius* of Honorius Augustodunensis,” *Revue Bénédictine* 85 (1975): 190-8, 190-6.

¹³⁵ The evidence that the abbey of Blaubeuren might have possessed a copy of the *Elucidarium* as early as 1101 (*ibid.*, pp. 101-2, at n. 22) was originally brought to light by Crouse (*De neocosmo*, p. 91, n. 70).

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 100 [6] – 102 [8].

Worcester for which she had argued in 1972, Flint hypothesized that Honorius had written the *Speculum ecclesiae* away from Canterbury, but while still living in England.¹³⁷

Flint dated Honorius's move to Germany around 1109 on the basis of several indications. The most convincing of these is the fact that the earliest version of the *Imago mundi*, as it survives in MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 66, ends in 1110, with the report of the betrothal of Princess Mathilda to Emperor Henry V. After this, hypotheses abound. The death of Anselm of Canterbury in 1109, Flint contended, would have been an obvious time for Honorius to have left England. The evidence that the Benedictine abbey of Prüfening had once possessed "one important twelfth to thirteenth-century manuscript of the first . . . recension of [the] *Ineuitabile*,"¹³⁸ coupled with the date of the abbey's foundation (1109), Honorius's known reformist tendencies, and those of the community at Prüfening, she considered strong evidence that Honorius had been somehow associated with the abbey.¹³⁹ This connection to Prüfening, however, she considered to have been indirect. Honorius had most likely become, not a monk at Prüfening, but rather a canon of the *alte Kapelle* of Regensburg, the church that had provided the land for the abbey's foundation.¹⁴⁰ The canonical church, she believed, could justly lay claim to the epithet *Augustodunensis*.¹⁴¹

Flint's conclusions are hardly convincing. While there is certainly evidence which may point to some early connection with England (the *Fratres Cantuarienses* dedication to the *Speculum*, the identification of the author of the *Imago mundi* with a certain canon 'Henricus' of

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 104 [10].

¹³⁸ Viz. MS Munich, Staatsbibliothek, clm 13105 saec. XII or XIII.

¹³⁹ Flint, *ibid.*, pp. 108 [14] – 115 [21].

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 115 [21].

¹⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 114 [20] – 116 [22].

Mainz in MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 66, the ‘*nobilis Henrici*’ inscription in MS Oxford, Jesus College 54, and what appear to be early manuscripts of some of Honorius’s works that survive in English libraries), this could be accounted for without the necessity of insisting upon England as the locus of Honorius’s early career (Endres’s sojourn hypothesis, for example, would do just as well). Moreover, the idea that Honorius had been a student of Anselm’s at Canterbury, Flint never sought to prove, but took as the primary assumption of her work. This resulted in the necessity of seeking a locus of his activities away from Canterbury, but still in England, when he wrote the first recension of the *Inevitabile*, which shows no Anselmian influence whatsoever.

The evidence for a connection with Worcester may be indicative, but must be investigated more thoroughly before Flint’s conclusions can be upheld as likely. For example, one of the eight pieces of evidence that Flint claimed “establish[ed] that [Honorius] may have been more closely associated with Worcester than has been suspected hitherto,”¹⁴² is a source for *Gemma animae* I, cxii that she had been unable to find except in the manuscript, formerly from Worcester, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 265. The text is, in fact, excerpted from a commentary on the Mass, entitled *Ordinis totius missae expositio prior*, and attributed by its modern editor, Jean Michel Hanssens, to Amalarius of Metz.¹⁴³ The *editio princeps* was prepared from two manuscripts, from Eichstätt and Meissen (*Eystatensi et Misnensi*), respectively, by German humanist Johann Cochlaeus, in his *Speculum antiquae deuotionis circa*

¹⁴² Eadem, “The career of Honorius Augustodunensis,” p. 80.

¹⁴³ Hanssens first edited the text in “Le premier commentaire d’Amalarius sur la messe,” *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 44 (1930): 28-42; the passage quoted by Flint occurs at pp. 33-4. He published the text again amongst the works of Amalarius in *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, vol. 3, Studi e Testi 140 (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1950), pp. 297-315. The text quoted by Flint occurs at p. 301.

Missam in 1549,¹⁴⁴ and was either reprinted or reedited many times between then and 1744.¹⁴⁵

In the introduction to his edition, Hanssens listed thirty-one surviving manuscripts, of which nine are French, seven Bavarian, three from Lower Saxony, three Austrian, three English, two Swiss, and four Italian.¹⁴⁶ Clearly the text was available in many places outside of Worcester (and, perhaps tellingly, the greatest concentration of copies is found in German and Austrian libraries).

A more impressive piece of evidence for Honorius's Worcester residence may be Flint's insistence that several sections of Honorius's *Speculum ecclesiae* appear to depend upon passages contained in the *Worcester Passionale* (MS British Museum, Cotton Nero E i).

Unfortunately, Flint cites almost none of the texts from the *Passionale* so that they might be compared with the corresponding sections of the *Speculum*. It is interesting to note, however, that two of the three unidentified texts that she does supply,¹⁴⁷ upon which the sermon on the Purification seems to depend, are both from the same sermon of Augustine—a fact that she either did not know or did not mention.¹⁴⁸ Until the *Passionale* has been thoroughly examined, and the texts in it that appear to have parallels in the works of Honorius have been identified, it is simply impossible to know whether they were available elsewhere. The case of Amalarius's *Expositio* should at least recommend caution.

The connection with Prüfening, while possible, certainly cannot be sustained on the basis of the manuscript that Flint described (viz. MS Munich, clm 13105). Neither can the largest

¹⁴⁴ Johann Cochlaeus, *Speculum antiquae deuotionis circa Missam* (Mainz: Franciscus Behem, 1549), pp. 134-42. Flint's text is found on p. 136.

¹⁴⁵ On the various early editions of the text, *uide* Hanssens, *Amalarii opera*, vol. 1, pp. 220-21.

¹⁴⁶ The manuscripts are discussed in *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, vol. 1, pp. 217-20.

¹⁴⁷ Flint, *ibid.*, p. 77.

¹⁴⁸ Augustine, *Epistola* 370, II, 2 and III, 3 respectively.

collection of Honorius's texts to have emerged from the Lambach scriptorium (viz. MS Oxford, Bodley, Lyell 56) provide evidence for a close association of Honorius with that foundation. As can be seen from the introduction to my editions below, neither codex belongs to the best family of manuscripts of the version of the *Ineuitabile* that it contains, and they are therefore unlikely to have been particularly close to Honorius himself. The fact of the coincidence of Prüfening's foundation having taken place in the year of Anselm's death is simply that. Finally, Flint's arguments in favor of labeling the *alte Kapelle* of Regensburg '*Augustodunensis ecclesiae*', while not without merit, are certainly no more convincing than those of Lebeuf, Dieterich, Endres, Bauerreiß, or Sanford in favor of Augsburg, Autun, Zigelberg, Canterbury, and the city of Regensburg respectively.

1.3 Findings from my own research

Only two pieces of evidence with possible significance for the reconstruction of Honorius's biography have arisen from my editing of the two recensions of the *Ineuitabile*. The first regards the matter of Honorius's anonymity, and the possibility that that anonymity—at least in the form referred to in the *Elucidarium*¹⁴⁹—belonged to only one part of his life—namely, the earliest years of his career. As already noted, Honorius stated in the preface to the *Elucidarium*: "*Nomen . . . meum ideo uolui silentio contegi, ne inuidia tabescens suis iuberet utile opus contemnendo neglegi.*"¹⁵⁰ Interestingly, in the manuscripts that contain both the *Elucidarium* and what appears to have been the earliest version of the *Ineuitabile*, both texts are the works of an anonymous 'Magister'. The prefatory material of this version of the text is preceded by the description: *Legatio fratrum ad Magistrum*. In all complete manuscripts of the later version, however, the title reads: *Legatio fratrum ad Honorium*. If, as seems probable from a comparison of the best

¹⁴⁹ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarium*, Prologus, p. 359.

¹⁵⁰ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarium*, Prologus, p. 359.

manuscripts of the two recensions of the work, the ‘*ad Honorium*’ is genuine, it may indicate that Honorius had entered a new phase in his life by the time he redacted the later version. Whether this were the adoption of a name in Religion, the adoption of a pseudonym to retain his anonymity in a new situation, or whether the reasons for ‘hiding his name’ had simply ceased, there is no evidence whatsoever. A thorough examination of the surviving manuscripts of Honorius’s other works, however, may yield similar findings. This may help in the relative dating of his *corpus*, and may establish whether or not the list of his works in the *De luminaribus* is, in fact, chronological, as many have supposed.

The second piece of evidence which may be of significance is an apparent change in Honorius’s teaching as to whether or not the devil foreknew his fall. In the first version of the *Inevitabile*, which scholars have unanimously agreed appeared sometime after the composition of the *Elucidarium*, Honorius claims that the devil “*preuisum tormentum sciuit se euadere non potuisse.*”¹⁵¹ In the *Elucidarium*, however, when the Disciple asks whether the devil foreknew his fall, the Master answers: “*Minime.*” Moreover, in the same version of the *Inevitabile*, the Disciple is told that when Scripture says that the devil was “*plenus sapientia, et perfectus decore*” it is to be understood literally. Immediately after saying that the devil had not foreknown his fall in the *Elucidarium*,¹⁵² however, the Master quotes, almost verbatim, the sentence that immediately precedes Augustine’s statement in *De Genesi ad litteram*, that “*nec [diabolus] sui casus praescius esse potuit, quoniam sapientia pietatis est fructus.*”¹⁵³ Both

¹⁵¹ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Inevitabile, recensio prima*, l. 201.

¹⁵² Idem, *Elucidarium*, I, 35.

¹⁵³ Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, XI, xxiii, 30, p. 278.

sentences also occur in the *Clavis physicae*, chapter 277—a work which is generally thought to have been written much later than either of the other two texts.¹⁵⁴

Did Honorius not know *De Genesi ad litteram* when he wrote the first version of the *Ineuitabile*? Is it possible that he wrote this version of the *Ineuitabile* before the *Elucidarium*? It is a possibility, but at this point one can say nothing more. It is interesting to note, however, considering the absolute certainty with which some scholars have claimed Honorius as a disciple of Anselm, that there is not only no evidence of the *De concordia* or *De libertate arbitrii* in this recension of the text—there is no indication that its author knew any work of Anselm at all.

1.3 Conclusions

What can be known of Honorius's life with any certainty is still very slim. The approximate dates of his birth and death can be established with reasonable accuracy on the basis of internal evidence from two of his works, the *Elucidarium* and the *Imago mundi*, and one piece of corroborative external evidence. The *Elucidarium* appears to have been written between 1098 and 1101. The former date is established by the fact that the latest work of Anselm upon which Honorius seems to have depended in the *Elucidarium* is *Cur deus homo*, which appeared in 1098,¹⁵⁵ the latter from persuasive evidence that Abbot Azelin of Blaubeuron, near Ulm, who died in 1101, possessed a copy of the text.¹⁵⁶ If the *Elucidarium* was either Honorius's earliest

¹⁵⁴ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Clavis physicae*, 277, ed. Paolo Lucentini, *Temi et Testi* 21 (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1974), pp. 115-6.

¹⁵⁵ Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, p. 101. Cf. the list of Anselm's works in the index of Lefèvre's edition (p. 533). The two references to Anselm's *De processione Sancti Spiritus* in Lefèvre's notes (p. 105, nn. 1 and 5) refer to content that is not distinctive enough to be definitively traced to Anselm himself. The explanation of the generation of the Son from the Father on the analogy of a ray from the sun is, as Lefèvre remarks, "[c]omparaison courante depuis Augustin." That all things are *ex Patre, per Filium, in Spiritum Sanctum* is likewise a commonplace in patristic and medieval theology: cf. Augustine, *De trinitate*, I, vi, 12.

¹⁵⁶ "Katalog der Stiftsbibliothek unter Abt Azelinus (1085-1101)," in Gustavus Bekker, ed., *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, vol. 1 (Bonn: M. Cohen et filium, 1885), p. 21, l. 5, cited in Crouse, *De neocosmo*, pp. 91-2, n 70. *Vide etiam* Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, p. 101, n. 22 with the bibliographic information there.

work or his second work, it can hardly be assumed that he wrote it before the age of twenty or twenty-five. A birth date of somewhere between 1075 and 1080 therefore seems appropriate. The *Imago mundi*, on the other hand, provides the evidence for a reasonable estimate of the date of his death. Honorius revised the text of the *Imago* throughout his life, and it continued to be revised by chroniclers after his death. The last version of the text that seems to have come from Honorius himself¹⁵⁷ concludes in the second year of the reign of Conrad III of Germany, that is, 1139. It is possible, of course, that later versions of the *Imago* will be found that can be authenticated as having come from Honorius's pen. Meanwhile, it seems reasonable to date his death somewhere shortly after 1139. These dates coincide neatly with the *floruit* given Honorius in the *De luminaribus*—"sub quinto Henrico." If the *De luminaribus* calculates Henry's reign from the date of his coronation as King of Germany, rather than from his accession as Holy Roman Emperor, then it would place the beginning of Honorius's literary activity in the year 1099—precisely within the three-year period during which the *Elucidarium* must have been written—and would seem to indicate that he reached the height of his career before Henry's death in 1125.

Beyond these rough dates there is little about which the historian can have any certainty. The most that can be said is that Honorius almost certainly wrote somewhere in Germany in the first half of the twelfth century, that he was very likely Benedictine, and that his works were enormously popular during his lifetime and for several decades thereafter. Loris Sturlese, in a recent article,¹⁵⁸ has argued that rather than trying to understand Honorius as a travelling scholar,

¹⁵⁷ Flint, "Honorius Augustodunensis: *Imago mundi*, p. 44.

¹⁵⁸ Loris Sturlese, "Zwischen Anselm und Johannes Scottus Eriugena: der seltsame Fall des Honorius, des Mönchs von Regensburg," in B. Mojsisch and O. Pluta, eds., *Historia Philosophiae Medii Aevi. Studien zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, volume 2 (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: B.R. Grüner, 1991), pp. 927-51.

whose itinerary took him from the classrooms of Anselm of Canterbury through some series of peregrinations to Regensburg, he should rather be understood as a well-read and multifaceted writer, who took cognizance not only of the works of his predecessors, but also those of his most illustrious contemporaries. Such scholarly reserve in the absence of sure historical evidence seems an admirable quality. Moreover, if Sturlese is correct, and Honorius's writings can better be understood by grappling with the works themselves than through elaborate hypotheses as to their possible historical contexts, then it is imperative that his texts be studied in greater depth than has hitherto been the case. The remainder of this dissertation will be dedicated to just such a study of the *Inevitabile* in its two forms.

Chapter 2

The Versions of the *Ineuitabile*: An historiographical Survey

*Honorius, Augustodunensis Ecclesiae presbyter et scholasticus . . . edidit . . . unum [libellum] De libero arbitrio, qui Ineuitabile dicitur . . .*¹

This notice concerning the *Ineuitabile* in the *De luminaribus* seems straightforward enough on first reading. It is complicated, however, by the fact that two versions of Honorius's 'unum libellum' survive in early manuscripts²—versions distinct enough from one another that their authenticity, their common authorship, and the order in which they were written, have all been matters of dispute for nearly four centuries. In this chapter the history of these controversies will be examined and their results assessed. The investigation will be in four sections, the first three of which will examine three distinct periods during which a particular approach to the problem of the *Ineuitabile* was more or less dominant. There will be some temporal overlap between these periods, since, as will be seen, the results of new methodologies sometimes initially went unnoticed. The fourth section will look at the work of one late twentieth-century scholar, Marie-Odile Garrigues, whose idiosyncratic conclusions about the *Ineuitabile* merit more careful examination and more thorough criticism than the work of her predecessors and near contemporaries. At the end of the chapter the reliable conclusions of past research into the *Ineuitabile* will be outlined, after which one rather common problem in the scholarly literature—namely, an oversimplified presentation of the theology of the *Ineuitabile* by some scholars—will be treated. In the course of this discussion, an examination of some of the complexities of one particular set of doctrinal questions—specifically, the relation of Augustine's teaching on the

¹ *De luminaribus ecclesiae*, IV, xvii, PL 172, col. 233A.

² The problem of the number of versions is discussed, and, I believe, resolved, in section 4 of the Introduction to the editions below. Cf. my discussion of Marie-Odile Garrigue's three recension theory, *infra*, chapter 4.

freedom of the will to that of Anselm of Canterbury, and the relation of both to the doctrine of Honorius—will be undertaken, as illustrative of this phenomenon. It will then be suggested that a more nuanced treatment of the text of the *Inevitabile*, involving careful investigation of its sources, method, and doctrinal content—including both its metaphysical presuppositions and logic—is the best possible way forward in understanding Honorius’s text on its own terms.

2.1 The Study of the *Inevitabile* from 1552 to 1907: Catholic Humanism and the Prejudgments of Religious Polemicists

The *editio princeps* of the *Inevitabile* appeared in Cologne in 1552, edited by the Belgian humanist, classical scholar, and irenic Catholic reformer, Georg Cassander.³ The edition was based upon two manuscripts. The primary exemplar came from the Abbey of Brauweiler, and is now lost, but was supplemented by a second, from the abbey of St. Pantaleon (possibly MS Leiden, Vulcanus 100, saec. XIII), which Cassander described as “*acephalum . . . quidem ac scriptum negligentius et impolitius.*”⁴ Notwithstanding the imperfections of the latter codex, however, Cassander claimed that “*nonnullis in locis exemplaris nostri hiatus quosdam supplevit et mendas correxit, quanquam in nonnullis locis a nostro exemplari uinceretur.*”⁵

³ There is no adequate biography of Cassander, and very little has been written about his life prior to 1561, the commencement of his career as an ecclesiastical irenicist. A general biographical entry can be found in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1967), vol. 3, p. 180, col. 2. On his reforming activities, *vide* John Patrick Dolan, C.S.C., *The Influence of Erasmus, Witzel and Cassander in the Church Ordinances and Reform Proposals of the United Duchies of Cleve during the Middle Decades of the 16th Century* (Münster Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1957), pp. 87-108 and Joseph Lecler, S.J., *Toleration and the Reformation*, 2 vols. (New York: Association, 1960), esp. vol. 1, pp. 270-6.

⁴ Georg Cassander, *Honorii Augustodunensis ecclesiae presbyteri de praedestinatione et libero arbitrio Dialogus, nunquam antehac typis expressus*, Epistula dedicatoria (Cologne: L. Sylvius, 1552), reprinted in *Opera Cassandri* (Paris: Pacard, 1616), p. 618. All citations of Cassander’s *epistula dedicatoria* will be from the Paris edition. MS Leiden, Vulcanus 100 once belonged to St. Pantaleon and fits Cassander’s description admirably. The adjective “*acephalum*” must refer to the omission of the *Legatio fratrum ad magistrum* and the *Allocutio legati* from the codex (ll. 1-20 in my edition), since in it the *Inevitabile* does possess a title—viz. *Incipit libellus de libero arbitrio*—in a thirteenth-century hand.

⁵ *Ibid.*

An ardent student of Erasmus, Cassander would later advocate for the toleration of Evangelicals on the basis of an adiaphorist doctrinal minimalism founded on the articles of the Apostles' Creed. It therefore seems highly probable that Cassander intended his edition of the *Ineuitabile*, to which he appended Prosper and Hilary's epistles to Augustine, as well as certain *Sententiae* collected from Augustine's *De praedestinatione sanctorum* and *De bono perseverantiae*, as a contribution to irenic discussions of the nature of predestination.⁶ That Cassander wished to present the whole problem of predestination, foreknowledge, and free will as a *uexata quaestio* is clear from his dedicatory epistle to Hermann of Boucheim, Abbot of Brauweiler, in whose library he had found the primary exemplar from which he prepared his edition. The problem, he argued, was as old as philosophy itself and common to pagan and Christian thinkers alike.

*Magnae iam olim non modo Paganorum Philosophis cum Theologis Christianorum, uerum etiam Philosophis et Theologis inter ipsos de praescientia et praedestinatione Dei, et humana uoluntatis libertate, dissensiones contentionesque fuere.*⁷

In antiquity, philosophers had been forced to choose one side or other of an *aporia*: either fate and the divine providence exist, in which case they must impose an absolute necessity upon the human will, or else the human will is free, in which case divine foreknowledge cannot exist. It was Augustine, Cassander claimed, who first "*mediam . . . inter haec duo extrema sententiam*

⁶ Interesting in this regard is the reprinting of Cassander's Epistle Dedicatory to Abbot Hermann by the Dutch Counter-Remonstrant (orthodox Calvinist), Johannes de Laet, in his *De Pelagianis et Semipelagianis commentariorum ex ueterum Patrum scriptis, libri duo. Hodiernis controuersiis dirimendis peropportuni ac perquam necessarii. Accesserunt Vadiani et Cassandri quaedam de eodem argumento* (Hardervici: Joannis Jansonii Arnemiensis librarii, 1617). On this, and for a discussion of Cassander's use by both Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, *uide* Rob van de Schoor, "The Reception of Cassander in the Republic in the Seventeenth Century," in Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, Jonathan Irvine Israel, and Guillaume Henri Marie Posthumus Meyjes, eds., *The Emergence of Tolerance in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), pp. 101-15, discussion of Cassander's Epistle Dedicatory at pp. 103-4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 615.

tenendam esse docet: qua et Deum omnia scire antequam fiant, et uoluntate nos libera facere quicquid a nobis, non nisi uolentibus nobis fiat, credamus.”⁸

Cassander continued his treatment of the matter with an examination of the entire history of the defence of Augustine’s position by Christian theologians, beginning with the Pelagian controversy and concluding with Gregory of Rimini. Invoking the authority of the Louvain theologian, Jan Driedo,⁹ Cassander argued that both the doctrine of predestination to life through unmerited grace and the doctrine of reprobation through the denial of grace are necessary doctrines.¹⁰ Moreover, he contended, there is no reason to fear that the ‘assurance of predestination’ (*fiducia praedestinationis*) will provide an occasion of pride and sloth; rather, “*recta praedestinationis fiducia fastum et superbiam omnem retundat, ignauiam et socordiam excutiat, et bene operandi, diuinaeque uoluntati obtemperandi studium et alacritatem excitet et inflammet.*”¹¹ Assurance of salvation—belief that one is of the elect—is simply the natural outcome of a true and lively faith. To receive the promises of Christ in faith is to have eternal life; yet eternal life is reserved only for those who have been prepared for it by the eternal predestination of God. Assurance of salvation is, therefore, only reasonable for the Christian.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ For a brief biography of Driedo, *uide* Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas Brian Deutscher, *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation, Volumes 1-3* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), pp. 405-6.

¹⁰ Cassander, *Epistula dedicatoria*, p. 619. Cassander quotes the following passage verbatim from Driedo’s *De concordia liberi arbitrii, et praedestinationis diuinae, liber unus* (Louvain: Rutgeri Rescii, 1537), p. 1: “*Deus igitur quia sua praedestinatione secundum iudicium suae misericordiae gratiam largitur indebitam, reprobatione autem negans illam infert poenam peccato dignam, consequens est huiusmodi doctrinam de praedestinatione et reprobatione diuina non solummodo non esse spinosam atque inutilem, sed per omnem modum frugiferam, ac unicuique pectori uere Christiano euulgandam, tam ad depressionem quam humiliationem superbiae liberi arbitrii; tum in commendationem gloriae laudis, gratiae et misericordiae Christi, tum ad illustrationem diuinae iusticiae et caetera.*”

¹¹ Cassander, *ibid.*, p. 620.

*Cum igitur omnis qui CHRISTUM audit, et credit ei a quo missus est, ipso id confirmante, habeat uitam aeternam et in condemnationem non ueniat, neque cuiquam uita aeterna et possessio regni detur, cui non ea parata et praedestinata ante mundi constitutionem, consequitur sane omnem eum qui huiusmodi uiua et per charitatem efficaci fide praeditus sit, satis magnam habere causam cur se non prorsus diuinitus reiectum reprobaturumque confidat.*¹²

These doctrines, Cassander argued, are simply the teachings of the Scriptures, and, as he had already explained, the foremost teacher of these doctrines was Augustine. To master Augustine's teaching, however, is a difficult task, since it is both difficult to understand and dispersed through a vast *corpus* of writings. Hence Cassander's decision to publish the

Ineuitabile:

*Ad Honorium nostrum itaque reuertor, qui quod in ipso fuit, catholicam ut dixi Augustini sententiam per uarios libros dispersam, in unum tanquam fascem collegit, et hominibus suae aetatis perspicuo, ut ea tempora ferebant, et ad captum suorum hominum accomodato dicendi genere exposuit et explicauit.*¹³

For Cassander, Honorius's text was simply a faithful compendium of Augustine's teachings on grace and predestination. Given his historical context and his irenic interests, however, it is virtually certain that Cassander's *Epistula* was intended as an *apologia* for Evangelical doctrines considered erroneous by Catholic theologians (such as the doctrine of assurance of salvation), and his that publication of the *Ineuitabile* was meant to lend support for the acceptance of such doctrines, or at least for their toleration.

Yet while Cassander would continue to plead for the toleration of Evangelical theology within the Catholic Church to the end of his life,¹⁴ the trajectory for later Roman Catholic teaching on the nature of salvation had already been set by the promulgation, five years before

¹² Ibid., pp. 620-1.

¹³ Ibid., p. 621.

¹⁴ Vide Lecler, *Toleration and Reformation*, pp. 270-6.

his publication of Honorius's text, of the decree and canons on justification by the Council of Trent.¹⁵ In the wake of the Catholic Reformation, accommodationism such as Cassander's could only be seen as suspect. The addition of his *Opera Omnia* (published in 1616, and including his edition of the *Ineuitabile*) to the *Index librorum prohibitorum* was simply a matter of logic,¹⁶ and that his edition of the *Ineuitabile*—a work that he had explicitly claimed presented the pure teaching of Augustine, while implying that its content was also in line with Evangelical soteriology—would be criticized was practically a foregone conclusion.

The occasion for such criticism arose just five years after the condemnation of Cassander's works, with the publication, in 1621, of a second version of the *Ineuitabile*, which differed markedly from the text published by Cassander. In his *Praefatio ad lectorem*, the editor of this newly discovered version of the *Ineuitabile*, Johann Conen, prior of the Premonstratensian house of St. Mary in Tongerlo, expressly declared that he was publishing his text as a direct response to Cassander's.

*Quingenti igitur plus minus anni sunt, quod eius hoc opus [sc. Ineuitabile] (ut apparet) latuit; nunc uero ex bibliotheca nostra iuxta M. S. inibi seruatum, nostra opera prodit in publicis occasione cuiusdam Dialogi de praedestinatione et libero arbitrio sub nomine ipsius, ab annis septuaginta, per Georgium Cassandrum, Coloniae anno uidelicet 1552 typis Lamberti Siluii excusi.*¹⁷

After a scathing narration of Cassander's heretical activities, which constitutes nearly a third of his *Praefatio*,¹⁸ Conen called Cassander's trustworthiness as an editor into question.

¹⁵ Session VI, 13 January, 1547, Decree on Justification, XII and XIII and Canons on Justification, 15-17.

¹⁶ Nicholas Weber, "George Cassander," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 3 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908), p. 403.

¹⁷ Johann Conen, *Praefatio ad lectorem*, reprinted in PL 172, cols.1191D-1198A, at 1193/4C. References will be given to the PL edition, corrected, where necessary, from the Paris edition of the *Bibliotheca Patrum* (Paris: Ioannem Billaine, Simeonem Piget, Fredericum Leonard, 1654), tome 9, cols. 1135-40.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, cols. 1195C-1196A.

Quae cum ita sint, existimabis, benigne Lector, intulisse Cassandrum sibi eam uim, ut in maxima opportunitate, quae cuius libellum hunc inspicienti obuia est, opus Honorii presbyteri ad incudem non reuocaret, limaret, et suum efficeret? speciosoque, sed ementito nomine (quod talium hominum est proprium) fraudulententer non extruderet?

Cassander's claim that he had supplied lacunae (*hiatus*) in his primary exemplar from an admittedly poor manuscript, Conen claimed, was simply a sleight of hand, which had enabled him to forge heretical passages that could be passed off as the work of Honorius.

“*[D]eprauando corrumpes,*” wrote Conen to the long-dead Cassander, “*et e medio tolleres, sicque sub specie diu demortui falleres.*”¹⁹ Conen even went so far as to identify several passages of the text as Cassander's own words (*tua uerba*), which any discerning reader would “spit out as flavorless wine” (*ut uappa expuat*).²⁰

Conen's text was declared “*sincerus et liber ab omni errore*” by the Antwerp Censor, Edbert Spithold, who at the same time condemned the text that Cassander had published “*impie sub nomine Honorii Augustodunensis.*”²¹

Conen's analysis of the history of Cassander's publication of the *Ineuitabile* was taken up and repeated in 1724 by the Jesuit theologian, Jean-Baptiste du Chesne, in his work *Le prédestinarianisme*.²² Du Chesne accepted Conen's conclusions entirely. Cassander's Evangelical sympathies had made him unfit to edit the text. In fact, his work could hardly be described as editing at all; rather “*il [sc. Cassander] . . . défigura [l'Ouvrage] et metamorphosa Honorius en Prédestinien Calviniste.*”²³ Believing that only one manuscript containing the

¹⁹ Ibid., cols. 1195/6A.

²⁰ Ibid., cols. 1196/6B.

²¹ Ibid., cols. 1221/2D.

²² Jean-Baptiste du Chesne, *Le prédestinarianisme, ou les hérésies sur la prédestination et la réprobation traité historique et theologique* (Paris: Gabriel-François Quillau Fils, 1724).

²³ Ibid., p. 221.

‘genuine’ *Inevitabile* had survived, Du Chesne stated, Cassander had assumed that his work of forgery would pass unnoticed. Yet according to Du Chesne, the forgery had been so poorly executed that the counterfeit passages could not possibly be mistaken for the genuine work of Honorius by an attentive reader: “*une opposition si visible, est une preuve convainquante que ces textes [prédestinatiens] et le corps de l’Ouvrage ne sont pas de la même main, ou que l’Auteur n’avoit pas le sense commun en le composant.*”²⁴ The final proof of Cassander’s editorial infidelity, however, was his own statement, in his *Epistula dedicatoria*, that he had been forced to fill in certain lacunae in the Brauweiler manuscript. For Du Chesne, as for Conen, this had been a clear insurance policy against accusations from scholars that there were serious contradictions within the text, and presumably against the discovery of another ‘genuine’ manuscript. (Du Chesne made no mention of Cassander’s claim that the lacunae were supplied by the St. Pantaleon exemplar.) Conen’s text is authentic, Du Chesne argued, not simply because it had received the *approbatio* of the censor, but because “[o]n ne lit point dans cette édition les Dogmes pervers que Cassandre a inserez dans la sienne: on n’y voit point Honorius en contradiction avec lui-même . . . , et la catholicité de ce célèbre Auteur y éclat autant que la frauduleuse infidélité de Cassandre se fait sentir dans l’autre édition.”²⁵

Du Chesne’s account was extremely influential, and through it Conen’s contention that the two versions of the *Inevitabile* were doctrinally irreconcilable (and that the Cassandrian text was therefore not the work of Honorius, but a forgery) gained universal assent throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Charles Louis Richard and Jean Joseph Giraud relied on Du Chesne’s account in their *Bibliothèque sacrée*, although the direct accusations of forgery against

²⁴ Ibid., p. 222.

²⁵ Ibid.

Cassander, while not explicitly withdrawn, were at best implicit in their summary. Conen is described as “*plus fidèle, plus sensé que Cassandre,*” and “*guidé par de meilleurs manuscrits.*”²⁶ Cassander’s text is “*excellent sans deux ou trois endroits qui exhalent une odeur de sémipélagianisme,*” but the author (presumably Cassander) is accused “*d’avoir donné dans l’excès opposé.*”²⁷ The hegemony of Du Chesne’s account, as popularized by various ecclesiastical dictionaries,²⁸ was so tenacious that even at the beginning of the twentieth century, the notice on the *Ineuitabile* in Camille Daux’s “appreciative but uncritical study of Honorius”²⁹ was still entirely dependent upon the notice in the *Bibliothèque sacrée* and the prefatory material in the *Patrologia Latina*.³⁰

2.2 The Study of the *Ineuitabile* from 1903 to 1906: The Early Results of Historical Criticism

Strangely, Daux appears to have been completely ignorant of two recently published critical treatments of the *Ineuitabile* that were to set the stage for all future study of the text. The first of these,³¹ which had been published four years before the appearance of Daux’s article, had proven beyond any doubt that Cassander’s text dated from the twelfth century, and was therefore no sixteenth-century forgery. At the same time, however, it denied the Honorian authorship of

²⁶ Charles Louis Richard and Jean Joseph Giraud, *Bibliothèque sacrée, ou Dictionnaire universel historique, dogmatique, canonique, géographique et chronologique des sciences ecclésiastiques*, vol. 3 (Paris: Boiste Fils Ainé, 1824), col. 186. The *Bibliothèque sacrée* originally appeared in 1760.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ E.g. the notice on the *Ineuitabile* from the *Bibliothèque sacrée*, slightly emended, was reprinted by Migne in *Nouvelle Encyclopédie théologique*, vol. 22 (Paris: Ateliers Catholiques, 1854), col. 350.

²⁹ Sanford, “*Presbyter and Scholasticus,*” p. 400.

³⁰ Camille Daux, “Un scholastique de XIIe siècle trop oublié: Honoré d’ Autun,” *Revue des sciences ecclésiastiques* 1 (1907): 735-58; 858-84; 974-1002; 1071-80, at 1071-2.

³¹ Johann von Kelle, “Untersuchungen über des Honorius Ineuitabile sive de Praedestinatione et Libero Arbitrio Dialogus,” *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften philosophisch-historische Klasse* 150 (1904), fasc. III, 1-34.

the text represented by Conen's manuscript—the text that for nearly three hundred years had been considered the only 'genuine' one. The second study,³² published in 1906, inaugurated a new stage in the investigation of the *Ineuitabile* and its sources, and its conclusions would dominate the literature on the subject for the rest of the twentieth century.

Between 1900 and 1906 Johann von Kelle published a series of articles and text editions in the proceedings of the Vienna *Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften*, presenting what he believed conclusive evidence that the works of 'Honorius *Augustodunensis*' did not, in fact, belong to one author. Rather, he claimed, they were a collection of texts from authors whose identities were no longer known, which had only later been collected together and attributed to a single writer. In 1903 von Kelle published the results of his researches into the various versions of the *Ineuitabile*, as well as a new edition of the Cassandrian text, which, since the final printing of Cassander's edition in 1616, had slipped "*völlig in Vergessenheit*," as the result of the acceptance of Conen's edition "*als eine Überlieferung des von Honorius verfaßten Ineuitabile*."

³³ Von Kelle had begun his investigations by searching for the Tongerloo codex from which Conen had prepared his edition. Although unable to find Conen's manuscript, von Kelle had unearthed two important witnesses, closely related to the lost Tongerloo codex. The first was MS Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek 77, saec. XII or XIII,³⁴ which, apart from the inclusion of two passages not found in Conen's edition, did not differ essentially (*sachlich*) from that text. The second witness (MS Melk, Stiftsbibliothek 532, saec. XIII, which von Kelle cited as codex 96) contained '*excerpta*' from the *Ineuitabile*, closely related to the text presented in the Tongerloo

³² Endres, *Honorius Augustodunensis*. For the full citation, *vide supra*, chapter 1, n. 56.

³³ Johann von Kelle, "*Über des Honorius Ineuitabile*," p. 8.

³⁴ Von Kelle dates the manuscript as thirteenth-century.

exemplar and Heiligenkreuz 77. Von Kelle's search for Cassander's manuscripts was no more successful, but he did discover two early witnesses to the same version of the text—MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 13105, saec. XII³⁵ and MS Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université 333, saec. XIII.³⁶

Von Kelle's research completely devastated the Cassandrian forgery theory. Not only had he shown that Cassander's edition corresponded "wörtlich" with the text found in MS Munich, clm 13105, which "fünfhundert Jahre vor Cassander geschrieben wurde," but that the manuscript contained the very passages that Conen had specifically cited as "ketzerische Ergüsse Cassanders" in his *Praefatio*.³⁷ The discovery of two early manuscripts of the Cassandrian text simply put the matter beyond dispute.

Unfortunately, von Kelle's researches into the version of the text witnessed by the Tongerlo, Heiligenkreuz, and Melk codices, and the relation between the Cassandrian and Conenine versions of the *Ineuittabile*, produced conclusions that were much less certain. It was abundantly clear that the Cassandrian and Conenine versions of the text were somehow related, in that the two redactions share long sections of text which differ from each other only by minor variants, as well as material that has clearly been reworked from one version and incorporated into the other in an altered form.³⁸ Yet notwithstanding these similarities and the demonstrable fact that the two versions of the text could be traced back to the twelfth century, von Kelle was as convinced as Conen had been that the two versions were so "essentially distinct" (*sachlich*

³⁵ This manuscript may actually date to as late as the thirteenth century, but von Kelle considered it to have been twelfth-century.

³⁶ Von Kelle's edition was prepared from these manuscripts, using Cassander's 1552 edition as a witness to the lost Brauweiler codex.

³⁷ Von Kelle, "Über des Honorius Ineuittabile," pp. 5-6.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

verschiedenen) that a common authorship was simply impossible.³⁹ Von Kelle declared that the Cassandrian version must be considered “*unbedingt als der ältere [Text]*” (presumably because, also in agreement with Conen, the later text seemed “*kirchlich in keiner Weise anstößige*”).⁴⁰ It was possible, although by no means an established fact, that Honorius had written the Cassandrian version of the text. Von Kelle regarded as absolutely certain, however, that the Tongerloo text was “*keine Abschrift des Ineuitabile des Honorius.*”⁴¹

Unfortunately and inexplicably, von Kelle’s previously mentioned discovery of two fairly lengthy passages (lines 1231 to 1384 and 1409 to 1447 in my edition) in MS Heiligenkreuz 77, missing from Conen’s edition, but found in the Cassandrian version of the text, was completely overlooked in later treatments of the *Ineuitabile*.⁴² One might have expected von Kelle to have considered this as proof that the Heiligenkreuz text, being that much more closely related to the Cassandrian version, was earlier than that found in the lost Tongerloo codex, yet he remained strangely agnostic on the subject.⁴³ In any case, von Kelle’s greatest contribution to the study of the *Ineuitabile* was his disproof of the Conen-Du Chesne theory of Cassander’s forgeries. His denial of a common authorship, and ultimately of the very existence of Honorius, however, were less well-founded, and a reaction to his hyper-critical conclusions was almost inevitable.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 8.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 7.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 8.

⁴² Ibid., p. 5.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 2: “*Ob die Tongerlooer Überlieferung vor oder nach jener von Heiligenkreuz geschrieben war, läßt sich nicht feststellen.*”

The reaction came swiftly, in Josef Anton Endres's 1906 monograph on Honorius and his *corpus*. Von Kelle's "auf erweiterter handschriftlicher Grundlage fassende Ausgabe,"⁴⁴ to which Enders explicitly referred, had firmly established the Cassandrian text's twelfth-century origin. Moreover, Endres maintained, von Kelle had been correct in regarding the Cassandrian version of the text as the older of the two. By contrast, however, Endres was inclined to the opinion that "[t]rotz der sehr erheblichen Textabweichungen treten beide Redaktionen auf das allerbestimmteste als Werk des Honorius auf."⁴⁵ A clear indication of this was an allusive reference to the *Sigillum*, a work clearly ascribed to Honorius in the final chapter of *De luminaribus*, in the 'Allocutio legati' of both versions of the text. The differences between the two versions of the text, Endres contended, could be explained as corrections made by Honorius himself, analogous to certain unspecified corrections to the *Elucidarium* referred to in the so-called *Donatio Gottwicensis*.⁴⁶ Endres conceded, however, that the corrections to the *Inevitabile* were of such a radical nature that even the retention of the title 'Inevitabile', which refers to the absolute inevitability in human affairs so strongly maintained in the Cassandrian text, but downplayed in the Conenine version, is "in dem überarbeiteten Texte . . . mehr als fragwürdig."⁴⁷ Honorius's purpose in the revision of his text is described only in the most general of terms—namely, as a doctrinal shift away from his earlier theory of predestination, which had all but denied human freedom.

⁴⁴ Endres, *Honorius Augustodunensis*, p. 28.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 28. Despite this, Endres stopped short of making a definitive statement: "Hat Honorius die Neuredaktion des *Inevitabile* selbst vorgenommen u.s.w." (p. 29). Cf. Franz Baeumker, *Das Inevitabile*, p. 2: *Endres läßt es unentschieden, ob Honorius selbst die Neuredaktion des Inevitabile vorgenommen.*"

⁴⁶ Ibid. The *Donatio* (printed in Theodor Gottlieb, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, vol. 1, pp. 11-2) makes reference to an "*Elucidarium bene correctum*" (p. 11).

⁴⁷ Ibid.

Perhaps the most suggestive (and certainly the most influential) aspect of Endres's treatment of the *Ineuitabile* was his brief mention of the influence of the writings of Anselm of Canterbury on the Conenine text. Endres referred directly to only one major Anselmian influence—namely, Honorius's rejection in the Conenine text of the definition of free choice that he had used in the *Elucidarium* and repeated in the earlier version of the *Ineuitabile* ('*libertas bonum uel malum eligendi*') in favor of Anselm's definition as found in the *De libertate arbitrii* and the *De concordia* ('*potestas seruandi rectitudinem uoluntatis propter ipsam rectitudinem*'). While Endres stopped short of placing Honorius as a student in the 'School of Anselm',⁴⁸ he nevertheless adverted to several other unspecified passages in the Conenine version, in which the reader could find "*deutliche Spuren*" of Anselm's writings on the "*Willensproblem*."⁴⁹

Endres's cursory treatment of the *Ineuitabile* (less than two full pages in all) was pregnant with significance. In the first place, his defence of the authenticity of both texts on the basis of one piece of evidence could hardly be accepted as definitive (especially in light of von Kelle's final conclusion, in the same year as the appearance of Endres's study, that Honorius's existence was "*nicht nachweisbaren*").⁵⁰ Moreover, his assertion that the influence of Anselm's *De libertate arbitrii* and *De concordia* was found throughout the Conenine recension of the text, but without specific references, pleaded for further investigation.

2.3 The Study of the *Ineuitabile* from 1911 to 1995: The Standpoint of *Dogmengeschichte*

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 29: "*Hat Honorius die Neuredaktion des Ineuitabile selbst vorgenommen, so könnte man zu dem Schlusse kommen, dass er nicht unmittelbar aus der Schule Anselms hervorging, sondern in seinen Anschauungen von dem allmählichen Bekanntwerden der anselmischen Schriften abhing.*"

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Johann von Kelle, "Untersuchungen über den nicht nachweisbaren Honorius Augustodunensis ecclesiae presbiter et scholasticus und die ihm zugeschriebenen Werke," *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 152 (1905): 1-27; 153 (1906): 1-14.

The suggestive nature of Endres's brief comments did not go unnoticed, and in 1914 Franz Baeumker, librarian of the Archdiocesan seminary of Cologne, published a detailed study of precisely the points just mentioned, expressly as a complement to Endres's work.⁵¹ Baeumker's monograph began with a careful study of the prologues of the *Sigillum*, the *Ineuitabile*, and the *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum* (all three of which, he noted, are ascribed to Honorius in the final chapter of *De luminaribus*), in which he established, on a much firmer basis than Endres's brief reference to the *Sigillum* allusion, not only the common Honorian authorship of the two commentaries and the *Ineuitabile* in the Cassandrian version, but also the probable chronological order of the composition of the first two.⁵² Baeumker then turned to the *Elucidarium* and adduced three pieces of evidence—a direct reference to the *Elucidarium* in the prologue to the *Sigillum*, the attestation of the *Elucidarium* in the *De luminaribus*, and a series of passages in its second book bearing striking doctrinal and literary similarities to sections of the Cassandrian version of the *Ineuitabile*⁵³—which, he believed, both solved the vexed question of the Honorian authorship of the *Elucidarium* and definitively placed its composition before that of the *Sigillum*.⁵⁴ Furthermore, Baeumker argued that the close textual parallels between the *Elucidarium* and the Cassandrian version of the *Ineuitabile*, in connection with the above-

⁵¹ Baeumker, *Das Ineuitabile*, *Einleitung*, pp. 1-2. Baeumker's 1914 study emerged from his 1911 inaugural dissertation at the University of Bonn, the first section of which was published twice: first as *Die Lehre des hl. Anselmus von Canterbury und des Honorius Augustodunensis vom Willen und von der Gnade. Teil I* (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1911), and again the following year as *Die Lehre Anselms von Canterbury über den Willen und seine Wahlfreiheit*, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, vol. 10, part. 6 (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1912).

⁵² Baeumker, *Das Ineuitabile*, pp. 3-4.

⁵³ The passages of the *Elucidarium* are drawn from chapters 3, 8, and 9 of book II in Migne's numbering. The synoptic tables are found in Baeumker, *Das Ineuitabile*, pp. 5-6.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-7.

mentioned evidence of the prologues and the *De luminaribus*, were conclusive indications of the Honorian authorship of latter.⁵⁵

Baeumker next turned to the matter of the authorship of the Conenine text. Von Kelle, he contended, had exaggerated the differences between the two recensions. Twenty-eight passages in the Conenine text, he argued, were clearly revisions of passages from the Cassandrian version.⁵⁶ Moreover, he claimed, when one compares the two versions from beginning to end, it becomes clear that, with only a few exceptions, the Conenine text answers “*alle im Cassandrischen Text enthaltenen Fragen,*” and “*ziemlich in derselben Reihenfolge.*”⁵⁷ Admittedly, the Conenine text gives different answers to these questions, but only where the redactor had wished to soften the severity (*Härte*) of the earlier recension’s doctrine of the primacy of grace⁵⁸—the redactor’s primary intention in his work of revision, as Baeumker was at pains to demonstrate in detail in the final two chapters of his work.⁵⁹ It was certainly the case, as Baeumker admitted, that the revision was not perfect; Endres had been correct in his opinion that the redactor had so radically shifted the main thrust of the work that even the retention of the title was “*mehr als fragwürdig.*”⁶⁰ Moreover, while the Cassandrian text is a seamless composition, “*schroffe Übergänge*” are sometime noticeable in the later recension.

Yet given that the Conenine text was a more-or-less successful correction of the earlier recension, could Honorius himself be shown to have been the redactor? Baeumker believed that

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 15.

⁵⁶ Synoptic references in *ibid.*, pp. 15-6.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 18. Synoptic references at pp. 17-8.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 18.

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 40-93.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 19. Cf. *supra*, nn. 46-7 for reference in Endres.

he could. Stylistic considerations certainly indicated the identity of author and redactor: the texts shared a peculiar “*Spracheigentümlichkeit*”—that distinctive rhymed prose that characterizes nearly all of Honorius’s writings—and both revealed a penchant for “*schöne, materische Darstellung des Inhalts.*”⁶¹ Furthermore, since Honorius had certainly revised both the *Elucidarium* and the *Imago mundi*, as Endres had pointed out, that he would have revised the *Ineuitabile* should rather be expected than matter for surprise.⁶²

Baeumker believed, however, that he had found an even more convincing proof of the Honorian authorship of the second recension of the text in its use of the works of Anselm of Canterbury. Following Endres’s lead, Baeumker had investigated the influence of Anselm’s *De libertate arbitrii* and *De concordia* on the *Ineuitabile*. He had found no Anselmian influence on the Cassandrian text.⁶³ On the other hand, he had identified twelve Anselmian *loci* (ten from the *De concordia*⁶⁴ and two from *De libertate arbitrii*), apart from the definition of free choice, already noted by Endres, whose verbal and doctrinal correspondences to passages of the *Ineuitabile* in its Conenine version left no doubt that the redactor had revised the corresponding passages in his text under the direct influence of Anselm.⁶⁵ Baeumker believed that he had found the connecting link between these Anselmian influences and Honorius in two other short works—Honorius’s *De libero arbitrio* and the so-called *Sententiae patrum de libero arbitrio et*

⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 23-6.

⁶² Ibid., p. 26, at n. 1, referring to Endres, *Honorius Augustodunensis*, pp. 28 and 48.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 21: Baeumker concludes the identification of the specific Anselmian sources of the Conenine version by stating: “*Sämtliche hier angeführte Stellen kennt die Cassandrische Textfassung des Ineuitabile nicht; sie sind neu eingefügt worden.*”

⁶⁴ The fifth correspondence listed by Baeumker (p. 21), a similarity in the concluding *lemmata* of the two works, is unsupported by the manuscript evidence. The title “*Conclusio siue recapitulatio huius libri,*” printed in Migne, is either a late emendation or Conen’s paraphrase of such an emendation. The original *lemma* was simply “*Epýlogus.*” *Vide infra, recensio altera*, l. 1682.

⁶⁵ Synoptic references in Baeumker, *Das Ineuitabile*, pp. 20-1.

gratia. The first of these had been dedicated by Honorius to a certain ‘Provost Gottschalk’ and addresses a “[q]uaestionem nuper inter nos ortam de libero arbitrio.”⁶⁶ Having clearly demonstrated the dependence of *De libero arbitrio* upon Anselm’s *De libertate arbitrii* and *De concordia*,⁶⁷ Baeumker hypothesized that Honorius’s discovery of the Anselmian treatises had been the occasion that had led to his conversation with Gottschalk, the results of which he had related in his *opusculum* and sent back to Gottschalk as a present.⁶⁸ Having accepted Anselm’s doctrine of free choice, and realizing that his earlier work, the *Ineuitabile*, had tended to obscure the freedom of the will in favor of a “harsh” doctrine of the primacy of divine grace, Honorius had probably set about to revise his earlier text to conform to his more mature understanding of the problems involved. Honorius’s treatment of the questions in his conversation with Gottschalk and the *De libero arbitrio* could, therefore, be considered as “*eine Vorarbeit*” to the Conenine text.⁶⁹ The *Sententiae patrum*, on the other hand, Baeumker thought most probably represented a stage in Honorius’s preparation for the work of revising the *Ineuitabile*—that is, the *Sententiae* are a collection of texts from relevant *auctoritates* that Honorius had had before him as he revised his earlier work.⁷⁰

As a final piece of evidence for the Honorian authorship of the Conenine version of the *Ineuitabile*, Baeumker pointed out that several of its revisions appear to depend upon passages

⁶⁶ Honorius Augustodunensis, *De libero arbitrio*, Prologus, PL 172, col. 1223A.

⁶⁷ Synoptic references at pp. 27-9.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-1.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 34. On further evidence for the relation of the *Sententiae* to the *Ineuitabile* not cited by Baeumker, *vide infra*, chapter 3, section 4.

from the *Elucidarium*, a text that Baeumker had already demonstrated to have been a genuine work of Honorius.⁷¹

The cumulative evidence of similarities of style (rhymed prose and material illustrations of spiritual truth), the common dependence of the Conenine version of the *Ineuitabile* and another demonstrably genuine work of Honorius (*De libero arbitrio*)⁷² upon Anselm's *De libertate arbitrii* and *De concordia*, the existence of an apparent set of notes for the work of revision of the *Ineuitabile* (the *Sententiae patrum*), and the use of the *Elucidarium* in this work of revision, Baeumker considered an adequate demonstration of Honorius's authorship of the second version of the text. Strangely, Baeumker made no reference whatsoever to the version of the *Ineuitabile* found by von Kelle in MS Heiligenkreuz 77 in 1903. Since, as has been noted, this recension contains a version of the Conenine text that contains two passages also found in the Cassandrian text but omitted by Conen, it would have given Baeumker's analysis even more credibility.⁷³

In any case, Baeumker's arguments were persuasive as they stood, and his conclusions were adopted, although invariably in an oversimplified form, in the majority of treatments of the *Ineuitabile* for the rest of the twentieth century. Émile Amann's influential and comprehensive article on Honorius in the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, for example (published just eight years after the appearance of Baeumker's study), relied entirely on Baeumker's work in its

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 34-7.

⁷² Baeumker based his authentication of the *De libero arbitrio* on the appearance of Honorius's name in the dedicatory prologue, and on the stylistic similarities between that prologue and the prologue to the *Sigillum*, which he had authenticated earlier in the chapter (*uide* Baeumker, *Das Ineuitabile*, p. 27).

⁷³ As can be seen from the description of manuscripts of the *Ineuitabile* in the Introduction to my editions below, Conen's exemplar was almost certainly a late manuscript, closely related to MS Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 1088, saec. XV (my manuscript *G*). Both in Conen's exemplar and in *G* the two sections mentioned by von Kelle had dropped out. That the original redactor of the Conenine text did not see any need to revise or omit these sections makes it even more likely that the redactor was Honorius himself.

treatment of the *Ineuitabile*.⁷⁴ The much simplified notice of the *Ineuitabile* in Philippe Delhayé's 1947 article on Honorius follows Baeumker as well, and may, in fact, have been derived from Amann's earlier work.⁷⁵

One group of scholars for whom the 'Anselmian' revision of the *Ineuitabile* has been seen as tremendously important consists of those who have attempted to associate Honorius's early life with Canterbury, and specifically with the 'school' of Anselm.⁷⁶ Suggestions of a close association between Honorius and Canterbury had been broached, as has been mentioned, by historians who accepted as genuine the evidence of the prologue of the *Speculum ecclesiae*. Historians of doctrine very soon noticed what Trithemius and Conen had noticed before them—namely, that several of Honorius's writings showed a certain amount of literary dependence upon certain works of Anselm. In 1911 Monsignor Martin Grabmann claimed that Honorius had written "*im Geiste*" of Anselm, and in 1914 Père Joseph de Ghellinck asserted that this was due to some unspecified relation that Honorius had had to England's foremost Metropolitan See.⁷⁷ Baeumker's investigations and a suggestive note by Franz Placidus Bliemetzrieder, in which he

⁷⁴ Émile Amann, "Honorius Augustodunensis, dit Honoré d'Autun," cols. 139-58, at 145-6: "*Bäumker semble bien avoir démontré que, malgré les différences profondes qui les séparent, les deux textes remontent à Honorius.*"

⁷⁵ "Honorius Augustodunensis," in *Catholicisme: hier, aujourd'hui, demain* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1947), vol. 5, cols. 929-32, at 931.

⁷⁶ For a critique of this movement generally and of its presuppositions *uide* Robert D. Crouse, "Disciple of Anselm?" pp. 131-39.

⁷⁷ Martin Grabmann, *Geschichte der scholastischen Methode: Nach gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen*, vol. 2 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1911; reprint, Graz: Akademische Druck-und Verlagsanstalt, 1957), p. 128. Joseph de Ghellinck, S.J., *Le mouvement théologique du XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Victor LeCoffre, 1914; 2d ed., Bruges–Bruxelles–Paris: De Tempel–L'Édition universelle–Desclée, 1948), p. 81. Unless otherwise specified, references will be to the first edition.

criticized Endres' suggestion of a 'brief sojourn' in Canterbury as too tepid,⁷⁸ simply strengthened a tendency that was already firmly established among historians of doctrine.

In the preface to his 1954 edition of the *Elucidarium*, however, Yves Lefèvre went beyond the claims of his predecessors in asserting that he had found evidence that Honorius must have encountered at least one specifically Anselmian doctrine in the master's oral teaching, rather than in its later, written form. Lefèvre insisted that Honorius's distinction in the *Elucidarium* between natural and voluntary necessity was peculiarly Anselmian, and had found its fullest articulation in Anselm's *De concordia*.⁷⁹ He claimed, however, that Honorius could not have derived the distinction from this source, for had he known it, he would have made much more extensive use of it than simply adopting this single formulation.

*Anselme a écrit cet ouvrage [sc. De concordia] avant tout pour exposer, dans sa définition et dans ses conséquences, une notion du libre arbitre que l'Elucidarium ignore parfaitement. Or nous verrons ultérieurement que l'auteur de l'Elucidarium aurait adopté cette notion du libre arbitre s'il l'avait connue. Donc, lorsqu'il écrivait l'Elucidarium, il n'avait pas lu le De concordia, mais il connaissait certaines définitions qu'Anselme devait employer dans ce traité.*⁸⁰

Although Lefèvre did not specify how he knew that Honorius would have used Anselm's doctrine of free choice had he known of it, this must surely be a reference to his later adoption of it both in the *De libero arbitrio* and in the Conenine version of the *Ineuitabile*.

The problem of Honorius's adoption of Anselm's definition of free choice in the Conenine version of the *Ineuitabile* was raised again in 1963 by Sir Richard Southern in his

⁷⁸ Franz Placidus Bliemetzrieder, "L'oeuvre d'Anselme de Laon et la littérature théologique contemporaine, I: Honorius d'Autun," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 5 (1933): 275-91, note 2.

⁷⁹ Yves Lefèvre, *L'Elucidarium et les Lucidaires*, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 420 (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1954), p. 195. The discussion of the 'duae necessitates' is found in *Elucidarium* II, 23, p. 413; the definition of predestination at II, 28, p. 414.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

assessment of Honorius's work in relation to that of his supposed master.⁸¹ Although crowning Honorius "the ablest and most productive"⁸² of Anselm's pupils, Southern nevertheless cited him as a scholar whose "career . . . admirably illustrates the difficulties under which Anselm laboured in forming disciples during his time at Canterbury."⁸³ As evidence for his contention that Honorius "cuts a poor figure"⁸⁴ when compared with Anselm, Southern cited Honorius's apparent inability to judge between what he considered two mutually incompatible definitions of free choice. Although writing "in the close proximity of Anselm's friends," Honorius had been "simply ignorant" of Anselm's writings on the subject,⁸⁵ and had initially defined free choice, 'quoting' the authority of Augustine,⁸⁶ as "*libertas bonum uel malum eligendi*," first in the *Elucidarium* and again in the Cassandrian version of the *Ineuitabile*.⁸⁷ Ever the loyal (if not very perspicacious) student, however, Honorius had "hastened to make a second recension" of the *Ineuitabile* directly he was informed of the appearance of Anselm's writings on the subject of free choice, even though they represented a "quite contradictory position" to his own.⁸⁸ The proof that Honorius had not understood the finer points and philosophical implications of Anselm's thoughts on the subject, Southern contended, was that when he came to revise his first

⁸¹ Richard William Southern, *St Anselm and His Biographer: A Study of Monastic Life and Thought 1059-c. 1130* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), pp. 214-5.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 209.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 214: "[Honorius] was simply ignorant of Anselm's early work in which the rival view [of free choice] was developed." Southern seems to refer here to the *De libertate arbitrii*, composed between 1080-85, in which Anselm first used his peculiar definition of free choice. Cf. Francis Salesius Schmitt, O.S.B., "Zur Chronologie der Werke des hl. Anselm von Canterbury," *Revue Bénédictine* 44 (1932): 322-50, at 350.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*: "As his authority for this definition he quotes St Augustine."

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* Southern briefly discusses the problem of freedom, *ibid.*, p. 105.

definition of free choice in a later version of the *Elucidarium*, he replaced it with a definition that missed the entire point of Anselm's, and "really comes to the same thing . . . in the end" as the definition found in the *Elucidarium* and the Cassandrian version of the *Ineuitabile*.⁸⁹

Professor Southern's conclusions concerning the *Ineuitabile* were accepted in their entirety, and often repeated, by his student, Valerie Flint, herself one of the most prodigious writers on Honorius in last quarter of the twentieth century. In her earliest reconstruction of Honorius's career, Professor Flint made the somewhat simplistic claim, apparently based upon Southern's discussion referred to above, that the two recensions of the *Ineuitabile*

are distinguished by a variant . . . on the definition of free will. . . . The first recension adopts the Augustinian definition of free will which had appeared first in the *Elucidarius*. The second has the Anselmian [definition] which had appeared in Anselm's treatises *De Libertate Arbitrii* and *De Concordia Praescientiae et Praedestinationis*.⁹⁰

Flint's analysis of the *Ineuitabile* and the differentiation of its two redactions appears never to have advanced beyond what can be found in this very minimalistic statement; in fact, she was to reiterate it in almost exactly the same words in her last published work on Honorius nearly a quarter of a century later.⁹¹ But while the literary intricacies of the two texts seem never to have interested her, the revision of the *Ineuitabile* from its 'Augustinian' to its 'Anselmian' form raised a question for Flint.

Flint believed that Honorius had been a student of Anselm, which, for her, explained the literary dependence of the *Elucidarium* upon certain of Anselm's writings, most notably the *Monologion* and the *Cur deus homo*. Anselm's definition of free choice had first appeared in the

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 215.

⁹⁰ Flint, "The Chronology of the Works of Honorius," p. 228.

⁹¹ Eadem, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, p. [51] 145: "The *Ineuitabile* appeared in at least two recensions. These recensions are distinguished by two different definitions of free will. The first of these is Augustinian The second is Anselmian."

De libertate arbitrii between 1080 and 1085. The question therefore was this: If the *Elucidarium*, which Flint believed had appeared between 1098 and 1101, antedates the Cassandrian version of the *Ineuitabile* (as the evidence of the *De luminaribus* and the prologue of the *Ineuitabile* both appear to indicate), then how could Honorius have been ignorant of his teacher's definition of free choice when he wrote the first version of the *Ineuitabile*?

The answer, for Flint, was to be found in her reconstruction of Honorius's life—namely, in her association of Honorius with Worcester.⁹² Honorius had simply been away from Canterbury at the time that he composed the first recension of the *Ineuitabile*. In any case, she argued, Anselm's "definition [of free will] may only have been properly formulated in the last years of St. Anselm's life[,] for although the *De Libertate Arbitrii* had been drawn up most probably in the years 1080-1085[,] its full exposition in the *De concordia* was to wait until 1107-8."⁹³ That Honorius could have written any of his works without consulting the works of his 'teacher', or indeed that Honorius's use of Anselm's works could have been based upon anything other than a student-teacher relationship, was impossible to Flint, just as it had been impossible in the mind of her teacher.

Unfortunately, as can be seen from this brief survey of the writings of twentieth-century historians of doctrine, the intricate investigations of Baeumker were received in an extremely simplified form, and very little work has been done to expand upon those findings. Such oversimplification of very complex problems has had a predictable effect upon assessments of Honorius, an effect that will be discussed in the next chapter. Before drawing general

⁹² Flint, "The Career of Honorius," pp. 75-80; eadem, "The Chronology of the Works of Honorius," p. 221; and eadem, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, pp. [10] 104-[11] 105. On Flint's reconstruction of Honorius's life more generally, *vide supra*, chapter 1, section 2.

⁹³ Flint, "The Chronology of the Works of Honorius," p. 228.

conclusions from this survey, however, it is first necessary to examine in some detail one final treatment of the *Ineuitabile* that attempted to overthrow the entire history of its interpretation since Baeumker. Because this treatment is *sui generis*, extremely revolutionary in its conclusions, but very problematic in terms of its data, both the treatment itself and its evaluation must be dealt with separately from the work of the authors just examined.

2.4 The *Ineuitabile* as interpreted by Marie-Odile Garrigues: A Case of idiosyncratic Revisionism.

Only one scholar has seriously questioned Baeumker's conclusions in their entirety, and therefore the entire history of interpretation of the *Ineuitabile* from 1914 to the present day. In her 1987 critical inventory of the works of Honorius, Marie-Odile Garrigues attempted a complete revision of the history of the recensions of the *Ineuitabile* that had been accepted, in the main, for nearly three-quarters of a century.

Garrigues's treatment of the *Ineuitabile* began with the assertion that there are not, in fact, two versions of the text, but three—the Cassandrian text, the Conenine text (i.e. in Migne's edition), and a third that remains "*encore manuscrite*."⁹⁴ This third version, she stated, is represented in at least two manuscripts: MS Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, 227 and MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 22225. This was an entirely new claim,⁹⁵ although Garrigues did not indicate its novelty, and indeed all of her references to earlier scholarship imply that the authors had known of and discussed all three versions. Garrigues accepted as definitive Baeumker's defence of the common authorship of the 'three' texts,⁹⁶ while rejecting

⁹⁴ Garrigues, "*Inventaire critique*," p. 173.

⁹⁵ As mentioned above, von Kelle ("*Über des Honorius Ineuitabile*," p. 5) had noted that two long sections of text found in MS Heiligenkreuz 77 and Melk 532 (which he reports as codex 96) are missing from Conen's text. He did not, however, claim these manuscripts as representing new versions of the text.

⁹⁶ Garrigues, "*Inventaire critique*," p. 174: "Que les *trois versions* soient d'Honorius, Cl. (sic) Baeumker, par une comparaison soigneuse des texts, l'a bien démontré." Emphasis added.

entirely his account of the probable chronology of the various recensions. According to Garrigues, Baeumker's entire argument had rested on Honorius's use in the Cassandrian text of the same definition of free choice (*liberum arbitrium*) that he had previously used in the *Elucidarium*,⁹⁷ and the assumption that he later adopted Anselm's definition from the *De concordia* before performing the revisions that resulted in the Conenine version.⁹⁸ (Here again can be seen the same tendency toward the oversimplification of the entire question.) Since the *Elucidarium* is universally regarded as Honorius's earliest work, Baeumker had argued that the earlier redaction of the *Ineuitabile* must have been that which shared its definition with the *Elucidarium*, the second version appearing only after the composition of the *De concordia* in 1108. Garrigues rightly pointed out that Anselm had first used the definition from the *De concordia* in his treatise *De libertate arbitrii* as early as 1085. That Honorius—"assidu lecteur de saint Anselme"—should not have known of the existence of Anselm's definition from the *De libertate arbitrii* was, to her, unthinkable. It must therefore be at least possible, she contended, that Honorius wrote the Conenine text much earlier than 1108.

Having presented this negative argument against Baeumker's chronology, Garrigues then adduced two pieces of internal evidence from the prologue to the Cassandrian version of the *Ineuitabile*, which seemed to her to point towards its later composition. The first is a reference to an earlier *disputatio* held by Honorius on the subject of predestination and free choice:

⁹⁷ "*Libertas eligendi bonum uel malum.*" *Vide infra* my edition at l. 165. Cf. Honorius, *Elucidarium*, II, 3, PL 172, col. 1135. Lefèvre (II, 7, p. 407) adopted the variant reading "*in potestate hominis esse et uelle et posse bonum uel malum.*" For a critique of Lefèvre's assessment of the manuscripts of his edition in general, and of the choice of this variant in particular, *uide* Valerie Irene Jane Flint, "The Original Text of the *Elucidarium* of Honorius Augustodunensis from the Twelfth Century English Manuscripts," *Scriptorium* 18 (1964): 91-94.

⁹⁸ "*Libertas arbitrii est potestas seruandi rectitudinem uoluntatis, propter ipsam rectitudinem.*" *Vide infra* my edition at ll. 158-9. Cf. Anselm of Canterbury, *De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratia dei cum libero arbitrio*, I, vii, Schmitt, vol. 2, p. 256.

*ipsi summa deprecant deuotione, ut soluas eis nodum liberi arbitrii inextricabilem, quem tua disputatio ut eis uideatur magis fecit insolubilem.*⁹⁹

Although Garrigues admitted that the text does not specify whether the disputation was oral or written, she implied that it might have been the Conenine version of the *Ineuitabile*.

Garrigues's second piece of evidence is an apparent allusion in the Cassandrian text to another work of Honorius, the *Summa totius*, the completion of which Garrigues dated to 1133.¹⁰⁰ Baeumker had already noted¹⁰¹ that Honorius appeared to allude to the *Elucidarium* in the prologue to the *Sigillum*,¹⁰² and to the *Sigillum* in the prologue to the *Ineuitabile*.¹⁰³ It is also likely that Honorius's composition of the *Elucidarium* is intimated in the same preface.¹⁰⁴

Garrigues considered the following sentence to be a covert reference to the *Summa totius*:

*Vt autem totum sequens opus a lectore facile queat notari, prius libet summam totius materię in breue corollarium coartari.*¹⁰⁵

At this point, Garrigues explained, the historian discovers an apparent *aporia*. If one assumes that it is more likely for an 'Augustinian' text (as Baeumker had characterized the Cassandrian version) to have been revised in light of a later author, then the 'Anselmian' Conenine text must be the later redaction. The allusions in the Cassandrian text, on the other hand, seem to indicate that it is the later version.

⁹⁹ *Infra, recensio prima*, ll. 13-5. Emphasis Garrigues's.

¹⁰⁰ Garrigues, "Inventaire critique," (1986), p. 38.

¹⁰¹ Baeumker, *Das Ineuitabile*, p. 4.

¹⁰² Honorius Augustodunensis, *Sigillum beatae Mariae*, Prologus, PL 172, col. 495: "*Omnium fratrum conuentus tuae diligentiae grates soluit, quod eis spiritus sapientiae tot inuolucra per tuum laborem in elucidario euoluit.*" Emphasis added.

¹⁰³ *Infra*, both versions, ll. 8-9: ". . . qui ob genitricis suę merita, tot eis in canticis de ea per te reserauit mysteria."

¹⁰⁴ *Infra*, both versions, l. 10: ". . . ob alia quę multis incognita *elucidans* in laudem eius addidisti . . ." Emphasis added.

¹⁰⁵ *Infra, recensio prima*, ll. 131-2. Emphasis added.

Garrigues argued that her *aporia* would be solved if it could be shown that the Cassandrian text of the *Inevitabile* was the result of Honorius’s revision of the (earlier) Conenine version, and she claimed to have discovered the motivation for such a revision—namely, Honorius’s discovery of the *De diuina praedestinatione* of Eriugena. Noting that the Conenine version of the text defends a *gemina praedestinatio* (*una bonorum ad gloriam, altera malorum ad pēnam*),¹⁰⁶ she pointed out that the *De diuina praedestinatione* had been written precisely to counter this notion, and cited Eriugena’s condemnation of Gottschalk’s interpretation of the expression as found in Isidore of Seville.¹⁰⁷ She then argued that Honorius explicitly repudiated this doctrine in the Cassandrian version of the text, citing the following sentence, which she claimed to have found in von Kelle’s edition:¹⁰⁸ “*Non est igitur illa praedestinatio quae cogat ineuitabili necessitate sua uitam, iustitiam, beatitudinem, nec illa quae cogeret praedictorum bonorum contraria, uidelicet mortem, peccatum, miseriam.*” The citation, however, is found nowhere in the Cassandrian text, but is, in fact, a direct quotation from Eriugena’s *De diuina praedestinatione* itself.¹⁰⁹ It is certainly true, as Garrigues went on to say, that Honorius explained the absence of evil from the created order in a very Eriugenian manner in the Cassandrian text—namely, as “*seulement la cohabitation de biens contraires.*” Yet, as Garrigues herself admitted, the Eriugenian influence on this section of the text was almost certainly from the *Periphyseon*, not from the *De diuina praedestinatione*.

¹⁰⁶ *Infra, recensio altera*, ll. 62-3.

¹⁰⁷ Eriugena, *De diuina praedestinatione liber*, III, 4, ed. G. Madec, CCCM 50 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978), p. 21: “Scribis enim in deliramentis confessionum, immo perfidiarum tuarum, tanquam originem erroris tui defendere uolens, sententiam uidelicet Isidori: Gemina est praedestinatio, siue electorum ad requiem, siue reproborum ad mortem.”

¹⁰⁸ The citation (p. 177, n. 17) reads: J. von Kelle, cité n. 1, p. 9-10.

¹⁰⁹ Eriugena, *De diuina praedestinatione*, III, 3, p. 20.

In support of her thesis, however, Garrigues went on to furnish three further examples of supposed dependence upon Eriugena's *De diuina praedestinatione* in Honorius's works. She first claimed that a 'formule' from Honorius's *Liber XII quaestionum* ("Summus namque opifex omnium Deus primo uniuersitatis") could not have been inspired by the *Periphyseon*, but must have been drawn from *De diuina praedestinatione* VIII, 3.¹¹⁰ In fact, it is almost certain that Honorius did draw his formulation from the *Periphyseon*. In the first place, the whole sentence from the *Liber XII quaestionum*, to which she refers, actually reads as follows:

*Summus namque opifex universitatem quasi magnam citharam condidit, in qua ueluti uarias chordas ad multiplices sonos reddendos posuit: dum uniuersum suum opus in duo, uel duo sibi contraria distinxit.*¹¹¹

This is almost certainly a précis of *Periphyseon*, III, 637B and C:

Non enim uniuersitatis conditor omnipotens, et in nullo deficiens, et in infinitum tendens, similia sibi solummodo, uerum etiam dissimilia creare potuit et creauit. Nam si solummodo sui similia, hoc est uere existentia, aeterna, incommutabilia, simplicia, inseparabiliter unita, incorruptibilia, immortalia, rationalia, intellectualia, scientia, sapientia, ceterasque uirtutes condiderit, in dissimilium et oppositorum creatione defecisse uideretur, et non omnino cunctorum, quae ratio posse fieri docet, opifex iudicaretur.

That both Honorius and Eriugena immediately go on to describe the order of the *uniuersitas* as an ordered 'harmony' makes the connection almost certain.¹¹² The sentence from Eriugena's *De diuina praedestinatione*, to which Garrigues refers, on the other hand, reads: "*Proinde deus omnium opifex primo uniuersitatis a se condendae substantias condidit bonitate sua, deinde*

¹¹⁰ Garrigues, "Inventaire critique," p. 177.

¹¹¹ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Liber XII quaestionum*, II, PL 172, col 1179B.

¹¹² Ibid., II, col. 1179C: "*Qui omnes dulci harmonia consonant, dum concorditer suum factorem amando laudant.*" Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, III, 637D, CCCM 163: "*Proinde pulchritudo totius uniuersitatis conditae, similium et dissimilium, mirabili quadam harmonia constituta est, ex diuersis generibus uariisque formis, differentibus quoque substantiarum et accidentium ordinibus, in unitatem quandam ineffabilem compacta.*"

unicuique pro gradibus suis dona dare disposuit largitate sua,”¹¹³ and is the beginning of an explication of the rational will that belongs to human nature, and does not belong to a discussion of universal cosmic order.

Garrigues’s second example of a supposed influence of the *De diuina praedestinatione* on Honorius, is allegedly a direct citation of the text in Honorius’s *De anima et de deo*, which Garrigues claimed had been subsequently repeated by Rupert of Deutz “*sans aucune modification*” in his commentary on John’s Gospel.¹¹⁴ The text she cites is actually Rupert’s text:

*Omnia enim quae facta sunt, alia quidem sunt, ut lapides; alia et sunt et uiuunt, ut arbores; alia uero sunt, et uiuunt, et sentiunt, ut pecora. Homo autem post angelum solus in hoc honore est positus, quod ad quaerendum et inueniendum Creatorem suum factus est idoneus.*¹¹⁵

It does, certainly, bear a striking resemblance to several lines of the *De anima et de deo*; the content of the two texts is identical, and they are stylistically similar:

*Omnia enim quae sunt, bona sunt. Lapides boni sunt qui tantum sunt. Meliores his arbores quae sunt et uiuunt. His meliores bestiae, quae sunt, uiuunt, et sentiunt. Meliores his homines qui sunt, uiuunt, sentiunt et intelligunt.*¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Eriugena, *De diuina praedestinatione*, VIII, 3, p. 49. Garrigues’s reference is to PL 122, col. 385D-386A, where the text is identical.

¹¹⁴ Garrigues’s references to Honorius’s use of *De diuina praedestinatione* in the *De anima et de deo* are inconsistent. There is no reference to it at all in the critical apparatus to her edition (e.g. at p. 254, to which she refers in the following discussion). In her “Inventaire critique” she refers once (without citation) to “*deux citations de quatre lignes*” in her discussion of *Ineuitabile* (p. 177); in her discussion of *De anima et de deo* she refers (again without citation) to “*trois citations du De praedestinatione de Jean Scot*” in *De anima et de deo* (p. 138). The only such claim for which she provides a citation is that currently under discussion.

¹¹⁵ Rupert of Deutz, *In Euangelium S. Ioannis commentariorum libri XIV*, I, PL 169, 212B.

¹¹⁶ Honorius Augustodunensis, *De anima et de deo*, ed. M.-O. Garrigues, in “Honorius Augustodunensis, *de Anima et de Deo, quaedam ex Augustino excerpta, sub dialogo exarata*,” *Recherches Augustiniennes* 12 (1977): 212-78, 254. It should also be pointed out that Honorius discusses this same order of beings in two other treatises: the *Cognitio uitae*, XXXII, PL 40, col. 1023: “*Omnis quoque creatura per aliquid similitudinem Dei habet, et quantum quaeque alteri est excellentior, tantum est illi similior. Ipse quippe est, uiuit, sentit, per rationem discernit. Lapides ergo eius similitudine se adiungunt; quia sunt. Arbores magis similitudini eius appropinquant; quia sunt, et crescendo uiuunt. Quaeque animantia multo magis ejus similitudinem exprimunt; quia sunt, uiuunt et sentiunt. Porro in hominibus et in Angelis similitudo Dei maxime refulget; quia sunt, uiuunt, sentiunt, et ratione discernunt;*” and the *Scala caeli maior*, IV, PL 172, 1231B-C: “*Imprimis elementa, scilicet terram, aquam, aerem, ignem, ex*

De diuina praedestinatione, however, contains no text that could have been a source either for Honorius or for Rupert. In fact, Honorius's and Rupert's texts may not be related to one another at all, but could just as easily have as their common source or sources Augustine,¹¹⁷ Fulgentius of Ruspe,¹¹⁸ or Gregory the Great,¹¹⁹ with illustrations provided by Isidore of Seville.¹²⁰

Finally, Garrigues claimed that in the so-called *Sententiae patrum de libero arbitrio et gratia*, generally associated in the manuscripts with the *De libero arbitrio*, Honorius had collected together “*quatre passages différents*” of Eriugena's *De diuina praedestinatione* under the name of John Chrysostom.¹²¹ In an endnote, she refers her reader, in fact, not to four, but rather to eight passages of the *De diuina praedestinatione*. Some of these may be said to have at best a thematic resemblance to the contents of the *sententia* indicated, but the themes are

quibus omnia constant, ad laudem Dei cernimus: quibus totidem subiicimus, dum ea, quae tantum sunt, ut lapides; et ea, quae quodam modo uiuunt ut herbae et arbores; et ea quae uiuunt et sentiunt ut animantia; et ea quae uiuunt, sentiunt et intelligunt ut homines, ad laudem Conditoris uidemus.”

¹¹⁷ Augustine, *De ciuitate dei*, VII, iii, 1, PL 41, col. 195: “Sicut enim quae ratiocinantur et intelligunt, profecto potiora sunt his quae sine intellectu atque ratione, ut pecora, uiuunt et sentiunt: ita et illa quae uita sensuque sunt praedita, his quae nec uiuunt nec sentiunt, merito praeferuntur.”

¹¹⁸ Fulgentius of Ruspe, *De Incarnatione filii dei et uilium animalium auctore, ad Scarilam*, 34, PL 65, col. 592D-593A: “Proinde omnes naturae quae sunt, quae uiuunt, quae sentiunt, quae intelligunt, quoniam a Deo, id est a summo bono factae sunt, bonae sunt.”

¹¹⁹ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, VI, xvi, 20, CCSL 143, p. 298: “Vniuersitatis autem nomine homo signatur quia in ipso uera species et magna communitio uniuersitatis ostenditur. Omne namque quod est, aut est et non uiuit; aut est et uiuit, sed nequaquam sentit; aut est et uiuit, et sentit, sed non intelligit nec discernit; aut est et uiuit, sentit et intelligit, et discernit. Sunt namque lapides nec tamen uiuunt. Sunt arbusta, uiuunt quidem nec tamen sentiunt. Herbarum namque atque arborum uita uiriditas uocatur, sicut per Paulum de seminibus dicitur: *Insipiens, tu quod seminas, non uiuificatur, nisi prius moriatur*. Sunt bruta animalia, uiuunt et sentiunt nec tamen intelligunt. Sunt angeli et uiuunt et sentiunt, et intelligendo discernunt. Homo itaque, quia habet esse cum lapidibus, uiuere cum arboribus, sentire cum animalibus, discernere cum angelis, recte nomine uniuersitatis exprimitur in quo iuxta aliquid ipsa uniuersitas tenetur. Vnde et discipulis Veritas dicit: *Euntes in mundum uniuersum, praedicate euangelium omni creaturae*. Omnem uidelicet creaturam solum intelligi hominem uoluit, cui commune aliquid cum omnibus creauit.” Cf. Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, 356A-B, CCCM 162, p.17.

¹²⁰ Isidore of Seville, *Liber numerorum qui in sanctis scripturis occurrunt*, VII, 31, PL 83, col. 185B: “Sex sunt . . . gradus omnium rerum, id est, non uiuentia, ut lapides; uiuentia, ut arbores; sensibilia, ut pecudes; rationabilia, ut homines; immortalia, ut angeli.”

¹²¹ Garrigues, “Inventaire critique,” pp. 177, 182. The citations are given at p. 182, n. 11.

Augustinian commonplaces, and there seems no reason to think that the ideas come specifically from Eriugena. Garrigues may simply have assumed that all references to ‘Chrysostom’ in a work of Honorius must have been to Eriugena, since he famously discussed him under that pseudonym in the *De luminaribus*.

Garrigues’ solution to her *aporia*—Honorius’s discovery of Eriugena’s *De diuina praedestinatione*—is, therefore, clearly flawed, and does nothing to advance her revision of Baeumker’s conclusions. But what of her stated reason for the need for a revision—namely, her assertion that three versions of the *Ineuitabile* exist rather than two?

In the first place, it is quite clear from the manuscript evidence that there is no ‘third version’ of the text—at least not in the sense that Garrigues seems to have intended.¹²² My own research into the manuscripts has revealed that there are only two versions of the text—the Cassandrian and the Conenine.¹²³ Conen’s manuscript, which is closely related to manuscript *G* of my edition, contained an incomplete, and almost certainly very late, version of Honorius’s original ‘Conenine’ version (*G* is the only exemplar I have consulted that represents the same family as Conen’s text). The two manuscripts in which Garrigues claimed to have found the ‘third’ version—MS Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, 227 and MS Munich, clm 22225—both transmit the Conenine text, including the sections shared with the Cassandrian version that von Kelle reported as existing in Heligenkreuz 77 in 1903. The Munich manuscript transmits this form of the text in its entirety; the Erlangen manuscript is missing the first hundred and fifty-

¹²² While there may be evidence of an intermediate ‘draft’ of the text between the Cassandrian and Conenine versions, the variants are substantive enough to warrant calling the two (incomplete) manuscripts that witness them representatives of a ‘third’ version. *Vide infra*, Introduction to Editions, 4, ii, b: “Manuscripts of the Conenine version,” for a discussion of minor variants shared between MSS *E* and *F* and the Cassandrian text, but not found in other MSS of the Conenine text.

¹²³ Discussed *infra* in the Introduction to the Editions, section 4.ii.b.

seven lines (in my edition) and ends at line 1716, but otherwise transmits the full ‘Conenine’ text faithfully.

Strangely, however, Garrigues also claimed that the ‘third version’ of the text contained a fundamental shift in doctrine away from the Conenine text, with respect to the ‘cause’ of the Incarnation of the Word. In the Conenine text, in response to the Disciple’s fear that the eternal divine purpose of the Incarnation must make human sin necessary rather than free, the Master responds: “*Deus ab æterno presciuit hominis lapsum, et ideo ab æterno proposuit filium suum pro eius redemptione incarnandum.*”¹²⁴ According to Garrigues, in the ‘third version’ of the *Ineuitabile*, the eternal divine purpose of the Incarnation was said to be not redemption, but rather human deification. She reported Honorius as saying that human sin was unable to change the eternal “*propositum Dei . . . de deificatione hominis.*”¹²⁵ Garrigues’s endnote to this last sentence indicates that it should be found in MS Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, 227, folio 170v. In that manuscript, however, the explicit of the *Ineuitabile* in fact occurs at folio 150v, and the codex only contains 169 folios in all. Moreover, the quotation about human deification that Garrigues cited as evidence of the doctrinal shift that takes place in the ‘third version’ of the *Ineuitabile* is not found anywhere in the text as transmitted in Erlangen 227. In actuality, the sentence is taken from a different work of Honorius entirely—the *Libellus de VIII quaestionum*.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ *Recensio altera, infra*, ll. 591-2.

¹²⁵ Garrigues, “Inventaire critique,” p. 179.

¹²⁶ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Libellus de VIII quaestionum*, II, PL 172, col. 1187C: “Sicut autem Deus est immutabilis, ita et praedestinatio eius est immutabilis: oportuit ergo hunc incarnari, ut homo posset deificari. Et ideo non sequitur, peccatum fuisse causam eius incarnationis; sed hoc magis sequitur, peccatum non potuisse propositum Dei immutare de deificatione hominis.”

The three pillars of Garrigues critique of Baeumker's argument are simply not compelling. The first, which I have designated as her negative critique, is quite simply wrong. As has been seen, Baeumker's chronology did not rest solely on a claim that Honorius had discovered Anselm's definition of free choice in the *De concordia* (it is certainly true, as Baeumker himself showed, that he could have found in the *De libertate arbitrii*). Rather, Baeumker had demonstrated a much wider dependence both upon the *De libertate arbitrii* and upon the *De concordia* in the Conenine text.¹²⁷ It almost appears as though Garrigues was in fact responding to Flint's simplified presentation of the evidence, which she mistakenly thought had communicated Baeumker's entire argument.

Garrigues's positive critiques are no more convincing. In the first place, it is really no more likely that the Disciple's reference to Honorius's previous *disputatio* on the subject of predestination and free choice in the Cassandrian text is referring either to an oral disputation or to an earlier version of the *Ineuitabile*, than that it is referring to the treatment of these subjects in the *Elucidarium*. Moreover, the phrase "*quem tua disputatio ut eis uidetur magis fecit insolubilem*" is found in both versions of the text, not just in the Cassandrian version.¹²⁸

Garrigues's final piece of positive evidence—namely, the possible reference to the *Summa totius* in the Cassandrian text—is problematic on another level. Elsewhere, when Honorius alludes to his own works, the allusions appear in the prologues to his works, and generally within the first few lines. The allusions to the *Sigillum* and the *Elucidarium* in the *Ineuitabile*, for instance, occur within the first ten lines of text in my edition (i.e. in the first two sentences spoken by the Master). While it is true that what Garrigues takes to be the allusion to

¹²⁷ Baeumker, *Das Ineuitabile*, pp. 20-1.

¹²⁸ *Infra*, both versions, l. 15.

the *Summa totius* in the Cassandrian version of the text does immediately follow what stands as the last sentence of the prologue in the Conenine text, and while the section *De dei re publica*, which immediately follows it, is arguably the beginning of the dialogue's argument proper, it seems highly unlikely that Honorius would have embedded such an allusion one hundred and thirty-two lines into his text, when those who were familiar with his use of 'code' in identifying himself and his works would have expected it to appear in its usual place right at the beginning of a prologue.

When these considerations are placed alongside Garrigues's inability to adduce any persuasive evidence of Honorius's use of Eriugena's *De diuina praedestinatione*, the non-existence of any 'third version' of the *Ineuitabile*, and her citation of texts that do not exist in the manuscripts she cites, it seems reasonable to reject her conclusions and to relegate them to the status of an interesting parenthesis in the scholarly investigation of the *Ineuitabile* in the last century.

2.5 Conclusions

While many questions about the *Ineuitabile* remain in the wake of past investigations, there seem to be at least some conclusions that can be drawn with something approaching certainty. In the first place, it is clear that there are only two recensions of the text—the Cassandrian text and the Conenine text as represented by a group of manuscripts that transmit the longer text identified by von Kelle as existing in MS Heiligenkreuz 77.¹²⁹ There also seems no reason to doubt Baeumker's conclusion that both versions of the text stem from the same author, and that this author is the same 'Honorius' who wrote the works attributed to him both in the *De luminaribus* and in the wider manuscript tradition. Furthermore, it seems highly likely that the Cassandrian

¹²⁹ Besides MS Heiligenkreuz 77 (*D* in my edition), I have verified that this complete text exists in at least three other manuscripts—namely, manuscripts *A B* and *C* in my edition. *Vide infra*, Introduction to Editions, 4, i, b.

text is the earlier of the two, and that it was revised, as Baeumker argued, in light of Anselm's writings on predestination (although, as will be seen in chapter 3, the revision was based upon a much more complex set of authorities than just the works of St. Anselm). This dependence, of course, need not lead to the conclusion that Honorius was literally a 'disciple' or 'student' of Anselm.

The relation of Honorius's *De libero arbitrio* to the *Ineuitabile*, however, is less certain than perhaps Baeumker had supposed. If the prefatory letter to Gottschalk can be read literally, then it is possible that it reports an actual conversation in which Honorius was introduced to Anselm's thought on the subject. It is perfectly conceivable, however, that the letter is itself a literary fiction.¹³⁰ If so, perhaps Garrigues was correct to see in the name 'Gottschalk' an allusion to Gottschalk of Orbais, whom Honorius, that assiduous reader of Carolingian texts, would have recognized as the great promoter of 'double predestination'—precisely the person to whom one would address a treatise to refute any compulsion placed upon the human will by grace and the subsequent blaming of God for human sin.¹³¹ Even if the Gottschalk to whom Honorius dedicated his text really was his contemporary and acquaintance, however, there is still no compelling evidence to show that Honorius wrote the *De libero arbitrio* before he revised the *Ineuitabile*. It seems equally likely that he first revised the *Ineuitabile* and then later wrote his *libellus* to provide a more concise treatment of the problem of free choice, unencumbered by the

¹³⁰ For the name 'Thomas' as a play on words in the Prologue to the *De animae exilio et patria*, uide Crouse, *De neocosmo*, p. 66 at note 12. Cf. Sanford, "Presbyter and Scholasticus," p. 401: "... I feel somewhat skeptical concerning a literal interpretation of the prologues [to Honorius's works]. Each is well contrived to set the scene for the work it introduces; the requests to Honorius and his replies are identical in style, and are very similar to the prologues of works in which the brothers do not figure. The prologues served to show the common authorship and the sequence of successive treatises, and thus avoid the risk that anonymity would prevent their being recognized as one man's work."

¹³¹ Cf. Honorius Augustodunensis, *De libero arbitrio*, 1.

many related questions included in his wide-ranging dialogue.¹³² The relation of the *Sententiae patrum* to Honorius, and more especially to the Conenine version of the *Inevitabile*, is equally uncertain. It seems likely, given its constant association with the *De libero arbitrio* in the manuscript tradition, that it is genuinely Honorius's work. The fact that it contains texts that Honorius certainly used in drafting the Conenine version of the *Inevitabile*—something that will be discussed at greater length in the next chapter—increases that likelihood. As shall be seen below, however, it cannot be shown with any certainty which of these two texts was written first.

The work of von Kelle and Endres, and even more especially the correction of the work of the former and supplementation of that of the latter by Baeumker, has led to these positive results. Unfortunately, however, the oversimplified presentation of Baeumker's investigations in later literature has led both to erroneous conclusions and to a considerable amount of confusion in the scholarship that has followed it.

The seminal simplification of Baeumker's work, from which all the later confusion arises, is Professor Southern's analysis of Honorius's revision of the *Inevitabile*. In the first place, by contracting Baeumker's treatment of the revision of the *Inevitabile* into part of a discussion of the definitions of free choice in only two of Honorius's works, Southern vastly oversimplified the textual problems encountered in Honorius's *corpus* as a whole. He left entirely unmentioned, for example, the fact that the so-called 'Anselmian' definition also appears in *De libero arbitrio* and in the (very likely) Honorian *Sententiae patrum de gratia et libero arbitrio*—something that Baeumker had considered extremely significant.

¹³² This latter position was Flint's opinion. *Vide* Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, p. [57] 151.

Moreover, a further textual complication exists, upon which Professor Southern is, while not silent, at least rather taciturn. In the preface to his edition of the *Elucidarium*, Lefèvre had argued, both on grammatical and theological grounds, that the definition of free choice that Southern considered to have been later is, in fact, the only form of the definition in the *Elucidarium* that stems from Honorius's pen.¹³³ While Lefèvre accepted the phrase immediately preceding the definition in the Conenine version of the *Ineuitabile*—"ut tu diffinisti"—as referring to the definition found in the *Elucidarium*, he argued that the phrase *libertas bonum uel malum eligendi* was not itself a citation of Honorius's original definition, but rather an allusion to it: ". . . le disciple rapporte en une formule rapide et claire ce que l'Elucidarium exprimait plus pesamment, mais plus complètement."¹³⁴ Lefèvre believed that, at some point, a scribe, working from a manuscript containing both the *Elucidarium* and the *Ineuitabile*, had attempted to correct what seemed to him a misreading in the *Elucidarium*, replacing it with the definition found in the *Ineuitabile*, on the assumption that it was a direct quotation of the correct original definition in the *Elucidarium*. All subsequent manuscripts containing the shorter definition (i.e. the definition common to the *Elucidarium* and the *Ineuitabile* in its Cassandrian form) must, therefore, have descended from that one exemplar.¹³⁵ While Southern noted Lefèvre's opinion in a footnote, indicating his disagreement with the hypothesis, he did not explain the grounds for his decision in favor of the shorter formula. It is likely, however, that his judgment was based on the fact,

¹³³ Lefèvre, *L'Elucidarium*, pp. 70-1.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

pointed out several years later by Professor Flint, that the majority of English manuscripts, and indeed the earliest of them, record Southern's preferred reading.¹³⁶

The Southern-Flint hypothesis concerning the relative ages of the text of the *Elucidarium* has much to commend it. For example, thirty-eight of Lefèvre's sixty manuscripts (and the vast majority of the earliest ones) contain the shorter reading. Moreover, at least some very early German manuscripts (also containing the *Inevitable*) contain the same reading. Nevertheless, if Flint's article represents their common mind, then the theory rests primarily on the hypothesis that Honorius was of English origin, and therefore on the high probability that the *Elucidarium* was written in England. Neither of these hypotheses can be considered by any means certain. Moreover, even if Southern and Flint's relative dating of the texts is correct (as seems likely), it is by no means certain that Honorius was himself the author of the revised text of the *Elucidarium*. The *Elucidarium* was Honorius's most popular work and survives in well over five hundred manuscripts, many of which are of twelfth-century origin, and are found in libraries right across Europe.¹³⁷ Textual problems are complex, as Lefèvre's preface shows,¹³⁸ and his edition was based almost exclusively on French manuscripts.¹³⁹ Precisely what relation the various versions of the text bear to Honorius himself is a problem the solution to which must depend upon a new edition of the text based on a collation of manuscripts from a broader geographical area; it is especially important that German and Austrian exemplars be taken into

¹³⁶ Cf. Valerie Irene Jane Flint, "The Original Text of the *Elucidarium* of Honorius Augustodunensis from the Twelfth Century English Manuscripts," *Scriptorium* 18 (1964): 91-4, 92-3.

¹³⁷ *Vide* Dagmar Gottschall, *Das "Elucidarium" des Honorius Augustodunensis* (Niemeyer: Tübingen, 1992), pp. 297-306.

¹³⁸ Lefèvre, *L'Elucidarium*, pp. 231-58.

¹³⁹ MSS Vienna, codex Latinus 1763, Munich, clm 13105, and Lambeth Palace 431 were used in establishing the classification of the French manuscripts.

account. If the later revision of the *Elucidarium* was not by Honorius himself, then it would eliminate any need to explain why Honorius adopted a third definition of free choice, having used Anselm's definition in two other works (and possibly three, if the *Sententiae* are his).

Yet even more important, perhaps, than these textual problems is Southern's characterization of Honorius's two definitions as 'Augustinian' and 'Anselmian'. In the first place, Southern claims that in the *Elucidarium* Honorius "quotes" Augustine "[a]s his authority" for the definition "*libertas bonum uel malum eligendi*."¹⁴⁰ This Honorius most emphatically does not do. At no point in the text does Honorius identify his source (it is possible that Southern is referring to a marginal gloss; if so he does not say). In any case, Southern does not identify which work of Augustine Honorius 'quotes'.¹⁴¹

The real problem at this point, however, is Southern's tremendous oversimplification of both Augustine's and Anselm's understandings of free choice. It is certainly true that, in certain of his works, Augustine speaks of the free choice of the human will as an innate power to choose between good and evil without any qualification.¹⁴² Such discussions, however, are generally found in his early works, especially in discussions of evil as the defection of rational will from the good. Very often these discussions are found in polemics against the Manichees and are

¹⁴⁰ Southern, *St Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 214.

¹⁴¹ The closest parallel to Honorius's definition, in philological terms, that I have been able to find in Augustine's works is from the *Opus imperfectum contra Iulianum*, I, xlvi, PL 45, col. 1070: "Non est magnum, quod uides non habere paruulos propriam uoluntatem *ad eligendum bonum, uel malum*. Illud uellem uideres, quod uidit qui scribens ad Hebraeos dixit, filium Israel Leui in lumbis Abraham patris sui fuisse, quando est ille decimatus, et ideo etiam istum in illo fuisse decimatum" (cf. Heb 7: 9-10). This can hardly be called a 'definition.' In fact, it is Julian who is vexed by the fact that Augustine has implied that infants do not have "a will of their own (*propriam uoluntatem*) to choose good or evil."

¹⁴² An excellent example of such a discussion of the will is *De actis cum Felice Manichaeo*, II, iv, col. 538: ". . . habet unusquisque in uoluntate, aut eligere quae bona sunt . . . , aut eligere quae mala sunt." Also *ibid.*, II, iii, PL 42, col. 537: "Esse autem liberum arbitrium, atque inde peccare si uelit, non peccare si nolit, non solum in diuinis Scripturis, quas non intelligitis, set etiam in uerbis ipsius Manichaei uestri probo."

refutations of their metaphysical dualism.¹⁴³ When Augustine speaks of human choice as free (*liberum arbitrium*) elsewhere, however, it is almost invariably to qualify that statement. Take, for example, the following text from *De correptione et gratia*, discussed by Baeumker as a possible source underlying Honorius’s discussion of the freedom of the will in the Cassandrian version of the *Ineuitabile* (note that Baeumker is decidedly not giving this text as a source for the definition, but for a later discussion which severely qualifies it): “*Liberum itaque arbitrium et ad malum et ad bonum faciendum confitendum est nos habere.*”¹⁴⁴ Yet notice Augustine’s immediate qualification of this statement: “*sed in malo faciendo liber est quisque iustitiae seruusque peccati; in bono autem liber esse nullus potest.*”¹⁴⁵ The soul without divine grace is free to sin—because it is free from *iustitia*—but it is emphatically not free to do good.

For Augustine, the human will was only truly free in the pristine state of its first creation—that is to say, in the state in which “[u]iuebat . . . homo . . . sicut uolebat, quamdiu hoc uolebat quod Deus iusserat.” In paradise, “uiuebat [homo] fruens Deo, ex quo bono erat bonus.”¹⁴⁶ Human freedom is, therefore, a gift. It is the result of a divinely given participation in the divine goodness, by which participation human beings are given to love as God loves—that is to say, to love God himself (the supreme Good) above all things and for his own sake and all other things according to the order that God has given them (fellow rational creatures—angels and humans—as oneself; the irrational nature less than oneself and one’s fellow rational

¹⁴³ As in the example cited in the previous note. On which *uide* Augustine, *Retractationes*, II, viii, 35.

¹⁴⁴ Augustine, *De correptione et gratia*, I, ii, trans. with introduction and notes by Jean Chène, PSS and Jacques Pintard, BA 24, p. 270. Cf. Baeumker, *Das Ineuitabile*, pp. 61-2.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* Emphasis added.

¹⁴⁶ Augustine, *De ciuitate dei*, XIV, xxvi, PL 41, col. 434.

creatures).¹⁴⁷ The interior disposition by which human beings are able to order their loves rightly, Augustine calls *iustitia*: “*haec est perfecta iustitia, qua potius potiora et minus minora diligimus.*”¹⁴⁸ This disposition is itself nothing other than right order within the human person him or herself—a relationship in which the higher aspect of human nature (mind) rules the lower (the body and the passions).

This interior order, however, depends upon a prior right relation to God, that relation in which man lives “*fruens Deo, ex quo bono [est] bonus.*” Yet it was precisely this relation to God that was lost in the Fall, with the result that rightly ordered human self-relation (*iustitia*) was lost as a necessary consequence.¹⁴⁹

*Iam quippe anima libertate in peruersum propria delectata, et deo dedignata seruire, pristino corporis seruitio destituebatur: et quia superiorem dominum suo arbitrio deseruerat, inferiorem famulum ad suum arbitrium non tenebat: nec omni modo habebat subditam carnem, sicut semper habere potuisset, si deo subdita ipsa mansisset. Tunc ergo coepit caro concupiscere aduersus spiritum.*¹⁵⁰

In its primal state (the graced state of pristine creation), therefore, the human soul had the freedom either to cleave to God in *iustitia*, through the gift of divine grace, or to turn from God to love creation more than the Creator. As Augustine put it: “*Prima . . . libertas uoluntatis erat, posse non peccare.*”¹⁵¹ Yet even in paradise this freedom of the will entirely depended upon

¹⁴⁷ *Inter alia* Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, I, xxii, 20-xxx, 33.

¹⁴⁸ Augustine, *De beata uita*, XLVIII, 94, ed. Joseph Mountain, CC SL 32, p. 248. Cf. Idem, *De doctrina christiana*, I, xxvii, 28: “*Ille autem iuste et sancte uiuit, qui rerum integer aestimator est; ipse est autem, qui ordinatam habet dilectionem, ne aut diligat, quod non est diligendum, aut non diligat, quod diligendum est, aut amplius diligat, quod minus diligendum est, aut aequae diligat, quod uel minus uel amplius diligendum est, aut minus uel amplius, quod aequae diligendum est. Omnis peccator, in quantum peccator est, non est diligendus, et omnis homo, in quantum homo est, diligendus est propter deum, deus uero propter se ipsum.*” Emphasis added.

¹⁴⁹ Augustine, *De trinitate*, XIV, xv, 21, PL 42, 1052: “*Iustitiam quippe [mens] dare sibi non potest quam perditam non habet. Hanc enim, cum homo conderetur, accepit; et peccando utique perdidit.*”

¹⁵⁰ Augustine, *De ciuitate dei*, XIII, 13, PL 41, col. 386. Cf. Gal 5: 17.

¹⁵¹ Augustine, *De correptione et gratia*, XII, xxxiii, p. 344.

grace, for without the divine gift of participation in the uncreated Good, even in the state of grace, the soul was free only to sin: “*Quia etsi peccatum in solo libero arbitrio erat constitutum, non tamen iustitiae retinendae sufficebat liberum arbitrium, nisi participatione immutabilis boni diuinum adiutorium praeberetur.*”¹⁵²

In the final analysis, however, in Augustine’s thought, human freedom in the fullest sense will not be achieved until the general resurrection, when the human soul will no longer be capable of sinning:

*. . . postea uero sic erit, ut male uelle non possit; nec ideo libero carebit arbitrio. Multo quippe liberius erit arbitrium, quod omnino non poterit seruire peccato.*¹⁵³

*Quid erit autem liberius libero arbitrio, quando non poterit seruire peccato, quae futura erat?*¹⁵⁴

In the beatific vision, all the citizens of the Heavenly Jerusalem will be “*impleta omni bono,*” and so presumably there will be in them no potential for defection from the good of which they are ‘full’. At first blush this inability to sin might seem to constitute a limitation of human freedom. But Augustine points out that to maintain this would be to maintain that God, who cannot sin, is not free.¹⁵⁵ Even the freedom of the beatific vision, however, will be the gift of God, for the distinction between participated and participating good always obtains: “[*a*]liud est enim, esse deum, aliud, participem dei.”¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² Augustine, *Enchiridion*, CVI, PL 40, col. 282.

¹⁵³ Ibid., CV, PL 40, col. 281.

¹⁵⁴ Augustine, *De correptione et gratia*, XI, 32, p. 342. Cf. *De ciuitate dei*, XXII, xxx, 3, PL 42, col. 801: “Nec ideo liberum arbitrium non habebunt, quia peccata eos delectare non poterunt.”

¹⁵⁵ Augustine, *De ciuitate dei*, XXII, xxx, 3, PL 42, col. 801: “Certe deus ipse numquid, quoniam peccare non potest, ideo liberum arbitrium habere negandus est?”

¹⁵⁶ Augustine, *De ciuitate dei*, XII, xxx, 3, PL 42, col. 801.

One can therefore see that the definition of free choice given by Honorius in the Cassandrian version of the *Ineuitabile* can only be called ‘Augustinian’ in a very simplistic sense, and not without almost endless qualifications. And, of course, Honorius does have to expand upon and clarify his definition, which he does in a very Augustinian way. Take the following two sentences as an example:

*Nam ante peccatum tantum est arbitrium in homine liberum.
 Postquam uero bono postposito,
 malum id est peccatum per consensum elegerit,
 iam non liberum sed captiuum erit. . . .
 [N]ec arbitrium habet liberum . . .
 nisi gratia dei eum preueniat,
 ut bonum quod spreuit cupiat,
 et subsequatur ut illud implere preualeat.*¹⁵⁷

Anselm’s argument in the *De libertate arbitrii*, on the other hand, solves many of the problems faced by Honorius in the Cassandrian version of the *Ineuitabile* long before he reaches the definition that Honorius adopts in the Conenine text, so that his definition, in fact, is in many ways much more ‘Augustinian’ than that of the Cassandrian version without the necessary qualifications.

Anselm’s argument begins with the rejection of the definition as “*posse peccare et non peccare*” precisely on the grounds that this definition of freedom of choice (*libertas arbitrii*) would deny freedom to God and the good angels. In this sense he begins from where Augustine ends.¹⁵⁸ Augustine’s mature teaching concerning human freedom is, in some sense at least, the result of his having worked through and resolved the philosophical difficulties inherent in the discovery that the fallen human mind is divided against itself (cf. *Confessiones*, VIII, ix, 21 ff.).

¹⁵⁷ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Ineuitabile, recensio altera*, ll. 408-11 and 421-4.

¹⁵⁸ Anselm of Canterbury, *De libertate arbitrii*, I, Schmitt, vol. 1, p. 205. Cf. Augustine, *De ciuitate dei*, XXII, xxx, 3, *supra*, n. 154.

Anselm, on the other hand, can begin from the opposite perspective—not from the side of the will that has rejected its primordial participation in the Good, with the necessary loss of freedom to will the good, but from the side of the Good itself (God) and the most stable created participation in the Good on this side of the *parousia* (the angelic nature returned upon its Creator in contemplation). To deny freedom to the One who is free in himself and to created freedom in its perfected state “*nefas est dicere.*”¹⁵⁹ Yet because any definition must, axiomatically, be universal, there cannot be one definition for human nature and another for the angelic or divine natures. Insofar as they are free, therefore, God, the angelic nature, and human nature must be free in precisely the same sense.

Anselm’s discussion of human freedom, just as his discussion of divine and angelic freedom, begins (in the philosophical sense) from the beginning. That is to say, he begins from the standpoint of the pristine human will as created in the divinely given state of *rectitudo*, not from reflection on the state of the will as fallen. When he begins his proof that “*non pertinet ad definitionem libertatis arbitrii ‘posse peccare,’*” therefore, Anselm is presupposing the primordial state of human possession of *rectitudo uoluntatis*, not the state of its deprivation consequent upon the fall: “*Quae tibi uoluntas liberior uidetur: illa quae sic uult et potest non peccare, ut nullatenus flecti ualeat a non peccandi recitudine, an illa quae aliquo modo flecti potest ad peccandum?*”

By beginning from the perspective of created participation in the divine *iustitia* (*rectitudinem uoluntatis propter se seruata*),¹⁶⁰ rather than from the state of loss of that participation, Anselm is able to distinguish between what *liberum arbitrium* (which he defines as

¹⁵⁹ Anselm of Canterbury, *De libertate arbitrii*, I, Schmitt, vol. 1, p. 207.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., III, p. 212. Cf. Idem, *De ueritate*, XII, Schmitt, vol. 1, 194: “*Iustitia igitur est rectitudo uoluntatis propter se seruare.*”

‘*potestas seruandi rectitudinem uoluntatis propter ipsam rectitudinem*’) is essentially, and what was and is merely accidental to it—namely, *potestas peccandi*.¹⁶¹ The addition of this accidental *potestas peccandi* did not lessen *libertas arbitrii* in man’s first creation (although it did mean that he was, at least potentially, less free than had he possessed *iustitia* without the power of losing it).¹⁶² Neither does the loss of *iustitia* destroy or lessen the essential *libertas arbitrii* in fallen human nature. The *potestas seruandi rectitudinem uoluntatis propter ipsam rectitudinem*, as *potentia*, is in no way affected by the fall. Since the *potestas* that is *libertas arbitrii* is not a power of choosing, but a power of preserving intact (*seruandi*), it is unable to act in man’s fallen state, not because it has been weakened, but because that which it is the power to preserve (*iustitia*) is no longer there to be preserved.¹⁶³ But while the ability (*potestas*) to preserve *iustitia* is not affected by the loss of *iustitia*, the will that has once turned away from *iustitia* is unable to regain it by its own efforts, but must receive it anew from God.¹⁶⁴ Moreover, since it is only by the a divinely given participation in God’s own *iustitia* that one can be *iustus*, the will that has deserted *iustitia* is unable to will *iuste*, and hence becomes ‘*seruus peccati*’.¹⁶⁵ Hence the need, in Anselm as much as in Augustine, for the restoration of *rectitudo uoluntatis* through the divine gift of grace, by which alone the will is enabled to will the good.

¹⁶¹ Anselm of Canterbury, *De libertate arbitrii*, II, p. 209.

¹⁶² Ibid., I, p. 208: “M. An non uides quoniam qui sic habet quod decet et quod expedit, ut hoc amittere non queat, liberior est quam ille qui sic habet hoc ipsum, ut possit perdere et ad hoc quod dedecet et non expedit ualeat adduci? D. Nulli dubium hoc esse puto.”

¹⁶³ Ibid., III, p. 212: “Etiam si absit rectitudo uoluntatis, non tamen rationalis natura minus habet quod suum est [sc. potestas seruandi rectitudinem uoluntatis propter ipsam rectitudinem].”

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., X, p. 222: “Sed cum libera uoluntas deserit rectitudinem . . . , utique post seruit peccato per impossibilitatem per se recuperandi. . . . Quippe sicut nulla uoluntas, antequam haberet recititudinem, potuit eam deo non dante capere: ita cum deserit acceptam, non potest eam nisi deo reddente recipere.”

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., XI, pp. 222-3.

As can be seen from this brief excursus, Anselm's understanding of the freedom of choice is not in disagreement with Augustine's, but is rather a more 'systematic' treatment of the matter (to use an anachronistic term) than the Bishop of Hippo had been able to give it. Anselm's treatment proceeds *sola ratione*, treating each question as it arises naturally for thought as it examines this particular question, rather than as it arose for Augustine, either in the heat of controversy (as in the works of the Pelagian controversy) or as one question amongst others (as in the *Enchiridion* and *De ciuitate dei*).

When one comes to examine Honorius's use of Anselm's definition of *libertas arbitrii* in the Conenine version of the *Ineuitabile*, it is necessary first to say that it is certainly true that he does not arrive at the definition in precisely the same manner as Anselm. There are, however, certain similarities. When the Disciple of the Conenine text introduces Honorius's definition as it had stood in the Cassandrian version (*libertas bonum uel malum eligendi*) as a tentative suggestion, the Master immediately rejects it, despite its popular appeal (*licet plerisque placeat*) on the grounds that right reason must reject it (*uereor ne perspicax ratio eam abnuat*).¹⁶⁶ As can be seen from Honorius's text, the basic problem is that the Disciple is acting as though the nature of freedom of choice can be determined by beginning with the fallen will (precisely Anselm's problem with the definition '*posse peccare et non peccare*')

*Electio namque non nisi de duabus uel pluribus rebus dicitur,
ubi optio eligendi de multis proponitur.
Angelo autem uel homini quibus solis datum est liberum arbitrium non nisi sola iustitia
proponebatur,
qua seruata eterna beatitudine frueretur.
Igitur hec diffinitio
non uidetur conueniens libero arbitrio.*¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Ineuitabile, recensio altera, infra*, ll. 110-1.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, ll. 112-18.

*Porro inter bonum et malum,
 nichil est medium.
 Si homo in aliquo medio constitutus uideretur,
 tunc recte fortassis libertas bonum uel malum eligendi ei inesse diceretur.
 Sed cum in bono tantum sit positus,
 ut puta a bono deo conditus,
 non est aliud mali electio,
 quam quędam animi in bono defectio,
 cum uidelicet iustitiam deserit,
 quam seruare debuit,
 et ad iniustitiam declinat,
 quam deuitandam non ignorat.*¹⁶⁸

The state of the fallen will is precisely what the Disciple knows it to be—a state in which the will is forced to chose among a multitude of finite, created goods—“*ubi optio eligendi de multis proponitur.*” The will is placed, as it were, ‘between’ good and good, and must choose between them. The primordial state of *iustitia*, on the other hand, must not be so conceived, because it was a pure participation of the Good: “*in bono tantum sit [homo] positus, ut puta a bono deo conditus.*” The Disciple must cleanse his mind from his experience of his fallen will and try to conceive a state that is a pure participation in the Good, and therefore in which, because “*inter bonum et malum nichil est medium,*” the only alternative to this pure participation is defection from the Good: “*non est aliud mali electio, quam quędam animi in bono defectio.*”

By addressing the problem of free choice in this order, Honorius can avoid the confusions of beginning with the will in bondage to sin, and can thus ground his argument in the clear understanding that freedom of choice (*libertas arbitrii* or *liberum arbitrium*) is a faculty that the soul always possesses,¹⁶⁹ and that the loss of original *iustitia* did not destroy free choice. This loss did, however, lead to the soul’s enslavement to sin, so that the work of grace under the present dispensation is the restoration of *iustitia* by God. Once *iustitia* has been restored by

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., ll. 133-4.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, ll. 153-4: “. . . sed quibus inest ratio, inest etiam uolendi nolendique libertas.”

God's prevenient grace, the will is free (with the assistance of subsequent grace) to preserve it by the faculty of free choice (*liberum arbitrium*) that it has never lost.¹⁷⁰

When the complexities of the doctrines involved are examined, even as briefly as has been done here, it seems difficult to sustain Professor Southern's distinction between a purely 'Augustinian' understanding of free choice, on the one hand, and a purely 'Anselmian' understanding on the other; much less can one reduce the difference between the two versions of the *Inevitabile* (as Southern did implicitly, and as Flint would do explicitly) to the difference between an 'Augustinian' and an 'Anselmian' definition of free choice. Moreover, Southern's conclusion that Honorius's revision of the *Inevitabile* was based on a shallow appropriation of Anselm's thought seems likewise to fall to the ground when one examines the argument of the Conenine text itself. Honorius's presentation of Anselm's thought is certainly simplified, but Anselm's results are there in their essentials. Honorius's reasons for adopting Anselm's understanding of free choice (not simply his definition) have been examined, and they have to do primarily with the elimination of the endless qualifications that must be introduced into a discussion of free choice that begins from the perspective of the fallen will. To say that Honorius was "simply incapable of making a philosophical choice" between two 'irreconcilable doctrines' is, first of all, fundamentally to misunderstand Anselm's essential Augustinianism, and, on the other, to ignore the fact that Honorius demonstrates his understanding of Anselm's thought in a much broader context than simply the adoption of his definition of free choice with none of its attendant consequences.

Unfortunately, however, the statement had been made, and, once made, it immediately led to further oversimplification of the presentation of the *Inevitabile* in the scholarly literature.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., ll. 174-97.

Perhaps the whole matter was most exacerbated by Southern's student, Professor Flint. Ignoring entirely both the intricacies of Baeumker's investigation and the complexity of Honorius's own works, Flint reduced the distinction between the two versions of the *Inevitable* to only the distinction between the two definitions of free choice that her teacher had discussed. In accepting this oversimplified presentation of the case, she was also forced to accept his conclusion that Honorius had had no rational reason to revise his text, but merely the extrinsic reason that he had discovered that St. Anselm had written another treatise, which, as a loyal student, he was duty bound to incorporate into a work that was diametrically opposed to Anselm's thought. As such, Flint was constrained to search out the logic of the composition of the first text and the revision of the second, not within the evolving nature of Honorius's own thought, as evidenced in his works, but rather in her own reconstruction of his life—a reconstruction that, as has been seen in the first chapter, was often built upon rather sketchy evidence, with the result that Honorius often had to be fit into whatever context could be constructed from it. Such a simplistic and extrinsic analysis of Honorius's work contributed in no small measure to Flint's overall assessment of Honorius as a 'simplistic' author, and to the perpetuation of this depiction of him among scholars who have depended upon her work. In some cases, as in the case of Garrigues examined above, this oversimplification of the facts may well have led to a misreading of Baeumker's arguments and a misunderstanding of the conclusions of his original work.

To sum up, the pioneering work of critics such as von Kelle and Endres, and that of Baeumker, the *Dogmengeschichtschreiber*, furnishes the necessary foundation of all subsequent work on the *Inevitable*. Unfortunately, an oversimplified reception and presentation of Baeumker's conclusions by later scholars has contributed not only to a great deal of confusion in

the subsequent literature, but also to a phenomenon that will be dealt with in greater depth in the first section of the next chapter—namely, the presentation of Honorius as a ‘simplistic’ theologian with no real interest in the demands of reason, but having only a desire to present simplistic, encyclopedic facts to his audience. Such neglect of the facts, as can be seen from the above evaluation of Professor Southern’s account of Honorius’s revision of the *Inevitabile*, is virtually constrained to lead both to imprecise conclusions and to rather narrow and unsympathetic presentations of Honorius as a thinker. This trend can only be corrected by a closer examination of Honorius’s texts themselves, with a view not only to identifying Honorius’s sources—although this remains of paramount importance—but more especially to seeing how he interpreted and used those sources in his own work. Only thus can Honorius’s metaphysical presuppositions and the logic of his work be more clearly discerned, and his texts understood in their integrity. The final two chapters of this investigation will therefore be dedicated precisely to making a modest contribution to this Herculean task, by undertaking a careful investigation of certain important passages of the *Inevitabile* in its two forms.

Chapter 3

Honorius's Sources and Method

The identification of Honorius's sources is a notoriously difficult task. The whole endeavor has been especially complicated by another problem faced by historians of doctrine—namely, where precisely Honorius ought to be placed within the twelfth-century theological landscape.

Honorius does not fit neatly into any of the various schemata that have been formulated to describe it; he cannot easily be located either within any of the various 'schools' associated with the early scholastic enterprise (*Frühscholastik*) or in the company of its opponents. That Honorius shared areas of common interest with his contemporaries from both sides of what has been characterized as the scholastic-monastic divide¹—and indeed that he was influenced directly by the works of some of them—cannot be denied. That he was personally associated with any of them, however, is a more difficult thesis to prove. It is certainly true, if one understands twelfth-century *Dogmengeschichte* primarily as the prehistory of the great thirteenth-century *summae*, that Honorius sits distinctly “*en marge du groupe scolaire*.”² But it can be said with equal truth that Honorius sits *en marge du groupe monastique*, whether one

¹ On the distinction between 'monastic' and 'scholastic' theologies as a corrective to earlier historical schemata *uide* Jean Leclercq, O.S.B., *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, trans. Catherine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961), pp. 11-17; on the supposedly peculiar characteristics of 'monastic theology' *uide etiam* idem, *ibid.*, pp. 189-231; for a very succinct statement of the scholastic-monastic schema *uide* idem, "The Renewal of Theology," in Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable with Carol D. Lanham, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 70-1: "How should we formulate the diversity of theologies in the twelfth century? A convenient procedure, during the last thirty years, has been to distinguish between monastic theology and scholastic theology. Generally speaking, these two types of theology appeared linked to two types of milieu: the one was elaborated within and for the cloistered life in all its forms; the other was born and developed in the urban schools." For an insightful critique of the limitations of this schema and its presuppositions, *uide* Marcia Colish, "The Sentence Collection and the Education of Professional Theologians in the Twelfth-Century," *Studies in Medieval Culture* 39 (1997): 1-26.

² Joseph de Ghellinck, S.J., *L'Essor de la Littérature Latine au XIIIe Siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1946), vol. 1, p. 109.

compares him with Anselm of Canterbury, the great Cistercians, or his illustrious German *confrères*, Rupert of Deutz and Gerhoh of Reichersberg.³

Honorius's written *corpus* is *sui generis*. It certainly treats many of the same questions as other contemporary works, and is indeed nourished by some of them. Yet neither the tracing of doctrinal affinities between Honorius and his contemporaries nor the comparison of his work with theirs sheds much light on our understanding of his achievement.⁴ Unfortunately, however, Honorius's work has all too often been interpreted in precisely this manner. Detailed studies of his works have been few and generalizations based upon an examination of one or two of his works in relation to one or other contemporary author or 'school' abound. (The 'vulgarization' of Anselm's thought in the *Elucidarium*, to cite but one example, has become a commonplace in Honorius studies.)⁵ Judged according to the standards of methods foreign to his own, Honorius has time and again been dismissed as a mere encyclopedist, who simply presents "*un pâle résumé*"⁶ of the work of his supposedly more sophisticated contemporaries. If Honorius has been conceded any success at all it has generally been found in the indisputable popularity of his

³ Leclercq ("The Renewal of Theology," p. 69) does not even mention Honorius as falling anywhere along the 'spectrum' of 'monastic theology.'

⁴ Cf. Crouse, "Disciple of Anselm?" 138-9.

⁵ Flint, "The 'Elucidarius' and Reform," 189: "The cost in terms of the original works Honorius so ruthlessly exploited for his conclusions, and especially in terms of the works of St. Anselm, was great"; eadem, "Henricus of Augsburg and Honorius Augustodunensis: Are they the Same Person?" *Revue Bénédictine* 92 (1982): 148-58, 150-1: "The will to reduce the most complex to the most simple, to substitute the answers of learning for its process, and so supposedly render that process unnecessary by the deft finding of short-cuts, is now so grimly familiar a feature of Honorius's writings that it perhaps needs no further stress." Kurt Flasch (*Das philosophische Denken im Mittelalter: Von Augustin zu Machiavelli* [Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1986]) characterized the *Elucidarium* as a 'Banalisierung' of Anselm's thought (p. 203). In the second edition (2000) he conceded, in light of the criticisms of Loris Sturlese ("Zwischen Anselm Eriugena," pp. 927-51), that Honorius's other works possess a different character (*Bild*) (ibid., p. 228, n. 4): "Ich möchte, von Loris Sturlese freundschaftlich belert, hervorheben, daß ich von Honorius hier nur als von dem Autor des *Elucidarium* spreche. Ein anderes Bild ergäbe sich aus anderen Schriften."

⁶ Odon Lottin, *Psychologie et morale aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, vol. 5, *Problèmes d'histoire littéraire* (Louvain: Abbaye du Mont César, 1959), p. 446. Lottin is referring specifically to Honorius's presentation of Anselm's thought.

writings right across Europe in his own day. As Professor Flint put the matter, Honorius's great achievement lay in the fact that he "had assessed the needs of his audience and provided for them with enviable efficiency—perhaps even charm."⁷

This chapter will seek to demonstrate that Honorius's method, and hence his relation to his sources, is far more subtle and more genuinely synthetic than has generally been assumed. This can be seen, however, only if Honorius's writings are judged according to the standard of his own method, and this, in turn, presupposes that his method has actually been understood and understood on its own terms. This has seldom been the case, as Honorius has almost always been understood more according to his supposed 'context' than according to what his works have to say for themselves. The first item of business, therefore, will be to examine the work of the historians of doctrine, with a view to understanding how the heuristic schemata by which they traced the history of 'theological movements' in the long twelfth century—especially their concentration on the influence of various 'schools'—have led to a real neglect of detailed investigations of Honorius's use of earlier sources and of his own peculiar method. Following this historiographical investigation, the remainder of the chapter will begin to correct this tendency by trying to understand Honorius's use of his sources through an examination of his writings on their own terms. First, some observations will be made about Honorius's use of sources generally, to give the reader a preliminary sense of the complexity involved in interpreting any of Honorius's works from the standpoint of his relation to his sources. Second, a careful philological examination will be made of several sections of the *Inevitable*, in both its recensions, to illustrate how Honorius demonstrates his dependence upon his authorities. Next,

⁷ Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, p. 1. Cf. de Ghellinck, *L'Essor*, vol. 1, p. 115: "Il sait sélectionner les matières qui éveillent la curiosité de ses contemporains, et choisir pour ses œuvres des titres attirants qui les font lire."

one section of the Conenine version of the *Ineuitabile* will be carefully analyzed, to demonstrate how Honorius employs both authority and dialectic in his theological method. Finally, some general conclusions will be drawn as to how such investigations as these should both change our assumptions about Honorius and guide future research into his works.

3.1 Honorius's Place in the History of Early Scholasticism

From the late nineteenth century onward, Honorius has been associated by some historians of doctrine with certain of his German contemporaries—most notably, with Rupert of Deutz⁸ and Gerhoh of Reichersberg.⁹ While there are certainly areas of related interest amongst these authors, and even possible channels of influence between them, it is often very difficult to know with any certainty in which direction those channels actually flowed, and whether the similarities should be accounted for by the assumption that the authors knew one another, or simply by the fact that they shared common sources, a common culture, and common concerns. In any case, no evidence has been brought forward that links the *Ineuitabile* to these authors or their *milieu*, so a thorough examination of these matters properly falls outside the parameters of the present investigation.

Of much more importance to the study of the *Ineuitabile* is Honorius's supposed association with the 'school' of Anselm of Canterbury, to which reference has been made in earlier chapters. In 1911 Martin Grabmann, likely influenced by Endres's monograph, presented

⁸ Southern (*Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 213; repeated in *Portrait in a Landscape*, p. 378) goes so far as to refer to Rupert as Honorius's "new master"—a significant claim when one recalls that the context is a discussion of Honorius's supposed time of residence as a student of Anselm in Canterbury.

⁹ *Vide inter alia* Josef Bach, *Die Dogmengeschichte des Mittelalters von christologische Standpunkte, oder, Die mittelalterliche Christologie vom achten bis sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, vol. 2 (Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1875), pp. 191-4; Rudolph Rochell, "Honorius Augustodunensis," 704-40, esp. 730 et sq.; Endres, *Honorius Augustodunensis*; Wolfgang Beinert, *Die Kirche-Gottes Heil in der Welt. Die Lehre von der Kirche nach den Schriften des Rupert von Deutz, Honorius Augustodunensis und Gerhoh von Reichersberg, ein Beitrag zur Ekklesiologie des 12 Jahrhunderts*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters. Texte und Untersuchungen, n.s., vol. 13 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1973); Dietrich, "Eruditio Sacra"; Giulio d'Onofrio, *History of Theology*, vol. 2, *The Middle Ages*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville: Liturgical, 2008), pp. 216-31, esp. 216-21.

Honorius as part of a group of theologians, which included Bruno of Segni and Odo of Cambrai, who had followed “*auf den Bahnen*” and had written “*im Geiste*” of Anselm.¹⁰ While not going so far as identifying Honorius as Anselm’s ‘student’ or ‘disciple’, Grabmann described his work as falling “[i]n die Einwirkungssphäre des großen Anselm.”¹¹ His interest in Honorius, however, was limited to the two works that he believed fell within the proper domain of the historian of doctrine—the *Clavis physicae* and the *Elucidarium*. Grabmann made very little of the *Clavis*, simply explaining Honorius’s most obvious purpose in the work—to present the *Periphyseon* in a ‘correct’ manner so that his contemporaries might understand it (“*De diuisione [sic] naturae für das Verständnis der Zeitgenossen zurechtzurichten*”).¹² Of much greater consequence for the history of doctrine was the *Elucidarium*, which Grabmann described as “*eine in Dialogform gekleidete Gesamtdarstellung der Theologie*”¹³ (almost certainly Grabmann’s paraphrase of the subtitle under which the work was published in Migne’s patrology: *Dialogus de summa totius christianae theologiae*).¹⁴ Its significance lay in a twofold achievement: the systematic presentation of its contents and its use of dialectic. The influence of Anselm, Grabmann opined, may well have underlain the latter aspect of the work.¹⁵

Only three years later, in the first edition of his *Le mouvement théologique du XIIIe siècle*, Joseph de Ghellinck grouped Honorius together with a several of his contemporaries who had either cited Anselm as an authority (Abelard and John of Cornwall) or who “*pillent quelques-*

¹⁰ Grabmann, *Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*,” p. 128. Grabmann cites Endres at p. 130, note 2.

¹¹ Grabmann, *ibid.*, p. 130.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 130.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ PL 172, cols. 1109-10.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-1: “Als dialektische Leistung repräsentiert sich uns das „*Elucidarium*” durch die häufig verwendete syllogistische Form, welche aus Anselm gleich manchen inhaltlichen Gesichtspunkten entnommen sein dürfte.”

unes de ses pages” (Honorius and Herman of Tournai).¹⁶ In contrast to Grabmann, however, De Ghellinck boldly asserted that Anselmian ideas in Honorius’s writings were due “*sans doute à d’anciennes relations avec Cantorbéry.*”¹⁷ Moreover, downplaying both of the aspects of the *Elucidarium* that had so impressed Grabmann—its success as a systematic presentation of theology¹⁸ and its dialectical achievement¹⁹—de Ghellinck characterized the work as “*œuvre de vulgarisation . . . , qui popularise l’enseignement des écoles*” and “*œuvre de fusion, ou mieux de compilation fort mélangée.*”²⁰ In a later work he would extend this judgment to Honorius’s entire *corpus*, characterizing him as a ‘liason-officer’ (*agent de liaison*) between the “teaching of the schools” and the Church of his day.²¹ Apart from his association of Honorius with Canterbury, however, de Ghellinck did not attempt to locate him in the classroom of any specific master. Even as regards the influence of the writings of his contemporaries, it is primarily by Anselm’s ‘school’ that de Ghellinck seems to have considered Honorius to have been “nourished.”²²

¹⁶ De Ghellinck, *Le mouvement*, p. 61. In the second edition of *Le mouvement*, de Ghellinck specified that the pages were from *Cur deus homo* and added Odo of Cambrai to his list of ‘plunderers’ (p. 83).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 81. In *L’Essor* (vol. 1, p. 114) De Ghellinck would refer to “. . . un séjour ou un passage probable à Cantorbéry.”

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

¹⁹ Grabmann (*ibid.*, p. 130) had characterized the *Elucidarium* as a whole as a “dialectical achievement” (*dialektische Leistung*); De Ghellinck (*ibid.*, p. 81) claimed that in it Honorius had used dialectical syllogisms only “de-ci de-là.”

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 81. De Ghellinck’s severe judgment as to the limitations of the *Elucidarium* seems to have remained throughout his life. His description of the work in the second edition of *Le mouvement* (pp. 119-20) is virtually unchanged from that found in the first.

²¹ *Idem*, *L’Essor*, p. 113.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 115: “Alimentée par la science des écoles, qu’il se plaît à populariser . . . ” In the 2d ed. of *Le Mouvement*, de Ghellinck remarks that Honorius “se donne une mission de vulgarisateur *qui implique sa dépendance vis-à-vis des maîtres scolaires*” (emphasis added), again without specifying to which masters he refers. De Ghellinck claimed to have recognized a “*certaine infiltration abélardienne*” in Honorius’s teachings on grace, which he does not specify, and which I have been so far unable to identify.

While de Ghellinck's portrayal of Honorius as '*vulgarisateur*' is certainly consistent across his writings, his treatments of Honorius's methodology, and specifically of his appreciation and use of dialectic, are at best inconsistent, perhaps even self-contradictory. In the same work in which he noted Honorius's sporadic use of dialectic in the *Elucidarium*, for example, he also remarked that Honorius had attacked the discipline in the *Expositio in Cantica canticorum* in terms that closely resemble those of a Gerhoh or Rupert.²³ De Ghellinck clearly considered this an inconsistency in Honorius's thought, which is almost certainly why he qualified his report of Honorius's condemnation of dialectic with the phrase "*au moins en théorie.*"²⁴

Yet de Ghellinck's treatment of Honorius's relation to dialectic was to become still more complex. By the time he wrote his treatise *L'Essor de la Littérature Latine au XIIe Siècle*, he had come to view Honorius as an extreme rationalist:

*Esprit audacieux . . . , assoiffé de savoir et de dialectique, comme le montre son De animae exilio et patria, préférant la méthode dialectique à la méthode d'autorité, confiant à l'extrême dans la raison raisonante, il a des hardiesses étonnantes, et même inquiétantes s'il fallait prendre ses expressions au pied de la lettre, car elles dépassent parfois celles d'Abélard.*²⁵

There are, of course, many other texts to which de Ghellinck might have referred, apart from the *De animae exilio et patria*, in order to illustrate both Honorius's faith in dialectic and his effective use of it. The most notable of these are, perhaps, the *Liber XII quaestionum*²⁶ and the

²³ The passages to which de Ghellinck refers are *Expositio in Cantica canticorum*, I, 1-2 ("Vinum autem quod inflat bibentes et inebriat, est saecularis sapientia, quae se sumentes dementat et inflat ut dialectica") (PL 172, col. 361D) and IV, 10-15 ("Vinum quod inebriat et dementat est saecularis philosophia, quae mentes hominum inflat et in iactantiam eleuat") (col. 422B-C).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

²⁵ De Ghellinck, *L'Essor*, vol. 1, pp. 114-5.

²⁶ PL 172, cols. 1177-1186.

Libellus VIII quaestionum,²⁷ in the latter of which, following Eriugena, Honorius makes the unambiguous statement: “*Nihil est aliud auctoritas, quam per rationem probata ueritas: et quod auctoritas docet credendum, hoc ratio probat tenendum.*”²⁸ These two *opuscula*, along with a series of mostly unpublished *quaestiones* almost certainly belonging to Honorius,²⁹ are indeed replete with syllogisms, and show a much more developed use of dialectic than can be found in most of his other works.

Strangely, however, de Ghellinck made reference neither to Honorius’s love of dialectic, nor to any of these works, in his extensive 1948 revision of *Le Mouvement Théologique*, but simply reiterated (with slight additions) his earlier statements about the *Elucidarium* and the *Expositio in Cantica*. The inconsistencies in de Ghellinck’s presentation will be dealt with in the conclusions to this chapter. In order not to anticipate those conclusions at this point, it is enough to say here simply that de Ghellinck’s several treatments of Honorius illustrate very clearly the propensity, mentioned above, of historians of doctrine to make sweeping statements about Honorius based on an examination of a very few of his works. What is strange about de Ghellinck’s investigations is that he drew various conclusions about Honorius’s methodology from across his *corpus*, yet never attempted to understand the ‘entire Honorius’, as one might

²⁷ PL 172, cols. 1185-1192.

²⁸ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Libellus VIII quaestionum*, 1, col. 1185A. Cf. Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, 1, 513BC, ed. Edouard Jeuneau, CCCM 161 (Turnhout: Brepols 1996), p. 98: “Nil enim alius mihi uidetur esse uera auctoritas, nisi rationis uirtute reperta ueritas.” Vide Robert Darwin Crouse, “Honorius Augustodunensis: The Arts as *Via ad Patriam*,” in *Arts Libéraux et Philosophie au Moyen Âge, Actes du Quatrième Congrès International de Philoshophie Médiévale, Université de Montréal, Canada 27 août – 2 septembre 1967*, (Montréal – Paris: Institut d’Études Médiévales – Vrin, 1969), p. 534, n. 15.

²⁹ Endres published three of these *quaestiones* from MS Bodley, Lyell 58 (formerly MS Melk, Stiftsbibliothek 850) (*Honorius Augustodunensis*, pp. 150-54). I have examined three others in the same manuscript: ‘*Vtrum deus sit in loco qui predicatur ubique esset,*’ ‘*Vtrum deus ubique totus sit,*’ and ‘*Vtrum anima in loco sit*’ (fols. 205v-206v).

say, but rather drew three seemingly incompatible pictures of the man and his work, which were held side by side with no attempt at a reconciliation that might have provided more nuance.

Further researches into Honorius's place in the history of twelfth-century theology were carried out by Franz Bliemetzrieder in the first of a series of articles comparing products of the School of Laon with works of certain contemporaries of Master Anselm.³⁰ As has been mentioned above, Bliemetzrieder considered Honorius to have been the head of the cathedral school of Autun at the same time as Anselm of Laon was “*au sommet de son activité*.”³¹ While Bliemetzrieder's investigations included the *Inevitabile* in both its versions, the *Liber XII quaestionum*, and the *Libellus VIII quaestionum*, it was the *Elucidarium* that held the most central place. Bliemetzrieder considered the subtitle under which the *Elucidarium* had been published—*seu Dialogus de summa totius theologiae*—to be of supreme importance in understanding the nature of the work. The *Elucidarium* was in the form of a dialogue, which placed it firmly in the genre used to such good effect by Plato and Anselm of Canterbury.³² Perhaps more interesting, however, was Honorius's designation of it as a *summa*—i.e. “*un résumé de tout le contenu*”³³—*totius theologiae*. In this regard Honorius seemed to have had no contemporary model, for neither Anselm of Canterbury nor the author of the *Senteniae diuinae paginae* had attempted such an “*exposé succinct*” of the whole field of theological discourse.

Since his investigation was not of Honorius for his own sake, however, but rather a comparative

³⁰ Bliemetzrieder, “Honorius d’Autun,” pp. 275-91; idem, “L’oeuvre d’Anselme de Laon et la littérature théologique contemporaine, II: Hugues de Rouen.” *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 6 (1934): 261-83; 7 (1935): 28-52.

³¹ Bliemetzrieder, “Honorius d’Autun,” p. 276.

³² Strangely, Bliemetzrieder does not mention Eriugena as a possible role model in this regard; he does mention Honorius's interest in the *Periphyseon* further on in his article (pp. 288-9).

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 276-7. From the prologues of the *Summa totius* and the *Sacramentarium* Bliemetzrieder concluded that Honorius always used the term ‘*summa*’ as a synonym for ‘*compendium*’ (*uide* *ibid.*, p. 276, note 6).

study meant to shed light upon the sentence collections of Laon, Bliemetzrieder's one conclusion from this discussion of the nature of the *Elucidarium* was simply that it must have appeared after the composition of the *Sententiae diuinae paginae*—presumably on the assumption that the author would himself have attempted a *summa* had he had the example of the *Elucidarium* before him.³⁴

The first detailed examination of the sources of one of Honorius's works was undertaken by Yves Lefèvre's for his 1954 edition of the *Elucidarium*.³⁵ Sixty pages of Lefèvre's introduction to his edition are given over to a detailed description of each section of the work in turn, with extensive notes detailing more-or-less proximate sources of Honorius's doctrines. The extent of Honorius's sources, as uncovered by Lefèvre, was vast, and subsequent attempts to place him within his broader context have been unable to ignore them. Nevertheless, even some of those who have been the most assiduous investigators of Honorius's sources have still presented him as the consummate popularizer that de Ghellinck had described.

Perhaps the most notable of these in the last quarter of the twentieth century was the editor of Honorius's *Imago mundi*, Valerie Flint. In an early study of the *Elucidarium* and its context, while admitting that it is “a remarkable work,” she none the less characterized it as being, in the final instance, “a curious compound of crude theological statement and sophisticated construction.”³⁶ Underscoring the fact, with Bliemetzrieder, that Honorius had

³⁴ Ibid., p. 277: “. . . on peut se demander si la *Summa totius theologiae* d'Honorius était déjà publié, quand parurent les *Sent. diu. pag.*, qui proviennent de l'école de Laon? On pourrait croire alors que celles-ci se serait désignées également un peu comme une *Summa totius theologiae* et comme ce n'est pas le cas, on en conclura que les *Sent. diu. pag.* ont précédé l'œuvre d'Honorius.

³⁵ For a full citation for this volume, *vide supra*, chapter 2, note 79. His treatment of the sources of the *Elucidarium* is found between pp. 103 and 190.

³⁶ Flint, “The ‘Elucidarius’ and Reform,” p. 179.

“called [the *Elucidarium*] a ‘summa totius theologiae,’”³⁷ Flint lauded its systematic completeness, conceding that “the excellence of the work’s construction gave it a quality which went beyond the common run.”³⁸ Yet despite both the systematic complexity of the work’s construction and its author’s evident erudition, she thought, the theological content and methodology were oversimplified and rather poor.

We see [in Honorius] a man who displays the greatest mental acumen in the understanding and collecting of his material, at the same time firmly repressing any encouragement this material may have offered to its readers to think. . . . This deliberate refusal on the part of Honorius to allow his powers to be extended to the expounding of the arguments implicit in so many of his sources is perhaps the most important feature of the *Elucidarius*.³⁹

The chief illustration both of Honorius’s oversimplification of his subject matter and the repression of thought in his readers, Flint saw in his use of the works of Anselm of Canterbury, whom, following her mentor, R.W. Southern, she supposed to have been his teacher.⁴⁰ Unlike Anselm, Honorius “was not interested in reflection, not even in the reflective dialogue. He wholly eschewed subtleties.”⁴¹ By this, Flint meant that Honorius did not follow the chains of necessary reasons by which Anselm reached his conclusions *sola ratione*. Rather, she contended, he cited the conclusions of these arguments as answers to the Disciple’s questions, without leading the Disciple through the reasonings by which they were originally reached.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 179.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 178.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 183.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 181: “[Honorius] seems on occasion to report St. Anselm’s spoken word, and he certainly used a very early, and possibly spoken, version of St. Anselm’s sermon *De beatitudine*. . . . One suspects then either that his memory is at work, or that he is repeating a lesson given directly by St. Anselm.” On the question of the *De beatitudine*, uide Crouse, “Disciple of Anselm?” p. 135.

⁴¹ Flint, “The ‘Elucidarius’ and Reform,” p. 182.

Flint considered this combination of complex and subtle systematization with simplified (even simplistic) content “a paradox” that was difficult to explain solely in terms of the text itself.⁴² She was therefore compelled to search out the reason for the peculiar composition of the work in what she supposed to have been its context—the period of monastic reform in England following the Norman Conquest. The *Elucidarium* was intended to provide “theological materials abstruse enough in their roots to satisfy persistent questioners yet simple enough in their exposition for the least learned to understand.”⁴³ The fact of the work’s simplicity assured its popularity among its readers;⁴⁴ yet to have conceded Honorius success in achieving popularity may have been to damn him with faint praise, as Flint’s final rhetorical question seems to indicate: “One may begin to wonder whether the price the movement for ecclesiastical reform levied upon the intellectual achievement of some Benedictine abbeys at the beginning of the twelfth century was not perhaps a little too high.”⁴⁵

By 1977 Flint had extended her conclusions about the *Elucidarium* to Honorius’s entire *corpus*:

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.⁴⁶

⁴² Ibid., 182.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 189.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Valerie Irene Jane Flint, “The Place and Purpose of the works of Honorius Augustodunensis,” *Revue Bénédictine* 87 (1977): 97-127, 109. Perhaps Flint’s strongest statement in this regard is found in “Heinricus of Augsburg and Honorius Augustodunensis,” pp. 150-1: “The will to reduce the most complex to the most simple, to substitute the answers of learning for its process, and so supposedly render that process unnecessary by the deft finding of short-cuts, is now so grimly familiar a feature of Honorius’s writings that it perhaps needs no further stress.”

Again, the reason for this mode of composition is explained as being entirely contextual, and therefore extrinsic to the writings themselves, although Honorius's context was extended beyond what Flint considered the locus of his early career—the world of monastic reform in Anselm's England—to include his later context—namely, the defense of the place of traditional Benedictine monasticism in the reforming Church of Bavaria.⁴⁷ Both the form and content of Honorius's entire *corpus*, Flint contended, can be explained exclusively in terms of his concern for maintaining the status of the monastic priesthood in the post-Gregorian Church.⁴⁸

Flint's characterization of Honorius's works has subsequently been very widely accepted. Marcia Colish, for example, in a recent article defending the importance of sentence collections in the development of twelfth-century scholastic methodology, follows her explicitly. In a discussion of the *Elucidarium* (which she contrasts unfavorably with the sentence collections that she is defending) Colish states that in it Honorius has constructed a "remarkably cogent and well thought-out schema," but that the content is presented in an "utterly simplistic" manner.⁴⁹ Colish moves one step beyond Flint, however, when she states that Honorius "was not out to alert his readers to the controversies of the day. Nor did he seek to apprise them of the fact that the authorities sometimes disagree or give them any advice about what to do about such disagreements."⁵⁰ In this Colish is clearly anticipating her argument somewhat by contrasting in advance Honorius's methodology in the *Elucidarium* with the manner in which the writers in

⁴⁷ Flint, "The Place and Purpose," pp. 98-105.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 105-11, esp. 111: "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."

⁴⁹ Colish, "The Sentence Collection and the Education of Theologians," p. 5.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

whom she is most interested deal with the problem of marshalling authorities and dealing with contradictions—a phenomenon with which she deals at some length later on in her article.⁵¹

Such treatments of Honorius—usually based upon a seemingly cursory reading of a very few texts (more often than not primarily or exclusively the *Elucidarium*), and very often assuming from the outset that Honorius is a mere popularizer of the theology of Anselm of Canterbury—could be multiplied almost without number.⁵² But are these characterizations of Honorius and his writings in fact true to the evidence? Perhaps Honorius’s methodology is subtler than many of his twentieth-century interpreters have recognized. The following section of this chapter will turn first to a general consideration of Honorius’s sources and the means of their identification. Next a somewhat detailed examination of several sections of the *Inevitable* will both show something of the complexity of this use of sources and that Honorius’s theological methodology is, in fact, much subtler and less simplistic than has generally been recognized.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 12 et sq.

⁵² Two further examples will, perhaps, suffice. In his magisterial discussion of human freedom and free choice (*Psychologie et morale au XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, Tome I, “Problèmes de psychologie,” part I, “Libre arbitre et liberté depuis saint Anselme jusqu’ à la fin du XIIIe siècle,” 2d ed. [Louvain: Abbaye du Mont César, 1957], pp. 18-19), Dom Odon Lottin limited his discussion of Honorius to one paragraph of only one sentence with a larger accompanying note, in which his sole purpose was to explain that in his later writings Honorius had adopted Anselm’s definition of free choice as set forth first in his *De libero arbitrio* and repeated in *De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratia dei cum libero arbitrio*. In a more recent history of doctrine (*The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 3., *The Growth of Medieval Theology* [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978], p. 272), Jaroslav Pelikan referred to Honorius only four times. Once he refers to the *Inevitable* in order to illustrate the fact that “Anselm [soon] joined the list of authorities on the question [of predestination]” and that “[within] a generation or so, an essay on predestination [viz. the *Inevitable*] could observe that ‘outstanding theologians have composed many treatises on this subject’ and then, without mentioning him (or any other of these ‘outstanding theologians’) by name, quotes Anselm’s definition of ‘free choice.’” Pelikan cited Honorius only three more times: the *Inevitable* twice more, simply to indicate its dependence upon Anselm’s *De concordia*, and the *Elucidarium* once, to mention in passing that Honorius had discussed the question of individual guardian angels.

3.2 Honorius and his Sources⁵³

As editors of his works have discovered, Honorius's use of sources is an extremely complex affair. Of course, this should not surprise us. After all, Honorius himself tells us that the 'unyielding columns' (*firmis columnis*) upon which he based the *Elucidarium* are the prophets, the apostles, 'expositors' (i.e. the Fathers, the expositors of the prophets and apostles), and the '*magistri*',⁵⁴ and there is no reason to think that his later works would be any less comprehensive in their use of *auctoritates*. The problem of identifying these sources, however, is by no means straightforward. Honorius does not, for example, provide his reader with such helpful as clues a "*quod Augustinus affirmat*" or an "*Episcopus cantorbiensis in libro suo ita diffinit*," such as are sometimes supplied by the anonymous compiler of the *Sententiae diuinae paginae*.⁵⁵ Even such promising phrases as "*ut quidam aiunt*," "*putant enim quidam*," or "*solent quidam dicere*" tend to refer to problematic positions that have been generally held, both historically and in Honorius's own day, rather than to the *sententiae* of specific contemporary *magistri*.⁵⁶ In fact, Honorius does not generally identify his sources at all, apart from Scripture, and even then only when he is citing a specific *pericope*, as opposed to merely alluding to a text.

⁵³ A earlier and much abbreviated version of some of the content of this section will appear in Karla Pollmann and Willemien Otten, eds., *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine (OGHRA)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

⁵⁴ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarium*, Prologus, p. 358: "Fundamentum igitur opusculi supra petram Christum iaciatur et tota machina quatuor firmis columnis fulciatur: primam columnam erigat prophetica auctoritas; secundam stabiliat apostolica dignitas; tertiam roborat expositorum sagacitas; quartum figat magistrorum sollers subtilitas."

⁵⁵ Cf. *Sententiae diuinae paginae*, in Franz Placidus Bliemetzrieder, ed., *Anselms von Laon systematische Sentenzen*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, Texte und Untersuchungen 18 (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1919), pp. 12 and 28 respectively.

⁵⁶ The references are to Honorius Augustodunensis, *Ineuitabile, recensio altera, infra*, lines 16, 53, 784 respectively. On a related point cf. Bliemetzrieder, "Honorius d'Autun," p. 287: "Sans aucun doute, les écoles théologiques du XIe siècle, leurs *scholastici* ou *magistri*, ont eu leur doctrine propre. Nous en trouvons la preuve dans les *Sent. diu. pag.*, qui introduisent une discussion par la phrase: *solet quaeri . . . , solet dici . . . , c'est-à-dire que tel ou tel problème, tel ou tel point de doctrine était à l'ordre du jour dans les écoles.*"

He tends rather to paraphrase the teachings of his sources, weaving them into the argument of his own work.

This raises the question: How are Honorius's sources to be identified at all? Certain scholars have set much store by marginalia transmitted in certain manuscripts of Honorius's works, which identify some, though by no means all, of the authorities underlying the works they surround. Professor Southern, for example, criticized Lefèvre's edition of the *Elucidarium* in large measure because it did "not mention the authorities quoted in the margin of many manuscripts, which certainly go back to [Honorius]."⁵⁷ Professor Flint, explicitly building upon the work of her teacher,⁵⁸ closely examined the marginalia of book I of the *Elucidarium* in the surviving British manuscripts, correlating many of them with the sources to which she believed they referred (many of which had already been identified by Lefèvre).⁵⁹ Perhaps Flint's most important claim was the amount of influence of Anselm of Canterbury indicated in these marginalia. Anselm is indicated as a source, she argued, in two ways. The first is the proper name 'Anselmus', the second the anonymous title 'Magister'. The latter designation, she would later argue, was likely intended to "place a *magister* from a community of religious among those of secular *magistri*."⁶⁰

Of the twenty references to 'Magister' that Flint discovered, however, she was unable to identify any source in the works of Anselm for ten, while another two possible sources (both

⁵⁷ Southern, *St Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 210, n. 1. Southern regarded the marginalia in the *Elucidarium* as genuinely Honorian: "Several of the manuscripts [of the *Elucidarium*] have the authorities named in the margin, evidently from the hand of the author himself" (ibid., p. 211).

⁵⁸ Valerie Irene Jane Flint, "The 'Elucidarius' of Honorius Augustodunensis and Reform in Late eleventh Century England," *Revue Bénédictine* 85 (1975): 178-89, 178, n. 3.

⁵⁹ Eadem, "The Sources of the 'Elucidarius' of Honorius Augustodunensis," *Revue Bénédictine* 85 (1975): 190-8, 190-6. Cf. Lefèvre, *L'Elucidarium*, pp. 104-40.

⁶⁰ Eadem, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, pp. 130 [36]-131 [37].

from the *Proslogion*) she marked as questionable (“?”). The designation ‘Anselmus’ is perhaps even more interesting. Of twenty-nine occurrences of the name, Flint could identify only twelve *loci* in Anselm’s surviving works. One is particularly interesting—the source of *Elucidarium* I, 64, a discussion of the question ‘Whence did Adam receive his name?’ (*Vnde [Adam] nomen accepit?*). Honorius’s Master answers “. . . *accepit nomen ex quatuor climatibus, quae graece dicuntur anathole, disis, arctos, mesembria, quia genus suum quatuor partes mundi impleturum.*”⁶¹ Flint claimed that there is “clear evidence that Anselm furnished the material for this chapter”—namely, a saying that survives now only “in a single manuscript of [Anselm’s] *Dicta.*”⁶² She therefore concluded that Honorius “may here . . . report [Anselm’s] spoken word.”⁶³ In point of fact, the evidence of Anselmian influence on this passage is far from clear and might be best described as slight. The marginal identification ‘Anselmus’ is found at this point in the text in only three of the eleven manuscripts that Flint examined,⁶⁴ in two of which the name ‘Augustinus’ also occurs at the same point.⁶⁵ Three of Flint’s other manuscripts identify only ‘Ausgustinus’ as the source for this section,⁶⁶ while the remaining five contain no marginal reference whatsoever at this point in the text. Lefèvre had identified the source in his

⁶¹ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarium*, I, 64, p. 372.

⁶² Flint, “The Sources,” pp. 192-3. The section of the *Dicta* to which Flint refers is found in Richard William Southern and Francis Salesius Schmitt, eds., *Memorials of St Anselm*, Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 318.

⁶³ Flint, *ibid.*, pp. 192-3.

⁶⁴ MSS British Museum, Royal 11 A VII; Oxford, Bodley, Fairfax 26 (3906); and Oxford, Bodley, Laud Misc. 237. *Vide* Flint, *ibid.*, p. 192.

⁶⁵ Namely, in MSS Oxford, Bodley, Fairfax 26 (3906) and Oxford, Bodley, Laud Misc. 237. *Vide* Flint, *ibid.*, p. 193.

⁶⁶ MSS Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 308; British Museum, Royal 5.E.VI; Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 439.

edition as Augustine's *In Ioannis Euangelium Tractatus*, IX, 14,⁶⁷ which may perhaps indicate the existence of the marginal identification of Augustine in at least some of his manuscripts.⁶⁸ Of the three manuscripts reported by Flint that identify 'Anselmus' as the source of this section, I have been able to examine only one: Bodley, Laud Misc. 237, which originated from the scriptorium of Lambach. It is first important to note that, as Flint herself indicates, the marginal identification 'Augustinus' is also made at this point in the text in this manuscript.⁶⁹ (In fact, it would appear from Flint's notes that only one of the British manuscripts identifies the source underlying this passage solely as 'Anselmus'—viz. MS British Museum, Royal 11 A VII.) Perhaps more importantly, however, the marginalia of this particular codex are extremely idiosyncratic. For example, in the margin of the *Ineuitabile*, which immediately follows the *Elucidarium* in the codex, and which is the work of the same scribe, there are marginal identifications of all Scripture citations in the text. As this series of marginalia exists in no other known manuscript of the work, and as they seem to have been written in imitation of the marginalia of the preceding *Elucidarium*, it is likely that they are additions by the scribe himself. Moreover, the scribe has heavily edited many of the genuine marginal lemmata in this version of the *Ineuitabile* in peculiar ways, while extra lemmata have been added, seemingly *ad libitum*. Such occurrences clearly render all marginalia by this scribe that are not clearly attested by other traditions entirely suspect.

An examination of three important continental manuscripts of the *Elucidarium*, on the other hand, provides no evidence of Anselm's influence on this chapter whatsoever, but does

⁶⁷ PL 35, 1465. Cf. Lefèvre, *Elucidarium*, p. 116.

⁶⁸ *Vide supra*, n. 16.

⁶⁹ Flint, *ibid.*, p. 193.

furnish a unanimous attestation of the identification ‘Augustinus.’ Two of these codices emerged from Regensburg scriptoria: MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 13105 from Kloster Prüfening and MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 14348 from Kloster Sankt Emmeram, which has been described as “a veritable treasury of Honorius manuscripts.”⁷⁰ The third manuscript, an early thirteenth-century codex from the Austrian monastery of Kremsmünster, preserves the best exemplar of the Cassandrian version of the *Ineuitabile* that we possess. This bodes well for the preservation of the text of the *Elucidarium*, which has been copied by the same scribe and immediately precedes the *Ineuitabile* in the codex.

In point of fact, the etymology of Adam’s name that Flint ascribes to Anselm was a commonplace throughout the Middle Ages, and Honorius could just as easily have learned it from the pseudo Cyprian, the Venerable Bede, Rabanus Maurus (whom the editors of Anselm’s *Dicta* credit with its ‘popularization’),⁷¹ or Papias the Lombard, as from either Augustine or Anselm.⁷² Honorius’s simplification of the text and the fact that his citation is taken from its original context and grafted into the *Elucidarium* render a decision about the source of the etymology impossible on philological grounds. The evidence from the marginalia so far examined, however, seems to point to Augustine as Honorius’s source in this case, rather than

⁷⁰ Crouse, “*De neocosmo*,” pp. 7-8.

⁷¹ *Vide* Southern and Schmitt, eds., *Memorials of St Anselm*, p. 218, note to lines 14-19.

⁷² The tradition of this etymology of Adam’s name is extremely ancient. The *locus classicus* appears to have been either the Second Book of Enoch 30: 13 (trans. F.I. Anderson, in James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983], p. 152; cf. note m) or *Oracula Sybillina* III, 26 (trans. J.J. Collins, in *ibid.*, p. 362) (On the provenance of 2 Enoch and the third Sybilline Oracle, *vide* *ibid.*, pp. 94-7 and 355-6 respectively). It may well have entered the Latin tradition through the Pseudo-Cyprianic *De duobus montibus Sina et Sion*, where Augustine likely encountered it. Isidore of Seville (*De ordine creaturarum liber*, XI, 2, PL 83, col. 492B) likely received the tradition from Augustine, as did the Venerable Bede (*In Pentateuchum Commentarii*, IV, PL 91, col. 216C) and Rabanus Maurus (*De laudibus sanctae crucis*, I, xii, PL 107, col. 197C). It later appeared in the *Elementarium doctrinale rudimentum* of Papias the Lombard, published before 1045 (ed. Mediolani, 1476), p. 8. I am grateful to Professor Stephen F. Brown for pointing out to me the references to Bede and Papias.

Anselm. Only the establishment of the clear priority of the manuscripts will allow the marginalia to be authenticated in anything approaching a definitive form. In the meanwhile, Loris Sturlese's assessment of their importance is probably the most balanced. In concluding his discussion of the marginalia, he states, with characteristic scholarly reserve, that while it is clear "*daß ein Grundblock von ihnen auf den Verfasser zurückgeht,*" nevertheless, one cannot assume complete authenticity when such marginalia emerge from an atmosphere in which scribes understood the identification of sources in the texts they were transcribing "*als ein raffiniertes intellektuelles Spiel.*"⁷³

A more difficult, but ultimately more reliable, process is the philological identification of Honorius's sources—that is to say, the identification of sources on the basis of verbal correspondence. Of course, as already noted, this procedure is very often complicated by Honorius's almost invariable paraphrasing of even literal quotations from other authors in order to accommodate them to his own distinctive rhymed prose. Moreover, further problems arise from the fact that Honorius demonstrably had both direct and indirect access to earlier sources. Perhaps the most obvious example of Honorius's direct reliance on a text is the *Clavis physicae*, his paraphrase of Eriugena's *Periphyseon*.⁷⁴ Most of the *Clavis* is taken verbatim from Eriugena; in fact, Book V of the *Periphyseon* is reproduced in its entirety at the end of the *Clavis*. Recently two other of Honorius's texts have been discovered by their editors also to be

⁷³ Loris Sturlese, "Zwischen Anselm und Johannes Scottus Eriugena: der seltsame Fall des Honorius, des Mönchs von Regensburg," in B. Mojsisch and O. Pluta, eds., *Historia Philosophiae Medii Aevi. Studien zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, vol. 2, (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: B.R. Grüner, 1991), pp. 927-51, at 934.

⁷⁴ The critical edition is edited by Paolo Lucentini in *Honorius Augustodunensis: Clavis Physicae*, *Temi et Testi* 21 (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1974). For descriptions of the text and the lines along which Honorius paraphrased Eriugena in the *Clavis*, *vide* Paolo Lucentini, *Platonismo Medievale: Contributi per la Storia dell'Eriugenismo*, 2d ed. (Firenze: La Nuova Italia Editrice, 1980), pp. 70-5 and Stephen Gersh, "Honorius Augustodunensis and Eriugena: Remarks in the Method and Content of the *Clavis Physicae*," in Werner Beierwaltes, ed., *Eriugena Redivivus: Zur Wirkungsgeschichte seines Denkens im Mittelalter und im Übergang zur Neuzeit* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag, 1987), pp. 162-73.

paraphrases, although undertaken upon rather different lines from those of the *Clavis*. The first of these is a work referred to in the *De luminaribus* as *De anima et de deo, quaedam ex Augustino excerpta, sub dialogo exarata*. This dialogue—identified, authenticated, and edited by Marie-Odile Garrigues in 1977—consists of two parts.⁷⁵ The first treats questions *de anima*, the second questions *de deo*. The *De anima* paraphrases the argument of Augustine’s *De quantitate animae*, quite frequently citing sections of the work literally or almost literally (in this, as the editor rightly indicates, the *De anima* closely resembles the *Clavis*).⁷⁶ The sources of the *De deo*, on the other hand, are somewhat less clear, as Honorius does not there follow the argument of any single work of Augustine, and seldom cites his sources literally. Rather, he contents himself with presenting Augustine’s doctrine of God, primarily as set forth in the *Confessiones* and *De trinitate*, in summary fashion.⁷⁷ Moreover, even when the influence of one of Augustine’s texts on the *De deo* can be identified with certainty, the logic, structure, and style are Honorius’s own. When adapting Augustine’s ascent through nature in *Confessiones* 10.6.9, for example, Honorius bypasses human nature (Augustine’s goal in book 10) entirely. Next he moves on to address, and then to transcend, angelic nature (treated by Augustine only in *Confessions* 12.9.9 ff.) in one question and answer, and concludes his discussion by describing God as “everywhere present and entire” (*praesens et totus*), Augustine’s description of the eternal in *Confessiones* 11.11.13.⁷⁸ Furthermore, Honorius’s entire adaptation of Augustine’s

⁷⁵ Honorius Augustodunensis, *De anima et de deo, quaedam ex Augustino excerpta, sub dialogo exarata*, ed. M.-O. Garrigues, *Recherches Augustiniennes* 12 (1977) 212–78.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 230-1.

⁷⁸ Honorius Augustodunensis, *De anima et de deo*, p. 256.

text in this passage is embellished with references to the multiplicity of created natures, a common theme in his writings, and typical of his Christian humanism.

Honorius's second set of paraphrases is found in the *De neocosmo*, edited by Robert Crouse in 1970.⁷⁹ *De neocosmo* is a popular commentary on the creation narrative of Genesis 1, which, while drawing upon sources from across the patristic and Platonic traditions, both East and West, is also an important early witness to the twelfth-century interest in created Nature as revelatory of the Divine Nature. The treatise in fact consists of two major divisions, each a complete hexaemeron in its own right. The first is notable for its clear literary dependence upon the Genesis commentary of the Venerable Bede. The second claims to report to the reader Augustine's considered judgments (*sententiae*) concerning the six days of creation, not in Augustine's heavy and prolix style, but as rendered in Honorius's simplified mode of expression:

*Quid uero Beatus Augustinus sentiat de his sex diebus
quem breuissimo studiosis dicemus.
Suas autem sententias nostro stylo permutamus,
quo lectori fastidium tollamus
si enim ipsius uerba posuero nec pagina capit prolixitatem disputantis,
nec infirmus intellectus grauitatem argumentantis.*⁸⁰

In its use of sources, this second hexaemeron closely resembles the *De deo*. As the editor noted in his apparatus: "The account of Augustine's explication [of Genesis 1 in the second hexaemeron] is a very free one, with echoes of . . . the *De Gen. ad litt.*, and the *Confessions*."⁸¹

A point of the greatest interest with respect to both *De anima et de deo* and *De neocosmo*, pointed out by the editors of both texts but not yet sufficiently accounted for in more general studies of Honorius, is the omnipresent influence of Eriugena in these texts. It is the Scot's

⁷⁹ For a thorough discussion of *De neocosmo* with respect to its sources and intellectual context see Crouse, *De neocosmo*, pp. 147–57.

⁸⁰ Honorius Augustodunensis, *De neocosmo*, ed. Crouse, p. 209, ll.483-9 (PL 172, col 260A).

⁸¹ Crouse, *De neocosmo*, p. 209. Crouse added "the *De ciuitate dei*" in his own copy of his dissertation.

theological vision which provides the fundamental doctrinal orientation of both works.⁸² Father Crouse expressed the matter succinctly: “The implication seems unavoidable, that while Honorius certainly knew the texts of Augustine directly, his selection, interpretation and emphasis were shaped by his attachment to the ‘physiology’ of Eriugena.”⁸³

It is also clear, however, that not all of Honorius’s sources were known to him directly; some he encountered indirectly, through intermediate sources. His indirect knowledge of Augustine may be taken as representative. That Honorius’s doctrine and writings are ‘Augustinian’ in a broad sense is beyond dispute, and, as has been seen, he certainly had access, at least at some point in his life, to several of Augustine’s major works (at the very least *De quantitate animae*, *Confessiones*, *De Genesi ad litteram*, *De trinitate*, and *De ciuitate dei*), presumably in a complete or near-complete form. ‘Augustinian’ doctrines, however, might just as easily have been learned indirectly from any one of the many later authors whom Honorius also certainly knew, as from Augustine himself. One possible example of Honorius’s indirect access to Augustine was adduced by Professor Flint, who argued that the patristic authorities used by Honorius in his *Expositio Psalterii*, including Augustine, were drawn, at least in large measure, from Anselm of Laon’s Gloss on the Psalms and the *Commentarius in Psalmos* of the Pseudo-Haimo of Halberstadt (whom she identified as Anselm of Laon).⁸⁴ That there is a certain relationship of dependence amongst these texts seems securely established, but a final judgment concerning the actual order of that dependence must await a full critical edition of Honorius’s *Expositio*.

⁸² *Vide De anima et de deo*, p. 234 and Crouse, “A Twelfth Century Augustinian,” pp. 172-3.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

⁸⁴ Valerie Irene Jane Flint, “Some Notes on the Early Twelfth Century Commentaries on the Psalms,” *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 38 (1971): 80-88, at 82-3 and 82-6, respectively.

A clearer example of such indirect access to ‘Augustinian’ doctrine is to be found in *Elucidarium* I, 6 and 9, where Honorius presents the doctrine of the double procession of the Holy Spirit in precisely the vocabulary that Augustine employed in *De trinitate* (“*ab utroque procedit*”).⁸⁵ The fact that Honorius uses the verb ‘spirate’ (*spiratur*), however, the virtual certainty that he drew sections 7-9 from chapters 42 and 55 of Anselm’s *Monologion*,⁸⁶ and a well-attested marginal identification of ‘Anshelmus’ at section 4 in several manuscripts that probably also governs sections 3-9⁸⁷ make it almost certain that Honorius is presenting the doctrine as he found it in Anselm. The situation is complicated, however, by Honorius’s comment in *Elucidarium* I, 6 that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit can be thought of as memory, intelligence, and will. This formulation cannot derive from the *Monologion* (where Anselm refers to the Spirit, not as *uoluntas*, but as *amor*). The *locus classicus* of the doctrine, of course, is *De trinitate* 10.11.17-12.19. It is equally probable, however, that Honorius drew it from some intermediate source, or indeed from his own memory. The absence of further philological evidence renders a firm identification of the proximate source impossible.

Moreover, there are many points in Honorius’s *corpus* at which he quotes a patristic text *ad litteram*, but at second hand. One such instance—again from the *Elucidarium*—provides sufficient illustration of the phenomenon. When discussing the fall of Satan in *Elucidarium* I, 37a, the Master quotes almost verbatim a sentence from *De Genesi ad litteram* 11.23.30, identified *in margine* in codex Kremsmünster 133 as ‘Augustinus’ (Lefèvre failed to identify this *locus*). Just above, in section 36, however, in response to the Disciple’s question “How long did

⁸⁵ Cf. Augustine, *De trinitate*, 15.26.47.

⁸⁶ Vide Lefèvre, *L’Elucidarium*, p. 106, nn. 1-2.

⁸⁷ Flint cites the ‘Anshelmus’ identification as found in five manuscripts (“The sources of the ‘Elucidarius’,” p. 190), to which I am in a position to add MS Kremsmünster 133.

[Satan] remain in heaven,” the Master has just replied: “*Non plenam horam. ‘In ueritate’ enim ‘non stetit’* (Jn 8: 44), *quia mox ut creatus est cecidit.*”⁸⁸ This seems to be Honorius’s paraphrase of the rhetorical question posed by Eriugena’s Nutritor immediately before he cites this same sentence of *De Genesi ad litteram* at *Periphyseon* IV, 809D: “*Quis enim crediderit diabolum in beatitudine paradisi fuisse, qui, mox ut conditus, lapsus est, sicut dominus ait in euangelio: Ille homicida erat ab initio, et in ueritate non stetit?*” It seems quite clear that in this instance Honorius is citing Augustine through the intermediate source of the *Periphyseon*. Complicating the situation further, however, is the fact that, in paraphrasing Eriugena, Honorius may well have done so using the language of a section of Isidore of Seville’s discussion of the fall of Satan in his *Sententiae*. Compare the following from Honorius and Isidore respectively:

*‘In ueritate’ enim ‘non stetit’, quia mox ut creatus est cecidit.*⁸⁹

*Nam mox ut factus est, in superbiam erupit, et praecipitatus de caelo est. Nam iuxta ueritatis testimonium ab initio mendax fuit, et in ueritate non stetit, quia, statim ut factus est, cecidit.*⁹⁰

That Honorius very probably used both sources is made all the more likely by the appearance of Isidore’s vocabulary in *lemma 279* of the *Clauis* (in which Honorius paraphrases *Periphyseon* 811A-813C), which he entitles: “*Mox ut creati sunt ceciderunt.*”⁹¹

Such playful adaptation of various sources, as well as such evident delight in preserving layers of literary allusion and encyclopedic erudition in rather simplified expressions of theological truth, are typical of Honorius. But does the fact that the expressions are simplified make either Honorius’s methodology or the theological content of his treatises simplistic? To

⁸⁸ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarium*, I, 37a, p. 367.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Isidore of Seville, *Sententiae*, I, ix, 7, ed. Pierre Cazier, CC SL 111 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), p. 31.

⁹¹ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Clauis physicae*, 279, p. 227.

answer this question it is necessary to turn to a more detailed examination of his treatises than has generally been undertaken. The remainder of this chapter will therefore be dedicated to such an investigation of several passages of the *Ineuitabile*. The following section will demonstrate how Honorius grounds his works upon traditional authorities through a very precise use of allusion. The final section of the chapter will analyze one short section of the *Ineuitabile* in its Conenine form with a view to illustrating how Honorius combines allusion to authorities with rational demonstration in his theological method.

3.3 Honorius's Allusion to his Authorities in the *Ineuitabile*

Honorius's works abound in allusions to sources from the entire cultural tradition, both pagan and Christian, to which he was heir. Of these, Scripture is by far the most important. The following comments by Beryl Smalley could as well apply to the task of editing any one of Honorius's works as to the exercise of translating 'literary texts' to which she refers.

To make an accurate translation of a literary text in medieval Latin the student needs a concordance to the Vulgate, and even that may prove insufficient; his author may be alluding to a patristic or scholastic comment on the verse he is quoting, as clear to the author and his readers as it is unintelligible to the translator. What promised to be simple translation involves researches into the medieval Vulgate, its text and its gloss.⁹²

Something of the scriptural 'texture' of Honorius's writings can be glimpsed by following the *apparatus biblici* appended to the editions of the two versions of the *Ineuitabile* below, although these make no claim to be definitive.

An examination of just one sentence from the *Ineuitabile*—the '*Excusatio magistri*' of the text in its Cassandrian version—gives a sense of what Honorius can achieve by stirring his reader's memory. The Disciple has reported to the Master that the '*fratres*' feel that some earlier

⁹² Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3d ed. (Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame University Press, 1982), p. xxvii.

‘*disputatio*’ that he has conducted concerning free choice has rendered the entire matter insoluble. The Master replies:

Cur michi hoc crimen impingunt,
quasi ego ex proprio corde hoc confinxerim,
aut aliquid noui mundo induxerim?⁹³

The Master is emphasizing the injustice of the Disciple’s (and the brothers’) accusation by alluding to three Scriptural *pericopes* in rapid succession, passages which ground his own authority in that of the prophets, apostles, and even Christ himself. The phrase “*ex proprio corde . . . confinxerim*” recalls two passages from the Pentateuch. The first is Moses’ statement in Numbers that the deaths of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram will be proof of his own divine commission: “*et ait Moses in hoc scietis quod Dominus miserit me ut facerem uniuersa quae cernitis et non ex proprio ea corde protulerim*” (Num 16: 28). The verb ‘*confinxerim*’, on the other hand, reminds the attentive reader of the criterion, given by Moses in Deuteronomy 18, according to which a prophet’s words are to be judged:

hoc habebis signum quod in nomine Domini propheta ille praedixerit et non euenerit hoc Dominus non locutus est sed per tumorem animi sui propheta confinxit et idcirco non timebis eum (Deut 18: 22).

Honorius clearly considers the phrases ‘*ex proprio corde*’ and ‘*per tumorem animi*’ to be equivalent (or nearly equivalent) in meaning. But the reference to Deuteronomy is almost certainly meant to raise the ultimate locus of Honorius’s authority beyond that of a mere prophet of Israel, for the reference to ‘the Prophet’ whom the Lord would raise up “*de gente tua et de fratribus tuis sicut me [sc. Moyses]*” was clearly identified in the commentary tradition, not simply as the many prophets who would follow Moses up to the moment of the ‘cessation of prophecy’ in Israel, but specifically as Joshua and, even more importantly, following Acts 3: 22,

⁹³ Honorius, *Ineuitabile, recensio prima, infra* lines 21-3.

as Christ. The following statement from the Venerable Bede is representative: “*Illud autem quod dicitur: Prophetam de gente tua, sicut me, suscitabit Deus, quanquam iuxta historiam de Iosue dici potest, tamen de Christo manifesta prophetia est, qui uerus propheta de gente Israel ortus est.*”⁹⁴

Finally, the words ‘*aliquid noui*’ remind the reader of the people of Athens mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, who “*ad nihil aliud uocabant nisi aut dicere aut audire aliquid noui*” (Acts 17: 21). In denying that he has “brought forth some new thing into the world,” Honorius clearly places himself in the company not only of St. Paul, but also of St. Dionysius the Areopagite, the philosopher (and later bishop of Athens) converted by St. Paul’s speech on the Areopagus (cf. Acts 17: 34). The very next sentence—the first sentence of the *Inuectio magistri*—seems to confirm this interpretation: “*Imponant Christo, imputent prophetis et apostolis, qui hoc locuti sunt in scripturis.*”⁹⁵ What Honorius has done, very subtly, is to alert his reader that whatever will be said in the entire dialogue of the *Ineuitabile* can be traced back, ultimately, to this threefold authority. By taking the words of Moses and St Paul upon his own lips, Honorius is doing precisely what he did, in a more direct fashion in the Prologue to the *Elucidarium*—establishing the ‘unyielding columns’ upon which his words are founded.⁹⁶ In fact, he goes beyond what he did in the *Elucidarium*, by grounding the prophetic and apostolic teaching (and, by implication, the doctrines of the faithful *expositores* and *magistri*) in Christ, the very Word and Wisdom of God, the source of all truth.

⁹⁴ Bede, *Explanatio in Deuteronomium*, Capp. XVI-XVIII, PL 91, col. 387C .

⁹⁵ Honorius, *Ineuitabile, recensio prima, infra* lines 25-6.

⁹⁶ *Vide supra*, note 56.

Yet if the reader follows carefully the conclusion of this sentence and the sentence that follows, which together form the ‘*inuectio magistri*,’ a non-Scriptural source affords yet another lesson. The Master’s words are a play on the statement found in the *Disticha Catonis*, a common ‘first reader’ in medieval grammar schools, that “*legere . . . et non intelligere neclegere est.*”⁹⁷

*Imponent Christo, imputent prophetis et apostolis,
qui hoc locuti sunt in scripturis,
si tamen scripturas sacre auctoritatis legerunt,
aut legentes sensum earum intelligere potuerunt.
Si autem legere contempserunt,
aut legentes intelligere neglexerunt,
non michi inferant iniuriam,
sed suę negligentię patiantur uerecundiam.*

In responding to the Disciple and his brethren (and by inference, his reader) in the language of a schoolboy’s first Latin reader, the contents of which would have been learned by heart—and a text, moreover, that “shar[ed] with the writings of the Church Fathers the authority this age accorded to them”⁹⁸ at that—Honorius implies that they must return again to the grammarian’s classroom. In a rather high-handed way, he is producing in them a state of Socratic ignorance, telling them that they must set aside their own preconceived opinions before he can lead them in a study of the wisdom of the Scriptures—that is, in the study of words that, as he goes on to tell them in the very next sentence, are not his own, “*sed Christi . . . , electorum predestinatoris, et gratię largitoris.*”⁹⁹ They must put aside their own wisdom and become again true *discipuli* of the one *Magister* (Christ), who by his grace can teach them through Honorius’s words if they will but follow them. In some sense, therefore, the reading of the *Ineuitabile* will indeed be a spiritual exercise of *fides quaerens intellectum*—if they are to understand (*intelligere*) they must

⁹⁷ Pseudo-Cato, *The Distichs of Cato: A Famous Medieval Textbook*, ed. Wayland Johnson Chase, University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History Number 7 (Madison, WI: n.p., 1922), p. 12.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁹⁹ Honorius, *Ineuitabile, recensio prima, infra* lines 36-8.

first read (*legere*) attentively and in faith—but not in its Anselmian form. Honorius will begin with what Anselm can presuppose, but which Honorius’s readers appear to have forgotten—*auctoritas*.

One further example of Honorius’s use of allusion, this time from the *Ineuitabile* in its Conenine form, illustrates not only just how concerned he was with establishing his authorities, but also how much more complex is his relation to his sources than has hitherto been noted. As has been seen, much has been made by historians of doctrine of the indisputable fact Honorius used several works of Anselm of Canterbury—principally the *De libertate arbitrii* and the *De concordia*—in preparing the Conenine version of the *Ineuitabile*. A close examination of one sentence, however, adds depth to this picture. Following a short statement by the Maaster (lines 88-98), in which he explains that human freedom and merit are both preserved by the fact that the divine Predestination takes place “*semper in presentia dei*,” the disciple responds with a fourfold question:

*(1) quid sit liberum arbitrium, uel quomodo ei non repugnet (2) predestinatio (3) uel prescientia, uel (4) qualiter concordet gratie resera*¹⁰⁰

As Franz Baeumker noted,¹⁰¹ the question clearly contains an allusion to Anselm’s *De concordia*, the full title of which is in fact *De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratiae dei cum libero arbitrio*. The end of the sentence, however, contains another important allusion, entirely overlooked till now because of a false reading in Conen’s manuscript,¹⁰² which was retained in all previous printed editions of the text. In the last clause of the sentence as found in Migne, the Disciple demands: “*et quaecunque inde capita surgentia ense rationis*

¹⁰⁰ Honorius, *Ineuitabile, recensio altera, infra* lines 99-103.

¹⁰¹ Baeumker, *Das Ineuitabile*, p. 90.

¹⁰² The misreading is shared by MS Graz 1088 (*G* in my edition), which is closely related to Conen’s manuscript.

reseca” (and cut off with the sword of reason whatsoever heads arise *from these questions* [*inde*]). The correct reading, however, is “*et quęque hinc ydre capita surgentia ense rationis reseca*” (and cut off with the sword of reason all the heads *of the Hydra* [*ydre*] arising from these questions [*hinc*]). The reference is clearly to the myth of the Lernaean Hydra,¹⁰³ the many-headed water serpent slain by Achilles. On the most obvious level this allusion is a clear statement concerning the seeming impossibility of reconciling divine predestination, prescience, and grace with the freedom of human endeavor. Just as the task of destroying the hydra was apparently hopeless, as two heads grew to replace each one cut off, so the discovery of a solution to any question that arises in the course of investigating this problem will, as it were, give rise to two more questions.

Now this reference to the Hydra could simply be the Disciple’s way of expressing his belief in the master’s heroic ability to grapple with the subtleties of a notoriously difficult theological question. Yet there is surely more to the allusion than this. In prose 6 of book IV of *De consolacione philosophiae*, Boethius’s Lady Philosophy tells the prisoner that the *ratio ordinis*¹⁰⁴ of the universe “[*t*]alis . . . materia est, ut una dubitatione succisa innumerabiles aliae uelut hydrae capita succrescant, nec ullus fuerit modus nisi quis eas uiuacissimo mentis igne coerceat.”¹⁰⁵ While Honorius has exchanged the image of the ‘*uiuacissimus mentis ignis*’ for that of an ‘*ensis rationis*,’ the Disciple’s demand follows Philosophy’s description of the complexity of the *materia* of universal order so closely that it can hardly be coincidence.

Moreover, the questions that Philosophy claims will arise in a discussion of the problem are

¹⁰³ Baeumker intuited the reference to the Hydra from the *capita surgentia* (ibid., p. 90), but failed to see in it an allusion to Boethius.

¹⁰⁴ Boethius, *De consolacione philosophiae*, IV, prosa 5, ed. Claudio Moreschini, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Munich and Leipzig: K.G. Saur, 2005), p. 120.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., prosa 6, p. 121.

precisely those that Honorius has discussed or will discuss in the course of his *Inevitabile*: “*In hac enim de providentiae simplicitate, de fati serie, de repentinis casibus, de cogitatione ac praedestinatione diuina, de arbitrii libertate quaeri solet.*”¹⁰⁶ That Honorius knew of Boethius’s treatment of the divine simplicity directly seems even more likely in light of a that marginal gloss transmitted in at least six important early manuscripts of the *Elucidarium*, that gives ‘Boethius’ as the authority for the doctrine that God knows all things “[i]n tantum ut omnis praeterita, praesentia et futura quasi coram posita prospiciat.”¹⁰⁷

What Honorius has achieved by blending these allusions to Anselm and Boethius in one sentence, is to claim Boethius as an *auctoritas*, not merely for his own work, but indeed for the work of Anselm. In *De concordia*, as in all his major works, Anselm cites no authorities, but writes only “*quod [ei] deus dignabitur aperire.*”¹⁰⁸ That is to say, he proceeds by logical demonstration from premises with which his reader cannot disagree. Such a method, however, did not sit well with some of Anselm’s contemporaries (including his own teacher, Lanfranc),¹⁰⁹ who expected him to proceed by way of authorities. Honorius is very subtly defending himself against readers of this sort, who might recognize Anselm’s influence on the *Inevitabile* and criticize Honorius on that basis. What he is telling his reader is that, in fact, Boethius is the common source of the understanding of divine Providence as knowledge (*scientia*) that “*in suae*

¹⁰⁶ Idem, loc. cit.

¹⁰⁷ The reference is equally well attested in German, Austrian, and English manuscripts. I have found the reference in three MSS – namely, MS Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, 133, MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 14348, and MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc., 237. A fourth manuscript that I have examined, MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 13105, omits the marginal reference to Boethius, but many authentic marginalia, on both the *Elucidarium* and *Inevitabile*, have been omitted by this scribe or by his exemplar. Flint reports the reference in four early English manuscripts: *uide* “The Sources of the ‘Elucidarius,’” p. 191.

¹⁰⁸ Anselm, *De concordia*, Prologus, p. 247.

¹⁰⁹ *Vide* Anselm, *Epistola 77*, in Schmitt, vol. 3, p. 199. Cf. Southern, *St Anselm and his Biographer*,” p. 51; idem, *A Portrait in a Landscape*,” pp. 119-21; Robert Darwin Crouse, “Anselm of Canterbury and Medieval Augustinianisms,” *Toronto Journal of Theology* 3 (1987): 60-68, 62.

manet simplicitate praesentiae”¹¹⁰ which guides both the logic of Anselm’s treatise and his own. In this, Honorius clearly recognized what Anselm’s twentieth-century editor did not—that in writing the *De concordia* Anselm almost certainly interpreted Augustine’s texts in light of Boethius’s treatment of the divine knowledge in the *Consolatio*.¹¹¹

So much by way of introduction to Honorius’s attitude toward and identification of his authorities in the *Ineuitabile*. In order to understand more fully the complexity of Honorius’s use of these authorities—that is to say, something of his theological method—it is necessary to analyze a section of one of his works in which he employs his authorities in the answering of a question. To this we shall now turn.

3.4 Honorius’s Theological Method: An Example from the *Ineuitabile*

An excellent illustration of Honorius’s use of authorities in argumentation is found in his answer to the first direct question from the Disciple in the Conenine version of the *Ineuitabile*, the section entitled *De praedestinatione* (lines 59 to 83 in my edition). The context of the question is as follows: the Disciple has opened the dialogue proper by introducing an *aporia* consisting of three seemingly incompatible positions (*tres nodi*) encountered by anyone who investigates the problem of free choice—that only the predestined are saved, that human beings are saved only by grace, and that free choice alone effects salvation (lines 45-50). The impediment (*nodus*) that stands in the way of resolving the whole matter (*cardinem obligat totius*

¹¹⁰ Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*, V, prosa 6, p. 157.

¹¹¹ It is noteworthy that Fr Schmitt’s *apparatus criticus* to *De concordia* contain no reference to Boethius. The single source identified that is not Augustine’s is a sentence of Ratramnus of Corbie, *De praedestinatione dei ad Carolum caluum*, II, PL 121, 54D alluded to (with more verbal correspondence) by Honorius in the *Ineuitabile* in its Conenine form (Schmitt, vol. 2, p. 262; on Honorius’s use of the same text *uide infra*, note 122). On Anselm’s indebtedness to Boethius in general, *uide* Crouse, “Anselm of Canterbury and Medieval Augustinianisms,” p. 63, with the notes there.

quæstionis) is the problem of predestination; the Disciple therefore asks the Master to answer, as the first question in the order of investigation: *quid sit predestinatio?*

The Master replies to the question with a closely-argued and logically coherent response (lines 59-83). He first defines predestination as: “God’s eternal preparation, in accordance with each person’s merits, either for glory or for punishment” (*pro meritis cuiusque, uel ad gloriam, uel ad pœnam, æterna dei preparatio*). He then introduces, as his minor premise, that this predestination is ‘twofold’ (*gemina prædestinatio*)—that is to say, that there is a distinction within predestination itself, based upon the human merits already mentioned; predestination is both “of good people to glory” and also “of the evil to punishment.” Were he simply to draw his conclusion at this point, it would simply be: God therefore eternally prepares good people for glory and evil people to punishment. The problem is that this conclusion could very easily be misunderstood, principally because, without any further explanation, the Disciple (and indeed the reader) could assume that God’s ‘eternal preparation’ was his act of making each person what they would have to be to in order to merit either glory or punishment—that is, God would not only make good people good, but evil people evil. Such a conclusion is axiomatically wrong, since God cannot be the cause of evil. Rather than drawing his conclusion at this point, therefore, the Master forestalls this possible objection by assuring the Disciple that neither the divine providence (which he also calls ‘prescience’)¹¹² nor predestination introduce any constraint upon the will, but that all human acts, whether good or evil, remain contingent upon the free choice of the will (lines 64-69). A further clarification is then introduced to explain the relation in which providence (or prescience) stands to predestination to glory, on the one hand,

¹¹² That the two terms are synonymous is evident from the fact that Honorius gives them a common definition at the end of the work (*Ineuitabile, recensio altera*, my edition, *infra* lines 1690-1): “*prescientia uel prouidentia, [est] futurarum rerum semper presens dei inspectio.*”

and to ‘foreordination’ to punishment on the other (the terms ‘*praedestinare*’ and ‘*praeordinare*’ are almost certainly also meant to be synonymous, and the usage may derive from Anselm).¹¹³ Predestination (or foreordination) depends upon providence (or prescience). That is to say, the divine will predestines human beings only in accordance with what they are known to be in the divine knowledge. The actions of both the predestined and the reprobate are ‘foreseen’ or ‘foreknown’. Those whom God knows will be good are predestined (*predestinati*) to glory, while those whom he knows will persevere in evil (“*qui . . . presciti sunt in malo uitam finituri*”) are foreordained (*preordinati*) to the punishment that they deserve. It follows then, as a necessary conclusion, that “before the ages” (*ante saecula*) God predestined (i.e. willed to prepare for glory, in accordance with the knowledge that they would cooperate with grace) all who would believe in Christ and follow his commandments. This eternal preparation, however, unfolds for each person “in God’s own time” (*suo tempore*)—that is, as he calls them to faith, justifies them in baptism, magnifies them with virtues, and glorifies them as ‘vessels of mercy’ (lines 74-80), all of which are temporal events. (It is worth noting in passing that Honorius is here subtly equating ‘*glorificauit*’ [of Rom 8: 30] with the phrase “*ostenderet divitias gloriae suae*” [of Rom 9: 23] by juxtaposing Paul’s two texts. In other words, the attentive reader will recognize that when God glorifies the ‘vessels of mercy,’ “*quae praeparauit in gloriam,*” it is his own glory, not their own, that he shows forth in them.) On the other hand, God rejected (*reprobauit*) from his kingdom “as ‘vessels of wrath’ fitted for punishment” (lines 81-3) those

¹¹³ Cf. Anselm, *De concordia*, II, i, p. 260: “Praedestinatio uidetur idem esse quod praeordinatio siue praestitutio; et ideo quod deus praedestinare dicitur, intelligitur praeordinare, quod est statuere futurum esse.” Anselm is of course not the only author to use these terms synonymously. The Pseudo-Augustinian *Hypomnesticon*, for example, makes the following statement (PL 45, col. 1657): “Quod ergo bonum est, praescientia praedestinatur, id est, priusquam sit in re praeordinatur.” Faustus of Riez, albeit in a spirit far removed from that of Honorius, states (*De gratia libri duo*, CSEL 21, ed. A. Engelbrecht [Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1891], p. 49): “quod si, quemadmodum abrupta blasphematur impietas, alii ad mortem praeordinati, alii praedestinati uidentur ad uitam, nullam Christus ueniendi causam, nullam moriendi, quam pietas eius inuenit, habuit necessitatem.”

whom he foreknew would neither believe in Christ nor follow his commandments. This distinction is subtle, but all important. God's eternal purpose '*ante secula*' to prepare for glory all whom he foreknew would accept grace, and would therefore merit glorification, is carried out in time through the divine work in them. On the other hand, God could not constrain those whom (likewise '*ante secula*') he knew would not accept his grace. These persons therefore remain what they are if God does not act in them, preparing them for glory—vessels fitted for punishment. Since this is what they freely will to be, God, in his eternal permissive will, allows them to undergo what is their due. Reprobation, therefore, is not divine preparation for punishment, in the sense that God actively forms a 'vessel apt for punishment', but is rather the divine refusal to constrain the human will that does not accept grace.

The content of this passage is entirely in line with the orthodox Augustinian doctrine of Western Christendom. But Honorius is here attempting to relate, in a logical manner that his readers can follow with their own reason, precisely those aspects of Augustinian doctrine that his contemporaries wished to see reconciled more clearly than earlier authors seemed to have done—namely, how human freedom can be reconciled with an all-encompassing divine predestination, on the one hand, and how human perdition does not nullify the theological axiom the God can only be the cause of good.

These are precisely the questions, for example, that Anselm treats in his *De concordia*. While Honorius is not necessarily teaching specifically 'Anselmian' doctrine in this passage (indeed there is a sense in which there is nothing specifically 'Anselmian' in the content of the *De concordia* itself), the philological evidence that Honorius used the *De concordia* in his revision of the *Inevitabile* is convincing, and this makes it a convenient object of comparison, as an example of the work of one of Honorius's near-contemporaries that Honorius certainly knew.

Anselm, no less than Honorius, was concerned to demonstrate that neither the good works of the just nor the evil works of the reprobate fall outside of the divine predestination (Honorius's 'gemina praedestinatio'): ". . . uidendum est quia praedestinatio non solum bonorum est, sed et malorum potest dici."¹¹⁴ He is quick to point out, of course, that God predestines evil persons only inasmuch as "mala quae non facit dicitur facere, quia permittit."¹¹⁵ Moreover, books I and II of *De concordia* are dedicated precisely to demonstrating that neither prescience nor predestination constrain the free will by any preceding necessity (*necessitas praecedens*). Anselm is as much at pains as Honorius to show that predestination is in accordance with the divine prescience: "Et sicut praescientia, quae non fallitur, non praescit nisi uerum sicut erit . . . ita praedestinatio, quae non mutatur, non praedestinat, nisi sicut est in praescientia."¹¹⁶ Finally, Honorius's conclusion that God predestined "ante saecula" what he would himself bring to pass "suo tempore"—that is to say, that God's saving work in time (temporal preparation for glory) and his reprobation of those who would reject his grace both depend upon his eternal knowledge and predisposition, but do not constrain the human will—is also explicitly stated in Anselm: "Hoc quippe propositum, secundum quod uocati sunt sancti in aeternitate . . . immutabile est; sed in ipsis hominibus ex libertate arbitrii aliquando est mutabile."¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Interestingly, neither Anselm nor Honorius (at least in the Conenine text) feel the need to make the distinction between God's both foreknowing and predestining the good but only foreknowing and not predestining evil. Contrast the statement of the Pseudo-Augustinian *Hypomnesticon*, VI, ii, PL 45, col. 1657: "Sed non omne quod praescit, praedestinat. Mala enim tantum praescit, bona uero et praescit et praedestinat. Quod ergo bonum est, praescientia praedestinat, id est, priusquam sit in re praordinat." In both cases, underlying this ability to speak of God as 'predestining' or 'foreordaining' both good and evil is the Augustinian insight that evil not a substance (cf. *Confessiones*, VII, xvi, 22), and therefore has no efficient cause (cf. *De ciuitate dei*, XII, vii). Cf. Honorius, *Ineuitabile, recensio altera*, lines 461-2 *infra* and Anselm, *De concordia*, I, vii, pp. 258-9.

¹¹⁵ Anselm of Canterbury, *De concordia*, II, ii, p. 261.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, II, iii, p. 262. Emphasis added.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, v, pp. 253-4.

Yet despite these similarities, the passage *De predestinatione* in the *Ineuitabile* must not be understood as Honorius's simplification of 'Anselmian' doctrine. In fact, when the Master's response is examined more closely, it becomes clear that it actually depends, both philologically and theologically, upon six separate patristic and Carolingian sources, cited in rapid succession, and rearranged to answer the Disciple's question. A particularly precious piece of evidence, which in fact provides the philological key to the construction of this passage, is the so-called *Sententiae patrum de libero arbitrio et gratia*, which follows Honorius's *De libero arbitrio* in its surviving manuscripts. This catena of texts was first published by Bernard Pez in his *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus*, along with a report of the opinion of Dom Leopold Wydemann, vicar and librarian of the Gaming Charterhouse, that Honorius likely collected the texts himself "*pro elucidatione sui opusculi [sc. De libero arbitrio]*."¹¹⁸ Franz Baeumker agreed with Wydemann's opinion that the *Sententiae* were almost certainly from Honorius's hand, but rather than seeing them as an 'elucidation' of the *De libero arbitrio*, he considered them to have been a set of notes drawn up by Honorius as he prepared for his revision of the *Ineuitabile* from its Cassandrian to its Conenine form.¹¹⁹ The catena's close association with the *De libero arbitrio* in the manuscripts, and the fact that a report of an 'Augustinian' doctrine concerning freedom in Honorius's *De libero arbitrio* corresponds almost verbatim with one of these *sententiae* attributed to Augustine,¹²⁰ gives Wydemann's theory a certain measure of plausibility.

¹¹⁸ PL 172, 1226B. Bibliographical reference to the *Thesaurus* at cols. 1223-4.

¹¹⁹ Baeumker, *Das Ineuitabile*, pp. 34 and 37.

¹²⁰ Honorius Augustodunensis, *De libero arbitrio*, III, PL 172, 1224B-C: "Augustino namque definiente, hic non est liber, qui uel timore supplicii malum deuitat, vel spe praemii bonum facit. Seruit enim timore coactus uel spe illectus: et cum timor et spes ei dominantur, non liber esse iure convincitur. Hic solummodo liber iudicatur qui sola delectatione iustitiae bonum operatur. Ad iustitiam ergo seruandam tantum datum comprobatur liberum arbitrium et ideo soli iusti sunt liberi . . ."; cf. *Sententiae patrum de libero arbitrio et gratia*, PL 172, 1229B-1230A: "Non est liber, qui timore supplicii deuitat malum, et spe praemii facit bonum; seruit enim timore coactus, et spe praemii

Strangely, Baeumker made no attempt to demonstrate a positive link between the *Sententiae* and the *Ineuitabile* in its Conenine form. How he arrived at his conclusion is not entirely clear.

What is clear, however, even though Baeumker made no mention of it whatsoever, is that all six of the sources underlying the passage *De predestinatione* of the *Ineuitabile* are found in the *Sententiae*.¹²¹ Perhaps even more interesting, however, is the fact that four of these texts are derived from a single common source—either the twentieth book of the *Decretals* of Burchard of Worms or the seventeenth book of the *Decretals* of Ivo of Chartres, which in its turn is dependent upon Burchard.

Four of the sixteen *sententiae* (namely, the fifth to eighth) are composed of texts cited by Burchard and Ivo. The case of the first of these, the fifth *sententia*, is rather complex; it is taken from two sections of Burchard (or Ivo), and attributed as a whole to ‘Fulgentius’. The first sentence actually is from Fulgentius, but interestingly it found its way into the *Decretals* only as part of a text from Ratramnus of Corbie, who is reporting Fulgentius’s words and then commenting on them. Burchard (and Ivo following him) identified both Fulgentius’s text and Ratramnus’s commentary as ‘Fulgentius’. The remainder of the fifth *sententia* is entirely Ratramnus (cited in another section of the *Decretals*), but identified by Burchard, Ivo, and the author of the *Sententiae* (presumably Honorius) as ‘Fulgentius’.

The sixth and seventh *sententiae* correspond exactly to individual sections of Burchard (or Ivo), and both the author of the *Sententiae* and his source (whether Burchard or Ivo) attribute

illectus; timor autem et spes dominantur ei. Hic est liber, qui nec timore supplicii, nec spe praemii, sed sola delectatione iustitiae iustus est. Ad hoc habet liberum arbitrium.” I have not been able to find this *locus* in the works of Augustine. It may constitute a paraphrase of *De natura et gratia* LVII, 67 (*La Crise Pélagienne I*, Œuvres de Saint Augustine 21, Troisième série: La Grâce, trans. G. De Plinval and J de la Tullaye [Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1966], pp. 374-7).

¹²¹ A much abbreviated version of the following three paragraphs will appear in Pollmann and Otten, eds., *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*.

them to the same pseudonymous Fathers (Ratramnus of Corbie is cited as ‘Ambrose’; Fulgentius is given as ‘Isidore’). The eighth *sententia* is assembled from three individual passages of Fulgentius’s *Ad Monimum*, widely dispersed in the original text. The three fragments are cited separately as ‘Augustine’ by both Burchard and Ivo, and the single *sententia* constructed from them is attributed to ‘Augustine’ in the *Sententiae*.¹²²

A comparison of the passage *De predestinatione* in the *Ineuitabile* with the corresponding texts in the *Sententiae* (and when applicable with the texts as found in the *Decretals*) places their common dependence beyond any doubt. Below is the first sentence of the passage *De predestinatione* (lines 59-60) followed by the first sentence of the fifth *sententia*:

Nichil aliud est predestinatio,
quam pro meritis cuiusque, uel ad gloriam, uel ad p̄nam, eterna dei preparatio.¹²³

Praedestinatio Dei non est alia,
nisi futurorum operum eius aeterna praeparatio.¹²⁴

If one examines the word order of the original text from Fulgentius of Ruspe, the common ancestor of both passages, the dependence of the sentence in the *Ineuitabile* becomes even clearer.

Neque enim est alia eius praedestinatio,
nisi futurorum operum eius aeterna praeparatio.¹²⁵

¹²² The relation can be expressed as follows (names in bold representing single pericopes in the *Sententiae*): **1. Fulgentius** (really Fulgentius Ruspensis, *Ad Monimum libri III*, I, xx, 2, CC SL 91, p. 20 [PL 65, 168B]; Ratramnus of Corbie, *De praedestinatione dei ad Carolum caluum*, II, PL 121, 54D), found in Burchard, *Decretum*, XX, 28 and 36, PL 140, 1126B-C and 1028B (=Ivo, *Decretum*, XVII, 39 and 47, PL 161, 982B and 984B); **2. Ambrose** (really Ratramnus, *De praedestinatione dei*, II, PL 121 55C), found in Burchard, *Decretum*, 37, PL 140, 1028B-C (= Ivo, *Decretum*, XVII, 48, PL 161, 984B-C); **3. Isidore** (really Fulgentius, *Ad Monimum*, I.xiii, 1-2, CC SL 91, p. 13 [PL 65, 162B]), found in Burchard, *Decretum*, XX, 31, PL 140, 1026D-27A (=Ivo, *Decretum*, XVII, 42, PL 161, 982D-983A); **4. Augustine** (really Fulgentius, *Ad Monimum*, I, vii, 1, CC SL 91, p. 7 [PL 65, 157B]; idem, *Ibid.*, I, xxiii, 6, CC SL 91, p. 23 [PL 65, 170D]; and idem, *Ibid.*, I, xxvi, 3-4, CC SL 91, p. 26 [PL 65, 173A-B]), found in Burchard, *Decretum*, XX, 30, 32, and 34, PL 140, 1026D, 1027A-B, and 1027C-1028A (=Ivo, *Decretum*, XVII, 41, 43, and 45, PL 161, 982D, 983A-983B, and 983C-984A).

¹²³ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Ineuitabile, recensio altera*, my edition, *infra* lines 59-60.

¹²⁴ *Sententiae patrum de libero arbitrio et gratia*, PL 172, 1228B.

The next sentence in the *Ineuitabile* (lines 61-3) seems to depend on two texts found in the *Sententiae*—the first (“*Gemina est praedestinatio . . .*”) from Isidore of Seville (not found in the *Decretals*), the second (“*Deus praedestinavit . . .*”) which derives from Fulgentius of Ruspe.

Est autem gemina praedestinatio,
una bonorum ad gloriam,
altera malorum ad poenam.¹²⁶

Gemina est praedestinatio
siue electorum ad requiem,
siue reproborum ad mortem.¹²⁷

Deus praedestinavit quosdam ad gloriam; quosdam ad poenam.¹²⁸

Significantly, the author of the *Sententiae*, following his source, attributed the second of these texts to Isidore. What is important to note is that Honorius almost certainly believed that the two sentences that he reworked to form this single sentence in the *Ineuitabile* both came from the same author.

The following two lines of the *Ineuitabile* (lines 64-5), while lacking the verbal correspondences to the *Sententiae* found in the rest of this passage, may express *ad sensum* a sentence of Fulgentius, which is attributed to Augustine in the *Sententiae*.

Sed quia quidam etiam de prouidentia et prescientia musitant,
quasi hæc necessitatem hominibus inferant . . .¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Fulgentius of Ruspe, *Ad Monimum libri III*, I, xx, 2 – ed. J. Fraipont, CC SL 91, p. 20 (found in Burchard, *Decretum*, XX, 28, PL 140, 1126B-C [=Ivo, *Decretum*, XVII, 39, PL 161, 982B]).

¹²⁶ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Ineuitabile, recensio altera*, my edition, *infra* lines 61-3.

¹²⁷ *Sententiae patrum de libero arbitrio et gratia*, PL 172, 1227D. The text is from Isidore, *Sententiae*, II, vi, 1 – ed. Pierre Cazier, CC SL 111, p. 103, and is reproduced exactly in the *Sententiae*.

¹²⁸ *Sententiae patrum de libero arbitrio et gratia*, PL 172, 1228B. The text is from Fulgentius, *Ad Monimum libri III*, I, xiii – ed. J. Fraipont, CC SL 91, p. 13; PL 85, 162B (found in Burchard, *Decretum*, XX, 31, PL 140, 1026D-27A [=Ivo, *Decretum*, XVII, 42, PL 161, 982D-983A]): “Proinde potuit, sicut uoluit, praedestinare quosdam ad gloriam, quosdam ad poenam.”

¹²⁹ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Ineuitabile, recensio altera*, my edition, *infra* lines 64-5.

Praedestinationis nomine non aliqua uoluntatis humanae coactiua necessitas exprimitur . . . ¹³⁰

The remainder of this sentence (lines 66-9) appears to be an expansion upon a sentence from Ratramnus of Corbie, likewise found in the *Sententiae*, where it is attributed to Fulgentius.

. . . sciendum est quod nec prouidentia aliquem compellit ad boni studium,
nec predestinatio ullum trahit necessitate ad uitę premium,
similiter praescientia neminem cogit ad peccatum,
et predestinatio nullum impellit necessitate ad supplicium.¹³¹

Sicut enim praescientia neminem compellit ad peccatum
(cum utique singulorum praescierit ante saecula aeterna peccata)
ita quoque et praedestinatio eius neminem compellit ad poenam.¹³²

Honorius almost certainly expanded Ratramnus's text with a view to equating providence with foreknowledge, which, as been mentioned above, he does again at the end of the *Ineuitabile* in its Conenine form.

Finally, the last four lines of the section depend upon another passage from Ratramnus of Corbie, presented in an abbreviated form in the *Sententiae*, where it is attributed to Ambrose:

Porro qui prouisi sunt in bonis permansuri,
ad gloriam sunt predestinati,
qui uero presciti sunt in malo uitam finituri,
ad penam utique sunt preordinati.¹³³

Ex eo autem quod praescitus est in peccatis permansurus,

¹³⁰ *Sententiae patrum de libero arbitrio et gratia*, PL 172, 1228C. The text is from Fulgentius, *Ad Monimum libri tres*, I, vii, 1 – ed. J. Fraipont, CC SL 91, p. 7 (found in Burchard, *Decretum*, XX, 30, PL 140, 1026D [=Ivo, *Decretum*, XVII, 41, PL 161, 982D]). The text as found in Fulgentius and the *Decretals* is identical to that in the *Sententiae*, with the exception of the two following underscored variants: “Praedestinationis enim nomine non aliqua uoluntatis humanae coactiua necessitas exprimitur.”

¹³¹ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Ineuitabile, recensio altera*, my edition, *infra* lines 66-9.

¹³² *Sententiae patrum de libero arbitrio et gratia*, PL 172, 1228B. The text is from Ratramnus of Corbie, *De praedestinatione dei ad Carolum caluum*, II, PL 121, 54D (found in Burchard, *Decretum*, XX, 36, PL 140, 1028B [=Ivo, *Decretum*, XVII, 47, PL 161, 984B]); the *Sententiae* reproduces this section of the text with only minor transpositions.

¹³³ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Ineuitabile, recensio altera*, my edition, *infra* lines 70-39.

etiam ex eo deputatus est ad poenam.¹³⁴

The fact that the phrase “*in malo uitam finituri*” in the *Ineuitabile* seems to depend upon a section of this sentence omitted in the *Sententiae* (*et sine poenitentiae fructu uitam praesentem terminaturus*) perhaps provides evidence that Honorius was working from a text of the *Decretals*, rather than from the *Sententiae* as a set of preparatory notes.

In any case, the conclusion seems inescapable that when Honorius was revising the *Ineuitabile* he consulted both Isidore’s *Sententiae* and the *Decretals* of either Burchard or Ivo—sources of unimpeachable authority. What is interesting is the way in which, in his use of these sources in the composition of the *Ineuitabile*, Honorius moves beyond both his sources. The *Ineuitabile* was to be neither a collection of *sententiae* nor a *floriglegium* in the Carolingian style (which is really what the book *de contemplatione* in the *Decretals* amounts to). Rather, the *Ineuitabile* was to be a dialogue that unfolded according to the order of the Disciple’s (and the reader’s) questions as they would naturally arise (note the Disciple’s outline of the *materia* of the dispute and the order in which it ought to be examined in lines 43-57). Furthermore, the Master’s answers to the questions were meant to be logically coherent, and were designed to show, however modestly, just how the insights underlying the logical demonstrations solve the apparent impasse and render truth available, through reasoning, to thought.

Here we have something more than a mere simplification of sources. Honorius’s method is, in fact, an attempt to create a logically coherent synthesis of the insights of his predecessors, a genuine attempt to demonstrate logically the truth of what is believed in the authorities.

¹³⁴ *Sententiae patrum de libero arbitrio et gratia*, PL 172, 1228B. The text is from Ratramnus of Corbie, *De praedestinatione dei ad Carolum caluum*, II, PL 121, 54D (found in Burchard, *Decretum*, 37, PL 140, 1028B-C [= Ivo, *Decretum*, XVII, 48, PL 161, 984B-C]). The following is the entire text as it stands in Ratramnus and the *Decretals*; the *Sententiae* remove the bracketed portion of the text: “ex eo enim quod praescitus est in peccatis permansurus, [et sine poenitentiae fructu uitam praesentem terminaturus,] ex eo deputatus est ad poenam.”

Honorius's method is certainly very different from Anselm's, both in his use of sources and in a simpler use of demonstration and logic. Yet Honorius is far from simplistic, and in his use of logical demonstration he moves his readers beyond certain dangers involved in the reading of *catenae* of texts such as he found in sources like the *Decretals*.

The danger of works consisting solely of *sententiae* and *catenae* is that students can so easily pick up catchphrases that they do not understand and that lead them into error. Phrases such as 'eternal preparation', 'predestination is twofold', or 'God predestines some to glory, some to punishment', if taken on their own, can very easily be interpreted as meaning that the divine predestination is the cause of the evil acts that result in perdition. Of course, neither Isidore nor Fulgentius held such a position; both are clear that reprobation is a matter of divine permission, not of divine causality. Isidore, for example, explains that the predestination of the reprobate simply means that God allows them to love lower things more than they love him: "*diuino agitur iudicio . . . ut semper . . . reprobos ut infima et exteriora delectentur deserendo permittat.*"¹³⁵ Fulgentius also clarifies the nature of God's twofold predestination: "*Quos autem praedestinavit ad poenam, non praedestinavit ad culpam In [sanctis] enim opera sua [Deus] glorificat, in istis autem opera non sua condemnat.*"¹³⁶ God predestines to punishment, but not by causing the evil act that is punished. (Notice that Fulgentius makes explicit here precisely what we have seen Honorius allude to above—that what God glorifies is his own work in the saints; he "shows forth the riches of his own glory in them" [cf. Rom 9: 23]).

Yet Honorius realizes that the real answer to the problem of predestination is not merely a distinction between the positive and permissive will of God, even though this is a necessary

¹³⁵ Isidore of Seville, *Sententiae*, II, vi, 1, p. 103 (= *Sententiae*, 1227D).

¹³⁶ Fulgentius, *Ad Monimum*, I, xii, 1-2, p. 13 (= *Sententiae*, 1228CD).

distinction. In fact what makes sense of this distinction—and what allows Anselm to declare that “[n]on sola bona praedestinat deus” without falling into the error of saying that God causes evil¹³⁷—is a correct understanding of predestination as it follows from the divine knowledge. The divine predestination (God’s will for his creatures) follows upon the truth of what those creatures are in the divine knowing, in providence or prescience. Honorius (as Anselm) does not exclude reprobation from the divine predestination, as Ratramnus must (*Nullus ideo ad poenam uadit, quia hoc in praedestinatione dei ante fuerit*), for this would seem to introduce division within the divine will. Rather, Honorius extends Ratramnus’s logic concerning the reprobate (*ex eo enim quod praescitus est in peccatis permansurus, et sine poenitentiae fructu uitam praesentem terminaturus, ex eo deputatus est ad poenam*) to include the elect (*qui prouisi sunt in bonis permansuri, ad gloriam sunt praedestinati*), thus introducing precisely the same consistency that Anselm had also desired. Honorius is just as concerned as Ratramnus that his reader should understand that divine reprobation does not make God the cause of evil, but simply the cause and respecter of the free human will. Honorius’s understanding of divine knowledge as the basis of predestination allows him to create a genuine synthesis, whereby he can insist with Fulgentius and Isidore that God really does predestine some to glory and others to punishment in a ‘twofold predestination’, without thereby making God the cause of evil acts. He does this precisely by introducing Ratramnus’s distinction between the divine knowledge and the divine will and the dependence of the latter on the former, while making an essential clarification (i.e. that predestination to glory also depends upon the same relation of the one divine will to the one divine knowing) to avoid what might appear to be a certain division within the divine will in Ratramnus’s thought.

¹³⁷ Anselm of Canterbury, *De concordia*, II, i, p. 260.

Doubtless Honorius could have said more, both in this passage and in the *Inevitabile* as a whole—he could have dealt more fully with the important matter of the identity of knowledge and will in God, for example, following the example of Boethius in the *Opuscula theologica*, to name but one point. But Honorius insists that his reader follow the logic of his argument, which means that the student must move from “*quod auctoritas docet credendum*” *per rationem* to “*probata ueritas.*” And if that reader would also move beyond this initial task to engage in the ‘*intellektuelles Spiel*’ of tracking down the *auctoritates* that Honorius has so cleverly woven into his rhyming prose, then he would be well on his way to discovering that the apparent contradictions in the tradition of authorities very often arise from the desire to uphold the same axiomatic truths about God and human nature, while the way through such contradictions is to seek what is true in each side, and to show how these truths are essentially related.

3.5 Conclusions

Honorius’s works are certainly more popular in form than the works of many of his contemporaries, whether one thinks of the works of Anselm which proceed *sola ratione*, of the sentence collections that emerged from the School of Laon, or of the early systematic works of the schools of Paris. But does this fact necessarily mean that Honorius’s works are merely concerned with providing simplistic answers to difficult questions, as some historians have claimed? As has been shown, Honorius is capable of creating genuine theological synthesis and of showing his reader how to resolve contradictions in the tradition of authorities by the use of reason. Why then has he been so consistently presented as a mere ‘vulgarizer’ of patristic and early-scholastic doctrine?

In the first place, as can be seen from the first section of this chapter, most historians of doctrine have based these characterizations upon one work—the *Elucidarium*. It ought perhaps

to go without saying that it seems unfair to give such prominence to a work that has universally been thought to have been Honorius's first composition—"œuvre de jeunesse," as de Ghellinck labelled it.¹³⁸ Nevertheless, it has had a profound influence upon how historians have regarded Honorius. It should be pointed out that the comparison that is often drawn between the *Elucidarium* and the sentence collections, on the one hand, and the works of Anselm of Canterbury, on the other, is especially unfair. The *Elucidarium* was almost certainly intended as a work of catechesis—albeit possibly for those already in Holy Orders—and neither as a textbook for aspiring young theologians in the schools nor as a work of monastic speculative meditation. This unfair comparison may arise, at least in part, from a misunderstanding of Honorius's own understanding of the nature of his treatise. It has been an almost universally accepted fact that Honorius subtitled the *Elucidarium* "*seu Dialogus de summa totius theologiae*," the subtitle under which it was published in Migne's patrology. Both de Ghellinck and Bliemetzrieder made much of the fact that Honorius characterized his work by the use of "*un mot qui devait bientôt acquérir la plus grande importance littéraire*."¹³⁹ Professor Flint at least twice repeated that Honorius labelled his work a '*summa totius theologiae*' (perhaps significantly omitting any reference to the descriptor '*dialogus*').¹⁴⁰ The idea that Honorius believed he composed a *summa* may be the primary reason why it has been characterized as a work of "systematic theology"¹⁴¹ to be compared with other works that can be more properly claimed as such.

¹³⁸ De Ghellinck, *L'Essor*, p. 116.

¹³⁹ Bliemetzrieder, "Honorius d'Autun," p. 276. *Vide supra* note 35. *Vide etiam* de Ghellinck, "*Le Mouvement*," p. 228, n.1.

¹⁴⁰ Flint, "The 'Elucidarius' and Reform," p. 179. *Eadem*, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, p. 130.

¹⁴¹ E.g. Colish, "The Sentence Collection and the Education of Theologians," p. 4.

The *Elucidarium* is certainly comprehensive in scope, but one can hardly imagine that Honorius would ever have thought that it belonged to the same *genre* as the works with which modern historians have consistently compared it. In fact, it is virtually certain that Honorius was not the author of the subtitle that has so impressed these historians. In my own examination of four important early manuscripts of what is very likely the first redaction of the work (i.e. that which circulated with the Cassandrian version of the *Inevitabile*) I have found no evidence that Honorius called the work anything other than *Elucidarium*.¹⁴² And that title describes precisely what Honorius had in mind when he wrote the work: not a work of systematic theology, but a work that would simply shed light upon the “*obscuritas diuersarum rerum*,” which is a very different task. Not all of Honorius’s works were *elucidaria* in precisely the same sense, however, and only a more careful examination of them will tell the modern historian both what Honorius thought he was achieving in each and how each would have been read by its medieval readers.

A second problem in the modern presentation of Honorius’s works is that there has been virtually no systematic attempt to show a coherency within Honorius’s *corpus* based upon an examination of the works themselves.¹⁴³ Professor Flint’s conclusions, for example, have been primarily contextual, but have yet to be substantiated by textual analysis. The case of Father de Ghellinck’s investigations is especially interesting in this regard. As noted above, his

¹⁴² The manuscripts in question and the incipits are: MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 13105, saec. XII, fol. 1r: “Incipit Elucidarium”; MS Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, 133, saec. XIII, fol. 168r: “Incipit Elucidarium”; MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 14348, saec. XIII, fol. 195v: “Incipit prologus in libro Elucidarii”; MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Miscellaneaus, 237, saec. XII or XIII, fol. 17v: “Incipit prologus in Elucidarium.”

¹⁴³ Two notable exceptions are Dietrich, “Eruditio Sacra” and Garrigues, “Inventaire Critique.” The former is a very interesting examination of Honorius’s use of symbolism, but needs to be complemented by more philological and philosophical analysis. The latter, while very comprehensive, needs to be examined more thoroughly by the scholarly community before many of its conclusions can be accepted as proven.

investigations led to three very different pictures of Honorius—the ‘vulgarizer’ of the *Elucidarium*, the condemner of dialectic in the *Expositio in Cantica canticorum*, and the ‘rationalist’ of the *De animae exilio et patria*. Enough has been said of the matter of the *Elucidarium*. Perhaps something should be said by way of showing that there is more nuance in Honorius than the other two pictures might suggest. In the first place, Honorius’s statements about dialectic in the *Expositio in Cantica*, to which de Ghellinck makes reference, must be given some context. They form part of Honorius’s allegorical exegesis of the first verse of the Song: “thy breasts are better than wine” (*quia meliora sunt ubera tua uino*). Honorius interprets the ‘breasts’ as the Old and New Testaments (col. 361D) and the teaching of “the teachers who are learned in the twofold law” (*magistri in utraque lege docti*)—that is, the law of love of God and neighbor (col. 422B). The ‘wine’ than which the Church’s ‘breasts’ are better, he identifies as “*saecularis sapientia, quae se sumentes dementat et inflat ut dialectica*” (col. 361D) and “*saecularis philosophia, quae mentes hominum inflat et in iactantiam eleuat*” (col. 422B). Yet surely there is a difference between ‘secular’ wisdom and philosophy and the use of the philosophical disciplines in the service of the Church. Augustine said precisely this in *De doctrina christiana* when he stated that dialectic was not less true and instituted by God because human beings had used it to demonstrate falsehood.¹⁴⁴ Christians ought to use all the pagan disciplines that are not positively untrue, so long as they are advanced enough in charity that knowledge will not puff them up (cf. 1 Cor 8: 1).¹⁴⁵ That this is precisely what Honorius has in

¹⁴⁴ Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, II, xxxv, 53, ed. Joseph Martin, CC SL 32 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962, p. 69: “Item scientia definiendi, diuidendi atque partiendi, quamquam etiam rebus falsis plerumque adhibeatur, ipsa tamen falsa non est neque ab hominibus instituta, sed in rerum ratione comperta. Non enim, quia et fabulis suis eam poetae et opinionibus erroris sui uel falsi philosophi uel etiam haeretici, hoc est falsi christiani, adhibere consuerunt, propterea falsum est neque in definiendo, neque in diuidendo aut partiendo aliquid complectendum esse, quod ad rem ipsam non pertinet, aut aliquid, quod pertinet, praetereundum.”

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, II, xl, 60-xlii, 63.

mind (and perhaps even this very text of Augustine) is clear from what he actually says: “*Vbera autem Ecclesiae sunt meliora uino, quia doctrina magistorum de utraque lege perlata est utilior, quia in gemina dilectione aedificatur, quam philosophica doctrina quae mentes inflat*” (col 422B-C). There is no reason to think—indeed there is every reason not to think—that Honorius would have forbidden the Church’s *magistri* from using ‘philosophical disciplines’, for presumably they would have been advanced enough in charity so as to be able to use them without their pride being inflated. Presumably also their doctrine, as the doctrine of the Master in the *Ineuitabile*, would have involved the use of the laws of reason, but by a reasoning faculty already converted, and therefore free to use what it knew.¹⁴⁶ As for de Ghellinck’s assertion that the Honorius of *De animae exilio et patria* preferred “*la méthode dialectique à la méthode d’authorité*,” the analysis of the passage *De predestinatione* in the *Ineuitabile* analyzed above must prove beyond any doubt that Honorius was fully capable of combining the use of authority and reason in his theological method. It is certainly true that in the scholastic *quaestiones*, if they in fact belong to Honorius, the use of authorities is much less evident, but that the writings of earlier teachers lie behind them cannot be doubted. As in the case of the difference between the *Elucidarium* and the *Ineuitabile*, this can be accounted for by a difference of genre between a work like the *Ineuitabile* and a scholastic *quaestio*.

De Ghellinck’s inability to formulate a more integrated picture of Honorius may, in fact, have been itself the result of a methodological presupposition. His distinction between the “*méthode d’authorité*” and the “*méthode dialectique*” very closely resembles Thomas Aquinas’s “*duplex modus tractandi de trinitate*” as set out in *Super Boetium de trinitate*—namely, treating the Trinity “*per auctoritates*” or “*per rationes*.” Perhaps ironically it was precisely de

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Robert Darwin Crouse, “*In Aenigmate Trinitas*’ (*Confessions*, XII, 5, 6): The Conversion of Philosophy in St. Augustine’s *Confessions*,” *Dionysius* 11 (1987): 53-62.

Ghellinck's attempt to discover one coherent theological method in Honorius that prevented him from being able to discern an inner coherence in his thought. Again, it is only by refusing to judge Honorius by standards that are foreign to his own purposes that any coherence that his *corpus* may possess will be discovered.

This raises one final point. Perhaps the single greatest reason that Honorius is judged to be 'simplistic' is that he does not conform to historians' preconceived notions of what a more sophisticated theologian should look like. He has suffered especially at the hands of those who see in him a literal disciple of Anselm of Canterbury, precisely because his works are so unlike Anselm's. As has been seen, however, at least in the Conenine version of the *Ineuitabile*, Honorius does lead his reader from faith to reason, but in a very different form. It is certainly not the fully developed form of the writers of the great *summae* of the thirteenth century, yet in some ways the passage *De predestinatione* resembles the *respondeo* of a scholastic disputation much more closely than it resembles one of Anselm's philosophical meditations. But again much more analysis of individual texts will be needed before the full extent of Honorius's achievements will become clear.

The present chapter has concerned itself primarily with demonstrating Honorius's use of allusion in marshalling his authorities and with analyzing one very short passage in order to show how he reconciles those authorities by the use of reason. In that sense, one might say that this chapter has examined trees, as it were, rather than the forest of Honorius's disputation (to borrow a phrase from Honorius himself).¹⁴⁷ The next chapter will take precisely the opposite approach. Rather than investigating individual passages at length, it will investigate Honorius's understanding of the nature of the divine providence in the Cassandrian version of the

¹⁴⁷ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Ineuitabile, recensio altera*, line 100, *infra*: “. . . eia iam ingredere siluam expectate disputationis.”

Inevitable, which emerged from his engagement with one particular interpretation of the teaching of St Augustine.

Chapter 4

The Nature of Predestination and the Created Universe in the Cassandrian version of the *Ineuitabile*

As has been seen in previous chapters, Honorius's treatise *Ineuitabile* has been the subject of much discussion, both with respect to the reconstruction of Honorius's *vita*, and in the investigation of the history of early scholastic theology. Unfortunately, most discussions of the text have been far too general, and much that has been said about the text has been simply repeated on the say so of one or two scholars. The problem of the *Ineuitabile* has also been complicated by the fact that, like many of Honorius's other works, it does not fit neatly into one of the *genres* that we have come to expect from authors of his time. As a result, the Cassandrian version of the text, which, unlike the Conenine text, shows no influence of Anselm of Canterbury, has most often been understood—primarily on the basis of one monograph—as merely a simplified re-presentation of the anti-Pelagian doctrines of St. Augustine. The present chapter is a reexamination of the Cassandrian text, from which it is hoped a more nuanced view of the text will begin to emerge. Perhaps this will help us to move beyond generalities to other detailed studies, both of the *Ineuitabile* and of the other texts of Honorius's *corpus* that have received too little scholarly attention.

4.1 The legacy of Franz Baeumker: The Cassandrian text of the *Ineuitabile* as a simplification of the teaching of Augustine

The only study hitherto dedicated in any detailed way to the doctrinal content of the *Ineuitabile* in both its versions is Franz Baeumker's monograph, *Das Inevitabile des Honorius Augustodunensis und dessen Lehre über das Zusammenwirken von Wille und Gnade*. As his title indicates, Baeumker limited his theological (as opposed to historico-philological)¹ investigations

¹ The first chapter of Baeumker's monograph (discussed in the first two in chapters of this dissertation) consisted of a historico-philological defense of the Honorian authorship of both versions of the text. The second and third

to Honorius's doctrines of the free will, grace, and their cooperation. The general context of Baeumker's study was the assumption of Catholic theologians and historians of doctrine, from Conen to Daux, that the Cassandrian version of the *Ineuitabile* was, if not heretical, at least erroneous—perhaps even the work of a Protestant sympathizer wishing to gain authority for doctrinal innovations. The more proximate context was von Kelle's recent contention that the two extant versions of the text, while both dating from the twelfth century, were doctrinally antithetical, and therefore the work of two separate authors—the author of the Cassandrian text and the redactor of the later Conenine text.²

Baeumker defended not only the common authorship of the two recensions, but also the doctrinal orthodoxy of the Cassandrian text, contending that the two texts were in essential doctrinal agreement. Baeumker admitted that, in his earliest recension of the *Ineuitabile*, Honorius's had taught the infallibility of the divine predestination, especially with respect to the reprobate, with what he called a certain 'harshness' (*Schärfe*):³

*Die Betonung des unfehlbaren Gnadenwirkens Gottes bildet also so sehr ein besonderes Merkmal der Prädestinationslehre des Honorius, daß sie nicht nur wie ein roter Faden die ganze Schrift [i.e. in its Cassandrian form] durchzieht, sondern ihr folgerichtig auch den Namen gegeben hat.*⁴

He argued, however, that while some of Honorius's formulations may have been unfortunate, he none the less taught nothing that could not have been discovered in the late Augustine.

Wenn Honorius durch seine ganze Schrift hindurch beweisen will, wie sehr unbeschadet der menschlichen Freiheit das Gnadenwirken Gottes den Vorrang habe, so ist das die Übersetzung des Wortes Augustins, das dieser immer wieder dem pelagianischen gratiam

chapters dealt with the doctrinal problems mentioned as formulated by Honorius in the Cassandrian and Conenine versions of the text respectively.

² Von Kelle, "Über des Honorius Ineuitabile," p. 8.

³ Baeumker uses this descriptor twice: on pp. 57 and 87.

⁴ Baeumker, *Das Ineuitabile*, p. 60.

*secundum merita dari entgeggestellt, des Wortes nämlich: gratiam non secundum merita dari.*⁵

The reason for Honorius's revision of the *Ineuitabile*, according to Baeumker, was straightforward: his realization of the harshness of his formulations. The occasion was his discovery of Anselm's writings on the subject—the *De libertate arbitrii* and the *De concordia*. Yet the revision was not the result of any change of doctrine on Honorius's part, but simply a matter of clarification, or, as Baeumker termed it, a change of 'tendency': "*wenn auch die Tendenz eine andere ist, die Lehre ist keine neue.*"⁶ In the Cassandrian version of the text, Honorius had been at pains to defend the omnipotence of the divine predestination and its absolute primacy in the economy of salvation. While this had not led Honorius to deny the freedom of the will, that freedom had been downplayed. The change in tendency in the Conenine text was simply a clearer insistence, based on Anselm's work, that the human will was free from necessary coercion; nevertheless, the primacy of predestination and operative grace were not only not denied, but clearly asserted, albeit in terms that avoided what Honorius had come to regard as the unfortunate use of formulations that implied the constraint of the will on the analogy of natural necessity.⁷

Baeumker's conclusion was as concise as it was clear: "*So stellt Honorius, in der ersten Ausgabe des Ineuitabile reiner Augustinianer, in der zweiten eine Synthese von Augustin und*

⁵ Ibid., p. 57.

⁶ Ibid., p. 87.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 86-7. Baeumker draws attention (at pp. 83-4) to Honorius's removal of two such statements: "Sicut est impossibile ut cælum ruat, sic est impossibile ut aliquis de electis pereat" (*infra, uersio prima*, lines 874-4); and "Quemadmodum ignis necessario calet, glacies friget, sic necessario omnes ad regnum dei predestinati salui fient" (*infra, uersio prima*, lines 503-5). He points out, however, that the same thing is said in a different way in the Conenine version (*uide* *ibid.*, pp. 83-4): "Illi sunt uasa misericordiæ preparata in honorem, isti uasa iræ preparata in contumeliam. De illis nemo perire poterit, de istis nemo saluus erit" (*uide* *infra, uersio altera*, lines 725-8). Baeumker's discussion of the analogies from nature in their context in the Cassandrian text are found at *ibid.*, p. 59.

Anselm dar.”⁸ The universal acceptance of his findings rested on the fact that, with respect to the doctrines examined, Baeumker had clearly traced the content of Honorius’s teaching in the Cassandrian text ultimately to Augustine’s anti-Pelagian treatises and letters, while the new ‘tendency’ of the Conenine version was in line with, and had been shown with by unimpeachable philological demonstration to have been dependent upon, the two works of Anselm mentioned above. In this sense, the results of Baeumker’s work still stand.

There are several ways, however, in which Baeumker’s work itself must now be reexamined and refined. In the first place, undertaken as it was at the very beginning of the systematic historical study of the *Frühscholastik*, Baeumker’s treatise suffers, inevitably, from the methodological limitations of its time. One clear example of this, which occurs in his defense of Honorius’s doctrine of predestination in the Cassandrian text, is Baeumker’s interpretation of Honorius’s work in terms of later, scholastic distinctions. In the wake of Conen’s criticism of the Cassandrian text, Baeumker was faced with the fact that, to a Catholic formed in the dogmatic theology of his day, Honorius might have appeared to have assumed a quasi-Calvinist (or quasi-Jansenist) doctrine of *gratia irresistibilis*. Such a conclusion, Baeumker claimed, was simply an *argumentum a silentio*. The distinction between *gratia mere sufficiens* (*bloß hinreichende Gnade*) and *gratia efficax* (*wirkliche Gnade*), for example, had been the result of more in-depth investigations into the workings of divine grace than Honorius, or indeed Augustine, had undertaken; yet neither author, he argued, should be thought to have denied the universal availability of divine grace simply because they had not anticipated the results of those later investigations.⁹ Likewise, for want of a definition of the term ‘predestination’ in the

⁸ Ibid., p. 93. Original emphasis.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 48-9: “[Honorius] denkt über die Art, wie das geschieht, also letzthin über den Unterschied der wirklichen von der bloß hinreichenden Gnade, nicht nach und hat darum auch die Allgemeinheit von Gnaden in

Cassandrian text, Baeumker insisted that it must be understood as what would later be called *predestinatio completa* (i.e. predestination to grace and glory):¹⁰ *Die Vorherbestimmung . . . , wie [Honorius] sie versteht, ist die später die komplette gennante.*¹¹ This would explain, for example, how Honorius could say that the predestined and the non-predestined both labor in the good with all their strength;¹² the ‘predestined’ are only those predestined to glory, while the ‘non-predestined’ may have been predestined to many graces, but neither to the gift of final perseverance nor to the grace of glorification.¹³

In Baeumker’s day, of course, a defense of Honorius’s catholicity could only have been made in these terms. Unfortunately, however, this anachronistic manner of reading Honorius’s text in terms of later distinctions, and whether or not these could be assumed or not in his thought, prevented Baeumker from discerning certain metaphysical presuppositions that underlie aspects of Honorius’s argument. The main section of this chapter will examine some of these.

A further refinement of Baeumker’s work, however, must also be a thorough reevaluation of what it means to say that the Honorius of the Cassandrian text is “*reiner Augustinianer*.” It is

beiden Arten, mit andern Worten die Allgemeinheit der göttlichen Gnade sowenig wie Augustin behauptet oder geleugnet.”

¹⁰ Baeumker has in mind the presentation of predestination, with its various distinctions, as set forth in the Catholic dogmatic theology of his day. As representative, cf. Johannes Katschthaler, *Theologia dogmatica catholica specialis*, volume 3, part 1, appendix, cap. 1, art. 1, nos. 425-6 (Regensburg: Georg Joseph Manz, 1880), pp. 375-6: “Praedestinatio complectitur gratiam uocationis ad fidem, gratiam iustificationis, donum perseuerantiae finalis et praesertim gratiam glorificationis. Praedestinatio, quae omnia haec momenta indicata includit, praedestinatio *completa* appellatur, ut distinguatur ab *incompleta*, quae, ratione glorificationis non habita, ad singulas tantum gratias uel ad gratiarum seriem in praesenti uita refertur (*praedestinatio ad gratiam*, siue praedestinatio *simpliciter*), uel, quae, non habita ratione gratiarum ad gloriam ducentium, non refertur nisi ad gloriam (praedestinatio ad gloriam siue *electio*).”

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

¹² *Vide infra, recensio altera*, lines 103-8: “Ideo omnes et predestinati et non predestinati, totis uiribus semper in bono laborent, quia si predestinati sunt, pro maiori labore maius premium habebunt. Si predestinati non sunt, quanto minus impie egerint, tanto minus supplicium sustinebunt.”

¹³ Baeumker, *Die Ineuitabile*, p. 64.

certainly true that Honorius's teachings there can all be traced, ultimately, to the works of Augustine. As was shown in the last chapter, however, the question of Honorius's 'Augustinianism'—that is to say, the way in which Augustinian doctrine was mediated to Honorius—is more complex than Baeumker had likely realized, and his research must be reexamined in light of what is now known of the complexity of Honorius's knowledge and use of his sources.

One question raised by Baeumker's study may be mentioned as representative of this need for a more complete philological examination of the sources behind the Cassandrian text. Early in the section entitled *De Paulo et Augustino excusatio magistri*, the Master asks the Disciple:

*Cum summi doctores de hac materia multa conscripserint opuscula, precipue beatus Paulus ad Romanos, et sanctus Augustinus in quatuor ediderit libros, quid a me amplius poscitis, qui ad comparationem illorum sum elinguis?*¹⁴

Baeumker identified the 'quatuor libri', quite plausibly, as the two works written to the monks of Hadrumetum, *De correptione et gratia* and *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, and the two texts addressed to Prosper and Hilary, *De praedestinatione sanctorum* and *De dono perseuerantiae*.¹⁵ Yet in tracing Honorius's use of Augustine in the Cassandrian text, Baeumker was forced to look beyond these texts—to the *Opus imperfectum contra Iulianum*,¹⁶ the *Contra duas epistolas Pelagianorum ad Bonifacium*,¹⁷ *De perfectione iustitiae hominis*,¹⁸ *Epistola CXCIV ad Sixtum*

¹⁴ *Vide infra, recensio prima*, lines 114-19.

¹⁵ Baeumker, *Das Inevitable*, pp. 46-7.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 47, nn. 1 and 2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 48, n. 1, p. 51, n. 1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 52, n. 1, p. 65, n. 1.

compresbyterum,¹⁹ *Contra Iulianum*,²⁰ *In Iohannis euangelium tractatus*,²¹ as well as incidental references to *De ciuitate dei*²²—in order to identify the *loci* that he believed had influenced Honorius. This raises the question, of course, of why Honorius would only have identified four works of Augustine on the subject under discussion, when all the works identified as possible sources, apart from the *In Iohannis euangelium tractatus* and *De ciuitate dei*, were written expressly as anti-Pelagian treatises. One possibility, of course, is that Honorius had encountered at least some of the content of his admittedly ‘purely Augustinian’ doctrine in sources other than the four works of Augustine (whatever they were) to which he refers in his *Excusatio*. Take, for example, Baeumker’s assertion, noted above, that Honorius must be understood to be referring to what would later be termed *praedestinatio completa* whenever the term *praedestinatio* is used in the Cassandrian text. Baeumker noted that Honorius might well have come to this understanding of predestination in his reading of either *De dono perseuerantiae* or *De praedestinatione sanctorum*, and he provides two texts in support of his hypothesis:

*Haec est praedestinatio sanctorum, nihil aliud: praescientia scilicet et praeparatio beneficiorum Dei, quibus certissime liberantur, quicumque liberantur.*²³

*Inter gratiam porro et praedestinationem hoc tantum interest, quod praedestinatio est gratiae praeparatio, gratia uero iam ipsa donatio.*²⁴

If Baeumker is correct and Honorius had, in fact, encountered these definitions of predestination before composing the *Ineuitabile* in its Cassandrian form, one might raise the question of why he

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 54, n.1.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 54, n. 2.

²¹ Ibid., p. 65, n. 1.

²² Ibid., p. 48 (general reference with no note), p. 62, n. 1, p. 65, n.1.

²³ Augustine, *De dono perseuerantiae*, 13, 33 (PL 45, 1014), cited in Baeumker, p. 64, n. 1.

²⁴ Augustine, *De praedestinatione sanctorum*, 10, 19 (PL 44, 974), cited in Baeumker, p. 64, n. 1.

did not actually define predestination—something he did at the very outset of the text in its revised form—anywhere in the dialogue, but simply expected his reader to understand the precision with which he used the term? Moreover, even if he had this definition in mind when he wrote the Cassandrian version of the *Inevitabile*, there is nothing to say that he necessarily encountered it in Augustine himself. As has been shown in the previous chapter, when Honorius came to define predestination in the Conenine version of the text, he drew upon the writings of several patristic sources as found either in Burchardt of Worms or Ivo of Chartres, all of whom were dependent, in their turn, upon Augustine. These points are raised to indicate the need for a more thorough reexamination of Honorius’s sources than can be undertaken here, in the belief that it is only such a study that can be nuanced enough to show the complexity of Honorius’s knowledge and use of his sources.

Finally, Baeumker’s conclusion that Honorius’s position in the Conenine version of the *Inevitabile* is “*eine Synthese von Augustin und Anselm*” is altogether too simplistic. Again, a thorough and adequate restatement of the matter is beyond the scope of the present study, involving, as it would, a thorough engagement with Baeumker’s conception of Anselm’s understanding of the freedom of the will, as set out in the first half of his dissertation.²⁵ It is enough simply to point out that Anselm’s thought on these matters is, in many ways, simply a reformulation of Augustine. What is new in Anselm is not the doctrinal content of his writings, but rather his absolutely logical presentation of the Augustinian understanding of the will and its freedom in its pristine condition, after the fall, and in its eschatological state. Enough has been said on this in chapter 2 of this study to show where a more nuanced treatment of Honorius’s relation to these doctrines as found in Anselm might begin.

²⁵ Franz Baeumker, *Die Lehre Anselms von Canterbury über den Willen und seine Wahlfreiheit*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, vol. 10, part. 6 (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1911).

An investigation of the doctrinal content of both extant recensions of the *Ineuitabile* must likewise fall outside the range of the present study, which will limit itself to an investigation of one aspect of the argument of the Cassandrian text. Following a brief examination of some recent scholarly literature on the influence of the ninth-century philosopher-theologian, John Scottus Eriugena, upon Honorius, the Eriugenan nature of Honorius's doctrine of predestination in the *Elucidarium*—a work that seems closely associated with the Cassandrian version of the *Ineuitabile* in both date and content—will be explored. From his investigation of Eriugenan influence upon the doctrine of predestination in the *Elucidarium*, we shall turn to a close reading of three sections of the Cassandrian version of the *Ineuitabile*—two rather short, the other quite long—in an attempt to draw out several aspects of Honorius's logic, largely dependent upon Eriugena, which seem to have been hitherto unnoticed.

4.2 Two peculiar Augustinians: The influence of Eriugena upon the writings of Honorius

Something of the complexities of the interpretation of Augustine in the Middle Ages has already been seen in this study. The remainder of this chapter will be dedicated to an examination of one aspect of this complex problem as worked out in Honorius's developing understanding of certain facets of the doctrine of predestination in the Cassandrian version of the *Ineuitabile*.

As has been seen in the previous chapter, Honorius's relation to Augustine as a source is complicated by the fact that Augustine is often communicated to Honorius through various intermediaries. Paramount among these is the system of that great ninth-century Irishman, John Scottus Eriugena, the *Periphyseon*—“*La synthèse de Jean Scot Erigène*.”²⁶ That the *Clavis physicae* constituted an abridgement of the *Periphyseon* had long been known, but the influence

²⁶ The phrase is that of André Forest in *Le mouvement doctrinale du XIe au XIVe siècle, Histoire de l'Église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, vol. 13 (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1951), p. 9.

of the *Periphyseon* on other writings—specifically, the *Scala caeli maior*, the *Cognitio uitae*, and certain *quaestiones* likely by Honorius—seems first to have been noted by Endres in his 1906 monograph.²⁷ In an important and influential study of the influence of Platonic speculation on twelfth-century thought and art, Marie-Thérèse d’Alverny observed an Eriugenian influence “très marquée” on the *Liber XII quaestionum*.²⁸ R.W. Southern mentioned Honorius’s “unusual predilection for the works . . . of Eriugena,” without mentioning the titles of any of the works in which this predilection made itself apparent.²⁹

It was only in 1969 that Robert Crouse, drawing upon indications in the writings of Marie-Dominique Chenu, first set forth the idea that Honorius’s *corpus* is “most fully to be understood . . . in terms of a . . . direct appropriation, by way of Eriugena, of a Neoplatonic, Greek Patristic (pseudo-Dionysian) tradition.”³⁰ Although Crouse’s study concentrated primarily upon the *De animae exilio et patria* and its sources, he made reference to seemingly Eriugena-inspired passages, not only in the *Scala caeli maior*—the (presumably late)³¹ companion piece of the *De animae exilio*—but also in the early *Elucidarium*.³² In his later writings, while still insisting that Eriugena’s influence was the key to the interpretation of Honorius, Crouse emphasized, more than in his first study, the essential Augustinianism both of Eriugena and

²⁷ Endres, *Honorius Augustodunensis*, esp. pp. 128-9.

²⁸ Marie-Thérèse d’Alverny, “Le cosmos symbolique du XIIe siècle,” *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 20 (1953): 31-81, 67.

²⁹ Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 211.

³⁰ Robert Darwin Crouse, “Honorius Augustodunensis: The Arts as *VIA AD PATRIAM*,” in *Arts Libéraux et Philosophie au Moyen Âge: Actes de Quatrième Congrès International de Philosophie Médiéval* (Montreal–Paris: Institut d’études Médiévales–J. Vrin, 1969), p. 534.

³¹ Crouse dated the *De animae exilio* after 1140. *Vide* *ibid.*, pp. 531-2, n. 1.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 538, n34.

Honorius—an Augustinianism that is, to be sure, selective in its use of Augustine,³³ but in which a synthesis has been achieved in which “every essential point” in Nyssa, Dionysius, and Maximus “could be related to a parallel thought in Augustine.”³⁴ Honorius belonged to the generation of Anselm of Canterbury’s younger contemporaries, who “would see in Augustine, especially in *De Genesi ad litteram*, an adumbration of that Christian and neoplatonic cosmic metaphysic for which creation is a sphere of revelation coordinate with Holy Scripture,”³⁵ where “the totality of nature is . . . a *cosmos*, in Eriugena’s sense of that word; though fallen, in man’s fall, the world still represents a harmony, and is still the sphere of *multae diuinae apparitiones*.”³⁶

An alternate understanding of Honorius’s Eriugenianism was presented in 1979 by Paolo Lucentini, the editor of the *Clavis physicae*, in a twenty-page section of his important monograph, *Platonismo medievale*.³⁷ Lucentini dismissed the notion that the Scot’s direct influence could be detected in the early works of Honorius (as dated on the assumption of the chronological ordering of the list in the *De luminaribus*), but argued that “[l]a produzione teologica di Onorio . . . presenta, dal De neocosmo agli ultima scritti, un costante approfondimento della problematica eriugeniana.”³⁸ Lucentini argued persuasively, by a careful analysis of the content of several of Honorius’s texts, that these writings witnessed to his gradual

³³ On Eriugena *vide* Crouse, “*Intentio Moysi*: Bede, Augustine, Eriugena and Plato in the *Hexaemeron* of Honorius Augustodunensis,” *Dionysius* 2 (1978): 137-57, 142; on Honorius, *ibid.*, p. 151 and *idem*, “A Twelfth-Century Augustinian,” pp. 172-3.

³⁴ *Idem*, “*Intentio Moysi*,” p. 144.

³⁵ ³⁵ *Idem*, “A Twelfth-Century Augustinian,” pp. 171-2.

³⁶ *Idem*, “*Intentio Moysi*,” 153.

³⁷ Lucentini, *Platonismo medievale*, pp. 56-75.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-1.

acceptance of Eriugenian doctrines over time, as he engaged the Scot's work more and more profoundly. The development culminated in the redaction of the *Clavis*, which “*constituisce il momento più ricco e originale di un lungo viaggio alla conquista dell’universo eriugeniano.*”³⁹

However, while Lucentini's study is certainly the result of a painstaking examination of the texts that he saw as of crucial importance for understanding Honorius's Eriugenian development,⁴⁰ it suffers from at least two potential limitations. Both are methodological and involve the problem of the dating and selection of the texts examined. Even if one accepts the chronological ordering of the list of Honorius's works in the *De luminaribus*, only three of Lucentini's texts—namely, *De neocosmo*, *De cognitione uerae uitae*, and the *Clavis*—are recorded there. There is absolutely no external evidence by which the other three works might be dated, and therefore no reason, apart from Lucentini's prior assumption of the nature of Honorius's development, to decide where they fall chronologically. Furthermore, the texts in Lucentini's study that are listed in the *De luminaribus* do not stand in uninterrupted succession, but are widely spaced: *De neocosmo* stands ninth in the list, *De cognitione uerae uitae* in the eleventh place, and the *Clavis* in the nineteenth. This leads to the second problem—namely, why Lucentini chose the texts that he did. Indications of Eriugenian influence have been detected in several of the surviving intervening texts listed in the *De luminaribus*,⁴¹ yet Lucentini chose three texts not listed there—and those three the most ‘Eriugenian’ apart from the *Clavis*—in order to argue for the shape of Honorius's intellectual odyssey. A thorough study of the

³⁹ Ibid., p. 70.

⁴⁰ Viz., *De neocosmo*, *De cognitione uerae uitae*, the *Libellus VIII quaestionum*, *De animae exilio et patria*, the collection of *Quaestiones theologicae* published by Endres, and the *Clavis*.

⁴¹ On the *Eucharisticon* (in the tenth place, between *De neocosmo* and *De cognitione*) uide Sanford, “*Presbyter and Scholasticus*,” p. 416 at n. 104. On the *Imago mundi* (twelfth, following *De cognitione*) uide the *apparatus* of Flint's edition *passim*. On the *Scala caeli maior* (fourteenth) uide Endres, *Honorius Augustodunensis*, p. 52. On the *De anima et de deo* (fifteenth) uide the introduction and *apparatus* of Garrigues's edition *passim*.

sources of all the intervening texts would need to be done in order to ascertain whether or not they follow the pattern of development that Lucentini believed he had uncovered, before one could say with any real certainty that the Eriugenian influence on any one of Honorius's treatises depended entirely upon the exact point that his own engagement with and understanding of the *Periphyseon* had reached at the time of their composition.⁴²

There is, in fact, another possible explanation for the extent to which Honorius commits himself to Eriugenian doctrines in a given work—namely, the intention of the work itself and the audience towards which it was directed. That Honorius would be timid in his use of Eriugena in the *De neocosmo*—a work that expressly styles itself an *elucidarium*⁴³ and a help to the *infirmus intellectus*⁴⁴—is hardly surprising. It is no more surprising that the complexities of Eriugena's system should emerge more fully in sets of *quaestiones*, possibly aimed at students under Honorius's own supervision.⁴⁵ And indeed one would expect the *Clavis*, which had as its intention, as Lucentini himself points out, “*di ricondurre sapienti e incolti sul sentiero della conoscenza 'fisica,'*” to set forth the Scot's system as fully as possible, albeit in a simplified form that could be apprehended by an audience encountering it for the first time. If this were indeed the case, then perhaps Lucentini was over hasty in dismissing the influence of Eriugena's system on Honorius's earlier writings. And perhaps the fact that Honorius, himself imbued with the intricacies of Eriugena and his Greek sources, should express himself to the *infirmus intellectus*

⁴² It is worth noting in passing David Bell's argument (“The Basic Source of the ‘Scala Coeli Major’ of Honorius Augustodunensis,” *Revue Bénédictine* 88 (1978): 163-70) that Endres overestimated the Eriugenian influence on the *Scala* (on Lucentini's reckoning a later work than the *De cognitione*) and that Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram* provided the text's ‘basic source.’

⁴³ Honorius Augustodunensis, *De neocosmo*, ed. Crouse, p. 176, l. 10.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 209, ll. 483-9.

⁴⁵ And again, in this regard, it is perhaps not a coincidence that the individual *quaestiones* published by Endres (if genuine) are more daring in their use of Eriugena than those collected together into books by Honorius for more general consumption—viz. the *Libellus VIII quaestionum* and the *Liber XII quaestionum*.

after the manner of a simplified Augustinianism was not an indication of a lack of allegiance to the Carolingian philosopher. After all, Honorius had as an authority for the simplification of his expression and content Eriugena himself, who, confronted with Augustine's corporeal explanation of the general resurrection, could only assume that the Latin Fathers would speak in this manner solely "*ut saltem uel sic terrenis carnalibusque cogitationibus deditos simplicisque fidei rudimentis nutritos ad spiritualia cogitanda subleuarent.*"⁴⁶

4.3 Eriugena as an influence on the *Elucidarium*?

Important indications that the early Honorius was influenced by Eriugena were adduced in 1991 by Loris Sturlese, in an important chapter in which he sought to rectify what he believed an imbalance in the portrayal of Honorius by his teacher, Kurt Flasch.⁴⁷ Sturlese examined Valerie Flint's notes on the marginalia in the first book of the *Elucidarium* in the English manuscripts,⁴⁸ as well as the marginalia in books II and III of the text in MS Kremsmünster 133. Amongst these Sturlese found the marginal identification 'Iohannes Crisostomus'—Honorius's pseudonym for Eriugena in the *De luminaribus*—at least seven times (*mindestens 7mal*). Although Sturlese did not consider any of the doctrines involved to have been of crucial importance (*entscheidender Bedeutung*), he argued that Lucentini had been wrong to declare them "*infondati o irrilevanti.*"⁴⁹

One of the most interesting of these marginal identifications is that at *Elucidarium* I, 15, in which the Master explains the nature of predestination to the Disciple. The attribution of the section to 'Crisotomus' is well attested (six of Flint's eleven manuscripts), although

⁴⁶ Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, V, 986C, p. 177. Cf. *ibid.*, V, 1015BC.

⁴⁷ Sturlese, "Zwischen Anselm und Eriugena," pp. 940-1.

⁴⁸ Flint, "The Sources of the 'Elucidarius,'" 190-6.

⁴⁹ Sturlese, "Zwischen Anselm und Eriugena," p. 941.

‘Augustinus’ is also given in six of Flint’s manuscripts and in Kremsmünster 133. In four of Flint’s eleven manuscripts both *auctores* are attested. Given these attestations, it seems probable that both are genuine, and that Honorius understood the *lemma* thus identified as both Augustinian and Eriugenian. The section therefore deserves careful attention and must be cited in full:

Scriptum est: “Quod factum est, in ipso uita erat” (Ioan., I, 3-4). In quo patet omnem creaturam semper fuisse uisibilem in Dei praedestinatione, quae postea uisibilis ipsi creaturae apparuit in creatione, sicut artifex qui uult domum constuere prius tractat quomodo quaeque uelit disponere et machina quae post surgit in aedificio prius stabat in ingenio. Vnde dicitur Deus non esse antiquior suae creaturae tempore, sed dignitate.⁵⁰

In the notes to his edition of the *Elucidarium*, Yves Lefèvre described the section as “[r]epris assez fidèlement à Anselm, Monologion, IX-XI.”⁵¹ There seems little reason to think that Honorius was following Anselm here, however, especially given the fact that the marginalium ‘Anshelmus’ appears in none of Flint or Sturlese’s manuscripts. That Honorius had in mind what Lefèvre identified as Anselm’s source—namely, the seventeenth chapter of Augustine’s first *tractatus in Ioannis Euangelium*—seems much more likely. Commenting on the sentence quoted by Honorius (*Quod factum est, in ipso uita erat*), Augustine uses the same analogy of the *artifex* to explain the procession of the creature from the divine art to its state *foris* in creation:

Faber facit arcam. Primo in arte habet arcam: si enim in arte arcam non haberet, unde illam fabricando proferret? Sed arca sic est in arte, ut non ipsa arca sit quae uidetur oculis. In arte inuisibiliter est, in opere uisibiliter erit. Ecce facta est in opere; numquid destitit esse in arte? Et illa in opere facta est, et illa manet quae in arte est Attendite ergo arcam in arte, et arcam in opere. Arca in opere non est uita, arca in arte uita est; quia uiuit anima artificis, ubi sunt ista omnia antequam proferantur. Sic ergo, fratres charissimi, quia Sapientia Dei, per quam facta sunt omnia, secundum artem continet omnia, antequam fabricet omnia; hinc quae fiunt per ipsam artem, non continuo uita sunt, sed quidquid factum est, uita in illo est. Terram uides; est in arte terra: coelum

⁵⁰ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarium*, I, 15, p. 362.

⁵¹ Lefèvre, *Elucidarium*, p. 108, n. 1.

uides; est in arte coelum: solem et lunam uides; sunt et ista in arte: sed foris corpora sunt, in arte uita sunt.

It seems clear, from a comparison of the two texts, that in the passage from Honorius, the term *praedestinatio* is equivalent to *ars diuina*. There is a subtle but important change, however, between Augustine's text and Honorius's reworking of it. In contrasting the two states of the *fabricatio* of the human *artifex*, Augustine states: "*In arte inuisibiliter est, in opere uisibiliter erit." Honorius, on the other hand, perhaps surprisingly, refers to creation, both as it exists in the divine art (*in Dei praedestinatione*) and in creation, as being *visible*: "*patet omnem creaturam semper fuisse uisibilem in Dei praedestinatione, quae postea uisibilis ipsi creaturae apparuit in creatione.*" The language of the creature "appearing to the creature itself in creation," however, bears a striking resemblance to Eriugena's description of the creation of a theophany in *Periphyseon* I, 450B, as emended by Honorius in the *Clauis*:*

. . . intellige diuinam essentiam per se incomprehensibilem esse, adiunctum uero intellectuali creaturae mirabili modo apparare, ita ut ipsa diuina essentia sola in ea, creatura intellectuali uidelicet, appareat.⁵²

This understanding of theophany is the key to what Honorius means in this section. For Eriugena, and for Honorius following him, the appearance of the divine nature (the first division of nature, which is *per se incomprehensibilis*) in a theophany is at one and the same moment a descent of the divine Wisdom and an ascent of created intellect to participation in some aspect of that divine Wisdom, by which the divine Wisdom comes to be (*fit*) in the creature.

sapientia Patris . . . in qua et per quam omnia facta sunt, que non est creata sed creans, fit in animabus nostris quadam ineffabili sue misericordie condescensione ac sibi adiungit nostrum intellectum, ut ineffabili quodam modo quedam quasi composita fiat sapientia, ex ipsa descendente ad nos et in nobis habitante et ex nostra intelligentia ab eo per amorem ad se assumpta et in se formata.⁵³

⁵² Honorius Augustodunensis, *Clauis physicae*, 13, p. 11 (= *Periphyseon*, I, 450B, p. 14).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 13, p. 10 (= *Periphyseon*, I, 449BC, p. 13).

This *quasi composita sapientia* is precisely what Honorius describes in the *Elucidarium* when he speaks of that which is *semper uisibilis in Dei praedestinatione* appearing *uisibilis ipsi creaturae in creatione*. When one discovers that in the very next chapter of the *Clauis* Honorius replaces the noun *contemplatio* with *uisio*⁵⁴ in his abridgement of Eriugena’s description of the divine manifestation in the eschaton—when God will be all in all—it becomes abundantly clear that the creature’s visibility, both in the divine art and in creation, is intellectual visibility, not sensory visibility. Given all this, it is perhaps not even too much to wonder whether Honorius’s choice of a house (*domum*) as an example of human *fabricatio* does not stem from the fact that, only a few lines earlier in the text (at 448CD), Christ, the true *domus Patris*, is said to ‘build’ mansions by multiplying theophanies, or created visions of himself: “*Quot enim numerus est electorum, tot erit numerus mansionum. Quanta fuerit sanctorum animarum multiplicatio, tanta erit diuinarum theophaniarum possessio.*”⁵⁵

One final indication of Eriugenian influence on this section of the *Elucidarium* is its final sentence: “*Vnde dicitur Deus non esse antiquior suae creaturae tempore, sed dignitate.*” At *Periphyseon* I, 446A, Alumnus reports Augustine as having stated that the angelic nature was created “*ante omnem creaturam dignitate non tempore.*”⁵⁶ Clearly Honorius has recognized that just as the angels cannot be said to have existed before any other creature in time, since they

⁵⁴ Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, I, 450CD, p. 15: “Tanta enim diuinae uirtutis excellentia in futura uita omnibus qui contemplatione [*Clauis*=uisione] ipsius digni futuri sunt manifestabitur, ut nihil aliud praeter eam siue in corporibus siue in intellectibus eis eluceat.”

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 448CD, p. 12, .

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 446A, p. 8.

exist beyond time, so God cannot be said to be more ‘ancient’ than his creatures in time, since time is itself a creature, as Augustine showed so clearly in his *Confessiones*.⁵⁷

If these conclusions can be sustained, then just this one section of the *Elucidarium* is of great importance to our understanding of Honorius’s Eriugenianism. In the first place, one can see very clearly how flawlessly Honorius reworks Eriugena’s doctrines into a simplified form that can be appropriated on a very superficial level. When reflected upon in light of Eriugena’s own writings and Honorius’s reworking of those writings in the *Clavis*, however, the passage can be seen to contain, in some sense, Eriugena’s entire doctrine in a compact form. Secondly, if this analysis be correct, a true, though veiled, reference to the Eriugenian doctrine of theophany (or *diuinae apparitiones*), which had hitherto been thought to have appeared in Honorius’s works, at least explicitly, only in the *De animae exilio et patria*,⁵⁸ can be found in what is very likely Honorius’s earliest treatise.

If, however, Honorius’s ‘Augustinian’ understanding of the divine predestination in the *Elucidarium*, which he understands as equivalent to the divine art, has been deeply influenced by Eriugena’s metaphysics, whereby all things descend into being through angelic and human theophanies, then it is likely that the *Ineuitabile* is also somehow influenced by that same understanding.

4.4 Predestination as Divine Art: Honorius’s general understanding of Predestination in the *Ineuitabile*

⁵⁷ Augustine, *Confessiones*, XI, xiii, 15-6, p. 274: “si autem ante caelum et terram nullum erat tempus, cur quaeritur, quid tunc faciebas? Non enim erat tunc, ubi non erat tempus. Nec tu tempore tempora praecedis.” Cf. Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, V, 909A, p. 69: “Creator siquidem creaturam et dominus seruientem aeternitate praecedit, non tempore, ea ratione qua creator et dominus principium creaturae et seruientis est.”

⁵⁸ Vide Crouse, “The Arts as *Via ad patriam*,” 538; idem, “*Intentio Moysi*,” 153, at n. 72 (where Crouse argues that the doctrine is in some sense *implicit* in the *De neocosmo*); and Lucentini, *Platonismo medievale*, p. 67.

As noted above, Baeumker, unable to find a definition of predestination in the Cassandrian version of the *Ineuitabile*, and likewise unable to find in Honorius's text any sense of the need to distinguish between various graces beyond *gratia operans* and *cooperans*,⁵⁹ *praeueniens* and *subsequens*,⁶⁰ assumed that Honorius's understanding of the term must have been what was later to be called *praedestinatio completa*, and therefore more or less the understanding of Augustine in the writings addressed to Prosper and Hilary.⁶¹ Baeumker noted, however, that while failing to define predestination, Honorius did outline his doctrine in three "short and clear summaries" (*kurzen und übersichtlichen Zusammenfassungen*). Baeumker summarized,⁶² translated verbatim,⁶³ and then expounded⁶⁴ each of these in order to show that Honorius's teachings are, in all essentials, those of Augustine.⁶⁵

While Baeumker's conclusions are certainly true, so far as they go, on another level, his attempt to explain Honorius in terms of anachronistic reference to later distinctions (or, more precisely, by explaining why Honorius makes no attempt to move towards these distinctions) blinds him to much of the actual content of Honorius's text—most especially to the metaphysical presuppositions underlying the work. Baeumker was correct in drawing attention to these so-called 'summaries', as they indeed provide the reader (along with other passages less thoroughly

⁵⁹ E.g., *infra, recensio prima*, l. 156: "Omnia namque bona per predestinatos cooperante illorum libero arbitrio deus operatur." *Vide etiam* *ibid.*, ll. 478-99.

⁶⁰ E.g., *infra, recensio prima*, ll. 486-8: "Deus operatur, electos sua gratia preueniendo uelle, et subsequendo posse, cooperantur ipsi per liberum arbitrium consentiendo bona uoluntate."

⁶¹ Baeumker, *Das Ineuitabile*, p. 64 at n. 1.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 41.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-4.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-5.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

investigated by him) the key to Honorius's entire argument. This is not, however, simply because one can find in them distinctions, more or less corresponding to those of 'approved authors', that explain the intricacies of the interrelation and cooperation of grace and the free human will—although this is not unimportant. Rather, they provide the causal and ontological presuppositions that underlie the treatise's entire shape and argument.

Before passing on to a detailed examination of Honorius's text, however, it is well to point out the possible significance of two images used in the so-called summaries, the first of which Baeumker mentions only in passing, the other not at all. At the beginning of the first summary (lines 134-7), Honorius explains that the entire subject of his treatise is explained upon the premise⁶⁶ that "*quod providentia dei creatoris sapientissima, ab initio rem publicam instituit, dispensatione ordinatissima.*" Baeumker mentions this image of a divine Republic only to shore up his evidence of Honorius's indebtedness to Augustine, declaring that it is reminiscent of *De ciuitate dei*. In the second and third summaries, the Master speaks of God's preparation of *multae mansiones* in his house (lines 578-81 and 1334), which Honorius describes as the *locus gloriae*. The *locus classicus* of this latter image is, of course, John 14: 2, and Honorius might well be citing it from there, or as it had been interpreted by Augustine, for example, in the *In Ioannis Evangelium tractatus*.⁶⁷ The image of the divine Republic certainly does figure prominently in *De ciuitate dei*, and Honorius very likely had both of these passages of Augustine in mind as he drew up the Cassandrian text. Taken together with the description of creation as *uniuersitas*,⁶⁸ however—the abstract and absolute use of which, as Père Chenu pointed out, was

⁶⁶ Honorius uses the image of a threshing floor: "Huius igitur INEVITABILIS materia, tali uentilatur area."

⁶⁷ *Vide infra, recensio prima*, in notes to l. 578 et sq.

⁶⁸ At lines 349, 914, and 1101.

almost certainly inspired by Eriugena⁶⁹—it becomes virtually certain that Honorius encountered all three in the one place in which they are all used, and used in the same sense—in the *Periphyseon*, and perhaps especially in book V, the only book that Honorius did not abridge, but reproduced entirely in the *Clavis*. What is more, Honorius’s statement that the whole matter of the *Inevitable* can be resolved if one understands creation as a divinely ordered ‘Republic’ set in order by the “*providentia dei creatoris sapientissima*” corresponds precisely with what has been seen above in the *Elucidarium*, I, 15—namely, that predestination must be conceived first and foremost, not simply as the ordering, either positively or permissively, of human acts, but rather as the divine art understood *simpliciter*. It is first necessary, therefore, to examine this doctrine as it emerged in the philosophical and theological tradition to which Honorius was heir, so that it can be seen both the form in which he received it and how he adapted it in his treatise. The most convenient way of setting this forth is to show, first, how it was articulated by Augustine, and then to turn to Honorius himself, indicating areas where his own iteration of the doctrine has been influenced by the developments of Eriugena.

4.5 The Divine Art in Augustine’s Thought

Augustine tells us in his *Confessiones* that his understanding of creation as an ordered whole, entirely good because entirely dependent upon the Good-in-itself, emerged, in the first instance, from his reading of the so-called *libri Platoniorum*.⁷⁰ This correct understanding of creation was the necessary (and providential) corrective to the quasi-materialistic (and therefore quasi-dualistic) conception of reality that had resulted from Augustine’s *consuetudo carnalis*—

⁶⁹ Chenu, *La théologie au douzième siècle*, p. 22: “Sans doute cet usage est-il provoqué par la lecture de Scot Érigène, dont le vocabulaire comporte le terme avec ce sens caractéristique.” On Honorius’s use of the term in this sense in the *Liber XII quaestionum*, *vide* *ibid.*, p. 23.

⁷⁰ Augustine, *Confessiones*, VII, x, 16-xv, 21.

that universal propensity of unregenerate human mind to conceive all reality as sensible and particular by means of the imagination.⁷¹ What Augustine discovered was the incorporeal, immutable, and eternal cause and ground of his own cognition, ‘above’ (*supra*) his mind as cause is superior to effect:

*intraui et uidi qualicumque oculo animae meae supra eundem oculum animae meae, supra mentem meam lucem inconmutabilem . . . nec ita erat supra mentem meam, sicut oleum super aquam . . . , sed superior, quia ipsa fecit me, et ego inferior, quia factus ab ea. qui nouit ueritatem, nouit eam, et qui nouit eam, nouit aeternitatem.*⁷²

Augustine came to see that God—*ipsa ueritas, ipsum esse*—alone entirely is; all else, while existing in one respect and not another, both is and is not at the same time. Insofar as any part of creation, or indeed creation as a whole at any moment in time, is the realm of ‘becoming’ (Platonic *genesis*), it exists in the respects in which it participates in God’s *esse* and does not exist in the respects in which it does not.

*Et inspexi cetera infra te et uidi nec omnino esse nec omnino non esse: esse quidem, quoniam abs te sunt, non esse autem, quoniam id quod es non sunt. id enim uere est, quod inconmutabiliter manet.*⁷³

Moreover, all things that are, insofar as they are, are good. God, who is *ipsum esse*, is entirely good. Temporal creation, which, as a whole and in its parts, both is and is not, is always good insofar as it is. It is not the good-in-itself, however, since it is never more than a participating good, and is therefore always partial and never identical with the good-in-itself. Yet since, both as a whole and in its parts, creation is good insofar as it exists, there can be nothing in creation that is not-good. Anything in creation that seems evil, then, is only apparently so, and once understood within the whole (*uniuersa creatura*) will be seen to be good, for there is no reality

⁷¹ On this concept cf. Augustine, *Confessiones*, VII, xvii, 23; idem, *De trinitate*, VIII, i, 2; idem, *De uera religione*, xxxiv, 64; *Ibid.*, xxxv, 65.

⁷² Augustine, *Confessiones*, VII, x, 16, p. 140.

⁷³ *Ibid.* VII, xi, 17, p. 141.

apart from God and the creation that exists by participation in him. Anything that seems ‘inappropriate’ (*non conueniunt*), therefore, must be understood as ‘appropriate’ within its context, in its own particular place within the order imposed upon it by the divine will.

*Et tibi omnino non est malum, non solum tibi sed nec uniuersae creaturae tuae, quia extra non est aliquid, quod inrumpat et corrumpat ordinem, quem inposuisti ei. in partibus autem eius quaedam quibusdam quia non conueniunt mala putantur: et eadem ipsa conueniunt aliis et bona sunt et in semet ipsis bona sunt. et omnia haec, quae sibimet inuicem non conueniunt, conueniunt inferiori parti rerum, quam terram dicimus.*⁷⁴

Parts of creation, therefore, are good both in themselves, insofar as they are, and in relation to other parts of the whole; but the whole is good as a whole, by dint of its being rightly ordered with respect to its cause.

Augustine elaborated upon these seminal insights throughout the remainder of his life, most thoroughly in his hexaemeral treatises in the concluding books of the *Confessiones*, in books XI and XII of *De ciuitate dei*, and in *De Genesi ad litteram*. For the purposes of understanding the *Ineuitabile*, the content of *De ciuitate dei* is most important. Beginning in book XI, chapter 10, Augustine discusses how all creation proceeds from the simplicity that is the divine art, while never descending outside of that art. God is the highest good, Augustine explains, “*solum simplex, et ob hoc solum incommutabile.*”⁷⁵ In thinking of this simple, unchangeable good, however, one must understand that simplicity to be tripersonal, “[*q*]uod enim de simplici bono genitum est, pariter simplex est.”⁷⁶ The divine simplicity, Augustine explains as a non-participating identity of quality and substance, shared amongst the three divine Persons: “*dicuntur illa simplicia, quae principaliter uereque diuina sunt, quod non aliud est in*

⁷⁴ Ibid. VII, xiii, 19.

⁷⁵ Augustine, *De ciuitate dei*, XI, x, PL 41, col. 325.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

*eis qualitas, aliud substantia, nec aliorum participatione vel diuina, uel sapientia, uel beata sunt.*⁷⁷

Created goods, Augustine explains, differ from the divine substance in that they are “*non simplicia, et ob hoc mutabilia.*”⁷⁸ That is to say, amongst created realities—even the angelic nature and the human soul in the beatific vision—quality and substance are always separable, at least intelligibly. The soul, for example, even in the beatific vision, although *semper sapiens*, “*participatione tamen incommutabilis sapientiae sapiens erit, quae non est quod ipsa.*”⁷⁹ All that exists by participation, however, exists in dependence on its being eternally known by that which exists *non participatione aliorum*. That is to say, the divine simplicity, for Augustine, is identical with its knowledge, and, in knowing itself, it knows all that it creates, for it is, in fact, “*multiplex sapientia,*” in which are “*omnes inuisibiles atque incommutabiles rationes rerum, etiam uisibilium et mutabilium, quae per ipsam factae sunt.*”⁸⁰ The divine creative act, then, is the simple and eternal divine knowledge of creation in its causes, which is substantially identical to the divine will to create, while each created good is simply a participation in the moment of that divine creative knowledge that constitutes its *ratio*.⁸¹ As such, therefore, each of these created goods is a created expression of the divine wisdom, and is as such both good and beautiful.

⁷⁷ Ibid., cols. 326-7.

⁷⁸ Ibid., col. 325.

⁷⁹ Ibid., col. 326.

⁸⁰ Ibid., col. 327.

⁸¹ Augustine worked out the doctrine of the *rationes incommutabile* and their relation to the emergence of creation in time through the *rationes seminales* most fully in books V and VI of the *De Genesi ad litteram*.

Augustine's conception of the divine *Res publica*, which lies at the heart of Honorius's understanding of predestination in both versions of the *Inevitabile*, stands as the apex of his explication of the goodness of creation, and presupposes the stages of that argument. In the first place, the divine Republic contains a hierarchy of natures—a subject touched on, but only briefly, in book VII of the *Confessiones*.⁸² In the order of natures, ensouled natures are superior to inanimate objects, sensitive nature to vegetative, intelligence to to merely sensitive, immortal (angelic) to mortal (human).⁸³ Yet each creature, wherever its place in the hierarchy, may be judged according to its utility as well as its nature. *Vtilitas* is a thing's ability to communicate the good to another, whether the thing is used (*uti*) by God to communicate the good to one of his creatures, or by a creature that participates in the good-in-itself through its mediation. As a result, a thing's utility cannot be judged merely on the basis of its nature, but solely on the basis of its ability to communicate a particular good to a particular being in a particular situation. Hence, as Augustine explains, “*tantum ualet in naturis rationalibus quoddam ueluti pondus uoluntatis et amoris, ut cum ordine naturae Angeli hominibus, tamen lege iustitiae boni homines malis angelis praeferantur*”;⁸⁴ that is to say, insofar as a human being is just (*iustus*) he communicates the good more effectively than an evil angel, and must therefore be reckoned better, in the order of justice, than the angel, and loved as such—*quia iustus est*, as Augustine said elsewhere, rather than merely *ut iustus sit*.⁸⁵ More radically, however, Augustine argues that even rational natures that have turned from the good can be judged good, not simply on account

⁸² Augustine, *Confessiones*, VI, xiii, 19, p. 144: “. . . meliora quidem superiora quam inferiora, sed meliora omnia quam sola superiora.”

⁸³ Augustine, *De ciuitate dei*, XI, xvi, col. 330.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ Augustine, *De trinitate*, VIII, vi, 9.

of their natures (which are good *per se*), but also with respect to their utility—that is to say, according to the good that God communicates to others through them. As “*malarum uoluntatum iustissimus ordinator*,” by virtue of his prescience, God orders even the misuse of the rational will to the good of other parts of his creation. The preeminent example of this is God’s use of the devil:

*Itaque fecit [deus] ut diabolus institutione illius bonus, uoluntate sua malus, in inferioribus ordinatus illuderetur ab Angelis eius, id est, ut prosint tentationes eius sanctis, quibus eas obesse desiderat. Et quoniam deus cum eum conderet, futurae malignitatis eius non erat utique ignarus, et praeuidebat quae bona de malis eius esset ipse factururus: propterea Psalmus ait, Draco hic, quem finxisti ad illudendum ei, ut in eo ipso quod eum finxit, licet per suam bonitatem bonum, iam per suam praescientiam praeparasse intelligatur quomodo illo uteretur et malo.*⁸⁶

Hence, within the divinely instituted order, even the evil will (though not evil itself, which has no existence, but is merely privation) has a place, and contributes to the good of the whole by communicating some good to other parts of the whole, and, on the other hand, is prevented from doing more evil than the divine *ordinatio* will allow.⁸⁷

Beyond this, however, the evil will can contribute more than simply utility to the whole; it can also contribute to its beauty (*pulchritudo*), which is to say, it contributes to the good of proportion. In comparison to the importance of *utilitas* in his argument, Augustine makes much less of the evil will’s contribution to the *pulchritudo* of the created order than either Eriugena or Honorius later will. Nevertheless, he likens the existence of these evil wills within creation to poetic antitheses, implying, one presumes, that the good will appears more glorious in comparison with the evil (although this is at best implicit in what he says):

⁸⁶ Augustine, *De ciuitate dei*, XI, xvii, col. 332.

⁸⁷ Speaking of the fallen angels (*De ciuitate dei*, XI, xxxiii, col. 347), he says: “*istam [angelicam societatem], ne quantum uult noceat, dei potestate frenatam [est].*”

*Sicut ergo ista contraria contrariis opposita sermonis pulchritudinem reddunt; ita quadam, non uerborum, sed rerum eloquentia contrariorum oppositione saeculi pulchritudo componitur.*⁸⁸

The intellect rightly contemplating creation, therefore, will discern the goodness of the whole and of its parts, both in themselves and in their relation to the rest of the whole. The Manichees (Augustine's unnamed opponents) failed to see this, because they considered creation entirely in relation to themselves, to their own subjective likes and dislikes:

Nec attendunt, quam uel in suis locis naturisque uigeant, pulchroque ordine disponantur; quantumque uniuersitati rerum pro suis portionibus decoris tanquam in communem rempublicam conferant, uel nobis ipsis, si eis congruenter atque scienter utamur, commoditatis attribuant; ita ut uenena ipsa, quae per inconuenientiam perniciosae sunt, conuenienter adhibita in salubria medicamenta uertantur: quamque a contrario etiam haec quibus delectantur, sicut cibus et potus et ista lux, immoderato et inopportuno usu noxia sentiantur.

One who seeks to recognize the divine providence behind the order, however, will discover the utility of all things, will learn humility in the face of the hidden wisdom of the divine order, and will recognize that nothing that exists ought not to exist, for there is nothing evil apart from the privation of the good.

Vnde nos admonet diuina prouidentia, non res insipienter uituperare, sed utilitatem rerum diligenter inquirere; et ubi nostrum ingenium uel infirmitas deficit, ita credere occultam, sicut erant quaedam quae uix potuimus inuenire: quia et ipsa utilitatis occultatio, aut humilitatis exercitatio est, aut elationis attritio; cum omnino natura nulla sit malum, nomenque hoc non sit nisi priuationis boni: sed a terrenis usque ad coelestia, et a uisibilibus usque ad inuisibilia sunt aliis alia bona meliora; ad hoc inaequalia, ut essent omnia.⁸⁹

Even the evil will, deprived of the good as it is, can contribute to the beauty of God's ordered Republic. Considered in itself, the evil will is less beautiful than it would be in its pristine condition, as its aversion from the truth is contrary to its nature, wounding its nature and making

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid., XI, xxii, col. 335.

it worse. The key to the right contemplation of creation, however, is the recognition of the divine ordering even of these, on the analogy of the painter, who beautifies his canvas by the right use of shadow: “*Nec mala uoluntas, quia naturae ordinem seruare noluit, ideo iusti dei leges omnia bene ordinantis effugit. Quoniam sicut pictura cum colore nigro, loco suo posita, ita uniuersitas rerum, si quis possit intueri, etiam cum peccatoribus pulchra est, quamuis per se ipsos consideratos sua deformitas turpet.*”⁹⁰

4.6 The logic of the *Ineuitabile*: The Divine Art as the Exemplary Cause of the Universe

This understanding of the divine art undergirds the entire argument of the Cassandrian version of the *Ineuitabile*. This becomes clear from an examination of the first of Baeumker’s ‘summaries’, the “*summa totius materię*” of the treatise, which the Master promises to abridge “*in breue corollarium.*”

*Huius igitur INEVITABILIS materia,
tali uentilatur area,
quod prouidentia dei creatoris sapientissima,
ab initio rem publicam instituit, dispensatione ordinatissima,
in qua filiis quidem locum glorię,
seruis autem immo hostibus preordinauit locum ignominię*

. . .
*Omnia namque bona per predestinatos cooperante illorum libero arbitrio
deus operatur,
mala autem per contrarium a reprobis fieri iuste per liberum arbitrium permittit.
Et in his omnibus par laus dei inuenitur.*⁹¹

In his analysis of this passage, Baeumker concentrated, not on the section just cited, but on the central section (. . . *et ad locum glorię – in loco ignominię locabuntur*).⁹² He drew attention especially to Honorius’s use of the verb *praedestinare* to refer to the elect and his use of

⁹⁰ Ibid, XI, xxiii, col. 336.

⁹¹ *Recensio prima*, ll. 134-58.

⁹² The section in printed *infra, recensio prima*, ll. 140-52.

praescire in speaking of the reprobate, with the implied distinction that, while God is the cause of the good done by the elect, he knows, but does not cause, the evil that he foreknows.

Baeumker also pointed to Honorius's emphasis on the justice of the divine desertion of the reprobate, with its concomitant exclusion of divine constraint in their choice to sin.⁹³

Yet it is rather the sections that stand at the beginning and end of this passage that provide the key to the whole work. In order to understand predestination, one must first understand that creation, as a whole, is ordered by a most wise providence, and should be understood as God's Republic: "*providentia dei creatoris sapientissima, ab initio rem publicam instituit, dispensatione ordinatissima.*" So far Honorius is simply repeating what has already been seen in *De ciuitate dei*—namely, that creation as a whole participates in that *multiplex sapientia* which constitutes the divine creative knowledge of the *rationes incommutabiles*. The final sentence of the passage, however, though simple enough at first blush, may reveal another source. The use of the word '*omnia*' is odd, in that it modifies only another adjective—'*bona*'. Had Honorius either omitted '*omnia*' or limited '*bona*' with a phrase such as '*facta ab eis*' it would have been more what one would naturally expect from a treatise, the sole purpose of which is to explain election, reprobation, and the operation of divine grace. The Master's claim, however, is much more radical: God does *all good things*—not just some of the many good things that he does, but all of them—*per predestinatos*. Moreover, God permits evil things (*mala*) to be done (or 'made')—and perhaps '*mala*' is also governed by '*omnia*'—*per reprobis*. "*Et in his omnibus par laus dei inuenitur.*" A similar sentence occurs again not quite midway through the dialogue:

Vniuersa namque quę fiunt bona siue in cęlo siue in terra,

⁹³ Baeumker, *Das Ineuitabile*, p. 45.

*seu in omni creatura dei,
deus solus bonus per electos uel angelos uel homines operatur,
cooperantibus eis per liberum arbitrium consentiendo.*⁹⁴

The absolute character of both these sections is to be contrasted with Honorius's discussion of God's operative grace, in a section entitled *De gratia dei*.

*Quicquid enim electi boni operantur, deus in eis operatur,
sicut scriptum est: Deus est qui operatur in nobis, et uelle et posse pro bona
uoluntate.
Si deus operatur, quæ merces homini imputatur?
Et deus operatur, et electi cooperantur.
Deus operatur, electos sua gratia preueniendo uelle, et subsequendo posse,
cooperantur ipsi per liberum arbitrium consentiendo bona uoluntate.*⁹⁵

In this passage Honorius is explaining, in the traditional Augustinian manner, that the divine grace—prevenient and subsequent—is the ultimate cause of every good act of the rational will: “*Quicquid enim electi boni operantur, deus in eis operatur.*” In the other two passages quoted, however, Honorius turns the subjects around; it is no longer a simply matter of all good human acts having God as their ultimate cause, but rather, the astonishing claim that every good thing that God does he does through the elect.

Already the *Ineuitabile* has taken on an Eriugenian hue. Just as in the *Elucidarium* all creatures remain *semper uisibilis* in divine predestination, conceived as the divine art *simpliciter*, only ‘later’ (*postea*) appearing “*uisibilis ipsi creaturae . . . in creatione,*” so now God is seen to do all good things *per predestinatos*—that is, through human or angelic agency. Leaving aside the angelic nature for the moment, it will be remembered that, for Eriugena, the *causae primordiales*, which, among other things, he terms ‘*praedestinationes*’,⁹⁶ only ‘flowed forth’

⁹⁴ *Recensio prima*, ll. 681-84.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, ll. 478-88.

⁹⁶ Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, I, 529AB, p. 8.

(*procederent*) into their genera, species, numbers, and differences through the agency of human cognition and perception.

Again, from the standpoint of investigating Eriugenian influence on the *Ineuitabile*, it is most useful to examine Eriugena's thought as it is abridged by Honorius in the *Clauis*. For Eriugena, the *primordiales causae* constitute the second division of nature, the species *quae creatur et creat*. As Honorius puts it, "[u]niuersalis itaque nature ea forma secunda enitet que creatur et creat, que non nisi in primordialibus causibus rerum intelligitur."⁹⁷ These causes, which are called "*primordialia exempla uel predestinationes uel diffinitiones uel diuine uoluntates*" are "*secundum Plato*⁹⁸ *idea quoque uel forma in qua omnium rerum faciendarum, priusquam essent incommutabiles rationes condite sunt,*"⁹⁹ which God the Father 'performed' (*preformauit*) in his only-begotten Son. Yet in themselves, as held within the divine knowing, the causes transcend being. They can only be said 'to be' (*essent*) in their being known or sensed by created intellect within the third division of nature, *quae creatur et non creat*, and, more specifically, in the human mind.¹⁰⁰

Ad similitudinem ergo diuine mentis, in qua notio uniuersitatis condite incommutabilis substantia est, notio rerum, quam mens humana possedit dum in ea creata sit, substantia ipsarum intelligitur; et quemadmodum notio omnium que in uniuersitate intelliguntur uel

⁹⁷ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Clauis physicae*, 68, p. 48.

⁹⁸ Note that this attribution to Plato is an interpolation by Honorius. Eriugena refers to the primordial causes as IΔEA (529B), and Honorius may have made the connection to Plato through his reading of Calcidius. Cf. *Calcidii in Timaeum Platonis Commentarius*, 366, in J.H. Waszink with the assistance of P.J. Jensen, ed., *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus Commentarioque instructus*, Plato Latinus, volume 4 (London and Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1962), p. 334: "*Si diuersa sunt quae sentiuntur et quae intelleguntur, sint intellegibiles species necesse est, quae ideae nuncupantur; at enim non omnia quae corpore sentimus uera et certa sunt: sunt igitur ideae.*" On the possible influence of Calcidius on Honorius in the *De neocosmo*, uide Robert Darwin Crouse, "*Hic Sensilis Mundus: Calcidius and Eriugena in Honorius Augustodunensis,*" in H.J. Westra, ed. *From Athens to Chartres. Neoplatonism and Medieval Thought: Studies in Honour of Edouard Jeauneau* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), pp. 283-88.

⁹⁹ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Clauis physicae*, 68, p. 48.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. L. Michael Harrington, "*Unusquisque in suo sensu abundet: Human Perspective in Eriugena's Periphyseon,*" *Dionysius* 16(1998):123-40, 128-9.

*sensu percipiuntur substantia eorum dicitur, ita etiam motio differentiarum ac proprietatum naturaliumque accidentium ipse differentie et proprietates et accidentia esse dicuntur.*¹⁰¹

This flowing forth of being through the various levels of human perception of the divine archetypes is possible precisely because human nature contains, in itself, all levels of nature:

*Omnem quippe creaturam uisibilem et inuisibilem in homine fecit [deus], et ipsi uniuersitas condite nature inesse intelligitur, nichilque celestibus essentiis inest naturaliter quod in homine non subsistat essentialiter: est enim intellectus et ratio, est ei angelici corporis habenti insita ratio, quod post resurrectionem luce clarius in bonis et in malis apparebit. Totus iste mundus senilis in ipso conditus est, et nulla pars inuenitur, siue corporea siue incorporea, que non in homine creata subsistat nisi, uiuit, incorporatur.*¹⁰²

Humanity is therefore said to be the ‘workshop’ (*officina*) of all things, “[n]ulla enim est creatura a summa usque deorsum que in homine non reperiatur.”¹⁰³ Or as the *Clauis* has it, in a typically Honorian phrase: “Non . . . homo cum mundo peribit, sed totus mundus in ipso semper erit.”¹⁰⁴

It is this view of reality that governs the entire logic of the *Ineuitabile*, although the logic is always presented in such a way that a first reading will almost certainly be understood in a traditional, Augustinian sense rather than an Eriugenian one. But that is in line both with what has been seen in the passage on predestination in *Elucidarium*, I, 15 (and hence the dual identification of authority—Augustine and Eriugena) and with what has been seen in the passage *De dei republica* in the Cassandrian text of the *Ineuitabile*. Precisely the same situation confronts the reader in two further passages of this version of the *Ineuitabile*, entitled *De mansionibus predestinatorum* and *De penis reprobatorum* (lines 578-611). In the first of these, the

¹⁰¹ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Clauis physicae*, 253 (~PP 769AB), pp. 200-1.

¹⁰² Ibid., 248 (~PP 763D-764A), pp. 195-6.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 68 (~PP 530D), p. 49.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 248, p. 196.

previously mentioned image from John 14: 2 is used to describe the various states prepared by God “*in domo suo, id est in loco glorię,*” for those various elect whom he predestined to each ‘mansion’ in accordance with their diverse individual merits. This reading of the image is precisely in line with that found in Augustine’s *Tractatus CXXIV in Ioannis Evangelium*:

[M]ultae mansiones, diuersas meritorum in una uita aeterna significant dignitates. Alia est enim gloria solis, alia gloria lunae, alia gloria stellarum: stella enim ab stella differt in gloria; sic et resurrectio mortuorum. Tanquam stellae sancti diuersas mansiones diuersae claritatis, tanquam in coelo, sortiuntur in regno; sed propter unum denarium nullus separatur a regno: atque ita deus erit omnia in omnibus (I Cor. XV, 41, 42, 28), ut quoniam deus charitas est (I Joan. IV, 8), per charitatem fiat ut quod habent singuli, commune sit omnibus. Sic enim quisque etiam ipse habet, cum amat in altero quod ipse non habet. Non erit itaque aliqua inuidia imparis claritatis, quoniam regnabit in omnibus unitas charitatis.¹⁰⁵

Through a common charity, which is God himself, all the ‘laborers in God’s vineyard’, though differing in dignity, will not begrudge another’s dignity to him, “*cum amat in altero quod ipse non habet.*” The reprobate, on the other hand, are handed over to diverse punishments, instituted (*instituit*) by God *ab initio*, in a *locus contumelię*. Again here there is a diversity of punishments corresponding to a hierarchy of merit: “*qui plus se in malitia exercuerit, maiorem penam habebit, qui minus, minorem hereditabit.*”¹⁰⁶ A summary of the same matter (with the added distinction that while various ‘mansions’ are given according to merits, predestination is not), in almost precisely the same terms, is repeated toward the end of the dialogue in a twofold epilogue *de iustis* and *de reprobis* (lines 1327-47).

At first sight, again, this seems very straightforward, until one discovers that between these two summaries¹⁰⁷ the image of the House of God (*domus dei* or *domus domini*)—as well as

¹⁰⁵ Augustine, *Tractatus CXXIV in Ioannis Evangelium*, LVII, 2 – PL 35, cols. 1812-1813.

¹⁰⁶ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Ineuitabile, recensio prima*, ll. 597-9.

¹⁰⁷ These are the other two so-called summaries upon which Baeumker based his analysis of predestination in the Cassandrian text.

the related images of God’s palace (*palatium*), Republic (*res publica*), kingdom (*regnum*), and universe (*universitas*)—are used to depict a much more complex understanding of the playing out of the divine predestination than appears from a first reading of these two passages alone. Although these terms are used throughout the dialogue, the complexity of their interrelation is most conveniently seen in a lengthy final section of the dialogue (lines 912-1371), entitled in its entirety, in the Cassandrian text, *De uaria dispositione dei*. The importance of these terms will, therefore, be examined primarily as they occur in their context in this section, with reference being made, where clarification is needed, to earlier passages.

The entire passage *De uaria dispositione dei* is the Master’s answer to the Disciple’s question: “*Cum malefacta hominum deo nichil noceant, et illorum bene gesta nichil conferant, cur eos post mortem segregat, et non omnes pariter et equaliter in unum locat?*”¹⁰⁸ The Master answers the Disciple’s question by declaring that souls are segregated at the Parousia because this separation endows the universe (*uniuersitas*) with a certain beauty (*pulchritudo*) that it would not otherwise possess:

*Propter pulchritudinem, ut uariet [deus] operis sui uniuersitatem,
sicut pictor non omnes colores in uno loco, sed in diuersis ponit, ob decoris uarietatem.
Quis enim esset decor picture, si laquear totum cooperiret uno colore?
Nec etiam pictura posset dici.
Nunc diuersos colores diuersis locis pingit,
et multipliciter uariando totam picturam distinguit,
et sic opus suum delectabile uisu reddit.
Sic insignitor lapidum uarias gemmas diuersis locis imprimit,
et sic opus suum delectabile uisu reddit.*¹⁰⁹

The analogies of the painter and engraver, with the twice-repeated refrain “*et sic opus suum delectabile uisu reddit,*” makes the point clear. The escatalogical ‘segregation’ of souls—which

¹⁰⁸ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Ineuitabile, recensio prima*, ll. 908-11.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, ll. 913-24.

is simply the preservation of a diversity types of created will, both good and evil—is is beautiful precisely because these souls all partipate in the divine art as their first cause. Every created intelligence, to borrow Honorius’s phrase from the *Elucidarium*, is “*semper . . . uisibil[is] in Dei praedestinatione,*” and its appearance ‘*postea*’ “*uisibilis ipsi creaturae . . . in creatione*” is nothing more or less than its participation in that moment in the divine art that constitutes its eternal *ratio*. The eschatological preservation of good and evil wills, therefore, is nothing more or less than the return of these intelligences into their eternal *rationes*, in which, in some sense, they have always remained. The divinely ordered *uniuersitas* is therefore rendered *delectabile uisu* precisely by the procession and return of created intellects from and to their exemplary cause, becoming “*uisibilis*”—and here it must be remembered that *uisio* is Honorius’s word for Eriugena’s *contemplatio*¹¹⁰—“*ipsi creaturae . . . in creatione,*” in their descent into being, which also makes them knowable. Further on in the *Ineuitabile*, at the conclusion of his discussion of the last judgment, the Master will explain that God, *summa pulchritudo*, beautifies the universe by sharing with the *singula creata* the beautiful qualities that belong properly to him. That is to say, the procession of created intellects into being is solely in order that they might participate as fully as possible, through the contemplation of the single instances of beauty, in the *summa pulchritudo* itself. As the Master of the *Elucidarium* declares: “*Omnis . . . dei creatio consideranti magna est delectatio Omnia . . . sunt bona, et omnia propter hominem creata.*”¹¹¹

That these are Honorius’s metaphysical presuppositions is borne out by the fact that the Master immediately elucidates this tightly-packed statement by leading the Disciple (and the

¹¹⁰ *Vide supra*, n. 54.

¹¹¹ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarium*, I, 67, p. 373.

reader) through a guided contemplation of the beauty revealed by the manifold variety of stars, birds, fishes, beasts, trees, stones, plants, and flowers, concluding with the statement: “*Hęc diuersitas singulorum maiorem gratiam considerantibus et admirationem prebet, quam si non nisi unum genus existeret.*”¹¹² Passing *de paruīs ad maiora*,¹¹³ the Master considers the beauty to be found in human nature—the body (as having many members), the various orders of church and society (bishops and lower clergy, kings and subjects), diversities of customs (languages, laws, and so forth), the virtues displayed variously by different women, and the ages of man.

The heart of the whole matter, however, is reached when the Master treats *de uasis*—namely, vessels of honor and of dishonor. The splendor of any house (*domus*), he argues, is not merely maintained in spite of this diversity of vessels (i.e. the existence of good and evil wills), but is indeed increased (*auget*) by it. The Master has said the same thing earlier in the dialogue, when he explained that the devil was created “[*a*]d *cumulū glorię electorum, ut uberiori gaudio affluerent, cum hunc tam atrocibus tormentis subici conspicerent.*”¹¹⁴ Vessels of dishonor are not merely tolerated, but in fact “*omnia sunt in domo necessaria.*”¹¹⁵ “*Hęc omnia consideranti in dei re publica,*” says the Master, “*ingerunt stupenda cuiusdam pictureę oblectamina.*”¹¹⁶ The House of God (*domus dei*), therefore, is not simply to be equated with the *locus glorię* of the elect (or at least not in the sense that only the elect dwell in it objectively). Rather the *domus dei* is the *res publica dei*—the entire *uniuersitas*, in the sense of the whole ordered *cosmos*.

¹¹² Honorius Augustodunensis, *Ineuitabile, recensio prima*, ll. 972-3.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, l. 974.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, ll. 332-3.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, l. 1032.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, ll. 1033-4.

To emphasize this point in the most emphatic terms, the Master immediately makes the following statement: “*Denique [in a word] deus in regno suo—quod est cælum, terra, infernus, et omnia his coherentia uel subiecta—disposuit cuncta, ut sibi placuit, et ut decens fuit.*”¹¹⁷ The whole creation is God’s House, God’s Republic, and God’s Kingdom, and God is praised from all parts of his *uniuersitas*—“*cum deo de omnibus locis laus referatur.*”¹¹⁸ How like the concluding line of the earlier passage *De dei re publica*, in which the Master outlined the *summa totius materiae* of the treatise: “*Et in his omnibus par laus dei inuenitur.*” Yet now the content of that statement is much clearer: the created universe as a whole (both *omnia bona* done by God *per electos*, and *omnia mala* that God permits the reprobate to do or make) praises God in its beauty. Of course, evil (*mala*) cannot exist substantially, so this statement cannot be understood as meaning that evil praises God as something present. How God is ‘praised by evil’ remains to be clarified; for the moment the problem must simply be noticed.

Having shown the Disciple the beauty of the whole Kingdom of God—the beauty of the whole, in which the evil will is not merely tolerated, but necessary—the Master leads him to a higher consideration—*ipsum palatium dei* “*quod regnum cælorum uocamus.*”¹¹⁹ That the *palatium dei* is somehow higher than the *domus dei* is made clear by the fact that its description consists solely of the various levels of the angelic hierarchy and the various orders of the Saints. There has only been one earlier reference to the *palatium dei* in the dialogue, in a discussion of Satan’s fall. Asked why God had placed the devil in heaven (*in caelo*) only to allow him to fall, the Master answers using analogy of a goldsmith:

¹¹⁷ Ibid., ll. 1036-40.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., l. 1047.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., l. 157.

*Sicut aurifex si in palatio pretiosos lapides ad coronam omnes simul protrahat,
non tamen omnes in uno ordine sui operis ponat,
sed quosdam superiori, quosdam inferiori parte ut decens uisum fuerit imprimat,
sic deus de thesauro suę sapientię angelos uelut igneos lapides producens,
ut hoc in cęlesti palatio fieret decuit,
sed alios ibi scilicet in superiori parte sui operis remanere,
alios uero in inferiori locare decenter censuit.*¹²⁰

Although God brought forth all the angels *simul* from the divine art (*de thesauro suę sapientię*), the devil was not to remain “*in cęlesti palatio*,” since, as the Master goes on to explain, “*locum non sibi preparatum indecenter occupasset.*”¹²¹ The occasion of his fall from the *palatium dei* was his aversion from contemplation of the eternal Wisdom of God, after which the appropriate place for him (*locus conueniens*)¹²² was a “*locus tormentalis*,” in which he trembled “*tenebris insipientię.*”¹²³ The condition of remaining in the *palatium dei*, therefore, as opposed to the *domus dei*, is the contemplation of the divine Wisdom. The devil and the reprobate ‘fall’ from the *palatium dei* without thereby falling outside the *domus dei*. The *palatium dei*, therefore, must be a subjective state, rather than a matter of objective existence, since the only distinction between those ‘in’ both the *palatium dei* and the *domus dei* and those only ‘in’ the *domus dei* is the contemplative participation of the subject in the divine Wisdom. The “*tenebrae insipientię*” into which the reprobate ‘fall’ is nothing other than their state of aversion from the divine Wisdom, who is also *lux mentium*.

Yet at this highest point of contemplation—the contemplation of the *palatium dei*—the Disciple gives thanks for having perceived the beauty in the House (*domus*) into which the Master has led him: “*Gratias ago deo, quod tam incredibilis pulchritudinis insignia in domo in*

¹²⁰ Ibid., ll. 352-8.

¹²¹ Ibid., ll. 363-4.

¹²² Ibid., l. 366.

¹²³ Ibid., l. 386.

quam me introduxisti perspicue uideo.” That he has not simply ‘seen’ the House (as object), but been led into it is of the utmost importance. Through the contemplative process, by which the Disciple has intuited the beauty of the *domus dei*, from its lowest point (*infernus*) to its highest point (*ipsum palatium dei*), the Disciple has himself been drawn into it. Yet, as has been seen, it is clear that he was, objectively, already a part of the order of creation before he began his ascent—just as the devil and the reprobate also remain ‘in’ the *domus dei*, but not the *palatium dei*. The Disciple’s ‘entering’ the *domus dei* must therefore be precisely his subjective intuition of the divine beauty, and not simply his being a portion of the beautiful universe. Moreover, to be in the *ipsum palatium dei* is to be in this subjective state eternally, for, to anticipate the argument of the dialogue somewhat, God’s leading of the elect into the *palatium dei* will be understood, ultimately, as an eschatological event.

This section of the dialogue concludes with the Master’s explication of the reason for the Last Judgment, to which reference as already been made. There is no other reason for it than the reason already given for God’s universal disposition of the *uniuersitas*—that the whole *uniuersitas*, which again here is described on the analogy of a painting, might be beautiful, and that the joy of the blessed might be increased by the suffering of the reprobate. The entire passage concludes with the Masters summation: “*Hęc uniuersa illa summa pulchritudo ornat et illustrat, quę singulis suum proprium colorem prestat.*”¹²⁴ That is to say, beauty (*puchritudo*) is essentially one and simple, and all ‘colors’ (i.e. the various beautiful qualities that manifest the good of proportion in creation) belong properly to it alone. The many instances of beauty (*singula*) are manifestations of the quality that belongs properly to the beautiful-in-itself, which

¹²⁴ Ibid., ll. 1101-2.

can only be intuited by the created intellect as it contemplates the many different instantiations of beauty in their relation to the created order as a whole.¹²⁵

The Disciple is not content with having contemplated the *domus dei*, however, presumably because, as has been seen so often in the dialogue, the contemplation of the state of the *iniusti* increases the wisdom of the *iusti*. “I long to contemplate (‘see’) the city of Babylon as well” (*nunc etiam Babylonię ciuitatis ędificia cernere desidero*),¹²⁶ he declares, requesting that the Master explain to him why man was placed in paradise when he was not to remain there. The Master begins his answer by explaining that since each genus (*utrumque genus*) of humanity (the elect and the reprobate) took their origin from Adam, they all fell in him, and entered into exile with him at his fall, outside (*foris*) paradise. While Adam and the rest of the elect returned to Paradise, the reprobate remained outside (*foras*).¹²⁷

The Master portrays this return as a great contest between the just and the unjust. Of greatest interest in this section are the passages describing the various citizens of Babylon, in which the princes, clergy, monks, nuns, common people, the ignorant mob, and the women of the city are described in order. The passages stand in marked contrast to the Master’s earlier

¹²⁵ Cf. Hugh of St. Victor, *Commentatorium in Hierarchiam coelestem S. Dionysii Arepagitę* – PL 175, cols. 943D-944A: “Haec uero multiplicatio et uariatio uniuersorum est pulchritudo; quoniam, nisi dissimiliter pulchra essent singula, summe pulchra non essent simul uniuersa. Non enim unum aliquod ex uniuersis diuersis capere potuit, quod erat pulchritudinis totum: et *idcirco summa pulchritudo uaria participatione distributa est in singulis, ut perfecta esse posset simul in uniuersis*. Ipsa uero distributio multiplicatur optime et pulchre: optime in uniuersis, et pulchre in singulis, uel, optime secundum participantium dispositionem. Optime enim multiplicatur, ut maius sit bonum, quod a multis percipitur; et pulchre multiplicatur, ut maior sit decor uniuersitatis, quod participantibus singulis uarie diuersisque modis infunditur, ut ex multitudine numerosa in participantibus boni fiat consummatio, ex distributione dissimili participantium pulchritudo.”

¹²⁶ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Ineuitabile, recensio prima*, l. 1104.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, ll. 1121-9. Whether Honorius has in mind here Augustine’s teaching that all fell in Adam because our *natura seminalis* was vitiated by his sin (cf. *De ciuitate dei*, XIII, 14) or Eriugena’s understanding that all fell in Adam (considered as genus) by God’s prescience (*PP* 797A-C), and that the number of the elect is therefore a species of the human genus (*[s]pecies . . . humani generis est electorum numerus*) does not materially affect the argument. One might only say, tentatively, that the phrase ‘*utrumque genus*’ might indicate a Honorian adaptation of Eriugena.

description of the beauty of the various orders within the *domus dei*. A comparison of just one short section from each of the two series of contemplations—the descriptions of the beauty of various women in the *domus dei* and that of the women of the *ciuitas Babiloniae*—will suffice. They will be given together to provide a synoptic view. First the women of the *domus dei*:

*. . . quam suauis delectabilisque diuersitas est inter mulieres,
quod una alteram precellit in genere, illa illam in pulchritudine,
alia aliam in dignitate, alia alteram in amabilitate.*¹²⁸

Next the women of the *ciuitas Babiloniae*:

*Vides qualiter illa iuuenes per luxuriam illaqueat, illa multos ueneno enecat,
hec uiri uitam pro auro prodit, hec partus suos occidit,
hec lites prouocat, altera bella instigat,
ista maleficiis mentes hominum alienat, hanc uero nullus pecunia uel luxuria satiat,
hec ridendo multos decipit, illa flendo plerosque seducit.*¹²⁹

In the first passage, the *diuersitas inter mulieres* that is praised and contemplated is perceived in the various lines of decent (*genus*) of noble and commoner, diversity of beauties (i.e. that each is beautiful in her own way, and therefore one excels another in one type of beauty, another in another), levels of character (*dignitas*), and friendliness (*amabilitas*). Lines of descent, while belonging to the sensible realm, are presumably to be considered with respect to the right ordering of society, and therefore under the rubric of justice. Physical beauty is an instantiation of beauty-in-itself, and is therefore eternal with respect to its form. Character and friendliness are both virtues, in the general sense of dispositions of soul that result in good actions, and are therefore also to be understood in relation to the Good that forms the soul in its habits. All, in a word, reveal the eternal good-in-itself, are instantiated manifestations of it, and therefore eternal in their causes.

¹²⁸ Ibid., ll. 1015-19.

¹²⁹ Ibid., ll. 1292-1303.

The women of Babylon, on the other hand, are portrayed as the precise opposites of the women in the *domus dei*. One destroys virtue by inciting lust, others bring death by murder or betrayal, another acts contrary to the order of nature by eating her own young, while still others destroy justice by instigating strife and wars. Perhaps the most interesting descriptions, however, are the two examples of what might be termed physical beauty—she who beguiles with laughter and she who seduces with tears. Here can be seen most clearly what Honorius is trying to show by his contemplation of the two cities. When contemplated as a manifestation of the beautiful-in-itself, physical beauty is a good portion of God’s good universe. When sought for its own sake, on the other hand, it appears, when seen from the standpoint of eternity, as leading to destruction. The difference between the two is not objective but subjective—it is the difference between intuiting the beautiful-in-itself in contemplation, on the one hand, and acting as though any participating beauty were the beautiful-in-itself, on the other. The latter disposition of the soul is precisely the aversion from true Beauty—the divine Wisdom itself—that, as has been seen, is the occasion for being thrust out of the *palatio dei*. In Eriugenian terms, the contemplation of the physical beauty of the women of Babylon is to experience in prospect the terrible appearance in hell of what, when enjoyed for its own sake and apart from its cause, seemed delightful (*delectabilia*) upon earth.¹³⁰ Apart from its cause physical beauty is *nihil*, and when God has become all in all, beauty will no longer be experienced through the mediation of sensible particularity, which will no longer exist, but will only be known in the causes of that sensible particularity. In the eschaton, then, those who have never discerned in time, through contemplation, the eternal reasons which ground all sensible beauty, will possess only the empty fantasies of physical beauty detached from its cause; since the sensible realities will no longer

¹³⁰ Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, V, 977C, p. 163: “quae hic delectabilia impie uiuentibus arrident, illic terribiliter appareant.”

exist, their remembrance will be the cause of “despair and inquietude.”¹³¹ It is therefore necessary to contemplate the evil uses to which physical beauty can be put here and now, so that we might find our happiness in the eternal causes of that beauty, which, as only participated and never participating, can never be the cause of sorrow, which is always a potential for their participating effects.

The Master’s contemplations culminate with his description of the eschaton, when God will free his elect and bring them “*in celeste palatium secum*,”¹³² while the “*amatores huius mundi*” will be cast into a lake of fire.¹³³ Notice, however, the final sentence: “*et tunc omnia in meliorem statum electis commutabit*.”¹³⁴ Again, for the elect, all things—not just their own condition—will be transformed into a better state.

The logic of Honorius’s argument should now be clear. All of creation is an ordered whole, the *uniuersitas* or *respublica dei*, and as a whole manifests *pulchritudo*, bestowed upon it by the *semper eadem et inuariabilis dei sapientia*.¹³⁵ To be a portion of this ordered whole, whether one is elect or reprobate, is to dwell in the *domus dei*. One may dwell in the *domus dei*, however, in two senses—objectively, in the sense that one is a part of the ordered whole, or subjectively, in the sense that one discerns, as the cause of the *pulchritudo* of both the parts (insofar as they exist and are good) and the whole, the *summa pulchritudo* in which both the elect and the reprobate participate as their cause. It is in this latter, subjective, sense that the *domus*

¹³¹ Ibid., V, 977A, p. 163: “Caeterum generalis omnium impiorum poena erit, ut saepe diximus, luctus et tristitia de absentia et perditione rerum quibus in hac uita delectabantur, quarum phantasias semper ueluti prae oculis habebunt, quas comprehendere ardentem cupientes nequibunt (quoniam nihil sunt), cupientes consolationem habere ex his quae desperationem ingerunt et inquietudinem.”

¹³² Honorius Augustodunensis, *Ineuitabile, recensio prima*, ll. 1315.

¹³³ Ibid., ll. 1317-22.

¹³⁴ Ibid., l. 1323.

¹³⁵ Ibid., l. 1072.

dei is identified with the *locus gloriae*—the elect, who stand, subjectively, in right relation to God, who is both *summa pulchritudo* and *dei sapientia*. They ‘dwell’ there in the *multae mansiones* (the various forms of contemplation) prepared for them by the divine providence. It is in this sense also that the Disciple can claim to have been led into (*me introduxisti*) the *domus dei* and to ‘see’ (*uideo/conspicio*)¹³⁶ the “*totum decorem domus domini*.”¹³⁷ To be in the *domus dei* in this subjective sense eternally is to be in the very *palatium dei*, the dwelling place of the angelic hierarchies and the Saints in their various orders. The *multae mansiones* in the *domus dei*, subjectively understood, are simply the various levels of perception of the *summa pulchritudo* through various freely willed degrees of participation in that *pulchritudo* understood as *sapientia dei* which is also *lux mentium*. They are, as Honorius, following Eriugena, says elsewhere: “*multiplikes diuinae apparationes*.”¹³⁸

The *locus ignominiae*, however, the place of the reprobate, is no less, objectively speaking, in the *domus dei*, for the punishment of the reprobate in fact adds to the glory of the elect, and is therefore a necessary portion of the universe. If the reprobate never arrive in the very *palatium dei*, it is because they have become *amatores huius mundi*, whose love of the beauty of sensible particulars has blinded them to the *summa pulchritudo* which stands above them as their cause. Finally, when the elect have been led by God into the *palatium dei*, all things—not just their own condition—will be changed into a better state for them.

Woven throughout and undergirding Honorius’s whole argument in the *Ineuitabile* is the philosophy of Eriugena’s *Periphyseon*. While both authors have a common source in Augustine,

¹³⁶ Ibid., ll. 1075 and 1103.

¹³⁷ Ibid., l. 1103.

¹³⁸ Honorius Augustodunensis, *De animae exilio et patria*, XIII, PL 172, 1246A. For many parallels with these sections of the *Ineuitabile* generally, cf. Ibid., XI-XIV.

neither is simply ‘Augustinian’ in the sense that they repeat Augustine without modification or without drawing out explicitly what is, at best, implicit in the writings of the Bishop of Hippo. Augustine certainly speaks of the eternal contemplation of the divine Wisdom as the *domus dei*, in the *Confessiones*, for example. Yet surely the inspiration of Honorius’s description of the *domus dei* as, somehow, both the subjective perception of the divine Wisdom and the ordered universe is Eriugena’s understanding of Christ himself as *domus dei*, embracing both elect and reprobate together:

*Hoc autem dico, ut cognoscas quod non locorum interualla, sed meritorum qualitates faciunt hominem appropinquare Christo aut ab eo elongari. Hinc datur intelligi omnes homines unius eiusdemque naturae, quae in Christo redempta est omnique seruitute (sub qua adhuc congemiscit et dolet) liberata, participes esse et in ea unum omnes subsistere; meritorum uero qualitates et quantitates, hoc est bonorum actuum malorumque differentias, quibus unusquisque in hac uita bene uixit adiutus deo per gratiam, seu male desertus deo per iustitiam, longe a se inuicem et multipliciter et in infinitum disparari; omnia autem haec in illa una et amplissima domu ordinari et comprehendi, in qua res publica uniuersitatis a deo et in deo conditae per multas diuersasque dispensatur mansiones, hoc est meritorum et gratiarum ordinationes. Domus autem illa Christus est.*¹³⁹

It is certainly true that Honorius does not allow, as Eriugena, that the reprobate find themselves within the *multae mansiones* of God’s House. But perhaps this is a difference of expression rather than of meaning. For surely his description of both the elect and the reprobate as obtaining different rewards or punishments for diverse merits echoes Eriugena’s doctrine that by various levels of perception all intelligent creatures, both the elect and the reprobate, participate in God. This becomes especially clear when one remembers that, for Honorius, the *domus dei* and the *ciuitas Babylonii* differ only with respect to whether one considers the parts of the universe in isolation and for their own sake, or whether one contemplates the whole, as revealing the highest beauty that is its cause. Surely this is precisely Eriugena’s point as well:

¹³⁹ Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, V, 984 AB, pp. 173-4.

O quantum beati sunt qui simul omnia quae post deum sunt mentis obtutibus uident et uisuri sunt, quorum iudicium in nullo fallitur, quoniam in ueritate omnia contemplantur, quibus in uniuersitate naturarum nihil offendit uel infestum est. Non enim de parte iudicant, sed de toto, quoniam neque intra partes totius neque intra ipsum totum comprehenduntur, sed supra totum eiusque partes altitudine contemplationis ascendunt. Nam si in numero partium totius seu in ipso toto concluderentur, profecto neque de partibus neque de toto recte possent iudicare. Ideoque ei, qui de partibus ac de toto recte iudicat, necesse est prius omnes partes omneque totum uniuersitatis conditae mentis uigore et puritate superare, sicut ait Apostolus: Spiritualis homo iudicat omnia, ipse autem a nemine iudicatur. Sed quorsum ascendit spiritualis ille homo, qui de omnibus iudicat, et de quo nemo iudicare potest, nisi ipse solus qui fecit omnia? Nunquid in eum, qui omnia superat et ambit et in quo sunt omnia? In ipsum itaque deum ascendit qui uniuersitatem creaturae simul contempletur et discernit et diiudicat, neque eius iudicium fallitur, quoniam in ipsa Veritate, quae nec fallit nec fallitur quia est quod ipsa est, omnia uidet.¹⁴⁰

Honorius says precisely this when he claims that God allowed the devil to fall in order to provide an “*egregium spectaculum*”¹⁴¹ for the elect angels, that the destruction of the *ciuitas Babylonii* will be a “*spectaculum*”¹⁴² for the elect dwellers in the *palatium dei*, and that the Master has shown forth a “*magnum spectaculum*”¹⁴³ for the readers of the *Ineuitabile*. No part of the whole is painful or hostile, for those who see rightly “*supra totum eiusque partes altitudine contemplationis ascendunt,*” in the very palace of God.

It is also noteworthy that while Augustine views the *res publica dei* as an ordered whole, in which the evil will, insofar as it is part of God’s ordered whole, is good, he almost always explained this in terms of the utility of evil wills—their ability to communicate the good to other portions of the whole—rather than by asserting that they add to the beauty of the universe. For Augustine, one might say, the beauty of the universe exists in spite of evil, whereas, for

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., V, 970AC.

¹⁴¹ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Ineuitabile, recensio prima*, ll. 390.

¹⁴² Ibid., l. 1316.

¹⁴³ Ibid., l. 1324.

Eriugena, and Honorius following him, evil actually augments the joy of the elect. Hell, for example,

*dum per se consideratur, malum malis cognoscitur, dum uero in uniuersitatis pulcherima ordinatione constituitur, bonum bonis efficitur quoniam non solum iustissimi iudicis seueritas aeternaque sententia in eo manifestatur, uerum etiam beatorum hominum et angelorum laus felicitatis acquiritur et pulchritudo cumulatur.*¹⁴⁴

How remarkably close this statement from Eriugena is to what Honorius says about hell:

*Cælum namque et infernus sibi sunt contraria, sed utraque per se bona.
Cælum etenim bonum affirmatur, quia in eo maiestas dei ab electis collaudatur.
Infernus nichilominus bonus astruitur, quia in eo iustitia dei in reprobis exercetur,
et pari modo inde a iustis magnificatur.
Aqua et ignis sunt contraria, sed utraque bona.*¹⁴⁵

For Honorius, vessels of dishonor “*auget decorem,*”¹⁴⁶ and the devil was created “[*a*]d *cumulum glorię electorum.*”¹⁴⁷ Eriugena will go so far as to say that the grief and suffering of the wicked is, as it were, the ‘material cause’ (*ueluti quaedam materia*) of the praise, joy, and salvation of the elect.¹⁴⁸

For both Eriugena and Honorius, however, the divine goodness, the *summa pulchritudo*, manifests itself *in singulis*¹⁴⁹ in order that all things, in their way, might know and praise him.

As Honorius says:

*Posuit [deus] in cęlo angelos, quod cęlum decuit,
posuit in terra homines, quod terram decuit,
posuit in inferno demones, quod infernum decuit,
posuit in aliis creaturis alia, quod illas decuit.*

¹⁴⁴ Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, V, 954C, p. 132.

¹⁴⁵ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Ineuitabile, recensio prima*, ll. 264-72.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, l. 1026.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, l. 332.

¹⁴⁸ Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, V, 955C, p. 133.

¹⁴⁹ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Ineuitabile, recensio prima*, ll. 1101-2.

*Et frustra quis de locorum differentia queritur,
 ubi quisque deo disponente ponatur,
 cum deo de omnibus locis laus referatur.
 De cælis ab angelis laudatur, quod uisione eius suauitatis fruuntur.
 De terra ab hominibus laudatur, quod ab eo pascuntur.
 Et cum scriptum sit, Omnis spiritus laudet dominum,
 laus eius ab inferno fertur, dum rebelles spiritus ei in penis subduntur.¹⁵⁰*

And surely his inspiration was this passage from Eriugena:

Nonne hoc docet psalmus ille prophetico spiritu cantatus, in quo omnis creatura inuisibilis et uisibilis creatorem omnium laudare iubentur: Laudate dominum de caelis et caetera? In cuius fine mirabile theologiae contuitu apertissime datur intelligi quod omnia in spiritualem naturam reuersura sunt. Ita enim concluditur: Omnis spiritus laudet dominum. Si enim sola intra semet ipsam diuina bonitas quieta absque ulla operatione perseueret, non fortassis laudis suae occasionem faceret. Iam uero in omnia uisibilia et inuisibilia se ipsam diffundens, et in omnibus omnia existens, rationabilem intellectualemque creaturam ad se ipsam cognoscendam conuertens, caeterum uero rerum pulchras et innumerabiles species rationabili et intellectuali creaturae in materiem suae laudis praestans ita omnia fecit, ut nulla creatura sit quae non, aut per se ipsum et in se ipsa aut per aliud, summum bonum non laudet.¹⁵¹

All creatures, from the lowest to the highest, both for Eriugena and Honorius, praise God “*aut per se ipsum et in se ipsa aut per aliud.*” Angels and human beings praise God by knowing him, while inanimate objects and the reprobate angels and human beings provide the elect angels and men with ‘matter’ by the contemplation of which they are able to praise God more completely than by the contemplation of good wills alone.

Finally, Honorius’s declaration that all things will eventually be transformed “*in meliorem statum*” for the elect must be a reference to that return of all nature into its causes, when God will be all in all, to an understanding of which Eriugena’s Alumnus has been led when he proclaims: “*Plane perspicio non aliud esse mundo perire, quam in causas suas redire et in*

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., ll. 1041-55.

¹⁵¹ Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, V, 951D-952B, p. 128.

*melius mutari.*¹⁵² For surely the very *palatium dei* is precisely that return of created intellects into their causes, and surely that is the point of the long guided contemplations through which the Disciple and the reader of the *Ineuitabile* are being led by the Master. The realities described in the *Ineuitabile* are the matter for the praise of God, by which the souls of the *simplices* can be led to apprehend the order of the *uniuersitas*, and to intuit, above that ordered whole and present to their own knowing, the *summa pulchritudo*, which is also *semper eadem et inuariabilis dei sapientia*, in whom are their causes, and to whom, by contemplation, they return.

4.7 Conclusions

The *Ineuitabile* in its Cassandrian form is, indeed, an Augustinian treatise, but this statement must be qualified in two ways. In the first place, Honorius's Augustinianism is not simply the result of his reading of Augustine, but arises from his reading Augustine (and indeed many other authorities) alongside later interpreters. Paramount among these is Eriugena, and the logic of the treatise, in many important respects, owes as much to him as to Augustine. At the same time, however, the *Ineuitabile* can no more be reduced to a simplification of Eriugena than it can be reduced to a simplification of Augustine. Like Eriugena before him, Honorius is selective in his use of texts, but he also reworks his sources, drawing out implications from an author, while very often veiling them in the expressions of another. Hence on one level the Cassandrian text of the *Ineuitabile* does read like a summary of Augustine's teaching on predestination. When examined more closely, however, Honorius moves beyond Augustine to positions only fully articulated in Eriugena. Yet Eriugena's logic is often expressed in much more straightforward, often very Augustinian, language. But in this, as has been noted, Honorius is simply adapting that logic, in a polyvalent treatise that bears careful rereading and digestion,

¹⁵² Ibid., V, 898C, p. 56.

so that it might lead *simplices* beyond mere cataphesis, to a life of theologically informed contemplation—to a transformation of all things “*in meliorem statum.*”

CONCLUSION

Elusive and enigmatic, Honorius remains one of the great mysteries of the twelfth century. Much of the scholarly energy that has been expended in search of him has sought to tease out, from extremely limited historical evidence, a picture of the man, his religious profession (or professions), his place (or places) of residence, and the context (or contexts) of his literary activity. The results have often been ill founded and very often cannot stand up to close scrutiny. Following a surer path laid down by such scholars as Robert Crouse, Loris Sturlese, and Stephen Gersh, the present study has sought to understand something of Honorius's purpose from a close study of one of his works, the *Ineuitabile*.

Almost as mysterious as Honorius himself, the *Ineuitabile* has been the subject of controversy almost from the publication of Cassander's *editio princeps*. While twentieth-century criticism established, first, the authenticity of the Cassandrian recension and, secondly, the Honorian authorship of both extant versions of the text, the seemingly very different content of the two versions raised many problems for Honorius's interpreters. The complete absence of any Anselmian influence on the Cassandrian text, for example, became an especial problem for those who wished to associate Honorius with the 'school' of Anselm of Canterbury. Various explanations for such apparent doctrinal inconsistencies were elaborated: perhaps Honorius was simply a shallow thinker who had difficulty assimilating the thought of his greater master; or perhaps he had simply been away from Canterbury (and Anselm) when he composed the text. Such explanations, especially those that presented Honorius as a simplistic thinker whose works cut a poor figure next to those of his illustrious contemporaries, paid almost no attention to the actual content of Honorius's treatise. Moreover, the results of the most important study of the

Ineuitabile in the twentieth century, Franz Baeumker's monograph on grace and free will in the two extant versions of the text, were so oversimplified in their reception that they had little influence on future generations.

The present study has sought to redress some of these issues. Emerging as it has from the work of editing critical editions of both redactions of the *Ineuitabile*, it has taken the question of Honorius's reception of his *auctoritates* with utmost seriousness. As has been shown, Honorius's relation to his sources generally, and in the *Ineuitabile* specifically, is an extremely complex situation. An attempt has been made to illustrate how Honorius combines a masterful use of literary allusion with an effective use of dialectic to create a theological methodology that is at once faithful to the tradition and adequate to the nature and structure of human reasoning.

Out of these philological and methodological investigations emerged evidence of Eriugenian influence upon the argument of the Cassandrian version of the text. Apart from demonstrating a more extensive use of Eriugena by the young Honorius than has hitherto been shown, a new understanding of the text has emerged. While the Cassandrian version of the *Ineuitabile* has historically been presented as a treatise that presents Augustine's doctrines of predestination, grace, and free will in simplified form, easily absorbed by the *simplices*, it is now clear that, while this is to some extent true, there is much more complexity and nuance to Honorius's dialogue than has previously been noticed. Understanding predestination primarily as the divine art, understood *simpliciter*, Honorius's dialogue is much more than an exposition of the reconciliation of free will with divine grace and eternal election. In fact, the dialogue is so structured as to guide its reader to a contemplation of the metaphysical realities expounded in its pages. As such, what begins as the answer to the Disciple's request to 'untie the knot of predestination' quickly becomes a meditation upon the mystery of salvation, grounded in the

metaphysical system of Eriugena's *Periphyseon*. It is designed, in fact, to train its reader in the art of divine contemplation, and as such constitutes the first stages in the return of the reader's mind back to its first cause, a return that will only find its term in the eschaton, when God will be all in all things. In this respect, the Cassandrian text has a great deal in common with certain of Honorius's later, much more explicitly Eriugenian works. This seems to indicate that there is more coherence to Honorius's *corpus* than many have thought, and perhaps a more nuanced investigation of that *corpus* will reveal this coherence even more strikingly.

Part II

Critical editions of the *Inevitable* in its two Recensions

Introduction to Editions

1. Authorship

While problems of attribution within the Honorian *corpus* remain,¹ the ascription of the *Ineuitabile* to Honorius is virtually certain. Honorius's authorship has been contested only by von Kelle, who argued that the doctrinal inconsistencies between the two recensions of the text known to him precluded a common authorship.² While the differences between the two versions of the *Ineuitabile* are significant, however, they are certainly explicable in terms that are in accord with what we know of Honorius's work generally. In the first place, as is clear from the manuscripts, Honorius revised most of his major writings throughout his life. As Professor Flint pointed out, "[f]ew, in fact only those which were among Honorius's last works, appear to have been meant to be definitive. Honorius seems, for the most part, to have kept his writings before him, and worked over them with care."³ Moreover, whether one sees the changes to the text of the *Ineuitabile* as doctrinal corrections, or merely as clarifications, the continuity between the two recensions, both in terms of style and of content, is surely indicative of a common authorship.⁴

¹ Cf. Marie-Odile Garrigues, "Quelques Recherches sur l'Œuvre d'Honorius Augustodunensis," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique* 70 [1975]: 388-425, 388: "Si l'homme lui-même a fait couler beaucoup d'encre, la liste de ses travaux n'a pas rendu les historiens moins perplexes, et l'unanimité est loin d'être faite sur les titres qui doivent lui être attribués." While there is virtual certainty regarding the ascription of the major works of the *corpus*, recent attempts to identify several twelfth-century texts unidentified in the manuscript tradition with works listed in the *De luminaribus* has produced results which are at best suggestive. On the problem of Honorian *dubia* generally, see most recently Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, pp. 151-3, 179-80 and Garrigues, "Inventaire Critique," pp. 14-23, esp. 20-22.

² Von Kelle, "Über des Honorius Ineuitabile," p. 8 and idem, "Über den nicht nachwiesbaren Honorius Augustodunensis [2]," pp. 2-3.

³ Flint, "The Chronology of the works of Honorius Augustodunensis," *Revue Bénédictine* 82 (1972): 215-42, 217; reprinted in idem., *Ideas in the Medieval West: Texts and their Contexts* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1988), essay VII, original pagination.

⁴ Even Baeumker (*Das Ineuitabile*, pp. 3-39) and Garrigues ("Inventaire critique," pp. 173-181), for all their other differences, agree on this point.

There are several criteria, conveniently listed by Dr Garrigues in a 1975 article, that have generally been accepted by critics as indicators of the Honorian paternity of a text.⁵ The first and most important of these⁶ is the appearance of a text both in the list of works ascribed to Honorius in the final chapter of his *De luminaribus ecclesiae*⁷ and in the so-called *Donatio Gottwicensis*.⁸ The witness of the manuscripts, especially those of the twelfth century, is an almost equally important criterion, and that in two senses. First, an ascription to Honorius that is integral to a manuscript, especially if the ascription is unanimous, is a strong indication that a work belongs to him. Second, the inclusion of an anonymous text among other writings of the Honorian *corpus* similar in style and content may also indicate either Honorian authorship, or at least a connection with Honorius's sphere of influence.⁹ Less easily identifiable as belonging to Honorius, but nevertheless important, is the use of rhymed prose so characteristic of most of his works. Finally, most of Honorius's authentic texts contain a prologue written in Honorius's idiosyncratic style, and serving "to show the common authorship and the sequence of successive treatises."¹⁰ To these four criteria Garrigues added a fifth (really one particular aspect of the

⁵ Garrigues, "Quelques Recherches," pp. 415-18.

⁶ Cf. *inter alia* Garrigues, "Inventaire critique," p. 48: "On est donc fondé à considérer comme critère décisif d'attribution d'une œuvre à Honorius sa mention dans cetter liste du *De luminaribus*"; *uide etiam* R.D. Crouse, "*De neocosmo*," pp. 151-2: "Despite the paucity of manuscript evidence, the ascription of the [*De neocosmo*] to Honorius is not problematic. It is included in the catalogue of Honorius's writings in the *De luminaribus ecclesiae*, and also in the 'donatio Henrici' of the Göttweig library catalogue"; V.I.J. Flint, "The Chronology," pp. 215-16: "The third part [of the article] will concern itself with the rest of the works *acknowledged as his own by Honorius in the De luminaribus* The *De luminaribus* lists Honorius' works in this order: All of these except the 'Evangelia' can be traced again in the gift of Frater Heinricus." Emphasis mine.

⁷ PL 172, 232B-234A.

⁸ Printed in T. Gottlieb, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, vol. 1, pp. 11-2 and in PL 172, 33-6. The list in the *Annales Palidenses* derives from the *De luminaribus* and therefore inclusion there adds no weight to the evidence.

⁹ Cf. *infra* the descriptions of MSS Lyell 56 and Munich, clm 22225, for a discussion of several such works.

¹⁰ Sanford, "Honorius," p. 401, reported by Garrigues, "Quelques Recherches," p. 417 at n. 6.

fourth) – namely, allusion(s) to other writings within the Honorian *corpus* in the prologue of a work.¹¹ While Garrigues is correct in her assertion that reliance on only one of these criteria might well lead to dubious results¹²—e.g. the misattribution of Honorius’s works in the manuscripts is quite common,¹³ while rhymed prose was used by many authors in the middle ages—the cumulative weight of more than one (and ideally all) taken together should indicate Honorian authorship.

In the case of the *Ineuitabile* all five criteria are met. It stands third in the list of works attributed to Honorius in the *De luminaribus* and is listed in the nineteenth place among these same works in the *Donatio*. While the author of the ‘Cassandrian’ version of the text is never identified in the manuscripts (the author is simply identified as a certain ‘*magister*’), the four complete twelfth-century manuscripts of the ‘Conenine’ text¹⁴ are unanimous in identifying this *magister* as Honorius.¹⁵ Moreover, both versions of the text, as shall be seen in the

¹¹ Garrigues, “Quelques Recherches,” p. 418, n. 1. This criterion is not original to Garrigues; Baeumker had already used it as early as 1914 (*Das Ineuitabile*, pp. 3-5, 7). Garrigues does, however, give a more comprehensive list of such allusions.

¹² Garrigues’ statement that “[i]l n’y a donc aucun critère sûr d’attribution en l’état actuel de la recherche” (“Quelques Recherches,” p. 418) must mean that there had (as of 1975) been no systematic application of all these criteria to all the works in the Honorian *corpus*, not that the criteria could not, cumulatively, indicate Honorian authorship. In 1986 she stated that “[l]es critères d’authenticité des œuvres qui doivent . . . composer [le *corpus* honorien] n’ont pas fait l’objet d’un examen critique et rigoureux” (“Inventaire critique,” p. 14); it was precisely the criteria that she listed in 1975 which she examined in her inventory of the *corpus*.

¹³ The *Elucidarium*, which was written anonymously, is variously attributed to Augustine, Lanfranc, Anselm, and Abelard. The longstanding misattribution of the *De cognitione uerae uitae* to Augustine (edited by the Maurists among Augustine’s *dubia*) may stem from its attribution to him in MS Lyell 56. I have examined this manuscript *in situ*, and the ascription appears to have been written in a later hand, and in paint, rather than in the ink used for the other introductory matter.

¹⁴ Viz. (in order of precedence) MSS Klosterneuburg 931, Heiligenkreutz 77, Oxford, Lyell 56, Munich, clm 22225. MS Melk 532 identifies the author of the ‘*excerpta*’ that it contains as ‘*solitari[us] genere et nomine incognit[us]*.’ This is one of the many idiosyncrasies of this manuscript, which identifies the author of the *De neocosmo* as being ‘*cuiusdam solitarii*.’ MS Erlangen 227, which begins at line 158 of our edition (PL 172, 1200C), bears the title *De libero arbitrio*, with no reference made to an author.

¹⁵ *Vide infra*, l. 2: Legatio Fratrum ad Honorium. The possible significance of this identification will be discussed below.

description of the manuscripts, most frequently circulated in codices containing several other works from the Honorian *corpus*. The text is written throughout in an unbroken rhymed prose that will be analysed below. Finally, both texts contain a prologue (the ‘*Allocutio legati*’), initiated by a petition from the ‘*discipulus*’ who is to be the Master’s interlocutor throughout the dialogue, bearing a striking stylistic resemblance to other prologues in the Honorian *corpus*, especially to that of the *Sigillum*.¹⁶ Moreover, as often noted by others,¹⁷ the prologue seems to allude both to the *Elucidarium*¹⁸ and to the *Sigillum*.¹⁹

2. Date

Assigning a date of composition to any one of Honorius’s works is notoriously difficult, and this is especially the case when one is confronted with a text existing in more than one recension, all of which can reliably be ascribed to Honorius himself. The criteria for dating a text of Honorius are of two sorts, evidence external to the text and internal evidence.

The only external criterion for dating a text in the Honorian *corpus* is the supposed chronological ordering of the works ascribed to Honorius in the final chapter of *De luminaribus ecclesiae*.²⁰ Whether or not, as Garrigues maintained, this assumption arose merely from the expectation that Honorius would have recognized and followed the examples of his sources in ordering authors’ works chronologically,²¹ her persistent claims that all scholarly assertions of

¹⁶ PL 172, 495D-8D. Cf. the synopsis in Baeumker, *Das Inevitable*, p. 4.

¹⁷ Baeumker, *Das Inevitable*, pp. 3-7; Flint, “The Chronology,” p. 227; Garrigues, “Inventaire critique,” pp. 174-5.

¹⁸ *Vide infra* l. 10 (both versions): “et ob alia quę multis incognita *elucidans* . . .” Emphasis mine.

¹⁹ *Vide infra* ll. 6-9 (both versions): “Diligentię quidem tuę orationes, clavi autem David Christo gratiarum soluunt actiones, qui ob genitricis suę merita, tot eis *in canticis de ea reseravit per te mysteria*.” Emphasis mine. I have discussed my reasons for doubting Garrigues’s identification of an allusion to the *Summa totius*.

²⁰ Prescinding from the question of the Honorian authorship of the *De luminaribus*.

²¹ Garrigues, “Inventaire critique,” p. 45: “Les catalogues de Jérôme, Isidore, Gennade, Bède, Sigebert, sont, plus ou moins parfaitement, chronologiques. On s’attendrait à ce que celui d’Honorius dût l’être.”

the list's chronology are the result of an unconscious '*pétition de principe*'²² are certainly overstated.²³ No scholar has accepted the chronology as self-evident, and indeed even those who have accepted the order of the list as 'generally reliable' have done so with caution.²⁴ Bauemker's demonstration of the chronological sequence of the first three works listed²⁵—*Elucidarium*, *Sigillum*, *Ineuitabile*—which he based upon his examination of the allusions to the 'earlier' works in the 'later',²⁶ is quite persuasive, but his assumption that this demonstration, coupled with the lack of any other detectable order in the rest of the catalogue, indicates a chronological sequence throughout is less so.²⁷ Nevertheless, the allusions to the *Elucidarium* in the prologues of the *Sigillum* and the *Ineuitabile* make this chronological order extremely likely. The fact that they also appear first, and in the same apparently chronological order, in the *De luminaribus* is a highly probable indication that they were the first three works that Honorius wrote. There may be evidence that the *Ineuitabile* in its Cassandrian form antedates the

²² Garrigues, "Inventaire critique," p. 17, 22; idem, "Utrum Honorius," p. 38.

²³ Indeed as late as 1975 she had cautiously accepted it herself ("Quelques Recherches," p. 390): "... la liste honorienne que l'on s'accorde généralement à tenir pour chronologique."

²⁴ Baeumker (*Das Ineuitabile*, p. 8) considered that he had established the chronological order of only the first three writings—*Elucidarium*, *Sigillum* and *Ineuitabile* (in the Cassandrian version)—reliably (*zuverlässig*), but the place of a fourth (the *Expositio in Cantica canticorum*) only 'with considerable reliability' (*mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit*). This *Wahrscheinlichkeit* was based on the assumption that the chronological order of the first three works, which Baeumker had attempted to demonstrate, and the lack of any other obvious order in the list, indicated a *probable* chronological order throughout. Menhardt ("Der Nachlaß," p. 67), who doubted the authenticity of the final chapter, used the list with caution: "... dürfen wir uns von der sog. chronologischen Folge in De lum. Eccl. z.T. unabhängig machen." Crouse, with his customary judiciousness, considered the list only as "a generally reliable guide" (*De neocosmo*, p. 152). Flint put the greatest faith in the list's chronology, but this was based on a reconstruction of Honorius's life founded upon her presuppositions about his English origin ("The Chronology," *passim*).

²⁵ *Das Ineuitabile*, pp. 3-8.

²⁶ Cf. *supra*, nn. 16, 17, and 18.

²⁷ Cf. *supra*, n. 24.

Elucidarium.²⁸ In this case, it is possible that a draft of the Cassandrian text was written before the composition of the *Elucidarium*, and that the prologue, with its apparent allusions to the *Elucidarium* and *Sigillum*, was written later. This would still mean, however, that these three texts were Honorius's first literary productions.

The internal evidence upon which a date of composition might be attributed to the *Ineuitabile* is of two sorts. The first are the above-mentioned allusions to the *Elucidarium* and *Sigillum* in the *Allecutio legati*. The second is Honorius's use of sources. The only near contemporary source for the *Ineuitabile* is Anselm's *De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratiae dei cum libero arbitrio* (and possibly the *De libertate arbitrii*) in the Conenine version of the text. Conen identified these sources in his edition,²⁹ but Honorius's use of them was not examined systematically until Baeumker's 1914 study. The date of composition of the *De concordia*, 1108, must therefore stand as the *terminus ante quem* for the revision of the Conenine text. Bauemker (and most scholars following him) considered the Cassandrian text the earlier of the two recensions, and the Conenine text a revision of the first, following upon the *De libero arbitrio* and the so-called *Sententiae patrum de libero arbitrio et gratia*,³⁰ dating the Cassandrian text before 1108, the Conenine text sometime thereafter. As discussed above, however, we are no longer in a position to assume that the *Elucidarium* in the form in which we possess it was the earliest version. More importantly, as has also been seen, the use of Eriugena's *Periphyseon* in the Cassandrian text seems to be an early articulation of doctrines that

²⁸ Viz. a complete absence of Anselmian influence in the Cassandrian version of the *Ineuitabile*, as well as what seem to be different teachings about the devil's knowledge of his fall in the Cassandrian text, on the one hand, and the *Elucidarium* and *Clavis* on the other.

²⁹ *Vide* PL 172, nn. 262, 262, and 267.

³⁰ Baeumker, *Das Ineuitabile*, pp. 5-6 and 19-37. *Vide supra*, chapter 2, section 3 a discussion of Baeumker's arguments.

Honorius makes more fully his own in texts that are generally considered comparatively late.³¹ Nevertheless, the thoroughgoing use both of Eriugena and Anselm throughout the Honorian *corpus* make speculation based ‘stages’ of appropriation of either author tenuous in the extreme. Until other works in the *corpus* – especially the *Liber XII quaestionum*, the *Libellus VIII quaestionum*, *De cognitione uerae uitae*, *De libero arbitrio*, and the *Sententiae patrum* – have been brought into critical editions and their sources and manuscript provenance been more carefully examined, it is impossible to be sure of a date for either text of the *Ineuitabile*. Provisionally we date the Cassandrian text as the earlier, at some point between 1098 and 1108, and the Conenine version at some point after 1108.³²

3. Stylistic considerations

The *Ineuitabile*, like all of Honorius’s major works, is written in a consistent rhymed prose. Following the examples of Father Crouse³³ and Dr. Garrigues³⁴ the following edition is laid out to demonstrate the rhyme in the clearest possible terms. A discussion of this stylistic tendency in Honorius’s works generally clearly falls outside the scope of the present work.³⁵ It

³¹ *Vide supra*, chapter 4, section 2. On Honorius’s use of Eriugena in the *De neocosmo*, which Crouse cautiously dated between 1120 and 1125, *uide* Crouse, *De neocosmo*, pp. 143-9, esp 143-4: “It is the doctrinal position of the *De diuisione naturae*, summarized by Honorius in his own *Clavis physicae*, which provides the philosophical and theological basis of the *De neocosmo*”; also idem, “*Intentio Moysi*,” pp. 148-56. Following the chronology of the *De luminaribus*, Lucentini (*Platonismo medievale*, pp. 60-75) plots what he sees as an evolving Eriugenianism in Honorius, beginning with the *De neocosmo* and culminating in the *Clavis physicae*, the composition of which (between 1125 and 1130) “constituisce il momento più ricco e originale di un lungo viaggio alla conquista dell’universo eriugeniano.”

³² To insist upon a date early after 1108 would presuppose the assumption of Lefèvre, Southern, Flint, and others, that Honorius was a member of Anselm’s immediate circle, for which, as discussed above, there is no hard evidence.

³³ In his edition of *De neocosmo*.

³⁴ In Marie-Odile Garrigues, “A la Recherche de la ‘Refectio Mentium,’” *Studia Monastica* 20 (1978): 65-70.

³⁵ For Honorius’s use of rhymed prose within the general history of its use and an analysis of his prose in the *Gemma animae* and the *Sacramentarium*, *uide* Karl Polheim, *Die lateinische Reimprosa* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925), pp. 384-6. *Vide etiam* Crouse, *De neocosmo*, pp. 157-62 for a discussion of the rhymed prose of that text. Garrigues (“*Inventaire critique*”) gives examples of Honorius’s rhymed prose throughout her treatment of the *corpus*, but without analysis beyond indicating the basic structures so as to demonstrate them sufficiently close to other Honorian examples to use as one criterion of authenticity among others.

is well, however, to make a few observations, both to point out and explain certain peculiarities of Honorius's style in this text and to clarify the punctuation and layout of the edition.

i. Punctuation in the Manuscripts

In the best manuscripts of both versions of the *Ineuitabile* there are only three punctuation marks. The first—the *punctum*—marks partial stops and, in combination with a capital letter, full stops. The second is the question mark (⁂).³⁶ The third, which appears to originate with Honorius's composition of the text, is the 'punctus eleuatus' (⸀).³⁷ This latter form of punctuation is especially important, as it is used consistently to indicate the rhyme within Honorius's prose.

ii. Honorius's prose in the *Ineuitabile*: A brief analysis

Honorius's use of rhyme is often quite straightforward, as can be seen from an examination of the first nineteen lines of the text:

Fratres in domo dei cum consensu ambulantes,
sunt pro tua salute orationi instantes.
Diligentię quidem tuę orationes,
clauī autem Dauid Christo gratiarum soluunt actiones,
qui ob genitricis suę merita,
tot eis in canticis de ea reserauit per te mysteria.
Ob hanc causam, et ob alia quę multis incognita elucidans in laudem eius addidisti,
ipsam sacrosanctam uirginem, et omnes ipsius cultores tibi debitores fecisti.
Illorum nunc fungor ego legatione,
et ipsi summa deprecantur deuotione,
ut soluas eis nodum liberi arbitrii inextricabilem,
quem tua disputatio ut eis uidetur magis fecit insolubilem.
Si enim soli predestinati ut tu asseris quicquid etiam fecerint saluantur,
liberum arbitrium penitus tolli ęstimatur,
et hii qui dampnantur,
non iam sine culpa, sed etiam iniuste puniri putantur.

³⁶ Cf. Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Dáibhí Ó Crónín and David Ganz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 170, figure 31, example 10.

³⁷ Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, p. 170.

Here the rhyme simply consists of consecutive phrases concluding in the same form of declension, resulting in a structure: aaaa, bb, cc, dd, ee, ffff. This is Honorius's most common form of rhymed prose in the *Ineuitabile*, and, when employed, is generally only broken by verbatim quotations from Scripture. In this form of prose the rhyme is marked, in the best manuscripts, by the use of *puncta* and the *punctus eleuatus*. The latter is used to mark consecutive rhymes, but only if the lines are of sufficient length; it is quite frequently used at alternate rhymed syllables. It is not used after a full stop. The *punctum*, on the other hand, is used at every occurrence of rhyme in this 'simple' style of prose, either by itself or in combination with a *punctus eleuatus*. Hence, lines 2 to 7 are punctuated in the following manner: Diligentię quidem tuę orationes. clauī autem Dauid Christo gratiarum soluunt actiones. / qui ob genitricis suę merita. tot eis in canticis de ea reserauit per te mysteria. Ob hanc causam etc.

A slightly more ambitious use of the form is found in the following example, a single sentence that takes the form a, b, b ,b ,b, a (Cassandrian version, ll. 81-6):

Si per liberum arbitrium saluari poterunt,
 cur tot doctrinis,
 tot signis auditis,
 tot plagis uisis,
 uel perpressis,
 incorrigibiles sunt?

Here the rhyme is so rapid that it is marked only by *puncta* without any use of the *punctus eleuatus*.

Honorius's prose can, however, be more complex. For example, there are many examples of a break in the text (marked by a *punctum* in the best MSS) where there is no rhyme. In this case the punctuation may serve a dual purpose. In the first place it may have a metrical

significance—that is, it may simply mark a point in the text where a reader would naturally pause for a partial stop in reading aloud (and Honorius almost certainly intends this partial stop to maintain the rhythm of the prose, carrying the reader along, as it were). Very often, however, such a stop is probably also intended to add emphasis to what is often the main verb and main idea of the sentence, as in the following example from the Conenine version of the text (ll. 525–29):

Ratio igitur boni *poscebat*,
ut deus malum esse permetteret,
per quod bonum clarius splenderet,
et uniuersitas quasi reciprocis modulis per contrarietates suas in omnibus consonaret.

Here the main idea of the sentence (“The nature of the good demanded . . .”) is set off from its predicate (“ . . . that God allow evil to exist . . .”) and the predicate’s modifiers (the prepositional phrase “ . . . through which the good might shine more brightly, and the universe harmonise in all things through its contrarieties, as it were by alternating melodies.” This prose emphasizes the idea ‘the nature of the good’ (*ratio boni*) by placing it at the beginning of the sentence. Within the structure of the dialogue as a whole, however, this construction is also being used to emphasise the fact that the Disciple’s questions regarding problems in creation (in this case, “why does God permit the existence of evil?”) can only be answered by a more and more adequate understanding of the divine attributes and how these are necessarily expressed in creation. (Another example of precisely this construction, with the same intention, is found at ll. 575-7.)

Honorius’s rhyme can, however, become quite complex. A not uncommon example of such complexity is the use of a rhyme within a sentence that does not fall at the end of a line, but rather within it, and does not form part of the simpler rhyming scheme of the larger structure of the dialogue. This construction often signals an important contrast, as in:

Porro homo nulla *necessitate*, sed sola libera *uoluntate* **peccauit**,
et ideo ei dominus peccatum **imputauit** (l. 593-4).

In the following example the rhyme is intended to underscore the Disciple's (as yet incorrect) understanding of the relation between the divine prescience and the contingent human act.

Si deus omnia **prescit**,
tunc utique eos male *acturos*, et pro hoc æternum supplicium *passuros* **presciuit**
(ll. 389-90).

At this point in the dialogue, it seems to the Disciple that if God allows humans to act (*acturos*) in an evil way, foreknowing that they will suffer (*passuros*) punishment at his hands on account of their sins, then this foreknowledge is incompatible with the divine Goodness and Justice—human *suffering* would be the result of human *actions* that, so it seems to the Disciple, a good and just God could prevent by not creating human beings in the first place. Implicitly the Disciple is blaming God for human sin.

Perhaps the most complex structure of this sort is found at lines 684-6:

Illi qui **saluantur**,
ex gratia, et ex libero *arbitrio*, et ex dono dei,
et ex proprio hominis *merito* **saluantur**.

In this instance the rhyme emphasizes the relation between prevenient grace, the will cooperating with grace given, and the gift of perseverance, which, as Honorius goes on to explain, is to be attributed both to divine grace and human merit.

4. The Manuscripts

i. Description of the Manuscripts

This edition of both the Cassandrian and Conenine versions of the *Ineuitabile* is based upon a collation of the following manuscripts. With the exception of MSS Laud 237 and Lyell 56, which I have examined *in situ*, the manuscripts were examined in microfilm format. Because a full description of these codices is beyond the scope of this inquiry, the following descriptions

are limited to the texts of the *Ineuitabile*, other aspects of the codices that bear upon the transmission of Honorius's work, especially important details not mentioned in other reference sources. References have been provided to library catalogues for full descriptions of contents, materials, and other codicological details.

a. Manuscripts of the Cassandrian text

A Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 13105, saec. XII, fol. 83r-105r. Ff. 131. 227 mm X 159 mm, single column, 22 lines.

Provenance: Kloster Prüfening, Regensburg (Benedictine).

This codex is almost certainly that attested in a Prüfening catalogue dated 1158,³⁸ possibly making it the oldest surviving exemplar. The *Ineuitabile* is the work of one scribe, beautifully written, and assiduously corrected in the same scribe's hand throughout. It is almost certainly, therefore, a very faithful copy of its exemplar. The initial letter of the text and the initial letter of the *Excusatio magistri* are elaborately foliated; the initial letter of the citation of John 17: 23b-24 (fol. 83v) is also foliated, but less elaborately. Proper names are written in small caps. The text is punctuated throughout with *puncta*, *puncti eleuati*, and question marks, and the original punctuation is well preserved. Many of the *lemmata* are preserved, some in the margins, others incorporated into the text, although many genuine *lemmata* have dropped out of the tradition by this point. The codex also contains Honorius's *Elucidarium* (fol. 1r-73v) and *Offendiculum* (105r-131). It contains only one other text, Ivo of Chartres, *Sententia de diuinis officiis* (fol. 73v-82v).

References: C. Halm, F. Keinz, G. Meyer, and G. Thomas, *Catalogus codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, tome 2, part 2 (Munich: Bibliotheca Regia, 1876), p. 105; V.I.J. Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, p. 169 [75].

B Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, 133, saec. XIII, fol. 198v-208v. Ff. 223. 235-238 mm X 145-150 mm,³⁹ single column, 34 lines.

Provenance: Stift Kremsmünster (Benedictine).

³⁸ Albert Boeckler, *Die Regensburger-Prüfeninger Buchmalerei des XII. und XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: A. Reusch, 1924), pp. 209-16. The date is given at p. 209. Item 140 is identified as "Honorii liber qui dicitur elucidarius." Since the *Elucidarium* is the first text found in clm 13105, it seems reasonable to identify it with the MS thus described.

³⁹ H. Fill, *Katalog der Handschriften des Benediktinerstiftes Kremsmünster*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984), p. 212.

This codex consists of five quires, the last of which contains four works of Honorius: the *Elucidarium*, the *Ineuitabile*, the *Offendiculum*, and the *De Apostatis*, followed by miscellaneous anonymous *sententiae* and an anonymous sermon. The *Ineuitabile* is the work of one scribe, well written, with few errors of transcription, most of which the scribe has corrected. Three letters are foliated, the first two letters foliated in MS *A* and the first letter of the section *De Paulo et Augustino excusatio Magistri*. The one major error is the displacement of ten lines of text on folios 202v and 203r (*Effunde – inferiorem; uide* note at line 573 in this edition). The scribe has discovered the error and indicated the displacement *supra lineam*. This manuscript preserves the best punctuation of any exemplar of this version. Besides the use of the punctuation marks mentioned in the previous entry, the scribe has also used acute accents to mark penultimate syllables long only by position for reading aloud. Practically all of the original *lemmata* are preserved, all *in margine*.

References: H. Fill, *Katalog der Handschriften des Benediktinerstiftes Kremsmünster*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984), pp. 212-217; V.I.J. Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, p. 169 [75].

C Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 14348, saec. XIII, fol. 216r-217r. Ff. 253. 254 mm X 189 mm,⁴⁰ double columns, 45 lines.

Provenance: Kloster Sankt Emmeram, Regensburg (Benedictine).

The *Ineuitabile* follows the *Elucidarium* (fol. 195v-216r) in this codex. Both texts are written by the same scribe. The *Ineuitabile* is identified as ‘*liber IIII*’ of the *Elucidarium* and terminates with the words “. . . *quomodo malum elegisse affirmetur*” (line 192 in this edition). The scribe concludes without break with thirty-three lines of text, which is simply a catena of *sententiae* from Haymo of Halberstadt, Pseudo-Bede, Isidore of Seville, John Cassian, the prophet Micah, and allusions to Psalms 50 and 65.⁴¹ These do not form an integral portion of the *Ineuitabile* fragment and the fragment is simply that,

⁴⁰ Flint, *Imago mundi*, p. 27.

⁴¹ The *catena* is composed of excerpts from the following sources, in this order: Haymo of Halberstadt, *De uarietate librorum siue De amor caelestis patriae*, III, ix (PL 118, 937B); Pseudo-Bede, *Excerptiones patrum, collectanea, flores ex diuersis, quaestiones, et parabola* (PL 94, 543B); Isidore of Seville, *Etymoliarum libri XX*, IX, vii, 28 (PL 82, 367A); idem, *Etymoliarum libri XX*, IX, vii, 29 (PL 82, 368A); John Cassian, *Collationes*, X, xiv (PL 49, 842A); the second half of Micah 7: 5b (“*Custodi claustra oris tui*”), with the conclusion “*ista sunt holocausta medullata* (cf. Psalm 65: 15) *in humiliato corde* (cf. Psalm 50: 19),” which I have been unable to identify elsewhere in this form; Bede, *Super diui Iacobi epistulam*, I (PL 93, 12B); and ‘*Duodecim abusiua seculi*’ from Pseudo-Bede, *Excerptiones patrum, collectanea, flores ex diuersis, quaestiones, et parabola* (PL 94, 545CD). The whole catena concludes with a summary of this last *sententia*: “*Hec sunt duodecim abusiua seculi, per que seculi rota, si in illo fuerit capta decipitur, et ad tartari tenebras pertrahitur.*” The *Catalogus codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* does not identify the fragment of the *Ineuitabile* or this collection of *sententiae*. Although Flint noted that this catena is ‘an addition’ to the *Ineuitabile* (“*Imago mundi*, p. 27”), to my knowledge no one has hitherto identified the sources.

not an earlier ‘draft’ of the *Ineuitabile*.⁴² The catena is followed, after a break in the text, by an anonymous *quaestio De descensu sancti Pauli ad infernum*. The codex contains Honorius’s *Imago mundi*.

References: C. Halm, F. Keinz, G. Meyer, and G. Thomas, *Catalogus codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, tome 2, part 2 (Munich: Bibilotheca Regia, 1876), p. 160-1; V.I.J. Flint, “Honorius Augustodunensis *Imago Mundi*” *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 49 (1982): 27; eadem, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, p. 169 [75]. The first of these two references taken together provide a description of the contents of the whole codex.

D Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Miscellaneuous, 237, saec. XII or XIII, fol. 63r-78r. Ff. 253. 210 mm X 290 mm, single column, 29 lines.

Provenance: Kloster Eberbach (Cistercian)

The *Ineuitabile* follows the *Elucidarium* immediately in the codex and, as in MS *C*, is identified as ‘liber quartus’ of that work. Here, however, the entire text is preserved. Both texts are written by the same scribe. The text is not particularly well written and the scribe is careless, which results in many careless errors. There are two series of marginal *lemmata* found in this codex that are not found in manuscripts of either recension of the text: additional thematic *lemmata* and generic identifications of scriptural citations in the text (‘Dauid,’ ‘Euangelium,’ etc.). The second of these is probably an attempt to follow Honorius’s example of identifying his sources *in margine* in the *Elucidarium*. That they are not genuine is clear both from the fact that they are not found in any other manuscript, and that there are no identifications of patristic and medieval sources, which are given throughout the marginalia of the *Elucidarium*. The codex contains no other works of Honorius.

References: H.O. Cox, corrections, additions, and historical introduction by R.W. Hunt, *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues*, vol. 2, *Laudian Manuscripts* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1973), pp. xxiii-xxvi, 200-2; V.I.J. Flint, “The Original Text of the *Elucidarium* of Honorius Augustodunensis from the Twelfth Century English Manuscripts,” *Scriptorium* 18 (1964): 92; eadem, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, p. 169 [75].

Provenance: St Trond Abbey (Benedictine).

a Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université, 333, saec. XIII, fol. 66v-71v. Ff. 78. 180 mm X 280 mm, double columns, 58 lines.

Julius Dieterich’s description of this codex as “*satis pulchre et eleganter confectus*” is apt. Although written in a very small hand, the text is beautifully executed and very

⁴² Sturlese’s hypothesis that this codex and seven others cited by Lefèvre represent “*einen ersten Entwurf*” of the Cassandrian text is unsupported by the evidence. Cf. Sturlese, “Zwischen Anselm und Eriugena,” p. 936, n. 20.

legible, the work of one scribe throughout. The *Ineuitabile* follows immediately upon the *Elucidarium* (51⁴³-66v) and is followed by the *Offendiculum* (71v-76v) and the *De apostatis* (76v-78r). The only other work contained in the codex is Isidore of Seville's *Sententiae* (1-51). The *puncti eleuati* have dropped out of the tradition at this stage, and only the *puncta* and question marks remain. The marginal *lemmata* are entirely omitted. The initial letter of the *Ineuitabile* is inhabited, possibly by a self-portrait of the scribe.

References: M. Fiess and M. Grandjean, *Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège. Catalogue des manuscrits* (Liège: H. Vaillant-Carmanne, 1875), p. 93, 104-5, nos. 142 and 162; Julius Dieterich, *Libelli Honorii Augustodunensis presbyteri et scholastici*, in *MGH, Libelli de lite*, tome 3, p. 36.

b Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Vulcanianus, 100, saec. XIII, fol. Ff. 83. 90 mm X 70 mm,⁴⁴ single column, 17 lines.

Provenance: St Pantaleon, Cologne (Benedictine).

A small codex, the work of one scribe, poorly executed, and with many scribal errors. One scribal emendation at folio 2v seems to indicate that the scribe no longer had access to the exemplar when doing final corrections (*uide apparatus criticus* at lines 69-71 in this edition). The codex contains only four works: the *Ineuitabile* (1r-34r), which is incomplete, beginning at the words “*Cur michi hoc crimen impingunt*” (line 21 in this edition); the *Offendiculum* (34r-74v); the *De apostatis* (74v-81r); and certain *Miracula sancti Pantaleonis* (81r-83v). The marginal *lemmata* have dropped out of the *Ineuitabile*, but the traditional punctuation remains, although this manuscript probably preserves it least faithfully.

References: Library of the University of Leiden, *Codices Vulcaniani*, Codices manuscripti 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1910), 42; V.I.J. Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, p. 170 [76].

b. Manuscripts of the Conenine text

A Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell, 56, saec. XII, fol. 223v-236v. Ff. 273. 215-35 mm X 135-45 mm, single column, 28-33 lines, folios 146v-150v in two columns⁴⁵

Provenance: Probably Lambach Abbey (Benedictine).

⁴³ I have only had access to film of folios 66v to 78v. For the incipit of the *Elucidarium* and the pagination of Isidore's *Sententiae* I have relied on the descriptions in M. Fiess and M. Grandjean, *Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège. Catalogue des manuscrits* (Liège: H. Vaillant-Carmanne, 1875), p. 93, 104-5, nos. 142 and 162.

⁴⁴ Library of the University of Leiden, *Codices Vulcaniani*, Codices manuscripti 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1910), p. 42.

⁴⁵ A. de la Mare, *Catalogue of the Collection of Medieval Manuscripts bequeathed to the Bodleian Library Oxford by James P.R. Lyell* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), p. 168.

This codex contains fourteen works of Honorius, thirteen of which are also contained in MS *B*.⁴⁶ Five other works that may be from Honorius, what appears to be a shortened version of Hugh of St-Victor's *De archa Noe*,⁴⁷ a *quaestio* 'Utrum monachis liceat predicare' attributed to Rupert of Deutz, and four short unattributed texts are also shared with *B*. Although the codex as a whole is the work of more than one scribe, the *Ineuitabile* is the work of only one. The scribe is extremely careful and the work is beautifully executed: the script is the most legible of all manuscripts listed here, the spelling and use of abbreviations the most consistent, and the punctuation of the exemplar is probably followed more assiduously by this than by any other scribe. The initial letter is foliated in much the same manner as in MSS *A* and *B* of the Cassandrian text. Punctuation is well preserved and very clear, and maintains the use of *puncta*, *puncti eleuati*, and question marks throughout. The scribe also uses acute accents to indicate where spoken emphasis is to fall when the penultimate syllable is not long by position, and its length may therefore be unclear to the reader. The emphasis both of antepenultimate and penultimate syllables is indicated (e.g. *próuocat* and *instígat*, found in this edition at lines 1632 and 1633, respectively, and in the codex at folio 236r, lines 4 and 5). This manuscript's value is diminished only on account of problems in the exemplar from which it was copied. The other works by Honorius found in this codex are: the *Speculum ecclesiae* (1r-168r); *De cognitione uerae uitae* (168r-185r); *De libero arbitrio* (192r-193v); *De anima exilio et patria* (193v-195r); *Liber XII quaestionum* (195v-199r); *De decem plagis* (199r-200r); *Quid uasa honoris et quid uasa contumeliae* (200r-202r); *Quid sit claustralis uita* (202r-202v); *Quod monachis liceat predicare* (204r-205v); *Libelli VII quaestionum* (206v-209v); the *Summa gloria* (209v-216v); *Scala caeli maior* (216v-222); the *Sacramentarium* (237v-272v). The following five works may also be from the pen of Honorius, but straightforward attribution is impossible without further critical study of the texts: six short *quaestiones* (185r-192r); *De legione* (195r-195v); *Quid sit scala ad caelum* (202v-203v); four more short *quaestiones* (205v-206v); and the so-called *Sententiae patrum de libero arbitrio et gratia* (222r-223v). The connection of this last text to Honorius or his circle is virtually certain, since, as can be seen from the apparatus to this edition, many of the texts found in it are sources of the *Ineuitabile*. It is also closely related to the *De libero arbitrio*.⁴⁸

References: A. de la Mare, *Catalogue of the Collection of Medieval Manuscripts bequeathed to the Bodleian Library Oxford by James P.R. Lyell* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), pp. 168-74; V.I.J. Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, p. 169 [75].

B Munich, clm, 22225, saec. XII, fol. 68r-83v. Ff. 167. 200 mm X 295 mm, single column, 32 lines

⁴⁶ For the differences between the versions of the *Sacramentarium* found in the two codices' and the loss of all but the title of one of the anonymous works in *B*, uide A. de la Mare, *Lyell Catalogue*, p. 169.

⁴⁷ According to De la Mare, *Lyell Catalogue*, p. 170.

⁴⁸ A Pseudo-Augustinian pericope from this catena (PL 172, 1229B), which I have not been able to locate, is also reflected almost verbatim in *De libero arbitrio*, III (PL 172, 1224BC).

Provenance: Kloster Windberg (Premonstratensian, ca. 1154-9).⁴⁹

This codex contains all the texts of Honorius found in *A*, with the exception of the *Speculum ecclesiae*, namely: *De cognitione uerae uitae*; *De libero arbitrio*; *De anima exilio et patria*; *Liber XII quaestionum*; *De decem plagis*; *Quid uasa honoris et quid uasa contumeliae*; *Quid sit claustralis uita*; *Quod monachis liceat predicare*; *Libelli VII quaestionum*; the *Summa gloria*; *Scala caeli maior*; the *Sacramentarium*. It also contains the *Imago mundi*, which is not in *A*. The *Ineuitabile* is the work of one scribe, clearly copied, but omitting many of the marginal *lemmata*. The text is well punctuated, although the scribe appears at times to have been confused by the punctuation and to have ‘corrected’ it. The *puncti eleuati* have almost entirely dropped out. The scribe uses ‘-ę’, but less consistently than the scribes of other codices of this version.

References: C. Halm, F. Keinz, G. Meyer, and G. Thomas, *Catalogus codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, tome 4, part 4 (Munich: Bibliotheca Regia, 1876), p. 31; A. de la Mare, *Catalogue of the Collection of Medieval Manuscripts bequeathed to the Bodleian Library Oxford by James P.R. Lyell* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), pp. 169-74; V.I.J. Flint, “Honorius Augustodunensis *Imago Mundi*” *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 49 (1982): 28; eadem, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, p. 169 [75].

C Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, 931, saec. XII, fol. 27v-43r. Ff. 72. 160 mm X 235 mm, single column, 27 lines

Provenance: Stift Klosterneuburg (Augustinian).

The text of the *Ineuitabile* in this codex is the work of one scribe, carefully and clearly, though not ornately, copied. It is the best exemplar of the Conenine text.⁵⁰ The original punctuation is assiduously preserved, as are most of the marginal *lemmata*. All of the texts in this codex are found both in *A* and *B*. Other works by Honorius are: *De cognitione uerae uitae* (1r-23r); *De libero arbitrio* (23v-27v); *Scala caeli* (43r-48v); *De anima exilio et patria* (49r-51v); *Libellus VIII quaestionum* (60r-64r); *Liber XII quaestionum* (65r-69r); *Quid uasa honoris et quid uasa contumeliae* (69r-71v); and *Quid sit claustralis uita* (71v-72r). For the rest, the codex contains only the possibly-Honorian *Quaestiones de deo* and *de anima* and the fragments of Hugh of St-Victor’s *De archa Noe*.

References: *Catalogue of Manuscripts in Stift Klosterneuburg, Austria*, vol. 5 (Ann Arbor, Mich: University Microfilms, 1972), pp. 347-53; T. Gottlieb, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, vol. 1, *Niederösterreich* (Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen, 1915), p. 106, ll. 16-9; V.I.J. Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, p. 169 [75].

⁴⁹ Vide De la Mare, *Lyell Catalogue*, p. 169.

⁵⁰ Vide discussion *infra*, section ii.

D Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, 77, saec. XII or XIII, fol. 119r-128r. Ff. 133. 210 mm X 355 mm, single column, 37 lines

Provenance: Stift Heiligenkreuz (Cistercian).

The *Ineuitabile* is the work of one scribe and is clearly copied from a common ancestor with MS *C*, sharing characteristic readings, yet it is an inferior text overall. The punctuation of this manuscript is less consistent than *C*, and, while it often shares certain standard forms of abbreviation, these are often less clearly written than in *C*. Many more common words are abbreviated in this MSS than in the other twelfth- and thirteenth-century miniscules of the *Ineuitabile*: e.g. ÷ = 'est'; 's;'=sunt; ·H· = 'enim'. Moreover, the scribe often abbreviates well known biblical quotations, or parts of biblical quotations, by using only the initial letters of each word in the phrase, separated by *puncta*. Apart from the *Ineuitabile*, this codex contains seven texts by Honorius (all found in *A B C*): the *Libellus VIII quaestionum* (108v-111r); the *Liber XII quaestionum* (111v-113v); *Quid uasa honoris et quid uasa contumeliae* (114r-116r); *Quid sit claustralis uita* (116r-116v); *De libero arbitrio* (117r-119r); the *Scala caeli maior* (128r-131v); and *De anima exilio et patria* (131v-133v). The first seventy folios contain several writings of Augustine, followed by the *De statu animae* of Claudianus Mamertus, otherwise unrelated to these works of Honorius in the tradition. The codex concludes with a fragment of a thirteenth-century missal.

References: T. Gottlieb, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, vol. 1, *Niederösterreich* (Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen, 1915), p. 43, ll. 2-5 and p. 57, l. 1; V.I.J. Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, p. 169 [75].

E Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, 227, saec. XII or XIII, fol. 134r-150v. Ff. 89. 159 mm X 245 mm, single column, 27 lines

Provenance: Heilsbronn (Cistercian).

The text of the *Ineuitabile* in this codex begins at the words "*Libertas arbitrii est potestas seruandi, etc.*" (line 158 in this edition), and is announced by the title *De libero arbitrio*. It ends with the words "*nomen huic libello indatur INEVITABILE*" (line 1716 in this edition). The codex contains only one other work of Honorius: the *Eucaristion* (102-107). The marginal *lemmata* have dropped out of the text and another hand has added three marginal *lemmata* not descending from Honorius.

References: H. Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen*, vol. 1, *Die lateinischen Pergamenthandschriften* (Erlangen: Universitätsbibliothek, 1928), pp. 273-5; V.I.J. Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, p. 169 [75].

F Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, 532, saec. XIII, fol. 26-50. Ff. 133. 215 mm X 295 mm, single column, 31 lines

Provenance: Stift Melk (Benedictine).

This codex is highly idiosyncratic, containing none of the other texts with which the *Ineuitabile* in the Conenine recension commonly circulated.⁵¹ The manuscript does not, in fact, contain the *Ineuitabile* at all, but a reworking of that text, which the redactor has called *Excerpta libelli, qui uocatur Ineuitabile, editi a Solitario genere et nomine incognito*. Honorius's text has been cut up and reordered as answers in a set of primitive monastic *quaestiones*. The text of the *Ineuitabile* from which the redactor worked is closely related to *E*, but also to *G* and to the Tongerlo manuscript from which Conen edited the *editio princeps*. The *Excerpta* are the work of one scribe, beautifully written, with a decorated initial capital. The *puncti eleuati* have dropped out, but the punctuation is otherwise well preserved. The scribe seems occasionally to mark stressed syllables with acute accents. There are no marginal *lemmata*. Apart from the *Ineuitabile* the codex contains three works of Honorius: the *Elucidarium* (1-12); the *De neocosmo* (styled *Opusculum de operibus, quae fecit Deus in primis septem diebus*) (13-25); and the *De cognitione uerae uitae* (52-89). The only other work is a certain short *Excerptum ex S. Hieronymo de quindecim signis quindecim dierum ante diem iudicii* on folio 12.

References: Christine Glassner, *Inventar der Handschriften des Benediktinerstiftes Melk*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000), pp. 235-7; R.D. Crouse, *De neocosmo*, pp. 163-70; V.I.J. Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, p. 169 [75].

G Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 1088, saec. XV, fol. 2r-19r. Ff. 259. 140 mm X 210 mm, single column, 29 lines

Provenance: Stift Neuburg (Cistercian).

The *Ineuitabile* is the only work of Honorius in this codex. It is the work of one scribe. The Marginal *lemmata* have dropped out and some new ones have been added. The punctuation has also disappeared. There are two major *lacunae* in the text, from line 1230 to line 1383 and from line 1408 to line 1446 in this edition. These portions of text were also absent from Conen's Tongerlo codes, with which this codes shares a very large number of variants.

References: Anton Kern, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Druck Und Verlag Der Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, 1956), pp. 224-5; V.I.J. Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, p. 169 [75].

ii. The Relation of the Manuscripts

⁵¹ As Crouse pointed out (*De neocosmo*, p. 165) it was also the only one of the early codices containing the *De neocosmo* that contained none of the works with which that text circulated.

The fundamental assumption that has guided the analysis of the priority and posteriority of the manuscripts, is that Honorius prepared the second redaction of the *Ineuitabile* from his own autograph of the first. I have therefore given priority to the manuscript, or groups of manuscripts, of either version of the text that agree most closely with readings found in the passages common to both recensions. The result of this comparison has shown that the best exemplar of the Cassandrian text, with only one major variant, which will be discussed below, is MS Kremsmunster 133 (designated *B*). The family of manuscripts represented by MS Klosterneuberg 931 (designated *C*) and MS Heiligenkreuz 77 (designated *D*) are the purest exemplars of the Conenine text; of these, *C* is the most reliable.

a. Manuscripts of the Cassandrian version

The manuscripts of the Cassandrian version used for this edition all appear to have descended from an early collection that included four of Honorius's works—the *Elucidarium*, the *Ineuitabile*, the *Offendiculum*, and the *De apostatis*, probably copied in this order.⁵² These manuscripts are divided into two broad families. Members of 'Family A' (MSS *A B C D*), which taken together are closest to Honorius's autograph, are all found in Austrian and German libraries. Manuscripts of 'Family B' (MSS *a b*) are now found in libraries in the Low Countries, although MS Vulcanus 100, now housed at the University of Leiden, originally belonged to the Benedictine Abbey of St Pantaleon in Cologne.⁵³

The two manuscripts of Family B tend to share many minor variants, but the two families are distinguished from one another principally by three major variants. The first of these is quite

⁵² Sanford ("Honorius, *Presbyter* and *Scholasticus*," 411) notes "[t]he occurrence of the first version [of the *Ineuitabile*], together with the *Elucidarium*, *Offendiculum*, and *De apostatis*, in several manuscripts from a common archetype," without designating to which manuscripts she refers. I have not examined the fifteenth-century manuscript containing the *Ineuitabile* to which she refers at p. 411, .n. 24 (MS Eisleben 960).

⁵³ *Vide Codices Vulcani*, p. 42.

easily explained, while explanations of the other two are slightly more complicated. The first major difference between the two families is the loss of the marginal *lemmata*—common to the best manuscripts of both versions of the text, and almost certainly the work of Honorius himself—in both manuscripts of Family B. Clearly this was the result of a scribal decision to omit the *lemmata* from a common ancestor of these manuscripts for the sake of simplicity. The second major variant is an alternative reading of Matthew 25: 34b. Two manuscripts of Family A agree with all of the twelfth-century manuscripts of the Conenine text, reads: “*Venite benedicti patris mei, possidete regnum, ab initio uobis preparatum.*” (Manuscript *C* ends before this citation occurs; *D* substitutes ‘*percipite*’ for ‘*possidete.*’) Both manuscripts of Family B read: “. . . *percipite regnum, quod uobis paratum est ab origine mundi.*” This latter reading is easily explained as a scribal emendation. Both readings vary from the Vulgate text (. . . *possidete paratum uobis regnum a constitutione mundi*).⁵⁴ The first appears to be either Honorius’s citation of the text from memory, or, more likely, his reworking of the text to make it rhyme with the next line of the Cassandrian version, which reads: “*Quomodo ante mundi initium est eis regnum preparatum?*” The second reading, however, appears to be the text as found in the *Itala*, since it is especially common in the works of Augustine.⁵⁵ It is also, of course, possible that the scribe knew the text in this form from a liturgical context. In the 1954 edition of the *Missale Romanum*, for instance, this pericope appears three times in the Proper of the Season alone, and at each point in a different form. On Feria II after the First Sunday in Lent, the Vulgate text is read as the Gospel for the day (. . . *a constitutione mundi*). The same text appears as the

⁵⁴ Vide R. Gryson, et al., eds., *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, 4th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), p. 1566.

⁵⁵ To take only three examples: Augustine, *Tractatus XIV in Ioannis Euangelium*, 8, PL 35, 1507; idem, *In Psalmum XXXV enarratio*, 5, PL 36, 344; idem, *Sermo XXXVIII*, xix, 29, PL 38, 235.

Communio for Feria III after the First Sunday in Lent, this time reading “. . . *ab initio saeculi.*” Finally, in the Introit for Feria IV in Easter Week, we find the *Itala* reading adopted in the manuscripts of Family B: “. . . *ab origine mundi.*” Either explanation also easily accounts for what would otherwise be a two problematic complications—namely, the previously mentioned scribal emendation in MS *D*, as well as the adoption of the reading of the *Itala* in one late manuscript of the Conenine version (MS Graz 1088, XV saec.).

The third major variant that distinguishes the two families of texts is found at line 157 in our edition. In this case only MS Munich 13105 preserves the correct reading: “*Omnia namque bona per predestinatos cooperante illorum libero arbitrio deus operatur, mala autem per contrarium a reprobis fieri iuste per liberum arbitrium permittit.*” Although this is the *facilior lectio*, it is almost certainly correct. In all the other manuscripts the phrase “*mala autem per contrarium*” has been altered. What appears to have happened is that an early scribe, having written ‘*bona*’ in the first independent clause of the sentence ‘saw’ it as the initial word of the second independent clause. This resulted in the peculiar reading that is maintained in Family B: “*Bona autem per contrarium.*” The scribes who copied the two other manuscripts of Family A both emended the text. *B*’s scribe attempted to reconstruct the sense of ‘*mala*’ by changing “*bona autem per contrarium*” to “*bono autem contrarium.*” The copyist of *D*, on the other hand, simply made a stylistic emendation, substituting the more usual “*e contrario*” for “*per contrarium,*” with which he or she was likely unfamiliar.⁵⁶ The problem of this reading also illustrates the importance of careful attention to the punctuation and orthography in the manuscripts. In *A* and *B* the initial word of the second independent clause (*mala* in *A* and *bono*

⁵⁶ Lewis and Short (*A Latin Dictionary founded on Andrews’ Edition of Freund’s Latin Dictionary: Revised, Enlarged, and in great part rewritten by Charlton T. Lewis* [1879; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991], p. 458) cite “*per contrarium*” as the rarest form of this construction and attest its use only in the *Libri pandectarum* (i.e. the *Digesta*) of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*.

in *B*) begins with a lower case letter (probably Honorius's original orthography). In the other three manuscripts (*D a b*), which, as shall be seen, appear to descend from a common ancestor, "*Bona*" is capitalized. If "*mala*" was not capitalized in Honorius's original text (and hence in the common ancestor of *A* and *B*) then it goes some way to explaining how the unwitting alteration occurred. Both the "*bona*" in the first clause and the original "*mala*" at the beginning of the second clause were uncapitalized plural accusative neuter tetragrams. Having written the first clause (which is a long period by Honorius's standards), the scribe would have looked back at the exemplar to read the second clause and then unwittingly copied the first tetragram as 'remembered' from the first. The length of the first clause would also allow for the possibility that both '*bona*' and the original '*mala*' stood at the beginning of two consecutive lines in *A*'s exemplar, which would increase the chances of such an error.

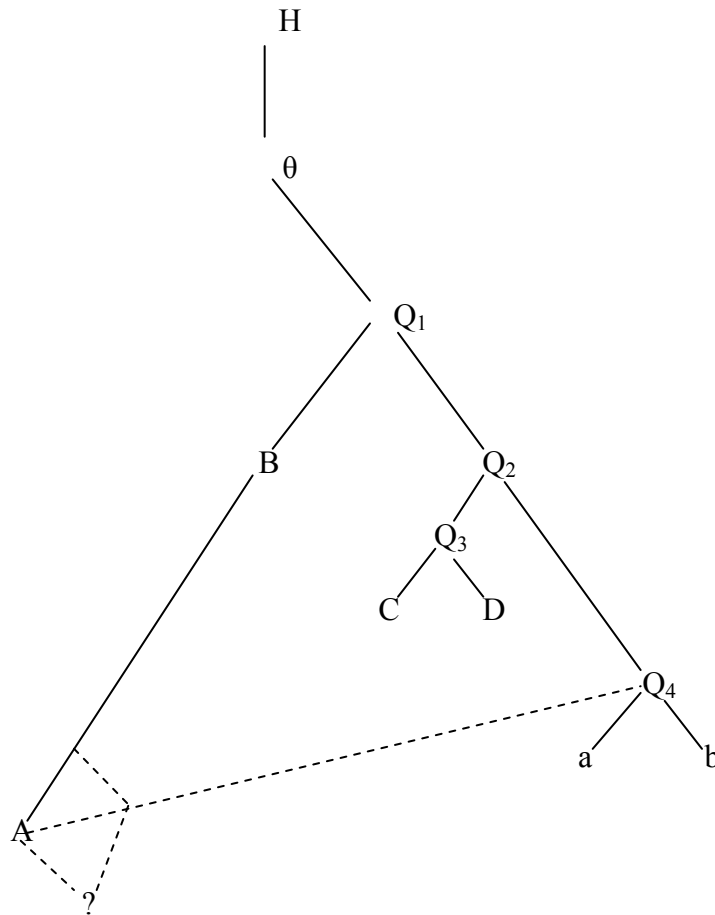
The manuscripts of the Cassandrian version also vary according to minor variants that fall into three common patterns: 1) *A B D*⁵⁷ versus *a b*; 2) *A a b* versus *BD*; and 3) *D a b* versus *AB*.⁵⁸ These patterns can be explained on the premise that the scribe of the common ancestor of *a* and *b* (*Q*₄ below) had access to a second exemplar (*Q*₅ below), closely related to *A*—either *A* itself, an ancestor of *A*, or a direct descendant—and preferred the reading of this second exemplar at all points at which *A a b* witness against *BD*. This seems the more likely since, as has already been seen above, it seems to have been the scribe of the hypothetical *Q*₄ who

⁵⁷ The manuscript that I have designated *C* (MS Munich clm 14348) is incomplete, breaking off at line 192 in our edition. It likely descends from a common ancestor with MS Laud 235 (*D*), since (1) both MSS announce the *Inevitabile* as 'liber IIII' of the *Elucidarium*, which immediately precedes it; (2) they share an otherwise inexplicably large number of readings not found in any other MSS (5 in all); and (3) they universally use 'et' for 'etiam' (in common with *a* and *b*). *Vide infra* for the *stemma codicum*. Other problems with *C* can be attributed to scribal error.

⁵⁸ The pattern of *ADab* witnessing against *B(C)* occurs only four times: variant reading of single words at lines 88 and 152; variations of punctuation at lines 1295-6 and 1299-1300. The verbal variants are easily explicable as instances of scribal error and emendation, respectively. The punctuation of *B* at the two points mentioned agrees with the best manuscripts of the Conenine text.

‘corrected’ the original reading of Matthew 25: 34, which may mean that he or she was attempting to correct a text thought to have been corrupted. Finally, a number of common readings and the mistaken labeling of the *Inevitable* as the fourth book of the *Elucidarium* indicate that *C* and *D* form a sub-family descending from a common source (Q₃). The relationship of the six manuscripts used in this edition to Honorius’s autograph can therefore be represented diagrammatically as follows.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ ‘H’ represents Honorius’s autograph. I postulate the intermediate source ‘θ’ on the assumption that Honorius did not lend his own autograph to the scribes of *A* and Q₁.



b. Manuscripts of the Conenine version

Comparison of the contents of MSS *A B C D* indicates the likely possibility that all four descended from an earlier collection that contained sixteen authentic works of Honorius (the *Speculum ecclesiae*, *De cognitione uerae uitae*, *De libero arbitrio*, *De anima exilio et patria*, *Liber XII quaestionum*, *De decem plagis*, *Quid uasa honoris et quid uasa contumeliae*, *Quid sit claustralis uita*, *Quod monachis liceat predicare*, *Libellus VIII quaestionum*, the *Summa gloria*, the *Scala caeli maior*, the *Sacramentarium*, and the *Imago mundi*) and several other texts which may originate from Honorius or his circle (six short miscellaneous *quaestiones*, *De legione*, *Quid sit scala ad caelum*, three *quaestiones de deo* and one *quaestio de anima*, and the so-called

Sententiae patrum de libero arbitrio et gratia).⁶⁰ I have designated as ‘Family A’ these four manuscripts (descended from the postulated common source Q₁). Based on the above-mentioned comparison of the manuscripts of the Cassandrian and Conenine recensions of the text, two sub-families can be distinguished within this group. Because the passages common to the two recension of the text are most faithfully preserved in MSS *C D*, I have designated them as ‘sub-family a’, with MS *C* being the most reliable of the two. MSS *A* and *B* share a series of minor variants that indicate a common ancestor, the descendants of which I have designated ‘sub-family b’.

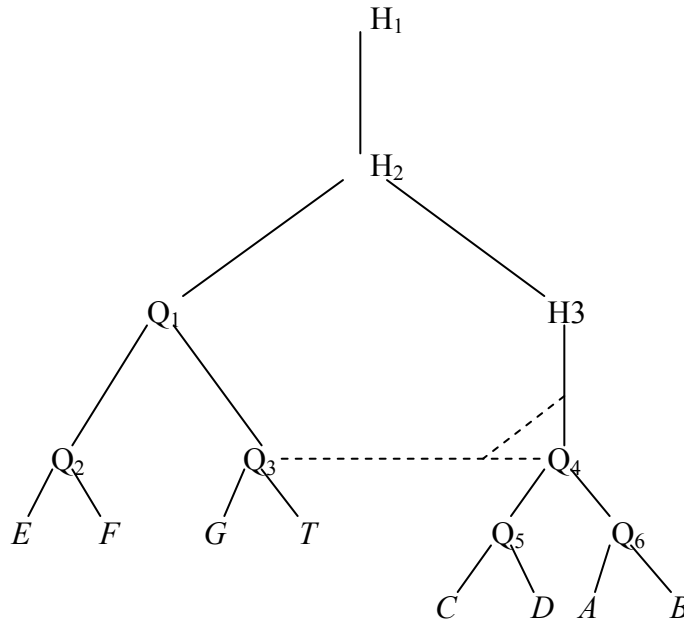
MSS *E* and *F* raise two slight complications for the stemma. Both arise from thirty-three variant readings, mostly minor, which these manuscripts share, and which clearly indicate a common ancestry. The first complication is that two of these variants cannot really be accounted for by scribal error. At lines 1047-8 in this edition, where all other manuscripts of the Conenine text read “*gratiam largiendo*” and “*in malitia relinquendo*,” MSS *E* and *F* both read “*gloriam dando*” and “*in penis locando*”—the readings found in the Cassandrian version of the text. Since both of these manuscripts are only partial preservations of the text (*vide* descriptions *supra*) it is impossible to know precisely their relation to the other manuscripts of this version. It seems reasonable to hypothesize, however, that these two manuscripts preserve the remains of an intermediate stage of revision (H₂) between the Cassandrian version of the text (H₁) and the final version of the Conenine text (H₃), from a point at which the major changes had been made, but when Honorius had yet to complete his final revisions. Secondly, ten of these thirty-three variants are also shared by *G* and Conen’s Tongerloo manuscript (designated *T*). This would be most readily accounted for by the postulation that the sub-family represented by *E* and *F* and that

⁶⁰ Found in *A B C D*. Printed in PL 172, 1226B-1230B.

represented by *G* and *T* had separate intermediate sources transmitting the text of their common ancestor. Thus the ten minor variations shared by all four manuscripts would descend from their first common ancestor (Q_1), the twenty-three common only to *E* and *F* entering the tradition at their intermediate common ancestor (Q_2). This would also explain the loss of lines 1230 to 1383 and lines 1408 to 1446 of our edition in *G* and *T*. On this hypothesis, it is also necessary to postulate the collation of two (or more) manuscripts by the scribe who copied Q_3 , to account for the change from the Cassandrian readings discussed above to the final Conenine readings.

Finally, it is clear from a comparison between the variants common to Conen's edition and MS Graz 1088 (*G*), that Conen must have worked from a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century manuscript closely related to this text. Moreover, certain of these variants are almost certainly errors in transcription resulting from the careless misreading, either by Conen or by the scribe who wrote the manuscript from which he worked, of abbreviations commonly used in that era. For example, Conen's reading of 'id' for 'illud' is clearly a misreading of the abbreviation 'i^d', common in early 15th-century book hands (e.g. Graz 1088, fol. 6v, l. 10; see also Capelli, p. 169, col. 1). An even clearer example of such a mistake is Conen's reading of 'firmat' for 'firmait' (line 509), precisely where MS Graz 1088 employs the abbreviation 'firma^t' (folio 7r, line 22). I have designated these two manuscripts as a second sub-family of Family B.

The relationship between the manuscripts can therefore be expressed diagrammatically as follows.



Note on orthography and punctuation

In preparing this edition I have generally followed the orthography of Lewis and Short.⁶¹ For example, ‘-nm-’ is always rendered as ‘-mm-,’ ‘-dt-’ as ‘-tt-,’ and so forth. Exceptions to this rule are certain medieval spellings common to the best manuscripts: e.g. ‘-mn-’ is [often] written ‘-mpn-,’ as in ‘dampnatio’ and ‘contempsit,’ ‘nichil’ for ‘nihil’ (with the exception of ‘nil’ in the expressions ‘nil aliud’ and ‘nil mali,’ which are the readings in the best manuscripts), and ‘neglig-’ for ‘negleg-’ in *neglegere* and its cognates. All of the manuscripts use either ‘-e’ or, more often, ‘-ę’ for both the ‘-æ’ and ‘-œ’ diphthongs. I have adopted the use of ‘-ę’ for several reasons. On the one hand it allows the reader not accustomed to the vagaries of medieval Latin orthography to recognize readily the genitive and dative of the first declension, which context may not always readily indicate. On the other hand, it gives the modern reader a truer

⁶¹ C.T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary*.

sense of what a twelfth-century manuscript of the *Inevitabile* would have looked like than would the conventional classical orthography. There are several instances, however, where one would normally expect to find ‘-æ’ in classical orthography, but where all the manuscripts agree in using a simple ‘-e’. These exceptions always come in the middle of words, and are few, the most common being the prefix ‘præ-’ (almost invariably abbreviated ‘p~’) and ‘here-’ for ‘hære-’ in *hærere* and its compounds. In this instance I have accepted the medieval orthography and simply used ‘-e’. I have also followed the reading of the best manuscripts in substituting ‘hii’ for ‘hi’ and ‘heę’ for ‘hae’. In using ‘u’ for both ‘u’ and ‘v’, ‘V’ for ‘U’ and ‘V’, ‘i’ for ‘i’ and ‘j’, and ‘I’ for ‘I’ and ‘J’ I have adopted the conventions of the *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* (vide *Corpus Christianorum. Instructions for the Publication of Texts* [Turnhout: Brepols, n.d.], p. 4).

I have capitalised only the first words of new sentences (as indicated in the best manuscripts) and proper names. Following the invariable usage in the manuscripts, however, I have capitalised *deus* only at the beginning of sentences.

As explained above, the twelfth-century manuscripts are punctuated only by *puncta*, *puncti eleuati*, and question marks, new sentences being indicated by a capital letter. I have followed the punctuation of the best manuscripts, not trying to ‘correct’ the punctuation, as the *editiones principes* often did. In the edition that follows, all stops marked by *puncta* in the best manuscripts have been retained; commas indicate partial stops and breaks in the rhyme marked in the text, periods mark only the end of sentences. The single use of the full colon is before lists. The semicolon has not been used.

The reader will notice that I have often indicated points at which manuscripts differ as to full and partial stops, as in a majority of cases these differences in punctuation follow ‘family

lines.’ In cases in which only one manuscript varies in punctuation from the others I have not indicated the difference in the apparatus. In the case of the editions, I have indicated any point where I believe a full colon or semicolon represents a full stop in the Tongerlo manuscript from which Conen edited his text. Comparing Conen’s edition with MS *G*, to which it is very closely related, it appears that a colon in Conen’s edition often indicates the beginning of a new sentence in his manuscript, while a semicolon often indicates a partial stop that he felt was not adequately interpreted by a comma.

Honorii Augustodunensis Inevitabile

Recensio prima

INCIPIIT INEVITABILE.¹

LEGATIO² FRATRVM AD MAGISTRVM.³

Fratres^{4 5} *in domo dei*⁶ *cum consensu*⁷ ambulantes,
sunt pro tua salute *orationi instantes*.⁸

5

ALLOCVTIO LEGATI.⁹

Diligentię¹⁰ quidem tuę orationes,
*clau*¹¹ autem *Dauid*¹² Christo gratiarum soluunt actiones,
qui ob genitricis suę merita,
tot eis¹³ in canticis de ea reserauit per te mysteria.

¹ *Titulus*: Incipit ineuitabile A B, Explicit l. iii. Incipit iiii. (*sc. opus Honorii cui Elucidarium titulus est quod ante libellum nostrum in hoc cod. scriptum est*) C, Explicit liber tertius. Incipit quartus. (*sc. eiusdem libelli Elucidarii*) D, *titulo caret et initium libelli solo uerbo primo Discipulus designauit sed Ineuitabile summa in pagina a.m. saeculi XVII add. a*, Incipit libellus de libero arbitrio b, Dialogus de praedestinatione & Libero Arbitrio Cass, Incipit ineuitabile legatio fratrum vK

² 2 Legatio] Allegatio B

³ ad magistrum] *om. A vK*

⁴ 1/20 Fratres usq. putantur] *om. b*

⁵ Fratres] Discipulus. *praem. a Cass*

⁶ 3 dei] domini C

⁷ 3 Ps. 54, 14-15

⁸ 4 Rom. 12, 12

⁹ 5 allocutio legati] *om. D*

¹⁰ 4/6 instantes. Diligentie] instantes, diligentie C

¹¹ 6/7 orationes, clau] orationes. Clau C

¹² 7 clau – Dauid] cfr *Breuiarium Romanum, sc. Antiphona ad Magnificat in feria quarta ante Vigiliam Natiuitatis Domini, quae ex his fontibus composita est*: Isa. 22, 22; Apoc. 3, 7; Isa. 42, 7; cfr. Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarium*, II, 33i – ed. Y. Lefèvre, 1954, p. 419; idem, *Sigillum beati Mariae*, Responsio Magistri – PL 172, 496D; idem, *Gemma Animae*, III, 5 – *ibid.*, 644B; idem, *Sacramentarium*, LXV – *ibid.*, 779D.

¹³ 9 eis] eius C

10 Ob hanc causam, et ob alia quę multis incognita elucidans¹⁴ in laudem eius addidisti,
ipsam¹⁵ ¹⁶ sacrosanctam uirginem, et omnes ipsius cultores tibi debitores fecisti.
Illorum nunc fungor ego¹⁷ legatione,¹⁸
et ipsi summa deposcunt¹⁹ deuotione,
ut soluas eis nodum liberi arbitrii inextricabilem,
15 quem²⁰ tua disputatio ut eis uidetur magis fecit insolubilem.
Si enim soli predestinati ut tu asseris quicquid etiam²¹ fecerint saluantur,²²
liberum arbitrium penitus tolli ęstimatur,²³
et hii²⁴ qui dampnantur,
non iam²⁵ sine culpa, sed etiam²⁶ iniuste²⁷ puniri putantur.

20

EXCVSATIO MAGISTRI.

¹⁴ **10** elucidans] elucidatis *C*

¹⁵ **11** ipsam] ipso *Cass*

¹⁶ **10/11** addidisti, ipsam] addidisti. Ipsam *vK*

¹⁷ **12** ego] *om. C a Cass, om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

¹⁸ **12** fungor ego legatione] *cfr II Cor. 5, 20*

¹⁹ **13** deposcunt] poscunt *Cass*

²⁰ **15** quem] quę *C*

²¹ **16** etiam] *et D Cass, om. sed sup. l. corr. A*

²² saluantur] saluabuntur *C*

²³ **17** ęstimatur] existimatur *C*, extimatur *a*

²⁴ **18** hii] illi *D*

²⁵ **19** non iam] *transp. sed sup. l. litteris minusculis rectam ordinem indicauit A*

²⁶ etiam] *et D Cass*

²⁷ etiam iniuste] *transp. a*

M. Cur michi hoc crimen impingunt,
quasi ego ex proprio corde hoc confinxerim,^{28 29}
aut³⁰ *aliquid noui*³¹ mundo³² induxerim?³³

INVECTIO MAGISTRI.

25 Imponent³⁴ Christo, imputent prophetis et apostolis,
qui hoc³⁵ locuti³⁶ sunt in scripturis,³⁷
si³⁸ tamen scripturas sacrę³⁹ auctoritatis legerunt,
aut legentes sensum earum intelligere potuerunt.
Si autem legere contempserunt,
30 aut legentes intelligere⁴⁰ neglexerunt,⁴¹
non michi inferant iniuriam,

²⁸ **22** confinxerim] confixerim C

²⁹ **22** ex proprio – confinxerim] cfr Deut. 18, 22 atque Num. 16, 28

³⁰ **23** aut] *om. Cass*

³¹ **23** aliquid noui] cfr Act. 17, 21

³² mundo] in *praem. D*

³³ induxerim] intulerim A vK, induxerunt C

³⁴ **25** Imponent] Imponatur b

³⁵ hoc] hec C

³⁶ **26** locuti] *om. sed sup. l. corr. A*

³⁷ **26** scripturis] propriis *praem. b*

³⁸ **26/27** scripturis, si] scripturis. Si a b

³⁹ **27** sacrę] sanctę D

⁴⁰ **30** intelligere] *om. D*

⁴¹ **30** legentes – neglexerunt] cfr Ps. Cato, *Disticha* – ed. W.J. Chase, 1922, p. 12: legere enim et non intelligere neclegere est.

sed suę negligentię patiantur uerecundiam.⁴²

D. Inuentionem tuam iustam⁴³ approbo,

sed ne contra me⁴⁴ mouearis oro.

35 M. Non mea,

sed Christi sunt hec uerba,⁴⁵

electorum⁴⁶ predestinatoris,

et gratię largitoris.⁴⁷

PROPOSITIO ET AFFIRMATIO MAGISTRI.

40 *Pater*⁴⁸ *dilexisti eos, sicut et me dilexisti, ante*⁴⁹ *constitutionem*⁵⁰ *mundi.*⁵¹

Quomodo ante mundum dilecti sunt,

qui⁵² tempore Herodis pene omnes nati sunt?

Et tamen sunt⁵³ a deo dilecti,

⁴² **32** uerecundiam] uecordiam *D*

⁴³ **33** iustam] *om. b*

⁴⁴ **34** contra me] a me *D*

⁴⁵ **36** hec uerba] *transp. A vK*

⁴⁶ **36/37** uerba, electorum] uerba. Electorum *vK*

⁴⁷ **38** gratię largitoris] cfr Augustinus Hipponensis, *De natura et origine animae*, IV, xi, 16 – PL 44, 533 (= Ratramnus Corbeiensis, *De praedestinatione dei*, II – PL 121, 48A: . . . quos praedestinavit ad aeternam uitam misericordissimus gratiae largitor.

⁴⁸ **40** Pater – mundi] Ioh. 17, 23b-24 . . . dilexisti eos sicut et me dilexisti. Pater quos dedisti mihi uolo ut ubi ego sum et illi sint mecum, ut uideant claritatem meam quam dedisti mihi, quia dilexisti me ante constitutionem mundi. *Vulg.*

⁴⁹ ante] ante ante *a.c. leg. b*

⁵⁰ constitutionem] constructionem *vK*

⁵¹ constitutionem mundi] *transp. a Cass*

⁵² **41/42** sunt, qui] sunt. Qui *C*

quia⁵⁴ ad gloriam per predestinationem electi.⁵⁵

45 Item dicit: Vos^{56 57} *non estis ex ouibus meis.*

Qui sunt eius oues, nisi quibus ab initio preparauit pascua uite?

Qui⁵⁸ gloriantes dicunt: Nos⁵⁹ *populus eius, et oues pascue eius.*⁶⁰

Populus eius dixit, quia⁶¹ est et⁶² populus pharaonis.

Oues eius dixit, quia⁶³ sunt etiam⁶⁴ oues⁶⁵ que *in inferno positę sunt, et mors depascet*

50 *eas.*⁶⁶

Item dicit: Venite^{67 68} *benedicti patris mei, possidete*⁶⁹ *regnum, ab initio*^{70 71} *uobis*

⁵³ 43 sunt] *post deo pos. C D*

⁵⁴ quia] *qui D b*

⁵⁵ electi] *sunt praem. D*

⁵⁶ Vos – meis] *Euangelium in marg. praem. D*

⁵⁷ 45 Ioh. 10, 26

⁵⁸ 47 Qui] *Quid illi D*

⁵⁹ 47 Ps. 99, 3b

⁶⁰ Nos – eius] *Dauid in marg. praem. D*

⁶¹ 48 quia] *qui D*

⁶² et] *om. D b vK*

⁶³ 49 quia] *qui D*

⁶⁴ etiam] *et C D b Cass*

⁶⁵ 49 Oues – eas] *Ps. 48, 15 sicut oues in inferno positi sunt, mors depascet eos. Vulg.*

⁶⁶ 50 eas] *eos b Cass*

⁶⁷ 51 Venite – preparatum] *Euangelium praem. D*

⁶⁸ 51 Venite – preparatum] *Matth. 25, 34b uenite benedicti Patris mei, possidete paratum uobis regnum a constitutione mundi. Vulg.*

⁶⁹ possidete] *percipite D a b Cass*

preparatum.^{72 73}

Quomodo⁷⁴ ante mundi initium est eis regnum preparatum,

qui post multa milia annorum erant nascituri,

55 et adhuc multi⁷⁵ sunt nascendo futuri?

Tamen⁷⁶ preparata erat eis⁷⁷ gloria regni,

qui⁷⁸ ad hanc ab initio erant predestinati.

Sanctus⁷⁹ quoque⁸⁰ spiritus, per uas electionis⁸¹ philosophatur,⁸²

qui Christum in se loqui⁸³ testatur:⁸⁴

60 *Non*⁸⁵ *est uolentis, neque currentis, sed miserentis est dei.*⁸⁶

⁷⁰ ab initio – preparatum] quod uobis paratum est ab origine mundi *a b*, quod uobis praeparatum est ab origine mundi *Cass*

⁷¹ ini(tio)] *3 litteras extremas om. sed sup. l. rest. D*

⁷² **52** preparatum] paratum *A vK*

⁷³ prepa(ratum)] *5 litteras extremas om. sed sup. l. rest. D*

⁷⁴ **53** Quomodo *usq.* preparatum] *om. D*

⁷⁵ **55** multi] *sup. l. ut uid. rursus scr. b*

⁷⁶ **55/56** futuri? Tamen] futuri tamen *D*

⁷⁷ **56** erat eis] *transp. C*

⁷⁸ **57** qui] quia *B*

⁷⁹ **58** Sanctus quoque spiritus] Paulus *in marg. praem. D*

⁸⁰ quoque] *om. Vk*

⁸¹ **58** uas electionis] cfr Act. 9, 15

⁸² philosophatur] philosophi autem *C*

⁸³ **59** cfr Rom. 9, 1

⁸⁴ **59** testatur] testantur *C*

⁸⁵ **60** Rom. 9, 16

Vide⁸⁷ quid dixit: *non*⁸⁸ *uolentis*,⁸⁹ quod proprie ad liberum arbitrium pertinet.

Quod autem⁹⁰ fiat per predestinationem⁹¹ subiunxit:

sed miserentis est dei,^{92 93} qui dixit:

Sine^{94 95} *me*⁹⁶ *nichil potestis facere*.

65 Ad quem⁹⁷ autem intellectum te miserit,

mox addidit:

Antequam^{98 99} *scirent*¹⁰⁰ *facere*¹⁰¹ *bonum uel malum, dictum est: Iacob*¹⁰² *dilexi, Esau*

*autem*¹⁰³ *odio habui*.

⁸⁶ **60** miserentis est dei] dei est miserentis *a Cass*, dei miserentis *b*

⁸⁷ **61** Vide] *om. D*

⁸⁸ **61/63** non uolentis *usq.* dixit] *om. D*

⁸⁹ uolentis] est *praem. a b Cass*

⁹⁰ **62** autem] *om. b*

⁹¹ predestinationem] predicationem *C*

⁹² **63** est dei] *transp. a*

⁹³ dei] *om. sed in marg. rest. B*

⁹⁴ **64** Sine – facere] Euangelium *in marg. praem. D*

⁹⁵ **63** Ioh. 15, 5

⁹⁶ me] *om. sed sup. l. rest. b*

⁹⁷ **64/65** facere. Ad quem] facere, ad quem *C*

⁹⁸ **67/68** Antequam – habui] Genesis *in marg. praem. D*

⁹⁹ **64/65** Antequam – habui] Rom. 9, 11-13 . . . cum enim nondum nati fuissent . . . aut aliquid egissent bonum aut malum . . . dictum est ei: Quia maior seruiet minori, sicut scriptum est: Iacob dilexi Esau autem odio habui. *Vulg.*

¹⁰⁰ **67** scirent] sciret *b*

¹⁰¹ facere] *om. b*

¹⁰² **67/68** Iacob – habui] cfr Mal. 1, 2-3

Ob quod¹⁰⁴ initium liberi arbitrii dilectus est Iacob, qui nondum sciuit facere bonum?

70 Quid autem mali per liberum arbitrium elegit Esau, ut odio dignus haberetur, qui
nondum sciuit facere malum?

*Iacob*¹⁰⁵ *dilexi*,¹⁰⁶ id est ad gloriam predestinaui.¹⁰⁷

Esau odio habui,¹⁰⁸ id est a loco glorię reprobauī.¹⁰⁹

Item¹¹⁰ apostolus amplius:¹¹¹

75 *Quędam*^{112 113} *uasa preparauit*¹¹⁴ *deus ad gloriam,*
*quędam ad ignominiam.*¹¹⁵

Idem¹¹⁶ uehementius: *Elegit*^{117 118} *nos in Christo*¹¹⁹ *ante mundi constitutionem.*¹²⁰

¹⁰³ 68 autem] ante C

¹⁰⁴ 69/71 Ob quod initium – facere malum] Ob quod initium liberi arbitrii dilectus est Iacob? D. cognouit facere bonum? M. Quid autem mali? D. per liberum arbitrium elegit Esau, ut odio dignius haberetur qui nondum sciuit facere malum. b

¹⁰⁵ 72 Iacob] autem *add. A vK, M. in marg. praem. b*

¹⁰⁶ dilexi] dilexit C

¹⁰⁷ 72 predestinaui] predestinauit C b

¹⁰⁸ 73 habui] habuit C

¹⁰⁹ reprobauī] reprobauit C

¹¹⁰ 74 Item] Idem B

¹¹¹ apostolus amplius] *transp. C D*

¹¹² 75/76 Quędam – ignominiam] *Apostolus in marg. praem. D*

¹¹³ 75/76 Quędam – ignominiam] *cfr Rom. 9, 21-23*

¹¹⁴ 75 preparauit] probauit b

¹¹⁵ 76 ignominiam] *innomina C*

¹¹⁶ 77 Idem] *Item a vK*

¹¹⁷ Elegit – constitutionem] *Idem in marg. praem. D*

¹¹⁸ 77 Eph. 1, 4

Quomodo elegit deus apostolos ante constitutionem mundi,¹²¹
 nisi¹²² predestinauit eos ad gloriam regni?
 80 In Ecclesiaste¹²³ quoque dicitur: *Incorrigibiles*^{124 125} *sunt quos abicit*¹²⁶ *deus.*
 Si per liberum arbitrium saluari poterunt,
 cur tot doctrinis,
 tot signis¹²⁷ auditis,¹²⁸
 tot plagis uisis,
 85 uel¹²⁹ perpessis,
 incorrigibiles sunt?
 Et quomodo eos deus¹³⁰ abicit,¹³¹
 nisi ad gloriam non eligit¹³²?

¹¹⁹ in Christo] Christus *b*

¹²⁰ mundi constitutionem] *transp. D*

¹²¹ **78** constitutionem mundi] *scripsi, mundi constitutionem codd.*

¹²² **79** nisi] et non *b*

¹²³ **80** Ecclesiaste] *ecclesia b*

¹²⁴ Incorrigibiles – deus] *Salemon in marg. praem. D*

¹²⁵ **80** Incorrigibiles – deus] *locum non inueni*

¹²⁶ abicit] *abiecit a b Cass vK*

¹²⁷ **83** tot signis] *om. Cass*

¹²⁸ auditis] *post doctrinis pos. a Cass*

¹²⁹ **85** uel] *id est C, et Cass*

¹³⁰ **87** eos deus] *transp. C D a Cass*

¹³¹ abicit] *abiecit D a b Cass vK*

¹³² **88** eligit] *elegit A D a b Cass vK*

- 90 D. His¹³³ tot ueridicis testimoniis uidetur michi liberum arbitrium¹³⁴ a
predestinatione non modo obrutum,¹³⁵
sed intantum extinctum,
ut nec fomitem quidem¹³⁶ inueniat,¹³⁷
quo reaccendi¹³⁸ queat.
- 95 M. Cur ita detestaris
audire nomen predestinationis?¹³⁹
An formidas,¹⁴⁰
ne forte tu¹⁴¹ non sis predestinatus,
et ita labor tuus fiat mercede priuatus?
- 100 Ignoras
quod qui minus¹⁴² peccauerit,¹⁴³

¹³³ 90 His] Hic *Cass vK*

¹³⁴ liberum arbitrium] hoc *praem. C*

¹³⁵ 91 obrutum] subrutum *b*

¹³⁶ 93 quidem] quod *C*

¹³⁷ inueniat] inueniam *D*, inuenat *b*

¹³⁸ 94 reaccendi] reacedere *C*

¹³⁹ 96 predestinationis] predestinationis *C*

¹⁴⁰ 97 formidas] forte *praem. B*

¹⁴¹ 98 forte tu] *transp. C*

¹⁴² 101 minus] *sup. l. ut uid. duplicauit b*

¹⁴³ peccauerit] peccauerunt *Cass*

minorem penam habebit?¹⁴⁴

Ideo omnes et predestinati et non predestinati, totis uiribus semper in bono laborent,¹⁴⁵

quia si predestinati sunt,

105 pro maiori labore maius premium habebunt.¹⁴⁶

Si¹⁴⁷ predestinati¹⁴⁸ non sunt,¹⁴⁹

quanto minus impie egerint,¹⁵⁰

tanto minus supplicium¹⁵¹ sustinebunt.¹⁵²

Quid¹⁵³ autem liberum arbitrium sine iuuante gratia ualeat,¹⁵⁴

110 in sequentibus uidebis.

D. Rogo te¹⁵⁵ de hac re latius¹⁵⁶ disserere,

nec minimum scrupulum alicui hebeti¹⁵⁷ uel cæco ultra¹⁵⁸ relinquere.¹⁵⁹

¹⁴⁴ **102** habebit] habebunt *Cass*

¹⁴⁵ **103** laborent] laborant *A a Cass vK*, labor(e)nt] *sup. l. ut uid. duplicauit b*

¹⁴⁶ **105** habebunt] habebit *b*

¹⁴⁷ **105/106** habebunt. Si] habebunt, si *B*

¹⁴⁸ **106** predestinati] autem *praem. D*

¹⁴⁹ sunt] sint *C*

¹⁵⁰ **107** egerint] egerunt *Cass vK*

¹⁵¹ **108** supplicium] suplicii *A*

¹⁵² **100/108** cfr Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, IX, lxxv, 98 – PL 75, 913B–914A, *praecipue* 913D: Sicut enim in domo Patris mansiones multae sunt pro diuersitate uirtutis, sic damnatos diuerso supplicio gehenna ignibus subiicit disparilitas criminis.

¹⁵³ **109** quid] quod *C*

¹⁵⁴ ualeat] non *praem. C*

¹⁵⁵ **111** te] *om. D*

¹⁵⁶ latius] *litteras non recte scriptas exp. ut uid. et in marg. corr. b*

M. Cum summi doctores de hac materia¹⁶²

115 multa conscripserint¹⁶³ opuscula,
precipue beatus Paulus¹⁶⁴ ad Romanos,
et sanctus Augustinus in¹⁶⁵ quatuor ediderit¹⁶⁶ libros,
quid¹⁶⁷ a me amplius poscitis,¹⁶⁸
qui ad comparisonem illorum sum¹⁶⁹ elinguis?

120 D. Illi quidem egregie disputauerunt,
sed nos fateor¹⁷⁰ incertiores¹⁷¹ quam inuenerint¹⁷² reliquerunt.¹⁷³

¹⁵⁷ **112** habeti] habenti *b*

¹⁵⁸ ultra] ultro *vK*, *om. Cass*

¹⁵⁹ ultra relinquere] *tranp. b*

¹⁶⁰ **113** De Paulo et Augustino excusatio magistri] Excusation magistri, per Paulum et August. *D*

¹⁶¹ Aug(ustino)] *exteriore margine deleto hae litterae interierunt in B*

¹⁶² **114** de hac materia] *om. D*

¹⁶³ **115** conscripserint] scripserunt *C*, cum scripserint *D*, conscripserunt *vK*

¹⁶⁴ Paulus] Apostolus *praem. Cass*

¹⁶⁵ **117** in] inde *a b Cass vK*

¹⁶⁶ ediderit] ediderunt *C*, edidit *vK*

¹⁶⁷ quid] aliud *add. sed exp. b*

¹⁶⁸ **118** posci(ti)s] *eras. ut uid. D*

¹⁶⁹ **119** sum] *om. sed sup. l. rest. D*

¹⁷⁰ **121** nos fateor] *transp. C*

¹⁷¹ incertiores] *cunctatiores D*

¹⁷² inuenerint] inuenerunt *Cass vK*

¹⁷³ reliquerunt] reliquerint *C*, relinquerunt *b*

Tu¹⁷⁴ autem facis nobis breuiter quodammodo palpabile,
quod ipsi longis tractatibus non¹⁷⁵ fecerunt¹⁷⁶ nobis saltem conspicabile.

/PROMISSIO MAGISTRI./¹⁷⁷

- 125 M. Quod¹⁷⁸ petitis¹⁷⁹ non denego,
quia¹⁸⁰ non mea¹⁸¹ sed quę sunt caritatis¹⁸² quęro.
Faleras uerborum contempno,
dum fratrum simplicitati¹⁸³ consulo.
Liuidos quoque¹⁸⁴ dentes inuidorum despicio,^{185 186}
130 quia *auxilium*¹⁸⁷ *meum a domino*.¹⁸⁸

¹⁷⁴ 121/122 reliquerunt, tu] reliquerunt. Tu *D a b Cass vK*

¹⁷⁵ 123 non] *om. b*

¹⁷⁶ fecerunt] *sup.l. post conspicabile pos. b*

¹⁷⁷ 124 Promissio magistri] *Propositio magistri A, Premissio magistri de publica re D*

¹⁷⁸ 125 Quod] *Quid C*

¹⁷⁹ petitis] *petis C D a Cass vK*

¹⁸⁰ 126 quia] *qui A C a b Cass vK*

¹⁸¹ 126 non mea – caritatis] *cfr I Cor. 13, 5*

¹⁸² sunt caritatis] *transp. A vK*

¹⁸³ 128 simplicitati] *utilitati C*

¹⁸⁴ 129 quoque] *om. b Cass*

¹⁸⁵ despicio] *non aspicio b Cass*

¹⁸⁶ 129 Liuidos quoque dentes inuidorum despicio] *cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, Clavis physicae, 1 – ed. P. Lucentini, Temi e Testi 21, p. 3: . . . contempnens liuidos dentes inuidorum; Idem, Cognitio uitae, I – PL 40, 1005: . . . iterum committo me corrodendum dentibus inuidorum.*

¹⁸⁷ 130 Ps. 120, 2

Vt autem totum sequens opus a lectore facile queat notari,

prius¹⁸⁹ libet¹⁹⁰ summam¹⁹¹ totius materię in breue¹⁹² corollarium^{193 194} coartari.¹⁹⁵

DE DEI RE PVBLICA.¹⁹⁶

Huius igitur INEVITABILIS materia,

135 tali uentilatur area,¹⁹⁷

quod prouidentia dei creatoris sapientissima,

ab initio rem publicam instituit, dispensatione ordinatissima,¹⁹⁸

in qua¹⁹⁹ filiis²⁰⁰ quidem²⁰¹ locum glorię,

¹⁸⁸ Liuidos quoque – a domino] cfr Ps. Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Breuiarium in Psalmos*, CXXV – PL 26, 1211C: ... eleuemus mentis oculos ad auxiliatorem Deum, ut eruat nos a saeuis dentibus inuidorum; *uide etiam* Idem, *Prologus septem epistolarum canonicarum* – PL 29, 832A

¹⁸⁹ 132 prius] *in marg. rursus scr. b*

¹⁹⁰ 131/132 notari, prius libet] notari. Prius libet C

¹⁹¹ summam] summa C

¹⁹² in breue] imbuere, et *praem. D*

¹⁹³ corollarium] colorarium a

¹⁹⁴ in breue corollarium] *om. C*

¹⁹⁵ coartari] coartare D, curtari a b Cass, quod *praem. et* uel concordari *add. C*

¹⁹⁶ 133 De dei republica] *uide lineam 124 supra*

¹⁹⁷ 135 area] aere C, ore D

¹⁹⁸ 136/137 quod prouidentia – dispensatione ordinatissima] cfr Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, V, 969CD – ed. E.A. Jeaneau, CC CM 165, p. 153; PL 122, 969CD: Deinde non considerant quoniam iustissimus omnium conditor, sapientissimus ordinator unicuique secundum prouidentiae suae leges impertitur largissimae suae bonitatis dationes et donationes, et in nullo fallitur. Mortalium uero falsa sunt iudicia de diuina prouidentia et administratione, dum quid in hac re publica uniuersitatis uisibilium et inuisibilium agatur nesciunt. Augustinus, *De ciuitate Dei*, XI, 22 – ; PL 41, 335-6: Nec attendunt, quam uel in suis locis naturisque uigeant, pulchroque ordine disponantur; quantumque uniuersitati rerum pro suis portionibus decoris tanquam in communem rempublicam conferant.

¹⁹⁹ 138 qua] quam C

²⁰⁰ filiis] filius b

²⁰¹ quidem] *is praem. b*

seruis²⁰² autem immo hostibus preordinauit locum ignomię,
140 et²⁰³ ad locum glorię nullus nisi²⁰⁴ ad hunc²⁰⁵ predestinatus peruenire poterit,
et hic gratia dei preuentus ut²⁰⁶ bonum uelit,²⁰⁷
et adiutorio dei adiutus ut possit.
Ad²⁰⁸ locum quoque²⁰⁹ ignomię nemo perueniet,
nisi ad hunc²¹⁰ ante secula prescitus,²¹¹
145 et hic a gratia dei iustissime derelictus,
a deo²¹² autem desertus,²¹³
tota²¹⁴ cum festinantia²¹⁵ per liberum arbitrium irreuocabiliter ad hunc²¹⁶ properabit.

²⁰² **139** seruis] seruus *b*

²⁰³ **139/140** ignomię, et] ignomię. Et *a b*

²⁰⁴ **140** nisi] *ante* predestinatus *pos.* *C*

²⁰⁵ ad hunc] adhuc *C, om. D*

²⁰⁶ **141** ut] *om. b*

²⁰⁷ **141** gratia dei preuentus ut bonum uelit] cfr Isidorus Hispalensis, *Liber differentiarum [II]*, xxx, 116 [*vetus xxxii*, 115] – ed. M.A. Andrés Sanz, CC SL 111A, p. 74; PL 83, 87D: . . . sed ipsa gratia Dei nolentem hominem praeuenit ut etiam bene uelit.

²⁰⁸ **142/143** possit, ad] possit. Ad *D a b Cass vK*, possit ad *C*

²⁰⁹ **143** quoque] *post* ignomię *pos. b*

²¹⁰ **144** ad hunc] adhuc *C* hunc] hanc *D*

²¹¹ pre(s)citus] *om. sed sup. l. rest. b*

²¹² **145/146** derelictus, a deo] derelictus. A deo *A b Cass vK*

²¹³ **146** a deo autem desertus] cfr Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, V, 984A – ed. E.A. Jeuneau, CC CM 165, p. 173; PL 122, 984A: . . . in hac uita bene uixit adiutus deo per gratiam, seu male desertus deo per iustitiam . . .

²¹⁴ **147** tota] *om. D*

²¹⁵ festinantia] festinatione *D*

²¹⁶ ad hunc] adhuc *C*

Infantes uero libero arbitrio carentes,
quidam ut puta baptizati per clementissimam dei bonitatem, in locum²¹⁷ glorię cum sint
150 predestinati assumuntur.²¹⁸
Quidam²¹⁹ uero ut non baptizati incomprehensibili et inuestigabili tamen²²⁰ iustissima dei
 censura in loco²²¹ ignomiņę²²² locabuntur.²²³
Et²²⁴ quicquid in cęlo, uel²²⁵ in terra, uel in²²⁶ quacumque dei creatura²²⁷ fit,²²⁸
totum deus solus²²⁹ bonus facit,
155 aut fieri permittit.
Omnia namque bona per²³⁰ predestinatos cooperante²³¹ illorum libero arbitrio²³² deus operatur,

²¹⁷ **149** locum] loco *b*

²¹⁸ **150** assumuntur] assumuntur *C a Cass*

²¹⁹ **150/151** assumuntur. Quidam] assumuntur, quidam *B b*

²²⁰ **151** tamen] tantum *C* t(ame)n] *om. sed sup. l rest. b*

²²¹ **152** locum] loco *A D a b Cass vK*

²²² ignomiņę] ignomine *b*

²²³ locabuntur] collocabuntur *C*

²²⁴ **152/153** locabuntur. Et] locabuntur, et *B*

²²⁵ **153** uel] et *D b*

²²⁶ in] *om. b*

²²⁷ creatura] factura *b*

²²⁸ fit] sit *C Cass*

²²⁹ **154** deus solus] deus *post solus rursus scr. sed sub. l. punctis mendum indicauit b*

²³⁰ **156** per] *om. sed sup. l rest. b*

²³¹ cooperante] coperante *b*

²³² libero arbitrio] proprio *praem.A vK*

mala autem per²³³ contrarium²³⁴ a reprobis fieri²³⁵ iuste²³⁶ per liberum arbitrium permittit.

Et in his omnibus par²³⁷ laus²³⁸ dei inuenitur.

D. Inspirante deo hunc²³⁹ nexuosum globum²⁴⁰ resolve,²⁴¹

160 et hoc ingens²⁴² inuolucrum²⁴³ euolue.

DE LIBERO ARBITRIO.

M. Dic igitur²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ michi imprimis,

quid liberum arbitrium uocitari dicis?

D. Vt tu diffinisti,²⁴⁶

165 libertatem bonum uel malum eligendi.

M. In qua rerum natura,²⁴⁷

²³³ 157 per] *om. ut uid. et rest. A*

²³⁴ mala autem per contrarium] bono autem contrarium *B*, Bona autem e contrario *D*, Bona autem per contrarium *a b*

²³⁵ fieri] non *praem. D*, post arbitrium *pos. b*

²³⁶ iuste] *om. a b*

²³⁷ 158 par] *om. C*

²³⁸ par laus] pars laudis *D*

²³⁹ 159 hunc] hoc *C*

²⁴⁰ globum] glomum *B a*, glonium *Cass*

²⁴¹ resolve] *om. b*

²⁴² 160 ingens] *om. a b*

²⁴³ inuolucrum] inuolucrum *A a*, inuoluere *D*, inuolutum *vK*, *om. b*

²⁴⁴ 162 igitur] ergo *A vK*, *om. a b Cass*

²⁴⁵ Dic igitur] *transp. C*

²⁴⁶ 164 diffinisti] dimisisti *D*, diffiniuisti *a*

²⁴⁷ 166 natura] *om. b*

constituis²⁴⁸ hęc libertatis iura?

D In angelica

et humana.²⁴⁹

170

DE DIABOLO.²⁵⁰

M. De primo angelo scriptum est: *Plenus²⁵¹ sapientia,²⁵² et perfectus decore.*

Si plenus sapientia extitit,

decorem deformitati²⁵³ prestantiorem sciuit.

D. Alioquin non esset sapiens.

175

M. Sapientis autem²⁵⁴ est bonum eligere,

et malum respuere.

D. Ita constat.

M. Sed ipse malum elegit,²⁵⁵

et bonum respuit.

180

Decor²⁵⁶ enim²⁵⁷ bonus est quem habitum²⁵⁸ deseruit,

²⁴⁸ **167** constituis] constitui *b*

²⁴⁹ **169** humana] humano *B*

²⁵⁰ **170** De diabolo] De Lucifero *D*

²⁵¹ **171** Ez. 28, 12

²⁵² **171** sapientia] sapienti(e) *scr. sed sup. l. corr. C*

²⁵³ **173** deformitati] deformitate *C*

²⁵⁴ **175** autem] *om. a*

²⁵⁵ **178** elegit] eligit *vK*

²⁵⁶ **179/180** respuit. Decor] respuit, decor *C*

²⁵⁷ enim] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

²⁵⁸ **180** habitum] *om. D*

et²⁵⁹ deformitas mala quam²⁶⁰ eligendo incidit.²⁶¹

Sequitur autem²⁶² aut²⁶³ hanc scripturam²⁶⁴ falsidicam,

que eum testatur plenum sapientia, et perfectum decore fuisse,

aut scripturam ueridicam,²⁶⁵

185 sed²⁶⁶ eum habitum decorem dum maiorem appetiit²⁶⁷ retinere²⁶⁸ non potuisse,²⁶⁹

et sic per liberum arbitrium scienter malum²⁷⁰ elegisse.

D. Recte malum elegisse diceretur,²⁷¹

si bonum et malum ei propositum legeretur.

Sed cum nichil mali fuerit,²⁷²

190 presertim cum deus *omnia ualde bona*²⁷³ fecerit,²⁷⁴

²⁵⁹ **181** et] *om. Cass*

²⁶⁰ quam] in *praem. C*

²⁶¹ eligendo incidit] elegit *D*

²⁶² **182** autem] igitur *B, om. a*

²⁶³ aut] *om. D*

²⁶⁴ hanc scripturam] *transp. D*

²⁶⁵ **184** ueridicam] esse *add. D*

²⁶⁶ **184/185** ueridicam, sed] ueridicam. Sed *C*

²⁶⁷ **185** appetiit] appetit *B C*, apetiit *b*

²⁶⁸ retinere] tenere *C*

²⁶⁹ potuisse] potuit *D*

²⁷⁰ **186** scienter malum] *transp. b*

²⁷¹ **187** diceretur] discetur *D*

²⁷² **189** fuerit] ei propositum *praem. D*

²⁷³ **190** omnia ualde bona] cfr Gen. 1, 31

mirum uidetur,
quomodo malum²⁷⁵ elegisse affirmetur.²⁷⁶
M. Deus *creauit*^{277 278} *omnia*²⁷⁹ *simul*.
Eodem²⁸⁰ enim momento quo cælum,
195 eodem etiam²⁸¹ creauit²⁸² infernum.²⁸³
Si ergo angelus plenus fuit²⁸⁴ sapientia,
sciuit utique quod dei²⁸⁵ contemptoribus preparata erant tormenta.
Et²⁸⁶ dum²⁸⁷ deum contempsit,
scienter malum incidit.
200 Dicitur igitur^{288 289} iuste malum²⁹⁰ elegisse,

²⁷⁴ **190** fecerit] fecit *D*

²⁷⁵ **192** malum] *om. a*

²⁷⁶ **192** affirmetur] *expl. C*

²⁷⁷ **193** creauit] est autem *b*

²⁷⁸ **193** Eccli. 18, 1

²⁷⁹ **193** creauit omnia] *transp. a*

²⁸⁰ **193/194** simul. Eodem] simul, eodem *A*

²⁸¹ **195** etiam] et *b, om. D*

²⁸² creauit] cauet *b*

²⁸³ infernum] et *praem. D*

²⁸⁴ **196** plenus fuit] *transp. a*

²⁸⁵ **197** dei] *om. a*

²⁸⁶ **197/198** tormenta. Et] tormenta, et *a b Cass vK*

²⁸⁷ **198** dum] *om. sed sup. l. rest. D*

²⁸⁸ **200/201** igitur usq. sciuit se] *om. D*

²⁸⁹ **200** igitur] ergo *a b Cass*

dum maiestatem dei contempnens, preuisum tormentum sciuit se euadere non potuisse.

D. In quo deum contempsit?²⁹¹

M. Dignitatem²⁹² a deo sibi datam habere contempsit,

et maiorem quam ei deus²⁹³ dare uellet appetiit,

205 quia *similis altissimo*^{294 295} esse²⁹⁶ uoluit.²⁹⁷

D. Cum nec angeli ut credo^{298 299} ad perfectum³⁰⁰ penetrent³⁰¹ altitudinem maiestatis dei,

quomodo ei³⁰² æqualis³⁰³ esse uoluit,

²⁹⁰ iuste malum] *transp. a*

²⁹¹ **202/210** in quo – ut deus disponere?] cfr Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, 1, 10, 8 – ed. P. Cazier, CC SL 110, p. 31; PL 83, 555B (=Burchardus Wormaciensis, *Decretorum libri uiginti*, 20, 54 – PL 140, 1333D-1334A; = Ivo Carnotensis, *Decretum*, 17, 65 – PL 161, 990B): Diabolus uero non solum in hoc contentus quod se Deo aequalem existimans cecidit, insuper etiam superiorem Deo se dicit, secundum apostoli dicta, qui ait de Antichristo: *Qui aduersatur et extollitur supra omne quod dicitur Deus aut colitur. Vide etiam* Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarium*, 32-33 – ed. Y. Lefèvre, 1954, p. 367: D – In quo fuit Deo contrarius? M – Cum uideret se omnes angelorum ordines gloria et decore excellere, spretis omnibus, uoluit Deo aequalis, immo maior existere. D – Quomodo aequalis uel maior? M – Meliorem statum, quam ei Deus dedisset, uoluit, Deo inuito, arripere et aliis per tyrannidem imperare. Idem, *De anima et de Deo, quaedam ex Augustino excerpta, sub dialogo exarata* – ed. M.-O. Garrigues, 1977, p. 255: D – Et cur dampnantur qui haec cupiunt, si Deum desiderant uel amant, a quo haec omnia sunt? M – Quia haec quisque non ideo desiderat uel amat ut Deo fruatur, sunt (sic) ut ipse prae ceteris hominibus singularis uideatur et cunctos sub se despiceat, quibus ipse solus ut Deus superemineat, sicque fit membrum illius qui singularis inter angelos esse disposuit, dum solus *similis Altissimo* esse uoluit.

²⁹² **203** M.] *om. sed Magister sup. l. scr. b*

²⁹³ **204** deus] *om. D*

²⁹⁴ **205** similis altissimo] *transp. b*

²⁹⁵ **205** Is. 14, 14

²⁹⁶ esse] *om. sed sup. l. rest. b*

²⁹⁷ esse uoluit] *transp. Cass*

²⁹⁸ **206** credo] *concedo vK*

²⁹⁹ c(r)edo] *om. sed sup. l. corr. b*

³⁰⁰ perfectum] *perfectam Cass vK*

³⁰¹ penetrent] *non praem. sed ut uid. eras. a*

³⁰² **207** ei] *om. b*

cuius magnitudinem ignorauit?

M. Quodammodo concupiuit ei³⁰⁴ par esse,

210 scilicet ministeria angelorum ut deus disponere.

D. Nonne³⁰⁵ quilibet ideo³⁰⁶ festinat³⁰⁷ dignitate sublimari,

quod potentiam iudicat³⁰⁸ prestare subiectioni?

Ita uidetur michi quod bonum elegerit,

dum maiorem gloriam appetiit.³⁰⁹

215 M. Immo per hoc malum elegisse conuincitur.

Omnem enim sufficientiam habuit,

et nichil erat quod eius³¹⁰ glorię adici³¹¹ posset.³¹²

Dum ergo gloria contentus non fuit,

sed quod dei solius erat presumptuose immo uiolenter arripere uoluit,

220 in locum quem sciuit presumptoribus preparatum, scienter corrui,

quia spreto³¹³ bono malum preposuit.³¹⁴

³⁰³ ei equalis] *transp. D*

³⁰⁴ **209** concupiuit ei] *transp. B*

³⁰⁵ **211** Nonne] omnino *add. b*

³⁰⁶ quilibet ideo] *transp. A a Cass vK*

³⁰⁷ ideo festinat] *om. b*

³⁰⁸ **212** iudicat] *indicat a b*

³⁰⁹ **214** appetiit] *apetiit b*

³¹⁰ eius] *om. Cass*

³¹¹ **217** adici] *addici b*

³¹² posset] *possit B*

D. Cur ideo deus³¹⁵ ei³¹⁶ habitam gloriam abstulit,
quod maiorem appetiit?

M. Deus ei non abstulit,

225 sed ipse hanc³¹⁷ sua³¹⁸ sponte deseruit.

Sicuti³¹⁹ 320 321 tu si de me tabulas haberes,

et ego michi librum³²² retinerem,

quem tibi dare nollem,

tu uero tabulas abiceres,

230 ut librum quem tibi dare nollem³²³ acciperes,

utroque³²⁴ iuste careres,

ita diabolus habitam gloriam deseruit,

spe maioris subeunde³²⁵ quam ei³²⁶ dare noluit,³²⁷

³¹³ 221 spreto] sperato *b*, sumpto *Cass*

³¹⁴ 221 preposuit] presumpsit *a b Cass*

³¹⁵ 222 ideo deus] *transp. b*

³¹⁶ ei] *post gloriam pos. a Cass, post abstulit pos. b*

³¹⁷ 225 hanc] *post sponte pos. a*

³¹⁸ sua] *om. D*

³¹⁹ 225/226 deseruit. Sicuti] *deseruit, sicuti A*

³²⁰ 226/236 Sicuti – recepit] *Comparatio in marg. praem. D*

³²¹ 226 Sicuti] *Sicut D*

³²² 227 librum] *libellum A a Cass vK*

³²³ 230 dare nollem] *non darem D*

³²⁴ 231 utroque] *post careres pos. b*

³²⁵ 233 subeunde] *subeunde A B*

et ideo³²⁸ male cupitam non accepit,
 235 et quam deseruit
 non recepit.
 Cum ergo esset³²⁹ utraque³³⁰ priuatus,
 a loco quoque³³¹ glorię est abalienatus,³³²
 et³³³ locum quem contemptoribus preparatum preuidit,
 240 contemptor³³⁴ ipse incidit.
 Et³³⁵ quia de loco glorię³³⁶ corruit,
 sapientiam et decorem et omne bonum pariter amisit.
 Quia uero locum ignominię scienter incidit,
 mox deformitatem et omnem horrorem iuste induit.

245 DE INFERNO.

D. Quomodo constat quod³³⁷ deus^{338 339} omnia bona ualde³⁴⁰ fecerit,³⁴¹

³²⁶ ei] deus *praem. a*, deus *add. b Cass*

³²⁷ noluit] deus *praem. D*

³²⁸ **234** ideo] omnino *b*

³²⁹ **237** esset] *om. D*

³³⁰ utraque] utroque *D*

³³¹ **238** quoque] *om. a b Cass*

³³² abalienatus] alienatus *D*

³³³ **239** et] *om D*

³³⁴ **240** contemptor] contempmtor *a*

³³⁵ **240/241** incidit. Et] incidit, et *a*

³³⁶ loco glorię] *transp. Cass*

³³⁷ **246** quod] *in ras. corr. D*

cum infernus ultra modum sit³⁴² malus quem fecit?

Aut quę causa fuit,

ut eum faceret,

250 cum adhuc nemo peccasset?

M. Infernus per se bonus comprobatur,

sed ideo³⁴³ malus dicitur,

quia in eo pęna exercetur.³⁴⁴

In³⁴⁵ omni³⁴⁶ autem rerum natura,

255 nichil malum nisi pęna appellatur.

De hac³⁴⁷ autem bonum predicatur,

cum supplicium flagitioso ut puta latroni a iudice intentatur,^{348 349}

³³⁸ deus] *sup. l. corr. D*

³³⁹ deus – fecerit] *Genesis in marg. praem. D*

³⁴⁰ bona ualde] *transp. D*

³⁴¹ fecerit] *fecit b*

³⁴² 247 sit] *post infernus pos. a*

³⁴³ 252 ideo] *omnino b*

³⁴⁴ pęna exercetur] *poenae exercentur Cass*

³⁴⁵ 253/254 exercetur. In] *exercetur, in vK*

³⁴⁶ 254 omni] *eo b*

³⁴⁷ 256/259 De hac – toleratur] *cfr Eriugena, Periphyseon, V, 954C – ed. E.A. Jeuneau, CC CM 165, p. 132; PL 122, 954C: Infernus itaque . . . , dum per se ipsum consideratur, malum malis cognoscitur, dum uero in uniuersitatis pulcherrima ordinatione constituitur, bonum bonis efficitur, quoniam non solum iustissimi iudicis seueritas aeternaque sententia in eo manifestatur, uerum etiam beatorum hominum et angelorum laus felicitatis acquiritur et pulchritudo cumulatur.*

³⁴⁸ 257/258 intentatur, malum] *intentatur. Malum a b Cass vK*

³⁴⁹ 257 intentatur] *intendatur a b Cass vK*

malum uero ideo³⁵⁰ de ea predicatur,
quia amara est his a quibus toleratur.
260 Peccatum uero idcirco malum dicitur,
quia quisque³⁵¹ per hoc p̄ņę addicitur.
Deus³⁵² fecit omnia bona ualde,^{353 354}
sed tamen inter³⁵⁵ se contraria.
Cęlum³⁵⁶ namque et infernus sibi sunt contraria,
265 sed utraque³⁵⁷ per se bona.³⁵⁸
Cęlum etenim bonum affirmatur,
quia in eo maiestas dei ab electis collaudatur.
Infernus³⁵⁹ nichilominus bonus astruitur,

³⁵⁰ **258** ideo] omnino *b*

³⁵¹ **261** quisque] quisquis *D*

³⁵² **262/263** Deus – contraria] cfr Honorius, *De neocosmo* – ed. R.D. Crouse, pp. 202-3; PL 172, 258D – 259A: Cuncta quae fecit Deus per se considerata sunt bona singula; in uniuersitate autem numerata sunt ualde bona: quia licet unum alteri contrarium uideatur, unumquodque tamen necessarium comprobatur; Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, V, 954C, ed. E.A. Jeaneau, CC CM 165, pp. 131-2: Aliud est enim considerare singulas uniuersitatis partes, aliud totum. Hinc conficitur ut quod in parte contrarium esse putatur, in toto non solum non contrarium, uerum etiam pulchritudinis augmentum reperitur.

³⁵³ **262** bona ualde] *transp. D*

³⁵⁴ **262** cfr Gen. 1, 31

³⁵⁵ **263** inter] intra *B*

³⁵⁶ **264/269** Cęlum – exercetur] cfr Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, V, 954AB – ed. E.A. Jeaneau, CC CM 165, p. 131; PL 122, 954AB: Quid enim melius est quam ut ex oppositorum comparatione et uniuersitatis et conditoris omnium laus ineffabilis comparetur? Quid iustius quam ut boni meriti sublimissimum rerum ordinem, mali uero infimum obtineant?

³⁵⁷ **265** utraque] utrumque *Cass*

³⁵⁸ bona] bonum *Cass*

³⁵⁹ **268** Infernus] Infirnis *D*

quia in eo iustitia dei in³⁶⁰ reprobis exercetur,³⁶¹

270 et³⁶² pari modo inde a iustis magnificatur.

Aqua et ignis sunt contraria,

sed utraque bona.

+GENVS SERPENTIS.+

Salamandria³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ uiuit in flamma,

275 moritur in unda.³⁶⁵

Sic piscis in aqua nutritur,³⁶⁶

in igne³⁶⁷ moritur.

Ergo nichil est malum,

sed unumquodque per se bonum,

280 quamuis inter se contrarium.

Ideo autem infernum ante peccatum deus³⁶⁸ fecit,³⁶⁹

³⁶⁰ **269** in] de *a*

³⁶¹ **269** cfr Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, V, 954C – ed. E.A. Jeauneau, CC CM 165, p. 132; PL 122, 954C: . . . iustissimi iudicis seueritas aeternaue sententia in eo manifestatur . . .

³⁶² **270** et pari modo – magnificatur] cfr Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, V, 954A – ed. E.A. Jeauneau, CC CM 165, p. 131; PL 122, 954A: . . . beatitudo iustorum gloriam inuenit ex suppliciis impiorum, gaudiumque bonae uoluntatis ex tristitia peruersae.

³⁶³ **274** Salamandria] *sup. l. serpens scr. b, genus serpentis add. B*

³⁶⁴ **274/275** cfr Honorius, *Libellus VIII quaestionum*, IV – PL 172, 1189D: . . . quaedam animalia sint in igne innoxia, ut fertur de Salamandra.

³⁶⁵ **276** unda] aqua *a b Cass*

³⁶⁶ **276/277** in aqua nutritur] *post* in igne moritur *pos. b*

³⁶⁷ **277** igne] flamma *a*

³⁶⁸ **281** deus] *post* ideo *pos. b*

ut magis inexcusabiles essent,

si uisis tormentis a deo³⁷⁰ per liberum arbitrium recedentes, in ea³⁷¹ scienter corruerent.³⁷²

D. Cum angelus cęlum inferno longe incomparabiliter sciret prestare,

285 cur non magis elegit in eo perstare?^{373 374}

M. Hoc uolo ut tu et illi tecum³⁷⁵ dicant,

qui liberum arbitrium predestinationi preualere affirmant.

D. Rogo te in caritate Christi,

ut prosequaris quod cepisti.³⁷⁶

290 M. Ad locum³⁷⁷ glorię³⁷⁸ predestinatus non fuerat,³⁷⁹

ideo³⁸⁰ in eo permanere non poterat.³⁸¹

D. Si per liberum arbitrium elegisset ibi permanere,³⁸²

³⁶⁹ deus fecit] *transp. D*

³⁷⁰ **283** a deo] ideo *b*

³⁷¹ ea] eum *D*, eam *b*

³⁷² corruerent] corruerunt *b*

³⁷³ **285** perstare] prestare *B*

³⁷⁴ cur – perstare] quare spreto cęlo infernum elegit? *D*

³⁷⁵ **286** tecum] *om. A vK*

³⁷⁶ **289** cepisti] incepisti *b*

³⁷⁷ **290** Ad locum] quia *sup l. praem. b*, quia *praem. Cass vK*

³⁷⁸ locum glorię] *transp. Cass*

³⁷⁹ fuerat] fuit *a b Cass*

³⁸⁰ **291** ideo] omnino *b*

³⁸¹ poterat] potuit *a b Cass*

³⁸² **292** permanere] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*, permane *Cass*

potuisset ibi³⁸³ remanere?^{384 385}

M. Non potuisset,

295 quia noluit ut deberet.

Sine dei enim adiutorio, immo inuito deo ibi esse uoluit,

ideo inde³⁸⁶ proruit.³⁸⁷

D. Quid si cum dei adiutorio uellet?

M. Quia hoc noluit,

300 idcirco³⁸⁸ corruit.³⁸⁹

Hoc autem ideo uelle non potuit,

quia non a deo posse, sed a se ipso habere uoluit.

Per liberum igitur³⁹⁰ arbitrium, deum et gloriam quam habuit deseruit,

et malum quod presciuit,

305 ineuitabiliter incidit.

D. Cur per liberum arbitrium deuitare non potuit?

+DE POSSIBILITATE.+

M. Vnde³⁹¹ agis tu³⁹² mecum?

³⁸³ 293 ibi] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

³⁸⁴ potuisset remanere] *transp. sed sup. l. litteris minusculis mendum indicauit A*

³⁸⁵ remanere] *permanere D, permansisse a b Cass*

³⁸⁶ 297 inde] *om. b*

³⁸⁷ proruit] *prorupisset b*

³⁸⁸ 300 idcirco] *ideo A a Cass vK, omnino b*

³⁸⁹ corruit] *creuit praem. sed del. b*

³⁹⁰ 303 igitur] *om. sed ergo post arbitrium add. b*

Tu proposuisti³⁹³ arbitrii libertatem,
310 et ecce inducis³⁹⁴ faciendi possibilitatem,
cum longe aliud sit eligendi libertas,
aliud³⁹⁵ agendi facultas.
Liberum enim³⁹⁶ arbitrium est tantummodo libertas bonum uel malum eligendi,
quod ad angelos et homines pertinet,
315 possibilitas³⁹⁷ autem³⁹⁸ bonum³⁹⁹ faciendi,
ad dei solius donum attinet.
D. Gratias refero tibi,
quia hactenus hanc discretionem non attendi.⁴⁰⁰
M. Hoc errore tu⁴⁰¹ cum multis aliis deciperis,⁴⁰²
320 cum uim dictionum et differentiam⁴⁰³ inter arbitrii libertatem,

³⁹¹ **308** Vnde] Ita unum *b*

³⁹² agis tu] *transp. b*

³⁹³ **309** proposuisti] posuisti *b*

³⁹⁴ **310** inducis] introducis *D*, indicis *b*

³⁹⁵ **312/313** aliud *usq.* libertas] *om. b*

³⁹⁶ **313** enim] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

³⁹⁷ **314/315** pertinet, possibilitas] pertinet. Possibilitas *a b Cass vK*

³⁹⁸ **315** autem] *om. D*, uero *a*

³⁹⁹ bonum] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

⁴⁰⁰ **318** attendi] audiui *Cass*

⁴⁰¹ **319** tu] tum *b*

⁴⁰² deciperis] deceperis *b*

⁴⁰³ **320** differentiam] *hoc uerbo prae scripto sup. l. differentia scr. b*

et faciendi possibilitatem

non attenditis,⁴⁰⁴

et dum idem esse putatis,⁴⁰⁵

semper nouas quæstiones introducitis.

- 325 Angelus per liberum arbitrium bonum eligere⁴⁰⁶ potuit,
perficere⁴⁰⁷ autem sine dei adiutorio nullomodo⁴⁰⁸ ualuit.⁴⁰⁹
Posse autem ideo⁴¹⁰ deus ei non donauit,⁴¹¹
quia non⁴¹² hunc ad gloriam predestinauit.

/ITEM DE DIABOLO./

- 330 D. Quare⁴¹³ eum creauit,
si eum cum ceteris angelis ad gloriam non predestinauit?
M. Ad cumulum glorię electorum,⁴¹⁴ ut uberiori⁴¹⁵ gaudio affluerent,⁴¹⁶

⁴⁰⁴ 322 attenditis] attendis *a b*

⁴⁰⁵ 323 et dum idem esse putatis] *om. sed sup. l. rest. B*

⁴⁰⁶ 325 bonum eligere] *transp. a b Cass*

⁴⁰⁷ 326 perficere] proficere *Cass vK*

⁴⁰⁸ nullomodo] non *A b vK*

⁴⁰⁹ ualuit] potuit *a b Cass*

⁴¹⁰ 327 ideo] omnino *b*

⁴¹¹ non donauit] denegauit *D*

⁴¹² 328 non] *ante* predestinauit *posuit A a b Cass vK*

⁴¹³ 330/349 D. Quare – lętantur] cfr Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, V, 953C–954A – ed. E.A. Jeaneau, CC CM 165, pp. 130-1; PL 172, 953C – 954A, *ad sensum*.

⁴¹⁴ 332 electorum] perfectorum *D*

⁴¹⁵ uberiori] liberiori *A*

⁴¹⁶ affluerent] affluerentur *b*

cum hunc tam atrocibus tormentis subici conspicerent.

Scriptum namque⁴¹⁷ est:⁴¹⁸ *Draco*⁴¹⁹ *iste quem formasti ad illudendum ei.*

335 Solemus enim abundantiori admirationis⁴²⁰ letitia repleri,
si contraria a nobis audiri contigerint,⁴²¹ uel uideri.

Verbi gratia: Vndam^{422 423} sub pedibus Petri solidari,⁴²⁴
uel tres pueros in Chaldaico igne non concremari.^{425 426}

Ita electi prestantius habent gaudium,

340 cum tormentum inspiciunt⁴²⁷ suę letitię contrarium,
scilicet exultant quod ipsorum immensa gloria,
intantum differt ab illorum miseria.

D. Num cruciatus miserorum,
est⁴²⁸ gaudium electorum?

345 M. In cęlo⁴²⁹ nulla est miseria,

⁴¹⁷ **334** namque] quippe *D*

⁴¹⁸ *Draco* – ei] *Dauid in marg. praem. D*

⁴¹⁹ **334** *Ps.* 103, 26b

⁴²⁰ **335** admirationis] a(m)mirationis *scr. sed sup. l. corr. A*

⁴²¹ **336** contigerint] contigerit *D a Cass vK*

⁴²² **337** Vndam] *Vnda B, Vndas Cass*

⁴²³ Vndam] *ut praem. D*

⁴²⁴ cfr *Matt.* 14, 28-31

⁴²⁵ **338** concremari] cremari *D a b Cass*

⁴²⁶ cfr *Dan.* 3, 19-30

⁴²⁷ **340** inspiciunt] aspiciunt *A vK*

⁴²⁸ **343/344** est] *post cruciatus pos. b*

ideo nullus dolor in inferno positorum tangit electorum precordia,

sed ut noster uisus pascitur,⁴³⁰

si diuersa animalia⁴³¹ a nobis in gurgite ludere cernantur,

ita ipsi in uniuersa dei dispositione letantur.

350 D. Cum deus disposuisset⁴³² initio⁴³³ diabolum in alio⁴³⁴ loco constituendum,⁴³⁵

cur posuit eum in cęlo saltem ad momentum?

M. Sicut aurifex^{436 437} si in palatio pretiosos lapides ad coronam omnes simul protrahat,⁴³⁸

non tamen omnes in uno ordine sui operis ponat,

sed quosdam superiori,⁴³⁹ quosdam⁴⁴⁰ inferiori⁴⁴¹ parte ut decens uisum⁴⁴² fuerit imprimat,

355 sic deus de thesauro suę sapientię angelos uelut igneos lapides producens,

ut hoc⁴⁴³ in cęlesti palatio fieret⁴⁴⁴ decuit,⁴⁴⁵

⁴²⁹ **345** In cęlo] Comparatio *in marg. praem. D*

⁴³⁰ **347** pascitur] pascit *D*, tangitur *b*, aliam lectionem tangit *in marg. indicauit Cass*

⁴³¹ **348** animalia] piscium genera *D*

⁴³² **350** disposuisset] disposuit *A a b Cass vK*

⁴³³ initio] inītio *a*, *in sup. l. praem. A*, *in praem. vK*

⁴³⁴ alio] *om. sed sup. l. rest. D*

⁴³⁵ constituendum] constuendum *D*

⁴³⁶ **352** Sicut aurifex] Comparatio *praem. D*

⁴³⁷ aurifex] artifex *a.c. sed sup l. uel aufifex scr. A*

⁴³⁸ protrahat] pertrahat *b*

⁴³⁹ **354** superiori] *in praem. D*, inperiori *b*

⁴⁴⁰ superiori quosdam] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

⁴⁴¹ inferiori] *in praem. A D*

⁴⁴² uisum] uisu *a*

sed^{446 447} alios ibi scilicet⁴⁴⁸ in superiori parte sui operis remanere,
alios uero in inferiori locare decenter censuit.

/DE LAPSV DIABOLI/

360 Item⁴⁴⁹ si foraminibus^{450 451} ab aurifex⁴⁵² preparatis, lapis in foramen non sibi conueniens cadat,
et mox eum aurifex⁴⁵² extrahat,
et in loco competenti ponat,
sic cum primus angelus uelut ingens lapis locum non sibi preparatum indecenter
occupasset,

365 a summo opifice euulsus,⁴⁵³
et in loco⁴⁵⁴ sibi conueniente⁴⁵⁵ est propulsus.

⁴⁴³ 356 hoc] *om. D*

⁴⁴⁴ fieret] fieri *D*, fierit *vK*

⁴⁴⁵ decuit] decreuit *b Cass vK*

⁴⁴⁶ 356/357 decuit, sed] decuit. Sed *a b Cass*

⁴⁴⁷ 357 sed] *om. D*

⁴⁴⁸ ibi scilicet] *transp. D*

⁴⁴⁹ 360/367 cfr Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, XXXII, xxiii, 48 – PL 76, 665D–666A: Aurum opus decoris eius exstitit, quia sapientiae claritate canduit, quam bene creatus accepit. Foramina uero idcirco in lapidibus fiunt, ut uinculati auro in ornamenti compositione iungantur, et nequaquam a se dissideant, quos interfusum aurum repletis foraminibus ligat. Huius ergo lapidis in die conditionis suae foramina praeparata sunt, quia uidelicet capax charitatis est conditus. Qua si repleti uoluisset, stantibus angelis tanquam positus in regis ornamento lapidibus potuisset inhaerere. Si enim charitatis auro sese penetrabilem praebuisset, sanctis angelis sociatus, in ornamento, ut diximus, regio lapis fixus maneret. Habuit ergo lapis iste foramina, sed per superbiae uitium charitatis auro non sunt repleta. Nam quia idcirco ligantur auro ne cadant, idcirco iste cecidit, quia etiam perforatus manu artificis, amoris uinculis ligari contempsit.

⁴⁵⁰ 360 foraminibus] in *praem. A vK*

⁴⁵¹ 360 foraminibus] cfr Ez. 28, 13

⁴⁵² 361 aurifex] artifex *b*

⁴⁵³ 365 euulsus] est *praem. D*

⁴⁵⁴ 366 loco] locum *D a b Cass*

D. Cur perfecit eum deus sapientia et decore,
cum permansurus non esset in loco decoris et glorię?

M. Sicut tellus⁴⁵⁶ a presentia solis calescit,

370 de absentia eius tepescit,⁴⁵⁷

ita ipse⁴⁵⁸ ab ęterna dei sapientia conditus participatione⁴⁵⁹ sapientię⁴⁶⁰ tamdiu sapiens
fuerat,

quamdiu inter sapientes angelos⁴⁶¹ commanebat.

Item⁴⁶² sicuti⁴⁶³ sole aerem illustrante⁴⁶⁴ facit eum lucidum,

375 radios suos retrahente,⁴⁶⁵ reddit eum obscurum,

ita ipse⁴⁶⁶ a claritate ęterni solis tamdiu lucidus fuit,

quamdiu inter splendidos angelos mansit.

Postquam⁴⁶⁷ uero a loco glorię corruit,

⁴⁵⁵ conueniente] conuenientem *A B vK*

⁴⁵⁶ **369** Sicut tellus] *Comparatio in marg. praem. D*

⁴⁵⁷ **370** tepescit] tabescit *B*

⁴⁵⁸ **371** ipse] ab se *a*

⁴⁵⁹ participatione] participando eidem *a b Cass*, participatio est *vK*

⁴⁶⁰ participatione sapientię] *om. D*

⁴⁶¹ **372** angelos] *om. B*

⁴⁶² **374** Item] *Comparatio in marg. praem. D*

⁴⁶³ sicuti] sicut *D*

⁴⁶⁴ sole aerem illustrante] sol aerem illustrans *A vK*

⁴⁶⁵ **375** retrahente] retrahens *A vK*, retrahentem *b*

⁴⁶⁶ **376** ipse] *om. sed sup l. rest. A*

⁴⁶⁷ **377/378** mansit. Postquam] mansit, postquam *b*

sapientiam et decorem exuit,
 380 atque casu suo occupans locum ignominie,⁴⁶⁸
 mox insipientie et⁴⁶⁹ tenebrarum circumdatus est horrore.⁴⁷⁰
 Sapientia lux est.
 Dum huic adhesit,
 honore resplenduit,
 385 dum ab hac sponte recessit,
 mox a loco glorie prouens in⁴⁷¹ loco tormentali tenebris insipientie⁴⁷² inhorruit.
 D. Cur non creauit deus electos tantum angelos in celo,
 et reprobos in inferno?

+DE SPECTACULO ANGELORVM.+⁴⁷³

390 M. Per⁴⁷⁴ hoc prebuit egregium spectaculum electis angelis.
 Finge in corde tuo montem⁴⁷⁵ excelsum,
 habentem⁴⁷⁶ ex una parte campum amenissimum,
 ex altera parte uallem fumiuoma⁴⁷⁷ facie horribilem,

⁴⁶⁸ **380** ignominie] ignomine *D*

⁴⁶⁹ **381** et] *om. b*

⁴⁷⁰ horrore] honore *vK*

⁴⁷¹ **386** in] a *praem. B*

⁴⁷² insipientie] insipiente *D*

⁴⁷³ **389** (De) spectaculo angelorum] *exteriore margine deleto hae litterae interierunt in B*

⁴⁷⁴ **390** Per] *om. D*

⁴⁷⁵ **391** montem] monte *a*

⁴⁷⁶ **392** habentem] hunc esse *b*

et turbam in cacumine montis constitutam,
 395 et partem eius ad amēna campi properare,
 partem uero ad horrida uallis festinare,
 ita⁴⁷⁸ deus turbam⁴⁷⁹ angelorum in cęlo uelut in monte⁴⁸⁰ constituit,
 unde diuersa pars sibi destinatum locum properanter petiit,⁴⁸¹
 et electi quidem tota cum festinatione ad gloriam quasi ad amēna Elysii campi,
 400 creatorem suum per liberum arbitrium diligendo festinabant,⁴⁸²
 reprobī⁴⁸³ autem⁴⁸⁴ ad horrida tartari,
 uelut ad ima uallis toto annisu per liberum arbitrium deum contempnendo ruebant.⁴⁸⁵
 D. Valde laudanda⁴⁸⁶ sunt quę dicis, et nimium gloriosa.

+DE⁴⁸⁷ LIBERO ARBITRIO.+⁴⁸⁸

405 Per omnia iam⁴⁸⁹ superiora^{490 491} uidetur michi⁴⁹² liberum arbitrium penitus eneruari,

⁴⁷⁷ fumiuo(m)a] fumiuo(u)a *scr. sed sup. l. corr. b, fumioua Cass, fumiouam vK*

⁴⁷⁸ **396/397** festinare, ita] festinare. Ita *b Cass vK*

⁴⁷⁹ **397** turbam] turba *a*

⁴⁸⁰ monte] montem *Cass*

⁴⁸¹ petiit] appetiit *b*

⁴⁸² **400** diligendo festinabant] *transp. D*

⁴⁸³ **400/401** festinabant, reprobī] festinabant. Reprobī *D a b Cass vK*

⁴⁸⁴ **401** autem] uero *D*

⁴⁸⁵ **402** contempnendo ruebant] *transp. D*

⁴⁸⁶ **403** laudanda] laudabilia *Cass*

⁴⁸⁷ **404** (D)e] *exteriore margino deleta haec littera interiit in B*

⁴⁸⁸ De libero arbitrio] *ante et electi – festinabant in marg. pos. D (uide lineas 399 – 400 supra)*

⁴⁸⁹ **405** iam] *ante penitus pos. a b Cass*

si non diuina gratia preueniente et subsequente meruerit⁴⁹³ corroborari.⁴⁹⁴

M. Ita est.

Nam ante peccatum tantum⁴⁹⁵ est arbitrium⁴⁹⁶ in homine liberum.

Postquam uero bono⁴⁹⁷ postposito,

410 malum id est⁴⁹⁸ peccatum per consensum⁴⁹⁹ elegerit,

iam non liberum sed captiuum erit.

A quo⁵⁰⁰ enim quis uincitur,

illius etiam⁵⁰¹ seruus efficitur.

Verbi gratia: Si quis luxurię per liberum arbitrium se subdiderit,⁵⁰²

415 illius dęmonis seruus⁵⁰³ protinus ascribitur,

qui huic uitio preesse creditur.⁵⁰⁴

⁴⁹⁰ iam superiora] *post michi pos. A vK, per ante superiora add. A, quam lectionem accepit vK*

⁴⁹¹ superiora] *om. a b Cass*

⁴⁹² uidetur michi] *post liberum arbitrium pos. A a b Cass vK*

⁴⁹³ **406** meru(er)it] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

⁴⁹⁴ corrob(or)ari] *om. sed sup. l. rest. B*

⁴⁹⁵ **408** tantum] *om. A a b Cass vK*

⁴⁹⁶ arbitrium] *liberum praem. et est add. b*

⁴⁹⁷ **409** bono] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

⁴⁹⁸ **410** id est] *et b*

⁴⁹⁹ **410/414** per consensum *usq. luxurię] om. b*

⁵⁰⁰ A quo – seruus efficitur] *cfr 2 Pet. 2, 19 . . . a quo enim quis superatus est huius et seruus est. Vulg.*

⁵⁰¹ **413** etiam] *et D, om. a*

⁵⁰² **414** sub(di)derit] *om. sed sup. l. rest. b*

⁵⁰³ seruus] *om. B*

Sic de ceteris uitiis sentiendum.⁵⁰⁵

Itaque non iam per liberum arbitrium quod uult ei⁵⁰⁶ facere licebit,

sed⁵⁰⁷ quod ille suggerit,

420 cuius dominio se sponte⁵⁰⁸ subiugauit,⁵⁰⁹

nec⁵¹⁰ arbitrium habet liberum, ut se de iugo eius dominationis⁵¹¹ excutiat,

nisi gratia dei eum preueniat,

ut bonum quod spreuit⁵¹² cupiat,

et subsequatur ut illud implere preualeat.⁵¹³

425 D. Grauia sunt nimis que loqueris,

et omnibus hominibus⁵¹⁴ formidanda.

M. Hęc dimittamus,⁵¹⁵

paulo maiora canamus.

+DE PREDESTINATIONE.+⁵¹⁶

⁵⁰⁴ 416 creditur] dicitur *b*

⁵⁰⁵ 417 sentiendum] est *add D*, est *praem. b*

⁵⁰⁶ 418 uult ei] *transp. sed sup. l. litteris minusculis mendum indicauit A*

⁵⁰⁷ 418/419 licebat, sed] *transp. B*

⁵⁰⁸ 420 sponte] *om. B*

⁵⁰⁹ subiugauit] *subiugauerit A*

⁵¹⁰ 420/421 subiugauit, nec] *subiugauit. Nec a b, subiugauerit. Nec vK*

⁵¹¹ 421 eius dominationis] *transp. D*

⁵¹² 423 spre(uit)] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

⁵¹³ 424 preualeat] *ualeat D*

⁵¹⁴ 426 omnibus hominibus] *transp. sed sup. l. corr. B*

⁵¹⁵ 427 dimittamus] *omittamus Cass, dimitamus vK*

430 Num scis quod gaudia cęlorum et pęnas inferorum magis secundum predestinationem
quam secundum merita dantur?

D. Quę auris potest hęc ferre, ut uel hii pęnas uel⁵¹⁷ illi⁵¹⁸ gaudia non secundum merita
sortiantur?⁵¹⁹

M. Patienter audi, et luce clarius uidebis.

435 Quę sunt⁵²⁰ merita infantum,⁵²¹
ut quibusdam dentur regna cęlorum,
quibusdam uero irrogentur tormenta inferorum?
Per quod meritum latro regnum cęlorum promeruit,
qui a primeua⁵²² ętate usque ad mortis articulum in latrocinio uixit?⁵²³ ⁵²⁴

440 Ob quod meritum ad inferna descenderunt,
qui hic multa miracula fecerunt?
De quibus dicitur:⁵²⁵ *Multi*⁵²⁶ *dicent michi in illa die, domine, nonne in nomine*

⁵¹⁶ **429** De predestinatione] *ante Grauia pos. D (uide lineam 425 supra)*

⁵¹⁷ **432** uel] *om. B, et b*

⁵¹⁸ illi] hii *D b*

⁵¹⁹ **433** so(r)tiantur] *om. sed rest. A*

⁵²⁰ **435** sunt] *post infantum pos. D*

⁵²¹ infantum] *infantium D a b Cass vK*

⁵²² **439** primeua] *prima a b*

⁵²³ **438** cfr Luc. 23, 33-43

⁵²⁴ **438/439** Per quod meritum – in latrocinio uixit] cfr Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob.*, XXV, viii, 19 – PL 76, 331C: . . . quis e contra latronem crederet causam uitae etiam in ipso articulo mortis inuenire? (*uide infra lineas 766–769*)

⁵²⁵ **442/443** Multi – uos] *Euangelium in marg. praem. D*

tuo multa signa fecimus, et⁵²⁷ confitebor eis, numquam^{528 529} noui uos.

Hinc habes⁵³⁰ quod plures⁵³¹ a pueritia usque ad decrepitam etatem⁵³² in malitia⁵³³

445 insatiabiliter grassantur,

et in ipso⁵³⁴ uite exitu, per penitentiam ab ipsis iam diaboli faucibus⁵³⁵ rapiuntur,

et paradysi amenitate⁵³⁶ confouendi deducuntur.

E contra⁵³⁷ plerique in monasteriis, sub magna districtione uitam transigunt,⁵³⁸

quamplurimi in heremo degentes, summa abstinentia uitam solitariam ducunt,

450 ad extrema⁵³⁹ ad ima⁵⁴⁰ baratri descendunt.

D. Hoc est omni admiratione stupendum.

⁵²⁶ **442/443** Matth. 7, 22-23a Multi dicent mihi in illa die: Domine, Domine, nonne in nomine tuo prophetauimus, et in tuo nomine daemonia eiecimus, et in tuo nomine uirtutes multas fecimus? Et tunc confitebor illis: Quia numquam noui uos. *Vulg.*

⁵²⁷ fecimus, et] fecimus. Et *D a b*

⁵²⁸ **443** numquam] quia *sup. l. praem. A*

⁵²⁹ numquam] non *b*

⁵³⁰ **444/447** Hinc habes – descendunt?] cfr Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob.*, XXV, viii, 19 – PL 76, 330D–332A, *ad sensum.*

⁵³¹ **444** plures] multi *A a b Cass vK*

⁵³² etatem] *om. B*

⁵³³ in malitia] *om. a*

⁵³⁴ **446** ipso] *om. a b Cass*

⁵³⁵ diaboli faucibus] *transp. A vK*

⁵³⁶ **447** paradisi amenitate] ad amenitatem paradisi *b Cass*

⁵³⁷ **448** E contra] *et praem. vK*

⁵³⁸ transigunt] transfigunt *D*

⁵³⁹ **450** ad extrema] *om. D, et sup. l. praem. A*

⁵⁴⁰ ad ima] uero *praem. a b Cass*

M. Accipe⁵⁴¹ causas singulorum.

Qui in monasteriis⁵⁴² pereunt,

in sua prudentia confidunt,

455 prelatorum monita contempnunt,

in⁵⁴³ inobediencia obeunt.

Qui⁵⁴⁴ uero in heremo⁵⁴⁵ intereunt,⁵⁴⁶

sine discretione⁵⁴⁷ uiuunt,⁵⁴⁸

quod^{549 550} sibi eligunt ut sanctum⁵⁵¹ sectantur,⁵⁵²

460 exempla patrum despiciendo aspernantur.⁵⁵³

Et hii quia⁵⁵⁴ ex ouibus domini, id est⁵⁵⁵ ex predestinatis⁵⁵⁶ non⁵⁵⁷ sunt,

⁵⁴¹ **454/461** Accipe – sectantur] cfr Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob.*, XXXII, xxi, 43 – PL 76, 660D–661B, *ad sensum*; ibid., XXXII, xxii, 46 – PL 76, 663A: Hinc est quod nonnunquam hi qui uiam sanctitatis appetunt in errorem lapsi tardius emendantur. Rectum quippe aestimant esse quod agunt, et sicut excolendae uirtuti, sic uitio perseuerantiam iungunt. Rectum existimant quod agunt, et idcirco suo iudicio enixius seruiunt.

⁵⁴² **452** Qui in monasteriis] *lemma* De monachis in *marg. praem. D*

⁵⁴³ **456** in] *om. sed sup. l. rest. D, et praem. Cass*

⁵⁴⁴ **456/457** obeunt, qui] obeunt. Qui *D a b Cass*

⁵⁴⁵ **557** Qui uero in heremo] *lemma* De heremitis in *marg. praem. D*

⁵⁴⁶ intereunt] pereunt *Cass*

⁵⁴⁷ **458** discretione] districione *b*

⁵⁴⁸ uiuunt] uiunt *b*

⁵⁴⁹ **458/459** uiuunt, quod] uiuunt. Quod *a b*

⁵⁵⁰ **459** quod] qui *D*

⁵⁵¹ sanctum] sancta *D*

⁵⁵² sectantur] sectentur *D*

⁵⁵³ **460** despiciendo aspernantur] *transp. A a b Cass*

⁵⁵⁴ **461** quia] qui *b*

ideo pereunt.

De quibus scriptum est:⁵⁵⁸ *Sunt uie*⁵⁵⁹ *quæ ab*⁵⁶⁰ *hominibus uidentur iuste*,⁵⁶¹ *quarum*

finis ducit ad interitum.

465 Qui autem^{562 563} uel in morte ad penitentię remedia confugiunt,

de predestinatis sunt,

et ideo⁵⁶⁴ perire non poterunt.⁵⁶⁵

Infantes⁵⁶⁶ autem predestinati, in gloriam assumuntur,⁵⁶⁷

non predestinati uero penis subduntur.

470 En⁵⁶⁸ uides quantum predestinatio merita⁵⁶⁹ transcendat,

quantum libero arbitrio preualeat?

⁵⁵⁵ id est] *om. D b*

⁵⁵⁶ ex predestinatis] *om. D*

⁵⁵⁷ non] *ante ex predestinatis posuit b*

⁵⁵⁸ **463/464** *Sunt uie – ad interitum]* *Sapientia in marg. praem. D*

⁵⁵⁹ Prou. 14, 12; cfr Matth. 7, 13 *Est uia quae uidetur homini iusta nouissima autem eius deducunt ad mortem. Vulg.*

⁵⁶⁰ ab] *om. Cass*

⁵⁶¹ **463** *iuste]* *recte b*

⁵⁶² **465** *Qui autem]* *lemma De conuersis in marg. praem. D*

⁵⁶³ *autem]* *uero Cass*

⁵⁶⁴ **467** *ideo]* *omnino b*

⁵⁶⁵ *poterunt]* *possunt A*

⁵⁶⁶ **468** *Infantes]* *De infantibus in marg praem. D*

⁵⁶⁷ *assumuntur]* *assum(e)ntur scripsit sed sup. l. corr. B*

⁵⁶⁸ **470** *En]* *Et a b Cass vK*

⁵⁶⁹ *merita]* *meritis A a b Cass vK*

D. Et uideo,

et me uidere gaudeo.^{570 571}

+DE GRATIA DEI.+

475 M. Regnum cęlorum non secundum merita, sed secundum gratiam datur.

Quid enim meretur⁵⁷² homo nisi malum?

Vel pro quo merito exspectat⁵⁷³ a deo quis⁵⁷⁴ pretium?⁵⁷⁵

Quicquid⁵⁷⁶ enim⁵⁷⁷ electi⁵⁷⁸ boni operantur,⁵⁷⁹

deus in eis⁵⁸⁰ operatur,

480 sicut⁵⁸¹ scriptum est.⁵⁸² *Deus est qui*^{583 584} *operatur in nobis,*⁵⁸⁵ *et uelle et posse pro*

⁵⁷⁰ 473 uidere gaudeo] *transp. A a*

⁵⁷¹ et me uidere gaudeo] et coelorum regnum gaudeo me uidere *Cass*

⁵⁷² 476 meretur] mer(er)etur *sup. l. add. D*

⁵⁷³ 477 exspectat] *post premium posuit b*

⁵⁷⁴ quis] *post exspectat pos. D a b Cass*

⁵⁷⁵ pretium] *premium D b Cass*

⁵⁷⁶ 478 Quicquid] *quisquis b*

⁵⁷⁷ enim] *om. Cass*

⁵⁷⁸ electi] *om. b*

⁵⁷⁹ boni operantur] *bonum operatur b*

⁵⁸⁰ 479 eis] *eo b*

⁵⁸¹ 479/480 operatur, sicut] *operatur. Sicut D*

⁵⁸² 480 Deus–uoluntate] *Paulus in marg. praem. D*

⁵⁸³ 480 Deus – uoluntate] *Phil. 2, 13 Deus est enim qui operatur in uobis et uelle et perficere pro bona uoluntate. Vulg.*

⁵⁸⁴ est qui] *om. A a b Cass vK*

⁵⁸⁵ nobis] *uobis D*

bona uoluntate.

Si⁵⁸⁶ deus operatur,

que merces homini imputatur?⁵⁸⁷

Et⁵⁸⁸ deus operatur,

485 et electi cooperantur.

Deus operatur, electos⁵⁸⁹ sua gratia preueniendo uelle,

et subsequendo posse,

cooperantur ipsi per liberum arbitrium consentiendo bona uoluntate.

Hęc bona uoluntas⁵⁹⁰ remuneratur⁵⁹¹ in eis,

490 ut scriptum est.⁵⁹² *Accepimus*⁵⁹³ *gratiam*⁵⁹⁴ *pro gratia.*

Gratiam⁵⁹⁵ accipimus,⁵⁹⁶

cum nos deus⁵⁹⁷ preuenit ut uelimus,

et⁵⁹⁸ subsequitur ut possimus.

⁵⁸⁶ **482** Si] ergo *add. a b Cass*

⁵⁸⁷ **482/483** Si deus *usq. imputatur] om. vK*

⁵⁸⁸ **484** Et] sed *vK*

⁵⁸⁹ **486** electos] in *sup. l. praem. b*

⁵⁹⁰ **489** bona uoluntas] *transp. b*

⁵⁹¹ remuneratur] *post in eis pos. a b Cass*

⁵⁹² **490** Accepimus–pro gratia] *lemma Iohannes baptista in marg. praem. D*

⁵⁹³ **491** Ioh. 1, 16

⁵⁹⁴ gratiam] gratia *b*

⁵⁹⁵ **491** Gratiam] Gratia *b*

⁵⁹⁶ accipimus] accepimus *a Cass vK*

⁵⁹⁷ **492** nos deus] *transp. D*

Pro⁵⁹⁹ hac⁶⁰⁰ gratia aliam gratiam dabit,⁶⁰¹

495 cum nos in gloria⁶⁰² remunerabit.

+DE LABORE PREDESTINATORVM.+⁶⁰³

D. Si predestinatio electos necessario saluat,⁶⁰⁴

quare quicquam⁶⁰⁵ laborant?

Aut⁶⁰⁶ cur gentibus predicatur,

500 ut conuertantur?

Vel⁶⁰⁷ cur⁶⁰⁸ uerbum⁶⁰⁹ admonitionis quotidie a sacerdotibus⁶¹⁰ administratur populo,

ut in⁶¹¹ proposito dei proficiant seruitio?

M. Quemadmodum⁶¹² ignis necessario calet,

⁵⁹⁸ 493 et] *om. a*

⁵⁹⁹ 493/494 possimus. Pro] possimus, pro *B*

⁶⁰⁰ 494 hac] *om. D*

⁶⁰¹ dabit] nobis *add. Cass vK*

⁶⁰² 495 gloria] gratia *D*

⁶⁰³ 496 labore predestinatorum] *transp. D*

⁶⁰⁴ 497 necessario saluat] *transp. a*

⁶⁰⁵ 498 quicquam] quicque *b*

⁶⁰⁶ 499/500 Aut cur—conuertantur] *lemma De gentibus in marg. praem. D*

⁶⁰⁷ 500/501 conuertantur? Vel] conuertantur, uel *b*

⁶⁰⁸ 501 cur] cum *b*

⁶⁰⁹ uerbum] uerbis *D*

⁶¹⁰ (sa)cerdotibus] *om. sed sup. l. rest. D*

⁶¹¹ 502 in] *om. sed sup. l. rest. D*

⁶¹² 503 Quemadmodum] *lemma Quod electi necessitate predestinationis saluentur in marg. praem. D*

glacies friget,

505 sic necessario omnes ad regnum dei predestinati salui fient.

Sed quia nullus se⁶¹³ predestinatum presumit,

cum nec *uas electionis*⁶¹⁴ Paulus hoc⁶¹⁵ de se⁶¹⁶ presumpserit,

necesse est toto conamine labori⁶¹⁷ incumbere,

quo ualeant predestinationem obtinere.

510 Per laborem namque predestinatio adipiscitur,

ut in sacra auctoritate dicitur:⁶¹⁸

*Per*⁶¹⁹ ⁶²⁰*multas tribulationes oportet nos introire in regnum dei.*

Infantibus itaque per mortis acerbiteriam,

iuuenibus per operis exercitationem,

515 in extremis penitentiam agentibus datur predestinatio per purgatorii cruciatus

examinationem.

+DE GENTIBVS.+

Gentibus⁶²¹ uero ideo predicatur,

⁶¹³ 506 se] *om. b*

⁶¹⁴ 507 uas electionis] cfr Act. 9, 15

⁶¹⁵ 507 hoc] *post de se pos. D*

⁶¹⁶ se] *om. sed sup. l. rest. a*

⁶¹⁷ 508 labori] labore *scr. sed sup. l. corr. A, post incumbere pos. Cass*

⁶¹⁸ 512 Per multas—ad regnum dei] Paulus *in marg. praem. D*

⁶¹⁹ 512 Act. 14, 21b

⁶²⁰ 512/516 Per multas – examinationem] cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarium*, II, 31 – ed. Y. Lefèvre, 1954, p. 415: *Per multas tribulationes oportet nos introire in regnum Dei (Act., XIV, 21).*” Paruulis itaque per mortis acerbiteriam, proeuctis autem aetate datur praedestinatio per laborem exercitationem. cfr F. Baeumker, *Das Inevitabile des Honorius Augustodunensis und dessen Lehre über das Zusammenwirken von Wille und Gnade*, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, Texte und Untersuchungen*, 13/6, p. 35.

quia predestinati foris *in foro otiose*⁶²² *stantes*⁶²³ in uineam⁶²⁴ domini

520 ad laborem conuocantur.

Quibus etiam⁶²⁵ denarius in mercede proponitur,

quia predestinata gloria usque in⁶²⁶ finem laborantibus dabitur.

Sæpe⁶²⁷ quoque quidam de reprobis cum eis uineam⁶²⁸ ingrediuntur,

sed in initio laboris⁶²⁹ ab opere deficiunt,

525 et aut de uinea blasphemantes exeunt,

aut in uinea manentes laborantes impediunt.⁶³⁰

De his dicitur:⁶³¹ *Ex nobis*⁶³² *exierunt*,⁶³³ *sed non erant ex nobis*.

⁶²¹ **518** Gentibus] Gentilibus vK

⁶²² **519** otiose] otiosi D

⁶²³ **519** in foro otiose stantes] cfr Matth. 20, 3

⁶²⁴ uineam] uinea A

⁶²⁵ **521** etiam] et D b

⁶²⁶ **522** in] ad D

⁶²⁷ **523/531** Sæpe – resilierunt] cfr Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliarum in Euangelia libri duo*, I, xix, 5 – PL 76, 1157 (=Rabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in Mattheum libri octo*, VI, xx – PL 107, 1029D-1030A): Dominus dicit: *Annuntiaui et locutus sum, multiplicati sunt super numerum*. Vocante enim Domino, super numerum multiplicantur fideles, quia nonnunquam etiam hi ad fidem ueniunt, qui ad electorum numerum non pertingunt. Hic enim fidelibus per confessionem admisti sunt, sed propter uitam reprobam illic numerari in sorte fidelium non merentur. *Locus classicus est* Augustinus Hipponensis, *De correptione et gratia*, XIII, 39 – BA 24, p. 358; PL 44, 940-941: Haec de his loquor, qui praedestinati sunt in regnum Dei, quorum ita certus est numerus, ut nec addatur eis quisquam, nec minuatur ex eis: non de his qui, cum annuntiasset et locutus esset, *multiplicati sunt super numerum*; uide etiam Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob.*, XXV, viii, 21 – ed. M. Adriaen, CC SL 143B, p. 1246; PL 76, 333B-C: Vnde propheta intuens tantos hoc Ecclesiae tempore specie tenus credere, quantos nimirum certum est electorum numerum summamque transire, ait: *Multiplicati sunt super numerum*. Ac si diceret: Multis Ecclesiam intrantibus, etiam hi ad fidem specie tenus ueniunt qui a numero regni caelestis excluduntur, quia electorum summam sua uidelicet multiplicitate transcendunt; atque Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, I, xxii, 6 – ed. P. Cazier, CC SL 111, p. 75; PL 83, 589A-B: Qui intra ecclesiam non ex dignitate ecclesiae uiuunt, sed fidem quam verbo tenent operibus destruunt, de ipsis legitur: *Multiplicati sunt super numerum*, ut subaudias in regno praedestinatorum.

⁶²⁸ **523** uineam] in *praem.* D b

⁶²⁹ **524** initio laboris] *transp. a b Cass*

⁶³⁰ **519/526** cfr Matth. 20, 1-16

Et iterum:⁶³⁴ *Multiplicati*⁶³⁵ *sunt super numerum*, scilicet predestinatorum.

Multi⁶³⁶ quippe per fidem sageņ Petri inheserunt,

530 sed quia in⁶³⁷ numero electorum precogniti⁶³⁸ non sunt,
in fluctus uitiorum rupto rete resilierunt.

+DE FIDELIBVS.+

Populus autem fidelium in labore pii operis fatigatus uerbo admonitionis ne deficiat
subleuatur,

535 sicut eger ad ecclesiam uadens,

sed in uia deficiens,

ut iter peragat ab aliquo sustentatur.

`DE PREDESTINATIONE GEMINA`

Igitur per gratiam dei predestinatio uite adipiscitur,

540 per⁶³⁹ liberum autem⁶⁴⁰ arbitrium, mortis predestinatio⁶⁴¹ perficitur.

Renati quippe in Christo morientes,

⁶³¹ **527** Ex nobis – ex nobis] Iohannis euangelium *in marg. praem. D*

⁶³² **527** I Ioh. 2, 19a

⁶³³ Ex nobis exierunt, sed non erant] Exierunt a nobis, quia non fuerunt *b*

⁶³⁴ **528** Multiplicati sunt – numerum] Dauid *in marg. praem. D*

⁶³⁵ **528** Ps. 39, 6b

⁶³⁶ **529/531** Multi – resilierunt] cfr Luc. 5, 4-7

⁶³⁷ **530** in] *om. b*

⁶³⁸ precogniti] precognita *B*

⁶³⁹ **539/540** adipiscitur, per] adipiscitur. Per *b*

⁶⁴⁰ **540** autem] *om. D*

⁶⁴¹ predestinatio] destinatio *D*

uel iam⁶⁴² adulti bona operantes,
ad uitam sunt predestinati,
non regenerati⁶⁴³ autem uel in malis indurati,
545 ad mortem destinati.⁶⁴⁴
Propter predestinatos⁶⁴⁵ fiunt exhortationes,
correptiones,⁶⁴⁶
sanctę⁶⁴⁷ institutiones,
ut per liberum arbitrium declinent a malo, et faciant bonum,
550 quod tamen nullomodo per se⁶⁴⁸ poterunt,
qui sine deo nichil⁶⁴⁹ possunt.⁶⁵⁰
Quia uero predestinati sunt,
gratia dei eos preuenit ut uelint,
subsequitur⁶⁵¹ ut etiam^{652 653} possint.

⁶⁴² 542 iam] et *D*

⁶⁴³ 544 regenerati] renati *a b Cass*

⁶⁴⁴ 545 destinati] sunt *praem. b Cass*, sunt predestinati *D a*

⁶⁴⁵ 546 predestinatos] destinatos *A*

⁶⁴⁶ 547 correptiones] corruptiones *Cass*

⁶⁴⁷ 548 sanctę] *om. b*

⁶⁴⁸ 550 per se] *om. B, ante nullomodo pos. a*

⁶⁴⁹ 551 nichil] nil *A*

⁶⁵⁰ 551 sine deo nichil possunt] cfr Ioh. 15, 5b . . . quia sine me nihil potestis facere. *Vulg.*

⁶⁵¹ 554 subsequitur] et *praem. a, eos add. Cass*

⁶⁵² ut etiam] *transp. sed sup. l. litteris minusculis corr. B*

⁶⁵³ etiam] *om. sed sup. l. et scr. D, et b*

555 Sed quia incommutabilis dei predestinatio⁶⁵⁴ fixa manet,
 reprobis per iustitiam derelicti,⁶⁵⁵ bonum nec uolunt⁶⁵⁶ nec ualent.⁶⁵⁷
 Cunctas admonitiones surdis auribus audiunt,
 cuncta bonorum exempla cæco immo indurato⁶⁵⁸ corde conspiciunt.⁶⁵⁹
 Per liberum arbitrium semper in peius proficiunt,^{660 661 662}
 560 per quod se a deo elongantes⁶⁶³ iuste pereunt.
 Quia^{664 665} *nemo potest uenire ad filium,*⁶⁶⁶ qui est uita æterna,⁶⁶⁷ *nisi pater per gratiam,*
 id est per⁶⁶⁸ spiritum sanctum, *traxerit*⁶⁶⁹ *eum.*^{670 671}

⁶⁵⁴ 555 dei predestinatio] *transp. a b Cass*

⁶⁵⁵ 556 per iustitiam derelicti] cfr Ps. Anselmus, *Meditatio XVI* – PL 158, 972D: Illi derelicti sunt per iustitiam, nos uocati sumus per gratiam.

⁶⁵⁶ uolunt] *norunt b*

⁶⁵⁷ 556/558 nec ualent *usq. bonorum] om. b*

⁶⁵⁸ 558 indurato] *durato a*

⁶⁵⁹ conspiciunt] *om. et nec uolunt nec ualent subsituit b (uide lineam 556 supra)*

⁶⁶⁰ 559 proficiunt] *deficiunt A a b Cass vK*

⁶⁶¹ in peius proficiunt] cfr Gregorius Magnus, *In librum primum regum, qui et Samuelis dicitur, uariarum expositionum libri sex*, VI, ii, 41 – PL 79, 445BC: Ascendere quippe reprobis, est de malo ad peius proficere.

⁶⁶² 559 in peius proficiunt] cfr II Tim. 3, 13

⁶⁶³ 560 elongantes] *longius faciunt b*

⁶⁶⁴ 560/561 pereunt. Quia] *pereunt, quia a b Cass*

⁶⁶⁵ 561/562 Quia – eum] *Euangelium in marg. praem. D*

⁶⁶⁶ filium] *patrem b*

⁶⁶⁷ 561 qui est uita eterna] *om. D*

⁶⁶⁸ 562 per] *om. D*

⁶⁶⁹ 561/562 pater – traxerit] *sua gratia adtraxerit b*

⁶⁷⁰ eum] *illum a*

Qui⁶⁷² eligit per misericordiam quem uult,⁶⁷³

et reprobat per iustitiam⁶⁷⁴ quem uult.

565 Cui⁶⁷⁵ nemo potest dicere,⁶⁷⁶ *cur sic*⁶⁷⁷ *facis*,^{678 679}

*cuius*⁶⁸⁰ *uniuersę uie misericordia et ueritas*.^{681 682}

Sicut enim alicuius ciuitatis si⁶⁸³ totus populus regem offenderet,

et ipse quosdam iuste dampnaret,

quosdam clementer laxaret,⁶⁸⁴

570 sic⁶⁸⁵ cum totus mundus deum offendisset,

⁶⁷¹ **561/562** Ioh. 6, 44

⁶⁷² **562/563** eum. Qui] illum, qui *a*, eum, qui *b* *Cass*

⁶⁷³ **563** quem uult] *om. b*

⁶⁷⁴ **564** per iustitiam] *om. b*

⁶⁷⁵ **564/565** uult. Cui] uult, cui *D a*

⁶⁷⁶ **565** dicere] *facere praem. sed del. B*

⁶⁷⁷ sic] *om a*

⁶⁷⁸ *cur sic facis*] cfr Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, IX, xv, 22 – ed. M. Adriaen, CC SL 143, p. 472; PL 75, 871C: Auctoris facta semper indiscussa ueneranda sunt quia iniusta esse nequaquam possunt.

⁶⁷⁹ **565** cui – facis] cfr Iob 9, 12 . . . uel quis dicere potest cur facis? *Vulg.*

⁶⁸⁰ **565/566** facis, cuius] facis? Cuius *D*

⁶⁸¹ **563/566** Qui eligit–ueritas] cfr Isidorus Hispalensis, *Liber differentiarum [II]*, xxx, 119 [*uetus xxxii*, 119] – ed. M.A. Andrés Sanz, CC SL 111A, pp. 77-8; PL 83, 88C (=Ratramnus Corbiensis, *De praedestinatione*, II – PL 121, 61C): . . . neque quemquam saluari siue damnari, eligi uel reprobari, nisi ex proposito praedestinantis Dei, qui iustus est in reprobatis, misericors in electis. *Vniuersae enim uiae Domini misericordia est ueritas*.

⁶⁸² **566** cuius uniuerse uie misericordia et ueritas] Ps. 24, 10a

⁶⁸³ **567** alicuius ciuitatis si] si alicuius ciuitatis *p. c. in. A, quam lectionem accepit vK*

⁶⁸⁴ **569** laxaret] *relaxaret a b Cass*

⁶⁸⁵ **569/570** laxaret, sic] *laxaret. Sic A*

quosdam per iustitiam puniuit,
quibusdam per misericordiam dimisit.⁶⁸⁶

D. Effunde⁶⁸⁷ cor tuum,
et eructa dei archanum.⁶⁸⁸

575 M. Vt breuiter tibi pandam omnia occulta,
reclusa cordis aure⁶⁸⁹ diligenter⁶⁹⁰ ausculta.

+DE MANSIONIBVS PREDESTINATORVM.+⁶⁹¹

Deus⁶⁹² itaque ab initio in domo sua,

⁶⁸⁶ 572 dimisit] permisit *a.c. sed uel di sup. l. scr. A*

⁶⁸⁷ 573/587 Effunde *usq. inferiorem] ante Igitur per gratiam pos. B (uide lineam 539 supra)*

⁶⁸⁸ 574 archan(um)] *duo extremas litteras ut uid. eras. D*

⁶⁸⁹ aure] ore *Cass*

⁶⁹⁰ 576 diligenter] *ante cordis aure pos. b*

⁶⁹¹ 577 De mansionibus predestinatorum] *deuersis ante mansionibus add. D*

⁶⁹² 578/583 cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarium*, II, 31 – ed. Y. Lefèver, 1954, p. 415-6: Quia uero scriptum est: *In domo Patris mei mansiones multae sunt*, unusquisque obtinebit mansionem secundum proprium laborem; ita, prout quisque laborauit plus, digniorem, qui minus, inferiorem possidebit. Nullus tamen plus laborare poterit quam eum diuina gratia adiuerit nec aliam mansionem quis habiturus erit quam eam ad quam ante mundi exordium praeordinatus fuit . . . ; *etiam ibidem*, III, 2, p. 441: Non est [hic paradisu] locus corporalis, quia spiritus non habitant in locis corporalibus, sed est spiritualis beatorum mansio, quam aeterna sapientia perfecit ab initio . . . ; *ibidem*, III, 28, p. 451: D. – Quae est domus Patris et multae mansiones? M. – Domus patris est uisio Dei omnipotentis, in qua iusti ut in domo gloriatur. Mansiones sunt diuersae pro meritis remunerationes; idem, *Scala caeli maior*, XXI – PL 172, 1238CD: Hoc est tertium caelum, in quo est paradisu, in quem raptus est Apostolus: hoc est caelum in quod assumptus est Christus; in hoc caelo sunt agmina angelorum, et animae beatorum, non locali positione disiunctae, sed misericordia disponentis pro meritis in gloria distinctae. Et hic sunt multae mansiones in una domo Patris, in quibus disponuntur iusti a iustitia pro iustitiae meritis; idem, *De animae exilio et patria*, XIII – PL 172, 1246B: In [caelesti regno] sunt multae mansiones, hoc est, multiplices diuinae apparationes: in quibus sancti Deum deorum in Sion, id est in diuina speculatione uidebunt, quando de uirtute in uirtutem ibunt, uerbi gratia: boni Deum, secundum hoc quod bonitas dicitur, uidebunt; iusti, secundum hoc quod iustitia; sapientes, secundum hoc quod sapientia; pacifici, secundum hoc quod pax, et alii aliis uirtutibus in infinitum uisuri sunt. cfr R.D. Crouse, “Honorius Augustodunensis: The Arts as *VIA AD PATRIAM*,” in *Arts Libéraux et Philosophie au Moyen Âge. Actes de Quatrième Congrès International de Philosophie Médiéval*, Montreal-Paris, 1969, p. 538. Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, V, 945C-946A – ed. E. Jeaneau, CC CM 165, pp. 119-20; PL 122, 945C-946A: Sed qualis ipsa species sit, unusquisque in se ipso uidebitur experimento. “In domo” enim, inquit Veritas, “patris mei mansiones multae sunt. Vtrisque tamen erunt phantasiae ueluti facies quaedam expressae, iustis quidem diuinarum contemplationum;(nam non per se ipsum, sed per quasdam suas apparitiones secundum altitudinem uniuscuiusque sanctorum contemplationis uidebitur deus; hae quippe sunt nubes, de quibus ait Apostolus: “Rapiemur in nubibus

id est in loco glorię *multas mansiones*⁶⁹³ preparauit,
580 ad quas electos⁶⁹⁴ tali modo predestinauit,
ut diuersi diuersas mansiones pro diuersis meritis sortiantur.⁶⁹⁵
Ad has diuerso modo⁶⁹⁶ iugiter⁶⁹⁷ festinant⁶⁹⁸ predestinati,

obuiam Christo”, nubes uidelicet appellans diuinarum phantasiarum diuersas apparitiones secundum uniuscuiusque deificati altitudinem theoriae); impiis uero mortalium rerum semper erunt phantasiae ac diuersae falsaeque species secundum diuersos malarum suarum cogitationum motus. Et quemadmodum deificati per innumerabiles diuinae contemplationis gradus ascendent, sicut scriptum est: “Ibunt sancti de uirtute in uirtutem (in nubibus uisionis rapti) uidebuntque deum deorum in Sion”, hoc est, non per se ipsum sed in specula diuinae phantasiae, ita a deo elongati semper descendent per diuersos uitiorum suorum descensus in profundum ignorantiae inque tenebras exteriores, in quibus “erit fletus et stridor dentium”; cfr Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, V, 984AB – ed. E. Jeaneau, CC CM 165, pp. 173-4; PL 122, 984AB: Hoc autem dico, ut cognoscas quod non locorum interualla, sed meritorum qualitates faciunt hominem appropinquare Christo aut ab eo elongari. Hinc datur intelligi omnes homines unius eiusdemque naturae, quae in Christo redempta est omnique seruitute (sub qua adhuc congemiscit et dolet) liberata, participes esse et in ea unum omnes subsistere; meritorum uero qualitates et quantitates, hoc est bonorum actuum malorumque differentias, quibus unusquisque in hac uita bene uixit adiutus deo per gratiam, seu male desertus deo per iustitiam, longe a se inuicem et multipliciter et in infinitum disparari; omnia autem haec in illa una et amplissima domu ordinari et comprehendendi, in qua res publica uniuersitatis a deo et in deo conditae per multas diuersasque dispensatur mansiones, hoc est meritorum et gratiarum ordinationes. Domus illa Christus est, qui omnia et ambit uirtute, disponit prouidentia, regit iustitia, ornat gratia, continet aeternitate, implet sapientia, perficit deificatione, “quoniam ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso et ad ipsum sunt omnia.”; uide etiam Gregorius, *Moralia in Iob*, IV, xxxvi, 70 – PL 75, 677AB: Quia in hac uita nobis est discretio operum, erit in illa procul dubio discretio dignitatum, ut quod hic alius alium merito superat, illic alius alium retributione transcendat. Vnde in Euangelio Veritas dicit: *In domo Patris mei mansiones multae sunt*. Sed in eisdem multis mansionibus erit aliquo modo ipsa retributionum diuersitas concors; quia tanta uis in illa pace nos sociat, ut quod in se quisque non acceperit, hoc se accepisse in alio exsultet. Vnde et non aequae laborantes in uinea, aequae cuncti denarium sortiuntur. Et quidem apud Patrem mansiones multae sunt, et tamen eundem denarium dispares laboratores accipiunt; quia una cunctis erit beatitudo laetitiae, quamuis non una sit omnibus sublimitas uitae; *locus classicus est* Augustinus, *In Ioannis Euangelium tractatus CXXIV*, LVII, 2 – PL 35, 1812-1813: “multae mansiones, diuersas meritorum in una uita aeterna significant dignitates. Alia est enim gloria solis, alia gloria lunae, alia gloria stellarum: stella enim ab stella differt in gloria; sic et resurrectio mortuorum. Tanquam stellae sancti diuersas mansiones diuersae claritatis, tanquam in coelo, sortiuntur in regno; sed propter unum denarium nullus separatur a regno: atque ita Deus erit omnia in omnibus (I Cor. XV, 41, 42, 28), ut quoniam Deus Caritas est (I Joan. IV, 8), per charitatem fiat ut quod habent singuli, commune sit omnibus. Sic enim quisque etiam ipse habet, cum amat in altero quod ipse non habet. Non erit itaque aliqua inuidia impari claritatis, quoniam regnabit in omnibus unitas charitatis.” *Haec duo loca prostroma fontes* Elucidarii *putauit Lefèvre: uide idem, L’Elucidarium et les Lucidaires*, Paris, 1954, p. 172, n 7.

⁶⁹³ 579 multas mansiones] cfr Ioh. 14, 2

⁶⁹⁴ 580 electos] *om. b*

⁶⁹⁵ 581 sortiantur] *sortientur b*

⁶⁹⁶ 582 modo] *more D*

⁶⁹⁷ iugiter] *om. A a b Cass*

⁶⁹⁸ festinant] *om. b*

gratia diuina⁶⁹⁹ preuenti et adiuti.

Nullus tamen⁷⁰⁰ aliam obtinebit,

585 quam illam ad quam ante secula preordinatus fuit,

scilicet⁷⁰¹ qui plus laborauerit⁷⁰² digniorem,

qui⁷⁰³ minus inferiorem.

Nec quisquam⁷⁰⁴ plus laborare, aut altius laborando ascendere poterit,⁷⁰⁵

quam ad illam mensuram quam ei eterna ordinatio ab initio⁷⁰⁶ prefixit.

590

/DE PENIS REPROBORVM/

E contra in loco contumelię ab initio deus diuersas penas instituit,

ad quas peccaturos⁷⁰⁷ angelos et homines futuros pro diuersis meritis presciuit.⁷⁰⁸

Quas⁷⁰⁹ non intrabit ullus,

nisi ad has ante secula prescitus.⁷¹⁰

⁶⁹⁹ **583** diuina] dei *D*

⁷⁰⁰ **584** tamen] enim *D*

⁷⁰¹ **585/586** fuit, scilicet] fuit. Scilicet *b Cass*

⁷⁰² **586** laborauerit] laborauit *D*

⁷⁰³ **587** qui] quam *praem. b*

⁷⁰⁴ **588/611** Nec quisquam – dampnentur] cfr Gregorius Magnus, *In librum primum regum, qui et Samualis dicitur, uariarum expositionum libri sex*, VI, ii, 41 – PL 79, 445CD, *non ad sensum sed multis cum similitudinibus uerborum*: Ascendere quippe in domum suam superbo, est superbiendo usque ad mensuram, qua damnandus est, se extollere. Domus namque superbi, est nequitiae suae mensura In ascensu quippe, et non in domo adhuc erant, de quibus dicitur: *Nondum impleta sunt peccata Amorrhaeorum*. Hinc item beatus Paulus apostolus dicit: *Vt impleant peccata sua*.

⁷⁰⁵ **588** poterit] potest *B*

⁷⁰⁶ **589** ab initio] *om. B*

⁷⁰⁷ **592** peccaturos] peccatores *D*

⁷⁰⁸ presciuit] preuidit *a*, precipitit *a.c. ut uid. scr. sed in marg. litteris -cipiabit emend. b*

⁷⁰⁹ **592/593** presciuit. Quas] presciuit, quas *D vK*

595 Nec⁷¹¹ quisquam aliam possidebit,
nisi illam⁷¹² quam⁷¹³ eum⁷¹⁴ diuina prescientia⁷¹⁵ pro suo merito possessurum preuidit,
scilicet⁷¹⁶ qui plus se⁷¹⁷ in malitia⁷¹⁸ exercuerit,
maiorem penam habebit,
qui minus, minorem hereditabit.

600 Nullusque⁷¹⁹ amplius⁷²⁰ mali perpetrare preualebit,⁷²¹
quam eum diuina prouidentia facturum presciuit,
et eum⁷²² suo tempore facere iuste⁷²³ permisit.

Hinc scriptum est: *Nondum⁷²⁴ impleta⁷²⁵ sunt peccata Amorreorum,*^{726 727}

⁷¹⁰ **594** pre(s)citus] *sup. l. a. m. ut uid. corr. b*

⁷¹¹ **594/595** prescitus. Nec] prescitus, nec *D*

⁷¹² **596** illam] *om. a*

⁷¹³ quam] *qua a*

⁷¹⁴ eum] *ei b*

⁷¹⁵ pre(s)cientia] *in marg. a. m. ut uid. corr. b*

⁷¹⁶ **596/597** preuidit, scilicet] preuidit. Scilicet *b Cass*

⁷¹⁷ se] *ante exercuerit pos. Cass*

⁷¹⁸ in militia] *in malitiam Cass*

⁷¹⁹ **600** Nullusque] *Nullus quoque vK*

⁷²⁰ amplius] *plus a b Cass*

⁷²¹ preualebit] *ualebit D a b Cass*

⁷²² **602** eum] *cum Cass*

⁷²³ iuste] *om. a b Cass*

⁷²⁴ **603** Nondum] *enim s.l.a.m. add. b*

⁷²⁵ impleta] *completa b*

⁷²⁶ **602** Nondum – Amorreorum] *Gen. 15, 16*

et⁷²⁸ Apostolus: *Vt impleant peccata sua semper.*⁷²⁹

605 Quid est peccata implere,
nisi ad illam mensuram malitię⁷³⁰ ad quam eos perueniendos⁷³¹ deus presciuit⁷³²
ineuitabiliter festinare?
Igitur omnes⁷³³ quos deus ad regnum predestinauit,
ineuitabile⁷³⁴ est quin saluentur,
610 et omnes quos⁷³⁵ ad supplicium presciuit,
ineuitabile est quin dampnentur.

/DE NECESSITATE./

D. Hac assertione mirabili,
uidetur michi illa uulgaris⁷³⁶ sententia roborari,
615 qua dicitur quod cuncta⁷³⁷ quę hominibus eueniant,
uel ipsi homines faciant,

⁷²⁷ Amor(r)eorum] *ut uid. eras. D*

⁷²⁸ **603/604** Amorreorum, et] Amorreorum. *Et A a b Cass*

⁷²⁹ **603** Vt – semper] *I Thess. 2, 16*

⁷³⁰ **606** malitię] *mala agere D*

⁷³¹ perueniendos] *peruenturos D*

⁷³² quam eos perueniendos deus presciuit] *om. sed in marg. rest. A*

⁷³³ **608** omnes] *om. b*

⁷³⁴ **609** ineuitabile] *qneuitabile ut uid. a*

⁷³⁵ **610** quos] *om. sed sup. l. rest. D*

⁷³⁶ **614** uulgaris] *uulgalis a, uulga(l)is scr. sed corr. b*

⁷³⁷ **615** quod cuncta] *om. sed sup. l. corr. A*

ex necessitate contingant,
et secundum dei statutum fiant.

M. Hęc sententia partim ueritate solidatur,⁷³⁸

620 partim falsitate subruitur.

Falsa est enim in⁷³⁹ hac parte:

Quęcumque homines mala fecerint,
uel infortunia ob incuriam inprouide incurrerint,⁷⁴⁰
ut hęc fierent,

625 deus non prestituit,⁷⁴¹

sed fienda presciuit,
et fieri iuste permisit.

In reliquis uero⁷⁴² stare poterit.

Quicquid namque⁷⁴³ electis prosperi aduenerit,⁷⁴⁴

630 hoc deus fieri ab initio⁷⁴⁵ prestituit,^{746 747}

et hoc ut non fieret, ineuitabile fuit.

⁷³⁸ **619** solidatur] solidatura *b*

⁷³⁹ **621** in] *om. b*

⁷⁴⁰ **623** incurrerint] incurrunt *A vK*

⁷⁴¹ **625** prestituit] predestituit *D*

⁷⁴² **628** uero] *om. a b Cass*

⁷⁴³ **629** namque] *om b*

⁷⁴⁴ aduenerit] euenerit *A vK*

⁷⁴⁵ **630** ab initio] *ante fieri pos. A a b Cass vK*

⁷⁴⁶ fieri presciuit] *transp. b*

⁷⁴⁷ prestituit] presciuit *A a b Cass vK*

Quicquid⁷⁴⁸ uero aduersi⁷⁴⁹ obuenerit,⁷⁵⁰

deus utique hoc super eos⁷⁵¹ uenire⁷⁵² ob tres causas disposuit:⁷⁵³

Primo⁷⁵⁴ ut quidam a peccatis per aduersa⁷⁵⁵ corrigantur, ut Daud;

635 Secundo⁷⁵⁶ ut quidam temptati magis coronentur, ut Iob;

Tertio⁷⁵⁷ ut quidam a delectatione peccati⁷⁵⁸ retrahantur, ut Paulus.⁷⁵⁹

Et hoc iterum ineuitabile est, ut non eueniat.⁷⁶⁰

E contra quicquid reprobis prosperi occurrerit,

ut hæc fierent⁷⁶¹ deus non prestituit,

640 sed futurum presciuit,

et fieri permisit.

Aduersa autem quæ eos tangunt,

⁷⁴⁸ **632** Quicquid] Quidquid *A vK*

⁷⁴⁹ aduersi] eis *praem. D*

⁷⁵⁰ obuenerit] obuenerint *B*

⁷⁵¹ **633** eos] eis *D*

⁷⁵² uenire] uenere *a*

⁷⁵³ disposuit] disponit *Cass*

⁷⁵⁴ **634** Primo] Liber regum *in marg. praem. D*

⁷⁵⁵ per aduersa] *post* corrigantur *pos a*

⁷⁵⁶ **635** Secundo] Iob *in marg. praem. D*

⁷⁵⁷ **636** Tertio] Ap̄s *in marg. praem. D*

⁷⁵⁸ peccati] *om. D*

⁷⁵⁹ **636** cfr Act. 8, 1–9, 30; I Cor 15, 9–10; Gal 1, 13–17 et al. loc.

⁷⁶⁰ **637** (e)ueniat] *om. sed rest. A*

⁷⁶¹ **639** hæc fierent] hoc fieret *D a b Cass*

deus ob duas causas eis euenire⁷⁶² disposuit.⁷⁶³

primo ut electi per eorum plagas corrigantur,

645 ut in exitio⁷⁶⁴ ⁷⁶⁵ Chore legitur,⁷⁶⁶

secundo ut ipsi⁷⁶⁷ a malitia ne⁷⁶⁸ tantum⁷⁶⁹ quantum uolunt⁷⁷⁰ noceant⁷⁷¹ reprimantur,⁷⁷²

ut de Antiocho⁷⁷³ ⁷⁷⁴ et⁷⁷⁵ Herode⁷⁷⁶ ⁷⁷⁷ fertur.

Et hoc iterum ineuitabile est non euenire.⁷⁷⁸

+DE INEVITABILI.+⁷⁷⁹

650 Omnia igitur que a deo predestinata sunt,

⁷⁶² **643** euenire] uenire *D a*

⁷⁶³ disposuit] disponit *Cass*

⁷⁶⁴ **644** exitio] exi(c)icio *has litteras duplicauit sed linea sub l. posita mendum indicauit D*

⁷⁶⁵ ut in exitio] Daud *in marg. praem. D*

⁷⁶⁶ **645** Num. 16, 32

⁷⁶⁷ **646** ipsi] *post malitia pos. b*

⁷⁶⁸ ne] *om. b*

⁷⁶⁹ tantum] tamen *Cass*

⁷⁷⁰ uolunt] ualent *b*

⁷⁷¹ noceant] non *om. sed sup. l. rest. b*

⁷⁷² reprimantur] *om. sed sup. l. ante tantum rest. A, post malitia pos. vK*

⁷⁷³ ut de Antiocho] Liber regum *in marg. praem. D*

⁷⁷⁴ **647** Macc. 6, 12-16

⁷⁷⁵ **647** ut de Antiocho et] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

⁷⁷⁶ Antiocho et Herode] *transp. a*

⁷⁷⁷ Matth. 2, 19

⁷⁷⁸ **648** euenire] *est praem. b*

⁷⁷⁹ **649** De ineuitabili] *in marg. ante Quicquid uero aduersi pos. D (uide lineam 632 supra)*

ex necessitate ita contingunt.⁷⁸⁰
Que⁷⁸¹ autem non⁷⁸² prestituit,
sed fienda presciuit,
ineuitabile est ut non fiant,
655 dum praua mens que⁷⁸³ concipit,
per liberum arbitrium agit.
Hinc est quod multis dies⁷⁸⁴ mortis uel aliud infortunium prenuntiatur,⁷⁸⁵
et illud euadere est ineuitabile.
Propheta^{786 787 788} namque⁷⁸⁹ filii^{790 791} Heli exitium mortis⁷⁹² predixit,
660 et tamen hoc euadere ineuitabile fuit.⁷⁹³

⁷⁸⁰ 651 ita contingunt] *transp. b*

⁷⁸¹ 652 Que] per liberum arbitrium *add. b*

⁷⁸² non] *om. b*

⁷⁸³ 655 concipit] concupit *a vK*

⁷⁸⁴ 657 dies] ultimus *praem. D*

⁷⁸⁵ prenuntiatur] prenuntiantur *A vK*

⁷⁸⁶ 659 Propheta namque] Liber regum *in marg. praem. D*

⁷⁸⁷ 659/667 cfr Gregorius Magnus, *Librum primum regum, qui et Samualis dicitur, uariarum expositionum libri sex*, II, ii, 20 – PL 79, 99D: Per prophetam Dominus denuntians, ait: *Nolo mortem peccatoris, sed ut conuertatur et uiuat*. Quomodo ergo ei competit uelle occidere peccatorem, et mortem peccatoris nolle? Sed in praefato testimonio sequitur unde ueritas agnoscatur; ait enim: *Sed ut conuertatur et uiuat*. Qui enim peccatorem uult uiuere ut conuertatur, si hunc inconuertibilem diuina praescientia noscit, occidit. Vult ergo Dominus occidere, sed eos quos praenoscit conuerti nolle.

⁷⁸⁸ 659/667 cfr I Reg. 2, 22–4, 18

⁷⁸⁹ namque] quippe *D*

⁷⁹⁰ 659 filii] filius *B*

⁷⁹¹ 659 namque filii] *transp. b*

⁷⁹² mortis] *om. D*

Scriptum namque est: *Patrem suum non audierunt, quia dominus uoluit occidere eos.*⁷⁹⁴

Quare *patrem suum non audierunt,*

nisi quod malum euadere non potuerunt,

quod⁷⁹⁵ meruerunt?

665 Quid est *dominus uoluit eos occidere,*

nisi mortem ad quam eos presciuit⁷⁹⁶ festinare,⁷⁹⁷

per liberum arbitrium⁷⁹⁸ permisit eos subire?

Hinc est⁷⁹⁹ quod Iulius Cęsar predictam mortis diem,

nimia cura euadere uoluit,

670 sed minime ualuit.

D. Predestinationem⁸⁰⁰ et prescientiam⁸⁰¹ dei non fieri,⁸⁰²

uidetur michi ita ineuitabile,

ut⁸⁰³ solem non⁸⁰⁴ lucere,

⁷⁹³ **660** fuit] *om. D*

⁷⁹⁴ **662** I Reg. 2, 25b Et non audierunt uocem patris sui, quia uoluit dominus occidere eos. *Vulg.*

⁷⁹⁵ **663/664** non potuerunt, quod] *om. b*

⁷⁹⁶ **666** eos presciuit] *transp. A vK*

⁷⁹⁷ festinare] *om. A B a b Cass vK*

⁷⁹⁸ **667** per liberum arbitrium] *uenturos add. a b vK*

⁷⁹⁹ **668** Hinc est] *Romana historia in marg. praem. D*

⁸⁰⁰ **671** Predestinationem] *Per add. b, lemma De ineuitabili in marg. praem. D*

⁸⁰¹ prescientiam] *presentiam b*

⁸⁰² fieri] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

⁸⁰³ **673/679** ut solem *usq. ineuitabile] om. b*

⁸⁰⁴ **673** solem non] *transp. sed sup. l. litteris minusculis rectam ordinem indicauit A*

aut⁸⁰⁵ ignem non calere.

675 /QVOD DEVS CVNCTA SOLVS OPERETVR./

M. Cuncta quę deus predestinauit

aut⁸⁰⁶ presciuit,

ineuitabile est quin fiant,

cum ipse solus cuncta faciat,

680 aut fieri permittat.⁸⁰⁷

Vniuersa namque quę fiunt⁸⁰⁸ bona siue in cęlo siue in terra,

seu in omni creatura⁸⁰⁹ dei,

deus solus bonus per electos uel angelos uel homines operatur,

cooperantibus eis⁸¹⁰ per liberum arbitrium consentiendo.

685 DE OPERE DEI PER ELECTOS.⁸¹¹

Operatur⁸¹² deus per electos, ut⁸¹³ per apostolos gentes conuertit,

ipse interius inspirando,⁸¹⁴

⁸⁰⁵ 674 aut] et a Cass

⁸⁰⁶ 677 aut] sic *praem. sed linea sub. l. posita mendum indicauit A*

⁸⁰⁷ 680 permittat] permisit b

⁸⁰⁸ 681 fiunt] sunt a b Cass

⁸⁰⁹ 682 c(re)atura] *sup. l. a. m. ut uid. corr. b*

⁸¹⁰ 684 eis] ipsis a

⁸¹¹ 685 De opere dei per electos] *om. D*

⁸¹² 686/689 cfr I Cor. 3, 4–9

⁸¹³ 686 ut] *om. Cass*

⁸¹⁴ 687 inspirando] aspirando b

et incrementum⁸¹⁵ dando,

cooperantur⁸¹⁶ ipsi per exterius ministerium, plantando et rigando.

690 Si quid autem⁸¹⁷ electi contrarii⁸¹⁸ egerint, ut in Vria Dauid,⁸¹⁹

deus hoc iuste fieri permittit,

quod tamen ipse in laudem sui conuertit,

dum post⁸²⁰ lapsum⁸²¹ extiterint^{822 823} humiliores,

et sibi referunt grates uberiores,

695 quibus *omnia*^{824 825} etiam⁸²⁶ ipsa peccata *cooperantur in bonum*.

Ergo *omnia*⁸²⁷ *ex ipso et per ipsum*.

+DE OPERE DEI PER REPROBOS.+⁸²⁸

Per reprobos quoque deus operatur,

⁸¹⁵ **688** incrementum] crementum *b*

⁸¹⁶ **688/689** dando, cooperantur] dando. Cooperantur *b Cass vK*

⁸¹⁷ **690** autem]aut *Cass*

⁸¹⁸ contrarii] contrarie *A a b Cass vK*

⁸¹⁹ **690** cfr II Reg. 11, 2–12, 25

⁸²⁰ **693** post] plus *b*

⁸²¹ lapsum] lapsu *b*

⁸²² extiterint] extiterunt *A a b Cass vK*

⁸²³ ex(titerunt) *scr. sed uel istunt sup. l. add. A*

⁸²⁴ **695** Rom. 8, 28

⁸²⁵ **695** omnia] *om. a b Cass*

⁸²⁶ etiam] et *D b, et sup. l. praem. A, et add. vK*

⁸²⁷ **696** cfr Rom. 11, 36

⁸²⁸ **697** reprobos] electos *B*

dum iudicium suum per eos exercetur,⁸²⁹
 700 sicut⁸³⁰ per Chaldeos Hierusalem destruxit.⁸³¹
 Ecce unum et idem opus deus et Chaldei⁸³² diuerso modo⁸³³ operati sunt,
 et tamen hic inde⁸³⁴ laudatur,
 et illi dampnantur,
 quia quod ipse propter⁸³⁵ iustitiam,
 705 hoc illi fecerunt ob seuitiam.
 Similiter^{836 837} per⁸³⁸ Iudam deus filium tradidit,

⁸²⁹ 699 exercetur] exercet *D b*

⁸³⁰ 700 sicut] Liber regum *in marg. praem. D*

⁸³¹ 700 cfr Jer. 30, 24

⁸³² 701 deus et Chaldei] operatur *post et pos. sed del. b*

⁸³³ modo] more *D*

⁸³⁴ 702 inde] idem *b*

⁸³⁵ 704 propter] per *D b*

⁸³⁶ 706/712 Similiter per Iudam – propter auaritiam] cfr Augustinus, *In Epistolam Ioannis ad Parthos Tractatus decem*, VII, 7 – PL 35, 2032-3: Ecce Christum tradidit Pater, tradidit Iudas; numquid non quasi simile factum uidetur? Traditor est Iudas: ergo traditor est et Deus Pater? Absit, inquis. Non dico, sed Apostolus dicit: *Qui Filio proprio non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit eum*. Et Pater illum tradidit, et ipse se tradidit. Ait idem apostolus: *Qui me dilexit, et tradidit seipsum pro me*. Si Pater tradidit Filium, et tradidit seipsum Filius, Iudas quid fecit? Facta est traditio a Patre, facta est traditio a Filio, facta est traditio a Iuda; una res facta est: sed quae res discernit Patrem tradentem Filium, seipsum Filium tradentem, et Iudam discipulum tradentem magistrum suum? Quia hoc fecit Pater et Filius in charitate; fecit autem hoc Iudas in proditione. Videtis quia non quid faciat homo, considerandum est; sed quo animo et uoluntate faciat. In eodem facto inuenimus Deum Patrem, in quo inuenimus Iudam; Patrem benedicimus, Iudam detestamur. Quare Patrem benedicimus, Iudam detestamur? Benedicimus charitatem, detestamur iniquitatem. Quantum enim praestitum est generi humano de tradito Christo? Numquid hoc cogitauit Iudas ut traderet? Deus cogitauit salutem nostram qua redempti sumus; Iudas cogitauit pretium quo uendidit Dominum. Filius ipse cogitauit pretium quod dedit pro nobis; Iudas cogitauit pretium quod accepit ut uenderet. Diuersa ergo intentio diuersa facta fecit. Cum sit una res, ex diuersis eam intentionibus si metiamur, unum amandum, alterum damnandum; unum glorificandum, alterum detestandum inuenimus. Tantum ualet charitas. Videte quia sola discernit, uidete quia facta hominum sola distinguit.

⁸³⁷ 706 Similiter] Euangelium *in marg. praem. D*

⁸³⁸ 706 per Iudam deus filium tradidit] cfr Matth. 26, 48

et mundum a morte⁸³⁹ redemit.

En deus et Iudas unum opus⁸⁴⁰ diuersa mente operati sunt,

sed deum⁸⁴¹ totus orbis inde ueneratur,

710 Iudam uero detestatur,

quia quod deus ob humani generis amicitiam,

hoc Iudas egit⁸⁴² propter⁸⁴³ auaritiam.

‘DE OPERE DEI PER DIABOLVM.’

Audenter dico, quia⁸⁴⁴ deus etiam⁸⁴⁵ per diabolum operatur,

715 dum iustitia⁸⁴⁶ per eum in reprobis⁸⁴⁷ exerceri decernitur.⁸⁴⁸

Sed quod deus per iustissimam equitatem,

hoc⁸⁴⁹ agit diabolus per nequissimam crudelitatem.

Qui tamen⁸⁵⁰ non plus potest facere⁸⁵¹ in eos quam permittitur.

⁸³⁹ 707 a morte] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

⁸⁴⁰ 708 unum opus] *transp. a*

⁸⁴¹ 708/709 sunt, sed deum] *sunt. Sed deum a b Cass*

⁸⁴² 712 egit] *post auaritiam pos. A B vK*

⁸⁴³ egit propter] *fecit per D*

⁸⁴⁴ 714 quia] *quod D*

⁸⁴⁵ etiam] *et D b*

⁸⁴⁶ 715 iustitia] *iniustitia D, iustitiam a Cass*

⁸⁴⁷ in reprobis] *post iustitia pos. b*

⁸⁴⁸ decernitur] *discuntur b, discernit Cass*

⁸⁴⁹ 717 hoc] *hęc A B vK*

⁸⁵⁰ 717/718 crudelitatem. Qui] *crudelitatem, qui vK*

⁸⁵¹ 718 potest facere] *transp. Cass*

Vnde deus laudabiliter magnificatur,⁸⁵²
720 ille uero pro eodem opere⁸⁵³ dampnabiliter reprobatur.
Quęcumque autem a reprobis⁸⁵⁴ per⁸⁵⁵ liberum arbitrium
contra dei instituta comittuntur,
a deo quidem⁸⁵⁶ fieri sinuntur,
sed in laudem eius⁸⁵⁷ uertuntur,
725 dum iuste ab eo⁸⁵⁸ pęnis subiguntur.
Igitur deus omnia operatur,⁸⁵⁹
aut fauendo,
aut sinendo,
et quia⁸⁶⁰ *omnia ex ipso*,⁸⁶¹
730 ut in libro Sapientię⁸⁶² legitur: *A deo bona et mala,*
omnia sunt bona,
et nichil est mali, nisi quod amarum est his qui aliquid asperi patiuntur,

⁸⁵² 719 laudabiliter magnificatur] *transp. A vK*

⁸⁵³ 720 opere] *om. uel eras. a*

⁸⁵⁴ 721 autem a reprobis] *om. D*

⁸⁵⁵ per] *pro D*

⁸⁵⁶ 723 quidem] *om. b*

⁸⁵⁷ 724 eius] *dei a*

⁸⁵⁸ 725 eo] *eis D*

⁸⁵⁹ 726 omnia operatur] *transp. Cass*

⁸⁶⁰ 728/729 sinendo, et quia] *sinendo. Et quia Cass vK*

⁸⁶¹ 729 cfr Rom. 11, 36

⁸⁶² 730 in libro Sapientię] *potius Eccli. 11, 14*

malum appellatur,

et ideo omnia ad⁸⁶³ laudem et gloriam dei,⁸⁶⁴

735 qui *miseretur cui uult*,⁸⁶⁵ gloriam dando,

et *indurat quem uult*,⁸⁶⁶ in pennis locando.

D. Numquam audita sunt ista in mundo.

+DE DESIDIOSIS.+

M. Immo⁸⁶⁷ quotidie in scripturis audiuntur,⁸⁶⁸

740 sed a desidiosis⁸⁶⁹ et negligentibus non attenduntur,

et ideo non intelliguntur.

Cum uero in disputatione hec⁸⁷⁰ a doctis audierint,

quasi a somno⁸⁷¹ exciti,^{872 873} stupescunt,

irrident,

745 uera esse dubitant,

⁸⁶³ 734 ad] in *Cass*

⁸⁶⁴ gloriam dei] uertuntur *D*

⁸⁶⁵ 735 Rom. 9, 18 . . . cuius uult miseretur . . . *Vulg.*

⁸⁶⁶ 736 Rom. 9, 18 . . . quem uult indurat. *Vulg.*

⁸⁶⁷ 739 Immo] In mundo *b*

⁸⁶⁸ in scripturis audiuntur] multa signa fiunt *b*

⁸⁶⁹ 740/741 sed a desidiosis – non intelliguntur] cfr Ps. Cato, *Disticha* – ed. W.J. Chase, 1922, p. 12: legere enim et non intelligere neclegere est.

⁸⁷⁰ 742 hec] *post doctis pos. a b Cass*

⁸⁷¹ 743 somno] somnis *D*

⁸⁷² exci(ta)ti] *sup. l. add. A*

⁸⁷³ exciti] excitati *b Cass*

quia nusquam scripta⁸⁷⁴ putant.

+DE STUDIO. +

A studiosis⁸⁷⁵ autem leguntur,

attenduntur,

750 discutiuntur,

intelliguntur,

et in memoria⁸⁷⁶ reconduntur.⁸⁷⁷

Sponsus namque Christus abiens,

sponsę suę ecclesię clauę scientię^{878 879} reliquit,⁸⁸⁰

755 quę quotidie pulsantibus filiis secreta dei per intellectum reserans aperit,⁸⁸¹

*a canibus*⁸⁸² autem *sancta*, et *a porcis margaritas*,^{883 884} ne coinquentur claudit.⁸⁸⁵

D. Cuncta quę proponis,

tam ualidis⁸⁸⁶ testimoniis probando⁸⁸⁷ per illationem⁸⁸⁸ concludis,

⁸⁷⁴ 746 scripta] esse *praem. D b Cass vK*

⁸⁷⁵ 748 (A) studiosis] *om. sed in marg. rest. A*

⁸⁷⁶ 752 memoria] *memoriam B*

⁸⁷⁷ reconduntur] *recunduntur b*

⁸⁷⁸ 754 clauę scientię] *cfr Luc. 11, 52*

⁸⁷⁹ 754/756 *cfr Breuiarium Romanum, sc. Antiphona ad Magnificat in feria quarta ante Vigiliam Natiuitatis Domini*

⁸⁸⁰ 754/806 *reliquit usq. ut non] post eripuit pos. vK (uide lineam 846 infra)*

⁸⁸¹ 754 *cfr Matth. 7, 7-8; Luc. 11, 9-10*

⁸⁸² 755/756 *aperit, a canibus] aperit. A canibus a b Cass vK*

⁸⁸³ margaritas] *margaritae Cass*

⁸⁸⁴ 755 *cfr Matth. 7, 6*

⁸⁸⁵ 756 *ne coinquentur claudit] cfr Breuiarium Romanum, sc. Antiphona ad Magnificat in feria quarta ante Vigiliam Natiuitatis Domini*

ut plus cęco probetur errare,

760 qui hęc presumpserit pertinaciter impugnare.

M. Vt breuiter tibi totam predestinationis et liberi arbitrii siluam succidam,
duos tibi exempli gratia Iudam scilicet et Paulum⁸⁸⁹ proponam.

+DE IVD.A.+

Quis⁸⁹⁰ umquam Iudam predestinatum diffideret,⁸⁹¹

765 cum eum inter electos apostolos⁸⁹² a cordium inspectore electum cerneret,

et cum apostolis non solum predicare,

sed etiam⁸⁹³ miraculis coruscare?

D. Nullus.

M. Cum ergo dominus principem⁸⁹⁴ eum⁸⁹⁵ mundi constituerit,⁸⁹⁶

770 et tot gratiarum munera ei⁸⁹⁷ contulerit,⁸⁹⁸

⁸⁸⁶ 758/760 tam ualidis usq. presumpserit] *om. b*

⁸⁸⁷ probando] *om. Cass*

⁸⁸⁸ 758 per illationem] *om. D*

⁸⁸⁹ 762 Paulum] Petrum *A vK*

⁸⁹⁰ 766/769 Quis umquam – coruscare] cfr Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob.*, XXV, viii, 19 – PL 76, 331C: Quis enim hominum aestimare potuisset Iudam uiuendi sortem etiam post ministerium apostolatus amittere? (*uide supra lineas 438–439*)

⁸⁹¹ 764 diffideret] diffidet *Cass*

⁸⁹² 765 inter electos apostolos] cfr Ioh. 6, 71-72

⁸⁹³ 767 etiam] et *D b*

⁸⁹⁴ 769 principem mundi] cfr Ioh. 14, 30; 16, 11

⁸⁹⁵ 769 eum] *post ergo pos. a*

⁸⁹⁶ mundi constituerit] *transp. b*

⁸⁹⁷ 770 ei] *om. D b*

cur perit?

D. Puto quia dominum uendidit.

M. Num putas cor illius cum domino fuisse,

qui tot munerum largitorem pro uili pretio non pertimuit prodere?⁸⁹⁹

775 D. Minime.

M. Cum sciret malum esse,

magistrum et dominum⁹⁰⁰ suum uendere,⁹⁰¹

cur per liberum arbitrium⁹⁰² non declinauit hoc facere?⁹⁰³

D. Puto⁹⁰⁴ non potuit.

780 M. Quare?

D. Puto gratiam⁹⁰⁵ possibilitatis⁹⁰⁶ non habuit.

M. Cur eam cum Petro non⁹⁰⁷ accepit?

D. Dic tu.

M. Quia cum Petro predestinatus non fuit.

785 Cur Petrus dominum non uendidit?

⁸⁹⁸ contulerit] contulisset *b*

⁸⁹⁹ 774 prodere] appetiari *D*

⁹⁰⁰ 777 magistrum et dominum] cfr Ioh. 13, 13

⁹⁰¹ 777 (uend)ere] *has litteras legere non potui in a*

⁹⁰² 778 arbitrium] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

⁹⁰³ facere] *hoc uerbum legere non potui in a*

⁹⁰⁴ 779 puto] quia *add. b*

⁹⁰⁵ 781 gratiam] *post possibilitatis duplicauit sed exp. b*

⁹⁰⁶ possibili(ta)tis] *om. sed sup. l. rest. b*

⁹⁰⁷ 782 non] *om. b*

D.⁹⁰⁸ Puto facere non potuit.⁹⁰⁹

M. Et debuit Iudas facere?

DE PHARAONE DOMINVS PER MOYSEN

D. Cum scriptum sit de pharaone,

790 *in*⁹¹⁰ *hoc ipsum constitui te,*

ut clarificetur nomen meum per te,

puto Iudam in hoc ipsum constitutum,

presertim cum deus ab initio filium suum tradi disposuerit,

et hoc fiendum per Iudam presciuerit,⁹¹¹

795 maxime cum scripturam⁹¹² impleri necesse fuerit,⁹¹³

quę hęc⁹¹⁴ de eo predixit,

ut in euangelio⁹¹⁵ legitur:

*Vt*⁹¹⁶ *scriptura*⁹¹⁷ *impleatur:*

*Qui manducat panem mecum,*⁹¹⁸

⁹⁰⁸ 786 D.] *om. sed sup. l. rest. b*

⁹⁰⁹ potuit] debuit *B*

⁹¹⁰ 709/791 Rom. 9, 17 . . . in hoc ipsum excitaui te, ut ostendum in te uirtutem meam, et ut annuntietur nomen meum in uniuersa terra . . . *Vulg.*; Ex. 9, 16 idcirco autem posui te ut ostendum in te fortitudinem meam et narretur nomen meum in omni terra. *Vulg.*

⁹¹¹ 794 presciuerit] prescierit *a b Cass*

⁹¹² 795 scripturam] scriptura *b*

⁹¹³ fuerit] est *scr. sed sup. l. fuerit rest. A*

⁹¹⁴ 796 hęc] hoc *D*

⁹¹⁵ 797 euangelio] euuangelio *A B*

⁹¹⁶ 798/800 Ioh. 13, 18

⁹¹⁷ 798 scriptura] *om. b*

800 *leuabit contra*⁹¹⁹ *me calcaneum.*⁹²⁰

M. Approbo tuam subtilitatem.

Quia Petrus predestinatus fuerat,

dominum uelle uendere numquam mente conceperat,

nec poterat.

805 Iudas uero cum *hęc*⁹²¹ facere per liberum arbitrium concepit,

ut non fieret⁹²² ineuitabile fuit,

quia predestinatus non extitit,

presertim cum *hęc* deus⁹²³ de eo⁹²⁴ presciuerit,⁹²⁵

quamuis⁹²⁶ prescientia eius non ad *hęc*⁹²⁷ eum compulerit,

810 sed *ęterna* eius ordinatio ut totum dicam, quod sentio ad *hęc* ipsum⁹²⁸ constituerit.

D. Quamuis hoc protulerim de pharaone,

⁹¹⁸ **799** *mecum]* *meum D a b*

⁹¹⁹ **800** *contra]* *super b*

⁹²⁰ *calcaneum]* *suum add. D b*

⁹²¹ **805** *hęc]* *hoc D*

⁹²² **806/846** *fieret usq. eripuit]* *post pro peccatoribus pos. vK (uide lineam 898 infra)*

⁹²³ **808** *hęc deus]* *deus hoc D*

⁹²⁴ *de eo]* *post hęc pos. a Cass, om. b*

⁹²⁵ *presciuerit]* *prescierit b*

⁹²⁶ **809/810** *quamuis prescientia eius non ad hęc eum compulerit, sed ęterna eius ordinatio]* cfr Ratramnus Corbeiensis, *De praedestinatione dei*, II – PL 121, 54D: . . . praescientia neminem compellit ad peccatum; Fulgentius Ruspensis, *Ad Monimum*, I, xx, 2 – CC SL 91, p. 20: Predestinatio dei non est alia nisi futurorum operum eius aeterna praeparatio. *Vide* Burchardus Wormaciensis, *Decretorum libri*, XX, 28 et 36, *ubi utriusque loci sub nomine ‘Fulgentii’ scripti sunt. Vide etiam* Honorius, *De libero arbitrio*, PL 172, 1228B.

⁹²⁷ **809** *hęc]* *hoc D*

⁹²⁸ **810** *ad hęc ipsum]* *ad hoc ipsum eum D, ad hoc ipsum a b Cass vK*

uideor michi hoc⁹²⁹ ipsum non bene intelligere.

M. Hoc tibi pando⁹³⁰ breuiter,

et forsitan euidenter.

815 Imprimis⁹³¹ nota tria,⁹³²

scilicet populum afflictum,

pharaonem affligentem,

deum⁹³³ eripientem.

Iustos quippe oportet in hac uita propter probationem⁹³⁴ temptari,

820 et hoc necesse est per malos fieri,

per deum autem liberari.

‘DE DIABOLO’

Diabolus quia⁹³⁵ per⁹³⁶ liberum arbitrium malum⁹³⁷ incidit,

iuste eum deus in malitia indurari permisit,

825 eumque⁹³⁸ fabrum sibi ad purganda uasa misericordie⁹³⁹ constituit.

⁹²⁹ **812** hoc] id *B*

⁹³⁰ **813** pando] pandam *D*

⁹³¹ **815** Imprimis] ita *add. b*

⁹³² tria] *om. b*

⁹³³ **818** deum] dominum *a b Cass*

⁹³⁴ **819** probationem] pharaonem *b*

⁹³⁵ **823** quia] *om. b*

⁹³⁶ per] *om. sed rest. A, om. B*

⁹³⁷ malum] *om. sed. sup. l. rest. A*

⁹³⁸ **825** eumque] eum *A a b Cass vK*

⁹³⁹ **825** uasa misericordie] *cfr Rom. 9, 23*

Qui⁹⁴⁰ faber omnes⁹⁴¹ impios sibi instrumenta fecit,⁹⁴²
 ex quibus pharao unus extitit.⁹⁴³
 Qui dum per liberum arbitrium⁹⁴⁴ diabolo seruire per malitiam⁹⁴⁵ elegit,
 deus⁹⁴⁶ eum iuste in ea indurari⁹⁴⁷ permisit,
 830 dum eum a malitia non eripuit.⁹⁴⁸
 Et⁹⁴⁹ ideo doctrinam Moysi audire non potuit,
 et signis a deo flagellatus disciplinam recipere noluit.⁹⁵⁰
 Et⁹⁵¹ cum populus⁹⁵² dei afflictione esset temptandus,
 et aduersitate probandus,⁹⁵³
 835 deus pharaonem in hoc ipsum⁹⁵⁴ id est⁹⁵⁵ ad temptandum populum constituit,

⁹⁴⁰ **825/826** constituit. Qui] constituit, qui *Cass vK*

⁹⁴¹ **826** faber omnes] fabros *b*

⁹⁴² fecit] facit *D*

⁹⁴³ **827** extitit] *ante pharao pos. Cass*

⁹⁴⁴ **828** per liberum arbitrium] *post diabolum pos. a*

⁹⁴⁵ per malitiam] *post elegit pos. b*

⁹⁴⁶ **823/824** elegit, deus] elegit. Deus *vK*

⁹⁴⁷ **829** indurari] durari *b*

⁹⁴⁸ **830** eripuit] erupuit *a*

⁹⁴⁹ **830/831** eripuit. Et] eripuit, et *D a b Cass vK*

⁹⁵⁰ **832** noluit] uoluit *vK*

⁹⁵¹ **832/833** noluit. Et] noluit, et *a b Cass vK*

⁹⁵² **833** populus] populo *b*

⁹⁵³ **834** probandus] esset *praem. b*

⁹⁵⁴ **835** hoc ipsum] constituit *add. b*

quem unum de malleis diaboli ad tundenda sua⁹⁵⁶ uasa⁹⁵⁷ elegit.

Sicque⁹⁵⁸ pharao nescius iustis, quasi seruus filiis seruiuit,

dum eos a uasis irę⁹⁵⁹ segregans flagellis erudiuit.

Diabolus et impii malum quidem per se uolunt,

840 sed absque dei permissu nichil poterunt.

Et⁹⁶⁰ cum a deo electis preualere permittuntur,

in hoc ipsum constituti⁹⁶¹ dicuntur.

Nomen autem dei per pharaonem omnibus innotuit,⁹⁶²

dum ipse cum omnibus suis iuste periit,

845 et deus ab eo⁹⁶³ oppressos quasi uasa igne examinata de fornace

signis et prodigiis eripuit.

‘DE IUDA.’

D. Quid autem⁹⁶⁴ de Iuda?

‘DE ADAM.’

850 M. Deus⁹⁶⁵ primi hominis lapsum⁹⁶⁶ presciuit,

⁹⁵⁵ id est] idem *A*

⁹⁵⁶ **836** sua] *om. b*

⁹⁵⁷ sua uasa] *transp. A vK*

⁹⁵⁸ **837** Sicque] Sic quidem *D*, sic *b*

⁹⁵⁹ **838** uasis irę] cfr Rom. 9, 22

⁹⁶⁰ **840/841** poterunt. Et] poterunt, et *a b Cass*

⁹⁶¹ **842** constituti] esset *add. b*

⁹⁶² **843** omnibus innotuit] *transp. b*

⁹⁶³ **845** ab eo] *om. b*

⁹⁶⁴ **848/898** quid autem *usq. pro peccatoribus] post claues scientię pos. vK (uide lineam 754 supra)*

et pro huius reparatione filium suum ab initio incarnari et pati constituit.

Presciuit etiam⁹⁶⁷ Iudam nasciturum,

ipsumque per liberum arbitrium malum⁹⁶⁸ electurum,

et per eandem malitiam eum filium suum traditurum.

855 In hoc ipsum ergo eum dominus⁹⁶⁹ constituit,

dum eum nasci et hæc⁹⁷⁰ per eum⁹⁷¹ fieri permisit,

quæ manus eius facere decreuit.

D. Parietem perfodisti, et ecce apparet ostium,^{972 973}

introduc me⁹⁷⁴ interius,⁹⁷⁵

860 et ostende quæ latent intus.⁹⁷⁶

+DE PAVLO.+

M. Cum Paulus⁹⁷⁷ lapidantibus Iudeis Stephanum uestimenta seruaret,

⁹⁶⁵ **850/851** cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, *Liber VIII quaestionum*, II – PL 172, 1187AC: . . . peccatum primi hominis non fuit, causa Christi incarnationis, sed potius fuit causa mortis et damnationis. Causa autem Christi incarnationis fuit praedestinatio humanae deificationis: ab aeterno quippe a Deo erat praedestinatum, ut homo deificaretur, dicente Domino: *Pater dilexisti eos ante constitutionem mundi*, subaudi, per me deificandos.

⁹⁶⁶ **850** lapsum] ruina *a*

⁹⁶⁷ **852** etiam] et *D b Cass*

⁹⁶⁸ **853** malum] *om. b*

⁹⁶⁹ **855** eum dominus] *transp. Cass*

⁹⁷⁰ **856** hæc] hoc *D*

⁹⁷¹ per eum] *post fieri pos. b*

⁹⁷² ostium] *om. A a b Cass vK, hostium D*

⁹⁷³ **858** Parietem – ostium] cfr Ez. 8, 8

⁹⁷⁴ **859** me] *om. D*

⁹⁷⁵ interius] intus *b*

⁹⁷⁶ **860** intus] intro *b*

ecclesiam dei crudeliter⁹⁷⁸ uastaret,^{979 980}

quis eum predestinatum ęstimaret?⁹⁸¹

865 Tamen quia⁹⁸² predestinatus fuit,

diu⁹⁸³ in erroris frigore durare potuit,⁹⁸⁴

perire eum impossibile fuit.

Repente⁹⁸⁵ etenim⁹⁸⁶ glacies dura a calore eterni solis est soluta,⁹⁸⁷

immo ipse existens sol ecclesię, sed obtectus⁹⁸⁸ erroris nube de caligine prorupit,⁹⁸⁹

870 et⁹⁹⁰ radios sui luminis cunctis gentibus uerbo et exemplo infudit.

D. Quid si in illo⁹⁹¹ errore⁹⁹² obisset?

⁹⁷⁷ **862/864** cfr Act. 7, 57

⁹⁷⁸ **863** crudeliter] *om. A vK*

⁹⁷⁹ crudeliter uastaret] *transp. Cass*

⁹⁸⁰ **863** ecclesiam dei uestaret] cfr Act. 8, 3 Saulus uero deuastabat ecclesiam . . . *atque* Gal. 1, 13 ecclesiam dei . . . expugnabam *Vulg.*

⁹⁸¹ **864** ęstimaret] *putaret b, existimaret Cass*

⁹⁸² **865** Tamen quia] *Tamquam b*

⁹⁸³ **866** diu] *dum b*

⁹⁸⁴ potuit] *non praem. a b Cass*

⁹⁸⁵ **867/868** fuit. Repente] *fuit, repente vK*

⁹⁸⁶ **868** etenim] *enim Cass*

⁹⁸⁷ est soluta] *resoluta D*

⁹⁸⁸ **869** obtectus] *est add. b*

⁹⁸⁹ prorupit] *proruit A vK*

⁹⁹⁰ **870** et] *om. D*

⁹⁹¹ **871** illo] *om. B*

⁹⁹² errore] *post obisset pos. b*

M. Quare non dixisti, quid si cęlum rueret?

Sicut⁹⁹³ est impossibile ut cęlum ruat,

sic est impossibile⁹⁹⁴ ut aliquis de electis⁹⁹⁵ pereat.

875 Si ille in errore obisset,

electus non fuisset.

Sed quia predestinatus fuit,

ante conuersionem mori non potuit.

D. Introductus per te interius⁹⁹⁶ multa preclara⁹⁹⁷ considero,⁹⁹⁸

880 sed plura adhuc⁹⁹⁹ hic¹⁰⁰⁰ sigillata me non posse cernere doleo,

unde¹⁰⁰¹ rogo,

ut tradita tibi¹⁰⁰² *clauę scientię*,¹⁰⁰³ hęc clausa mihi aperias,

et ista inuolucra¹⁰⁰⁴ euoluens,¹⁰⁰⁵ me inspicere facias.

⁹⁹³ **873** Sicut] enim *add. a, sic b*

⁹⁹⁴ **874** sic est impossibile] *om. ut uid. sed in marg. rest. D*

⁹⁹⁵ de electis] *post pereat pos. a*

⁹⁹⁶ **879** per te interius] *om. b*

⁹⁹⁷ preclara] *miracula A vK*

⁹⁹⁸ considero] *uideo A a b Cass vK*

⁹⁹⁹ **880** plura adhuc] *transp. A vK*

¹⁰⁰⁰ hic] *om. D, ante adhuc pos. b*

¹⁰⁰¹ **880/881** doleo, unde] *doleo. Vnde A a b Cass vK*

¹⁰⁰² **882** tibi] *om. b*

¹⁰⁰³ **882** clauę scientię] *cfr Luc. 11, 52*

¹⁰⁰⁴ **883** inuolucra] *inuolucra A, inuoluta D a b Cass vK*

¹⁰⁰⁵ inuolucra euoluens] *cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, Sigillum – PL 172, 495D: Omnium fratrum conuentus tuę diligentię grates soluit, quod eis spiritus sapientię tot inuolucra per tuum laborem in elucidario euoluit; etiam*

M. Tam diligenter pulsanti,¹⁰⁰⁶

885 dominus pro¹⁰⁰⁷ me prospera respondens, arcana secretorum¹⁰⁰⁸ aperiat tibi.

+DE ELECTORVM ERRORE.¹⁰⁰⁹+

D. Quidnam causę esse dicimus,¹⁰¹⁰

quod deus¹⁰¹¹ permittit eos diu errare,

quos predestinauit perenniter secum¹⁰¹² regnare?

890

‘DE LONGANIMITATE’

M. Per hoc longanimitatem patientię suę¹⁰¹³ prerogat,¹⁰¹⁴

quod eos diutius in errore ut Paulum¹⁰¹⁵ tolerat,

quod¹⁰¹⁶ uero eos¹⁰¹⁷ repente¹⁰¹⁸ ad penitentiam ut item¹⁰¹⁹ Paulum et Mariam reuocat,

Augustinus Hipponensis, *Sermo 352*, i, 3 –PL 39, 1551: Dixit illas figuras nostras fuisse, et obscura erant omnia. Quis euolueret inuolucra ista figurarum? quis aperiret? quis discutere auderet?

¹⁰⁰⁶ **884/885** Tam diligenter pulsanti – aperiat tibi] cfr Matth. 7, 7-8; Luc. 11, 5-10

¹⁰⁰⁷ **885** pro] per *Cass vK*

¹⁰⁰⁸ **885** arcana secretorum] cfr. Is. 45, 3 et dabo tibi thesauros absconditos et arcana secretorum . . .

¹⁰⁰⁹ **886** electorum errore] *transp. D*

¹⁰¹⁰ **887**] esse dicimus] *transp. b*

¹⁰¹¹ **888** deus] *om. sed sup. l. rest. D, dominus b*

¹⁰¹² **889** perenniter secum] *transp. A a b Cass vK*

¹⁰¹³ **891** suę] *om. a*

¹⁰¹⁴ prerogat] prorogat *Cass*

¹⁰¹⁵ **892** ut Paulum] *post tolerat pos. b*

¹⁰¹⁶ **892/893** tolerat, quod] tolerat. Quod *a b Cass vK*

¹⁰¹⁷ **893** uero eos] *transp. sed sup. l. litteris minusculis rectam ordinem indicauit B*

¹⁰¹⁸ repente] *post penitentiam pos. D*

¹⁰¹⁹ item] eundem *D*

diuitias¹⁰²⁰ misericordię suę insinuat.

895 Pro his in mundum uenit,
pro¹⁰²¹ his etiam¹⁰²² mortem subiit.

‘DE ANNA ET CAYPHA, HERODE ET PILATO’

Et¹⁰²³ quamuis pro peccatoribus mortuus sit,¹⁰²⁴

Annę et Cayphe, Herodi et Pilato mors eius non profuit,

900 sed multum obfuit,

non¹⁰²⁵ idcirco¹⁰²⁶ solum quod in morte¹⁰²⁷ domini conspirauerant,¹⁰²⁸

sed ideo quia bonum *gratis odio habuerant*,^{1029 1030}

et¹⁰³¹ de predestinatis non erant.¹⁰³²

Ceterum¹⁰³³ electi quamplures¹⁰³⁴ in nece Christi quamuis ignoranter¹⁰³⁵ consenserunt,

¹⁰²⁰ **894** diuiti(as)] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

¹⁰²¹ **895/896** uenit, pro] uenit. Pro *a*

¹⁰²² **896** etiam] aut *scr. sed etiam sup. l. rest. A, et D*

¹⁰²³ **896/898** subiit. Et] subiit, et *a b Cass vK*

¹⁰²⁴ **898/1371** mortuus sit *usq. ad fin.] post ut non pos. vK (uide lineam 806 supra)*

¹⁰²⁵ **900/901** obfuit, non] obfuit. Non *D*

¹⁰²⁶ idcirco] id dico *b*

¹⁰²⁷ **901** morte] mortem *D*

¹⁰²⁸ conspirauerant] conspirauerunt *D*

¹⁰²⁹ **902** habuerant] *scripsi, habuerunt legit omnes codd.*

¹⁰³⁰ **902** quia bonum gratis odio habuerant] *cfr Ioh. 15, 25 et Ps. 34, 19b*

¹⁰³¹ **903** et] *om. D*

¹⁰³² erant] fuerunt *D*

¹⁰³³ **904** Ceterum] *Ceteri b Cass, quique add. b*

905 pro quibus ipse¹⁰³⁶ in cruce orauit: *Pater*^{1037 1038} *ignosce illis, non enim sciunt quid*¹⁰³⁹ *faciunt,*
 et sanguinem¹⁰⁴⁰ post¹⁰⁴¹ credendo¹⁰⁴² biberunt,¹⁰⁴³
 quem prius seuiendo fuderunt.^{1044 1045}
 D. Cum malefacta^{1046 1047} hominum deo nichil¹⁰⁴⁸ noceant,¹⁰⁴⁹
 et illorum bene gesta nichil¹⁰⁵⁰ conferant,
 910 cur eos post mortem¹⁰⁵¹ segregat,

¹⁰³⁴ quamplures] plures *b*

¹⁰³⁵ ignoranter] ignorantes *D*

¹⁰³⁶ 905 ipse] *om. Cass*

¹⁰³⁷ Pater –faciunt] Euangelium *in marg. praem. D*

¹⁰³⁸ 905 Luc. 23,34

¹⁰³⁹ quid] quod *vK*

¹⁰⁴⁰ 906 sanguinem] *post credendo posuit B*

¹⁰⁴¹ post] postea *B, pro b*

¹⁰⁴² creden(do)] *om. sed sup. l. rest. B*

¹⁰⁴³ credendo biberunt] *transp. D*

¹⁰⁴⁴ 907 seuiendo fuderunt] *transp. D*

¹⁰⁴⁵ 905/907 pro quibus – fuderunt] cfr Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, XIII, xxii, 25 – ed. M Adriaen, CC SL 143A, p. 682; PL 75, 1028CD: . . . et in ipso dolore passionis pro persecutoribus orauit dicens: *Pater, dimitte illis; non enim sciunt quid faciunt*. Quid enim dici, quid cogitari in prece mundius potest quam cum et illis misericordia intercessionis tribuitur a quibus toleratur dolor? Vnde factum est ut Redemptoris nostri sanguinem, quem persecutores saeuientes fuderant, postmodum credentes biberent eumque esse Dei Filium praedicarent.

¹⁰⁴⁶ 908 malefacta] mala facta *A b*

¹⁰⁴⁷ male(fac)ta] male(dic)ta *scr. sed sup. l. corr. B*

¹⁰⁴⁸ deo nichil] nil deo *b*

¹⁰⁴⁹ nocea(nt)] *codice scisso has litteras caret D*

¹⁰⁵⁰ 909 nichil] nil *b*

¹⁰⁵¹ 910 mor(tem)] *codice scisso has litteras caret D*

et non omnes pariter et equaliter¹⁰⁵² in unum locat?¹⁰⁵³

+DE VARIA DISPOSITIONE DEI.¹⁰⁵⁴⁺

M. Propter¹⁰⁵⁵ pulchritudinem,

ut uariet operis sui uniuersitatem,

915 sicut¹⁰⁵⁶ pictor non omnes colores in uno loco,¹⁰⁵⁷ sed in diuersis ponit,¹⁰⁵⁸

ob decoris uarietatem.

Quis enim¹⁰⁵⁹ esset decor picture,

si laquear totum cooperiret uno colore?

Nec etiam¹⁰⁶⁰ pictura posset dici.

920 Nunc¹⁰⁶¹ diuersos colores diuersis locis¹⁰⁶² pingit,

et multipliciter uariando totam picturam distinguit,

¹⁰⁵² **911** equaliter] *om. b*

¹⁰⁵³ locat] locatur *b*

¹⁰⁵⁴ **912** dei] diuini operis *D*

¹⁰⁵⁵ **913/924** Propter pulchritudinem – reddid] cfr Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, V, 954AB – ed. E.A. Jeuneau, CC CM 165, p. 131; PL 172, 954AB: Et ut breuiter dicam, omnes uirtutes ex oppositis sibi uitiiis non solum laudem comparant, uerum etiam sine illorum comparatione laudem non acquirerent. Eadem ratione beatitudo iustorum gloriam sibi inuenit ex suppliciis impiorum, gaudiumque bonae uoluntatis ex tristitia peruersae. Et ut uera ratio pronunciare non trepidat, omnia quae in partibus uniuersitatis mala, inhonesta, turpia, misera, suppliciaque ab his qui simul omnia considerare non possunt iudicantur, in contemplatione uniuersitatis, ueluti totius cuiusdam picturae pulchritudinis, neque supplicia sunt, neque misera, neque turpia, neque inhonesta, neque mala sunt. Quicquid enim diuinae prouidentiae administrationibus ordinatur, bonum et pulchrum et iustum est.

¹⁰⁵⁶ **914/915** uniuersitatem, sicut] uniuersitatem. Sicut *b Cass*

¹⁰⁵⁷ **915** in uno loco] in unum locum *b*

¹⁰⁵⁸ ponit] *ante sed pos. b*

¹⁰⁵⁹ **917** enim] etenim *A a b Cass vK*

¹⁰⁶⁰ **919** etiam] enim *A, et D b*

¹⁰⁶¹ **920** Nunc] autem *add. D*

¹⁰⁶² **920/923** pingit usq. locis] *legere non potui in a*

et sic opus suum delectabile¹⁰⁶³ uisu reddit.

Sic¹⁰⁶⁴ insignitor lapidum uarias gemmas diuersis locis imprimit,

et sic opus suum delectabile uisu¹⁰⁶⁵ reddit.

925

+DE STELLIS.+

Et¹⁰⁶⁶ ut summatim singula percurram,

et quasi aliquos flosculos¹⁰⁶⁷ inde ad coronulam carpam,

quęnam¹⁰⁶⁸ pulchritudo esset,

si omnes stellę in cęlo¹⁰⁶⁹ pares essent?

930

Nunc gratia est prestantior,

dum alia alii¹⁰⁷⁰ maior,¹⁰⁷¹

alia alii¹⁰⁷² conspicitur clarior.¹⁰⁷³

+DE AVIBVS.+

In aere quoque quę esset¹⁰⁷⁴ speciositas,

¹⁰⁶³ **922** delectabile] pulcrum *b Cass*

¹⁰⁶⁴ **923/924** Sic *usq.* reddit] *om. D*

¹⁰⁶⁵ **924** uisu] uisui *a Cass vK, om. b*

¹⁰⁶⁶ **924/926**] reddit. Et] reddit, et *a b Cass*

¹⁰⁶⁷ **926** f(l)osculos] *om. sed sup. l. ut uid. rest. A*

¹⁰⁶⁸ **926/927** carpam, quęnam] carpam. Quęnam *A*

¹⁰⁶⁹ **929** in cęlo] cęli *b*

¹⁰⁷⁰ **931** alii] alia *D*

¹⁰⁷¹ alia alii maior] *om. A a b Cass*

¹⁰⁷² **932** alii] alia *D*, aliis *Cass vK*

¹⁰⁷³ clarior] preclarior *b*

¹⁰⁷⁴ **934** esset] *e scr. ut uid. sed sup. l. esset rest A*

935 si omnes aues unius generis et unius coloris pares faceret equalitas?¹⁰⁷⁵

Nunc uero qualis illis¹⁰⁷⁶ inest uarietas in genere,

in colore,

in feritate,

in mansuetudine?

940 +DE PISCIBVS.+

Quid autem haberet¹⁰⁷⁷ pulchritudinis,

si in mari non essent nisi pisces unius generis?¹⁰⁷⁸

Nunc uero qualis est puchritudo, cernere in eo diuersa genera piscium,

diuersa¹⁰⁷⁹ animalium,

945 uolucrum,¹⁰⁸⁰

et quędam forma, quędam¹⁰⁸¹ magnitudine¹⁰⁸² ab aliis mire¹⁰⁸³ distare.

+DE BESTIIS.+

Porro quę pulchritudo esset,

si in terra non esset,

¹⁰⁷⁵ 935 pares faceret equalitas] *om. b*

¹⁰⁷⁶ 936 illis] *om. D*

¹⁰⁷⁷ 941 haberet] *heret b*

¹⁰⁷⁸ 942 generis] *uel coloris sup. l. add. A, uel coloris add. vK*

¹⁰⁷⁹ 944 diuersa] *om. D*

¹⁰⁸⁰ 945 uolucrum] *bestiarum add. b*

¹⁰⁸¹ 946 quędam] *quadam b*

¹⁰⁸² magnitudine] *pulchritudine a*

¹⁰⁸³ mire] *in re D, ante ab aliis pos. a*

- 950 nisi unum genus¹⁰⁸⁴ bestiarum,
 unum arborum,
 unum lapidum,¹⁰⁸⁵
 unum herbarum,
 unus color florum?
- 955 Nunc uero quam miranda pulchritudo¹⁰⁸⁶ in bestiis,
 in reptilibus,
 in serpentibus consideratur?
 Quę cum diuerso genere,
 diuerso colore,
 960 diuersa natura,
 inter se multum¹⁰⁸⁷ distent,
 maiorem delectationem intuentibus prebent.

+DE ARBORIBVS.+

- O¹⁰⁸⁸ quam magna diuersitas est in arboribus,
 965 et in¹⁰⁸⁹ earum foliis et floribus,¹⁰⁹⁰

/DE LAPIDIBVS./

¹⁰⁸⁴ **950** genus] *om. b*

¹⁰⁸⁵ **952** unum lapidum] *om. a*

¹⁰⁸⁶ **955** pulchritudo] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

¹⁰⁸⁷ **961** multum] *ante inter se pos. b*

¹⁰⁸⁸ **964** O] *om. A a b Cass vK*

¹⁰⁸⁹ **965** in] *om. b*

¹⁰⁹⁰ foliis et floribus] *transp. b*

quam gloriosa distantia est¹⁰⁹¹ in lapidibus,¹⁰⁹²
et in eorum coloribus,¹⁰⁹³

/DE HERBIS ET FLORIBVS./

970 quam mirifica uarietas¹⁰⁹⁴ in herbis,¹⁰⁹⁵ et earum floribus,¹⁰⁹⁶
quam delectabilis et quam uaria gratia in coloribus.

Hęc diuersitas singulorum maiorem gratiam considerantibus et admirationem¹⁰⁹⁷ prebet, quam si
non nisi unum genus existeret.¹⁰⁹⁸

De paruis ad maiora transeamus.

975 +DE HOMINE.+

Quę pulchritudo esset¹⁰⁹⁹ in homine,
si omnia¹¹⁰⁰ unum membrum essent?

Nunc¹¹⁰¹ multo pulchrius est esse diuersa membra,
esse uisum,

980 auditum,¹¹⁰²

¹⁰⁹¹ 967 est] *om b*

¹⁰⁹² lapidibus] laboribus *D b*

¹⁰⁹³ 968 coloribus] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

¹⁰⁹⁴ 970 uarietas] est *ut uid. add. D*

¹⁰⁹⁵ herbis] his *praem. b*

¹⁰⁹⁶ earum floribus] in *praem. a Cass*

¹⁰⁹⁷ 972 admirationem] a(m)mirationem *scr. sed sup. l. corr. A, ammirationem a*

¹⁰⁹⁸ 973 existeret] foret *A vK*

¹⁰⁹⁹ 976 esset] est *scr. sed sup. l. corr. A, om. Cass, etiam add. A a Cass vK, et praem b*

¹¹⁰⁰ 977 omnia] membra *add. D*

¹¹⁰¹ 978 Nunc] Hoc *b*

odoratum,¹¹⁰³

gustum,¹¹⁰⁴

esse manus,

pedes,¹¹⁰⁵

985 et cetera membra,¹¹⁰⁶

quam uno¹¹⁰⁷ totum corpus concludi.¹¹⁰⁸

In humano autem genere,

que pulchritudo esset,

si¹¹⁰⁹ omnes homines pares essent?

990 Que pulchritudo esset¹¹¹⁰ in clero,

omnes esse presules,

aut in populo

omnes esse reges?

/DE PRELATIS ET ALIIS./¹¹¹¹

995 O¹¹¹² quam¹¹¹³ gloriosa uariatio in clero,

¹¹⁰² 980 auditum] esse *praem.* *A vK, om. Cass*

¹¹⁰³ 981 odoratum] et tactum *add. a b Cass*

¹¹⁰⁴ 981/982 odoratum, gustum] *transp. a b Cass*

¹¹⁰⁵ 984 pedes] et *praem. b, esse praem. Cass*

¹¹⁰⁶ 985 membra] *om. D*

¹¹⁰⁷ 986 uno] membro *add. a b Cass vK*

¹¹⁰⁸ concludi] includi *D Cass*

¹¹⁰⁹ 988/989 esset, si] esset. *Si D*

¹¹¹⁰ 991 esset] *post in clero pos. Cass*

¹¹¹¹ 994 De prelatibus et aliis] De clero, et prelatibus, et sacerdotibus, et aliis gradibus *D*

quosdam esse presules,¹¹¹⁴
quosdam inferioris gradus sacerdotes,
quosdam in aliis^{1115 1116} gradibus constitutos,
in^{1117 1118} populo uero quosdam esse reges,

1000 quosdam duces,¹¹¹⁹
quosdam comites,
quosdam milites,^{1120 1121}
quosdam agricolas.

/DE DIVERSITATE RERVM./¹¹²²

1005 Quam mira uarietas¹¹²³ est esse diuersas gentes,
diuersas nationes,^{1124 1125}

¹¹¹² **995** O] *om. A a b Cass vK*

¹¹¹³ quam] *om. D*

¹¹¹⁴ **996** quosdam esse presules] *om. a b*

¹¹¹⁵ **998** aliis] *altis b*

¹¹¹⁶ ali(is)] *has litteras legere non potui in a*

¹¹¹⁷ **998/999** constitutos, in] constitutos. *In a b Cass vK*

¹¹¹⁸ **999** in populo] *lemma De populo et suis dignitatibus in marg. praem. D*

¹¹¹⁹ **1000** duces] *esse praem. b Cass*

¹¹²⁰ **1001/1002** quosdam comites, quosdam milites] *transp. sed sup. l. litteris minusculis rectam ordinem indicauit B*

¹¹²¹ **1002** milites] *hoc uerbum legere non potui in a, esse praem. a*

¹¹²² **1004** De diuersitate rerum] *De uarietate gentium D*

¹¹²³ **1005** mira uarietas] *mirietas ut uid. a*

¹¹²⁴ **1005/1006** diuer(sas gentes, diuersas nationes)] *eras. sed in ras. a. m. ut uid. rest. b*

¹¹²⁵ **1006** nationes] *legere non potui in a*

diuersas linguas,¹¹²⁶

diuersas conditiones,

diuersas dignitates,

1010 diuersas ciuitates,

diuersas leges,

diuersa iura,

diuersa conciliabula.

+DE MVLIERIBVS.+

1015 Porro quam suavis delectabilisque diuersitas est¹¹²⁷ inter mulieres,

quod una alteram precellit in genere,

illa illam in pulchritudine,

alia aliam in¹¹²⁸ dignitate,

alia¹¹²⁹ alteram¹¹³⁰ in amabilitate.

1020 /DE ETATIBVS./¹¹³¹

O quam mentem oblectat¹¹³² teneritas¹¹³³ infantum,¹¹³⁴

¹¹²⁶ **1007** ling(ua)s] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

¹¹²⁷ **1015** est] *om. a b Cass*

¹¹²⁸ **1018** in] *om. b*

¹¹²⁹ alia] altera *a b Cass*

¹¹³⁰ **1019** alteram] aliam *D vK*

¹¹³¹ **1020** De etatibus] De proprietate etatum *D*

¹¹³² **1021** oblectat] delectat *b Cass*

¹¹³³ teneritas] temiritas *D*

¹¹³⁴ infantum] infantium *a vK*

robur iuuenum,

grauitas senum,

et in his omnibus magnam esse distantiam et formarum et morum.

1025

+DE VASIS.+

Sed^{1135 1136 1137} et hoc auget decorem,

in¹¹³⁸ uniuscuiusque patrisfamilias domo¹¹³⁹ esse, diuersa uasa,

quędam ut puta aurea et¹¹⁴⁰ argentea¹¹⁴¹ ad honorem,

quędam uero sicuti¹¹⁴² ferrea et lignea ad contumeliam.

1030

Quę¹¹⁴³ omnia,¹¹⁴⁴

quamuis non sint in uno loco uel¹¹⁴⁵ paria,

tamen omnia sunt¹¹⁴⁶ in domo¹¹⁴⁷ necessaria.

¹¹³⁵ **1026** Sed] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A, om. a b Cass vK*

¹¹³⁶ **1026/1029** Sed et – ad contumeliam] cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, *Quid uasa honoris et quid uasa contumelie*, ed. M.-O. Garrigues, in 'Bref témoignage sur la vie monastique du XIIe siècle,' in *Studia monastica*, 16, 1974, p. 48: Domus magna est Ecclesia ab oriente in occidentem delatata. Huic magnus Dominus presidet qui ut paterfamilias credentes in hac domo possidet.

¹¹³⁷ **1026/1029** cfr II Tim. 2, 20-21

¹¹³⁸ **1027** in] *ut ut uid. scr. sed corr. A, om. D, ut praem. a Cass, ut b*

¹¹³⁹ domo] *om. D*

¹¹⁴⁰ **1028** et] *om. a b*

¹¹⁴¹ argentea] *quędam praem. b*

¹¹⁴² **1029** uero sicuti] *sic uero uti b*

¹¹⁴³ **1030** Quę omnia] *Quędam vK*

¹¹⁴⁴ omnia] *uero b*

¹¹⁴⁵ **1031** uel] *om. Cass vK*

¹¹⁴⁶ sunt] *ante in domo pos. A a b Cass vK*

¹¹⁴⁷ **1032** in domo] *post necessaria pos. b*

Hęc omnia consideranti in dei¹¹⁴⁸ re¹¹⁴⁹ publica,
ingerunt stupenda cuiusdam picturę oblectamina.

1035 +DE REGNO DEI.+

Denique¹¹⁵⁰ deus in regno suo, quod est cęlum, terra, infernus,
et omnia his coherentia¹¹⁵¹ uel subiecta,
disposuit cuncta,
ut sibi placuit,

1040 et ut decens fuit.

Posuit in cęlo angelos, quod cęlum decuit,
posuit in terra homines, quod terram decuit,
posuit in inferno demones, quod infernum decuit,^{1152 1153}
posuit in aliis creaturis alia, quod illas¹¹⁵⁴ decuit.

1045 Et¹¹⁵⁵ frustra quis¹¹⁵⁶ de locorum differentia quęritur,^{1157 1158}

¹¹⁴⁸ **1033** dei] *om. Cass*

¹¹⁴⁹ re] *om. B*

¹¹⁵⁰ **1036** Denique] *Dehinc vK*

¹¹⁵¹ **1037** coh(er)entia] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

¹¹⁵² **1042/1043** posuit in terra *usq.* infernum decuit] *om. D*

¹¹⁵³ **1043** posuit in inferno *usq.* infernum decuit] *om. A a b Cass vK*

¹¹⁵⁴ **1044** illas] *alias D*

¹¹⁵⁵ **1044/1045** decuit. Et] *decurit, et a b Cass*

¹¹⁵⁶ **1045** quis] *quas B, quę b*

¹¹⁵⁷ quęritur] *quęrit D b Cass vK*

¹¹⁵⁸ differentia quęritur] *quęrit differentia a*

ubi quisque deo disponente¹¹⁵⁹ ponatur,
cum deo¹¹⁶⁰ de omnibus locis¹¹⁶¹ laus referatur.

+DE LAVDE DEI.+

De cęlis¹¹⁶² ab angelis laudatur,
1050 quod uisione eius¹¹⁶³ suauitatis fruuntur.

De terra ab hominibus laudatur,
quod ab eo pascuntur.

Et¹¹⁶⁴ cum scriptum sit, *omnis spiritus laudet*¹¹⁶⁵ *dominum*,¹¹⁶⁶
laus eius¹¹⁶⁷ ab inferno fertur,

1055 dum rebelles spiritus ei in pęnis subduntur.

+DE PALATIO DEI ET GLORIA.+¹¹⁶⁸

In ipso uero¹¹⁶⁹ dei palatio quod regnum cęlorum uocamus,
quam dulcis et gloriosa diuersitas esse creditur,
dum aliam gloriam angeli,

¹¹⁵⁹ **1046** disponente] plus ponente *b*

¹¹⁶⁰ **1047** deo] *post omnibus pos. D*

¹¹⁶¹ locus] *om. D*

¹¹⁶² **1049** cęlis] cęlo *D*

¹¹⁶³ **1050** eius] *eius b*

¹¹⁶⁴ **1052/1053** pascuntur. Et] *pascuntur, et a b Cass vK*

¹¹⁶⁵ *laudet] laudat Cass vK*

¹¹⁶⁶ **1053** Ps. 150, 6

¹¹⁶⁷ **1054** eius] *ei a b Cass vK*

¹¹⁶⁸ **1056** De palatio dei et gloria] *De gloria palatii dei D*

¹¹⁶⁹ **1057** uero] *autem a b Cass*

- 1060 aliam archangeli,
 aliam et¹¹⁷⁰ aliam illi et illi ordines,
 et aliam patriarchę uel¹¹⁷¹ prophetę,
 aliam apostoli,
 aliam martýres,
- 1065 aliam confessores,
 aliam uirgines,
 aliam uidę,¹¹⁷²
 aliam coniugatę,
 et¹¹⁷³ aliam alii gradus habere leguntur.
- 1070 Hęc omnia tam uariabili pulchritudine
 et stupenda admiratione
 diuersa,¹¹⁷⁴ ab ęterno¹¹⁷⁵ instituit, semper eadem¹¹⁷⁶ et inuariabilis dei sapientia.
 D. Gratias ago deo,
 quod tam incredibilis pulchritudinis insignia in domo
- 1075 in quam¹¹⁷⁷ me¹¹⁷⁸ introduxisti perspicue uideo.

¹¹⁷⁰ **1061** et] atque *Cass*

¹¹⁷¹ **1062** uel] et *A a b Cass vK*

¹¹⁷² **1067** aliam uidę] *om. D*

¹¹⁷³ **1069** et] *om. b*

¹¹⁷⁴ **1072** diuersa] admiratione *add. b*

¹¹⁷⁵ ab ęterno] ab ęterna odinatione *D*

¹¹⁷⁶ eadem] *om. Cass*

¹¹⁷⁷ **1075** quam] qua *b*

Clausa decenter reserasti,

inuolucra¹¹⁷⁹ eleganter resigillasti.¹¹⁸⁰

Sed cum deus hæc¹¹⁸¹ ita ab initio disposuerit,

et omnia ita non euenire ineuitabile sit,

1080 ad quid ultimum iudicium restabit?

+DE VLTIMO IVDICIO.+

M. Sicut¹¹⁸² pictor cum singulos colores posuerit,¹¹⁸³

unumquemque in suo loco prout uisum fuerit,

ad ultimum nigro colore cuncta¹¹⁸⁴ discriminat,

1085 ut totius pictureꝝ ornatus¹¹⁸⁵ melius clarescat,

ita¹¹⁸⁶ deus cum¹¹⁸⁷ omnem uarietatem¹¹⁸⁸ sui preclari¹¹⁸⁹ operis prout uult disposuerit,

ad extremum reprobos ab electis ut nigrum¹¹⁹⁰ a pretioso colore segregabit,¹¹⁹¹

¹¹⁷⁸ me] ne vK

¹¹⁷⁹ **1077** inuolucra] inuoluta a b Cass vK

¹¹⁸⁰ resigillasti] reserasti b

¹¹⁸¹ **1078** deus hæc] *transp.* b

¹¹⁸² **1082** Sicut] Sic b

¹¹⁸³ posuerit] proposuerit A vK

¹¹⁸⁴ **1084** cuncta] *om.* b

¹¹⁸⁵ **1085** ornatus] cfr Gen. 2, 1

¹¹⁸⁶ **1085/1086** clarescat, ita] clarescat. Ita b

¹¹⁸⁷ cum] dum Cass vK

¹¹⁸⁸ **1086** uarietatem] claritatem A

¹¹⁸⁹ preclari] *om.* Cass

¹¹⁹⁰ **1087** nigrum] colorem *add.* A vK

ut¹¹⁹² de nigredine illorum supplicii,
splendidior fiat claritudo istorum¹¹⁹³ gaudii.

1090

+DE COLORIBVS PICTVRĒ DEI.+¹¹⁹⁴

Denique^{1195 1196} patriarchę et prophetę pro uiridi colore,

apostoli pro aereo,¹¹⁹⁷

martýres pro rubeo,

confessores pro croceo,

1095

monachi pro purpureo,

uirgines pro albo,

continentes pro criseo,¹¹⁹⁸

coniugatę¹¹⁹⁹ pro ferrugineo,

peccatores pro nigro in pictura dei accipiuntur,

1100

quę omnia ordo angelicus¹²⁰⁰ cingit, ut uarius¹²⁰¹ auricolor limbus.¹²⁰²

¹¹⁹¹ segregabit] segregat *A a b Cass vK*

¹¹⁹² **1088** ut] et *a*

¹¹⁹³ **1089** istorum] illorum *A vK*

¹¹⁹⁴ **1090** coloribus] uariis *add. D*

¹¹⁹⁵ **1091/1098** Denique – pro ferrugineo] cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, *Liber XII quaestionum*, VIII – PL 172, 1182C: Ecclesia distinxit ordines fidelium secundum ordines eorum [*sc.* angelorum], scilicet in patriarchas, in prophetas, in apostolos, in martyres, in confessores, in monachos, in uirgines, in uiduas, in coniugatos.

¹¹⁹⁶ **1091** Denique] Dehinc *vK*

¹¹⁹⁷ **1092** aereo] aereo *D vK*, colore *add. D*

¹¹⁹⁸ **1097** criseo] griseo *Cass*

¹¹⁹⁹ **1098** coniugatę] uxorati *Cass*

¹²⁰⁰ **1100** ordo angelicus *transp. b*

¹²⁰¹ uarius] uariorum *scribere incepit ut uid. sed corr. a*

Hęc uniuersa illa summa pulchritudo¹²⁰³ ornat et illustrat,
quę singulis suum proprium colorem prestat.

D. Iam totum¹²⁰⁴ decorem domus domini¹²⁰⁵ te demonstrante conspicio,
nunc etiam¹²⁰⁶ Babýlonię ciuitatis ędificia cernere desidero.

1105 Per orientalem¹²⁰⁷ ergo hanc¹²⁰⁸ portam me educito,¹²⁰⁹
et cur homo in paradýsum¹²¹⁰ positus sit,
cum non¹²¹¹ ibi¹²¹² permansurus¹²¹³ esset, edicito.

+DE VII. SIGILLIS.+¹²¹⁴

M. Ab ipso¹²¹⁵ sunt pandenda mẽchę ciuitatis mysteria,
1110 qui per spiritum sanctum de uirgine carnem assumendo,
nascendo,

¹²⁰² limbus] limbum *D*

¹²⁰³ **1101** summa pulchritudo] cfr Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, V, 954C – ed. E.A. Jeauneau, p. 131; PL 122, 954C

¹²⁰⁴ **1103/1104** totum *usq.* ędificia] *om. b*

¹²⁰⁵ **1103** domini] dei *D*

¹²⁰⁶ **1104** etiam] et *D*

¹²⁰⁷ **1104/1105** desidero. Per orientalem] desidero per orientalem *b*

¹²⁰⁸ **1105** hanc] *om. A vK*

¹²⁰⁹ educ(i)to] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

¹²¹⁰ **1106** paradisum] paradiso *D Cass*

¹²¹¹ non] *ante esset pos. D*

¹²¹² ibi] in eo *b*

¹²¹³ permansurus] permans(i)rus *scr. sed sup. l. corr. b*

¹²¹⁴ **1108** De vii. sigillis] De sigillis vii. libri *ut uid. D*

¹²¹⁵ **1109** ipso] ipsa *a vK*

mortem crucis patiendo,
 in sepulchro quiescendo,
 ad inferna¹²¹⁶ descendendo,
 1115 a mortuis resurgendo,
 ad cęlos ascendendo,¹²¹⁷
 aperuit ·VII·¹²¹⁸ libri signacula.¹²¹⁹
 In monte igitur hoc te statuo,¹²²⁰
 et uniuersa habitacula¹²²¹ perditę ciuitatis¹²²² demonstrabo.
 1120 /DE ADAM./
 Protoplastus quia erat predestinatus,
 in paradiso id est¹²²³ in loco uoluptatis¹²²⁴ est locatus.
 Sed quia utrumque genus electorum scilicet¹²²⁵ et reproborum ab illo prodire debuit,¹²²⁶
 ne reprobi¹²²⁷ in paradiso nascerentur,

¹²¹⁶ **1114** inferna] infernum *Cass*

¹²¹⁷ **1116** ascendendo] adscendendo *b*

¹²¹⁸ **1117** VII] septem *B D Cass vK*

¹²¹⁹ **1116** cfr Apoc. 5, 1-10

¹²²⁰ **1118** statuo] statuto *A b Cass vK*

¹²²¹ **1119** habitacula] *post* perditę *pos. b*

¹²²² ciuitatis] *ante* perditę *pos. b*

¹²²³ **1122** id est] ·i· *scr. sed id est s.l. ut uid. a.m. add. D, om. b*

¹²²⁴ **1022** loco uoluptatis] Gen. 2, 10

¹²²⁵ **1123** scilicet] *ante* electorum *pos. A a Cass vK*

¹²²⁶ debuit] (uol)uit *scr. sed sup. l. corr. A*

¹²²⁷ **1124** reprobi] *post* paradiso *pos. A vK*

- 1125 Adam per liberum arbitrium exiens,¹²²⁸
 eos quasi foris¹²²⁹ in se exportauit,
 et utrosque¹²³⁰ in loco certaminis huius mundi exposuit,
 ipse¹²³¹ cum electis quamuis cum labore¹²³² rediens,
 reprobos foras¹²³³ reliquit.
- 1130 In hac itaque pugna¹²³⁴ magna ui utrimque¹²³⁵ certatur,
 et uictores quidem laureati triumphantes astra petunt,
 uicti autem confusi, ad ima baratri descendunt.¹²³⁶
 Sta autem hic,¹²³⁷ ¹²³⁸ et considera¹²³⁹ utrorumque¹²⁴⁰ itinera.

/DE VIA IVSTĒ./

- 1135 Aliquis¹²⁴¹ per uiam humilitatis ab infantia¹²⁴² incedit,

¹²²⁸ **1125** exiens] existens *Cass vK*, etiens *a*

¹²²⁹ **1126** foris] foras *D*

¹²³⁰ **1127** utrosque] utroque *vK*

¹²³¹ **1127/1128** exposuit, ipse] exposuit. Ipse *b Cass vK*

¹²³² **1128** cum labore] per laborem *D*

¹²³³ **1129** foras] foris *D*

¹²³⁴ **1130** In hac itaque pugna] *lemma* De certamine iustorum et reproborum *in marg. praem. D*

¹²³⁵ utrimque] utrumque *a vK*

¹²³⁶ **1132** ad ima baratri descendunt] cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, *De anima exilio et patria*, XIV – PL 172, 1246D: . . . et in immensum barathrum tristitiae et desperationis demergunt.

¹²³⁷ **1133** Sta autem hic] *lemma* De uiis eorum *in marg. praem. D*

¹²³⁸ autem hic] *transp. b*

¹²³⁹ considera] *post itinera pos. Cass*

¹²⁴⁰ utrorumque] utrumque *vK*

et usque ad¹²⁴³ senilem etatem semper in melius proficit.

Omnes homines *sibi superiores*¹²⁴⁴ reputat,

se uero omnibus¹²⁴⁵ inferiorem etimat.

Omnium actus laudat,

1140 suos reprobat.

Alius castitatis^{1246 1247} semitam^{1248 1249} arripit,

magna custodia cunctos¹²⁵⁰ sensus suos¹²⁵¹ munit,

et tamen omnes alios sanctos computat,

se uelut immundum iudicat.

1145 Alius patientie¹²⁵² callem calcat,

uniuersa dura et aspera pro Christo patienter tolerat,

alios mansuetos reputat,

se immitem cogitat.

¹²⁴¹ **1135** Aliquis] *lemma* De uia iustorum. De humili. *in marg. praem. D*

¹²⁴² ab infantia] *post incedit pos. a*

¹²⁴³ **1136** ad] *in D*

¹²⁴⁴ **1136** sibi superiores] *cfr Phil. 2, 3*

¹²⁴⁵ **1138** omnibus] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

¹²⁴⁶ **1141** Alius castitatis] *lemma* De casto *in marg. praem. D*

¹²⁴⁷ castitatis] *castitatem b*

¹²⁴⁸ semitam] *om. b*

¹²⁴⁹ castitatis semitam] *transp. Cass*

¹²⁵⁰ **1142** cunctos] *omnes A a Cass vK, om. b*

¹²⁵¹ suos] *om. D*

¹²⁵² **1145** Alius patientie] *lemma* De patiente *in marg. praem. D*

Alius per abstinentię¹²⁵³ iter¹²⁵⁴ 1255 graditur,
 1150 magna castigatione carnis maceratur,¹²⁵⁶
 et tamen alios in abstinentia districtiores honorando¹²⁵⁷ ęstimat,
 se ut¹²⁵⁸ uoracem dampnat.¹²⁵⁹
 Alius per latitudinem¹²⁶⁰ caritatis¹²⁶¹ incedens, non solum amicos *in deo*, sed etiam¹²⁶²
 inimicos *propter deum diligit*,¹²⁶³
 1155 contumelia¹²⁶⁴ accepta non solum poscenti ueniam iniuriam¹²⁶⁵ laxat,
 sed etiam¹²⁶⁶ ipse reconciliari festinat.
 Hęc et talia¹²⁶⁷ sunt ciuium Hierusalem itinera,

¹²⁵³ **1149** abstinentię] abstinentiam *b*

¹²⁵⁴ Alius per abstinentię iter] *lemma* De abstinate in *marg. praem. D*

¹²⁵⁵ iter] *om. b*

¹²⁵⁶ **1150** carnis maceratur] *transp. b*

¹²⁵⁷ **1151** honorando] honorandos *Cass*

¹²⁵⁸ **1152** ut] *om. A vK*

¹²⁵⁹ dampnat] clamat *a*

¹²⁶⁰ **1153** latitudinem] altitudinem *D a b Cass*

¹²⁶¹ Alius per latitudinem caritatis] De karitate in *marg. praem D*

¹²⁶² etiam] et *D b*

¹²⁶³ **1153/1154** in deo – propter deum diligit] cfr Augustinus, *De doctrina christiana*, 1, xxii, 21 atque xxxiii, 37 – ed. J. Martin, CC SL 32, pp17 et 27: Si ergo te ipsum non propter te debes diligere, sed propter illum, ubi dilectionis tuae rectissimis finis est, non suscenseat alius homo, si etiam ipsum propter deum diligis Cum autem homine in deo frueris, deo potius quam homine frueris

¹²⁶⁴ **1154/1155** diligit, contumelia] diligit. Contumelia *a b Cass*

¹²⁶⁵ **1155** iniuriam] iniuria *scr. sed -rum uel -rim ut uid. s.l.a.m. add. b*

¹²⁶⁶ **1156** etiam] et *D b Cass*

¹²⁶⁷ **1157** talia] talium *B*

quibus ab exilio properant ad *ęterna tabernacula*.¹²⁶⁸

+DE PLATEIS REPROBORVM.+

- 1160 Verte te ad ciues Babýlonię,
et uide¹²⁶⁹ quales sunt per quas tendunt plateę.¹²⁷⁰
Aliquis a primeua ętate a luxuria inchoat,¹²⁷¹
et in hac insatiabiliter usque ad decrepitam¹²⁷² perdurat.
Numquam quid iam fecerit¹²⁷³ cogitat,
1165 sed quid adhuc facere¹²⁷⁴ possit tractat.
Alius uoracitati¹²⁷⁵ et¹²⁷⁶ ebrietati^{1277 1278 1279} a pueritia¹²⁸⁰ se subicit,¹²⁸¹
et usque ad ultimam senectutem delectabiliter his¹²⁸² insistit.

¹²⁶⁸ **1158** ęterna tabernacula] Luc. 16, 9

¹²⁶⁹ **1161** uide] *post* sunt *pos.* *D*

¹²⁷⁰ per quas tendunt plateę] *om.* *D*

¹²⁷¹ **1162** Aliquis a primeua ętate a luxuria inchoat] *lemma* De luxurioso *in marg. praem. D*

¹²⁷² **1163** decrepitam] ętatem *add. a b Cass vK*

¹²⁷³ **1164** fecerit] *fecit b*

¹²⁷⁴ **1165** adhuc facere] *transp. b*

¹²⁷⁵ **1166** uoracitati] uoracitatem *b*

¹²⁷⁶ et] uel *scrip. sed sup. l. rest. B*

¹²⁷⁷ ebrietati] ebrietatem *b*

¹²⁷⁸ ebri(e)tati] *om. sed sup. l. rest. D*

¹²⁷⁹ Alius uoracitati et ebrietati] *lemma* De uoraci et ebrioso *in marg. praem. D*

¹²⁸⁰ a pueritia] *om. B*

¹²⁸¹ se subicit] *amplectitur b, se subiecit Cass*

¹²⁸² **1167** his] *om. b*

- Alius toto annisu rapere¹²⁸³ festinat,
 alius¹²⁸⁴ iugiter furtis¹²⁸⁵ insistit.¹²⁸⁶
- 1170 Alius¹²⁸⁷ crudelitate¹²⁸⁸ pascitur,
 alius lucris¹²⁸⁹ non satiatur.
- Hic inuidia¹²⁹⁰ tabescit,
 hic¹²⁹¹ uero¹²⁹² immunditia¹²⁹³ sordescit.
- Hic¹²⁹⁴ superbia¹²⁹⁵ erectus cunctos despicit,
- 1175 hic¹²⁹⁶ odio plenus, cunctos mendaciis¹²⁹⁷ et detractionibus afficit.
- Tales et tales sunt plateę reproborum,
 quibus irreuocabiliter festinant ad profunda inferorum.

¹²⁸³ **1168** Alius toto annisu rapere] *lemma* De raptore in marg. praem. D

¹²⁸⁴ **1168/1169** festinat, alius] festinat. Alius D

¹²⁸⁵ **1169** Alius iugiter furtis] *lemma* De furo in marg. praem. D

¹²⁸⁶ insistit] instat D

¹²⁸⁷ **1169/1170** insistit. Alius] insistit, alius A a b Cass

¹²⁸⁸ **1170** Alius crudelitate] *lemma* De crudeli in marg. praem. D

¹²⁸⁹ **1171** alius lucris] *lemma* De luctore in marg. praem. D

¹²⁹⁰ **1172** Hi inuidia] *lemma* De inuido in marg. praem. D

¹²⁹¹ hic] (h)is eras. ut uid. b

¹²⁹² **1173** uero] om. a b

¹²⁹³ Hic uero immunditia] *lemma* De immundo in marg. praem. D

¹²⁹⁴ **1173/1174** sordescit. Hic] sordescit hic b

¹²⁹⁵ **1174** Hic superbia] *lemma* De superbo in marg. paginae praecedentis praem. D

¹²⁹⁶ **1174/1175** despicit, hic] despicit. Hic D

¹²⁹⁷ **1175** Hic – mendaciis] *lemma* De mendaci in marg. praem. D

+DE PVGNA REPROBORVM¹²⁹⁸ CONTRA IVSTOS.+

Aspice nunc¹²⁹⁹ etiam¹³⁰⁰ acies diuerso modo ad pugnam¹³⁰¹ instructas.

- 1180 Reperi iustorum uerba et opera¹³⁰² abhominantur,
consortia eorum¹³⁰³ detestantur,
refugiunt omne illorum consilium,
graues sunt eis etiam¹³⁰⁴ ad uidendum.
Sæpe eos callide circumueniunt,¹³⁰⁵
- 1185 sæpius¹³⁰⁶ bona eorum¹³⁰⁷ fraudulentè aut etiam¹³⁰⁸ uiolenter diripiunt,
sæpissime¹³⁰⁹ eos uerberibus uel aliis cruciatibus affligunt,¹³¹⁰
aut etiam¹³¹¹ membrorum truncatione¹³¹² uel uariis¹³¹³ suppliciis interimunt.

¹²⁹⁸ **1078** reproborum] *ante pugna pos. D*

¹²⁹⁹ nunc etiam] *transp. A a b Cass vK*

¹³⁰⁰ **1179** etiam] *et D b Cass*

¹³⁰¹ pugnam] *pugnas A a vK*

¹³⁰² **1180** opera] *dicta A a b Cass vK*

¹³⁰³ **1181** eorum] *om. b*

¹³⁰⁴ **1183** etiam] *et D Cass vK, om. b*

¹³⁰⁵ **1184** circumueniunt] *conueniunt b*

¹³⁰⁶ **1185** sæpius] *sæpe D*

¹³⁰⁷ eorum] *illorum A a b Cass vK*

¹³⁰⁸ etiam] *et D, om. b*

¹³⁰⁹ **1185/1186** diripiunt, sæpissime] *diripiunt. Sæpissime b*

¹³¹⁰ **1186** uerberibus uel aliis cruciatibus affligunt] *cfr Hebr. 11, 36 . . . alii uero ludibria et uerbera experti Vulg.*

¹³¹¹ **1187** etiam] *et D b*

¹³¹² **1187** membrorum truncatione] *cfr Hebr. 11, 37 . . . secti sunt Vulg.*

¹³¹³ uariis] *aliis a b Cass vK*

+DE PVGNA IVSTORVM.+¹³¹⁴

E contra iusti reproborum mores ut graue pondus sufferunt,
1190 de miserabili¹³¹⁵ illorum conuersatione¹³¹⁶ ingemunt,
contagia eorum inquantum possunt deuitant,¹³¹⁷
citius ab illorum contubernio liberari optant,
pro eorum salute deo supplicant,
necessaria quę possunt eis subministrant.

1195 +DE CONCORDIA BONORVM ET MALORVM.+¹³¹⁸

Adhuc aliud considera.
Electi omnes in bono concordant,
et bonum quod facere non preualent, in aliis amant,
reprobi¹³¹⁹ uero in malo omnes¹³²⁰ concordēs sunt,
1200 in bono semper discordes existunt.
Et si¹³²¹ alicui illorum ab aliquo iustorum forte uerbum¹³²² increpationis
uel admonitionis¹³²³ offertur,

¹³¹⁴ **1188** De pugna iustorum] contra reprobos *add. D*

¹³¹⁵ **1190** miserabili] *post illorum pos. b*

¹³¹⁶ conuersationem] *ante illorum pos. b*

¹³¹⁷ **1191** deuitant] eis subministrat. Adhuc alius considera *b (uide infra lineas 1194-1196)*

¹³¹⁸ **1195/1199** et malorum] *om. sed in marg. De concordia malorum ante reprobi uero scr. D*

¹³¹⁹ **1198/1199** amant, reprobi] amant. Reprobi *D a b Cass vK*

¹³²⁰ **1199** omnes] *post sunt pos. A vK*

¹³²¹ **1201** si] *om. sed sup. l. rest. D*

¹³²² uerbum] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

omnes resistunt,

omnes pariter contradicunt,

1205 ipsi¹³²⁴ etiam¹³²⁵ qui non faciunt,

quia bona¹³²⁶ quę facere nolunt,

in aliis odio habentes moleste ferunt,¹³²⁷

ideo^{1328 1329} eum¹³³⁰ omnes etiam¹³³¹ qui¹³³² non nouerunt,

dignum odio ducunt,

1210 mendaciis detrahunt,^{1333 1334}

iniuriis lacescunt.¹³³⁵

+DE ACIE AMBORVM.+¹³³⁶

Contemplare diligenter,

¹³²³ **1202** admonitionis] a(m)monitionis *scr. sed sup. l. corr. A*

¹³²⁴ **1204/1205** contradicunt, ipsi] contradicunt. *Ipsi a b Cass vK*

¹³²⁵ **1205** etiam] et *D*, quoque *a b Cass*

¹³²⁶ **1206** bona] *om. b*

¹³²⁷ **1207** ferunt] *legere non potui in a*

¹³²⁸ **1207/1208** ferunt, ideo] ferunt. *Ideo Cass*

¹³²⁹ **1208** ideo] *odeo ut uid. in a*

¹³³⁰ eum] *post etiam pos. A a b vK, post omnes pos. Cass*

¹³³¹ etiam] et *D b vK, om. Cass*

¹³³² qui] quem *a b Cass vK*

¹³³³ **1210** detrahunt] d(a)trahunt *scr. sed sup. l. corr. A*

¹³³⁴ mendaciis detrahunt] *transp. b*

¹³³⁵ **1211** lacescunt] *laccessunt D Cass vK, om. b*

¹³³⁶ **1212** amborum] *reproborum D*

- et uidebis in toto isto certamine semper Caýn paratum in acie¹³³⁷ contra Abel,
1215 Cham contra Sem,
Hýsmahel armatum aduersus¹³³⁸ Ysaac,
Esau pugnare contra Iacob,
Saul resistere Daudid,
Iudam in dominum,
1220 Sýmonem irruere¹³³⁹ in Petrum.

/DE CVRSV IN STADIO./¹³⁴⁰

- Vide etiam¹³⁴¹ in hoc agone qualiter sepe reprobi cum electis currere
pro brauio proponunt,
et aliquamdiu etiam¹³⁴² currunt,
1225 in¹³⁴³ itinere uero sudore fatigati deficiunt,¹³⁴⁴
et turpiter *ad uomitum*¹³⁴⁵ *ut canes redeunt.*¹³⁴⁶
Veni¹³⁴⁷ huc¹³⁴⁸ ad supercilium montis,

¹³³⁷ **1214** acie] aciem *B*

¹³³⁸ **1216** aduersus] contra *A a b Cass vK*

¹³³⁹ **1220** irruere] *om. b*

¹³⁴⁰ **1221** De cursu in stadio] cfr 1 Cor. 9: 24

¹³⁴¹ **1222** etiam] et *D b Cass*

¹³⁴² **1224** etiam] et *D, om. b*

¹³⁴³ **1224/1225** currunt, in] currunt. In *a b Cass*

¹³⁴⁴ **1225** fatigati deficiunt] *transp. b*

¹³⁴⁵ **1226** ad uomitum] *post canes pos. a Cass*

¹³⁴⁶ ad uomitum ut canes redeunt] cfr Prou. 26, 11 atque II Pet. 2, 22a

¹³⁴⁷ **1227** Veni] Vide *praem. Cass*

unde cuncta ędificia possis conspicere¹³⁴⁹ dampnatę ciuitatis.

+DE PRINCIPIBVS.+

- 1230 Intuere principes et iudices,
ecce posita est in eis bestię sedes.
Omni tempore ad malum sunt intenti,
semper negotiis iniquitatis inexplebiliter occupati,¹³⁵⁰
flagitia non solum faciunt,
1235 sed et alios facere instruunt.
Sancta¹³⁵¹ uendunt,
scelera¹³⁵² emunt.
Totis¹³⁵³ uiribus laborant,
ne soli ad tartara ueniant.¹³⁵⁴

1240 +DE CLERO.+

Verte te ad clerum,
et uide¹³⁵⁵ in eis bestię tentorium.¹³⁵⁶

¹³⁴⁸ huc] adhuc *D*

¹³⁴⁹ conspicere] cernere *Cass*

¹³⁵⁰ **1233** occupati] occupari *Cass*

¹³⁵¹ **1235/1236** instruunt. Sancta] instruunt, sancta *D*

¹³⁵² **1237** scelera] sancta *D*

¹³⁵³ **1237/1238** emunt. Totis] emunt, totis *D vK*

¹³⁵⁴ **1239** ueniant] descendant *b*

¹³⁵⁵ **1242** uide] uidebis *a b Cass vK*

¹³⁵⁶ tentorium] tormentum *D*

Dei seruitium negligunt,
terrenis lucris inseruiunt,
1245 sacerdotium per immunditiam polluunt,
populum per simulationem seducunt.
Deum¹³⁵⁷ per mala opera abnegant,
omnes scripturas ad salutem pertinentes¹³⁵⁸ abdicant.
Omnibus¹³⁵⁹ modis se laqueos et ruinam populo substernunt,
1250 quem cecum ipsi ceci ad interitum preeunt.^{1360 1361}

+DE MONACHIS.+

Contemplare etiam¹³⁶² monachorum conciliabula,
et uidebis in eis bestię tabernacula.¹³⁶³
Per fictam¹³⁶⁴ professionem deum iridentes iram eius prouocant,
1255 normam regularem moribus et uita calcant.
Per¹³⁶⁵ habitum seculum fallunt,
multos deceptos ipsi decepti decipiunt.

¹³⁵⁷ **1246/1247** seducunt. Deum] seducunt, deum *D Cass vK*

¹³⁵⁸ **1248** omnes scripturas ad salutem pertinentes] cfr II Tim. 3, 15-17

¹³⁵⁹ **1248/1249** abdicant. Omnibus] abdicant, omnibus *D a b Cass vK*

¹³⁶⁰ **1250** ad interitum] *post* preeunt *pos. a*

¹³⁶¹ **1249/1250** cfr Matt. 15, 12-14 atque Luc. 6, 39

¹³⁶² **1252** etiam] et *D b Cass*

¹³⁶³ **1253** tabernacula] habitacula *b*

¹³⁶⁴ **1254** Per fictam] Perf(i)ctam *scr. et hanc litteram ut uid. eras. D*

¹³⁶⁵ **1255/1256** calcant. Per] calcant, per *b Cass vK*

Sęularibus¹³⁶⁶ negotiis impliciti sunt,

in dei seruitio desides existunt.

1260 Plerique illorum gulę et illecebris dediti sunt,
quidam in¹³⁶⁷ immunditię sordibus computrescunt.¹³⁶⁸

+DE MONIALIBVS.+

Prospice¹³⁶⁹ etiam¹³⁷⁰ habitacula monialium,
et cernes in eis bestię preparatum¹³⁷¹ thalamum.^{1372 1373}

1265 Heę a tenera ętate impudicitiam discutunt,
complices sibi quamplurimos¹³⁷⁴ ad cumulum suę dampnationis asciscunt.
Velo¹³⁷⁵ se operire festinant,
quo magis frena luxurię laxare queant.

Omnibus¹³⁷⁶ fornicariis peius¹³⁷⁷ prosternuntur,

1270 et¹³⁷⁸ ut insatiabilis¹³⁷⁹ Charybdis numquam stercore immunditię replebuntur.

¹³⁶⁶ **1257/1258** decipiunt. Sęularibus] decipiunt, sęularibus *Cass vK*

¹³⁶⁷ **1261** in] *om. b*

¹³⁶⁸ computrescunt] putrescunt *D*

¹³⁶⁹ **1263** Prospice] Aspice *Cass*

¹³⁷⁰ etiam] *et D b*

¹³⁷¹ **1264** bestię preparatum] *transp. b*

¹³⁷² thalamum] thalamus *sup. l. scr. B*

¹³⁷³ thalamum] habitaculum *b*

¹³⁷⁴ **1266** quamplurimos] Plurimos *Cass*

¹³⁷⁵ **1266/1267** asciscunt. Velo] asciscunt, uelo *Cass*

¹³⁷⁶ **1268/1269** queant. Omnibus] queant, omnibus *Cass*

¹³⁷⁷ **1269** peius] peiores *D*

Heç¹³⁸⁰ animas iuuenum illaqueant,

et gaudent si plures decipiant.¹³⁸¹

Et¹³⁸² heç uult¹³⁸³ palmam uictorię,

quę aliis preualet in scelere.

1275

+DE PLEBE.+

Verte te¹³⁸⁴ ad reliquam plebem,¹³⁸⁵

et inuenies in ea bestię effigiem.¹³⁸⁶

Sacerdotes despiciunt,

de deo quicquam audire contempnunt.

1280

Totum¹³⁸⁷ tempus uite¹³⁸⁸ in uanitate et iactantia ducunt,

et ad¹³⁸⁹ omne opus¹³⁹⁰ bonum¹³⁹¹ reprobis sunt.

¹³⁷⁸ **1269/1270** prosternuntur, et] prosternuntur. Et vK

¹³⁷⁹ **1270** insatiabilis] satiabilis b

¹³⁸⁰ **1270/1271** replebuntur. Heç] replebuntur, heç vK

¹³⁸¹ **1272** decipiant] illaqueent Cass

¹³⁸² **1272/1273** decipiant. Et] decipiant, et b

¹³⁸³ **1273** uult] uolunt b

¹³⁸⁴ **1276** te] om. D Cass

¹³⁸⁵ reliquam plebem] transp. Cass

¹³⁸⁶ **1277** effigiem] ýmago sup. l. scr. B

¹³⁸⁷ **1279/1280** contempnunt. Totum] contempnunt, totum Cass vK

¹³⁸⁸ **1280** uite] suę add. b

¹³⁸⁹ **1281** ad] om. sed sup. l. rest. A

¹³⁹⁰ opus] tempus a

¹³⁹¹ bonus] om. Cass

+DE VVLGO.+

Vulgus quoque indoctum,

bestię habet ýdolum.¹³⁹²

1285 Deum uerum non norunt,

deo uentri¹³⁹³ tota intentione deseruiunt.

Per¹³⁹⁴ uaria carnis desideria diffluunt,^{1395 1396}

et per omnia uitam bestialem¹³⁹⁷ ducunt.

+DE MVLIERIBVS.+

1290 Veni huc¹³⁹⁸ ad huius uallis procliuia,

et uide monstruosa¹³⁹⁹ mulierum conuenticula.

In his¹⁴⁰⁰ bestia¹⁴⁰¹ omnes suas¹⁴⁰² pompas et monstra¹⁴⁰³ posuit,

et has sua arma¹⁴⁰⁴ ferre constituit.¹⁴⁰⁵

¹³⁹² **1284** ýdolum] *sup. l. duplicauit B*

¹³⁹³ **1286** deo uentri] *cfr Phil. 3, 19*

¹³⁹⁴ **1287** deseruiunt. Per] *deseruiunt, per D a Cass*

¹³⁹⁵ **1287** diffluunt] *defliunt b*

¹³⁹⁶ Per uaria carnis desideria diffluunt] *cfr Augustinus, Confessiones, X, xxix, 40 – ed. M. Skutella, editionem correctiorem curauerunt H. Juergens et W. Schaub, 1996, p. 238: per continentiam quippe colligimur et redigimur in unum, a quo in multa defluximus.*

¹³⁹⁷ **1288** uitam bestialem] *transp. b*

¹³⁹⁸ **1290** huc] *adhuc D*

¹³⁹⁹ **1291** monstruosa] *monstruosum b*

¹⁴⁰⁰ **1292** his] *om. b*

¹⁴⁰¹ bestia] *bestiis b*

¹⁴⁰² suas] *om. b*

¹⁴⁰³ et monstra] *post posuit pos. b*

Vides qualiter illa¹⁴⁰⁶ iuuenes¹⁴⁰⁷ per luxuriam illaqueat,
1295 illa¹⁴⁰⁸ multos ueneno enecat,¹⁴⁰⁹
hęc¹⁴¹⁰ uiri uitam pro auro prodit,
hęc partus suos occidit,¹⁴¹¹
hęc¹⁴¹² lites prouocat,
altera bella instigat,
1300 ista¹⁴¹³ maleficiis mentes hominum alienat,
hanc¹⁴¹⁴ uero¹⁴¹⁵ nullus¹⁴¹⁶ pecunia uel luxuria¹⁴¹⁷ satiat,
hęc¹⁴¹⁸ ridendo multos decipit,
illa¹⁴¹⁹ flendo plerosque seducit.

¹⁴⁰⁴ **1293** arma] *sup. l. duplicauit B*

¹⁴⁰⁵ constituit] disposuit *A a b Cass vK*

¹⁴⁰⁶ **1294** illa] ista *b*

¹⁴⁰⁷ iuuenes] iuuenes *a*

¹⁴⁰⁸ **1295** illia] ill(i) *scr. sed sup. l. corr. b*

¹⁴⁰⁹ enecat] necant *b*

¹⁴¹⁰ **1295/1296** enecat, hęc] enecat. Hęc *A D a b*

¹⁴¹¹ **1297** hęc partus suos occidit] cfr Deut. 28, 53-7

¹⁴¹² **1297/1298** occidit, hęc] occidit. Hęc *a*

¹⁴¹³ **1299/1300** instigat, ista] instigat. Ista *A D a b Cass*

¹⁴¹⁴ **1300/1301** alienat, hanc] alienat. Hanc *b*

¹⁴¹⁵ **1301** uero] *om. D*

¹⁴¹⁶ nullus] *om. sed sup. l. rest. B*

¹⁴¹⁷ uel luxuria] *post satiat pos. b*

¹⁴¹⁸ **1301/1302** satiat, hęc] satiat. Hęc *D a b*

¹⁴¹⁹ **1302/1303** decipit, illa] decipit. Illa *b*

Hęc sunt huius ciuitatis propugnacula,
 1305 et hęc sunt bestię iacula.¹⁴²⁰
 D.¹⁴²¹ O deus, quanta¹⁴²² monstra prodigiosa conspicio.
 +DE¹⁴²³ DESTRVC[T]IONE BABYLO[NIĘ] PROPVGNAC[VLI].^{1424 1425+}
 M. Męnia męchę ciuitatis uidisti,¹⁴²⁶
 destructionem quoque¹⁴²⁷ eiuslibet intueri.
 1310 Nunc ciues Babýlonii¹⁴²⁸ cum sint plures in numero,¹⁴²⁹ ciuibus Hierusalem¹⁴³⁰
 semper bellum inferunt,¹⁴³¹
 quia apud eos in exilio positi sunt.
 Postmodum uero rex çęlestis Hierusalem deus,¹⁴³² cum exercitu angelorum ueniens,
 hanc perditam¹⁴³³ ciuitatem funditus subuertet,¹⁴³⁴

¹⁴²⁰ **1305** iacula] sęua *praem. a*

¹⁴²¹ **1306** D.] *om. D*

¹⁴²² qua(nta)] *om. sed sup. l. rest. b*

¹⁴²³ **1307** De] *om. D*

¹⁴²⁴ De destruc(t)ione Babylo(nie) propugnac(uli)] *exteriore margine deleto interierunt in B*

¹⁴²⁵ propugnaculi] *om. D*

¹⁴²⁶ **1308** uidisti] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

¹⁴²⁷ **1309** quoque] *om. b*

¹⁴²⁸ **1310** Babýlonię] Babýlonii *B*

¹⁴²⁹ numero] *numero ut uid. b*

¹⁴³⁰ ciuibus Hierusalem] *transp. b*

¹⁴³¹ **1311** infer(un)t] *non legere potui in b*

¹⁴³² **1313** Hierusalem deus] *om. a b Cass*

¹⁴³³ **1314** perditam] *om. D*

1315 et electos suos inde liberans in cęleste palatium secum adducet,
 quibus tale spectaculum tunc¹⁴³⁵ prebet.¹⁴³⁶
 Hanc quam uides¹⁴³⁷ Babýloniam,
 id est huius mundi gloriam,
 cum suo principe diabolo,
 1320 et omnibus huius ciuitatis ciuibus,
 scilicet huius mundi¹⁴³⁸ amatoribus,
 repente in stagnum ignis et sulphuris¹⁴³⁹ ¹⁴⁴⁰ precipitabit,
 et tunc omnia in meliorem statum¹⁴⁴¹ electis commutabit.¹⁴⁴² ¹⁴⁴³
 D. Magnum spectaculum¹⁴⁴⁴ prebuisti tu¹⁴⁴⁵ omnibus hęc legentibus,

¹⁴³⁴ subuertet] euertet *a b Cass*

¹⁴³⁵ **1316** tunc] *ante tale pos. B*

¹⁴³⁶ prebet] *praebebit Cass*

¹⁴³⁷ **1317** quam uides] *quamuis B*

¹⁴³⁸ **1321** mundi] *post amatoribus pos. Cass*

¹⁴³⁹ **1322** in stagnum ignis et sulphuris] *Apoc. 20, 9*

¹⁴⁴⁰ **1322** stagnum ignis] *cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, Imago mundi, 37 – ed V.I.J. Flint, 1982, p. 67: Hic et stagnum ignis dicitur, quia ut lapis mari ita anime illic inmerguntur.*

¹⁴⁴¹ **1323** in meliorem statum] *cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, De neocosmo – ed. R.D. Crouse, 1970, p. 232: Et haec cuncta Filius cum Patre usque modo operatur; per quem adhuc omnis corporea creatura in meliorem statum transformatur.*

¹⁴⁴² commutabit] *immutabit D*

¹⁴⁴³ omnia in meliorem statum electis commutabit] *cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, De neocosmo, ll. 853 – 855, ed. R.D. Crouse, p. 232: Et haec cuncta Filius cum Patre usque modo operatur; per quem adhuc omnis corporea creatura in meliorem statum transformatur; cfr Eriugena, Periphyseon, V, 876B – ed. E.A. Jauneau, CC CM 165, p. 24; PL 122, 876B: Erit enim deus omnia in omnibus, quando nihil erit nisi solus deus. Nec per hoc conamur astruere substantiam rerum perituram, sed in melius per gradus praedictos redituram. Quomodo enim potest perire, quod in melius probatur redire? Mutatio itaque humanae naturae in deum non substantiae interitus aestimanda est, sed in pristinum statum, quem praeuaricando perdidit, mirabilis atque ineffabilis reuersio.*

¹⁴⁴⁴ **1324** Magnum spectaculum] *lemma De spectaculo in marg. praem. D*

1325 ideo illi spectaculo te interesse concedat deus.

/EPYLOGVS DE IVSTIS./¹⁴⁴⁶

M. Summam huius¹⁴⁴⁷ libelli hic totam,¹⁴⁴⁸

sic concludam.

Nullus igitur locum glorię intrabit,

1330 nisi quem diuina prouidentia ad hunc ab initio predestinauit.

Et¹⁴⁴⁹ nullus predestinationem secundum merita

quę infantibus nulla sunt obtinebit,

sed eam secundum gratuitam dei gratiam possidebit.

In multis uero mansionibus eos locabit,¹⁴⁵⁰

1335 hoc est diuersa gaudia¹⁴⁵¹ eis dabit,

infantibus¹⁴⁵² quidem¹⁴⁵³ et in extremis penitentibus, secundum solam gratiam,

aliis uero secundum¹⁴⁵⁴ etiam¹⁴⁵⁵ diuersa merita¹⁴⁵⁶ et uarios labores, ut martyribus,

¹⁴⁴⁵ tu] *om. a b Cass*

¹⁴⁴⁶ **1326** Epylogus de iustis] De conclusione libelli *D*

¹⁴⁴⁷ **1327** huius] hius *b*

¹⁴⁴⁸ totam] totum *Cass*

¹⁴⁴⁹ **1330/1331** predestinauit. Et] predestinauit, et *a b vK*

¹⁴⁵⁰ **1334** cfr Ioh. 14, 2

¹⁴⁵¹ **1335** gaudia] *om. b*

¹⁴⁵² **1335/1336** dabit, infantibus] dabit. Infantibus *a b vK*

¹⁴⁵³ **1336** infantibus quidem] *transp. sed rectam ordinem sup. l. litteris minusculis indicauit A*

¹⁴⁵⁴ **1337** secundum] et *praem. Cass*

¹⁴⁵⁵ etiam] *om. D Cass, et b*

et omnibus in¹⁴⁵⁷ mandatis domini¹⁴⁵⁸ pro hac¹⁴⁵⁹ spe in finem¹⁴⁶⁰ certantibus.

/DE REPROBIS./

1340 Nullus quoque in loco contumelię suppliciorum particeps erit,¹⁴⁶¹
nisi quem diuina prescientia ad hunc futurum presciuit.
Qui autem ibi dimergentur,
magis secundum occulta et incomprehensibilia dei iudicia,
quam secundum merita quę infantibus nulla sunt, retrudentur.

1345 Tamen quia per liberum arbitrium malum eligentes hoc toto corde
usque in finem operando dilexerunt,
pro diuersis meritis¹⁴⁶² diuersas penas hereditabunt.

+NOMEN LIBELLI.+¹⁴⁶³

Et¹⁴⁶⁴ quia hec omnia non ita¹⁴⁶⁵ euenire est¹⁴⁶⁶ impossibile,¹⁴⁶⁷

1350 nomen huic libello indatur INEVITABILE.¹⁴⁶⁸

¹⁴⁵⁶ merita] ministeria *D*

¹⁴⁵⁷ **1338** in] *om. B b*

¹⁴⁵⁸ domini] dei *b*

¹⁴⁵⁹ hac] hae *A*

¹⁴⁶⁰ finem] fine *a*

¹⁴⁶¹ **1340** erit] existit *D*

¹⁴⁶² **1347** meritis] ministeriis *D*

¹⁴⁶³ **1348** libelli] ultimi *praem. D*

¹⁴⁶⁴ **1347/1349** hereditabunt. Et] hereditabunt, et *D a b*

¹⁴⁶⁵ **1349** ita] *om. D*

¹⁴⁶⁶ euenire est] *transp. b*

¹⁴⁶⁷ est impossibile] *transp. D*

Hęc de predestinatione et libero arbitrio¹⁴⁶⁹ defer filiis ecclesię,
quia ea¹⁴⁷⁰ scio despicient ciues Babýlonię.

Sed quicumque hęc contempserit,¹⁴⁷¹

uel etiam¹⁴⁷² impugnauerit,¹⁴⁷³

1355 se de numero predestinatorum non esse demonstrabit.¹⁴⁷⁴

Qui uero post hęc questionem de libero arbitrio mouerit,

çęcus¹⁴⁷⁵ clara die in montem¹⁴⁷⁶ offendit.¹⁴⁷⁷

/DE LIBELLI SCRIPTORE./¹⁴⁷⁸

D. Benedictus deus qui hęc¹⁴⁷⁹ inspirauit¹⁴⁸⁰ fratribus,¹⁴⁸¹ ut uellent me ad te dirigere,

1360 quatenus hęc mira¹⁴⁸² mererer a tuo mellifluo ore percipere.

¹⁴⁶⁸ **1350** nomen – Ineuitabile] *lemma* Nomen ultimi libelli *in marg. praem. D*

¹⁴⁶⁹ **1351** libero arbitrio] *de praem. b*

¹⁴⁷⁰ **1352** ea] *ego D*

¹⁴⁷¹ **1353** Sed – contempserit] *lemma* De libelli scriptura *in marg. praem. D*

¹⁴⁷² **1354** etiam] *et D, om. b*

¹⁴⁷³ impugnauerit] *pugnauerit b*

¹⁴⁷⁴ **1355** demonstrabit] *monstrabit Cass*

¹⁴⁷⁵ **1357** çęcus] *ante offendit pos. a b, om. Cass*

¹⁴⁷⁶ montem] *monte a*

¹⁴⁷⁷ offendit] *offendet D*

¹⁴⁷⁸ **1353** De libelli scriptore] *gratiarum actiones deo add. D*

¹⁴⁷⁹ **1359** hęc] *hoc D, ante inspirauit pos. Cass vK*

¹⁴⁸⁰ inspirauit] *scribere nulla auctoritate ut uid. add. vK*

¹⁴⁸¹ inspirauit fratribus] *transp. a b Cass vK*

¹⁴⁸² **1360** mira] *mara ut uid. scr. sed exp. D*

Et¹⁴⁸³ reuera noueris quod greges¹⁴⁸⁴ reproborum pro hoc uenerando opere
magno¹⁴⁸⁵ odio te abhominabuntur,¹⁴⁸⁶

et maxime ob hoc¹⁴⁸⁷ quod eos per liberum arbitrium seruos uitiorum immo demonum
probaueris detestabuntur.¹⁴⁸⁸

- 1365 Magnas autem grates¹⁴⁸⁹ tibi¹⁴⁹⁰ persoluet, gloriosus cētus predestinatorum,
quod tam mirabile opus prompsisti in laudem¹⁴⁹¹ ipsorum,¹⁴⁹²
et¹⁴⁹³ quia sicut¹⁴⁹⁴ te dicere audiui, hoc quoque a deo est¹⁴⁹⁵ predestinatum,
ut quicquid electi iuste petierint, eis tribuatur,
magnis precibus¹⁴⁹⁶ clementiam dei¹⁴⁹⁷ exorant,¹⁴⁹⁸
- 1370 ut te ultima dies in consortio illorum inueniat.

¹⁴⁸³ **1360/1361** percipere. Et] percipere, et *a vK*

¹⁴⁸⁴ greges] gentes *A a b Cass vK*

¹⁴⁸⁵ **1361** magno] magn(a) *a.c. ut uid. in A*

¹⁴⁸⁶ **1362** abhominabuntur] abhominantur *D*

¹⁴⁸⁷ **1363** ob hoc] *om. D*

¹⁴⁸⁸ **1364** detestabuntur] detestantur *D*

¹⁴⁸⁹ **1365** Magnas autem grates] *lemma GRATES magistro in marg. praem. D*

¹⁴⁹⁰ grates tibi] *transp. b*

¹⁴⁹¹ **1366** laudem] dei *praem. D*

¹⁴⁹² ipsorum] eorum *A a b Cass vK, om. D*

¹⁴⁹³ **1367** et] *om. D*

¹⁴⁹⁴ sicut] sic *a*

¹⁴⁹⁵ est] *ante a deo pos. D*

¹⁴⁹⁶ **1369** precibus] operibus *b*

¹⁴⁹⁷ clementiam dei] *transp. D*

¹⁴⁹⁸ exorant] exorat *b*

M. AMEN.¹⁴⁹⁹ 1500

¹⁴⁹⁹ **1371** M. AMEN] *om. a b Cass*

¹⁵⁰⁰ *expl.* Explicit Inevitabile. A, HONORII DE PRAEDESTINATIONE Et libero arbitrio, finis. Cass, Explicit inevitabile vK

Honorii Augustodunensis Inevitabile

Recensio altera

INEVITABILE.¹

LEGATIO FRATRVM AD HONORIVM.²

[PL 1197B] Fratres^{3 4 5} in⁶ domo dei cum consensu⁷ ambulantes,⁸
sunt pro tua salute orationi instantes.⁹

5

ALLOCVTIO LEGATI.^{10 11}

Diligentię¹² quidem tuę orationes,¹³
clauī autem Dauid¹⁴ Christo gratiarum soluunt actiones,
qui ob genitricis suę merita,
tot eis in canticis de ea per te reserauit mysteria.

¹ *Titulus*: Ineuitabile in marg. A, INEVITABILE in marg. B, Legatio frūm ad Honorium in ineuitabile in marg C, Legatio frūm ad honorium ī ineuitabile D, De libero ARBITRIO E, Excerpta libelli qⁱ uocat^r ineuitabile. editi a Iohannio ge e & nōie īcognito F, Incipit tractatus de predestinatione Libero arbitrio et grēa dei G, Ineuitabile siue de predestinatione & libero Arbitrio inter Magistrum & Discipulum DIALOGUS Con.

² Legatio fratrum ad Honorium] om. G Con, in ineuitabile add. C D

³ 1/42 Fratres usq. cum lumine ueritatis] om. F

⁴ 1/157 Fratres usq. ęstimatur] om. E

⁵ Fratres] Discipulus. praem. Con.

⁶ 3 Fratres in] Fratres. In B

⁷ 3 Ps. 54, 14-15

⁸ ambulantes] ante cum pos. G Con.

⁹ 4 Rom. 12, 12

¹⁰ 5 Allocutio legati] om. A G

¹¹ (l)egati] om. sed sup. l. rest. C

¹² 4/6 instantes. Diligentię] instanter, diligentiae G Con

¹³ 6 orationes] orationis D

¹⁴ 7 Clauī – Dauid] cfr *Breuiarium Romanum*, sc. *Antiphona ad Magnificat in feria quarta ante Vigiliam Natiuitatis Domini, quae ex his fontibus composita est*: Isa. 22, 22; Apoc. 3, 7; Isa. 42, 7; cfr. Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarium*, II, 33i – ed. Y. Lefèvre, 1954, p. 419; idem, *Sigillum beati Mariae*, Responso Magistri – PL 172, 496D; idem, *Gemma Animae*, III, 5 – ibid., 644B; idem, *Sacramentarium*, LXV – ibid., 779D.

- 10 Ob hanc causam, et ob alia quę multis¹⁵ incognita elucidans in laudem¹⁶ eius addidisti,¹⁷
ipsam sacrosanctam uirginem, et omnes ipsius cultores tibi debitores fecisti.
Illorum ego¹⁸ nunc fungor legatione,¹⁹
et ipsi summa deprecantur deuotione,
ut soluas eis nodum liberi arbitrii inextricabilem,²⁰
- 15 quem²¹ tua disputatio ut eis uideatur magis fecit insolubilem.
Si enim²² soli predestinati ut quidam aiunt quicquid²³ etiam fecerint²⁴ saluantur,
liberum arbitrium penitus tolli estimatur,
et hii²⁵ qui dampnantur,
non iam²⁶ sine culpa, sed etiam iniuste puniri²⁷ putantur.
- 20 [PL 1197C] Vnde rogo te de hac re latius disserere,
nec minimum scrupulum alicui hebeti uel cęco ultra relinquere.

¹⁵ **10** quę multis] *transp. D*

¹⁶ laudem] *laude B*

¹⁷ **10/11** addidisti – tibi *om. G Con*

¹⁸ **12** ego] *ergo B G Con*

¹⁹ **12** fungor legatione] *cfr II Cor 5, 20*

²⁰ **14** inextricabilem] *inextricabile G*

²¹ **15** quem – insolubilem] *om. G Con*

²² **16** enim] *sunt Con, om. G*

²³ quicquid] *quidquid Con*

²⁴ fecerint] *fecerunt G*

²⁵ **18** hii] *post dampnantur pos. sed sup. l. signo mendum indicauit G*

²⁶ **19** iam] *solum praem. G Con*

²⁷ puniri] *om. sed sup. l. rest. C*

M. Cum^{28 29} summi doctores de hac materia,
multa ediderint³⁰ opuscula,
quid a me amplius poscitis,³¹

25 qui ad comparationem illorum sum elinguis?

D. Illi quidem egregie disputauerunt,
sed diuersa ut nobis uidetur sentientes^{32 33} incertiores nos reddiderunt.
Tu autem³⁴ ut uerum fatear facis nobis breuiter quodammodo palpabile,
quod ipsi longis tractatibus non fecerunt saltem³⁵ conspicabile.

30 M. Quod petitis³⁶ non denego,
quia non mea, sed quae sunt caritatis³⁷ quero.

Faleras³⁸ uerborum contempno,
dum fratrum simplicitati consulo.

Liuidos³⁹ [PL 1198B] quoque dentes inuidorum despicio,⁴⁰

²⁸ 22 M. Cum summi doctores] Responso *in marg. praem. A*

²⁹ Cum] Dum *D*

³⁰ 23 ediderint] ediderunt *G Con*

³¹ 24 amplius poscitis] *transp. B*

³² diuersa – sentientes] cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, *De neocosmo*, Prologus – ed. R.D. Crouse, 1970, p. 175; PL 172, 253B: . . . diuersa sentientes, obscuriora simplicibus reddiderunt . . . ; Idem, *Cognitio uitae*, I – PL 40, 1006: Quamobrem cum de hac praeclaramateria plurimi sanctorum Patrum multa gloriosa conscripserint, ipsamque rem simplicioribus obscuriorem quodam modo reddiderint . . .

³³ 27 cfr II Tim. 2, 26 In modestia corripientem diuersa sentientes *Vetus Latina*

³⁴ 28 autem] ipsi *add. A*

³⁵ 29 saltem] saltim *D*

³⁶ 30 petitis] petis *G Con*

³⁷ 31 cfr I Cor. 13, 5

³⁸ 32 Faleras] Phaleras *G Con*

35 quia *auxilium meum a domino*.^{41 42}

INCIPIT INEVITABILE.⁴³

D. Quęso ut me uelut⁴⁴ insipientem sufferas,⁴⁵

et ignorantiam per me sciscitantium uerbo ueritatis corrigas.

M. Veritas⁴⁶ se quęrentes⁴⁷ de tenebris erroris liberabit,

40 et luce suę claritatis illustrabit.

Si enim insipientem⁴⁸ te facis⁴⁹ causa caritatis,

occurrer tibi sapientia cum lumine ueritatis.

D. Tres nodi⁵⁰ nimis perplexo⁵¹ nexu⁵² se inuicem complicant,

³⁹ **33/34** consulo. Liuidos] consulo, liuidos *D G Con*

⁴⁰ **34** Liuidos quoque dentes inuidorum despicio] cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, *Clauis physicae*, 1 – ed. P. Lucentini, *Temi e Testi* 21, p. 3: . . . contempnens liuidos dentes inuidorum; Idem, *Cognitio uitae*, I – PL 40, 1005: . . . iterum committo me corrodendum dentibus inuidorum.

⁴¹ **35** Ps. 120, 2

⁴² **34** Liuidos quoque – a domino] cfr Ps. Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Breuiarium in Psalmos*, CXXV – PL 26, 1211C: . . . eleuemus mentis oculos ad auxiliatorem Deum, ut eruat nos a saeuis dentibus inuidorum; *uide etiam* Idem, *Prologus septem epistolarum canonicarum* – PL 29, 832A

⁴³ **36** Incipit ineuitabile] Incipit tractatus de ineuitabili questione *D, om. G Con*

⁴⁴ **37** uelut] uere *Con*

⁴⁵ **37** me uelut insipientem sufferas] cfr II Cor. 11, 19 Libenter enim suffertis insipientes . . . *Vulg.*

⁴⁶ **39/40** Veritas–illustrabit] cfr Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, V, 940D-942A – ed. E.A. Jeauneau, CC CM 165, p. 113-4; PL 122, 940D: Veritas quaerentibus se pie ac deuote amat occurrere seque ipsam aperire, et quae mentes eorum fugiunt prodere.

⁴⁷ **39** quęrentes] sequentes *A B*

⁴⁸ **41** insipientem] insipiente *Con*

⁴⁹ facis] facit *Con*

⁵⁰ **43** nodi] modi *G*

⁵¹ perplexo] perplexi *F*

⁵² nexu] *post nodi pos. Con*

quos uix aliquis transit,⁵³ quin eis inhereat.

45 Vnus quo asseritur,

quod soli predestinati saluentur,⁵⁴

alter⁵⁵ quo astruitur,

quod per solam gratiam homines [PL 1198C] salutem consequantur,⁵⁶

tertius⁵⁷ quo dicitur,

50 quod solum liberum arbitrium salutem operetur.

Imprimis⁵⁸ itaque nodum seca⁵⁹ predestinationis,

qui quadam uiolentia cardinem obligat totius quæstionis.

Putant enim quidam quod predestinatio ad solos electos^{60 61} pertineat,

cum Apostolus dicat:⁶²

55 *Quos autem predestinauit, hos et uocauit, iustificauit, magnificauit.*⁶³

Vnde primitus⁶⁴ postulo,⁶⁵

⁵³ 44 transit] qui *praem.* G

⁵⁴ 46 saluentur] saluantur *Con*

⁵⁵ 46/47 saluentur, alter] saluentur. Alter *C G Con*

⁵⁶ 48 consequantur] consequuntur *G*

⁵⁷ 48/49 consequantur, tertius] consequantur. Tertius *F G Con*

⁵⁸ 51/52 Imprimis – quæstionis] *om.* *F*

⁵⁹ 51 nodum seca] *transp.* *G Con*

⁶⁰ 53 electos] sanctos *F*

⁶¹ solos electos] *transp.* *Con*

⁶² 54 Apostolus dicat] *transp.* *F*

⁶³ 55 cfr Rom. 8, 30

ut dicas quid sit predestinatio?

DE PREDESTINATIONE.

M.⁶⁶ Nichil⁶⁷ aliud est predestinatio,

60 quam pro meritis cuiusque, uel ad gloriam, uel ad p̄nam, ęterna⁶⁸ dei preparatio.^{69 70}

[PL 1199A] Est autem gemina predestinatio,⁷¹

una bonorum ad gloriam,

altera⁷² malorum ad p̄nam.⁷³

Sed⁷⁴ quia quidam etiam de prouidentia⁷⁵ et prescientia musitant,⁷⁶

⁶⁴ 56/57 primitus postulo, ut dicas] ut sentiamus cum Apostolo, sciendum est nobis *F*

⁶⁵ 56 postulo] obsecro *Migne, om. G*

⁶⁶ 59 M.] *om. F*

⁶⁷ Nichil] Sed *praem. F, predestinatio in marg. a.m. scr. F*

⁶⁸ 60 ęterna] ęternam *G*

⁶⁹ 59/60 Nichil aliud – preparatio] cfr Fulgentius Ruspensis, *Ad Monimum libri III*, I, xx, 2 – ed. J. Fraipont, CC SL 91, p. 20; PL 85, 168B (= Burchardus Wormaciensis, *Decretum*, XX, 28 – PL 140, 1026B): Neque enim est alia eius praedestinatio, nisi futurorum operum eius aeterna praeparatio; *uide etiam* Honorius Augustodunensis, *De libero arbitrio* – PL 172, 1228B: Praedestinatio Dei non est alia, nisi futurorum operum eius aeterna praeparatio).

⁷⁰ 60 cfr Rom 9, 23 . . . ut ostenderet diuitias gloriae suae in uasa misericordiae quae praeparauit in gloriam

⁷¹ 61 Est autem gemina predestination] cfr Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, II, vi, 1 – ed. P. Cazier, CC SL 111, p. 103; PL 83, 606A (=Honorius, *De libero arbitrio* – PL 172, 1227D): Gemina est praedestinatio siue electorum ad requiem, siue reproborum ad mortem.

⁷² 63 altera] alia *D*

⁷³ 62/63 una bonorum – ad p̄nam] cfr Fulgentius Ruspensis, *Ad Monimum libri III*, I, xiii – ed. J. Fraipont, CC SL 91, p. 13; PL 85, 162B (= Burchardus Wormaciensis, *Decretum*, XX.31 – PL 140 PL 1026D – 1227A): Proinde potuit, sicut uoluit, praedestinare quosdam ad gloriam, quosdam ad poenam; *uide etiam* Honorius Augustodunensis, *De libero arbitrio* – PL 172 PL 1228B – C): Proinde potuit, sicut uoluit, praedestinare quosdam ad gloriam, quosdam ad poenam.

⁷⁴ 64/65 Sed qui – necessitatem hominibus inferant] cfr Fulgentius Ruspensis, *Ad Monimum libri tres*, I, vii, 1 – ed. J. Fraipont, CC SL 91, p. 7; PL 85, 157B (= Burchardus Wormaciensis, *Decretum*, XX, 30 – PL 140, 1026D): Praedestinationis enim nomine non aliqua uoluntatis humanae coacticia necessitas exprimitur sed misericors et iusta futuri operis diuini sempiterna dispositio praedicatur; *uide etiam* Honorius Augustodunensis, *De libero arbitrio* – PL 172, 1228C): Praedestinationis nomine non aliqua uoluntatis humanae coactiua necessitas exprimitur.

- 65 quasi hec⁷⁷ necessitatem hominibus⁷⁸ inferant,
 sciendum⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ est quod nec prouidentia aliquem compellit ad boni studium,
 nec predestinatio ullum trahit⁸¹ necessitate⁸² ad uitę premium,
 similiter⁸³ prescientia neminem cogit ad peccatum,
 et predestinatio nullum impellit necessitate ad supplicium.
- 70 Porro⁸⁴ qui prouisi⁸⁵ sunt in bonis permansuri,
 ad gloriam⁸⁶ sunt predestinati,
 qui⁸⁷ uero presciti⁸⁸ sunt⁸⁹ in malo uitam finituri,

⁷⁵ 64 proui(de)ntia] *om. sed sup. l. rest. D*

⁷⁶ musitant] mussitant *F Con*

⁷⁷ 65 hec] heę *F, hae Con*

⁷⁸ hominibus] omnibus *G Con*

⁷⁹ 65/66 inferant, sciendum] inferant. Sciendum *G*

⁸⁰ 66/69 sciendum est – ad supplicium] Ratramnus Corbeiensis, *De praedestinatione dei*, II – PL 121, 54D (= Burchardus Wormaciensis, *Decretum*, XX, 36 – PL 140, 1028C): Sicut enim praescientia eius neminem compellit ad peccatum, cum utique praescierit singulorum ante saecula aeterna peccata, ita quoque et praedestinatio ejus neminem compellit ad poenam; *uide etiam* Honorius Augustodunensis, *De libero arbitrio* PL 172, 1228B): Sicut enim praescientia neminem compellit ad peccatum (cum utique singulorum praescierit ante saecula aeterna peccata) ita quoque et praedestinatio eius neminem compellit ad poenam.

⁸¹ 67 trahit] uiolenter *praem. Con*

⁸² necessitate] *om. G Con*

⁸³ 67/68 premium, similiter] premium. Similiter *F G Con*

⁸⁴ 70/73 Porro – preordinati] cfr Ratramnus Corbeiensis, *De praedestinatione dei*, II – PL 121 PL 55C (= Burchardus Wormaciensis, *Decretum*, XX, 37 – PL 140, 1028C): ex eo enim quod praescitus est in peccatis permansurus, et sine poenitentiae fructu uitam praesentem terminaturus, ex eo deputatus est ad poenam; *uide etiam* Honorius Augustodunensis, *De libero arbitrio* – PL 172, 1228B): Ex eo autem quod praescitus est in peccatis permansurus, etiam ex eo deputatus est ad poenam.

⁸⁵ 70 prouisi] praeuisi *G Con*

⁸⁶ 71 ad gloriam] ad gloriam permansuri, et *praem. F*

⁸⁷ 71/72 predestinati, qui] predestinati. Qui *G*

ad p̄nam utique sunt⁹⁰ preordinati.

Ergo quos deus presciuit, in filium suum⁹¹ credituros,

75 [PL 1199B] et mandata eius uoluntarie seruatuos,

hos⁹² ante s̄cula ad uitam⁹³ predestinauit,

hos suo tempore ad fidem uocauit,

hos per⁹⁴ baptisma iustificauit,

hos uirtutibus magnificauit,

80 hos *uasa*⁹⁵ *misericiđię*⁹⁶ glorificauit.

Quos autem hęc⁹⁷ minime facturos⁹⁸ presciuit,

hos a regno glorię reprobauit,

et *uasa irę* contumelię⁹⁹ *apta* ad p̄nam destinauit.¹⁰⁰

⁸⁸ 72 presciti] *post* in malo *pos. F*

⁸⁹ sunt] *om. G Con*

⁹⁰ 73 utique sunt] *transp. F G Con*

⁹¹ 74 filium suum] filio suo *scr. sed ut uid. sup. l. corr. B*

⁹² 74/80 cfr Rom. 8, 30

⁹³ 76 ad uitam] *om. G Con*

⁹⁴ 78 per] *post F*

⁹⁵ 80 uasa] *ut praem. G*

⁹⁶ 80/83 cfr 9, 21-3.

⁹⁷ 81 hęc] *om. G Con*

⁹⁸ facturos] *esse add. F*

⁹⁹ 83 contumelię] *et praem. G Con*

¹⁰⁰ destinauit] *praedestinauit Con*

DE ELECTIS.¹⁰¹

- 85 D. Cum^{102 103} scriptum sit: *Pater*¹⁰⁴ *dilexisti eos ante constitutionem mundi*,¹⁰⁵
uidentur^{106 107} necessitate saluari,
qui ante mundi exordium a deo¹⁰⁸ sunt dilecti.
M.¹⁰⁹ Deo nichil^{110 111} est¹¹² futurum, sed omnia sunt ei¹¹³ presentia,
qui¹¹⁴ iam fecit quae futura sunt.
- 90 Omnes ergo iusti¹¹⁵ futuri, semper in presentia dei¹¹⁶ fuerunt,
et ideo ante mundi constitutionem sunt dilecti,
sed suo tempore pro meritis ad gloriam electi.

¹⁰¹ **84** De electis] De electione *AB*

¹⁰² **85** Cum scriptum sit] Sed obicere solent quod in euangelio scriptum est *F*

¹⁰³ Cum] Dum *D*

¹⁰⁴ **85** Pater – mundi] Ioh. 17, 23b-24 . . . dilexisti eos sicut et me dilexisti. Pater quos dedisti mihi uolo ut ubi ego sum et illi sint mecum, ut uideant claritatem meam quam dedisti mihi, quia dilexisti me ante constitutionem mundi. *Vulg.*

¹⁰⁵ constitutionem mundi] *transp. G Con*

¹⁰⁶ **85/86** mundi, uidentur] mundi. Videntur *F*

¹⁰⁷ Videntur] hii *add. F*

¹⁰⁸ **87** a deo] *om. G Con*

¹⁰⁹ **88** M.] Ad hæc respondendum est *F*

¹¹⁰ M. Deo nichil] *lemma* Quid electio in *marg. praem. A*

¹¹¹ Deo nichil] *transp. F*

¹¹² est] *post futurum pos. F*

¹¹³ ei] *om. G*

¹¹⁴ **89** qui iam fecit quae futura sunt] quae iam sunt, & quae futura sunt *Con*

¹¹⁵ **90** iusti] *om. G Con*

¹¹⁶ presentia dei] *transp. Con*

[PL 1199C] Quos ergo deus ante mundi constitutionem predestinando elegit,
hos non necessitas, sed proprium meritum ad gloriam trahit,¹¹⁷

95 quibus¹¹⁸ ipse in fine mundi dicturus erit:

*Venite,*¹¹⁹ *benedicti Patris mei, possidete*¹²⁰ *regnum*¹²¹ *ab initio*¹²² *uobis preparatum.*

Et quod hoc regnum pro meritis eis¹²³ detur,

diuina uox ostendit, quæ mox eorum bona opera¹²⁴ replicando exsequitur.¹²⁵

D. Remoto¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ repagulo¹²⁸ predestinationis,

100 eia iam ingredi siluam expectatę disputationis,

et¹²⁹ quid sit¹³⁰ liberum arbitrium,

uel¹³¹ quomodo ei non repugnet predestinatio uel [PL 1199D] prescientia,

¹¹⁷ **94** trahit] trahit *G Con*

¹¹⁸ **94/95** trahit, quibus] trahit. Quibus *G Con*

¹¹⁹ **96** Venite – preparatum] Matth. 25, 34b uenite benedicti Patris mei, possidete paratum uobis regnum a constitutione mundi. *Vulg.*

¹²⁰ **96** possidete] percipite *G Con*

¹²¹ Patris mei, possidete regnum] ·p·m·p·r· *D*

¹²² ab initio uobis preparatum] quod uobis paratum est ab origine mundi *G Con*

¹²³ **97** eis] *post regnum pos. G*

¹²⁴ **98** opera] *om. G Con*

¹²⁵ exsequitur] dicens, Hospes sui, & collegistis me. Esuriui, & cetera *add. F*

¹²⁶ **99/107** D. Remoto – arbitreris] *om. F*

¹²⁷ **99** Remoto] Semoto *B*

¹²⁸ repagulo] ergo *praem. G Con*

¹²⁹ **101** et] ut *Con*

¹³⁰ sit] *om. sed in marg. rest. B*

¹³¹ **102** uel] et *G Con*

uel¹³² qualiter concordet gratiē resera,
et queque¹³³ hinc ýdreę¹³⁴ 135 capita surgentia ense rationis reseca.

105

DE LIBERO ARBITRIO.

M. Dic¹³⁶ tu michi imprimis,¹³⁷
quid¹³⁸ liberum arbitrium arbitreris?¹³⁹

D. Michi uidetur liberum arbitrium dici,¹⁴⁰
libertas¹⁴¹ bonum uel malum eligendi.

110

M. Hęc diffinitio licet plerisque placeat,
uereor ne perspicax ratio¹⁴² eam abnuat.¹⁴³

Electio namque non nisi de duabus uel pluribus [PL 1200A] rebus dicitur,
ubi optio¹⁴⁴ eligendi de multis proponitur.

¹³² **103** uel] et *G Con*

¹³³ **104** queque] quaecumque *G Con*

¹³⁴ ýdreę] inde *G Con*

¹³⁵ cfr Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*, IV, prosa 6, 3 – ed. C. Moreschini, editio altera, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, p. 121: Talis namque materia est, ut una dubitatione succisa innumerabiles aliae uelut hydrae capita succrescant

¹³⁶ **106/108** Dic tu – arbitrium dici] *om. F*

¹³⁷ **106** imprimis] *om. G Con*

¹³⁸ **107** quid] sit *add. Con*

¹³⁹ arbitreris] et quid *praem. Migne*

¹⁴⁰ **108** D. Michi uidetur liberum arbitrium dici] Secundum quosdam liberum arbitrium est *scr. atque lemma* Quid sit, uel quid operetur, liberum arbitrium, propter iusticiam homini datum *praem. F*

¹⁴¹ **109/179** libertas *usq. assit*] *post incauta declinatur pos. F (uide lineam 253 infra)*

¹⁴² **111** perspicax ratio] cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, *Libellus VIII quaestionum de angelis et homine*, I – PL 172, 1185B: Euidens scripturae auctoritas clamat, et perspicax ratio probat . . . ; idem, *Clauis physicae*, 1 – ed. P. Lucentini, p. 3: . . . per ea que diuina gratia illuminante perspicaci ratione . . .

¹⁴³ uereor – abnuat] perspicaciter considerata rationi contraria est *F*

Angelo¹⁴⁵ autem uel homini quibus solis datum est liberum arbitrium non nisi sola iustitia
115 proponeretur,
qua seruata eterna beatitudine frueretur.¹⁴⁶
Igitur hæc¹⁴⁷ diffinitio
non uidetur conueniens libero arbitrio.
D. Quid¹⁴⁸ si dicatur quod mors¹⁴⁹ et uita homini a deo¹⁵⁰ proposita sit,¹⁵¹
120 et ipse¹⁵² mortem elegerit?
M. Non¹⁵³ est hoc^{154 155} uerum,
non¹⁵⁶ enim mortem elegit,¹⁵⁷
sed deceptus maiorem¹⁵⁸ scientiam concupiuit.

¹⁴⁴ **113** optio] optatio *G*

¹⁴⁵ **114** Angelo] Angelis *F*

¹⁴⁶ **116** frueretur] fruerentur *G Con*

¹⁴⁷ **117** hæc] *om. Migne*

¹⁴⁸ **119** D. Quid si dicatur] Sed si quis dicit *F*

¹⁴⁹ **119** mors et uita homini a deo proposita sunt] cfr Deut. 30, 15 . . . considera quod hodie proposuerim in conspectu tuo uitam et bonum et e contrario mortem et malum; atque Sir. 15, 18 . . . ante hominem uita et mors bonum et malum . . .

¹⁵⁰ **118** a deo] *om. G Con*

¹⁵¹ sit] sint *G Con*

¹⁵² **120** ipse] homo *F*

¹⁵³ **120/121** elegerit? M. Non] elegerit, non *F*

¹⁵⁴ **121** est hoc] *transp. G*

¹⁵⁵ hoc] *om. F*

¹⁵⁶ **121/122** uerum, non] uerum. Non *D F*

¹⁵⁷ **122** elegit] uoluit *F*

¹⁵⁸ **123** maiorem] altiore *Con*

D. Quid si quis¹⁵⁹ dicat,^{160 161}
125 quod bonum a deo proponatur,
malum autem a diabolo suadeatur,
in¹⁶² arbitrio¹⁶³ autem¹⁶⁴ hominis sit,
quid eligere¹⁶⁵ uelit?
[PL 1200B] M. De homine¹⁶⁶ hoc utcumque¹⁶⁷ dici potest,^{168 169}
130 de angelo autem¹⁷⁰ non potest,
cum nemo fuerit,
qui aliquid¹⁷¹ malum¹⁷² ei¹⁷³ persuaserit.¹⁷⁴

¹⁵⁹ **124** D. Quid si quis] Iterum si aliquis *F*

¹⁶⁰ quis dicat] dicatur *G Con*

¹⁶¹ dicat] dicit *F*

¹⁶² **127** in] et *praem. Con*

¹⁶³ arbitrio] libero *praem. G Con*

¹⁶⁴ autem] *om. G Con*

¹⁶⁵ **128** quid eligere] *transp. F*

¹⁶⁶ **128/129** uelit? M. De homine] uelit, de homine *F*

¹⁶⁷ **129** ut cumque] utrumque *G Con*

¹⁶⁸ dici potest] *transp. F*

¹⁶⁹ potest] *om. G Con*

¹⁷⁰ **130** autem] *om. G Con*

¹⁷¹ **132** aliquid] aliquod *F*

¹⁷² malum] mali *G Con*

¹⁷³ ei] *om. G, ante aliquid pos. Con*

¹⁷⁴ persuaserit] persuaderet *F*

Porro¹⁷⁵ inter bonum et malum,

nichil est medium.

135 Si¹⁷⁶ homo in aliquo medio constitutus uideretur,

tunc recte fortassis^{177 178} libertas¹⁷⁹ bonum uel¹⁸⁰ malum eligendi ei¹⁸¹ inesse diceretur.

Sed cum in bono tantum sit positus,¹⁸²

ut¹⁸³ puta¹⁸⁴ a bono deo¹⁸⁵ conditus,

non est aliud¹⁸⁶ mali electio,

140 quam quædam animi in bono defectio,

cum uidelicet iustitiam deserit,¹⁸⁷

quam seruare debuit,

et ad iniustitiam¹⁸⁸ declinat,

¹⁷⁵ **132/133** persuaserit. Porro] persuaserit, porro *G*

¹⁷⁶ **135** Si] Sed *praem. G Con*

¹⁷⁷ **136** recte fortassis] *transp. G Con*

¹⁷⁸ fortassis] fortasse *F*

¹⁷⁹ libertas] *post recte pos. F*

¹⁸⁰ uel] et *F*

¹⁸¹ ei] *om. G*

¹⁸² **137** positus] constitutus *G Con*

¹⁸³ **138/139** ut puta – non est] et nichil sit *G*, et nichil *Con*

¹⁸⁴ ut puta] utpote *F*

¹⁸⁵ **138** bono deo] *transp. A B*

¹⁸⁶ **139** aliud] sit *add. Con*

¹⁸⁷ **141** iustitiam deserit] *transp. G Con*

¹⁸⁸ **143** (in)iustitiam] *om. sed sup. l. rest. F*

quam deuitandam non ignorat.

145

DE ARBITRIO.

D. Sed quę¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ sit eius diffinitio,

magnopere a te audire¹⁹¹ exspecto.

M.¹⁹² Arbitrium itaque est¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ proprię uoluntatis iudicium,

quid uelis,¹⁹⁵

150 quidue¹⁹⁶ nolis.¹⁹⁷

Hoc liberum dicitur,

[PL 1200C] quia non est necessarium,

sed quibus inest ratio,

inest etiam uolendi nolendique libertas.

155 Et quia liberum arbitrium pro sola iustitia seruanda in qua salus anime consistit

datur,

eius diffinitio sic¹⁹⁸ congrua ęstimatur:

¹⁸⁹ **146/147** D. Sed quę – exspecto] *om. F*

¹⁹⁰ **146** quę] quid *B*

¹⁹¹ **147** a te audire] *om. G Con*

¹⁹² **148** M.] *om. F*

¹⁹³ **148** itaque est] *transp. A B*

¹⁹⁴ Itaque] *om. G Con*

¹⁹⁵ **149** uelis] uelit *Con*

¹⁹⁶ **150** quidue] quidque *Migne*

¹⁹⁷ nolis] nolit *G*

¹⁹⁸ **157** sic] prout *G*

Libertas arbitrii¹⁹⁹ est potestas seruandi rectitudinem uoluntatis, propter ipsam
rectitudinem.²⁰⁰

160 Recta quippe²⁰¹ uoluntas est uelle quod deus uult.²⁰²

Deus autem uult ut rationalis natura ei non coacte, sed sponte subdita²⁰³ sit,
ut bene ei²⁰⁴ sit.

Quando²⁰⁵ ipsa hoc²⁰⁶ uult, tunc recta²⁰⁷ est.

Ad hanc rectitudinem seruandam est libera,

165 nulla necessitate constricta.

Rectitudo autem²⁰⁸ uoluntatis est iustitia.

Si ergo iustitiam non propter [PL 1200D] aliud quam propter ipsam iustitiam diligit,
deum qui est iustitia et summa beatitudo premium habebit.

Igitur conuenientissima diffinitio liberi arbitrii est:

¹⁹⁹ **158** Libertas arbitrii] *in marg. praem. A*

²⁰⁰ **158/159** Anselmus Cantuariensis, *De libertate arbitrii*, III – ed. F.S. Schmitt, 1946, p. 212; PL 158, 494B: Ergo quoniam omnis libertas est potestas, illa libertas arbitrii est potestas seruandi rectitudinem uoluntatis propter ipsam rectitudinem; idem, *De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratia dei cum libero arbitrio*, I, vii – ed. F.S. Schmitt, 1946, p. 256; PL 158, 516A: Libertas autem ista est: potestas seruandi rectitudinem uoluntatis propter ipsam rectitudinem. cfr F. Baeumker, *Das Ineuitabile des Honorius Augustodunensis und dessen Lehre über das Zusammenwirken von Wille und Gnade*, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, Texte und Untersuchungen*, 13/6, pp. 19-20.

²⁰¹ **160/174** Recta quippe – aliquis uisum habet] Quomodo nunc habet aliquis malus liberum arbitrium, ad seruandam iusticiam, cum non habeat iusticiam? Sic habet ut habemus uisum *F*

²⁰² **160** deus uult] *transp. G Con*

²⁰³ **161** subdita] *ei praem. G*

²⁰⁴ **162** bene ei] *transp. G Con*

²⁰⁵ **163** Quando] *et add. G Con*

²⁰⁶ ipsa hoc] *transp. G*

²⁰⁷ recta] uoluntas eius *praem. G Con*

²⁰⁸ **166** autem] *om. sed sup. l. rest. B*

- 170 potestas seruandi rectitudinem uoluntatis propter ipsam rectitudinem,
per quam iure possideat²⁰⁹ eternam beatitudinem.
- D. Sed quomodo nunc habet liberum arbitrium ad seruandam iustitiam,
cum non habeat iustitiam?
- M. Sicut aliquis uisum habet²¹⁰ ad uidendum solem,
- 175 cum ipse absit,
quem utique uidere potest si assit,²¹¹
ita²¹² homo naturaliter habet^{213 214} liberum arbitrium [PL 1201A] ad seruandam iustitiam,
etiamsi ipsa desit,²¹⁵
quam seruare potest si assit.
- 180 Hanc^{216 217} autem non habitam per se habere non potest,
quia nullus excepto deo habet²¹⁸ quod non acceperit.²¹⁹
Quę si ei datur,²²⁰ gratia²²¹ est quę²²² ait: *Sine*²²³ *me nichil potestis*²²⁴ *facere.*²²⁵

²⁰⁹ **171** possideat] possidet *G Con*

²¹⁰ **174** uisum habet] *transp. G Con*

²¹¹ **176** quem utique uidere potest si assit] *om. F*

²¹² **177** ita] *Ita F*

²¹³ habet] *om. sed sup. l. rest. B*

²¹⁴ naturaliter habet] *transp. Con*

²¹⁵ **178** desit] *absit D*

²¹⁶ **180/198** Hanc autem – comitante] *om. F*

²¹⁷ **180/ 181** cfr Ioh. 3, 27 . . . non potest homo accipere quicquam nisi fuerit ei datum de caelo

²¹⁸ **181** habet quod non acceperit] cfr I Cor. 4, 7

²¹⁹ **181** acceperit] *accepit G Con*

²²⁰ **182** ei datur] *transp. G*

Acceptam uero²²⁶ iustitiam non deserere liberum arbitrium²²⁷ est.

Hanc²²⁸ autem seruare, meritum est.

- 185 Ideo *non uolentis*^{229 230} subaudis²³¹ est²³² quod uult,
*neque*²³³ *currentis* subaudis²³⁴ quod currit,²³⁵
sed miserentis dei,²³⁶ qui nullis precedentibus meritis,
sed gratis gratia eum preuenit,
dando ut iustus sit,
190 et subsequitur ut in stadio iustitię currat,
quatenus brauium uitę percipiat.^{237 238}

²²¹ gratia] eius *add. G Con*

²²² que] qui *G Con*

²²³ **182** Ioh. 15, 5

²²⁴ potestis] po. *Erl*

²²⁵ potestis facere] .p.f. *D*

²²⁶ **183** uero] autem *G Con*

²²⁷ liberum arbitrium] liberi arbitrii *G Con*

²²⁸ **183/184** est. Hanc] est, hanc *E*

²²⁹ **185/187** cfr Rom. 9, 16.

²³⁰ **185** uol(en)tis] uol(unta)tis *scr. sed eras. et sup. l. corr. B*

²³¹ subaudis] subaudi *G Con*

²³² subaudis est] *transp. D G Con*

²³³ **186** neque] nec *Con*

²³⁴ subaudis] f. *D*, subaudi *G Con*

²³⁵ currit] occurrit *G*

²³⁶ **187** dei] est *praem. B*

Sicuti si eēgens nudus a diuite uestiatur,
 non [PL 1201B] est ipsius quod uestitur,
 sed eius qui uestem largitur,
 195 in²³⁹ suo autem arbitrio est, utrum uestem portet an²⁴⁰ deponat,
 sic²⁴¹ est de gratia preueniente,
 et²⁴² libero arbitrio comitante.

DE IACOB ET ESAU.²⁴³

D.²⁴⁴ Cum apostolus²⁴⁵ dicat,
 200 *antequam*^{246 247} *uel malum uel bonum*²⁴⁸ *scirent, dictum est: Iacob dilexi, Esau*²⁴⁹
*autem*²⁵⁰ *odio habui,*
 uidentur²⁵¹ quidam²⁵² non secundum merita, sed secundum propositum dei saluari,

²³⁷ 191 percipiat] suscipiat aut *praem.* *G Con*

²³⁸ 190/191 ut in stadio – brauium uite percipiat] cfr I Cor. 9, 24

²³⁹ 194/195 largitur, in] largitur. In *G Con*

²⁴⁰ 195 an] aut *G Con*

²⁴¹ 195/196 deponat, sic] deponat. Sic *Con*

²⁴² 197 et] *om.* *G Con*

²⁴³ 199 Cum apostolus dicat] *lemma* Quod prescientia uel predestinatio dei nullam inferunt necessitatem *praem.* *F*

²⁴⁴ D.] Mag. *Migne*

²⁴⁵ apostolus] amplius *G*

²⁴⁶ 199/200 dicat, *antequam*] Dicat. *Antequam F Con*

²⁴⁷ 200/201 *Antequam* – habui] Rom. 9, 11-13 . . . cum enim nondum . . . aliquid egissent bonum aut malum . . . dictum est ei: Quia maior seruiet minori, sicut scriptum est: Iacob dilexi Esau autem odio habui. *Vulg.*

²⁴⁸ 200 uel malum uel bonum] *transp.* *D E G Con*

²⁴⁹ 200/201 Esau odio habui] ·e·o·h· *D*

²⁵⁰ 201 autem] *om.* *D*

uel dampnari,

aut²⁵³ deus uidetur quorumdam facta punire antequam perpetrentur.

205 Nam²⁵⁴ ob quod meritum Iacob diligere meruit,

qui necdum²⁵⁵ bonum facere sciuit?

Ob quem²⁵⁶ reatum est²⁵⁷ Esau odio habitus,

qui nullum malum²⁵⁸ adhuc est²⁵⁹ operatus?²⁶⁰

+DE PROPOSITO DEI.+

210 M.²⁶¹ Sicut^{262 263} superius est dictum,²⁶⁴

deo nichil est [PL 1201C] futurum.

Sacra scriptura testatur²⁶⁵ Iacob simplicem,^{266 267}

²⁵¹ **201/202** habui, uidentur] habui. Videntur *F G*

²⁵² **202** quidam] quidem homines *F*

²⁵³ **203/204** dampnari, aut] dampnari. Aut *C*, damnari. Et *F*

²⁵⁴ **205** Nam ob quod meritum] *lemma* Propositum dei *in marg. praem A*

²⁵⁵ **206** necdum] nondum *G Con*

²⁵⁶ **207** Ob quem] Aut *praem. F*, etiam *add. G Con*

²⁵⁷ est] *om. G Con*

²⁵⁸ **208** nullum malum] necdum aliquid mali *G Con*

²⁵⁹ adhuc] *om. A B G Con*

²⁶⁰ est operatus] *transp. Con*

²⁶¹ **210** M.] Disc. *Migne*

²⁶² **210/211** M. Sicut – futurum] Sed deo omnia futura sunt presentia *F*

²⁶³ **210** Sicut] ut *add. B*

²⁶⁴ est dictum] *transp. G Con*

²⁶⁵ **212** testatur] refert & *F*

²⁶⁶ simplicem] esse *add. F*

Esau autem²⁶⁸ prophanum.^{269 270}

Et²⁷¹ quod ipsi suo tempore per liberum arbitrium erant acturi,²⁷²

215 hoc antequam nati essent erant²⁷³ in conspectu domini.

Ergo quia Iacob in presentia²⁷⁴ dei²⁷⁵ simplex fuit,

ideo eum²⁷⁶ dominus²⁷⁷ dilexit.

Quia uero²⁷⁸ Esau profanus extitit,²⁷⁹

ideo eum odio habuit.

220 Dilexi autem preteritum tempus propter eternitatem posuit,²⁸⁰

quia²⁸¹ sicut preteritum semper est preteritum,

ita immutabile est omne quod eternitas preuidet²⁸² fiendum.^{283 284}

²⁶⁷ **212** Iacob simplicem] cfr Gen. 25, 27 Iacob autem uir simplex . . .

²⁶⁸ **213** autem] *om. Con*

²⁶⁹ prophanum] fuisse *praem. E*

²⁷⁰ **213** Esau profanum] cfr Hebr. 12, 16 . . . ne quis fornicator aut profanus ut Esau . . .

²⁷¹ **214** prophanum. Et] prophanum, et *E G*

²⁷² acturi] futuri *G Con*

²⁷³ **215** nati essent erant] ipsi essent presens erat *F*

²⁷⁴ **216** presentia] conspectu *G Con*

²⁷⁵ dei] domini *Con*

²⁷⁶ **217** eum] illum *F*

²⁷⁷ eum dominus] *transp. Con*

²⁷⁸ **218** uero] autem *E*

²⁷⁹ extitit] fuit *B*, erat *G Con*

²⁸⁰ **220** posuit] preteritum *add. F*

²⁸¹ **220/221** quia] Quia *F*

Porro quia iniustitia²⁸⁵ non est²⁸⁶ apud deum,
 nullum sine precedente iniustitia punit,
 225 sed²⁸⁷ multis perpetrata peccata misericorditer ignoscit.
 [PL 1201D] Igitur licet necesse sit²⁸⁸ fieri omne²⁸⁹ quod deus fieri²⁹⁰ proposuit,
 presciuit,
 predestinauit,
 tamen propositum, prescientia, predestinatio nullam uim necessitatis²⁹¹
 230 alicui inferunt,
 quin quisque libero arbitrio faciat²⁹² quod uult.
 Et qui per liberum arbitrium declinant a malo et faciunt²⁹³ bonum,

²⁸² 222 preuidet] preuiderit *F*

²⁸³ fiendum] fi(ni)endum *scr. sed exp. B, futurum D*

²⁸⁴ 220/222 Dilexi – fiendum] cfr Anselmus Cantuariensis, *De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratia dei cum libero arbitrio*, I, v – ed. F.S. Schmitt, 1946, p. 254; PL 158, 514BC: Vnde cognosci potest eum propter indigentiam uerbi significantis aeternam praesentiam usum esse uerbis praeteritae significationis; quoniam quae tempore praeterita sunt, ad similitudinem aeterni praesentis omnino immutabilia sunt. In hoc siquidem magis similia sunt aeterno praesenti temporaliter praeterita quam praesentia, quoniam quae ibi sunt, numquam possunt non esse praesentia, sicut temporis praeterita non ualent umquam praeterita non esse, praesentia uero tempore omnia quae transeunt fiunt non praesentia.

²⁸⁵ 223 iniusticia non est apud deum] cfr Rom. 9, 14b Numquid iniquitas apud deum? Absit.

²⁸⁶ 223 iniustitia non] semper iustitia *F*

²⁸⁷ 225 sed] etiam *add. F*

²⁸⁸ 226 sit] est *A B*

²⁸⁹ fieri omne] *transp. G Con*

²⁹⁰ fieri] *om. E*

²⁹¹ necessitatis] uirtutis *A B*

²⁹² 231 faciat] facit *G Con*

²⁹³ 232 faciunt] faciant *G*

hii sunt *populus*²⁹⁴ *eius*²⁹⁵ *et oues pascuę eius*,²⁹⁶
 et his preparauit²⁹⁷ pascua uite,
 235 [PL 1202A] et hos *elegit*²⁹⁸ in Christo *ante constitutionem mundi*.²⁹⁹
 Qui autem a libertate³⁰⁰ deficiunt,
 et³⁰¹ nulla³⁰² necessitate cogente, sed sponte se seruituti subiciunt,
 dum serui peccati effecti,³⁰³
 dęmonibus qui uitiiis presunt,³⁰⁴
 240 iugiter³⁰⁵ seruiunt,³⁰⁶
 hii sunt *populus Pharaonis*,³⁰⁷

²⁹⁴ **233** Ps. 78, 13

²⁹⁵ **233** eius] *om. Con*

²⁹⁶ et oues pascuę eius] ·&·o·p·ei· *D*

²⁹⁷ **234** preparauit] parauit *G*

²⁹⁸ **235** cfr Eph. 1, 4

²⁹⁹ **235** constitutionem mundi] *transp. G Con*

³⁰⁰ **236** a libertate] propter libertatem *F*

³⁰¹ **237** et] *om. D*

³⁰² nulla] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

³⁰³ **237** cfr Ioh. 8, 34 . . . omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati.

³⁰⁴ **239** presunt] prestant *Con*

³⁰⁵ iugiter] *om. F*

³⁰⁶ **239/240** dęmonibus – seruiunt] cfr Iohannes Cassianus, *Collationes partum XXIV*, VII, 17 –PL 49, 1691B – 1692A: Hoc tamen nosse debemus, non omnes daemones uniuersas hominibus inurere passiones, sed unicuique uitio certos spiritus incubare, et alios quidem immunditiis ac libidinum sordibus oblectari, alios blasphemiiis, alios irae furorique peculiaribus imminere, alios pasci tristitia, alios cenodoxia superbiaque mulceri, et unumquemque illud uitium humanis cordibus, quo ipse gaudet, inserere; sed nec cunctos pariter suas ingerere prauitates, sed uicissim, prout temporis, uel loci, uel suscipientis opportunitas prouocauerit.

³⁰⁷ **241** Pharaonis] Pharaonis *F*

et hii³⁰⁸ non sunt ex³⁰⁹ ouibus domini,
sed³¹⁰ sunt oues³¹¹ in inferno ponendę quas mors depascet.

Hii tales tot doctrinis auditis,

245 tot signis uisis,

tot plagis perpessis,

incorrigibiles sunt,

quia³¹² eos dominus abicit,

cum eos in iniustitia³¹³ iuste³¹⁴ derelinquit.

250 Itaque prescientia et predestinatio³¹⁵ dei³¹⁶ immutabiles et fixę manent,

quia omnia quę fienda prescit et predestinat deus³¹⁷ indeclinabiliter fient. [PL 1202B]

Gratia autem et liberum arbitrium³¹⁸ salutem hominis concordı fędere operantur,

sola³¹⁹ 320 uoluntas a libertate³²¹ deficiens ad peccatum inclinatur.³²²

³⁰⁸ 242 hii] *om. G Con*

³⁰⁹ ex] *de F*

³¹⁰ 243/244 domini, sed] domini. *Sed G*

³¹¹ 242 Ps. 48, 15 Sicut oues in inferno positi sunt, mors depascet eos. *Vulg.*

³¹² 248 quia] *et G Con*

³¹³ 249 iniustitia] *iustitia Con, iniustitia Migne*

³¹⁴ iuste] *ante in iniustitia pos. G Con*

³¹⁵ 250 prescientia et predestinatio] *transp. G Con*

³¹⁶ dei] *deo E*

³¹⁷ 251 deus] *ante fienda. pos. F*

³¹⁸ 252 arbitrium] *et praem. G*

³¹⁹ 252/253 operantur, sola] *operantur. Sola F*

³²⁰ 253 sola] *autem add. F, post a libertate pos. Con*

D. Quia nodum liberi arbitrii per adiutricem gratiam³²³ eleganter enodasti,
255 rogo ut³²⁴ insinues si diabolus ad beatitudinem conditus sit.

QVOD DIABOLVS AD BEATITVDINEM SIT CONDITVS.³²⁵

M. Constat quod³²⁶ rationalis creatura ad beatitudinem sit³²⁷ condita.

Diabolus autem rationalis creatura est,

igitur³²⁸ ad beatitudinem conditus est.^{329 330}

260 Scriptum quippe de illo est:³³¹

Plenus³³² sapientia et perfectus decore, in deliciis paradýsi³³³ dei³³⁴ fuisti.

D. Et quid est quod³³⁵ de eo dominus³³⁶ dicit: [PL 1202C]

³²¹ sola uoluntas a libertate] a libertate sola uoluntate *G*, homo uero a libertate sola uoluntate *Con*

³²² inclinatur] incauta declinatur *F*

³²³ **253** gratiam] et liberum *add. A*, et liberum arbitrium *add. B*

³²⁴ **225** rogo ut] rogant *G Con*

³²⁵ **256** Quod diabolus ad beatitudinem sit conditus] De diabolo quod ad beatitudinem sit conditus *add. A*, De diabolo *B*

³²⁶ **257** M. Constat quod] Omnis *F*, ante Omnis *lemma* Quod diabolus ad beatitudinem sit conditus *scr. F*

³²⁷ sit] est *F*

³²⁸ **258/259** est, igitur] est. Igitur *A B G Con*

³²⁹ **259** conditus est] *transp. G Con*

³³⁰ est] sit *scr. sed del. et sup. l. corr. B*

³³¹ **260** est] *post quippe pos. F*

³³² **261** Ez. 28, 12b–13a

³³³ **261** paradýsi] *om. A B*

³³⁴ dei] *om. E F*

³³⁵ **262** D. Et quid est quod] Sed sic *F*

³³⁶ dominus] *duplicauit sed sub. l. punctis mendum indicauit B*

quia³³⁷ in³³⁸ ueritate non stetit?

M. Id est,³³⁹ in rectitudine uoluntatis non permansit.

265 Iustitiam enim sponte deseruit,

et^{340 341} ideo iuste beatitudinem amisit.³⁴²

DE BEATITVDINE.³⁴³

D. Quę^{344 345} est beatitudo?

M. Omnium bonorum sufficientia,

270 sine omni indigentia.

D.³⁴⁶ Cur non fecit eum talem, ut hanc amittere non posset?³⁴⁷

M.³⁴⁸ Si talem eum³⁴⁹ fecisset,

³³⁷ 263 quia] quod *G Con*, *om. F*

³³⁸ 263 Ioh. 8, 44

³³⁹ 263/264 non stetit? M. Id est] non stetit id est *F*

³⁴⁰ 265/266 deseruit, et] deseruit. Et *Con*

³⁴¹ 266 et] *om. F*

³⁴² 266/269 amisit – sufficientia] amisit, quę est omnium bonorum sufficientia *F*

³⁴³ 267 De beatitudine] *om. D*

³⁴⁴ 267 Quę] Quid *G Con*, Quid *scr. sed* uel quę *sup. l. add. E*

³⁴⁵ 267/270 D. Quę est – indigentia] cfr Anselmus Cantuariensis, *De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratia dei cum libero arbitrio*, III, xiii – ed. F.S. Schmitt, 1946, pp. 285-6; PL 158, 538A-C: In beatitudine autem, secundum omnium sensum, est sufficientia competentium commodorum sine omni indigentia . . . cfr F. Baeumker, *Das Inevitable des Honorius Augustodunensis und dessen Lehre über das Zusammenwirken von Wille und Gnade*, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, Texte und Untersuchungen*, 13/6, p. 20.

³⁴⁶ 271 D.] Sed dicit aliquis. *F*

³⁴⁷ 271 posset] possit *G*

³⁴⁸ 272 M.] *om. F*

³⁴⁹ talem eum] *transp. E*

tunc necessitati ut bestia subiacuisset.

Fecit autem eum³⁵⁰ iustum,

275 beatum,³⁵¹

liberum:

iustum,^{352 353} ut uellet quod deus uoluit,

beatum,³⁵⁴ ut deo semper³⁵⁵ frueretur,

liberum,³⁵⁶ ut non coacte, sed³⁵⁷ sponte iustitiam uellet,

280 et pro hoc³⁵⁸ merito iure semper beatus foret. [PL 1202D]

D. Et cur ab hac gloria cecidit?³⁵⁹

DE LAPSV DIABOLI.³⁶⁰

M. Quia³⁶¹ hoc appetiit,³⁶²

quod non debuit,

³⁵⁰ 274 eum] *om. F*

³⁵¹ 275 beatum] *et praem. B*

³⁵² 276/277 liberum, iustum] *ita Migne, liberum. Iustum E F G Con*

³⁵³ 277 iustum] *om. sed sup. l. rest. C*

³⁵⁴ 277/278 uoluit, beatum] *ita Migne, uoluit. Beatum G Con*

³⁵⁵ 278 deo semper] *transp. A B Con*

³⁵⁶ 278/279 frueretur, liberum] *frueretur. Liberum G Con*

³⁵⁷ 279 non coacte, sed] *om. G Con*

³⁵⁸ 280 pro hoc] *transp. G Con*

³⁵⁹ 281 cecidit] *diabolus add. Con*

³⁶⁰ 282 De lapsu diaboli] *ante Et cur pos. A B*

³⁶¹ 281/283 D. Et cur – M. Quia] *Sed ab hac gloria cecidit, quia F*

³⁶² 283 appetiit] *appetiuit F*

285 et quod deus noluit,
quia³⁶³ *similis*³⁶⁴ *altissimo* esse uoluit.
D. Quomodo similis?
M. Deus³⁶⁵ dici,³⁶⁶
et ut deus ab angelis uoluit³⁶⁷ adorari.³⁶⁸ [PL 1203A]

290 D.³⁶⁹ Cum sit³⁷⁰ illocalis, ut puta³⁷¹ incorporeus,
unde et quo³⁷² cecidit?
M.³⁷³ Sicut³⁷⁴ aliquis³⁷⁵ in luce solis stans subito³⁷⁶ uisum amitteret,
diceretur tenebras³⁷⁷ incidisse,
cum locum non³⁷⁸ mutauerit,

³⁶³ **286** quia] et *G Con*

³⁶⁴ **286** cfr Is. 14, 14b

³⁶⁵ **286/288** quia similis altissimo – M. Deus] uidelicet deus *F*

³⁶⁶ **288** dici] uoluit *add. G Con*

³⁶⁷ **289** uoluit] *om. sed in marg. rest. E, om. F*

³⁶⁸ uoluit adorari] *transp. G Con*

³⁶⁹ **290** D.] Hic aliquis dicit. *F*

³⁷⁰ sit] diabolus *praem. F*

³⁷¹ ut puta] utpote *F*

³⁷² **291** quo] quomodo *G Con*

³⁷³ **292** M.] *om. F*

³⁷⁴ Sicut] *ita Migne, si add. Con*

³⁷⁵ aliquis] *ante stans pos. F*

³⁷⁶ subito] uisu *add. G Con, uisu non add. sed si praem. F Migne*

³⁷⁷ **293** tenebras] in *praem. E G Con*

³⁷⁸ **294** non] *om. sed sup. l. rest. F*

295 ita³⁷⁹ repente diabolus amissa uisione dei, et subtracta³⁸⁰ immensa gloria,
dicitur de cęlo in miseriam corruisse,
cum locum non mutauerit,
presertim cum in nullo³⁸¹ fuerit.

DE CREATIONE MVNDI.³⁸²

300 D.³⁸³ Cum deus per omnia beatus et sibi sufficiens³⁸⁴ semper³⁸⁵ fuerit,
quę causa exstitit,³⁸⁶
quod aliquid³⁸⁷ creare uoluit?
M.³⁸⁸ Propter bonitatem suam³⁸⁹ creauit³⁹⁰ omnia,
ut essent in quos efflueret³⁹¹ suę bonitatis abundantia.
305 Omnis³⁹² namque creatura³⁹³ aliquo modo fruitur bonitate creatoris,³⁹⁴

³⁷⁹ 295/297 ita – mutauerit] *om. G Con*

³⁸⁰ 295 subtracta] sibi *add. F*

³⁸¹ 298 in nullo] in loco non *F*

³⁸² 299 De creatione mundi] *post M. Propter beatitudinem pos. A B*

³⁸³ 300 D.] Quęri etiam solet. *F*

³⁸⁴ sibi sufficiens] *transp. B*

³⁸⁵ sufficiens semper] *transp. G Con*

³⁸⁶ 301 exstitit] *exstiterit F*

³⁸⁷ 302 aliquid] *aliquod G*

³⁸⁸ 303 M.] *om. F*

³⁸⁹ Propter bonitatem suam – abundantia] *cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, Elucidarium 16 – ed. Y. Lefèvre, 1954, pp. 363-4: D. – Quae fuit causa ut crearetur mundus? M. – Bonitas Dei, ut essent quibus gratiam suam impertiret.*

³⁹⁰ creauit] *reuera deus praem. F*

³⁹¹ 304 efflueret] *effluere(n)t scr. sed et sub. l. et sup. l. punctis mendum indicauit D*

quędam³⁹⁵ quod³⁹⁶ sunt,³⁹⁷

quędam³⁹⁸ quod³⁹⁹ uiuunt,

quędam quod⁴⁰⁰ sentiunt,

quędam⁴⁰¹ [PL 1203B] quod⁴⁰² intelligunt.⁴⁰³

310 Singula⁴⁰⁴ ergo⁴⁰⁵ sunt bona,

*uniuersa*⁴⁰⁶ uero⁴⁰⁷ considerata *ualde bona*.⁴⁰⁸

³⁹² **305** Omnis namque creatura] *lemma* Cur mundus sit ędit' in *marg. praem A*

³⁹³ **305/309** Omnis namque creatura – quod intelligunt] cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarium* 21 – Y. Lefèvre, 1954, pp. 364-5: Nihil unquam fecit Deus quod insensibile sit. Quae enim sunt inanimata, nobis quidem sunt insensibilia et mortua; Deo autem omnia uiuunt et omnia creatorem sentiunt.

³⁹⁴ **305** creatoris] dei *add. G Con*

³⁹⁵ **305/306** creatoris, quędam] creatoris. Quędam *F*

³⁹⁶ **306** quod] quę *F*

³⁹⁷ quędam, quod sunt] *om. E*

³⁹⁸ **307** quędam] quidem *add. E*

³⁹⁹ quod] *om. F*

⁴⁰⁰ **308** quod] quę *F*

⁴⁰¹ **309** quędam] *om. sed in marg. rest. D*

⁴⁰² quod] quę *F*

⁴⁰³ intelligunt] intelligant *G*

⁴⁰⁴ **310/311** Singula – ualde bona] cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, *Clauis physicae* 65 – ed. P. Lucentini, 1974, pp. 45-6 (= Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, I, 517C – ed. E.A. Jeuneau, CC CM 161, pp. 103-4; PL 122, 517C): hec omnia pulchra ineffabilique armonia in unam concordiam colligit atque componit. Nam que in partibus uniuersitatis sibimet uidentur opposita atque contraria et a se inuicem dissona, in generalissima uniuersitatis armonia considerate, conuenientia sunt et consona; idem, *Liber XII quaestionum*, II – PL 172, 1179BD: Summus namque opifex uniuersitatem quasi magnam citharam condidit, in qua ueluti uarias chordas ad multiplices sonos reddendos posuit: dum uniuersum suum opus in duo, uel duo sibi contraria distinxit; idem, *De neocosmo* – ed. R.D Crouse, pp. 202-3: Cuncta quae fecit Deus per se considerata sunt bona singula; in uniuersitate autem numerata sunt ualde bona; *uide etiam* Augustinus, *De Genesi ad litteram*, III, 24, 37 – CSEL 28, p. 92; BA 48, p. 272: . . . et singula bona et in uniuerso omnia ualde bona sunt.

⁴⁰⁵ **310** ergo] uero *F*

⁴⁰⁶ **311** uniuersa – ualde bona] cfr Eccli. 39, 21 Opera domini uniuersa bona ualde. Vide etiam Gen. 1, 31

Angelicam autem et humanam naturam⁴⁰⁹ ad se uidendum condidit.

Quę ut aliquod proprium meritum apud eum⁴¹⁰ haberet,^{411 412}

quod⁴¹³ remunerare⁴¹⁴ iuste deberet,⁴¹⁵

315 iustitiam ei⁴¹⁶ dedit.

Vt autem plenum gaudium haberet,⁴¹⁷

liberum arbitrium addidit,⁴¹⁸

quo non coacti, sed⁴¹⁹ libere⁴²⁰ iustitiam datam⁴²¹ seruarent,

et sic semper beati⁴²² cum eo regnarent.⁴²³

⁴⁰⁷ **311** uero] autem recte *F*, *om.* *G Con*

⁴⁰⁸ bona] sunt *praem.* *F*

⁴⁰⁹ **312** naturam] *post* autem *pos.* *G Con*

⁴¹⁰ **314** apud eum] a se *E*

⁴¹¹ haberet] haberent *G Con*

⁴¹² apud eum haberet] haberent apud eum *F*

⁴¹³ **314** quod] quo *F*

⁴¹⁴ remunerare] remunerari *F*

⁴¹⁵ deberet] deberent *F*, debet *Con*, deberet *Migne*,

⁴¹⁶ **315** ei] eis *F G Con*

⁴¹⁷ **316** haberet] haberent *F G Con*

⁴¹⁸ **317** addidit] eis *praem.* *F*

⁴¹⁹ **318** coacti, sed] coacti. Sed *G*

⁴²⁰ libere] liberi *Con*

⁴²¹ datam] sibi *praem.* *F*

⁴²² **319** beati] *om.* *F G Con*

⁴²³ regnarent] bene *praem.* *G Con*

320 D. Et si⁴²⁴ ad beatitudinem creati⁴²⁵ sunt,
cur tot pereunt?
M. Quia⁴²⁶ per liberum arbitrium a⁴²⁷ bono deficiunt,
et peccato se subiciunt,
iuste⁴²⁸ gloria beatitudinis priuantur,
325 et penis mancipantur.

D. Et quomodo uerum est,
quia⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ deus *uult*⁴³¹ [PL 1203C] *omnes*⁴³² *saluos fieri*?
M.⁴³³ Deus condidit rationalem naturam⁴³⁴ ad gloriam.
Sed⁴³⁵ angeli et homines rationalis⁴³⁶ natura⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ sunt.⁴³⁹

⁴²⁴ **320** D. Et si] Sed quamuis *F*

⁴²⁵ creati] conditi *G Con*

⁴²⁶ **321/322** cur tot pereunt? M. Quia] multi pereunt, quia *F*

⁴²⁷ **322** a] in *F*

⁴²⁸ **324** iuste] iusteque *F*

⁴²⁹ **326/327** D. Et quomodo uerum est, quia] Quomodo ergo dicitur quidam uerum est quod *F*

⁴³⁰ **327** quia] quod *G Con*

⁴³¹ **327** I Tim. 2, 4

⁴³² omnes] homines *G*

⁴³³ **328** M.] *om F*

⁴³⁴ naturam] creaturam *E F G Con*

⁴³⁵ **328/329** gloriam. Sed] gloriam, sed *E*

⁴³⁶ **329** rationalis] rationales *E F G Con*

⁴³⁷ natura] *om. F, creaturę G Con*

⁴³⁸ rationalis natura] *transp. sed sup. l. litteris minusculis rectam ordinem indicauit B*

⁴³⁹ sunt] *post homines pos. F*

330 Ergo omnes⁴⁴⁰ ad gloriam⁴⁴¹ creati sunt.

Quod autem ad gloriam⁴⁴² eos condidit,

hoc uolens aut nolens fecit.

D.⁴⁴³ Nolens non⁴⁴⁴ potuit.

M.⁴⁴⁵ Volens ergo⁴⁴⁶ fecit.

335 D. Hoc⁴⁴⁷ sequitur.

M.⁴⁴⁸ Quod autem deus semel⁴⁴⁹ uult,

hoc semper uult.

Est⁴⁵⁰ enim uoluntas eius⁴⁵¹ immutabilis.⁴⁵²

Igitur⁴⁵³ semper uult omnes⁴⁵⁴ saluos fieri.

⁴⁴⁰ **330** omnes] angeli et homines *add. F*

⁴⁴¹ gloriam] beatitudinem glorię *F*, beatam *praem. E*

⁴⁴² **331** gloriam] beatam *praem. E*

⁴⁴³ **333** D.] *om. F*

⁴⁴⁴ non] *om. G*

⁴⁴⁵ **334** M.] *om. F*

⁴⁴⁶ ergo] autem *G*

⁴⁴⁷ **335** D. Hoc] nam hoc *F*

⁴⁴⁸ **336** M.] *om. F*

⁴⁴⁹ deus semel] *transp. F Con*

⁴⁵⁰ **337/338** uult. Est] uult, est *G*

⁴⁵¹ **338** eius] dei *F*

⁴⁵² immutabilis] semper *praem. F*

⁴⁵³ **338/339** immutabilis. Igitur] immutabilis, igitur *G*

⁴⁵⁴ **339** uult omnes] *transp. G Con*

- 340 D.⁴⁵⁵ Et si uult,
 cur non omnes⁴⁵⁶ saluantur?
*Voluntati*⁴⁵⁷ enim eius quis resistit? [PL 1203D]
- M. Perditio⁴⁵⁸ pereuntium non procedit ex uoluntate dei,
 qui⁴⁵⁹ non⁴⁶⁰ uult mortem peccatoris,⁴⁶¹
- 345 et⁴⁶² qui mortem⁴⁶³ non fecit, nec letatur in perditione morientium,
 sed ex libero arbitrio qua⁴⁶⁴ sponte iustitiam quę est pactum beatitudinis deserunt,
 qua⁴⁶⁵ deserta, beatitudinem amittunt,
 et sic semper miseri erunt.⁴⁶⁶
- D. Quomodo ex libero arbitrio?⁴⁶⁷
- 350 M.⁴⁶⁸ Angelus nulla predestinatione,

⁴⁵⁵ 340 D.] *om. F*

⁴⁵⁶ 341 non omnes] *transp. G Con*

⁴⁵⁷ 342 Rom. 9, 19

⁴⁵⁸ 343 M. Perditio] Sed sciendum est quod perditio *F lemma Qđ angls & ho per libū arbitū occider~t*
praem. A

⁴⁵⁹ 344 qui] quia *F G Con*

⁴⁶⁰ 344 Ez. 18, 32 atque 33, 11b

⁴⁶¹ peccatoris] peccatorum *F*

⁴⁶² 345 et] *om. F*

⁴⁶³ 345 Sap. 1, 13 . . . in perditione uiuorum *Vulg.*

⁴⁶⁴ 346 qua] quo *E F G Con*

⁴⁶⁵ 346/347 deserunt, qua] deserunt. Qua *F*

⁴⁶⁶ 348 erunt] sunt *A*

⁴⁶⁷ 349 D. Quomodo ex libero arbitrio?] Sed dicit aliquis. quomodo ex libero arbitrio perierunt? *F*

⁴⁶⁸ 350 M.] *om. F*

nulla necessitate trahente,

sed sola libera uoluntate iustitiam⁴⁶⁹ deseruit,

dum *deo*⁴⁷⁰ *similis* esse uoluit.

Et quia⁴⁷¹ propria uoluntate⁴⁷² uinculum beatitudinis [PL 1204A] quod erat iustitia

355 abrupit,

iuste amissa beatitudine miseriam⁴⁷³ incidit,

de qua iustitia dictante numquam⁴⁷⁴ eripi meruit.

D. Cur reparari non meruit?⁴⁷⁵

M. Hoc⁴⁷⁶ ratio iustitię⁴⁷⁷ exegit.

⁴⁶⁹ **352/353** iustitiam deseruit – esse uoluit] cfr Anselmus Cantuariensis, *De casu diaboli*, IV – ed. F.S. Schmitt, 1946, p. 241; PL 158, 333AB: . . . *iustitiam* non tenuit quia aliud uoluit, quod uolendo illam *deseruit* M. At cum hoc uoluit quod deus illum uelle nolebat, *uoluit* inordinate *similis esse deo*. *Vide etiam* idem, *De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratia dei cum libero arbitrio*, I, vii – ed. F.S. Schmitt, 1946, p. 259; PL 158, 519A: Nunc autem tantum dico quod malus angelus ideo iustitiam non habet, quia eam deseruit nec postea recepit.

⁴⁷⁰ **351** deo similis] cfr Is. 14, 14b

⁴⁷¹ **354** quia] *post uoluntate pos. sed sup. l. signis locum originalem indicauit G*

⁴⁷² propria uoluntate] cfr Anselmus Cantuariensis, *De casu diaboli*, IV – ed. F.S. Schmitt, 1946, p. 242; PL 158, 333BC: M. Non solum autem uoluit esse aequalis deo quia praesumpsit habere *propriam uoluntatem*, sed etiam maior uoluit esse uolendo quod deus illum uelle nolebat, quoniam uoluntatem suam supra dei uoluntatem posuit. *Vide etiam* idem, *De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratia dei cum libero arbitrio*, I, vii – ed. F.S. Schmitt, 1946, p. 259; PL 158, 519A: . . . et qualiter homo bona faciat per liberum arbitrium, praesulante gratia et malum sola sua operante *propria uoluntate* . . . ?

⁴⁷³ **356** miseriam] *in praem. G Con*

⁴⁷⁴ **357** numquam] *numqua B*

⁴⁷⁵ **358** D. Cur usq. meruit?] *om. G Con*

⁴⁷⁶ **359/361** Hoc ratio – leuari debuit] cfr Anselmus Cantuariensis, *Cur deus homo*, II, xxi – ed. F.S. Schmitt, 1946, p. 132; PL 158, 430 C-431A: Hoc quoque remouet eorum restaurationem, quia sicut ceciderunt nullo alio nocente ut caderent, illa nullo alio adiuuante surgere debent. Quod est illis impossibile. *Vide etiam* F. Bliemetzrieder, ed., *Anselms von Laon Systematische Sentenzen, Sententie diuine pagine* – BGPMA 18, 2-3, pp. 15-6: Inrecuperabiliter autem cecidit. Et queritur quare angelus inrecuperabiliter, homo uero recuperabiliter. Ad hec respondetur: quia angelus tante dignitatis erat, ex ea meruit cadere inrecuperabiliter; quia homo uero minoris, ideo recuperabiliter, ut quia angelus nullo suggerente, homo autem alio suggerente peccauit. *Vide etiam* Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarium*, I, 43 – ed. Y. Lefèvre, 1954, p. 368: . . . sicut nullo instigante ceciderunt, ita nullo adiuuante surgere debuerunt, quod eis erat impossibile. cfr Y. Lefèvre, *L'Elucidarium et les Lucidaires*, Paris, 1954, p. 112, n.4.

360 Quia enim ⁴⁷⁸ nullo ⁴⁷⁹ impellente corrui,
iuste a nullo leuari debuit.
D. Quid ⁴⁸⁰ de homine? ⁴⁸¹

DE LAPSV HOMINIS.

M. ⁴⁸² Homo similiter ⁴⁸³ nulla ui coactus, ⁴⁸⁴
365 nulla necessitate impulsus,
sed libera uoluntate ⁴⁸⁵ iustitiam deseruit,
et iniustitię se subdidit,
dum sicut ⁴⁸⁶ deus esse concupiuit. ⁴⁸⁷
D. Cur hic lapsus erigi meruit? ⁴⁸⁸
370 M. Huius ⁴⁸⁹ reparatio gratia fuit,

⁴⁷⁷ **359** iust(icię)] *om. sed sup. l. rest. B*

⁴⁷⁸ **360** Quia enim] *Etenim G Con*

⁴⁷⁹ nullo] *qui praem. G Con*

⁴⁸⁰ **362** Quid] *est add. G Con*

⁴⁸¹ **358/362** D. Cur reparari usq. de homine?] *om. F*

⁴⁸² **364** M.] *om F*

⁴⁸³ Homo similiter] *transp. F*

⁴⁸⁴ **364** nulla ui coactus] *cfr Anselmus Cantuariensis, Cur deus homo, I, xxii – ed. F.S. Schmitt, 1946, p. 90; PL 158, 395A: Et cum hoc [homo] facile posset efficere, nulla ui coactus sola se suasionem sponte uinci permisit ad uoluntatem diaboli et contra uoluntatem et honorem dei.*

⁴⁸⁵ **366** libera uoluntate] *suasione diaboli sponte F*

⁴⁸⁶ **368** sicut deus esse concupiuit] *cfr Gen 3, 5*

⁴⁸⁷ **368** concupiuit] *cupiuit A*

⁴⁸⁸ **369/370** D. Cur hic lapsus erigi meruit? M. Huius reparatio] *Sed tamen homo lapsus erigi meruit, et reparatio eius F*

sed et⁴⁹⁰ ratio iustitię⁴⁹¹ hoc⁴⁹² fieri poposcit.

Quia enim⁴⁹³ alio⁴⁹⁴ impellente cecidit,⁴⁹⁵

iuste ab aliquo⁴⁹⁶ leuari debuit.

D. Deum arbitror⁴⁹⁷ eis liberum arbitrium [PL 1204B] dare non decuit,⁴⁹⁸

375 per quod eos peccaturos presciuit.⁴⁹⁹

M. Hoc⁵⁰⁰ est tale⁵⁰¹ quasi⁵⁰² dicas:⁵⁰³

Scientiam⁵⁰⁴ eis dare⁵⁰⁵ non oportuit,

⁴⁸⁹ **370/373** Huius reparatio – leuari debuit] cfr Anselmus Cantuariensis, *Cur deus homo*, II, xxi – ed. F.S. Schmitt, 1946, p. 132; PL 158, 430 C-431A. *Vide etiam* Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarium*, I, 114 – ed. Y. Lefèvre, 1954, p. 381: D. – Quare homo potuit redire post lapsum? M. – Quia, sicut non per se, sed per alium impulsus cecidit, ita dignum erat, cum per se non posset et uellet, per alium adiutus resurgeret. *Locus classicus quem et Schmitt (p. 132) et Lefèvre (p. 123) agnouerunt est* Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, IV, iii, 8 – ed. M. Adriaen, CC SL 143, p. 169; PL 75, 642B: Est adhuc aliud quo et perditus homo reparari debuit et superbiens spiritus reparari non possit quia nimirum angelus sua malitia cecidit, hominem uero aliena prostrauit.

⁴⁹⁰ **371** sed et] quod etiam *F*

⁴⁹¹ iustitię] ius *praem. sed exp. B*

⁴⁹² hoc] *om. F*

⁴⁹³ **372** Quia enim] etenim *G Con*

⁴⁹⁴ alio] qui *praem. G Con*

⁴⁹⁵ cecidit] occidit *E*

⁴⁹⁶ **373** aliquo] alio *G*

⁴⁹⁷ **374** arbitror] ut *praem. G Con*

⁴⁹⁸ decuit] debuit *D*

⁴⁹⁹ **374/375** D. Deum – presciuit] Si aliquis dicit quod deum liberum arbitrium dare non decuit per quod homines peccaturos presciuit *F*

⁵⁰⁰ **376** M. Hoc] *om. F*

⁵⁰¹ est tale] *transp. F*

⁵⁰² quasi] quale *G Con*

⁵⁰³ dicas] diceret *F*

⁵⁰⁴ **376/377** dicas: Scientiam] dicas, scientiam *E*

qua⁵⁰⁶ eos abuti presciuit.⁵⁰⁷
 Si⁵⁰⁸ scientiam eis non dedisset,
 380 quid a brutis animalibus distarent?
 Si liberum arbitrium non dedisset,⁵⁰⁹
 necessitati per omnia ut bestię subiacerent,
 nec ullum meritum apud deum haberent.
 Oportuit ergo ut eis scientiam daret,
 385 qua creatorem agnoscerent,
 liberum⁵¹⁰ etiam arbitrium adderet,⁵¹¹
 quo libere iustitiam seruarent,
 per quam semper beati forent.
 D.⁵¹² Si⁵¹³ deus omnia prescit,⁵¹⁴
 390 tunc utique eos⁵¹⁵ male⁵¹⁶ acturos, et pro⁵¹⁷ hoc ęternum supplicium passuros presciuit.

⁵⁰⁵ **377** dare] dari *E*

⁵⁰⁶ **378** qua] qu(i)a *scr. sed puncto sub. l. mendum indicauit B, quia D*

⁵⁰⁷ presciuit] Sed scientiam dedit eis. *F*

⁵⁰⁸ **379** Si] enim *add. F*

⁵⁰⁹ **381** non dedisset] eis *praem. F*

⁵¹⁰ **385/386** agnoscerent, liberum] agnoscerent. Liberum *Con*

⁵¹¹ **386** adderet] adderetur *G Con*

⁵¹² **389** D.] *om. F*

⁵¹³ Si] Queritur *praem. F, ante Queritur lemma* Quam utilis sit diabolus & mali homines in dei re publica *scr. F*

⁵¹⁴ omnia prescit] *transp. F*

⁵¹⁵ **390** eos] homines *F*

Cur⁵¹⁸ ergo uoluit illos⁵¹⁹ creare,
qui tot et [PL 1204C] tanta flagitia et facinora erant facturi,
et pro his ęternas⁵²⁰ pęnas⁵²¹ luituri?⁵²²

M.⁵²³ Deus omnia prescit,⁵²⁴

395 quia⁵²⁵ hoc ęternitati eius congruit,
quę^{526 527} nichil futurum quasi fiendum,
nec aliquid preteritum quasi transactum⁵²⁸ nouit,
sed omnia fienda et transacta immutabili intuitu presentia⁵²⁹ inspicit.⁵³⁰
Quod autem angelum uel hominem fecit,⁵³¹
400 quem utrumque⁵³² male acturum⁵³³ presciuit,

⁵¹⁶ male] malos *A B*

⁵¹⁷ pro] per *F G Con*

⁵¹⁸ **390/391** presciuit. Cur] presciuit, Cur *F*

⁵¹⁹ **391** illos] eos *G Con*

⁵²⁰ **393** ęternas] ętern(is) *scr. sed sup. l. uel a add. A, ęternis B*

⁵²¹ pęnas] pęn(is) *scr. sed sup. l. uel as add. A, pęnis B*

⁵²² **393** luituri] laturi *Con, Ad quod respondimus. F*

⁵²³ **394** M.] *om. F*

⁵²⁴ prescit] praesciuit *Migne*

⁵²⁵ **395** quia] et *G Con*

⁵²⁶ **395/396** congruit, quę] congruit. Quę *B*

⁵²⁷ **396** quę] qui *G Con*

⁵²⁸ **397** transactum] peractum *D*

⁵²⁹ **398** presentia] prescientia *B, prescientię pro presentia. scr. et ante intuitu pos. F*

⁵³⁰ inspicit] conspicit *F*

⁵³¹ **399** fecit] creauit *G Con*

hoc ratio potentię et iustitię⁵³⁴ poposcit,⁵³⁵

potentia^{536 537} quia presciuit quod illorum malitia nichil sibi penitus⁵³⁸ nocere potuit,

et quanta bona ipse de malis eorum in uniuersitate facere disposuit,

iustitia^{539 540} autem quia iustum erat,

405 ut omne⁵⁴¹ deus faceret,

quod ad aliquid in uniuersitate utile [PL 1204D] foret.

QUOD DĚMONES SINT⁵⁴² VTILES.

Quam utiles autem et quam⁵⁴³ necessarii in dei republica sint dĚmones,

uel mali homines,

410 non ignorant sapientes.

Creatis⁵⁴⁴ ergo⁵⁴⁵ iustitiam dedit,

⁵³² **400** utrumque] utrum *scr. sed sup. l. -que rest. E*

⁵³³ acturum] uicturum *F*

⁵³⁴ **401** potentię et iustitię] *transp. F G Con*

⁵³⁵ poposcit] poposcet *ut uid. D*

⁵³⁶ **401/402** poposcit, potentia] poposcit. *Potentia A B E F G Con*

⁵³⁷ **402** potentia] *Potentiae Con*

⁵³⁸ penitus] *om. D*

⁵³⁹ **403/404** disposuit, iustitia] disposuit. *Iustitia E F G Con*

⁵⁴⁰ **404** iustitia] *Iustitiae Con*

⁵⁴¹ **405** omne] illud *add. G, id add. Con*

⁵⁴² **407** sint] sunt *A*

⁵⁴³ **408** quam] *om. sed sup. l. rest. C*

⁵⁴⁴ **411** Creatis] *Creaturis G*

⁵⁴⁵ ergo] *autem G*

quam eos⁵⁴⁶ minime seruatuos presciuit,
 immo⁵⁴⁷ eos iustos⁵⁴⁸ condidit,
 quia hoc bonitati ipsius⁵⁴⁹ congruit,
 415 ut nil⁵⁵⁰ nisi iustum et rectum faceret.
 Quibus etiam liberum arbitrium dedit,
 id est compotes⁵⁵¹ suę uoluntatis fecit,
 quia hoc suę perfectioni conuenit,⁵⁵²
 ut nil⁵⁵³ nisi⁵⁵⁴ perfectum absolueret.
 420 Perfecti⁵⁵⁵ enim non essent,⁵⁵⁶
 si liberi non essent.⁵⁵⁷
 Et⁵⁵⁸ si liberi non essent,⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁴⁶ 412 eos] etiam *G*

⁵⁴⁷ 412/413 presciuit, immo] presciuit. Immo *F*

⁵⁴⁸ 413 iustos] *om. G*

⁵⁴⁹ 414 ipsius] eius *F G Con*

⁵⁵⁰ 415 nil] nichil *B G Con*

⁵⁵¹ 417 compotes] *post uoluntatis pos. G Con*

⁵⁵² 418 conuenit] congruit *E*

⁵⁵³ 419 nil] nichil *Con*

⁵⁵⁴ nil nisi] nisi nichil *scr. sed sup. l. litteris minusculis rectum ordinem uerborum indicauit B*

⁵⁵⁵ 419/420 absolueret. Perfecti] absolueret, perfecti *F*

⁵⁵⁶ 420 essent] esset *F*

⁵⁵⁷ 421 essent] esset *F*

⁵⁵⁸ 421/422 essent. Et] essent, et *E*

⁵⁵⁹ 422 Et si liberi non essent] *om. G*

necessitati ut bestię subiacerent.

Ergo [PL 1205A] totum fecit ut uoluit,

425 et ut facere debuit.

D. Cur⁵⁶⁰ eos deus a malo non prohibuit cum posset?

Si uoluit et non potuit,

tunc⁵⁶¹ impotens fuit.

Si autem potuit et noluit,⁵⁶²

430 tunc⁵⁶³ eos peccare consequenter et⁵⁶⁴ pęnas pati⁵⁶⁵ uoluit.

Et⁵⁶⁶ cum peccare permisit,

peccatis⁵⁶⁷ utique consensit.

Si enim aliquis princeps prescit,

quod sibi quilibet subiectus alium⁵⁶⁸ perimere uelit,

435 et non prohibet dum possit,

utique homicidio^{569 570} consentit,

⁵⁶⁰ **426/430** D. Cur eos – uoluit] Deus omnipotens omnes homines saluos esse uoluit, aut noluit. Sed obponitur. Si potuit & noluit tunc eos peccare & pęnas pati quod sequitur uoluit. Si uoluit & non potuit tunc impotens fuit *F*, ante Deus omnipotens *lemma* Quod liberum arbitrium ad beatitudinem acquirendam datum est *scr. F*

⁵⁶¹ **428** tunc] cur *G Con*

⁵⁶² **429** noluit] non *praem. B*

⁵⁶³ **430** tunc] cur *G Con*

⁵⁶⁴ et] *ante consequenter pos. Con*

⁵⁶⁵ pęnas pati] *transp. G Con*

⁵⁶⁶ **430/431** uoluit. Et] uoluit, et *E*

⁵⁶⁷ **432** peccatis] eorum *add. F*

⁵⁶⁸ **434** alium] *om. G Con*

⁵⁶⁹ **436** utique homicidio] *transp. F*

dum illud⁵⁷¹ fieri permittit.⁵⁷²

Si autem nolens⁵⁷³ permittit,

impotem⁵⁷⁴ se⁵⁷⁵ ostendit.

440 M.⁵⁷⁶ Quod⁵⁷⁷ eos deus a malo non prohibuit,

hoc ratio immutabilitatis eius⁵⁷⁸ uetuit.

Deus namque condidit eos ad plenum gaudium.

Plenum⁵⁷⁹ autem gaudium non haberent,

si liberi non essent. [PL 1205B]

445 Vt ergo haberent⁵⁸⁰ plenum gaudium,

dedit eis liberum arbitrium,

immo⁵⁸¹ creauit eos liberos, id est suę uoluntatis compotes, ut libere in lætitia

delectarentur,

et non necessitate coacti,⁵⁸² uel uiolentia compulsi⁵⁸³ gaudio fruerentur.

⁵⁷⁰ homicidio] homicidiis *G*, homicidis *Con*

⁵⁷¹ 437 illud] *om. sed sup. l. rest. E*

⁵⁷² fieri permittit] quod prohibere potuit *add. F*

⁵⁷³ 438 nolens] uolens *Con*

⁵⁷⁴ 439 impotem] impotentem *minori manu in ras. ut uid. scr. E*, impotentem *F G Con*

⁵⁷⁵ impotem se] *transp. B*

⁵⁷⁶ 440 M.] *om. F*

⁵⁷⁷ Quod] Quod ita in deo non est. Quippe *praem. F*

⁵⁷⁸ 441 eius] *om. G Con*

⁵⁷⁹ 443/444 gaudium. Plenum] gaudium, plenum *G Con*

⁵⁸⁰ 445 haberent] *post gaudium pos. G Con*

⁵⁸¹ 446/447 arbitrium, immo] arbitrium. Immo *F Con*

450

QVOD DEVS LIBERVM ARBITRIVM AUFERRE⁵⁸⁴ NON POTUIT.⁵⁸⁵

Libertatem⁵⁸⁶ ergo⁵⁸⁷ quam semel eis dedit,

immutabilis deus auferre non debuit,

nec etiam potuit.

Si enim abstulisset,

455 tunc nollet eos uelle,

quod uellet eos uelle,⁵⁸⁸

quod impossibile est.⁵⁸⁹

Voluit autem⁵⁹⁰ eos⁵⁹¹ uelle iustitiam.

Nichil uero⁵⁹² aliud est peccare,

460 quam iustitiam nolle.

Et⁵⁹³ ⁵⁹⁴ ideo malum uel peccatum nichil⁵⁹⁵ est per substantiam,

⁵⁸² **448** coacti] *om. B*

⁵⁸³ compulsi] coacti *A B*

⁵⁸⁴ **450** auferre] ferre *C*

⁵⁸⁵ potuit] possit *B*

⁵⁸⁶ **449/451** fruerentur. Libertatem] fruerentur, libertatem *E*

⁵⁸⁷ **451** ergo] autem *G Con*

⁵⁸⁸ **455/456** uelle, quod uellet eos uelle] iustitiam uelle *G Con*

⁵⁸⁹ **457** est] deo esset *F*

⁵⁹⁰ **458** autem] enim *G Con, om. B*

⁵⁹¹ autem eos] *transp. A*

⁵⁹² **459** uero] enim *E G Con*

⁵⁹³ **460/461** nolle. Et] nolle, et *E*

⁵⁹⁴ **461/465** Et ideo malum – ubi non est lux] cfr Anselmus Cantuariensis, *De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratia dei cum libero arbitrio*, I, vii – ed. F.S. Schmitt, 1946, p. 258; PL 158, 517C - 518A: . . .

sed⁵⁹⁶ iniustitia.

Iniustitia autem nil⁵⁹⁷ est⁵⁹⁸ aliud,⁵⁹⁹ quam ubi non est⁶⁰⁰ iustitia,

sicut⁶⁰¹ silentium, ubi non est uox,

465 sicut tenebrę, ubi non est lux.

Malum itaque facere,

non⁶⁰² est aliud⁶⁰³ quam a iusta⁶⁰⁴ uoluntate deficere. [PL 1205C]

Libertatem autem quodammodo deus eis abstulisset,⁶⁰⁵

si ab eo cohibiti peccare non possent.

470 Et⁶⁰⁶ si coacti iustitiam seruassent,

meritum iustitię nullum⁶⁰⁷ haberent.⁶⁰⁸

malum uero, quod est iniustitia, omni carere existentia Non est enim iniustitia qualitas aut actio aut aliqua essentia, sed tantum absentia debitae iustitiae, nec est nisi in uoluntate, ubi debet esse iustitia Iustitia namque aliquid est, iniustitia uero nihil, sicut dixi.

⁵⁹⁵ **461** nichil] nil *G*

⁵⁹⁶ **462** sed] sicut *G Con*

⁵⁹⁷ **463** nil] nichil *B F Con*

⁵⁹⁸ est] *om. F*

⁵⁹⁹ est aliud] *transp. G Con*

⁶⁰⁰ est] *om. E*

⁶⁰¹ **463/464** iustitia, sicut] iustitia. Sicut *Con*

⁶⁰² **467** non] nichil *E*

⁶⁰³ non est aliud] quam recta uoluntate deficere aliud *add. B*

⁶⁰⁴ iusta] recta *scr. sed sup. l. corr. A*

⁶⁰⁵ **468** deus eis abstulisset] abstulisset *ante deus pos. sed sup. l. litteris minusculis rectam lectionem esse deus eis abstulisset indicauit E*

⁶⁰⁶ **469/470** possent. Et] possent, et *E*

⁶⁰⁷ **471** nullum] non *G Con*

D. Quid?⁶⁰⁹ Nonne⁶¹⁰ boni angeli peccare non possunt?

M. Hoc non⁶¹¹ ex⁶¹² impotentię necessitate,

sed ex magne potentię procedit uoluntate.⁶¹³

475 Magna quippe est potentia semper uelle quod quis⁶¹⁴ debet⁶¹⁵ et⁶¹⁶ decet,

ut⁶¹⁷ uerbi gratia semper sanum et⁶¹⁸ sapientem esse,

maxima⁶¹⁹ impotentia⁶²⁰ immo dementia uelle⁶²¹ quod non⁶²² debet nec decet,

uti⁶²³ se uelle interimere.

Quia enim⁶²⁴ aliis angelis ad iniustitiam⁶²⁵ declinantibus,

⁶⁰⁸ haberent] prorsus *add. F*

⁶⁰⁹ 472/473 D. Quid? – M. Hoc non] Non *F*, ante Non *lemma* Quod boni angeli nec uolunt peccare nec possunt *scr. F*

⁶¹⁰ 472 Quid. Nonne] Quid nonne *B D E*

⁶¹¹ 473 non] est *praem. G Con*

⁶¹² ex] *om. F*

⁶¹³ 474 procedit uoluntate] quod boni angeli non peccant *add. F*

⁶¹⁴ 475 quis] quisque *E*

⁶¹⁵ debet] deberet *G Con*

⁶¹⁶ et] *om. sed sup. l. rest. E*

⁶¹⁷ 476 ut] *om. G Migne, ante semper pos. Con*

⁶¹⁸ et] est *G*

⁶¹⁹ 476/477 esse, maxima] esse. Maxima *E F G Con*

⁶²⁰ 477 impotentia] potentia *D*, autem *praem. F*, uero *praem. G Con*

⁶²¹ uelle] est esse *praem. F*

⁶²² non] nec *F*

⁶²³ 478 uti] ut *G Con*

⁶²⁴ 479 Quia enim] etenim *G Con*

480 ipsi⁶²⁶ iustitiam libera uoluntate seruauerunt,
pro⁶²⁷ hoc merito mox in hac uoluntate sic [PL 1205D] confirmati sunt,
ut ultra malum nolint,
et ideo dicitur quod⁶²⁸ non possint.⁶²⁹
D. Sed ut dictum est, deus⁶³⁰ uidetur⁶³¹ peccato eorum⁶³² consensisse,
485 quos peccare permisit,⁶³³
uel potius ad penas creasse, quos a peccato non prohibuit.⁶³⁴
M. Veritas consulta aliud longe⁶³⁵ ostendit.⁶³⁶
Quamuis enim⁶³⁷ uie⁶³⁸ domini a uiis hominum elongentur,
quantum⁶³⁹ celi a terra exaltantur,⁶⁴⁰

⁶²⁵ iniustitiam] inustitiam *E*

⁶²⁶ **480** ipsi] boni angeli *F*, boni angeli *add. Con*

⁶²⁷ **481** pro] et *praem. G Con*

⁶²⁸ **483** quod] quia *F*

⁶²⁹ possint] possunt *F Con*

⁶³⁰ **484** D. Sed ut dictum est] *om. F*

⁶³¹ deus uidetur] Videtur deus *F*, ante Videtur *lemma* Quod deus malefacientibus non sicut quidam putant consentit *scr. F*

⁶³² peccato eorum] peccatoribus *F*

⁶³³ **485** permisit] permittit *F*

⁶³⁴ **486** non prohibuit] sed aliter est. *add. F*

⁶³⁵ **487** aliud longe] *transp. G Con*

⁶³⁶ M. Veritas consulta – ostendit.] *om. F*

⁶³⁷ **488** enim] *om. G Con*

⁶³⁸ **488/490** cfr Is. 55, 9 Quia sicut exaltantur caeli a terra, sic exaltatae sunt uiae meae a uiis uestris, et cogitationes meae a cogitationibus uestris

⁶³⁹ **489** quantum] et *praem. F*

490 tamen non⁶⁴¹ multum a cogitationibus nostris⁶⁴² hæc res discrepat,
quam nobis perspecta⁶⁴³ ratio⁶⁴⁴ sic elucidat.

Non⁶⁴⁵ semper sequitur, ut qui aliquid fieri permittit,
[PL 1206A] in fiendo consentiat, si prohibere possit.

Nam aliquis⁶⁴⁶ in agro suo spinas nasci permittit,

495 cum prohibere possit,⁶⁴⁷

nec tamen consentit.

Neque⁶⁴⁸ ad sepium⁶⁴⁹ munimentum, nec⁶⁵⁰ ad ignium nutrimentum⁶⁵¹

eas⁶⁵² crescere⁶⁵³ sinit,

⁶⁴⁰ exaltantur] exaltentur *F*

⁶⁴¹ **490** tamen non] *transp. F*

⁶⁴² nostris] hominum *F*

⁶⁴³ **491** perspecta] perfecta *F*

⁶⁴⁴ perspecta ratio] cfr Anselmus Cantuariensis, *Monologion* 1 – ed. F.S. Schmitt, pp. 14-15; PL 158, 146A: Sed quoniam iam perspecta ratio nullo potest dissolui pacto . . . ; *uide etiam* Honorius Augustodunensis, *Clavis physicae*, 2 – ed. P. Lucentini, *Temi e Testi* 21, p. 4: . . . conueniat inter nos, si placet, nil litteris tradi preter id quod sacra auctoritate et perspecta ratione possit probari; idem, *Libellus VIII quaestionum*, 1 – PL 172, PL 1185: Nihil est aliud auctoritas, quam per rationem probata ueritas Euidens scripturae auctoritas clamat, et perspicax ratio probat; Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, I, 513BC – ed. E.A. Jeuneau, *CC CM* 161, p. 98; PL 122, 513BC: Nil enim aliud uidetur mihi esse uera auctoritas, nisi rationis uirtute reperta ueritas . . .

⁶⁴⁵ **492** Non] Nam *A*, Nam *praem. B*

⁶⁴⁶ **494** aliquis] cum *Con*

⁶⁴⁷ **494/495** Nam aliquis – prohibere possit] *om. F G*

⁶⁴⁸ **496/497** consentit. Neque] consentit, neque *F*

⁶⁴⁹ **497** sepium] sepi *Con*

⁶⁵⁰ nec] neque *G Con*

⁶⁵¹ nu(tri)mentum] *has litteras om. sed sup. l. rest. B*

⁶⁵² **498** eas] *om. G Con*

cum ad utrumque apte⁶⁵⁴ sint.

500 QUOD DEUS PECCATO NON CONSENTIT, QUOD TAMEN⁶⁵⁵ FIERI PERMITTIT.⁶⁵⁶

Sic deus cum eos⁶⁵⁷ peccare permisit,⁶⁵⁸

peccato tamen⁶⁵⁹ non⁶⁶⁰ consensit,⁶⁶¹

nec ad penas creauit,

quos tamen post peccata penis mancipauit,

505 sed⁶⁶² libera uoluntate sibi qui est summa⁶⁶³ beatitudo inherentes⁶⁶⁴

gloria⁶⁶⁵ et honore coronauit,

libera⁶⁶⁶ nihilominus uoluntate⁶⁶⁷ a se qui est eterna iustitia⁶⁶⁸ recedentes congruis

suppliciis multauit,

⁶⁵³ crescere] cre(c)scere *scr. sed sub l. puncto mendum indicauit D*

⁶⁵⁴ **499** apte] *om. G*

⁶⁵⁵ **500** quod tamen] *legere non potui in C*

⁶⁵⁶ Quod deus – permittit] *hoc lemma legere non potui in D*

⁶⁵⁷ **501** eos] *nos F*

⁶⁵⁸ permisit] *permittit F*

⁶⁵⁹ **502** tamen] *om. G*

⁶⁶⁰ non] *om. sed sup. l. rest. E*

⁶⁶¹ consensit] *consentit F*

⁶⁶² **504/505** mancipauit, sed] *mancipauit. Sed G*

⁶⁶³ **505** summa] *uera E*

⁶⁶⁴ inherentes] *herentes E, sunt praem. G*

⁶⁶⁵ **505** cfr Ps. 8, 6 Minuisti eum paulo minus ab anglis, gloria et honore coronasti eum . . .

⁶⁶⁶ **506/507** coronauit, libera] *coronauit. Libera F Con*

⁶⁶⁷ **507** nihilominus uoluntate] *transp. sed sup. l. signis rectum ordinem indicauit E*

⁶⁶⁸ iustitia] *beatitudo scr. sed sup. l. iustitia rest. E*

et illorum asperitate ut spinis sepem istorum gloriam⁶⁶⁹ firmavit,⁶⁷⁰
 510 et illorum concrematione⁶⁷¹ uniuersum opus suum illustravit.
 D. Cur⁶⁷² illos deus creauit,
 quos iustitiam minime [PL 1206B] seruatuos, et ideo gloriam
 amissuros presciuit,⁶⁷³
 et non illos⁶⁷⁴ solummodo quos pro seruanda iustitia presciuit permansuros⁶⁷⁵ in gloria?
 515 M. Hoc⁶⁷⁶ est tale⁶⁷⁷ quasi⁶⁷⁸ causeris,⁶⁷⁹ cur deus noctem permiserit,^{680 681}

⁶⁶⁹ 509 gloriam] gloria *F*

⁶⁷⁰ firmavit] firmit *Con*

⁶⁷¹ 510 concrematione] crematione *F*

⁶⁷² 511 D. Cur] Quæritur cur *F*, ante Quæritur lemma Quod non creauit malum, sed fieri permisit, ut clarescat bonum *scr. F*

⁶⁷³ 513 presciuit] post seruatuos *pos. F*

⁶⁷⁴ 514 illos] illo *E*, alios *G*

⁶⁷⁵ permansuros] mansuros *F*

⁶⁷⁶ 515/572 Hoc est tale – moritur] cfr Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, V, 982C-983A, ed. E.A. Jeauneau, CC CM 165, pp. 171-2; PL 122, 982C-983A, *ad sensum*: Nullus enim pulchritudinem eius [*sc. domi dei*] potest corrumpere, neque honestatem turpificare, neque amplitudinem minuere uel augere. Extra quam quid esse posset, intra quam quid esse non ualeret? In qua nullius turpitudine turpis est nec malitia nocet nec error errat, cuius pulchritudinem immundorum spirituum nequitia seu hominum impiorum irrationabiles motus non solum non contaminant, uerum etiam adaugent. Nulla enim pulchritudo efficitur, nisi ex compaginatione similium et dissimilium, contrariorum et oppositorum, neque tantae laudis esset bonum, si non esset comparatio ex uituperatione mali. Ideoque quod malum dicitur, dum per se consideratur, uituperatur; dum uero ex eius consideratione bonum laudatur, non omnino uituperabile uidetur. Quod enim boni laudem cumulat non omnino laude caret. Nunquid omnium bonorum conditor, malorum ordinator in uniuersitate quam condidit malum sineret, si nihil utilitatis conferret? Quod etiam ex collationibus rerum sensibilibus aut ex humanis moribus facillime conicitur. Ex infructuoso quippe ligno fructiferi laus amplificatur, ex libidinoso homine casti.

⁶⁷⁷ 515 est tale] *transp. F*

⁶⁷⁸ quasi] quale *G Con*

⁶⁷⁹ causeris] quis dicat *F*

⁶⁸⁰ noctem permiserit] *transp. E F*

⁶⁸¹ permiserit] esse *add. G Con*

cum tenebrosa sit,⁶⁸²

dies autem lucidus sit,⁶⁸³

quasi sit inutilis et non necessaria,

cum potius ipsa⁶⁸⁴ sit requies laborantium,

520 et reparatio uirium.

Sic bonum per malum commendatur.

Iusti etenim⁶⁸⁵ iniustis comparati gloriosiores apparent,⁶⁸⁶

sicut dies nocti collatus gratiosior claret.

/Quod per malum clarescat bonum./

525 Ratio igitur⁶⁸⁷ boni poscebat,

ut deus malum esse permetteret,⁶⁸⁸

per quod bonum clarius splenderet,

et⁶⁸⁹ uniuersitas⁶⁹⁰ quasi⁶⁹¹ reciprocis⁶⁹² modulis per contrarietates suas in omnibus

consonaret.⁶⁹³

⁶⁸² **516** tenebrosa sit] *transp. G*

⁶⁸³ **517** sit] *om. G Con*

⁶⁸⁴ **519** ipsa] *nox add. Con*

⁶⁸⁵ **522** etenim] *enim E F G Con*

⁶⁸⁶ apparent] *aparent F*

⁶⁸⁷ **525** igitur] *ergo G Con*

⁶⁸⁸ **526** esse permetteret] *transp. F*

⁶⁸⁹ **527/528** splenderet, et] *splenderet. Et F*

⁶⁹⁰ **528** uniuersitas – consonaret] *cfr Eriugena, Periphyseon, III, 637D-638A, ed. E.A. Jeauneau, CC CM 163, pp. 28-9; PL 122, 637D-638A (=Honorius Augustodunensis, Clavis physicae, 131 – ed. P. Lucentini, Temi e Testi 21, pp. 98-9), ad sensum: Horum itaque omnium, similium dico et dissimilium, unus atque idem artifex est, cuius omnipotentia in nullius naturae deficit operatione. Proinde pulchritudo totius uniuersitatis conditae similium et*

530 Quamuis enim malum nichil sit per substantiam,
 et ideo eterne dei dispositioni^{694 695} nullam⁶⁹⁶ ingerat⁶⁹⁷ dissonantiam, [PL 1206C]
 tamen⁶⁹⁸ per idipsum quod est facit omnes⁶⁹⁹ substantias bonas⁷⁰⁰ apparere,
 et innotescit quam bonum⁷⁰¹ sit summo bono⁷⁰² deo⁷⁰³ adherere.⁷⁰⁴

D. Valde⁷⁰⁵ mirum de bonitate dei uidetur,

dissimilium mirabili quadam armonia constituta est, ex diuersis generibus uariisque formis, differentibus quoque substantiarum et accidentium ordinibus in unitatem quandam ineffabilem compacta. Vt enim organicum melos ex diuersis uocum qualitibus et quantitibus conficitur dum uiritim separatimque sentiuntur longe a se discrepantibus intentionis et remissionis proportionibus segregatae, dum uero sibi inuicem coaptantur secundum certas rationabilesque artis musicae regulas per singulos tropos naturalem quandam dulcedinem reddentibus, ita uniuersitatis concordia ex diuersis naturae unius subdiuisionibus a se inuicem dum singulariter inspiciuntur dissonantibus, iuxta conditoris uniformem uoluntatem coadunata est; *uide etiam* Honorius Augustodunensis, *Libellus VIII quaestionum*, V – PL 172, 1190CD: Porro natura rerum exigit, ut quae sunt in uniuersitate discrepantia, per sibi contrarium uel simile fiant consonantia. Vt uerbi gratia: uoces graues sunt acutis contrariae, et ideo dissona, per easdem autem personantias fiunt consimiles et consonae; idem, *Liber XII quaestionum*, II – PL 172, 1179B: Summus namque opifex uniuersitatem quasi magnam citharam condidit, in qua ueluti uarias chordas ad multiplices sonos reddendos posuit: dum uniuersum suum opus in duo, uel duo sibi contraria distinxit.

⁶⁹¹ 527/528 bonum clarius – uniuersitas quasi] *om. G Con*

⁶⁹² 528 reciprocis] *reciprocatis F*

⁶⁹³ 529 consonaret] *om. G*

⁶⁹⁴ 531 dei dispositioni] *transp. sed sup. l. signis rectum (?) ordinem indicauit E*

⁶⁹⁵ dispositioni] *dispotioni D*

⁶⁹⁶ nullum] *ullarum ut uid. G*

⁶⁹⁷ ingerat] *ingerit B*

⁶⁹⁸ tamen] *substantia praem. Con*

⁶⁹⁹ 532 omnes] *ante facit pos. A B*

⁷⁰⁰ substantias bonas] *transp. F*

⁷⁰¹ 533 bonum] *summum praem. F*

⁷⁰² bono] *om. F*

⁷⁰³ deo] *qui est summum bonum add. F, om. G Con*

⁷⁰⁴ adherere] *inhaerere G Con*

⁷⁰⁵ 534/535 D. Valde mirum – uidetur, quod] *A quibusdam quoque queri solet, cur deus F, ante A quibusdam lemma Quod quamuis deus penas fecerit, nichil tamen ad penas creauit. scr F*

535 quod aliquid creare uoluit, quod ęternis doloribus, ęternis⁷⁰⁶ cruciatibus subderetur,⁷⁰⁷
cum uideatur⁷⁰⁸ multo melius aliquam⁷⁰⁹ rem non⁷¹⁰ subsistere,⁷¹¹
quam misere subsistere,
aut ut lapidem insensibilem esse,
quam ęternos dolores sentire.^{712 713}

540 M.⁷¹⁴ Sapienti⁷¹⁵ deo melius uisum⁷¹⁶ est esse quod utcumque⁷¹⁷ est,
quam nullomodo esse,
et⁷¹⁸ ideo fecit esse,
omne⁷¹⁹ quod est.
Quod autem non omnia⁷²⁰ fecit⁷²¹ ęqualia,

⁷⁰⁶ **535** ęternis] et *praem. F*, aeternisque *Con*

⁷⁰⁷ subderetur] subde(re)retur *scr. sed sub. l. litteris minusculis mendum indicauit B*

⁷⁰⁸ **536** uideatur] uideretur *G Con*

⁷⁰⁹ aliquam] ad quam *A*, aliqua *B*

⁷¹⁰ non] *om. F*

⁷¹¹ subsistere] qualitercumque *add. F*

⁷¹² **538/539** aut ut lapidem *usq. dolores sentire] om. G*

⁷¹³ **539** sentire] tolerare *Con*

⁷¹⁴ **540** M.] *om. F*

⁷¹⁵ Sapienti] *Sed praem. F*

⁷¹⁶ uisum] *om. sed in marg. rest. A*

⁷¹⁷ quod utcumque] quodcumque *F*, utrumque *G Con*

⁷¹⁸ **541/542** esse, et] esse. *Et Con*

⁷¹⁹ **543** omne] *om. G Con*

⁷²⁰ **544** non omnia] *transp. F*

545 sed disparia,
per hoc cognoscitur⁷²² et ineffabilis⁷²³ sapientia artificis,
et inestimabilis ac uaria⁷²⁴ pulchritudo⁷²⁵ operis. [PL 1206D]
Et^{726 727} quamuis deus penas fecerit,
nichil⁷²⁸ tamen ad penas creauit.

550 Alioquin prestantior insensibilis creatura quam sensibilis esset,
que sine fine dolorem penas sentiret.
Rationalis porro⁷²⁹ natura⁷³⁰ dum sponte habitam iustitiam⁷³¹ abiecit,
tunc⁷³² propositam gloriam⁷³³ iuste⁷³⁴ amisit,
sicque miseriam⁷³⁵ incidit.

⁷²¹ omnia fecit] *transp. G Con*

⁷²² **546** cog(n)oscitur] *hanc litteram om. sed sup. l. rest. B*

⁷²³ ineffabilis] *infabilis E*

⁷²⁴ **547** ac uaria] *Adearia ut uid G, adornata Con*

⁷²⁵ pulchritudo] *plenitudo G Con*

⁷²⁶ **547/548** operis. Et] *operis, et E*

⁷²⁷ **548** Et] *Etiam G*

⁷²⁸ **549** nichil] *nil G*

⁷²⁹ **552** porro] *post creatura pos. G Con*

⁷³⁰ natura] *creatura F G Con*

⁷³¹ habitam iustitiam] *transp. G Con*

⁷³² **553** tunc] *om. F*

⁷³³ gloriam] *iustitiam E*

⁷³⁴ iuste] *om. E G Con*

⁷³⁵ **554** miseriam] *ita Migne, in praem. Con*

Est autem miseria inde dolere quod amisit,

nec posse habere quod cupit,

et de⁷³⁶ his in quibus est affligi,⁷³⁷

nec his^{738 739} posse exui.

560 Pēnis autem cruciari,

non est aliud quam sibi contrarium contra uoluntatem pati.

Ob decorem⁷⁴⁰ namque⁷⁴¹ uniuersitatis creauit⁷⁴² deus duo [PL 1207A]

et duo sibi contraria,⁷⁴³

ut aquam⁷⁴⁴ igni,

565 terram⁷⁴⁵ aeri.

Et⁷⁴⁶ in his creata animalia⁷⁴⁷ de⁷⁴⁸ contrariis dolorem patiuntur,

⁷³⁶ de] *om. G Con*

⁷³⁷ **558** affligi] *malis praem. F*

⁷³⁸ **559** nec his] *in C legere non potui*

⁷³⁹ his] *huius G*

⁷⁴⁰ **562** decorem] *dolorem E*

⁷⁴¹ **562** namque] *autem G Con*

⁷⁴² **562/563** creauit deus duo et duo sibi contraria] *cfr Eccli. 33, 15*

⁷⁴³ **563** sibi contraria] *transp. F*

⁷⁴⁴ **564** aquam] *aqua E*

⁷⁴⁵ **565** terram] *terra E, et praem. G Con*

⁷⁴⁶ **565/566** aeri. Et] *aeri, et E F*

⁷⁴⁷ **566** animalia] *alia G Con*

⁷⁴⁸ de] *quę a F*

sicut in aquis uel in terris formata in igne cruciantur.

/SALAMANDRIAM./

Salamandria^{749 750} quippe uiuit in flamma,

570 moritur⁷⁵¹ in unda,

piscis^{752 753} autem in aqua nutritur,⁷⁵⁴

in igne moritur.

Rationali itaque naturę⁷⁵⁵ sentire doloris⁷⁵⁶ amaritudinem,

est non habere suauitatis beatitudinem.

575 Ratio namque iustitię poscit,

ut semper sint⁷⁵⁷ in miserię amaritudine,⁷⁵⁸

qui sponte se exuerunt⁷⁵⁹ glorię beatitudine.⁷⁶⁰

Vt autem hoc sine fine sit,

hęc est⁷⁶¹ causa quod immortales creati sunt.

⁷⁴⁹ **569** Salamandria] Salamandra *G Con*

⁷⁵⁰ **569/570** cfr Honorius, *Libellus VIII quaestionum*, IV – PL 172, 1189D: . . . quaedam animalia sint in igne innoxia, ut fertur de Salamandra.

⁷⁵¹ **570** moritur] *om. sed in marg. rest. E*

⁷⁵² **570/571** unda, piscis] unda. *Piscis B E F*

⁷⁵³ **571** pis(cis)] *has litteras om. sed sup. l. rest. B*

⁷⁵⁴ nutritur] uiuit *D*, nutritus *G Con*

⁷⁵⁵ naturę] creature *G*

⁷⁵⁶ **573** doloris] dolorem *ut uid. scr. sed corr. C*, dolorum *D Con*

⁷⁵⁷ **576** sint] miseri *add. D*

⁷⁵⁸ miserię amaritudine] *transp. G Con*

⁷⁵⁹ se exuerunt] *transp. G*

⁷⁶⁰ **577** glorię beatitudine] *transp. F Con*, gloria beatitudinis *G*

580 D.⁷⁶² Cum ab eterno⁷⁶³ a⁷⁶⁴ deo esset⁷⁶⁵ dispositum,
 ut filius eius incarnaretur,
 uidetur necessario homo⁷⁶⁶ peccasse,
 quatenus propositum dei impleretur.⁷⁶⁷
 Si [PL 1207B] enim ille⁷⁶⁸ non peccasset,
 585 filius dei incarnatus non esset,⁷⁶⁹
 sicque statutum dei⁷⁷⁰ irritum fieret.⁷⁷¹
 Ergo ex necessitate uidetur utrumque pendere,
 et illum peccasse,
 et istum⁷⁷² in carne uenisse.⁷⁷³

590 /QUOD CHRISTUS AB ETERNO INCARNANDUS FUIT./

M.⁷⁷⁴ Deus ab eterno presciuit⁷⁷⁵ hominis lapsum,

⁷⁶¹ 579 hec est] *transp. A B E G Con*

⁷⁶² 580 D.] *lemma* De incarnatione dni *praem. G, Dicunt quidam. F, ante Dicunt lemma* Quod homo non peccauit
 necessarie *scr. F*

⁷⁶³ ab eterno] *et add. F*

⁷⁶⁴ a] *om. sed sup. l. rest. C, om. D*

⁷⁶⁵ esset] *ante a deo pos. Con*

⁷⁶⁶ 582 necessario homo] *transp. D*

⁷⁶⁷ 583 impleretur] *compleretur Con*

⁷⁶⁸ 584 ille] *ipse Con*

⁷⁶⁹ 585 esset] *fuisset B*

⁷⁷⁰ 586 dei] *om. D*

⁷⁷¹ irritum fieret] *transp. A B*

⁷⁷² 589 istum] *deum F*

⁷⁷³ in carne uenisse] *incarnatum fuisse G Con*

et ideo ab ęterno proposuit filium⁷⁷⁶ suum pro eius redemptione incarnandum.

Porro homo nulla⁷⁷⁷ necessitate, sed sola libera uoluntate peccauit,

et ideo ei⁷⁷⁸ dominus peccatum imputauit.

595 Qui si necessario⁷⁷⁹ ⁷⁸⁰ peccasset,

reus non esset,

cum hoc faceret,

quod uitare non posset.

Sed quia eum dominus⁷⁸¹ ⁷⁸² de peccato premonuit,⁷⁸³

600 et ei pęnam mortis proposuit,

et ipse⁷⁸⁴ diuina monita contempsit,

idcirco⁷⁸⁵ reus exstitit.

Quod autem filius dei est incarnatus,

seu pro [PL 1207C] homine immolatus,

⁷⁷⁴ **591** M.] Ad hęc respondemus. *F*

⁷⁷⁵ presciuit] *ante* ab ęterno *pos.* *G Con*

⁷⁷⁶ **592** filium] illum *praem.* *Con*

⁷⁷⁷ **593** nulla] *duplicauit. sed exp.* *E*

⁷⁷⁸ **594** ei] *om. E G, om. sed illi ante imputauit scr.* *Con*

⁷⁷⁹ **595** si necessario] *transp.* *F*

⁷⁸⁰ necessario] *necessitate A B*

⁷⁸¹ **599** eum dominus] *transp.* *Con*

⁷⁸² dominus] *om. F*

⁷⁸³ premonuit] *permonuit G*

⁷⁸⁴ **601** et ipse] *ipseque F*

⁷⁸⁵ **602** idcirco] *iccirco E*

605 quantum ad ipsum sola fuit uoluntas,
quantum ad hominem summa necessitas.

Nisi enim hic incarnaretur,
ille numquam saluaretur.

Necesse ergo fuit⁷⁸⁶ homini,

610 ut ille uellet incarnari.

CVR ANGELVS VEL HOMO⁷⁸⁷ HOMINEM⁷⁸⁸ NON REDEMIT.⁷⁸⁹

D. Cur⁷⁹⁰ non angelus uel homo⁷⁹¹ pro redimendo⁷⁹² homine⁷⁹³ est missus,⁷⁹⁴
sed dei filius?⁷⁹⁵

M. Ratio⁷⁹⁶ iustitię hoc poposcit.⁷⁹⁷

615 Angelus enim pro homine⁷⁹⁸ mitti non debuit,
quia nichil homo ad angelicam naturam pertinuit.⁷⁹⁹

⁷⁸⁶ 609 ergo fuit] *transp. E G*

⁷⁸⁷ 611 angelus uel homo] *transp. D*

⁷⁸⁸ homin(em)] *has litteras legere non potui in C*

⁷⁸⁹ redemit] *redemerit A*

⁷⁹⁰ 612 D. Cur] *Sed queritur cur F*

⁷⁹¹ angelus uel homo] *transp. sed sup. l. signis rectum ordinem indicauit E*

⁷⁹² pro redimendo] *ad redimendum E*

⁷⁹³ homine] *hominem E*

⁷⁹⁴ est missus] *transp. E*

⁷⁹⁵ 613 dei filius] *transp. E F*

⁷⁹⁶ 614 M. Ratio] *Sed ratio F*

⁷⁹⁷ poposcit] *(pop)oscit has litteras ut uid in. ras. scr. E*

⁷⁹⁸ 615 homine] *redimendo add. F*

Homo uero mitti non debuit,
quia omnis homo peccator fuit,⁸⁰⁰
et⁸⁰¹ peccator peccatorem redimere non potuit.

620 Illum ergo mitti oportuit,
qui solus sine peccato hominem deo^{802 803} reconciliare potuit.⁸⁰⁴

DE INCARNATIONE CHRISTI.⁸⁰⁵

D. Cur^{806 807} nec pater, nec spiritus sanctus,
sed [PL 1207D] solus filius est⁸⁰⁸ incarnatus?

625 M.⁸⁰⁹ Iustitia hoc exegit.⁸¹⁰
Ipse^{811 812 813} enim quasi secundo loco post patrem est deus,

⁷⁹⁹ 616 pertinuit] pertinebat *F*

⁸⁰⁰ 618 omnis homo peccator fuit] cfr Rom. 3, 10 et sq. atque 5, 12

⁸⁰¹ 618/619 fuit, et] fuit. Et *G*

⁸⁰² 621 hominem deo] *transp. Con*

⁸⁰³ deo] *om. sed sup. l. rest. B*

⁸⁰⁴ 620/621 Illum ergo – reconciliare potuit] *om. F G*

⁸⁰⁵ 622 De incarnatione Christi] De Xti Incarnatione. Cur solus filius incarnatus sit? *A*

⁸⁰⁶ 623 D. Cur] Sed iterum queritur, cur *F*

⁸⁰⁷ 623/634 Cur nec pater – ab angelis adorari] cfr Anselmus Cantuariensis, *Cur deus homo*, II, ix – ed. F.S. Schmitt, 1946, p. 105; PL 158, 407D-408A, *ad sensum*: Item. Homo pro quo erat oraturus, et diabolus quem erat expugnaturus, ambo falsam similitudinem dei per propriam uoluntatem praesumpserant. Vnde quasi specialius aduersus personam filii peccauerant, qui uera patris similitudo creditur. Illi itaque cui specialius fit iniuria, conuenientius attribuitur culpae uindicta aut indulgentia; *uide etiam* Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarium* 119 – ed. Y. Lefèvre, 1954, pp. 382-3: D. – . . . Sed dic mihi cur Filius sit incarnatus, et non Pater nec Spiritus Sanctus. M. – . . . Filius est Dei similitudo; angelus autem et homo assumpserant sibi similitudinem Dei. Debuit ergo ille incarnari, cui specialiter iniuria facta fuerat; ut istum misericorditer saluaret, illum iuste damnaret.

⁸⁰⁸ 624 est] sit *F*

⁸⁰⁹ 625 M.] *om. F*

⁸¹⁰ exegit] exigit *F*

non⁸¹⁴ dignitate,

sed⁸¹⁵ ordine.

Equalis est enim⁸¹⁶ deo patri, ut puta⁸¹⁷ unum cum eo,

630 unde⁸¹⁸ et similitudo et imago⁸¹⁹ dei dicitur.

Diabolus⁸²⁰ autem sibi hoc priuilegium usurpauit,

dum *similis altissimo* esse uoluit,

scilicet⁸²¹ deus dici,

et ut deus⁸²² ab angelis adorari.

635 Et⁸²³ quia⁸²⁴ hoc⁸²⁵ in cęlo ab angelis non obtinuit,

in mundo ab hominibus se ut deum coli,⁸²⁶ et ut deum adorari docuit.

⁸¹¹ **625/626** exegit. Ipse] exegit, ipse *G*

⁸¹² **626** Ipse] Ipse] *E*

⁸¹³ **626/628** Ipse – sed ordine] cfr Ps. Beda, *In Psalmum XVIII commentarius* – PL 93, 581D: Pater enim est summum caelum, quia est primum caelum non dignitate, uel potentia, sed ordine, quia non est ab alio, sed lux per se est.

⁸¹⁴ **627** non] et *F*

⁸¹⁵ **628** sed] et *F*

⁸¹⁶ **629** est enim] *transp. F*

⁸¹⁷ ut puta] utputo *legit sed sup. l. nullo mendi signo utpote scr. F*

⁸¹⁸ **629/630** eo, unde] eo. Vnde *G Con*

⁸¹⁹ **630** et imago] *om. G Con*

⁸²⁰ **631/634** Diabolus – adorari] cfr *supra lineas 228-229*

⁸²¹ **633** scilicet] subaudit *E*

⁸²² **634** ut deus] *post ab angelis pos. G Con*

⁸²³ **634/635** adorari. Et] adorari, et *E G*

⁸²⁴ **635** quia] *om. D*

⁸²⁵ hoc] hęc *E F, ante non obtinuit pos. G Con*

Oportuit ergo ut [PL 1208A] cui⁸²⁷ iniuria facta est ueniret,⁸²⁸

et se uerum deum, et illum fallacem ostenderet.

D. Et⁸²⁹ cur⁸³⁰ in homine uenit?

640 M.⁸³¹ Vt ipse innocens homo pro homine reo deo⁸³² patri⁸³³ satisfaceret,

et per⁸³⁴ hominem tyrannum reprimeret,

atque hominem ab eo deceptum erueret.

D. Per quid perdidit diabolus hominem,

quem quasi iure⁸³⁵ possedit?^{836 837}

645 QUOD DIABOLVS HOMINEM PER IVSTITIAM AMISIT.

M.⁸³⁸ Per iustitiam dei et potentiam.⁸³⁹

⁸²⁶ 636 colij] cęli *scr. sed sup. l. corr. F*

⁸²⁷ 637 cui] *om. sed sup. l. rest. F*

⁸²⁸ ueniret] *ut praem. G*

⁸²⁹ 639 D. Et] *Sed F*

⁸³⁰ cur] *dicis add. F*

⁸³¹ 640 M.] *om. F*

⁸³² deo] *om. D*

⁸³³ patri] *et praem. A B*

⁸³⁴ 641 per] *se add. F*

⁸³⁵ 643 iure] *om. G Con* quasi iure] *quondam Migne*

⁸³⁶ 643/644 D. Per quid perdidit *usq. iure possedit?*] *om. et lemma* Quod diabolus iuste est dampnatus, homo misericorditer redemptus. *scr. F*

⁸³⁷ 643/644 Per quid – iure possedit?] *cfr* Anselmus Cantuariensis, *Cur deus homo*, I, vii – ed. F.S. Schmitt, 1946, p. 56; PL 158, 367A-B: . . . quoniam iuste [diabolus] possidebat hominem, quem non ipse uiolenter attraxerat, sed idem homo ad illum se sponte contulerat . . .

⁸³⁸ 646 M.] *om. F*

⁸³⁹ potentiam] *per praem. F, a.c. perdidit (deus) hominem quem possedit add. et in marg. diabolus pro deus rest. F*

In potentiam⁸⁴⁰ enim dei ut⁸⁴¹ cœcus grauiter offendit,

quia⁸⁴² non solum⁸⁴³ se deo⁸⁴⁴ coęquauit,⁸⁴⁵

sed super deum exaltauit,^{846 847 848}

650 dum se a dei filio patri coęquali in temptatione adorari imperauit.⁸⁴⁹

Offensam uero⁸⁵⁰ iustitię dei grauiter in passione⁸⁵¹ incurrit,

dum [PL 1208B] iustum et⁸⁵² innocentem hominem occidit.

⁸⁴⁰ **647** po(tentiam)] *has litteras om. sed in marg. rest. B*

⁸⁴¹ ut] *diabolus praem. F*

⁸⁴² **648** quia] *iam add. Con*

⁸⁴³ solum] *om. G*

⁸⁴⁴ se deo] *transp. G Con*

⁸⁴⁵ coęquauit] *aequauit G Con*

⁸⁴⁶ **649** exaltauit] *se praem. F G Con*

⁸⁴⁷ **648/649** non solum – exaltauit] *cfr Isidorus Hispalensis, Sententiae, 1, 10, 8 – ed. P. Cazier, CC SL 110, p. 31; PL 83, 555B (=Burchardus Wormaciensis, Decretorum libri uiginti, 20, 54 – PL 140, 1333D-1334A; = Ivo Carnotensis, Decretum, 17, 65 – PL 161, 990B): Diabolus uero non solum in hoc contentus quod se Deo aequalem existimans cecidit, insuper etiam superiorem Deo se dicit, secundum apostoli dicta, qui ait de Antichristo: Qui aduersatur et extollitur supra omne quod dicitur Deus aut colitur. Vide etiam Honorius Augustodunensis, Elucidarium, 32-33 – ed. Y. Lefèvre, 1954, p. 367: D – In quo fuit Deo contrarius? M – Cum uideret se omnes angelorum ordines gloria et decore excellere, spretis omnibus, uoluit Deo aequalis, immo maior existere. D – Quomodo aequalis uel maior? M – Meliorem statum, quam ei Deus dedisset, uoluit, Deo inuito, arripere et aliis per tyrannidem imperare. Idem, De anima et de Deo, quaedam ex Augustino excerpta, sub dialogo exarata – ed. M.-O. Garrigues, 1977, p. 255: D – Et cur dampnantur qui haec cupiunt, si Deum desiderant uel amant, a quo haec omnia sunt? M – Quia haec quisque non ideo desiderat uel amat ut Deo fruatur, sunt (sic) ut ipse prae ceteris hominibus singularis uideatur et cunctos sub se despiceat, quibus ipse solus ut Deus superemineat, sicque fit membrum illius qui singularis inter angelos esse disposuit, dum solus similis Altissimo esse uoluit.*

⁸⁴⁸ **649** super deum exaltauit] *cfr Is. 14, 12-13: quomodo cecidisti de caelo lucifer . . . qui dicebas in corde tuo in caelum conscendam super astra Dei exaltabo; uide etiam II Thess. 2, 3-4: filius perdicionis qui aduersatur et extollitur supra omne quod dicitur Deus aut quod colitur ita ut in templo Dei sedeat ostendens se quia sit Deus.*

⁸⁴⁹ **650** *cfr Matth. 4, 9 atque Luc. 4, 7*

⁸⁵⁰ **651** uero] *quoque F*

⁸⁵¹ passione] *eius add. F*

⁸⁵² **652** et] *om. sed sup. l. rest. E*

Ergo per iustitiam,

expertus est potentiam.

655 Nam dum iustus homo iniuste occiditur,

iniustus tyrannus iuste opprimitur,

et⁸⁵³ homo deceptus,

iniuste⁸⁵⁴ oppressus,

per iustitiam redimitur,

660 atque per potentiam super angelum quem ut deum coluit constituitur.

Vnde adhuc prosperę⁸⁵⁵ res secundę⁸⁵⁶ dicuntur,

quia per iustitiam peruenitur ad ęternam potentiam.

D. Est in⁸⁵⁷ infantibus liberum arbitrium?⁸⁵⁸

M.⁸⁵⁹ Naturaliter inest eis^{860 861} liberum arbitrium,

665 sed ut ignis in silice latens, nichil in eis operatur.⁸⁶²

D. Cur ergo⁸⁶³ non omnes pueri post redemptionem⁸⁶⁴ saluantur,⁸⁶⁵

⁸⁵³ 657 et] *om. A B*

⁸⁵⁴ 658 iniuste] *et praem. F*

⁸⁵⁵ 661 prosperę] *prospere CD*

⁸⁵⁶ res secundę] *res, secundę E*

⁸⁵⁷ 663 in] *om. G*

⁸⁵⁸ D. Est in infantibus liberum arbitrium?] *om. et lemma* Quod naturaliter infantibus liberum arbitrium insitum est. *scr. F*

⁸⁵⁹ 664 M.] *om. F*

⁸⁶⁰ eis] *infantibus F*

⁸⁶¹ inest eis] *transp. G*

⁸⁶² 665 operatur] *post nichil pos. F*

in quibus liberum arbitrium adhuc nichil⁸⁶⁶ [PL 1208C] operatur?

M. Hoc ex⁸⁶⁷ ratione iustitię procedit,

quę⁸⁶⁸ nichil homini preter pęnam debita⁸⁶⁹ est.

670 D. Et⁸⁷⁰ quare⁸⁷¹ plurimi saluantur,⁸⁷²

in quibus eque⁸⁷³ liberum arbitrium nil⁸⁷⁴ operatur?

CVR NON OMNES INFANTES⁸⁷⁵ SALVENTUR.

M. Hoc autem ex⁸⁷⁶ gratia descendit,

quę etiam immeritis sua dona tribuit.

675 Sicut⁸⁷⁷ alicuius ciuitatis populus, si⁸⁷⁸ regem offenderet,⁸⁷⁹

⁸⁶³ **666** D. Cur ergo] Sed quare *F* ergo] *om. G Con*

⁸⁶⁴ post redemptionem] pro redemptione *G Con*

⁸⁶⁵ saluantur] saluentur *F*

⁸⁶⁶ **667** adhuc nichil] *a.c. transp. B, ante liberum arbitrium pos. F*

⁸⁶⁷ **668** M. Hoc ex] Ex *F*

⁸⁶⁸ **669** quę] qua *F*, quia *G Con*

⁸⁶⁹ debita] debitum *F Con*

⁸⁷⁰ **670** D. Et] Sed *F*

⁸⁷¹ quare] igitur *add. F*

⁸⁷² saluantur] saluentur *F*

⁸⁷³ **671** eque] eque *C*

⁸⁷⁴ nil] nichil *E G Con*

⁸⁷⁵ **672** infantes] pueri *A*

⁸⁷⁶ **673** M. Hoc autem ex] Ex *F*

⁸⁷⁷ **675** Sicut] *om. G Con*

⁸⁷⁸ si] *ante alicuius pos. G Con*

⁸⁷⁹ offenderet] offenderit *Con*

ipse⁸⁸⁰ quosdam iuste puniret,
quosdam clementer absolueret,
sic⁸⁸¹ cum totus mundus deum offendisset,
de quibusdam supplicium per iustitiam sumpsit,
680 quibusdam autem per misericordiam⁸⁸² ignouit.
D. Vnde est quod⁸⁸³ multi⁸⁸⁴ iam⁸⁸⁵ liberi arbitrii [PL 1208D] compotes saluantur,⁸⁸⁶
et⁸⁸⁷ plurimi non saluantur?⁸⁸⁸
M. Eadem⁸⁸⁹ causa⁸⁹⁰ est quę iam⁸⁹¹ dicta est.⁸⁹²
Illi qui saluantur,
685 ex gratia, et⁸⁹³ ex⁸⁹⁴ libero arbitrio, et ex dono dei,⁸⁹⁵

⁸⁸⁰ 676 ipse] ipse E

⁸⁸¹ 677/678 absolueret, sic] absolueret. Sic G Con

⁸⁸² 680 per misericordiam] *transp.* G

⁸⁸³ 681 D. Vnde est quod] Iterum queritur quare F

⁸⁸⁴ multi] plurimi F

⁸⁸⁵ multi iam] *transp.* G

⁸⁸⁶ saluantur] saluentur F

⁸⁸⁷ 682 et] *om.* F

⁸⁸⁸ non saluantur] pereant F

⁸⁸⁹ 683 M. Eadem] Sed eadem F

⁸⁹⁰ causa] causam *ut uid.* G

⁸⁹¹ iam] *om.* G Con

⁸⁹² dicta est] *transp.* F

⁸⁹³ 685 et] *om.* E F

⁸⁹⁴ ex] *om.* G Con

et ex⁸⁹⁶ proprio hominis⁸⁹⁷ merito⁸⁹⁸ saluantur.⁸⁹⁹

/QVOD OMNES EX GRATIA SALVENTUR./

Ex gratia⁹⁰⁰ quippe est quod a deo preuenti bonum uolunt,

ex⁹⁰¹ libero⁹⁰² arbitrio quod bonum non⁹⁰³ deserunt,

690 cuius⁹⁰⁴ boni perseuerantia dono dei et merito hominis ascribitur,
pro quo et uite premio remunerabitur.

Qui⁹⁰⁵ enim perseuerauerit usque⁹⁰⁶ in finem,

hic saluus erit. [PL 1209A]

D. Vnde est quod quidam in malis inueterati tandem saluantur?⁹⁰⁷

695 M.⁹⁰⁸ Ex gratia,⁹⁰⁹ et ex⁹¹⁰ libero⁹¹¹ arbitrio.⁹¹²

⁸⁹⁵ dono dei] *transp. F*

⁸⁹⁶ **686** ex] non *praem. Con*

⁸⁹⁷ hominis] homines *scr. et post saluantur pos. G Con*

⁸⁹⁸ hominis merito] *transp. F*

⁸⁹⁹ saluantur] saluabuntur *F*

⁹⁰⁰ **687** dei] *add. G Con*

⁹⁰¹ **688/689** uolunt, ex] uolunt. *Ex F G Con*

⁹⁰² **689** libero] proprio *praem. D*

⁹⁰³ non] *om. sed sup. l. rest. B*

⁹⁰⁴ **689/690** deserunt, cuius] deserunt. *Cuius Con*

⁹⁰⁵ **692/693** Matth. 24, 13

⁹⁰⁶ **692/693** usque in finem, hic saluus erit] ·u·i·f·h·s·e· *D*

⁹⁰⁷ **694** D. Vnde est *usq. tandem saluantur?*] *om. et lemma Quod quidam inueterati in malis saluantur. scr. F*

⁹⁰⁸ **695** M.] *om. F*

⁹⁰⁹ gratia] dei *add. F*

⁹¹⁰ ex] *om. sed sup. l. rest. E, om. G Con*

Ex gratia quippe preuentis⁹¹³ bona uoluntas diuinitus gratis⁹¹⁴ inspiratur,
ex libero arbitrio⁹¹⁵ ipse⁹¹⁶ oblate gratie⁹¹⁷ cooperantur,
et pro hoc merito saluantur.

Hęc duo ut anima et corpus simul sunt.

700 Per⁹¹⁸ gratiam⁹¹⁹ arbitrium, ut corpus per animam uiuificatur,
arbitrium⁹²⁰ gratie, ⁹²¹ ut corpus anime⁹²² cooperatur.
Gratia⁹²³ sine libero arbitrio per se⁹²⁴ est potens⁹²⁵ ad saluandum,
liberum^{926 927} arbitrium sine gratia est impotens ad bonum operandum.

⁹¹¹ libero] est *add. F*

⁹¹² arbitrio] quod quidam in malis inueterati saluantur *add. F*

⁹¹³ **696** preuentis] preuenti *G*, preuenienti *Con*

⁹¹⁴ gratis] *om. F*

⁹¹⁵ **697** ex libero arbitrio] et per liberum arbitrium *F*

⁹¹⁶ ipse] ipse *B C*, ipsi *D G Con*

⁹¹⁷ gratie] *om. G Con*

⁹¹⁸ **699/700** sunt. Per] sunt, per *G*

⁹¹⁹ **700** gratiam] namque *add. G Con*

⁹²⁰ **701** arbitrium] uero *add. G Con*

⁹²¹ **701** gratie] *om. sed in marg. alia manu ut uid. rest F*

⁹²² anime] anima *ut uid. G*

⁹²³ **702** Gratia] uero *add. F*

⁹²⁴ per se] *ante potens pos. G Con*

⁹²⁵ est potens] *transp. E F*

⁹²⁶ **702/703** saluandum, liberum] saluandum. Liberum *G Con*

⁹²⁷ **703** liberum] autem *add. F*

Igitur per gratiam libero arbitrio⁹²⁸ meritum⁹²⁹ imputatur,⁹³⁰
705 cuius perseuerantia premio⁹³¹ coronatur.
Gratia⁹³² est quod perplures⁹³³ dum a pueritia usque [PL 1209B] ad decrepitam⁹³⁴
[etatem]⁹³⁵ in malitia insatiabiliter⁹³⁶ grassantur,
et⁹³⁷ in ipso uite exitu per penitentiam ab ipsis⁹³⁸ iam⁹³⁹ diaboli faucibus rapiuntur,⁹⁴⁰
et paradysi amenitate confouendi⁹⁴¹ deducuntur.
710 D. Et⁹⁴² cur⁹⁴³ alii⁹⁴⁴ non saluantur?
M. Hoc⁹⁴⁵ ex iustitia, et ex⁹⁴⁶ libero arbitrio esse non ignoratur.

⁹²⁸ **704** libero arbitrio] liberum arbitrium *G Con*

⁹²⁹ meritum] multum *G Con*

⁹³⁰ imputatur] operatur *G Con*

⁹³¹ **705** premio] primo *Con*

⁹³² **706** Gratia] enim *add. F*

⁹³³ perplures] plures *F*, per plures annos *G Migne*, plures annos *Con*,

⁹³⁴ decrepitam] decrepitum *Con*

⁹³⁵ etatem] *om. omnes codd. et edd. excepto F cuius librarius emendationem factam esse uidetur, cfr Inevitabile in uersione prima lineae 444*

⁹³⁶ **707** insatiabiliter] *om. sed in marg. alia manu rest. E*

⁹³⁷ **708** et] *om. E F G Con*

⁹³⁸ ab ipsis] abissis *B*

⁹³⁹ iam] *om. G Con*

⁹⁴⁰ rapiuntur] eripiuntur *F*

⁹⁴¹ **709** confouendi] confruendi *Con*

⁹⁴² **710** Et] *om. ut uid. sed rest B*

⁹⁴³ D. Et cur] Sed cur *F*

⁹⁴⁴ alii] quidam in decrepita etate *add. F*

Ex iustitia,

quia gratia⁹⁴⁷ ad bonum non emolliuntur,⁹⁴⁸

sed in malitia⁹⁴⁹ indurari permittuntur.⁹⁵⁰

715 Licet⁹⁵¹ sepius fons gratie⁹⁵² large⁹⁵³ in eos effluat,⁹⁵⁴

et eis⁹⁵⁵ penitentiam ad horam tribuat,

quam ipsi mox abiciunt,

et ut canes⁹⁵⁶ ad uomitum redeunt.⁹⁵⁷

Ex libero autem arbitrio,

720 quia iustitiam oblatam⁹⁵⁸ recipere nolunt,

et iniquitatem magis diligunt.⁹⁵⁹

⁹⁴⁵ 711 M. Hoc] *om. F*

⁹⁴⁶ ex] *om. G Con*

⁹⁴⁷ 713 gratia] *ex praem. F*

⁹⁴⁸ emolliuntur] (e)moliuntur *litteram primam sup. l. rest. F*

⁹⁴⁹ 714 in malitia] *om. G Con*

⁹⁵⁰ permittuntur] *perittuntur F*

⁹⁵¹ 714/715 permittuntur. Licet] *perittuntur, licet A B E F*

⁹⁵² 715 fons gratie] *a.c. ante sepius pos. E*

⁹⁵³ large] *om. Con*

⁹⁵⁴ effluat] *profluat D, affluat G Con*

⁹⁵⁵ 716 eis] *in praem. D*

⁹⁵⁶ 718 ut canes ad uomitum redeunt] *cf. Prou. 26, 11 atque II Petr. 2, 22*

⁹⁵⁷ 718 ad uicia] *praem. F*

⁹⁵⁸ 720 oblatam] *ablatam G*

⁹⁵⁹ 721 diligunt] *deligunt Migne*

Illis⁹⁶⁰ supradictis⁹⁶¹ est uerbum dei⁹⁶² causa salutis,⁹⁶³ et [PL 1209C] uia ad uitam,
istis⁹⁶⁴ autem⁹⁶⁵ causa⁹⁶⁶ mortis, et testimonium ad interitum.

/QVOD NEMO PREDESTINATVS PERIBIT./

725 Illi⁹⁶⁷ sunt⁹⁶⁸ uasa misericordię preparata in honorem,
isti⁹⁶⁹ uasa irę preparata in contumeliam.

De illis nemo perire poterit,⁹⁷⁰

de istis nemo saluus erit.

Illis preparatum⁹⁷¹ est⁹⁷² regnum a constitutione mundi,

730 istis caminus ignis⁹⁷³ cum diabolo et angelis eius.⁹⁷⁴

/QVOD MVLTI IN CLAVSTRO PERIBVNT./

⁹⁶⁰ 722 Illis] uero *add. F*

⁹⁶¹ supradictis] id est qui iustitiam diligunt *add. F*

⁹⁶² dei] *om. E*

⁹⁶³ salutis] *post uerbum pos. B*

⁹⁶⁴ 722/723 uitam, istis] uitam. Istis *G Con*

⁹⁶⁵ 723 autem] qui oblatam ultro gratiam non recipiunt *add. F*

⁹⁶⁶ causa] est *add. F*

⁹⁶⁷ 725/726 Illi sunt uasa misericordię – in contumeliam] *cfr Rom. 9, 22–23 atque II Tim. 2, 20–21*

⁹⁶⁸ 725 sunt] sibi *add. G*

⁹⁶⁹ 725/726 honorem, isti] honorem. Isti *G Con*

⁹⁷⁰ 727 perire poterit] *transp. B, perit F*

⁹⁷¹ 729 preparatum est regnum a constitutione mundi] *cfr Matth. 25, 34b*

⁹⁷² 729 preparatum est] *transp. G Con*

⁹⁷³ 730 caminus ignis] *cfr Matth. 13, 42 atque 13, 50*

⁹⁷⁴ 730 cum diabolo et angelis eius] *cfr Matth. 25, 41b*

Ex hac uarietate⁹⁷⁵ euenit quod plerique qui⁹⁷⁶ in monasteriis sub magna
districtione uitam transigunt,

quamplurimi in heremo degentes summa abstinencia uitam solitariam ducunt,

735 ad extremum⁹⁷⁷ ad ima baratri descendunt.

D. Hoc est omni⁹⁷⁸ admiratione stupendum.⁹⁷⁹

M.⁹⁸⁰ Accipe⁹⁸¹ causas⁹⁸² singulorum.

Qui⁹⁸³ in monasteriis [PL 1209D] pereunt,

in sua prudentia confidunt,

740 prelatorum monita contempnunt,

in⁹⁸⁴ inobedientia obeunt.⁹⁸⁵

/DE MONACHIS./

Qui uero⁹⁸⁶ in heremo intereunt,

sine discretione uiuunt,

⁹⁷⁵ 732 uarietate] *om. sed s.l.a.m. rest. E, quippe praem. F*

⁹⁷⁶ qui] *om. G Con*

⁹⁷⁷ 735 ad extremum] *tamen add. F*

⁹⁷⁸ 736 D. Hoc est omni] *Sed hoc tamen est magna F*

⁹⁷⁹ stupendum] *quia multi causas horum ignorant. add. F*

⁹⁸⁰ 737 M.] *om. F*

⁹⁸¹ Accipe] *Accipite ergo F*

⁹⁸² causas] *hec ammirantes praem. F*

⁹⁸³ 738/739 singulorum. Qui] *singulorum, qui G*

⁹⁸⁴ 741 in] *et praem. E*

⁹⁸⁵ obeunt] *abeunt G*

⁹⁸⁶ 743 uero] *om. E*

745 quod⁹⁸⁷ ⁹⁸⁸sibi eligunt ut sanctum⁹⁸⁹ sectantur,⁹⁹⁰
exempla patrum⁹⁹¹ ⁹⁹²despiciendo aspernantur.

De his scribitur:⁹⁹³ *Sunt*⁹⁹⁴ *uię*⁹⁹⁵ *quę uidentur ab*⁹⁹⁶ *hominibus iustę*,⁹⁹⁷
*quarum*⁹⁹⁸ *finis deducit ad interitum.*

D. Quamobrem⁹⁹⁹ in eadem culpa pares,

750 quidam saluantur,¹⁰⁰⁰
quidam reprobantur?

QVOD PARES IN MALVM¹⁰⁰¹ ALIVS SALVATVR¹⁰⁰² PER GRATIAM
ALIVS¹⁰⁰³ DAMPNATVR PER IVSTITIAM.

⁹⁸⁷ 744/745 uiuunt, quod] uiuunt. Quod *E*

⁹⁸⁸ 745 quod] et *praem. F*, quando *Con*

⁹⁸⁹ sanctum] sanctorum *G Con*

⁹⁹⁰ sectantur] sectentur *G Con*

⁹⁹¹ 746 patrum] patris *G Con*

⁹⁹² 746/747 ut sanctum sectantur, exempla patrum] ut sanctorum sectentur exempla, patris praecepta *Con*

⁹⁹³ 747 scribitur] sic *praem. F*

⁹⁹⁴ 747/748 Prou. 14, 12; cfr Matth. 7, 13 Est uia quae uidetur homini iusta nouissima autem eius deducunt ad mortem. *Vulg.*

⁹⁹⁵ uię] *om. F*

⁹⁹⁶ ab] *om. D G Con*

⁹⁹⁷ iustę] recte *praem. sed punctis sub l. mendum indicauit D*, iusta *F*

⁹⁹⁸ quarum] quorum *F*

⁹⁹⁹ 749 D. Quamobrem] Queritur quamobrem *F*, ante Queritur lemma De his qui equaliter peccant, quorum unus saluatur, alter dampnatur. *scr. F*

¹⁰⁰⁰ 750 saluantur] saluentur *F*

¹⁰⁰¹ 752 malum] malis *A*

¹⁰⁰² alius saluatur] alii saluantur *A*

M.¹⁰⁰⁴ Hinc incomprehensibilia iudicia dei¹⁰⁰⁵ predicantur,
 755 qui¹⁰⁰⁶ *terribilis*¹⁰⁰⁷ *in consiliis*¹⁰⁰⁸ *super filios*¹⁰⁰⁹ *hominum*¹⁰¹⁰ affirmatur,¹⁰¹¹
 qui¹⁰¹² eligit per misericordiam¹⁰¹³ [PL 1210A] quem uult,
 et reprobat per iustitiam quem uult,
 cui¹⁰¹⁴ nemo potest dicere, *cur sic*¹⁰¹⁵ *facis*,^{1016 1017}
*cuius*¹⁰¹⁸ *uniuersę uię misericordia*¹⁰¹⁹ *et ueritas*.¹⁰²⁰

¹⁰⁰³ 753 alius] alii A

¹⁰⁰⁴ 754 M.] om. F

¹⁰⁰⁵ iudicia dei] *transp.* F G Con

¹⁰⁰⁶ 755 qui] et *add.* F

¹⁰⁰⁷ 755 Ps. 65, 5b

¹⁰⁰⁸ consiliis] suis *add.* F

¹⁰⁰⁹ filios] om. A

¹⁰¹⁰ super filios hominum] ·s·f·h· D

¹⁰¹¹ affirmatur] affirma(t)tur *a.c. scr. sed sub. l. puncto mendum indicauit C*

¹⁰¹² 755/756 affirmatur, qui] affirmatur. Qui F

¹⁰¹³ 756 misericordiam] gratiam B

¹⁰¹⁴ 757/758 uult, cui] uult. Cui E

¹⁰¹⁵ sic] ita F Con, om. G

¹⁰¹⁶ 758 cur sic facis] cfr Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, IX, xv, 22 – ed. M. Adriaen, CC SL 143, p. 472; PL 75, 871C: Auctoris facta semper indiscussa ueneranda sunt quia iniusta esse nequaquam possunt.

¹⁰¹⁷ 758 cui – facis] Iob 9, 12 . . . uel quis dicere potest cur facis

¹⁰¹⁸ 759 cuius uniuersę uię misericordia et ueritas] Ps. 24, 10a

¹⁰¹⁹ 759 misericordia] misericordię A B

¹⁰²⁰ 756/759 Qui eligit–ueritas] Isidorus Hispalensis, *Liber differentiarum [II]*, xxx, 119 [*uetus xxxii*, 119] – ed. M.A. Andrés Sanz, CC SL 111A, pp. 77-8; PL 83, 88C (=Ratramnus Corbiensis, *De praedestinatione*, II – PL 121, 61C): . . . neque quemquam saluari siue damnari, eligi uel reprobati, nisi ex proposito praedestinantis Dei, qui iustus est in reprobatis, misericors in electis. *Vniuersae enim uiae Domini misericordia est ueritas.*

760 D.¹⁰²¹ Vtrum magis gratiē an libero arbitrio salus ascribitur?^{1022 1023}

/QVOD SINE GRATIA NEMO SALVATUR./

M.¹⁰²⁴ Summa salutis gratiē dei attribuitur,

cui et¹⁰²⁵ merita ascribuntur,

quia¹⁰²⁶ nemo¹⁰²⁷ potest uenire ad filium qui est uita ęterna, nisi pater per gratiam,

765 id¹⁰²⁸ est spiritum sanctum¹⁰²⁹ traxerit¹⁰³⁰ eum.¹⁰³¹

Sine illo enim nichil possumus facere.¹⁰³²

Deus¹⁰³³ quippe¹⁰³⁴ operatur¹⁰³⁵ in nobis et¹⁰³⁶ uelle et posse pro bona uoluntate.^{1037 1038}

¹⁰²¹ 760 D.] *om. F*

¹⁰²² ascribitur] ascribatur *F*

¹⁰²³ Vtrum magis – ascribatur] *non quaestio sed lemma est in F*

¹⁰²⁴ 762 M.] *om. F*

¹⁰²⁵ 763 et] *etiam F G Con*

¹⁰²⁶ 763/764 ascribuntur, quia] ascribuntur. Et *G*

¹⁰²⁷ 764/765 Ioh. 6, 44

¹⁰²⁸ 765 id] *hoc G*

¹⁰²⁹ spiritum sanctum] *per praem. E F G Con, meliorem lectionem retinuit Migne*

¹⁰³⁰ traxerit] *attraxerit G Con*

¹⁰³¹ eum] *om. G*

¹⁰³² 766 *cf. Ioh. 15, 5b*

¹⁰³³ 767 Deus – uoluntate] *Phil. 2, 13 Deus est enim qui operatur in uobis et uelle et perficere pro bona uoluntate. Vulg.*

¹⁰³⁴ 767 Deus quippe] *qui F*

¹⁰³⁵ operatur] *preoperatur F, post in nobis pos. G*

¹⁰³⁶ et] *om. B*

¹⁰³⁷ pro bona uoluntate] *perficere praem. sed exp. E*

D. Si¹⁰³⁹ deus operatur,

quę merces homini imputatur? [PL 1210B]

770

/QVOD DEUS PER BONOS OPERATVR./

M.¹⁰⁴⁰ Et deus operatur,

et electi cooperantur.

Deus operatur electos¹⁰⁴¹ sua¹⁰⁴² gratia¹⁰⁴³ preueniendo¹⁰⁴⁴ uelle,

et subsequendo posse,¹⁰⁴⁵

775 cooperantur¹⁰⁴⁶ ipsi¹⁰⁴⁷ per liberum arbitrium consentiendo¹⁰⁴⁸ bona¹⁰⁴⁹ uoluntate.

Hęc bona uoluntas remuneratur in eis,

ut¹⁰⁵⁰ scriptum est: *Accipimus¹⁰⁵¹ gratiam pro gratia.*

Gratiam accipimus,

¹⁰³⁸ bona uoluntate] nostra *praem. F*

¹⁰³⁹ **768** D. Si] Sed si *F*

¹⁰⁴⁰ **771** M.] *om F*

¹⁰⁴¹ **773** electos] in electis suis *G Con*

¹⁰⁴² sua] suos *F*

¹⁰⁴³ gratia] in *praem. F*

¹⁰⁴⁴ gratia preueniendo] *transp. A B*

¹⁰⁴⁵ **774** subsequendo posse] *transp. F*

¹⁰⁴⁶ **774/775** posse, cooperantur] posse. Cooperantur *F G Con*

¹⁰⁴⁷ **775** ipsi] ipso *G*, autem et *praem. F*

¹⁰⁴⁸ consentiendo] consentiendum *A*, consentien(tien)do *a.c. scr. sed sub l. linea mendum indicauit C*

¹⁰⁴⁹ bona] in *praem. F*

¹⁰⁵⁰ **777** ut] sicut *F*

¹⁰⁵¹ **777** Ioh. 1, 16

cum nos deus preuenit ut uelimus,

780 et subsequitur ut possimus,

pro¹⁰⁵² hac gratia¹⁰⁵³ aliam¹⁰⁵⁴ gratiam dabit,

cum nos in gloria remunerabit.

DE LABORE PREDESTINATORVM.¹⁰⁵⁵

D. Solent quidam dicere,

785 quod predestinati¹⁰⁵⁶ necessario saluentur.

Quod si ita est,

cur quicquam¹⁰⁵⁷ laborant?¹⁰⁵⁸

Aut¹⁰⁵⁹ cur gentibus predicatur,

ut conuertantur?

790 Vel¹⁰⁶⁰ cur uerbum admonitionis quotidie sacerdotibus administratur populo,¹⁰⁶¹

ut in proposito [PL1210C] dei proficiant seruitio?¹⁰⁶²

¹⁰⁵² 780/781 possimus, pro] possimus. Pro *E F G Con*

¹⁰⁵³ 781 gratia] igitur *praem. F*

¹⁰⁵⁴ aliam] illam *G Con*

¹⁰⁵⁵ 783 De labore predestinatorum] De predestinatione *in marg. a. m. scr. E*, Quod predestinati nec necessario saluantur, nec dantur (sic) *F*

¹⁰⁵⁶ 785 predestina(ti)] *om. sed sup. l. rest. C*

¹⁰⁵⁷ quicquam] quidquam *G Con*

¹⁰⁵⁸ 787 quicquam laborant] quicquam boni faciunt mali *F*

¹⁰⁵⁹ 787/788 laborant? Aut] laborant aut *G*

¹⁰⁶⁰ 789/790 conuertantur? Vel] conuertantur uel *G*

¹⁰⁶¹ 790 administratur populo] populo predicatur *F*

¹⁰⁶² 791 (se)(r)uitio] se- *duplicauit sed sub. l. punctis mendum indicauit et -r om. sed praue rest. B*

M. Predestinatio¹⁰⁶⁴ quidem¹⁰⁶⁵ neminem uiolenter¹⁰⁶⁶ saluat,
uel dampnat.¹⁰⁶⁷

795 Olim autem¹⁰⁶⁸ pro meritis ad regnum¹⁰⁶⁹ dei¹⁰⁷⁰ predestinati,
tunc¹⁰⁷¹ quidem necessario saluantur,
cum ex iustitia proposita gloria eorum meritis recompensatur.¹⁰⁷²
Sed quia nullus se predestinatum presumit,¹⁰⁷³
cum nec *uas electionis*¹⁰⁷⁴ Paulus hoc de se presumpserit,¹⁰⁷⁵
800 necesse est omnes¹⁰⁷⁶ toto conamine labori incumbere,¹⁰⁷⁷
quo ualeant predestinationem obtinere.

¹⁰⁶³ **792** De predestinatione *G*

¹⁰⁶⁴ **793** Predestinatio] Ad quod dicendum est, quod *praem. F*

¹⁰⁶⁵ Predestinatio quidem] dei *add. G Con*

¹⁰⁶⁶ uiolenter] *post dampnat pos. F*

¹⁰⁶⁷ **794** da(mp)nat] *om. sed praue corr. B*

¹⁰⁶⁸ **795** autem] *om. G Con*

¹⁰⁶⁹ ad regnum] *post predestinati pos. F*

¹⁰⁷⁰ dei] *om. E G Con*

¹⁰⁷¹ **796** tunc] nunc *F*

¹⁰⁷² **797** recompensatur] recompensantur *F*

¹⁰⁷³ **798** presumit] esse ad gloriam sperare *praem. F*

¹⁰⁷⁴ **799** uas electionis] cfr Act. 9, 15

¹⁰⁷⁵ **799** presumpserit] sperare *praem. F*

¹⁰⁷⁶ **800** omnes] ut *praem. sed exp. E, homines add. F, om. G Con*

¹⁰⁷⁷ incumbere] insistere *E*

Per laborem¹⁰⁷⁸ namque¹⁰⁷⁹ predestinatio uitę adipiscitur,
ut in¹⁰⁸⁰ sacra auctoritate¹⁰⁸¹ dicitur:

*Per*¹⁰⁸² *multas tribulationes oportet nos introire*¹⁰⁸³ *in*¹⁰⁸⁴ *regnum dei*.¹⁰⁸⁵

805 Infantibus itaque per mortis acerbiteriam,
iuuenibus¹⁰⁸⁶ [PL 1210D] per operis exercitationem,
in extremis¹⁰⁸⁷ ¹⁰⁸⁸ pęnitentiam agentibus datur predestinatio¹⁰⁸⁹ per¹⁰⁹⁰ purgatorii
cruciatus examinationem.¹⁰⁹¹

DE GENTIBVS.

810 Gentibus¹⁰⁹² uero ideo predicatur,

¹⁰⁷⁸ **802** Per laborem] Paulus quidem nichil de sua bonitate presumens dixit: Gratia dei id sum quod sum, et gratia eius in me uacua non fuit *praem. F*

¹⁰⁷⁹ namque] quippe *F*

¹⁰⁸⁰ **803** in] *om. B*

¹⁰⁸¹ auctoritate] *sic in codd. et Migne sed auctoritate in Con*

¹⁰⁸² **804** Per multas – introire in regnum dei] Act. 14, 21b . . . per multas tribulationes oportet nos intrare in regnum dei. *Vulg.*

¹⁰⁸³ **804** introire] intrare *G*

¹⁰⁸⁴ in] *om. F*

¹⁰⁸⁵ introire in regnum dei] int^o ·i·r· dei *D*

¹⁰⁸⁶ **806** iuuenibus] In *praem. G*

¹⁰⁸⁷ **806/807** exercitationem, in extremis] exercitationem. In extremis *E*

¹⁰⁸⁸ **807** in extremis] autem *add. F*

¹⁰⁸⁹ predestinatio] uitę *add. F*

¹⁰⁹⁰ per] ad *F*

¹⁰⁹¹ **808** ex(a)minationem] *om. sed littera minuscula rest. E*

¹⁰⁹² **810/812** Gentibus – conuocantur] cfr Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliarum in Euangelia libri duo*, I, xix, 1 – PL 76, 1155A (=Rabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in Matthaem libri octo*, VI, xx – PL 107, 1026D-1027A): Ad undecimam [horam] uero gentiles uocantur, quibus et dicitur: *Quid hic statis tota die otiosi?* Qui enim, transacto tam

quia¹⁰⁹³ predestinati¹⁰⁹⁴ foris in foro¹⁰⁹⁵ otiose¹⁰⁹⁶ stantes¹⁰⁹⁷ in uineam domini
ad laborem conuocantur.¹⁰⁹⁸

Quibus etiam denarius in mercede proponitur,

quia predestinata gloria usque in¹⁰⁹⁹ finem laborantibus dabitur.¹¹⁰⁰

815 Sæpe¹¹⁰¹ quoque quidam de reprobis, cum eis uineam¹¹⁰² ingrediuntur,
sed in¹¹⁰³ initio laboris ab opere deficiunt,

longo mundi tempore, pro uita sua laborare neglexerant, quasi tota die otiosi stabant. Sed pensate, fratres, quid inquisiti respondeant: *Dicunt enim: Quia nemo nos conduxit.* Nullus quippe ad eos patriarcha, nullus propheta uenerat. Et quid est dicere: Ad laborem nos nemo conduxit, nisi, uitae nobis uias nullus praedicauit?

¹⁰⁹³ **811** quia] quod *G*

¹⁰⁹⁴ **811/814** predestinati foris – dabitur] cfr Matth. 20, 1–16.

¹⁰⁹⁵ in foro] id est *praem. F*

¹⁰⁹⁶ otiose] ociosi *F*

¹⁰⁹⁷ **811** in foro otiose stantes] Matth. 20, 3

¹⁰⁹⁸ **812** conuocantur] uocantur *F*

¹⁰⁹⁹ **814** in] ad *F*

¹¹⁰⁰ dabitur] datur *F*

¹¹⁰¹ **815/824** Sæpe – resilierunt] cfr Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliarum in Euangelia libri duo*, I, xix, 5 – PL 76, 1157 (=Rabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in Matthaem libri octo*, VI, xx – PL 107, 1029D-1030A): Dominus dicit: *Annuntiaui et locutus sum, multiplicati sunt super numerum.* Vocante enim Domino, super numerum multiplicantur fideles, quia nonnunquam etiam hi ad fidem ueniunt, qui ad electorum numerum non pertingunt. Hic enim fidelibus per confessionem admisti sunt, sed propter uitam reprobam illic numerari in sorte fidelium non merentur. *Locus classicus est* Augustinus Hipponensis, *De correptione et gratia*, XIII, 39 – BA 24, p. 358; PL 44, 940-941: Haec de his loquor, qui praedestinati sunt in regnum Dei, quorum ita certus est numerus, ut nec addatur eis quisquam, nec minuatur ex eis: non de his qui, cum annuntiasset et locutus esset, *multiplicati sunt super numerum; uide etiam* Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob.*, XXV, viii, 21 – ed. M. Adriaen, CC SL 143B, p. 1246; PL 76, 333B-C: Vnde propheta intuens tantos hoc Ecclesiae tempore specie tenus credere, quantos nimirum certum est electorum numerum summamque transire, ait: *Multiplicati sunt super numerum.* Ac si diceret: Multis Ecclesiam intrantibus, etiam hi ad fidem specie tenus ueniunt qui a numero regni caelestis excluduntur, quia electorum summam sua uidelicet multiplicitate transcendunt; *atque* Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, I, xxii, 6 – ed. P. Cazier, CC SL 111, p. 75; PL 83, 589A-B: Qui intra ecclesiam non ex dignitate ecclesiae uiuunt, sed fidem quam uerbo tenent operibus destruunt, de ipsis legitur: *Multiplicati sunt super numerum*, ut subaudias in regno praedestinatorum.

¹¹⁰² uineam] in *praem. F G Con*

¹¹⁰³ **816** in] *om. sed sup. l. rest. F*

et aut^{1104 1105} de uinea blasphemantes¹¹⁰⁶ exeunt,
aut in uinea manentes, laborantes impediunt.

De [PL 1211A] his dicitur: *Ex nobis*^{1107 1108} *exierunt, sed non erant ex nobis.*¹¹⁰⁹

820 Et iterum: *Multiplicati*¹¹¹⁰ *sunt super numerum,*^{1111 1112}

scilicet¹¹¹³ ad uitam predestinatorum.¹¹¹⁴

Multi quippe¹¹¹⁵ per fidem sagenę Petri¹¹¹⁶ inheserunt,

sed¹¹¹⁷ quia in numero electorum precogniti non sunt,

in fluctus¹¹¹⁸ uitiorum rupto rete¹¹¹⁹ resilierunt.¹¹²⁰

¹¹⁰⁴ **817** et aut] *haec uerba non legere potui in F*

¹¹⁰⁵ aut] ut *E*

¹¹⁰⁶ blasphemantes] plaspheantes *F*

¹¹⁰⁷ **819** Ex nobis exierunt, sed non erant ex nobis] I Ioh. 2, 19 Ex nobis prodierunt . . . *Vulg.*

¹¹⁰⁸ **819** nobis] uobis *G*

¹¹⁰⁹ nobis] nostris *F*, uobis *G*

¹¹¹⁰ **820** Multiplicati–numerum] Ps. 39, 6b

¹¹¹¹ **820** numerum] ·n· *D*

¹¹¹² **see note on this section, version 1**

¹¹¹³ **821** scilicet] subaudi *E*

¹¹¹⁴ ad uitam] *post* predestinatorum *pos. sed sup. l. litteris minusculis corr. A*

¹¹¹⁵ **822** quippe] quidem *D G Con*

¹¹¹⁶ **822** sagenę Petri] cfr Matth. 13, 47

¹¹¹⁷ **822/823** inheserunt, sed] inheserunt. Sed *G Con*

¹¹¹⁸ **824** fluctus] fluctibus *E F*, fluctus(ibus) *scr. sed punctis sub. l. mendum indicauit B*

¹¹¹⁹ rete] rethi *G*, reti *Con*

¹¹²⁰ **822/824** Multi–resilierunt] cfr Luc. 5, 4-7

Populus autem fidelium in labore pii operis fatigatus uerbo admonitionis ne

deficiat subleuatur,¹¹²¹

sicut¹¹²² eger ad ecclesiam uadens,

sed in uia deficiens,

830 ut iter¹¹²³ peragrat,¹¹²⁴ ab aliquo sustentatur.

*Verbum*¹¹²⁵ quippe *dei est anime*¹¹²⁶ *semen,*

ager¹¹²⁷ uero corda hominum.

Cum hoc semen per dei agricultores¹¹²⁸ spargitur,

gratia dei est.¹¹²⁹ [PL 1211B]

835 Si¹¹³⁰ autem ab agricultura¹¹³¹ recipitur,

liberum arbitrium est.

Quod¹¹³² per¹¹³³ fidem receptum,

¹¹²¹ **827** subleuatur] subleuatus *D*

¹¹²² **827/828** subleuatur, sicut] subleuatur. Sicut *Con*

¹¹²³ **830** iter] tunc *A*

¹¹²⁴ peragrat] peragat *D E F G Con*

¹¹²⁵ **831/839** cfr Luc. 8, 11-15

¹¹²⁶ **831** anime] acceptum *G*, uerum *Con*

¹¹²⁷ **831/832** semen, ager] semen. Ager *E*

¹¹²⁸ **833** agricultores] agriculturam *G*

¹¹²⁹ **834** gratia dei est] semen dei gratia est *G Con*

¹¹³⁰ **834/835** est. Si] est, si *G*

¹¹³¹ **835** agricultura] cfr II Cor. 3, 9

¹¹³² **836/837** est. Quod] est, quod *E F*

si germen bonorum operum emiserit,
messis dei¹¹³⁴ ¹¹³⁵ in predestinata gloria erit.

840

DE LAPSV ANGELI VEL HOMINIS.¹¹³⁶

D.¹¹³⁷ Cum hæc¹¹³⁸ cuncta¹¹³⁹ perspicua ratio de luce ueritatis proferat,¹¹⁴⁰

oportet ut cunctis studiosis per omnia ualde complacent.

Porro multum me¹¹⁴¹ mouet¹¹⁴² quod angelica natura cadere potuit,

si ad beatitudinem condita fuit.

845 Videtur enim quod eam¹¹⁴³ quædam uis¹¹⁴⁴ impulerit,

quod ita irrecuperabiliter corrui.¹¹⁴⁵

¹¹³³ per] *om. G*

¹¹³⁴ **839** messis dei] *gratia dei F*

¹¹³⁵ dei] *om. G Con*

¹¹³⁶ **840** angeli uel hominis] *hominis & angeli A*

¹¹³⁷ **841** D.] *om. C D*

¹¹³⁸ hæc] *om. sed sup. l. rest E*

¹¹³⁹ **841/842** D. Cum hæc cuncta *usq.* complacent] *om. F*

¹¹⁴⁰ **841** cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, *Libellus VIII quaestionum de anglis et homine*, I – PL 172 PL 1185B: Nihil est aliud auctoritas, quam per rationem probata ueritas: et quod auctoritas docet credendum, hoc ratio probat tenendum. Euidens scripturae auctoritas clamat, et perspicax ratio probat . . . ; Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, I, 513B – ed. E Jeaneau, CC CM 161, p. 98; PL 122, 513B: Auctoritas siquidem ex uera ratione processit, ratio uero nequaquam ex auctoritate Nil enim aliud uidetur mihi esse uera auctoritas, nisi rationis uirtute reperta ueritas . . . ; uide R.D. Crouse, “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, Canada 27 août – 2 septembre 1967*, (Montréal – Paris: Institut d’Études Médiévales – Vrin, 1969), p. 534, n. 15.

¹¹⁴¹ **843** multum me] *transp. A B*

¹¹⁴² Porro multum me mouet] *Mirantur quidam F, ante Mirantur quidam lemma Cur angeli ad beatitudinem cæti labi potuer̄ scr. F*

¹¹⁴³ eam] *post uis pos. G Con*

¹¹⁴⁴ **845** uis] *magna praem. F*

Non¹¹⁴⁶ minus¹¹⁴⁷ de lapsu hominis moueor,¹¹⁴⁸
quod¹¹⁴⁹ de tanta gloria in tantam¹¹⁵⁰ miseriam deuenire potuit,
si nulla¹¹⁵¹ necessitas eum¹¹⁵² impulit.¹¹⁵³

850 [PL 1211C] Vnde rogo¹¹⁵⁴ ut effundas¹¹⁵⁵ cor tuum,
et eructes ueritatis archanum.

DE CIVITATE DEI.

M.¹¹⁵⁶ Vt¹¹⁵⁷ breuiter tibi pandam dei occulta,
reclusa¹¹⁵⁸ cordis aure¹¹⁵⁹ diligenter auscultat.

855 Antequam¹¹⁶⁰ deus conderet mundum,
presciuit et angeli et hominis casum.

¹¹⁴⁵ **846** corrui] corruti *ut. uid. B*

¹¹⁴⁶ **847** Non] Nec *F*, Nam *G Con*

¹¹⁴⁷ minus] nimis *G Con*

¹¹⁴⁸ moueor] mirantur *F*

¹¹⁴⁹ **848** quod] homo *add. F*

¹¹⁵⁰ in tantam] in tantum *B*

¹¹⁵¹ **849** nulla] ullam *ut uid. G*

¹¹⁵² eum] *om. F*

¹¹⁵³ impulit] compulit *F*

¹¹⁵⁴ **850/854** Vnde rogo *usq. Auscultat] om. F*

¹¹⁵⁵ **850** effundas] effundes *A*

¹¹⁵⁶ **853** M.] *om. C D*

¹¹⁵⁷ Vt] Et *scr. sed emend. B, om. G Con*

¹¹⁵⁸ **854** reclusa] et *praem. G Con*

¹¹⁵⁹ aure] *om. G Con*

¹¹⁶⁰ **855** Antequam] Ad quod dicitur *praem. F*

Quem¹¹⁶¹ ideo fieri permisit,
 quia bonum malo¹¹⁶² illustrari censuit.
 Presciuit¹¹⁶³ etiam, qui et quot¹¹⁶⁴ secum¹¹⁶⁵ essent permansuri,
 860 qui et quot¹¹⁶⁶ a se¹¹⁶⁷ recessuri,
 qui et quot¹¹⁶⁸ ad se reuersuri.
 Si enim hec¹¹⁶⁹ ignoraret,¹¹⁷⁰
 prescius futurorum non esset.
 Et si certus numerus electorum¹¹⁷¹ non esset,
 865 tunc regnum dei¹¹⁷² non ordinata dispositione,
 sed fortuito¹¹⁷³ casu constaret,
 ad quod incerti numeri frequentia conflueret.
 Sed cum apud deum¹¹⁷⁴ ¹¹⁷⁵ sit certus numerus capillorum,

¹¹⁶¹ **856/857** casum. Quem] casum, quem *F*

¹¹⁶² **858** malo] *om. sed in marg. rest. D*

¹¹⁶³ **859** Presciuit] *lemma* Quod numerus electorum est numerus ciuitatis dei *praem. A*

¹¹⁶⁴ **859** quot] quod *B D*

¹¹⁶⁵ secum] *om. F, ses praem. sed exp. G*

¹¹⁶⁶ **860** quot] quod *D*

¹¹⁶⁷ a se] *om. G, essent Con*

¹¹⁶⁸ **861** quot] quod *D*

¹¹⁶⁹ hec] hoc *G Con*

¹¹⁷⁰ ignoraret] ignorasset *G Con*

¹¹⁷¹ **864** electorum] *om. F*

¹¹⁷² **865** regnum dei] *transp. B*

¹¹⁷³ **866** fortuito] fortuitu *G*

multo¹¹⁷⁶ [PL 1211D] magis est¹¹⁷⁷ apud eum¹¹⁷⁸ prefixus numerus electorum.

870 Quotquot¹¹⁷⁹ ergo¹¹⁸⁰ in hoc numero sunt¹¹⁸¹ a deo prescripti,

hii ante mundi constitutionem sunt ad beatitudinem electi.

De his nullus peribit,

sed ad predestinatam gloriam toto conamine quisque¹¹⁸² festinabit.

Qui autem super hunc numerum multiplicantur,¹¹⁸³

875 inter oues Christi non numerantur.¹¹⁸⁴

Et quia hic numerus angelis cadentibus est imminutus,¹¹⁸⁵

hominibus nascentibus est restitutus.

Et ideo¹¹⁸⁶ sicut ab uno numerare incipimus,

sic ab uno [PL 1212A] homine est¹¹⁸⁷ hic¹¹⁸⁸ numerus inceptus.

¹¹⁷⁴ **868** apud deum...certus numerus capillorum] cfr Matth. 10, 30 atque Luc. 12, 7 uestri autem et capilli capitis omnes numerati sunt. *Vulg.*

¹¹⁷⁵ **868** deum] eum *G*

¹¹⁷⁶ **869** multo] etiam *praem. F*

¹¹⁷⁷ est] *om. E F*

¹¹⁷⁸ eum]deum *G Con*

¹¹⁷⁹ **870** Quotquot] Quodquot *B*, Quodquod *D*, Quot *Con*

¹¹⁸⁰ ergo] autem *G Con*

¹¹⁸¹ sunt] *ante* in hoc numero *pos. G Con*

¹¹⁸² **873** quis(que)] *om. sed sup. l. rest. B* quisque] quisquam *Con, meliorem lectionem retinuit Migne*

¹¹⁸³ **874** multiplicantur] multiplicatur *ut uid. G*

¹¹⁸⁴ **875** numerantur] numerabuntur *F*

¹¹⁸⁵ **876** imminutus] diminutus *G*

¹¹⁸⁶ **878** Et ideo] *lemma* Quod lex ciuitatis dei est iustitia, et iusti sunt ciues eius, in iusti hostes eius *praem. A*

¹¹⁸⁷ **879** est] *post* numerus *pos. G Con*

880 Et sicut numerus crescit usque¹¹⁸⁹ ad perfectionem,
ita humana propago¹¹⁹⁰ succrescit,¹¹⁹¹ usque ad electorum completionem.
Hic ergo sacer numerus
soli deo¹¹⁹² cognitus,
et ab eo¹¹⁹³ ęterna certitudine prefixus,
885 est quasi¹¹⁹⁴ cuiusdam ciuitatis ambitus,
infra¹¹⁹⁵ quem necesse sit omnes contineri,
qui¹¹⁹⁶ huius ciuitatis ciues ab ęterno sunt precogniti.
Lex autem huius¹¹⁹⁷ ciuitatis inuiolabilis est¹¹⁹⁸ iustitia,
a iustissimo rege instituta.
890 At¹¹⁹⁹ huius seruatores iusti cognominantur,
et hii soli inter ciues connumerantur.
Priuilegium uero¹²⁰⁰ huius sacre ciuitatis est libertas,

¹¹⁸⁸ hic] *om. G Con*

¹¹⁸⁹ 880 usque] *om. G Con*

¹¹⁹⁰ 881 humana propago] *transp. G Con*

¹¹⁹¹ succrescit] *successit Con*

¹¹⁹² 883 soli deo] *est praem. G*

¹¹⁹³ 884 eo] *om. sed sup. l. rest. C*

¹¹⁹⁴ 884/885 prefixus, est quasi] *prefixus est, quasi E*

¹¹⁹⁵ 886 infra] *intra G Con*

¹¹⁹⁶ 887 qui] *cui G Con*

¹¹⁹⁷ 888 huius] *om. G Con*

¹¹⁹⁸ 888/889 est] *ante a iustissimo rege pos. G Con*

¹¹⁹⁹ 889/890 instituta. At] *instituta, ac G Con*

regnum¹²⁰¹ eius beatitudo.

Ergo omnes¹²⁰² huius¹²⁰³ ciuitatis habitatores,¹²⁰⁴

895 sunt iusti, liberi, beati.^{1205 1206}

Et quia angelus uel¹²⁰⁷ homo liberi erant,

legem huius ciuitatis¹²⁰⁸ seruare nolebant,

et¹²⁰⁹ ideo inter ciues¹²¹⁰ eius numerari non poterant.

Ad dominatum¹²¹¹ autem [PL 1212B] eius aspirabant,

900 dum uterque ut deus in ea¹²¹² esse appetebat.¹²¹³

Igitur nulla uis, nulla necessitas eos ab hac urbe expulit,¹²¹⁴

sed fixa¹²¹⁵ lex iustitię uiolatores iuris¹²¹⁶ in ea ciues esse uetuit.

¹²⁰⁰ **892** uero] *om. G Con*

¹²⁰¹ **892/893** libertas, regnum] libertas. Regnum *G Con*

¹²⁰² **894** omnes] *ante habitatores pos. F*

¹²⁰³ huius] *ante ergo pos. F*

¹²⁰⁴ habitatores] *post omnes pos. G Con*

¹²⁰⁵ **895** beati] *et praem G*

¹²⁰⁶ **895/896** beati *usq. liberi] om. Migne*

¹²⁰⁷ **896** uel] *et E G Con*

¹²⁰⁸ **897** huius ciuitatis] *transp. F*

¹²⁰⁹ **897/898** nolebant, et] nolebant. *Et Con*

¹²¹⁰ **898** ciues] *oues scr. sed sup. l. corr. F*

¹²¹¹ **899** dominatum] *dominium G Migne, dominum Con do(mi)natum] om sed sup. l. rest. B*

¹²¹² **900** in ea] *om. F*

¹²¹³ appetebat] *qui est rex huius ciuitatis appetebant F*

¹²¹⁴ **901** expulit] *depulit G*

¹²¹⁵ **902** fixa] *om. Migne*

D. O in¹²¹⁷ quam celsam¹²¹⁸ speculam¹²¹⁹ me duxisti,
in qua quamplurima¹²²⁰ clare^{1221 1222} conspicio,
905 sed quę¹²²³ adhuc¹²²⁴ sunt clausa¹²²⁵ aperiri postulo.¹²²⁶
Si homo per liberum arbitrium cadit,
cur per liberum arbitrium non resurgit?¹²²⁷
M.¹²²⁸ Homo potest se de alto monte in profundum precipitium
per semetipsum¹²²⁹ mittere,
910 non potest autem nisi¹²³⁰ per alium¹²³¹ adiutus redire.
Ita potest¹²³² per arbitrium¹²³³ quidem¹²³⁴ iustitiam deserere,

¹²¹⁶ iuris] eius *add. F*

¹²¹⁷ 903 in] *post quam pos. G Con*

¹²¹⁸ celsam] excelsam *G Con*

¹²¹⁹ 903/907 D. O in quam celsam speculam *usq. non resurgit om. F*

¹²²⁰ 904 quamplurima] plurima *Con*

¹²²¹ clare] *om. Con*

¹²²² in qua quam plurima clare] et in alto uia seu arto positum *G ????*

¹²²³ 905 quę] quia *G Con*

¹²²⁴ adhuc] aliqua *add. Con ????*

¹²²⁵ sunt clausa] aliqua sunt clausa, illa mihi *Con*

¹²²⁶ postulo] a te posco *G*

¹²²⁷ 907 resurgit] surgit *D*, resurgat *G*

¹²²⁸ 908 M.] *lemma* Cum homo uel angelus per liberum arbitrium ceciderint, quare per idem non resurgant. *praem. F*

¹²²⁹ 909 per semetipsum] per seipsum *G Con*

¹²³⁰ 910 nisi] *om. sed sup. l. rest. F*

¹²³¹ alium] alterum *F*

non per se autem sed per solam gratiam potest eam¹²³⁵ recipere.

A [PL 1212C] quo¹²³⁶ enim quis uincitur,

illius et¹²³⁷ seruus efficitur.

915 Nam qui sponte luxurię uel cuilibet uitio subicitur,

protinus demōnis seruitio qui illi uitio¹²³⁸ preest addicitur.

Etiam¹²³⁹ non ualet per liberum arbitrium se de iugo dominationis eius excutere,

cuius dominio se¹²⁴⁰ libere uoluit subicere,

nisi gratia dei preueniat eum, ut bonum quod spreuit¹²⁴¹ cupiat,

920 et subsequatur, ut illud implere preualeat.¹²⁴²

D. Cum^{1243 1244} uoluntas hominis sit facta libera,¹²⁴⁵

¹²³² 911 potest] *om. Con*

¹²³³ arbitrium] liberum *praem. G Con*

¹²³⁴ quidem] *post iustitiam pos. D G Con*

¹²³⁵ 912 eam] *etiam G*

¹²³⁶ 913/914 A quo – efficitur] *cfr II Petr. 2, 19b . . . a quo enim quis superatus est huius et seruus est. Vulg.*

¹²³⁷ 914 et] *om. G*

¹²³⁸ 915/916 subicitur – qui illi uitio] *cui G Con*

¹²³⁹ 917 Etiam] *Iam G Con*

¹²⁴⁰ 918 se] *om. sed sup. l. rest. B*

¹²⁴¹ 919 spreuit] *speruit D*

¹²⁴² 920 preualeat] *ualeat D F (pre)ualeat] om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

¹²⁴³ 921/923 Cum – pigra?] *cfr Anselmus Cantuariensis, De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratia dei cum libero arbitrio, III, xiii – ed. F.S. Schmitt, 1946, p. 285; PL 158, 538A: Sed ut hoc planius intelligatur, inuestigandum est, unde tam uitiosa et tam prona sit ad malum ista uoluntas. cfr F. Baeumker, Das Ineuitabile des Honorius Augustodunensis und desen Lehre über das Zusammenwirken von Wille und Gnade, in Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, Texte und Untersuchungen, 13/6, p. 20.*

¹²⁴⁴ 921 Cum] *Dum A B*

¹²⁴⁵ facta libera] *transp. D*

unde est ad malum tam prona,

et ad bonum tam¹²⁴⁶ pigra?

M. Omnis¹²⁴⁷ rationalis uoluntas naturaliter cupit summum bonum,

925 sed errore decepta labitur in falsum

quod est malum.

Quilibet enim uult esse beatus,

et ideo quisque id¹²⁴⁸ quam maxime appetit,¹²⁴⁹

in [PL 1212D] quo se sperat fore¹²⁵⁰ beatum.

930 Sed quia summum bonum uel beatitudo non nisi in solo deo consistit,¹²⁵¹

quisquis aliquid infra deum positum pro summo bono appetit,

errat.

Huius¹²⁵² autem erroris causa¹²⁵³ hec est:

Deus^{1254 1255} condidit hominem iustum et beatum sine omni indigentia,

¹²⁴⁶ 923 tam] *om. A*

¹²⁴⁷ 924 Omnis] *lemma* Cum uoluntas hominis facta sit libera, unde sit quod ad malum est tam prona, & ad bonum faciendum tam pigra. *praem. F*

¹²⁴⁸ 928 quisque id] *transp. G Con*

¹²⁴⁹ appetit] *apperit Con, melioerm lectionem retinuit Migne*

¹²⁵⁰ 929 fore] *fieri F*

¹²⁵¹ 930 consistit] *constat scr. sed in marg. corr. A, consistunt F*

¹²⁵² 932/933 errat. Huius] *errat, huius E*

¹²⁵³ 933 causa] *om. sed in marg. rest. E*

¹²⁵⁴ 934/935 Deus condidit – sufficientia] *cfr Anselmus Cantuariensis, De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratiae dei cum libero arbitrio, III, xiii – ed. F.S. Schmitt, 1946, pp. 285-6; PL 158, 538A-C: Intentio namque dei fuit, ut iustam faceret atque beatam naturam rationalem ad fruendum se In beatitudine autem, secundum omnium sensum, est sufficientia competentium commodorum sine omni indigentia Fecit igitur deus hominem beatum sine omni indigentia.*

935 in omnium bonorum¹²⁵⁶ sufficientia,
et¹²⁵⁷ dedit ei¹²⁵⁸ liberam uoluntatem iustitię et beatitudinis,
ut uoluntate iustitię corpori subdito imperaret,
uoluntate beatitudinis deo obędiret.
Habuit¹²⁵⁹ ¹²⁶⁰ ergo iustitiam ad honorem dei,
940 beatitudinem autem¹²⁶¹ ad commodum [PL1213A] suum.
Et¹²⁶² si seruata iustitia deum honorasset,
ad summam angelorum beatitudinem peruenisset.
Sed quia iustitiam deseruit,
beatitudinem amisit,
945 sed¹²⁶³ uoluntatem beatitudinis retinuit.¹²⁶⁴

¹²⁵⁵ **934** Deus – iustum] cfr Eccle. 7, 30 . . . hoc inueni quod fecerit Deus hominem rectum . . . *Vulg.*

¹²⁵⁶ **935** omnium bonorum] *transp. G Con*

¹²⁵⁷ **936/938** et dedit ei – deo obędiret] cfr Anselmus Cantuariensis, *De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratia dei cum libero arbitrio*, III, xiii – ed. F.S. Schmitt, 1946, p. 286; PL 158, 538C-539A: Simul ergo accepit rationalis natura et uoluntatem beatitudinis, et beatitudinem, et uoluntatem iustitiae, id est rectitudinem, quae est ipsa iustitia, et liberum arbitrium, sine quo iustitiam seruare non ualuit. Sic autem deus ordinauit has duas uoluntates siue affectiones, ut uoluntas quae est instrumentum, uteretur ea quae est iustitia, ad imperium et regimen, docente spiritu, qui et mens et ratio dicitur; et altera uteretur ad oboediendum sine omni incommoditate.

¹²⁵⁸ **936** ei] *om. Migne*

¹²⁵⁹ **939/940** Habuit ergo iustitiam – ad commodum suum] cfr Anselmus Cantuariensis, *De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratia dei cum libero arbitrio*, III, xiii – ed. F.S. Schmitt, 1946, p. 286; PL 158, 539A: Beatitudinem quidem [deus] dedit homini . . . ad commodum eius; iustitiam uero ad honorem suum.

¹²⁶⁰ **939** Habuit] *lemma beatitudines in marg. praem. A*

¹²⁶¹ **940** autem] *om. G Con*

¹²⁶² **941/945** Et si seruata – retinuit] cfr Anselmus Cantuariensis, *De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratia dei cum libero arbitrio*, III, xiii – ed. F.S. Schmitt, 1946, p. 286; PL 158, 539A: Sed [dedit deus] iustitiam ita, ut illam posset deserere; quatenus cum illam non desereret, sed perseueranter seruaret, prouehi mereretur ad consortium angelorum. Quod si illam desereret, nullatenus eam per se deinceps resumere posset, et beatitudinem angelorum non adipisceretur, et illa quam habebat priuaretur . . .

Quia¹²⁶⁵ ergo feruet desiderio commodorum,
sed commoda rationali¹²⁶⁶ naturę competentia quę perdidit habere non ualet,
ad falsa et¹²⁶⁷ brutorum¹²⁶⁸ commoda et bestiales appetitus¹²⁶⁹ se conuertit.

Et¹²⁷⁰ quia *iumentis*¹²⁷¹ *insipientibus similis factus est*,¹²⁷²

950 ideo per concupiscentiam ut bestię¹²⁷³ coit,¹²⁷⁴

dolore¹²⁷⁵ parit,

lacte infantes ut bestia catulos nutrit,

¹²⁶³ **944/945** amisit, sed] amisit. Sed *Con*

¹²⁶⁴ **945** retinuit] reoptinuit *F*

¹²⁶⁵ **946/948** Quia ergo feruet – se conuertit] cfr Anselmus Cantuariensis, *De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratia dei cum libero arbitrio*, III, xiii – ed. F.S. Schmitt, 1946, p. 286; PL 158, 539AB: . . . uoluntas quam bonam et ad bonum suum accepit, feruens desiderio commodorum quae non uelle nequit, quia uera commoda rationali naturae conuenientia, quae perdidit habere non ualet: ad falsa et brutorum animalium commoda, quae bestiales appetitus suggerunt, se conuertit.

¹²⁶⁶ **946** rationali] rationalis *Migne*

¹²⁶⁷ **948** et] *om. A B*

¹²⁶⁸ brutorum] animalium *add. F*

¹²⁶⁹ bestiales appetitus] ad bestialem appetitum *F*

¹²⁷⁰ **949/953** Et quia – appetit] cfr Anselmus Cantuariensis, *De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratia dei cum libero arbitrio*, III, xiii – ed. F.S. Schmitt, 1946, p. 286; PL 158, 539A: . . . in similitudinem brutorum animalium cadens cum illis corruptioni et saepe fatis appetitibus subiaceret. *Vide etiam* Honorius Augustodunensis, *Expositio psalmi CI* – PL 172, 299D-300A: Si enim in paradiso permansissent, sine concupiscentia et sine dolore et sorde filios procreassent. Sed quia uocem diaboli audierunt, per concupiscentiam bestiali more coeunt, in dolore et gemitu pariunt, natos, ut bestiae catulos, lacte nutriunt, dolore et gemitu in terram moriendo redeunt; idem, *Speculum ecclesiae* – PL 172, 1099B-1100A: Homo itaque, cum in honore paradysi esset, datorem honoris Deum non intellexit. Ideo proiectus in hanc miseriam, doloribus et aerumnis *comparatus est iumentis insipientibus*, et per carnales appetitus *similis factus est illis*. Idcirco adhuc, sicut bestiarum catuli, ita lacte nutriuntur infantuli.

¹²⁷¹ **947** quia iumentis insipientibus similis factus est] Ps. 48, 13b

¹²⁷² **949** similis factus est] ·f·f·ē· *D* similis] *post est scr. sed sup. l. litteris minusculis rectam ordinem indicauit B*

¹²⁷³ **950** bestię] bestia *E F G*

¹²⁷⁴ coit] cogit *scr. sed sup. l. corr. F*

¹²⁷⁵ **951** dolore] cum *praem. G Con*

et sola corporis commoda¹²⁷⁶ appetit.¹²⁷⁷

CUR BESTIÆ [NON] PECCA[UIT].

955 D. Cur¹²⁷⁸ bestię pro his non dampnantur?

M. Appetitus in brutis animalibus non sunt peccatum, sed sunt naturales,

in¹²⁷⁹ hominibus¹²⁸⁰ uero¹²⁸¹ [PL1213B] irrationales.

Cętera namque animantia¹²⁸² feruntur necessitate,

homo regitur libertate,

960 unde¹²⁸³ scribitur:¹²⁸⁴

Qui hoc¹²⁸⁵ uel hoc fecerit occidatur,

ac¹²⁸⁶ si diceret,

qui¹²⁸⁷ hoc fecerit quod homo facere¹²⁸⁸ non debet,

tollatur de hominibus.

¹²⁷⁶ **953** corporis commoda] *transp. F G Con*

¹²⁷⁷ appetit] *appendit F*

¹²⁷⁸ **955** D. Cur bestię pro his non dampnantur?] Sed si aliquis cur bestię pro his non damnentur dicit, Respondemus.
F

¹²⁷⁹ **956/957** naturales, in] naturales. In *E G*

¹²⁸⁰ **957** hominibus] homin(e)bus *scr. sed sup. l. corr. B*

¹²⁸¹ uero] *om. G*

¹²⁸² **958** animantia] anima *scr. et sup. l. -lia add. E*

¹²⁸³ **959/960** libertate, unde] libertate. Vnde *A B E F G Con*

¹²⁸⁴ **960** scribitur] scriptum est *D F*

¹²⁸⁵ **961/962** Qui hoc *usq.* Diceret] *om. Con*

¹²⁸⁶ **961/962** occidatur, ac] occidatur. Ac *E F*

¹²⁸⁷ **962/963** diceret, qui] diceret. Qui *E F*

¹²⁸⁸ **963** homo facere] *transp. B* facere] *post debet pos. F*

965 D. Quid est¹²⁸⁹ quod quidam immenso¹²⁹⁰ conatu nituntur ut bene uiuant,¹²⁹¹
et nichil proficiunt,
aut¹²⁹² post magnum profectum a proposito¹²⁹³ deficiunt?¹²⁹⁴
Nonne¹²⁹⁵ aliqua occulta uis eos retrahit,¹²⁹⁶
ne ceptum opus implere possint?

970 QVOD SOLA VOLVNTATE FIT OMNE PECCATUM.

M. Nulla¹²⁹⁷ eos¹²⁹⁸ retrahit¹²⁹⁹ necessitas,^{1300 1301}
sed sola eos¹³⁰² libera¹³⁰³ auertit uoluntas,¹³⁰⁴
dum magis uolunt quod suggerit¹³⁰⁵ temptatio,¹³⁰⁶

¹²⁸⁹ 965 D. Quid est] Plurimi mirantur, cur hoc sit *scr. et lemma* Quantum fiat quod multa nitūtur bñ uiuere & non ualet *praem. F*

¹²⁹⁰ immenso] in mense *G*

¹²⁹¹ uiuant] uiu(u)nt *scr. sed sup. l. litteris minusculis corr. B*

¹²⁹² 967 aut] uel quod *F*

¹²⁹³ proposito] bono *praem. F*

¹²⁹⁴ deficiunt] decidunt *G Con*

¹²⁹⁵ 968 Nonne] uel an ne *F*

¹²⁹⁶ retrahit] retrahat *F*, retrahens *G*

¹²⁹⁷ 971 M. Nulla] M. *om. et Ad hęc respondemus praem. F*

¹²⁹⁸ eos] uis *praem. G*

¹²⁹⁹ eos retrahit] *transp. B*

¹³⁰⁰ necessitas] *om. G*

¹³⁰¹ retrahit necessitas] *transp. Con*

¹³⁰² 972 eos] *post auertit pos. C F*

¹³⁰³ libera] *om. G Con*

¹³⁰⁴ uoluntas] *post sola pos. G Con*

quam quod persuadet¹³⁰⁷ ratio.

975 Quidam etiam¹³⁰⁸ magis¹³⁰⁹ de arbitrio quam de gratia presumunt,

et cuncta suis meritis ascribunt,

[PL 1213C] ideo¹³¹⁰ gratia deserente¹³¹¹ iuste laborem¹³¹² suum perdunt.¹³¹³

D. Cur¹³¹⁴ fecit deus¹³¹⁵ hominis arbitrium ita mutabile?

M. Ob magnum eius¹³¹⁶ proficuum.¹³¹⁷

980 Qui¹³¹⁸ enim potest conuerti¹³¹⁹ ad malum,

potest item¹³²⁰ conuerti ad bonum.

Si¹³²¹ ¹³²² semel lapsus¹³²³ non esset mutabilis,

¹³⁰⁵ 973 suggerit] eis *add.* *Con*

¹³⁰⁶ quod suggerit temptatio] sequi appetitum carnalem *G*

¹³⁰⁷ 974 persuadet] persuasit *F*

¹³⁰⁸ 975/987 Quidam etiam *usq.* solius dei est] *om.* *G*

¹³⁰⁹ 975 magis] *ante* quam *pos.* *Con*

¹³¹⁰ 977 ideo] ideoque *F*

¹³¹¹ deserente] *se praem.* *F* gratia deserente] eos *praem.* *Con*

¹³¹² iuste laborem] *iustlabè orem* *Con*, *ueram lectionem retinuit Migne*,

¹³¹³ perdunt] *perdiderunt* *F*

¹³¹⁴ 978 D. Cur] *lemma* Cur homo sit mutabilis *in marg. praem.* *A*
Deus arbitrium hominis ita mutabile fecerit *est in F*

D. Cur – ita mutabile] *lemma* Cur

¹³¹⁵ fecit deus] deus facit *Con*

¹³¹⁶ 979 eius] hominis *F*

¹³¹⁷ proficuum] fecit deus arbitrium hominis mutabile *add.* *F*

¹³¹⁸ 980 Qui] quod *Con*

¹³¹⁹ potest conuerti] *transp.* *D*

¹³²⁰ 981 item] *iterato* *Con*

numquam esset ad bonum¹³²⁴ conuertibilis.

D. Quare¹³²⁵ non fecit eum deus,

985 ut in bono esset immutabilis?

M. Tunc esset deo¹³²⁶ equalis.¹³²⁷

Hoc¹³²⁸ enim¹³²⁹ solius dei est.

D. Si quisque¹³³⁰ operatur libero arbitrio,

quomodo operatur deus in omnibus?¹³³¹

990 M. Vniuersa¹³³² que fiunt¹³³³ bona siue in celo,

siue [PL 1213D] in terra,

seu in omni creatura,

deus¹³³⁴ solus,¹³³⁵

¹³²¹ **981/982** ad bonum. Si] ad bonum, si *D*

¹³²² **982** Si] homo *add. Con*

¹³²³ lapsus] *post* esset *pos. E*

¹³²⁴ **983** ad bonum] *post* conuertibilis *pos. F*

¹³²⁵ **984** D. Quare – immutabilis?] Si autem quis dicit, quare deus hominem non ita fecerit, ut esset immutabilis in bono, Respondemus. *F*

¹³²⁶ **986** esset deo] *transp. A B*

¹³²⁷ deo equalis] *transp. F*

¹³²⁸ **986/987** equalis. Hoc] equalis, hoc *F*

¹³²⁹ **987** Hoc enim] uidelicet esse inmutabilem *add. F*

¹³³⁰ **988/989** D. Si quisque – in omnibus] *lemma* Si quisque operatur libero arbitrio, quomodo operetur deus in hominibus *est in F*

¹³³¹ **989** in omnibus] omnia *praem. G Con*

¹³³² **990** Vniuersa] namque *add. E*

¹³³³ fiunt] sunt *A B*

solus bonus,¹³³⁶

995 per electos, uel¹³³⁷ angelos, uel homines¹³³⁸ operatur,
cooperantibus eis per liberum arbitrium consentiendo.¹³³⁹

DE OPERE DEI PER ELECTOS.

Operatur¹³⁴⁰ deus per electos, ut¹³⁴¹ per apostolos gentes¹³⁴² conuertit,
ipse¹³⁴³ interius inspirando,¹³⁴⁴

1000 et incrementum¹³⁴⁵ dando,
cooperantur¹³⁴⁶ ipsi per exterius¹³⁴⁷ ministerium plantando et rigando.

Si quid autem¹³⁴⁸ electi contrarii¹³⁴⁹ egerint,¹³⁵⁰ ut in [PL 1214A] Vria Daudid,¹³⁵¹

¹³³⁴ **993** deus] qui *add. F*

¹³³⁵ solus] *om. E F G Con*

¹³³⁶ **994** bonus] est *praem. F*

¹³³⁷ **995** uel] per *F*

¹³³⁸ homines] per *praem. F*

¹³³⁹ **996** consentiendo] consentiendi *E*

¹³⁴⁰ **998/1001** cfr I Cor. 3, 4–9

¹³⁴¹ **998** ut] id est *F*

¹³⁴² gentes] angelos *praem. sed exp. E*

¹³⁴³ **998/999** conuertit, ipse] conuertit. Ipse *G Con*

¹³⁴⁴ **999** inspirando] aspirando *F*

¹³⁴⁵ **1000** incrementum] incrementa *A B*

¹³⁴⁶ **1001** cooperantur] cooperatur *G*

¹³⁴⁷ per exterius] *transp. G*

¹³⁴⁸ **1002** autem] *om. sed sup. l. enim scr. B*

¹³⁴⁹ contrarii] contrarium *F*

¹³⁵⁰ egerint] egerunt *Con*

deus¹³⁵² hoc iuste fieri¹³⁵³ permittit,

quod tamen ipse in laudem sui conuertit

1005 dum post lapsum extiterint¹³⁵⁴ humiliores,¹³⁵⁵

et sibi referunt grates¹³⁵⁶ uberiores,

quibus¹³⁵⁷ *omnia*¹³⁵⁸ ¹³⁵⁹ etiam ipsa peccata *cooperantur in bonum*.

Ergo *omnia*¹³⁶⁰ *ex ipso et per ipsum*.

DE OPERE DEI PER REPROBOS.

1010 Per reprobos quoque deus operatur,

dum iudicium suum per eos exercet,¹³⁶¹

sicut per Chaldeos Hierusalem destruxit.¹³⁶²

Ecce unum et idem opus deus¹³⁶³ et Chaldei diuerso modo operati sunt,

et tamen hic¹³⁶⁴ inde laudatur,

¹³⁵¹ **1002** cfr II Reg. 11, 2–12, 25

¹³⁵² **1002/1003** Dauid, deus] Dauid. Deus *G Con*

¹³⁵³ **1003** iuste fieri] *transp. A B*

¹³⁵⁴ **1005** extiterint] extiterunt *F G Con*

¹³⁵⁵ humiliores] meliores *F*

¹³⁵⁶ **1006** referunt grates] *transp. D G Con*

¹³⁵⁷ **1007** quibus] cui *F*

¹³⁵⁸ *omnia*] *om. G Con*

¹³⁵⁹ **1007** Rom 8, 28

¹³⁶⁰ **1008** cfr Rom 11, 36

¹³⁶¹ **1011** exercet] exercetur *E F*

¹³⁶² **1012** cfr Jer. 30, 24

¹³⁶³ **1013** deus] dei *A*

1015 illi¹³⁶⁵ dampnantur,
 quia¹³⁶⁶ quod ipse¹³⁶⁷ propter¹³⁶⁸ iustitiam,
 hoc illi¹³⁶⁹ egerunt¹³⁷⁰ ob¹³⁷¹ seuitiam.
 Similiter¹³⁷² ¹³⁷³ per¹³⁷⁴ Iudam deus¹³⁷⁵ filium¹³⁷⁶ tradidit,
 et mundum a morte¹³⁷⁷ redemit.

¹³⁶⁴ **1014** hic] deus *F*

¹³⁶⁵ **1015** ille] Chaldei *F*, et *praem. Con*

¹³⁶⁶ **1016** quia] et *G*, Et *Con*

¹³⁶⁷ ipse] deus *F*

¹³⁶⁸ propter] per *G Con*

¹³⁶⁹ **1017** illi] Chaldei *F*, ipsi *G Con*

¹³⁷⁰ egerunt] *post* ob seuitiam *pos. G Con*

¹³⁷¹ ob] per *Con*

¹³⁷² **1018** Similiter] *lemma De iuda praem. A*

¹³⁷³ **1018/1024** Similiter per Iudam – propter auaritiam] cfr Augustinus, *In Epistolam Ioannis ad Parthos Tractatus decem*, VII, 7 – PL 35, 2032-3: Ecce Christum tradidit Pater, tradidit Iudas; numquid non quasi simile factum uidetur? Traditor est Iudas: ergo traditor est et Deus Pater? Absit, inquis. Non dico, sed Apostolus dicit: *Qui Filio proprio non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit eum*. Et Pater illum tradidit, et ipse se tradidit. Ait idem apostolus: *Qui me dilexit, et tradidit seipsum pro me*. Si Pater tradidit Filium, et tradidit seipsum Filius, Iudas quid fecit? Facta est traditio a Patre, facta est traditio a Filio, facta est traditio a Iuda; una res facta est: sed quae res discernit Patrem tradentem Filium, seipsum Filium tradentem, et Iudam discipulum tradentem magistrum suum? Quia hoc fecit Pater et Filius in charitate; fecit autem hoc Iudas in prodicione. Videtis quia non quid faciat homo, considerandum est; sed quo animo et uoluntate faciat. In eodem facto inuenimus Deum Patrem, in quo inuenimus Iudam; Patrem benedicimus, Iudam detestamur. Quare Patrem benedicimus, Iudam detestamur? Benedicimus charitatem, detestamur iniquitatem. Quantum enim praestitum est generi humano de tradito Christo? Numquid hoc cogitauit Iudas ut traderet? Deus cogitauit salutem nostram qua redempti sumus; Iudas cogitauit pretium quo uendidit Dominum. Filius ipse cogitauit pretium quod dedit pro nobis; Iudas cogitauit pretium quod accepit ut uenderet. Diuersa ergo intentio diuersa facta fecit. Cum sit una res, ex diuersis eam intentionibus si metiamur, unum amandum, alterum damnandum; unum glorificandum, alterum detestandum inuenimus. Tantum ualet charitas. Videte quia sola discernit, uidete quia facta hominum sola distinguit.

¹³⁷⁴ **1018** per Iudam deus filium tradidit] cfr Matth. 26, 48

¹³⁷⁵ **1018** deus] *om. B*

¹³⁷⁶ filium] suum *add. F G Con*

¹³⁷⁷ **1019** a morte] ab errore *F*

1020 En [PL 1214B] deus et Iudas unum¹³⁷⁸ opus diuersa mente operati sunt,
sed¹³⁷⁹ deum¹³⁸⁰ totus orbis inde ueneratur,¹³⁸¹
Iudam uero detestatur,
quia quod deus ob humani generis amicitiam,¹³⁸²
hoc Iudas egit propter¹³⁸³ auaritiam.

1025 DE OPERE DEI PER DIABOLVM.

Audenter¹³⁸⁴ dico,¹³⁸⁵ quia deus etiam per diabolum operatur,
dum¹³⁸⁶ iustitia¹³⁸⁷ per eum in reprobis exerceri decernitur.^{1388 1389}
Sed quod deus per iustissimam equitatem,
hoc agit diabolus per nequissimam crudelitatem.

1030 Qui tamen non plus potest seuire in eos, quam permittitur.¹³⁹⁰
Vnde deus laudabiliter¹³⁹¹ magnificatur,

¹³⁷⁸ **1020** unum] unus *G*

¹³⁷⁹ **1020/1021** sunt, sed] sunt. Sed *G Con*

¹³⁸⁰ **1021** deum] dum *G Con*

¹³⁸¹ inde ueneratur] *transp. B* ueneratur] deum *praem. G Con*

¹³⁸² **1023** amicitiam] *duplicauit sed corr. G*

¹³⁸³ **1024** propter] per *F G Con*

¹³⁸⁴ **1026** Audenter] Aud(i)enter *scr. sed puncto sub. l. mendum indicauit B*

¹³⁸⁵ dico] hoc etiam *praem. F*

¹³⁸⁶ **1027** dum] de *G*, quod de *Con*

¹³⁸⁷ iustitia] iustitiam *A B*

¹³⁸⁸ decernitur] de(s)cernit *scr. sed puncto sub. l. mendum primum sed non secundum indicauit B*

¹³⁸⁹ (de)cernitur] *om. sed sup. l. rest. D*

¹³⁹⁰ **1030** permittitur] a deo *add. F*

ille uero pro eodem opere¹³⁹² dampnabiliter reprobatur.

Quęcumque autem a reprobis per liberum arbitrium

contra dei¹³⁹³ instituta¹³⁹⁴ committuntur,

1035 a deo quidem¹³⁹⁵ [PL 1214C] fieri sinuntur,¹³⁹⁶

sed¹³⁹⁷ in laudem eius uertuntur,

dum iuste ab eo pęnis subiguntur.¹³⁹⁸

Igitur deus omnia operatur,

aut fauendo,¹³⁹⁹

1040 aut sinendo,

et¹⁴⁰⁰ ¹⁴⁰¹ quia *omnia*¹⁴⁰² ¹⁴⁰³ *ex ipso*,

ut in libro Sapientię¹⁴⁰⁴ legitur: *A deo bona et mala*,

¹³⁹¹ **1031** laudabi(liter)] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

¹³⁹² **1032** opere] *om. G Con*

¹³⁹³ **1034** dei] *om. G Con*

¹³⁹⁴ contra dei instituta] *om. F*

¹³⁹⁵ **1035** quidem] *om. F*

¹³⁹⁶ sinuntur] sinu(u)ntur *ut. uid. scr. sed eras. B*

¹³⁹⁷ **1036** sed] et *Con*

¹³⁹⁸ **1037** subiguntur] subiunguntur *F*

¹³⁹⁹ **1039** fauendo] faciendo *F*

¹⁴⁰⁰ **1040/1041** sinendo, et] sinendo. Et *F*

¹⁴⁰¹ **1041** et] aut *G*

¹⁴⁰² omnia] *om. G Con*

¹⁴⁰³ **1041** cfr Rom. 11, 36

¹⁴⁰⁴ **1042** in libro Sapientię] *potius Eccli. 11, 14*

omnia¹⁴⁰⁵ sunt bona,¹⁴⁰⁶

et nichil est mali,¹⁴⁰⁷ nisi quod amarum est his qui aliquid asperi patiuntur,

1045 malum¹⁴⁰⁸ appellatur,

et ideo omnia ad laudem et gloriam dei,¹⁴⁰⁹

qui *miseretur cui uult*¹⁴¹⁰ gratiam largiendo,¹⁴¹¹

*indurat*¹⁴¹² *quem uult*¹⁴¹³ in malitia relinquendo.¹⁴¹⁴

D. Numquam¹⁴¹⁵ audita¹⁴¹⁶ sunt ista in mundo.¹⁴¹⁷

1050 DE DESIDIOSIS.¹⁴¹⁸

M. Immo quotidie in scripturis audiuntur,

sed a desidiosis¹⁴¹⁹ ¹⁴²⁰ et negligentibus non attenduntur,

¹⁴⁰⁵ **1043** omnia] Omnia ergo *F*

¹⁴⁰⁶ **1043/1045** omnia sunt bona – malum appellatur] omnia sunt. Malum autem nichil est nisi quod amarum est his qui aliquid asperi sentiunt hoc ab his malum appellatur *G*

¹⁴⁰⁷ **1044** mali] malum *Con*

¹⁴⁰⁸ **1045** malum] id *praem. F Con*

¹⁴⁰⁹ **1046** ad laudem et gloriam dei] fiunt *add. F*, permittuntur *add. G*

¹⁴¹⁰ **1047** Rom. 9, 18 . . . cuius uult miseretur . . . *Vulg.*

¹⁴¹¹ **1047** gratiam largiendo] gloriam dando *E F*

¹⁴¹² **1048** indurat] et *praem. E F G Con*

¹⁴¹³ **1048** Rom. 9, 18 . . . quem uult indurat. *Vulg.*

¹⁴¹⁴ in malitia relinquendo] in penis locando *E F*

¹⁴¹⁵ **1049/1052** D. Numquam audita sunt – sed] Sed ista a sapientibus intelliguntur tantum *F*

¹⁴¹⁶ **1049** audita] haec *praem. Con*

¹⁴¹⁷ Numquam – in mundo] Nuncque hec audita in homine erit formido *G*

¹⁴¹⁸ **1050** De desidiosis] *ante* Numquid *pos. A*

¹⁴¹⁹ **1052** a desidiosis] uero *add. F*

et ideo non intelliguntur.

Cum¹⁴²¹ uero in disputatione hęc¹⁴²² a doctis audierint,

1055 quasi a somno exciti,¹⁴²³ stupescunt, [PL 1214D]

irrident,¹⁴²⁴

uera¹⁴²⁵ esse dubitant,

quia¹⁴²⁶ nusquam scripta¹⁴²⁷ putant.

DE STVDIOSIS.

1060 A studiosis autem leguntur,

attenduntur,¹⁴²⁸

discutiuntur,¹⁴²⁹

intelliguntur,¹⁴³⁰

et in memoria¹⁴³¹ reconduntur.¹⁴³²

¹⁴²⁰ **1052/1053** sed a desidiosis – non intelliguntur] cfr Ps. Cato, *Disticha* – ed. W.J. Chase, 1922, p. 12: legere enim et non intelligere neclegere est.

¹⁴²¹ **1054** Cum] Si quis *G*

¹⁴²² hęc] *post doctis pos. G Con*

¹⁴²³ **1055** exciti] excitati *F G Con*, exci(ta)ti *sup. l. scr. B*

¹⁴²⁴ **1056** irrident] *om. G Con*, et ea *praem. F*

¹⁴²⁵ **1057** uera] ueraque *F*, Vera *G Con*

¹⁴²⁶ **1058** quia] et *F*

¹⁴²⁷ scripta] esse *praem. F G*

¹⁴²⁸ **1061** attenduntur] audiuntur *praem. G Con*, attend(e)ntur *scr. sed sup. l. corr. B*

¹⁴²⁹ **1062** discutiuntur] discuciantur *G*

¹⁴³⁰ **1063** intelliguntur] et *praem. G Con*

¹⁴³¹ **1064** memoria] memoriam *F G Con*

¹⁴³² reconduntur] reducuntur *G Con*

1065 Sponsus namque Christus abiens,
 sponse sue¹⁴³³ ecclesie claves scientie¹⁴³⁴ ¹⁴³⁵ reliquit,
 que¹⁴³⁶ quotidie pulsantibus filiis secreta¹⁴³⁷ dei per intellectum reserans aperit.¹⁴³⁸
*A canibus*¹⁴³⁹ autem *sancta*,¹⁴⁴⁰ et *a porcis margaritas*,¹⁴⁴¹ ne coinquentur claudit.¹⁴⁴²
 [PL 1215A] D. Cuncta¹⁴⁴³ que proponis,
 1070 tam ualidis testimoniis probando per illationem concludis,
 ut¹⁴⁴⁴ plus ceo probetur¹⁴⁴⁵ errare,
 qui hec¹⁴⁴⁶ presumpserit¹⁴⁴⁷ pertinaciter impugnare.
 Sed queso¹⁴⁴⁸ edisseras utrum prospera et aduersa per liberum arbitrium eueniant?

¹⁴³³ **1066** sue] *om. Migne*

¹⁴³⁴ **1066** claves scientie] *cfr Luc. 11, 52*

¹⁴³⁵ **1066/1068** *cfr Breuiarium Romanum, sc. Antiphona ad Magnificat in feria quarta ante Vigiliam Natiuitatis Domini*

¹⁴³⁶ **1067** que] *qua G Con, quibus Migne*

¹⁴³⁷ secreta] *secuta scr. sed sup. l. secreta rest. A*

¹⁴³⁸ **1067** *cfr Matth. 7, 7-8; Luc. 11, 9-10*

¹⁴³⁹ **1067/1068** aperit. *A canibus] aperit, a canibus E*

¹⁴⁴⁰ **1068** sancta] *om. G Con*

¹⁴⁴¹ **1068** *cfr Matth. 7, 6*

¹⁴⁴² **1068** *cfr Breuiarium Romanum, sc. Antiphona ad Magnificat in feria quarta ante Vigiliam Natiuitatis Domini*

¹⁴⁴³ **1069/1071** D. Cuncta usq. ut] *Hic etiam F*

¹⁴⁴⁴ **1071** ut] *et G*

¹⁴⁴⁵ probetur] *uidetur F*

¹⁴⁴⁶ **1072** qui hec] *que dixi, quia uera sunt add. F*

¹⁴⁴⁷ presumpserit] *presumit scr. et post pertinaciter pos. F*

¹⁴⁴⁸ **1073** Sed queso – eueniant] *lemma Vtrum prospera & aduersa per liberum arbitrium eueniant est in F*

M. Immo per¹⁴⁴⁹ gratiam et iustitiam¹⁴⁵⁰ dei.¹⁴⁵¹

1075 Gratia quidem¹⁴⁵² prospera ministrat,
iustitia autem¹⁴⁵³ aduersa dispensat.

Sed¹⁴⁵⁴ iusti per prospera¹⁴⁵⁵ ad perennia bona prouocantur,
iniusti autem per¹⁴⁵⁶ prospera ut diues ille¹⁴⁵⁷ remunerantur.

Aduersa¹⁴⁵⁸ autem ob tres causas electos tangunt:

1080 primo ut¹⁴⁵⁹ ¹⁴⁶⁰ quidam¹⁴⁶¹ a peccatis per aduersa corrigantur, ut Daud,
secundo ut quidam temptati magis coronentur, ut Iob,
tertio ut quidam a delectatione peccati retrahantur, [PL 1215B] ut Paulus.

Reprobos¹⁴⁶² uero ob duas causas feriunt:¹⁴⁶³

¹⁴⁴⁹ **1074** M. Immo per] Per *F*

¹⁴⁵⁰ iustitiam] per *praem. A*

¹⁴⁵¹ iustitiam dei] prospera et aduersa erunt *add. F*

¹⁴⁵² **1075** Gratia quidem] dei *add. G Con*

¹⁴⁵³ **1076** autem] *om. F*

¹⁴⁵⁴ **1076/1077** dispensat. Sed] dispensat, sed *D*

¹⁴⁵⁵ **1077** prospera] aduersa *G*

¹⁴⁵⁶ **1078** per] *om. G*

¹⁴⁵⁷ **1078** cfr Luc. 16, 19-31 Homo quidam erat diues

¹⁴⁵⁸ **1079** Aduersa] *lemma* Aduersa ob tres causas *praem. A*

¹⁴⁵⁹ **1080** primo ut] *transp. A B*

¹⁴⁶⁰ ut] quidem *praem. F*

¹⁴⁶¹ quidam] quidem *G*

¹⁴⁶² **1083** Reprobos] Reprobi *B*

¹⁴⁶³ feriunt] feriuntur *B*

- primo ut electi per eorum iustas¹⁴⁶⁴ plagas corrigantur,
 1085 ut in exitio Chorę legitur,¹⁴⁶⁵
 secundo ut ipsi a malitia¹⁴⁶⁶ ne tantum quantum uolunt noceant reprimantur,
 ut de Antiocho¹⁴⁶⁷ et Herode¹⁴⁶⁸ scribitur.
 D. Parietem¹⁴⁶⁹ perfodisti,¹⁴⁷⁰
 et ecce apparet ostium.¹⁴⁷¹
 1090 Introduc¹⁴⁷² me¹⁴⁷³ interius,
 et ostende quę latent intus.

DE PHARAONE.

Cum¹⁴⁷⁴ scriptura dicat quod pharao a deo sit induratus,¹⁴⁷⁵
 immo in¹⁴⁷⁶ hoc ipsum, ut annuntiaretur *nomen dei in uniuersa terra*¹⁴⁷⁷

¹⁴⁶⁴ **1084** iustas] iniustas *E, om. G Con*

¹⁴⁶⁵ **1085** Num. 16, 32

¹⁴⁶⁶ **1086** malitia] eorum *sup. l. add. F*

¹⁴⁶⁷ **1087** Macc. 6, 12-16

¹⁴⁶⁸ Matth. 2, 19

¹⁴⁶⁹ **1088/1091** D. Parietem *usq. intus] om. F*

¹⁴⁷⁰ **1088** perfodisti] fodisti *G Con*

¹⁴⁷¹ **1089** ostium] hostium *G*

¹⁴⁷² **1090/1091** Introduc *usq. intus] om. G Con*

¹⁴⁷³ **1090** me] *om. sed sup. l. rest. B*

¹⁴⁷⁴ **1093** Cum] *D. praem. D, D. in marg. praem. B, Hic insseritur, cum F*

¹⁴⁷⁵ **1093** cfr Exod. 4, 21b et al. loc.

¹⁴⁷⁶ **1094** in] ut *G*

¹⁴⁷⁷ **1094** ut annuntiaretur – terra] Rom. 9, 17 ... ut adnuntietur nomen meum in uniuersa terra; cfr Exod. 9, 16

1095 per eum¹⁴⁷⁸ sit constitutus,
quis non uideat quod necessitate cogente populum¹⁴⁷⁹ afflixerit,
cum in¹⁴⁸⁰ hoc ipsum constitutus sit,
et quasi quodam fato¹⁴⁸¹ trahente submersus sit?

M. Nota tria:

1100 populum afflicto,
pharaonem [PL 1215C] affligentem,
deum liberantem.

Deus electos ut uasa aurea per reprobos in camino tribulationis

temptando examinat,^{1482 1483}

1105 sed ipsi¹⁴⁸⁴ reprobi non intendunt¹⁴⁸⁵ ut¹⁴⁸⁶ eorum uexatio istis ad salutem proficiat,
quos sola crudelitatis malitia tribulant.¹⁴⁸⁷

Porro diabolus qui libere¹⁴⁸⁸ iustitiam¹⁴⁸⁹ deseruit,

¹⁴⁷⁸ **1095** eum] ipsum *F*

¹⁴⁷⁹ **1096** populum] dei *add. F*

¹⁴⁸⁰ **1097** in] ad *F*

¹⁴⁸¹ **1098** fato] fere *G*

¹⁴⁸² **1103/1104** temptando examinat] *transp. D*

¹⁴⁸³ examinat] examina(nd) *ut uid. scr. sed sub. l. punctis mendum indicauit et sup. l. -t rest. G*

¹⁴⁸⁴ **1105** ipsi] *om. F*

¹⁴⁸⁵ intendunt] adtendunt *F*

¹⁴⁸⁶ ut] quod *G Con*

¹⁴⁸⁷ **1106** tribulant] tribulat *Con*

¹⁴⁸⁸ **1107** libere] *om. F*

¹⁴⁸⁹ iustitiam] deum *G*

deus iuste¹⁴⁹⁰ in iniustitia ut incudem malleatoris¹⁴⁹¹ indurari¹⁴⁹² permisit,
eumque fabrum ad purganda¹⁴⁹³ uasa misericordie¹⁴⁹⁴ constituit.

1110 Qui faber¹⁴⁹⁵ ¹⁴⁹⁶ omnes impios sibi instrumenta fecit,
ex¹⁴⁹⁷ quibus pharao unus exstitit.¹⁴⁹⁸

Qui dum per liberum arbitrium diabolo seruire maluit,¹⁴⁹⁹
deus¹⁵⁰⁰ eum indurauit,
dum eum a malitie¹⁵⁰¹ duritia¹⁵⁰² non liberauit.

1115 [PL 1215D] Et¹⁵⁰³ cum¹⁵⁰⁴ populus dei afflictione¹⁵⁰⁵ esset temptandus,
et aduersitate probandus,

¹⁴⁹⁰ **1108** deus iuste] *om. G Con*

¹⁴⁹¹ malleatoris] malleatorum *G Con* mall(e)atoris] *om. sed sup. l. rest. B*

¹⁴⁹² indurari] *cuem bonos ut uid. G*

¹⁴⁹³ **1109** ad purganda] *ut purget F*

¹⁴⁹⁴ **1109** uasa misericordie] *cfr Rom. 9, 23*

¹⁴⁹⁵ **1110** Qui faber] *lemma diabolus dei fabrum est praem. A*

¹⁴⁹⁶ Qui faber] *qui et G*

¹⁴⁹⁷ **1110/1111** fecit, ex] *fecit. Ex G*

¹⁴⁹⁸ **1111** exstitit] *fuit G*

¹⁴⁹⁹ **1112** diabolo seruire maluit] *deo seruire noluit G Con*

¹⁵⁰⁰ **1113** deus] *subtracta gratia G*

¹⁵⁰¹ **1114** malitie] *malitia E G Con*

¹⁵⁰² duritia] *duritie E* duritia] *et praem. Migne*

¹⁵⁰³ **1114/1115** liberauit. Et] *liberauit, et E*

¹⁵⁰⁴ **1115** Et cum] *et ab eo G*

¹⁵⁰⁵ afflictione] *per afflictionem G Con*

deus¹⁵⁰⁶ in¹⁵⁰⁷ hoc ipsum Pharaonem, id est¹⁵⁰⁸ ad temptandum populum¹⁵⁰⁹ constituit,
dum ipse se per liberum arbitrium ut puta¹⁵¹⁰ unum¹⁵¹¹ de malleis diaboli
ad tundenda uasa dei obtulit.

1120 Sicque¹⁵¹² pharao nescius iustis quasi seruus [PL 1216A] filiis seruiuit,
dum eos a uasis irę^{1513 1514} segregans¹⁵¹⁵ flagellis erudiuit.
Diabolus¹⁵¹⁶ et impii¹⁵¹⁷ malum quidem per se uolunt,¹⁵¹⁸
non autem quantum uolunt,
sed quantum permittuntur¹⁵¹⁹ facere¹⁵²⁰ poterunt.

1125 Et¹⁵²¹ cum a deo electis preualere permittuntur,
in hoc ipsum constituti¹⁵²² dicuntur.

¹⁵⁰⁶ deus] deum *G*

¹⁵⁰⁷ in] In *G*

¹⁵⁰⁸ **1117** id est] eundem *F*, *om.* *Con*

¹⁵⁰⁹ populum] *ante* ad temptandum *pos.* *F*

¹⁵¹⁰ **1118** puta] *om.* *F*

¹⁵¹¹ unum] unus *F* *Con*

¹⁵¹² **1120** Sicque] Sic igitur *F*

¹⁵¹³ **1121** uasis irę] *cfr* Rom. 9, 22

¹⁵¹⁴ **1121** irę] *om.* *G*

¹⁵¹⁵ segregans] segregatos *F*

¹⁵¹⁶ **1122** Diabolus] igitur *add.* *F*

¹⁵¹⁷ impii] alii *praem.* *F*

¹⁵¹⁸ uolunt] nolunt *B*

¹⁵¹⁹ **1224** permittuntur] eis a deo permittitur *F*

¹⁵²⁰ facere] *om.* *F*

¹⁵²¹ **1124/1125** poterunt. Et] poterunt, et *E*

Nomen autem dei per pharaonem omnibus innotuit,
dum ipse cum omnibus suis iuste interiit,
et deus ab¹⁵²³ eo oppressos ut uasa iam¹⁵²⁴ igne examinata de¹⁵²⁵ fornace¹⁵²⁶
1130 signis¹⁵²⁷ et prodigiis¹⁵²⁸ eripuit.

DE IUDA.¹⁵²⁹

D.¹⁵³⁰ De Iuda quoque scribitur:

*Vt*¹⁵³¹ scriptura impleatur,

*qui manducat panem mecum,*¹⁵³²

1135 *leuabit*¹⁵³³ *contra me calcaneum.*¹⁵³⁴

Et iterum: *Nemo*¹⁵³⁵ *periit ex his quos dedisti mihi,*¹⁵³⁶

¹⁵²² **1126** constitu(ti)] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

¹⁵²³ **1129** ab] cum *A B*

¹⁵²⁴ iam] in *A B*

¹⁵²⁵ de] in *G Con*

¹⁵²⁶ fornace] forna *G*

¹⁵²⁷ **1130** signis] ignis *scr. sed in marg. a. m. signis rest. B*

¹⁵²⁸ prodi(gi)is] *om. sed sup. l. rest D*

¹⁵²⁹ **1131** De iuda] Quod iudas non necessarie, sed uoluntarie dominum tradidit *F*

¹⁵³⁰ **1132** D.] Dicunt quidam *F*

¹⁵³¹ **1133/1135** *Vt scriptura – calcaneum]* Ioh. 13, 18 . . . ut impleatur scriptura qui manducat mecum panem leuauit contra me calcaneum suum. *Vulg.* . . . ut adimpleatur Scriptura: Qui manducat mecum panem leuabit contra me calcaneum suum *Vulg. Clem.*

¹⁵³² **1134** mecum] meum *B F G Con* me(c)um] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

¹⁵³³ **1135** leuabit] leuauit *C D G Con*

¹⁵³⁴ calcaneum] suum *add. G Con*

¹⁵³⁵ **1136/1138** Nemo – impleatur] Ioh. 17, 12

¹⁵³⁶ **1136** mihi] *om. E*

nisi filius perditionis,

[PL 1216B] *ut scriptura impleatur.*

Et cum scripturam ipso¹⁵³⁷ domino teste impleri ita¹⁵³⁸ necesse fuerit,¹⁵³⁹

1140 quis nisi per omnia cecus non uideat quod Iudas¹⁵⁴⁰

quadam ui necessitatis impulsus dominum prodiderit,

maxime cum dominus uenerit¹⁵⁴¹ pati,

et necesse fuerit¹⁵⁴² eum per aliquem tradi?

M.¹⁵⁴³ Dominus quantum ad ipsum non necessitate,

1145 sed liberrima uoluntate

pati uoluit,

qui natura¹⁵⁴⁴ impassibilis fuit,

sed¹⁵⁴⁵ hoc fieri nobis¹⁵⁴⁶ ualde necessarium fuit,

quos necessitas mortis ad interitum impulit.

1150 Iudam nulla necessitas sed malitiosa uoluntas instigauit ad proditionem,

¹⁵³⁷ **1139** ipso] et *praem. F*

¹⁵³⁸ ita] *om. G Con*

¹⁵³⁹ fuerit] sit *G Con*

¹⁵⁴⁰ **1140** Iuda(s)] *om. sed sup. l. rest. B*

¹⁵⁴¹ **1142** uenerit] uenit *A B E*, uenerat *G Con* dominus uenerit] uenit dominus *F*

¹⁵⁴² **1143** fuerit] fuit *F*

¹⁵⁴³ **1144** M.] *om. F*

¹⁵⁴⁴ **1147** natura] ex *praem. F*, diuina *add G Con*

¹⁵⁴⁵ **1148** sed] et *Con*

¹⁵⁴⁶ fieri nobis] *transp. G Con*

dum dominum cum Iudeis odisse,¹⁵⁴⁷ quam cum coapostolis¹⁵⁴⁸ diligere maluit.

Similiter Iudei nulla necessitate compulsi,

sed [PL 1216C] pessima uoluntate impuls

eum occiderunt,

1155 dum eum *gratis odio habuerunt*,¹⁵⁴⁹

quem signis uirtutibus¹⁵⁵⁰ coruscare¹⁵⁵¹ doluerunt.

Sed quia spiritus sanctus cui omnia futura sunt presentia,

talia¹⁵⁵² eos uelle facturos presciuit,

ita per prophetas¹⁵⁵³ in scripturis predixit,

1160 sicuti¹⁵⁵⁴ postmodum totum contigit,

tamen illa scriptura¹⁵⁵⁵ nullam¹⁵⁵⁶ necessitatem uolendi uel faciendi eis¹⁵⁵⁷ intulit,

sicut¹⁵⁵⁸ ego¹⁵⁵⁹ si bellum prescirem,

¹⁵⁴⁷ **1151** odisse] magis *praem* *F*

¹⁵⁴⁸ coapostolis] apostolis *B D F G Con*

¹⁵⁴⁹ **1155** gratis odio habuerunt] cfr Ioh. 15, 25 et Ps. 34, 19b

¹⁵⁵⁰ **1156** uirtutibus] et *praem. E F G*

¹⁵⁵¹ coruscare] constare *Con*

¹⁵⁵² **1158** talia] qui *praem. G Migne*, quia *praem. Con*

¹⁵⁵³ **1159** per (pro)phetas] *om. B*

¹⁵⁵⁴ **1160** sicuti] sicut *F Con*

¹⁵⁵⁵ **1160/1161** contigit, tamen illa scriptura] contigit. Illa scriptura tamen *F*

¹⁵⁵⁶ nullam] ullam *G*

¹⁵⁵⁷ **1161** eis] illis *A B*

¹⁵⁵⁸ **1161/1162** intulit, sicut] intulit. Sicut *E F G Con*

¹⁵⁵⁹ ego] ergo *E F*

et illud futurum predicerem,
uerba mea non facerent bellum necessarium,
1165 sed presignarent uoluntarium.¹⁵⁶⁰
D.¹⁵⁶¹ Quid igitur?¹⁵⁶²
Quis¹⁵⁶³ eripit¹⁵⁶⁴ mihi¹⁵⁶⁵ non¹⁵⁶⁶ necesse fuisse Christum a Iudeis crucifigi,
qui uenerat ab eis occidi?
Quod¹⁵⁶⁷ utique non fecisset,¹⁵⁶⁸
1170 si facere [PL 1216D] non debuissent?
M. Et credis¹⁵⁶⁹ tu solos Iudeos Christum occidisse?
D. Quidni?¹⁵⁷⁰
M.¹⁵⁷¹ Omnes¹⁵⁷² iniqui ab initio usque in finem mundi¹⁵⁷³

¹⁵⁶⁰ **1165** sed presignarent uoluntarium] *om. G Con*

¹⁵⁶¹ **1166/1167** D. Quid igitur? – mihi non] Sed uidetur quibusdam *F*

¹⁵⁶² **1166** igitur] ergo *E*

¹⁵⁶³ **1166/1167** Quid igitur? Quis] Quid igitur quis *Con*

¹⁵⁶⁴ **1167** eripit] hinc colligat *Con*

¹⁵⁶⁵ mihi] nisi *G Con*

¹⁵⁶⁶ non] *om. G Con*

¹⁵⁶⁷ **1168/1169** occidi? Quod] occidi, quod *F G Con*

¹⁵⁶⁸ **1169** fecisset] secundum eorum uerba *add. F*

¹⁵⁶⁹ **1171/1173** M. Et credis – M. Omnes] Sed eorum opinio non est uera, nec soli iudei xpm occidisse putanda sunt, nam non solum iudei, sed omnes *F*

¹⁵⁷⁰ **1172** D. Quidni?] *om. G Con*

¹⁵⁷¹ **1173** M.] *om. G Con, lemma* Christum ab omnibus malis occisum *praem. A*

¹⁵⁷² M. Omnes iniqui] *lemma* Xtm ab omnibus malis occisum *praem. A*

¹⁵⁷³ mundi] seculi *G*

consenserunt in nece¹⁵⁷⁴ Christi.¹⁵⁷⁵

1175 Quotquot¹⁵⁷⁶ enim iustitiam et ueritatem odio habent,

hii¹⁵⁷⁷ iustos propter iustitiam et ueritatem quod¹⁵⁷⁸ est¹⁵⁷⁹ Christus^{1580 1581} persecuntur,

[PL 1217A] et omnes mortis domini¹⁵⁸² rei inueniuntur.

Vellent quippe si possent omnes iustos¹⁵⁸³ delere,

quo securi possent sua desideria¹⁵⁸⁴ absque contradictione explere.

1180 Ergo si illi non fecissent,

similes illorum perfecissent.

D. Introductus¹⁵⁸⁵ per te interius, multa preclara considero,

sed plura¹⁵⁸⁶ adhuc hic¹⁵⁸⁷ sigillata me non posse cernere doleo.¹⁵⁸⁸

¹⁵⁷⁴ **1174** nece] necem *G Con*

¹⁵⁷⁵ Christi] domini *add. F*

¹⁵⁷⁶ **1175** quotquot] quot *Migne*, quod *Con*

¹⁵⁷⁷ **1176** hii] his *B*

¹⁵⁷⁸ quod] que *F*

¹⁵⁷⁹ quod est] qui est *Con*

¹⁵⁸⁰ Christus] *om. Migne*

¹⁵⁸¹ **1175/1176** odio habent – quod est Christus] communiter *G*

¹⁵⁸² **1177** domini] Christi *B*, Christi *add. F*

¹⁵⁸³ **1178** omnes iustos] *transp. G Con*

¹⁵⁸⁴ **1179** desideria] de *praem. sed exp. G*

¹⁵⁸⁵ **1182/1189** D. Introductus – esse dicimus] Quid cause sit *F*

¹⁵⁸⁶ **1183** plura] multa *G Con*

¹⁵⁸⁷ adhuc hic] *om. G Con*

¹⁵⁸⁸ doleo] doloeo *praem. sed exp. G*

Vnde¹⁵⁸⁹ rogo ut tradita tibi *clauē scientiē*¹⁵⁹⁰ hęc clausa mihi aperias,
 1185 et ista inuolucra¹⁵⁹¹ euoluens¹⁵⁹² me inspicere facias.
 M. Tam¹⁵⁹³ diligenter pulsanti,¹⁵⁹⁴
 dominus pro¹⁵⁹⁵ me prospera respondens,
 arcana secretorum^{1596 1597} aperiet tibi.¹⁵⁹⁸
 D. Quidnam causę esse dicimus,
 1190 quod deus permittit eos¹⁵⁹⁹ diu errare,
 quos predestinauit perenniter [PL 1217B] secum regnare?

DE ERRORE ELECTORVM.

M.¹⁶⁰⁰ Per hoc¹⁶⁰¹ longanimitatem¹⁶⁰² patientię¹⁶⁰³ suę¹⁶⁰⁴ prerogat,

¹⁵⁸⁹ **1183/1184** doleo. Vnde] doleo, unde *A B E*

¹⁵⁹⁰ **1184** clauē scientiē] cfr Luc. 11, 52

¹⁵⁹¹ **1185** inuolucra] inuoluta *G Con*

¹⁵⁹² inuolucra euoluens] cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, *Sigillum* – PL 172, 495D: Omnium fratrum conuentus tuę diligentię grates soluit, quod eis spiritus sapientię tot inuolucra per tuum laborem in elucidario euoluit; *etiam* Augustinus Hipponensis, *Sermo 352*, i, 3 –PL 39, 1551: Dixit illas figuras nostras fuisse, et obscura erant omnia. Quis euolueret inuolucra ista figurarum? quis aperiret? quis discutere auderet?

¹⁵⁹³ **1186** Tam] Iam *A B C F*, Nam *D*

¹⁵⁹⁴ **1186/1188** Iam diligenter pulsanti – aperiat tibi] cfr Matth. 7, 7-8; Luc. 11, 5-10

¹⁵⁹⁵ **1187** pro] per *Con*

¹⁵⁹⁶ **1188** secretorum] *om. D*

¹⁵⁹⁷ **1188** arcana secretorum] cfr. Is. 45, 3 et dabo tibi thesauros absconditos et arcana secretorum

¹⁵⁹⁸ aperiet tibi] *transp. Con*

¹⁵⁹⁹ **1190** eos] *ante* permittit *pos. E* eos] malos *F*

¹⁶⁰⁰ **1193** M.] *om. F*

¹⁶⁰¹ Per hoc] *transp. F* hoc] hęc *G*

¹⁶⁰² longanimitatem] longanimitati *G Con*

quod eos¹⁶⁰⁵ diutius in errore¹⁶⁰⁶ ut Paulum tolerat,¹⁶⁰⁷
 1195 quod¹⁶⁰⁸ uero eos repente ad penitentiam
 ut item¹⁶⁰⁹ Paulum^{1610 1611} et Mariam^{1612 1613} reuocat,
 diuitias misericordie sue¹⁶¹⁴ insinuat.
 Pro his¹⁶¹⁵ in mundum uenit,
 pro his etiam¹⁶¹⁶ mortem subiit.
 1200 Et quamuis pro peccatoribus mortuus sit,
 Anne¹⁶¹⁷ et Cayphe,
 Herodi et Pilato,

¹⁶⁰³ **1193** longanimitatem patientie] cfr Rom. 2, 4a an diuitias bonitatis eius et patientiae et longanimitatis contemnis?

¹⁶⁰⁴ sue] *om. F*

¹⁶⁰⁵ **1194** eos] etiam *Con*

¹⁶⁰⁶ errore] errorem *Migne*

¹⁶⁰⁷ **1194** cfr I Cor. 15, 8–11

¹⁶⁰⁸ **1194/1195** tolerat, quod] tolerat. Quod *G Con*

¹⁶⁰⁹ **1196** item] idem *G Con*

¹⁶¹⁰ Paulum] apl̃m *add. F*

¹⁶¹¹ **1195** Paulum ... reuocat] Act. 9, 3-4

¹⁶¹² magdalenam] *add. F*

¹⁶¹³ Mariam reuocat] *uide* Luc. 7, 36-50 *cum parallelis* Matth. 26, 6 – 13 et Marc. 26, 6-13 atque Ioh. 12, 3-8; *nota etiam* Ioh. 20, 16

¹⁶¹⁴ **1197** misericordie sue] *ante diuitias pos. E F*

¹⁶¹⁵ **1198** Pro his] enim *add. F*

¹⁶¹⁶ **1199** etiam] et *G Con*

¹⁶¹⁷ **1201** Anne] tamen *add. F*

mors eius non profuit,
 sed¹⁶¹⁸ multum obfuit,
 1205 non idcirco¹⁶¹⁹ solum quod in morte domini conspirauerant,
 sed ideo quia bonum¹⁶²⁰ *gratis odio habuerant*,^{1621 1622}
 et penitentię¹⁶²³ remedia¹⁶²⁴ neglexerant.¹⁶²⁵

Ceterum electi quamplures in nece Christi [PL 1217C] quamuis
 ignoranter consenserunt,¹⁶²⁶

1210 pro¹⁶²⁷ quibus ipse in cruce¹⁶²⁸ orauit:¹⁶²⁹ *Pater*¹⁶³⁰ *ignosce illis*,
*non enim sciunt*¹⁶³¹ *quid*¹⁶³² *faciunt*,¹⁶³³
 et¹⁶³⁴ sanguinem¹⁶³⁵ post credendo¹⁶³⁶ biberunt,

¹⁶¹⁸ **1204** profuit, sed] *om. F*

¹⁶¹⁹ **1205** idcirco] iccirco *C E*

¹⁶²⁰ **1206** bonum] *post odio pos. F*

¹⁶²¹ habuerant] habuerunt *A B F G*

¹⁶²² **1205** quia bonum gratis odio habuerant] *cfr Ioh. 15, 25 et Ps. 34, 19b*

¹⁶²³ **1207** penitentię] penitere *G Con*

¹⁶²⁴ remedia] *om. G Con*

¹⁶²⁵ neglexer(u)nt] *scr. sed corr. B* neglexerant] neglexerunt *F*

¹⁶²⁶ **1209** consenserunt] consenserant *Con*

¹⁶²⁷ **1209/1210** consenserunt, pro] consenserunt. *Pro F*

¹⁶²⁸ **1210** in cruce] *et praem. G Con*

¹⁶²⁹ orauit] *dicens add. F G Con*

¹⁶³⁰ **1209** Luc. 23,34

¹⁶³¹ **1211** non enim sciunt] quia nesciunt *G Con*

¹⁶³² quid] quod *B*

¹⁶³³ faciunt] faciant *F*

quem¹⁶³⁷ prius sequendo fuderunt.^{1638 1639}

D.¹⁶⁴⁰ Cum¹⁶⁴¹ malefacta hominum deo nichil noceant,

1215 et illorum¹⁶⁴² bene gesta nichil¹⁶⁴³ conferant,

cur eos post mortem segregat,¹⁶⁴⁴

et non omnes pariter et equaliter¹⁶⁴⁵ in unum locat?¹⁶⁴⁶

M.¹⁶⁴⁷ Rationi iustitiae¹⁶⁴⁸¹⁶⁴⁹ repugnat,

ut iniusti cum iustis¹⁶⁵⁰ locum obtineant.¹⁶⁵¹

¹⁶³⁴ **1212** et] Qui quoque *F*

¹⁶³⁵ sanguinem] eius *add. F*

¹⁶³⁶ credendo] credentes *F*

¹⁶³⁷ **1213** quem] que *ut uid. in B*

¹⁶³⁸ fuderunt] effuderunt *G*

¹⁶³⁹ **1210/1213** pro quibus – fuderunt] cfr Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, XIII, xxii, 25 – ed. M Adriaen, CC SL 143A, p. 682; PL 75, 1028CD: . . . et in ipso dolore passionis pro persecutoribus oravit dicens: *Pater, dimitte illis; non enim sciunt quid faciunt*. Quid enim dici, quid cogitari in prece mundius potest quam cum et illis misericordia intercessionis tribuitur a quibus toleratur dolor? Vnde factum est ut Redemptoris nostri sanguinem, quem persecutores saeuientes fuderant, postmodum credentes biberent eumque esse Dei Filium praedicarent.

¹⁶⁴⁰ **1214** D.] *om. et lemma* Quod segregantur iusti ab iniustis, sicut agni ab hedis *scr. F*

¹⁶⁴¹ Cum] Mirantur quidam *praem. F*

¹⁶⁴² illorum] eorum *G Con*

¹⁶⁴³ **1215** nichil] *om. sed s.l.a.m rest. D*

¹⁶⁴⁴ **1216** segregat] segreget *F*

¹⁶⁴⁵ **1217** et equaliter] *om. F*

¹⁶⁴⁶ locat] collocet *F*

¹⁶⁴⁷ **1218** M.] *om. F*

¹⁶⁴⁸ M. Rationi iustitiae] *lemma* Varietatem picture *praem. A*

¹⁶⁴⁹ Rationi iustitiae] Huic ammirationi satis faciemus *praem. F*

¹⁶⁵⁰ iniusti cum iustis] *transp. et e contra add. G Con*

- 1220 Ideo¹⁶⁵² ¹⁶⁵³ sicut pictor opus suum coloribus uariat,
 sic deus regnum suum discretis ordinibus egregie¹⁶⁵⁴ clarificat.
 Quis enim esset decor picture,
 si laquear¹⁶⁵⁵ totum cooperiret¹⁶⁵⁶ uno colore?
 Nec etiam pictura¹⁶⁵⁷ [PL 1217D] posset dici.
- 1225 Nunc¹⁶⁵⁸ diuersos colores diuersis locis¹⁶⁵⁹ pingit,
 et multipliciter uariando totam picturam distinguit,¹⁶⁶⁰
 et sic opus suum¹⁶⁶¹ delectabile uisu¹⁶⁶² reddit.
 Sic insignitor lapidum uarias¹⁶⁶³ gemmas diuersis locis imprimit,

¹⁶⁵¹ **1219** obtineant] obtineret *ut uid. a.c. in D*

¹⁶⁵² **1220/1229** Ideo sicut pictor – reddit] cfr Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, V, 954AB – ed. E.A. Jeauneau, CC CM 165, p. 131; PL 172, 954AB: Et ut breuiter dicam, omnes uirtutes ex oppositis sibi uitis non solum laudem comparant, uerum etiam sine illorum comparatione laudem non acquirunt. Eadem ratione beatitudo iustorum gloriam sibi inuenit ex suppliciis impiorum, gaudiumque bonae uoluntatis ex tristitia peruersae. Et ut uera ratio pronunciarum non trepidat, omnia quae in partibus uniuersitatis mala, inhonesta, turpia, misera, suppliciaque ab his qui simul omnia considerare non possunt iudicantur, in contemplatione uniuersitatis, ueluti totius cuiusdam picturae pulchritudinis, neque supplicia sunt, neque misera, neque turpia, neque inhonesta, neque mala sunt. Quicquid enim diuinae prouidentiae administrationibus ordinatur, bonum et pulchrum et iustum est.

¹⁶⁵³ **1220** Ideo] ideoque *F*

¹⁶⁵⁴ **1221** egregie] *om. D*

¹⁶⁵⁵ **1223** laquear] pictor *praem. F*

¹⁶⁵⁶ cooperiret] cooperire(n)t *sup. l. ut uid. scr. D*

¹⁶⁵⁷ **1224** etiam pictura] *transp. G Con*

¹⁶⁵⁸ **1225** Nunc] ergo *add. F*

¹⁶⁵⁹ locis] cotis *A*, modis *B* locis] in *praem. F*

¹⁶⁶⁰ **1220/1226** et multipliciter *usq.* distinguit] *ante* Ideo sicut pictor *pos. Con*

¹⁶⁶¹ **1227** opus suum] *om. G*

¹⁶⁶² delectabile uisu] distinguendo uisui delectabile *G*, uisui delectabile *Con*

¹⁶⁶³ **1228** uarias] *om. G*

et sic opus suum¹⁶⁶⁴ pretiosius¹⁶⁶⁵ efficit.

1230

DE STELLIS.

Et ut summatim¹⁶⁶⁶ singula percurram,
et¹⁶⁶⁷ quasi aliquos flosculos inde ad coronulam carpam,
quęnam^{1668 1669} pulchritudo esset,
si omnes stelle in cęlo pares essent?

1235

Nunc gratia est prestantior,¹⁶⁷⁰
dum alia alii¹⁶⁷¹ maior,
alia alii conspicitur clarior.

DE AVIBVS.

In aere¹⁶⁷² quoque quę esset speciositas,

1240

si omnes aues unius generis et unius coloris
pares faceret ęqualitas?

Nunc uero qualis¹⁶⁷³ illis inest uarietas in genere,
in colore,

¹⁶⁶⁴ **1229** opus suum] *post* preciosius *pos.* *B*

¹⁶⁶⁵ pretiosius] deletabile uisu et *praem.* *F*

¹⁶⁶⁶ **1231/1384** Et ut summatim *usq.* ordinauerit] *om.* *G Con*

¹⁶⁶⁷ **1231** et] *om.* *A B*

¹⁶⁶⁸ **1231/1233** carpam, quęnam] carpam. Quęnam *A B C D G*

¹⁶⁶⁹ **1233** Quęnam] *M. praem.* *B*

¹⁶⁷⁰ **1235** est prestantior] *transp.* *F*

¹⁶⁷¹ **1236** alii] alię *F*

¹⁶⁷² **1239** In aere] *Videre* *F*

¹⁶⁷³ **1242** qualis] (e)qualis *sup. l. scr. C*, equalis *D* qualis] *considera praem.* *F*

in feritate,

1245 in mansuetudine.

DE PISCIBVS.

Quid autem haberet pulchritudinis,

si in mari non essent nisi pisces unius generis?

Nunc O qualis est pulchritudo, cernere in eo¹⁶⁷⁴ diuersa genera piscium,¹⁶⁷⁵

1250 diuersa¹⁶⁷⁶ animalium,

uolucrum,

et quędam forma, quędam magnitudine ab aliis mire distare.

DE BESTIIS.

Porro quę pulchritudo esset,

1255 si in terra non esset,

nisi unum genus bestiarum,

unum arborum,

unum lapidum,

unum herbarum,

1260 unus color florum?

Nunc O¹⁶⁷⁷ quam miranda pulchritudo in bestiis,

in reptilibus,

¹⁶⁷⁴ **1249** eo] ea *F*

¹⁶⁷⁵ piscium] (p)piscium *scr. sed et sub l. et sup. l. puntis mendum indicauit D*

¹⁶⁷⁶ **1250** diuersa] genera *add. F*

¹⁶⁷⁷ **1262** O] *om. D*

in serpentibus consideratur,
que¹⁶⁷⁸ cum diuerso genere,

1265 diuerso colore,
diuersa natura,
inter se multum distent,
maiolem delectationem¹⁶⁷⁹ intuentibus prebent.

DE ARBORIBVS.

1270 O quam magna¹⁶⁸⁰ diuersitas est¹⁶⁸¹ in arboribus,¹⁶⁸²
et in earum foliis et floribus,

DE LAPIDIBVS.¹⁶⁸³

quam¹⁶⁸⁴ gloriosa distantia in¹⁶⁸⁵ ¹⁶⁸⁶ lapidibus,
et in¹⁶⁸⁷ eorum coloribus,

1275 DE HERBIS ET FLORIBVS.¹⁶⁸⁸

quam¹⁶⁸⁹ mirifica¹⁶⁹⁰ uarietas in¹⁶⁹¹ herbis, et in earum¹⁶⁹² floribus,

¹⁶⁷⁸ **1263/1264** consideratur, que] consideratur. Que F

¹⁶⁷⁹ **1268** delectationem] dilectionem B F

¹⁶⁸⁰ **1270** quam magna] quanta F

¹⁶⁸¹ est] om. sed sup. l. rest. E

¹⁶⁸² in arboribus] arborum F

¹⁶⁸³ **1272/1273** lemma De Lapidibus post distantia pos. B, om. sed in capite paginae rest. A

¹⁶⁸⁴ **1271/1273** floribus, quam] floribus. Quam F

¹⁶⁸⁵ **1273** in] In B, In scr. ut uid. a.c. in C

¹⁶⁸⁶ **1273/1277** in lapidibus usq. uarietas] om. sed in capite paginae rest. A

¹⁶⁸⁷ **1274** in] om. sed sup. l. rest. A

¹⁶⁸⁸ **1275/1276** lemma De herbis et floribus post uarietas pos. B

quam¹⁶⁹³ delectabilis et quam uaria gratia in coloribus.

Hęc diuersitas singulorum maiorem gratiam considerantibus et admirationem prebet,

quam si non nisi unum genus existeret.

1280 De paruis ad maiora transeamus.

DE HOMINE.¹⁶⁹⁴

Quę pulchritudo in homine esset,

si omnia¹⁶⁹⁵ unum membrum essent?¹⁶⁹⁶

Nunc multo pulchrius est esse diuersa¹⁶⁹⁷ membra,¹⁶⁹⁸

1285 esse¹⁶⁹⁹ uisum,

auditum,

odoratum,

gustum,

esse manus,

1290 et¹⁷⁰⁰ pedes[,a]

¹⁶⁸⁹ 1274/1276 coloribus, quam] coloribus. Quam *F*

¹⁶⁹⁰ 1276 mirifica] magnifica uel *praem. F*

¹⁶⁹¹ in] In *B*

¹⁶⁹² earum] eorum *F*

¹⁶⁹³ 1276/1277 floribus, quam] floribus. Quam *E*

¹⁶⁹⁴ 1281 homine] hominibus *C D*

¹⁶⁹⁵ 1283 omnia] membra eius *add. F*

¹⁶⁹⁶ essent] esset *B*

¹⁶⁹⁷ 1284 esse diuersa] *transp. F*

¹⁶⁹⁸ membra] membru *a.c. in B*

¹⁶⁹⁹ 1285 esse] uidelicet *praem. F*

et¹⁷⁰¹ cętera membra,
quam uno¹⁷⁰² totum corpus concludi.

In humano autem genere quę pulchritudo esset,
si omnes homines pares essent?

1295 Quę pulchritudo esset in clero,
omnes¹⁷⁰³ esse presules,
aut in populo omnes esse reges?

DE PRELATIS ET ALIIS.¹⁷⁰⁴

O quam gloriosa uariatio in clero,
1300 quosdam esse presules,¹⁷⁰⁵
quosdam inferioris gradus sacerdotes,¹⁷⁰⁶
quosdam in aliis gradibus constitutos,
in¹⁷⁰⁷ populo uero quosdam esse reges,
quosdam duces,
1305 quosdam comites,
quosdam milites,

¹⁷⁰⁰ 1290 et] esse *F*

¹⁷⁰¹ 1291 et] *om. D*

¹⁷⁰² 1292 uno] membro *add. F*

¹⁷⁰³ 1296 omnes] si *ut uid. praem. sed exp. E*

¹⁷⁰⁴ 1298 et aliis] *om. B*

¹⁷⁰⁵ 1300 presules] psules *B*

¹⁷⁰⁶ 1301 sacerdotes] esse *praem. F*

¹⁷⁰⁷ 1302/1303 constitutos, in] constitutos. In *F*

quosdam agricolas.¹⁷⁰⁸

DE DIVERSITATE RERVM.

Quam mira uarietas¹⁷⁰⁹ est,

1310 esse diuersas gentes,

diuersas nationes,

diuersas linguas,

diuersas conditiones,

diuersas dignitates,

1315 diuersas ciuitates,

diuersas leges,

diuersa iura,

diuersa conciliabula.¹⁷¹⁰

DE MVLIERIBVS.

1320 Porro quam suavis delectabilisque diuersitas est¹⁷¹¹ inter mulieres,

quod una alteram precellit in genere,

illa illam¹⁷¹² in pulchritudine,

alia aliam in dignitate,

alia alteram¹⁷¹³ in amabilitate.

¹⁷⁰⁸ **1307** agricolas] agriculas *B* agricolas.] agricolas? *D*

¹⁷⁰⁹ uarietas] diuersitas *praem. sed sub. l. punctis mendum indicauit D*

¹⁷¹⁰ **1318** conciliabula] *om. sed sup. l. rest. B*

¹⁷¹¹ **1320** est] *om. D*

¹⁷¹² **1322** illa illam] *transp. F*

¹⁷¹³ **1324** alteram] *om. omnes codd. sed scripsi auctoritate primae uersionis huiusce libelli*

1325

DE ETATIBVS.

O quam mentem¹⁷¹⁴ oblectat teneritas infantum,
robor¹⁷¹⁵ iuuenum,
grauitas senum,
et¹⁷¹⁶ in his omnibus magnam esse distantiam et formarum et morum.

1330

DE VASIS.

Sed^{1717 1718} et hoc auget decorem in uniuscuiusque patrisfamilias domo esse diuersa uasa,
quædam ut puta aurea et argentea ad honorem,
quædam uero sicuti ferrea et lignea ad contumeliam.¹⁷¹⁹
Quæ omnia[?] quamuis non sint in uno loco uel paria,

1335

tamen omnia sunt¹⁷²⁰ in domo necessaria.
Hęc omnia consideranti in dei re publica,
ingerunt stupenda cuiusdam picturę oblectamina.¹⁷²¹

¹⁷¹⁴ **1226** mentem] mente *B*

¹⁷¹⁵ **1327** robor] robur *E*, r(u)b(o)r *scr. sed sub l. lineis et sup. l. litteris rectis mendum indicauit F*

¹⁷¹⁶ **1328/1329** senum, et] senum. *Et F*

¹⁷¹⁷ **1331/1333** Sed et – ad contumeliam] cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, *Quid uasa honoris et quid uasa contumelie*, ed. M.-O. Garrigues, in 'Bref témoignage sur la vie monastique du XIIe siècle,' in *Studia monastica*, 16, 1974, p. 48: Domus magna est Ecclesia ab oriente in occidentem delatata. Huic magnus Dominus presidet qui ut paterfamilias credentes in hac domo possidet.

¹⁷¹⁸ **1331/1333** cfr II Tim. 2, 20-21

¹⁷¹⁹ **1333** (contu)meliam] *eras. E*

¹⁷²⁰ **1335** sunt] *post* in domo *pos. D*

¹⁷²¹ **1337** oblectamina] oblectamenta *E F*

DE REGNO DEI.

Denique deus in regno suo quod est cęlum, terra, infernus,¹⁷²²
1340 et omnia his coherentia uel¹⁷²³ subiecta,¹⁷²⁴
disposuit cuncta ut sibi¹⁷²⁵ placuit,
et ut decens fuit.
Angelos namque per dilectionem sibi¹⁷²⁶ adherentes
in palatio cęli ut puta¹⁷²⁷ amicos collocauit,
1345 dęmones per superbiam a se¹⁷²⁸ deficientes carceri inferni
ut hostes mancipauit,
homines¹⁷²⁹ mandatum suum¹⁷³⁰ transgredientes
ut seruos contemptores exilio mundi destinauit,¹⁷³¹
reconciliatos^{1732 1733} per filium suum in pascuis paradýsi statuit,
1350 nolentes reconciliari in lacu¹⁷³⁴ inferiori¹⁷³⁵ torquendos tradidit.

¹⁷²² **1339** infernus] et *praem. E*

¹⁷²³ **1340** uel] et *E*

¹⁷²⁴ **1340/1341** uel subiecta] *post* disposuit *pos. D*

¹⁷²⁵ **1341** sibi] *om. A B*

¹⁷²⁶ **1343** sibi] *ante* per dilectionem *pos. E*

¹⁷²⁷ **1344** ut puta] *utpote F*

¹⁷²⁸ **1345** a se] *ante* per superbiam *pos. D*

¹⁷²⁹ **1346/1347** mancipauit, homines] mancipauit. Homines *F*

¹⁷³⁰ **1347** mandatum suum] *transp. B*

¹⁷³¹ **1348** destinauit] deputauit *scr. sed etiam sup. l. destinauit scr. A*

¹⁷³² **1348/1349** destinauit, reconciliatos] destinauit. Reconciliatos *F*

¹⁷³³ Reconciliatos] uero hominis *add. F*

DE LAVDE DEI.¹⁷³⁶ [CD]

Et licet ab insipientibus non intelligatur,¹⁷³⁷

ab omni creatura par laus deo referri a sapientibus non ignoratur.

Sicut enim ab excellentia¹⁷³⁸ angelorum magnificatur,

1355 sic ab existentia hominum uel animantium¹⁷³⁹ glorificatur.

Et sicut de¹⁷⁴⁰ cęlo laudatur,¹⁷⁴¹

quod sole, luna, stellis illustratur,

sic de terra honoratur,

quod¹⁷⁴² floribus, fructibus,¹⁷⁴³ nemoribus decoratur.

1360 Sic¹⁷⁴⁴ iustitię laus ei ab inferno fertur,

dum iustum iudicium¹⁷⁴⁵ in eo super reprobos exercetur.

/DE GLORIA IN PALATIO DEI./

In ipso uero dei palatio quod regnum cęlorum¹⁷⁴⁶ uocamus,

¹⁷³⁴ **1350** lacu] lacum *F*

¹⁷³⁵ inferiori] inferiorem *F*

¹⁷³⁶ **1351** De laude dei] Laude dei ab omni creatura parem *A*

¹⁷³⁷ **1352** intelligatur] intell(a)gatur *ut uid. a.c. in E*

¹⁷³⁸ **1354** excellentia] extollentia *F*

¹⁷³⁹ **1355** animantium] animalium *E*

¹⁷⁴⁰ **1356** de] in *F*

¹⁷⁴¹ laudatur] honoratur *F*

¹⁷⁴² **1359** quod] que *F*

¹⁷⁴³ fructibus] frugibus *F*

¹⁷⁴⁴ **1360** Sic] etiam *add. F*

¹⁷⁴⁵ **1361** i(u)diciu] *om. sed sub l. puncto mendum indicauit et sup. l. rest. B*

quam dulcis et gloriosa diuersitas esse creditur,
1365 dum aliam gloriam angeli,
aliam archangeli,
aliam et aliam illi et illi ordines,¹⁷⁴⁷
et aliam¹⁷⁴⁸ patriarchę uel propheteę,
aliam apostoli,¹⁷⁴⁹
1370 aliam martyres,
aliam confessores,
aliam uirgines,
aliam uidueę,
aliam coniugati,
1375 et¹⁷⁵⁰ aliam alii¹⁷⁵¹ gradus habere leguntur.
Hęc omnia tam uariabili pulchritudine et¹⁷⁵² stupenda admiratione diuersa,
ab ęterno¹⁷⁵³ instituit, semper eadem et inuariabilis dei¹⁷⁵⁴ sapientia.
D. Gratias ago¹⁷⁵⁵ deo,

¹⁷⁴⁶ **1363** ęlorum] dei *D*

¹⁷⁴⁷ **1367** aliam et aliam illi et illi ordines] et alii aliam ordinesque *F*

¹⁷⁴⁸ **1368** et aliam] aliamque *F*

¹⁷⁴⁹ **1369** aliam apostoli] *om. E*

¹⁷⁵⁰ **1375** et] *post aliam pos. E*

¹⁷⁵¹ aliam alii] *transp. F*

¹⁷⁵² **1376** et] *om. F*

¹⁷⁵³ **1377** ab ęterno] *deus praem. F*

¹⁷⁵⁴ dei] *om. F*

quod tam incredibilis pulchritudinis insignia in domo

1380 in quam me introduxisti¹⁷⁵⁶ perspicue¹⁷⁵⁷ uideo.

Clausa decenter reserasti,

inuolucra eleganter resigillasti.¹⁷⁵⁸

Sed cum deus hæc¹⁷⁵⁹ ab æterno tam ordinabiliter, tam miro ordine ordinauerit,

ad quid¹⁷⁶⁰ ultimum iudicium restabit?¹⁷⁶¹

1385 DE VLTIMO¹⁷⁶² IVDICIO.¹⁷⁶³

M.¹⁷⁶⁴ Iustitię¹⁷⁶⁵ ratio exigit,

ut iudicium fiat,

ut¹⁷⁶⁶ hii¹⁷⁶⁷ qui nunc se in¹⁷⁶⁸ hýpochrisi occultant,¹⁷⁶⁹

¹⁷⁵⁵ **1378/1384** D. Gratias ago usq. restabit?] *om. et lemma* Qr cum ds hæc ita ab et'no tam ordinabiliter & tam miro ordine ordinat~ ad q'd ultimum iudicium restet *scr. F*

¹⁷⁵⁶ **1380** introduxisti] induxisti *E*

¹⁷⁵⁷ perspicue] perspicere *B C D*

¹⁷⁵⁸ **1382** resigillasti] resigilasti *B*

¹⁷⁵⁹ **1383** hæc] ita *add. E*

¹⁷⁶⁰ **1384** ad quid] D. Ad quid *G Con*

¹⁷⁶¹ restabit] restat *G Con*

¹⁷⁶² **1385** ultimo] *om. B*

¹⁷⁶³ De ultimo iudicio] Cur fiat. *add. A*

¹⁷⁶⁴ **1386** M.] *om. F*

¹⁷⁶⁵ Iustitię] Ad quod respondendum est quod iustitię *F*

¹⁷⁶⁶ **1388** ut] et *G*

¹⁷⁶⁷ hii] *om. G Con*

¹⁷⁶⁸ in] *om. G Con*

¹⁷⁶⁹ occultant] occultauerunt *G*

iniqui¹⁷⁷⁰ appareant,
 1390 et¹⁷⁷¹ qui nunc publice in flagitiis¹⁷⁷² gloriantur,
 dignis¹⁷⁷³ tunc¹⁷⁷⁴ suppliciis iuste subdantur,
 et qui leges contempnunt,
 iustitiam despiciunt,
 pauperes et iustos opprimunt,
 1395 et per potentiam securi sunt,
 de rapinis florent,
 de dampno aliorum gaudent,
 iustis insultant,
 [PL 1218A] uerba dei calcant,
 1400 pro talibus et his similibus laudantur,
 per terrorem ab omnibus¹⁷⁷⁵ honorantur,
 hii inquam tunc¹⁷⁷⁶ a iustis hic oppressis et a¹⁷⁷⁷ gaudio sequestrentur,¹⁷⁷⁸
 et iusto¹⁷⁷⁹ in¹⁷⁸⁰ supplicio consociantur,

¹⁷⁷⁰ **1389** iniqui] iniquibus *E*

¹⁷⁷¹ **1389/1390** appareant, et] appareant. Et *F*

¹⁷⁷² **1390** flagitiis] flaicis *D*

¹⁷⁷³ **1391** dignis] digni *E*

¹⁷⁷⁴ tunc] nunc *G*

¹⁷⁷⁵ **1401** omnibus] hominibus *F G Con*

¹⁷⁷⁶ **1402** tunc] *om. F*

¹⁷⁷⁷ a] *om. G Con*

¹⁷⁷⁸ sequestrentur] sequestrantur *p. corr. in D*

¹⁷⁷⁹ **1403** iusto] iniustus *G Con*

iusti¹⁷⁸¹ autem qui nunc¹⁷⁸² iniuste oppressi sunt releuentur,¹⁷⁸³

1405 et qui bene uiuentes eguerunt¹⁷⁸⁴ remunerentur,¹⁷⁸⁵

et qui propter iustitiam in opprobrio erant honorentur.

DE COLORIBVS PICTVRÆ DEI.¹⁷⁸⁶

Sicut enim^{1787 1788} pictor cum singulos colores posuerit,

unumquemque¹⁷⁸⁹ in suo loco prout uisum fuerit,

1410 ad ultimum nigro colore cuncta¹⁷⁹⁰ discriminat,

ut totius picturę ornatus melius clarescat,¹⁷⁹¹

ita deus cum¹⁷⁹² omnem uarietatem sui preclari operis prout uult¹⁷⁹³ disposuerit,

ad extremum reprobos ab electis,

¹⁷⁸⁰ et] *om. D*

¹⁷⁸¹ **1403/1404** consociantur, iusti] consociantur. Iusti *E F G Con*

¹⁷⁸² **1404** nunc] *om. E*

¹⁷⁸³ releuentur] reuelentur *B*, re(i)euentur *scr. sed sup. l. corr. D*, releuantur *F*

¹⁷⁸⁴ **1405** eguerunt] egerunt *E F G Con*

¹⁷⁸⁵ remunerentur] remunerabuntur *F*

¹⁷⁸⁶ **1407** De coloribus picturę dei] *om. A*

¹⁷⁸⁷ **1409/1447** Sicut enim *usq. demonstrabo*] *om. et Nunc cur in (paradisum) edicito his capitibus substituit G, paradiso Con*

¹⁷⁸⁸ **1408** enim] igitur *F, om. E*

¹⁷⁸⁹ **1409** unumquemque] unumquemque *E*

¹⁷⁹⁰ **1410** cuncta] *om. B*

¹⁷⁹¹ **1411** clarescat] clareat *F*

¹⁷⁹² **1412** cum] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A, om. B*

¹⁷⁹³ uul(t)] *om. sed sup. l. rest B*

ut nigrum a precioso colore segregabit,

1415 ut de nigredine illorum supplicii
splendidior fiat claritudo istorum gaudii.

+DE ORDINIBVS.+¹⁷⁹⁴

Denique¹⁷⁹⁵ patriarchę et prophetę pro uiridi colore,
apostoli¹⁷⁹⁶ pro aereo,

1420 martýres pro rubeo,
confessores pro croceo,
monachi pro purpureo,
uirgines pro albo,
continentes pro criseo,

1425 coniugati pro ferrugineo,
peccatores pro nigro in pictura dei accipiuntur,
quę omnia¹⁷⁹⁷ ordo angelicus¹⁷⁹⁸ cingit, ut uarius auricolor¹⁷⁹⁹ limbus.
Hęc uniuersa illa summa pulchritudo¹⁸⁰⁰ ornat et illustrat,
quę singulis¹⁸⁰¹ suum proprium¹⁸⁰² decorem prestat.¹⁸⁰³

¹⁷⁹⁴ **1417** De ordinibus] Diuersi ordines. Diuersi colores *A B*

¹⁷⁹⁵ **1418/1425** Denique – pro ferrugineo] cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, *Liber XII quaestionum*, VIII – PL 172, 1182C: Ecclesia distinxit ordines fidelium secundum ordines eorum [*sc.* angelorum], scilicet in patriarchas, in prophetas, in apostolos, in martyres, in confessores, in monachos, in uirgines, in uiduas, in coniugatos.

¹⁷⁹⁶ **1418/1419** colore, apostoli] colore. Apostoli *F*

¹⁷⁹⁷ **1427** omnia] omnia *B*

¹⁷⁹⁸ ordo angelicus] *transp. sed rectum ordinem indicauit E*

¹⁷⁹⁹ auricolor] et *praem. F*

¹⁸⁰⁰ **1428** summa pulchritudo] cfr Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, V, 954C – ed. E.A. Jeauneau, p. 131; PL 122, 954C

1430 D. Iam totum¹⁸⁰⁴ decorem domus domini te demonstrare¹⁸⁰⁵ conspicio,
nunc etiam Babýlonię ciuitatis ědificia cernere desidero.
Per orientalem¹⁸⁰⁶ ergo hanc portam me educito,
et cur homo in paradýsum¹⁸⁰⁷ positus sit,
cum non ibi permansurus esset edicito.

1435 DE VII. SIGILLIS.

M. Ab ipso sunt pandenda mẽchę ciuitatis mýsteria,
qui per¹⁸⁰⁸ spiritum sanctum¹⁸⁰⁹ carnem ·i· assumendo,
de uirgine ·ii· nascendo,
mortem crucis ·iii· patiando,
1440 in sepulchro ·iiii· quiescendo,
ad inferna ·v· descendendo,
a mortuis ·vi· resurgendo,
ad cęlos ·vii· ascendendo,
aperuit ·vii·¹⁸¹⁰ libri signacula.

¹⁸⁰¹ **1429** singulis] et *praem. F*

¹⁸⁰² proprium] *om. E*

¹⁸⁰³ prestat] prerat *D*, prestabit *F*

¹⁸⁰⁴ **1430/1434** D. Iam totum *usq.* edicito] *om. et lemma* Qř hic cur ho ĩ paradýso posit□ sit, cū ibi n[on] erat p[er]mansurus *scr. F*

¹⁸⁰⁵ **1431** demonstrare] monstrate *E*

¹⁸⁰⁶ **1432** orientalem] orientalem *D*

¹⁸⁰⁷ **1433** paradýsum] paradýso *E*

¹⁸⁰⁸ **1437** per] *om. A B C D*

¹⁸⁰⁹ spiritum sanctum] spiritu sancto *C D*

1445 In monte igitur hoc te¹⁸¹¹ statuo,¹⁸¹²
et uniuersa habitacula perditę ciuitatis demonstrabo.

DE ADAM.¹⁸¹³

Protoplastus¹⁸¹⁴ ad beatitudinem¹⁸¹⁵ creatus,
in paradýso, id est in loco uoluptatis¹⁸¹⁶ est locatus.¹⁸¹⁷

1450 Sed quia preceptum domini seruare noluit,
ideo contemptor¹⁸¹⁸ iuste exilium mundi¹⁸¹⁹ subiit.

Qui si nichil de paradýsi deliciis gustasset,
sed acceptum mandatum in hoc mundo positus¹⁸²⁰ [PL 1218B] uiolasset,
numquam forsitan pęnitentiam ageret,¹⁸²¹

1455 et sic semper exul foret.

Postquam uero expertam paradýsi dulcedinem, sed cito amissam in exilio¹⁸²²
ad memoriam reuocauit,

¹⁸¹⁰ **1444** •vii•] septem *F*, septem *add. E*

¹⁸¹¹ **1445** te] auditores meos *F*

¹⁸¹² statuo] statuum *D*

¹⁸¹³ **1447** De adam] Series narrationis *F*

¹⁸¹⁴ **1448** Protoplastus] adam *add. F*

¹⁸¹⁵ ad beatitudinem] ad ęternitatem beatitudinis *C D*

¹⁸¹⁶ loco uoluptatis] Gen. 2, 10

¹⁸¹⁷ **1449** locatus] collocatus *F* est locatus] locatus erat *G Con*

¹⁸¹⁸ **1451** Contemptor] contentor *Con*, *meliolem lectionem retinuit Migne*

¹⁸¹⁹ mundi] *om. sed in marg. rest. E, om. G Con*

¹⁸²⁰ **1453** in hoc mundo positus] *om G Con*

¹⁸²¹ **1454** ageret] egisset *G Con*

¹⁸²² **1456** in exilio] *om. G Con*

gravi penitentia se¹⁸²³ multauit,¹⁸²⁴

et¹⁸²⁵ ideo reditum meruit.

1460 De cuius mox utero

quasi de quodam castello

geminus exercitus electorum scilicet et reproborum prodiit,

et acre¹⁸²⁶ certamen impacabili¹⁸²⁷ discordia iniit.¹⁸²⁸

In hac¹⁸²⁹ itaque pugna magna ui¹⁸³⁰ utrimque¹⁸³¹ certatur,

1465 et uictores quidem laureati triumphantes astra petunt,

uicti¹⁸³² autem confusi ad ima baratri descendunt.¹⁸³³

Sta autem¹⁸³⁴ ¹⁸³⁵ hic,¹⁸³⁶ et¹⁸³⁷ considera¹⁸³⁸ utrorumque itinera.¹⁸³⁹

¹⁸²³ **1458** penitentia se] *transp. F G Con*

¹⁸²⁴ Multauit] *mulctauit Con, meliorem lectionem retinuit Migne*

¹⁸²⁵ **1459** et] *Ideo rediit praem. G Con*

¹⁸²⁶ **1463** acre] *hac re G, acta hac re Con*

¹⁸²⁷ impacabili] *implacabile G Con*

¹⁸²⁸ impacabili discordia iniit] *post haec uerba inferiorem portionem textus inseruit E (uide infra lineas 1659 usq. 1680)*

¹⁸²⁹ **1464** In h(a)c] *-ę a.c. in F*

¹⁸³⁰ ui] *om. sed sup. l. rest. D*

¹⁸³¹ ui utrimque] *in utrumque G Con*

¹⁸³² **1465/1466** petunt, uicti] *petunt. Victi G Con*

¹⁸³³ **1466** ad ima baratri descendunt] *cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, De anima exilio et patria, XIV – PL 172, 1246D: . . . et in immensum barathrum tristitiae et desperationis demergunt.*

¹⁸³⁴ **1467** Sta autem] *Sed nunc F*

¹⁸³⁵ autem] *etiam G Con*

¹⁸³⁶ hic] *om. F*

¹⁸³⁷ et] *om. F*

- [PL 1218C]Aliquis per uiam humilitatis ab infantia¹⁸⁴¹ incedit,
1470 et usque ad senilem etatem semper in melius proficit.
Omnes¹⁸⁴² homines *sibi superiores*¹⁸⁴³ reputat,
se uero omnibus inferiorem¹⁸⁴⁴ etimat.
Omnium¹⁸⁴⁵ actus laudat,
suos reprobat.
1475 Alius castitatis semitam arripit,
magna custodia cunctos sensus suos munit,
et tamen omnes alios sanctos computat,
se uelut immundum iudicat.
Alius patientię callem calcat,
1480 uniuersa dura et aspera pro Christo patienter¹⁸⁴⁶ tolerat,
alios mansuetos reputat,
se¹⁸⁴⁷ immitem¹⁸⁴⁸ cogitat.

¹⁸³⁸ considera utrorumque] utrorumque consideremus *F*

¹⁸³⁹ itinera] instantiam *G Con*

¹⁸⁴⁰ **1468** De uia iustorum] De ciuibus Ierusalem humilibus *Con*

¹⁸⁴¹ **1469** infantia] *om. sed in marg. a. m. rest. D*

¹⁸⁴² **1470/1471** proficit. Omnes] proficit, omnes *F*

¹⁸⁴³ **1471** sibi superiores] cfr Phil. 2, 3

¹⁸⁴⁴ **1472** omnibus inferiorem] *transp. G Con*

¹⁸⁴⁵ **1472/1473** etimat. Omnium] etimat, omnium *F*

¹⁸⁴⁶ **1480** patienter] *ante* pro Christo *pos. F*

[PL 1218D]Alius per abstinentiē iter graditur,

magna castigatione carnis maceratur,

1485 et tamen alios in abstinentia districtiores honorando estimat,

se ut uoracem dampnat.

Alius per latitudinem caritatis incedens, non solum amicos *in deo*, sed etiam¹⁸⁴⁹ inimicos
propter deum diligit,¹⁸⁵⁰

contumelia¹⁸⁵¹ accepta non solum poscenti ueniam¹⁸⁵² iniuriam¹⁸⁵³ laxat,

1490 sed etiam ipse¹⁸⁵⁴ reconciliari festinat.

Hęc et talia¹⁸⁵⁵ sunt ciuium Hierusalem itinera,

[PL 1219A] quibus ab exilio¹⁸⁵⁶ properant ad *ęterna tabernacula*.¹⁸⁵⁷

Verte¹⁸⁵⁸ te¹⁸⁵⁹ ad ciues Babylonię,

¹⁸⁴⁷ **1482** se] ipsum *add. G Con*

¹⁸⁴⁸ immitem] immilem *Migne*

¹⁸⁴⁹ **1487** etiam] et *F, om. E G*

¹⁸⁵⁰ **1487/1488** in deo – propter deum diligit] cfr Augustinus, *De doctrina christiana*, 1, xxii, 21 atque xxxiii, 37 – ed. J. Martin, CC SL 32, pp17 et 27: Si ergo te ipsum non propter te debes diligere, sed propter illum, ubi dilectionis tuę rectissimis finis est, non suscenseat alius homo, si etiam ipsum propter deum diligit Cum autem homine in deo frueris, deo potius quam homine frueris

¹⁸⁵¹ **1489** contumelia] Qui etiam *praem. F*

¹⁸⁵² ueniam] dat *add. F*

¹⁸⁵³ iniuriam] ut *praem. F*

¹⁸⁵⁴ **1490** ipse] se *praem. et etiam add. G*

¹⁸⁵⁵ **1491** talia] talium *praem. F*

¹⁸⁵⁶ **1492** exilio] exstio *E*

¹⁸⁵⁷ **1492** ęterna tabernacula] Luc. 16, 9

¹⁸⁵⁸ **1493** Verte] *lemma* De ciuibus Babilonie *praem. G, lemma* De ciuibus Babyliniae et de reprobo *praem. Con*

¹⁸⁵⁹ Verte te] Vertamus nos modo *F*

et uide¹⁸⁶⁰ quales sunt¹⁸⁶¹ per quas tendunt plateę.

1495

DE PLATEIS REPROBORVM.

Aliquis¹⁸⁶² a primeua ętate a luxuria inchoat,

et¹⁸⁶³ in hac insatiabiliter¹⁸⁶⁴ usque ad decrepitam¹⁸⁶⁵ perdurat.

Numquam quid iam fecerit cogitat,¹⁸⁶⁶

sed quid adhuc facere¹⁸⁶⁷ possit tractat.¹⁸⁶⁸

1500

Alius uoracitati et ebrietati a pueritia¹⁸⁶⁹ se subicit,

et usque ad ultimam senectutem delectabiliter¹⁸⁷⁰ his insistit.

Alius toto annisu¹⁸⁷¹ rapere festinat,

alius¹⁸⁷² iugiter¹⁸⁷³ furtis inuigilat.

[PL 1219B]Alius¹⁸⁷⁴ crudelitate pascitur,

¹⁸⁶⁰ **1494** uide] uideamus *F*

¹⁸⁶¹ sunt] sint *G Con*

¹⁸⁶² **1496** Aliquis] Alius *F*

¹⁸⁶³ **1497** et] *om. E*

¹⁸⁶⁴ insatiabiliter] *ante perducatur pos. F*

¹⁸⁶⁵ decrepitam] decrepitum *G Con* decrepitam] ętatem *add. F*

¹⁸⁶⁶ **1498** cogitat] *om. G Con*

¹⁸⁶⁷ **1499** facere] mali *praem. F*

¹⁸⁶⁸ tractat] cogitat *D*, pertractat *F G Con*

¹⁸⁶⁹ **1500** a pueritia] *ante uoracitati pos. E F*

¹⁸⁷⁰ **1501** delectabiliter] *om. D G Con*

¹⁸⁷¹ **1502** annisu] nisu *G Con*

¹⁸⁷² **1502/1503** festinat, alius] festinat. Alius *G Con*

¹⁸⁷³ **1503** iugiter] *om. F G Con*

1505 alius¹⁸⁷⁵ lucris non satiatur.
 Hic¹⁸⁷⁶ inuidia tabescit,
 hic uero immunditia¹⁸⁷⁷ sordescit.
 Hic¹⁸⁷⁸ superbia¹⁸⁷⁹ erectus cunctos despicit,
 hic odio plenus cunctos mendaciis et detractionibus afficit.

1510 Tales et tales¹⁸⁸⁰ sunt plateę reproborum,¹⁸⁸¹
 quibus irreuocabiler festinant ad profunda inferorum.

DE PVGNA REPROBORVM CONTRA IVSTOS.^{1882 1883}

Aspice nunc etiam¹⁸⁸⁴ acies diuerso modo ad pugnam instructas.

Reprobi iustorum uerba et opera abhominantur,

1515 consortia¹⁸⁸⁵ eorum detestantur,
 refugiunt¹⁸⁸⁶ omne illorum¹⁸⁸⁷ consilium,¹⁸⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷⁴ **1503/1504** inuigilat. Alius] inuigilat, alius *C D F*

¹⁸⁷⁵ **1504/1505** pascitur, alius] pascitur. Alius *G Con*

¹⁸⁷⁶ **1505/1506** satiatur. Hic] satiatur, hic *C D*

¹⁸⁷⁷ **1507** immunditia] in *praem. F*

¹⁸⁷⁸ **1507/1508** sordescit. Hic] sordescit, hic *C D F*

¹⁸⁷⁹ **1508/1509** Hic superbia usq. afficit] *om. sed in capite paginae rest. A*

¹⁸⁸⁰ **1510** et tales] *om. G*

¹⁸⁸¹ plateę reproborum] *transp. E*

¹⁸⁸² **1512** De pugna reproborum contra iustos] De diuersa pugna ciuium Yrusalem & babilon. *G*, De diuerso modo pugnandi ciuium Hierusalem, contra ciues Babyloniae & e contra *Con*

¹⁸⁸³ contra iustos] et iustorum *B*

¹⁸⁸⁴ **1513** nunc etiam] *transp. D*

¹⁸⁸⁵ **1515** consortia] consorti(o) *scr. sed sup. l. corr. A* consortia] et *praem. G Con*

¹⁸⁸⁶ **1516** refugiunt] respuunt *F* refugiunt] et *praem. G Con*

graues sunt eis etiam¹⁸⁸⁹ ad uidendum.

Sæpe¹⁸⁹⁰ eos callide circumueniunt,

sæpius bona eorum fraudulenter aut etiam uiolenter [PL 1219C] diripiunt,

1520 sæpissime¹⁸⁹¹ eos uerberibus uel¹⁸⁹² aliis cruciatibus affligunt,¹⁸⁹³

aut etiam membrorum truncatione¹⁸⁹⁴ uel uariis suppliciis interimunt.

DE PVGNA IVSTORVM.¹⁸⁹⁵

E contra iusti reproborum mores ut graue pondus sufferunt,

de miserabili illorum conuersatione ingemunt,¹⁸⁹⁶

1525 contagia eorum inquantum possunt deuitant,

citius ab illorum contubernio liberari optant,

pro eorum salute¹⁸⁹⁷ deo supplicant,

necessaria quæ possunt eis subministrant.¹⁸⁹⁸

¹⁸⁸⁷ illorum] eorum *G Con*

¹⁸⁸⁸ consilium] consortium *E* illorum consilium] *transp. F*

¹⁸⁸⁹ **1517** eis etiam] *transp. F*

¹⁸⁹⁰ **1518** Sæpe] quoque *add. F*

¹⁸⁹¹ **1520** sæpissime] frequenter *F*

¹⁸⁹² uel] etiam *add. G Con*

¹⁸⁹³ **1520** uerberibus uel aliis cruciatibus affligunt] cfr Hebr. 11, 36 . . . alii uero ludibria et uerba experti . . . *Vulg.*

¹⁸⁹⁴ **1521** membrorum truncatione] cfr Hebr. 11, 37 . . . secti sunt . . . *Vulg.*

¹⁸⁹⁵ **1522** De pugna iustorum] *om. C D*

¹⁸⁹⁶ **1524** ingemunt] ingemiscunt *E*

¹⁸⁹⁷ **1527** eorum salute] *transp. E F*

¹⁸⁹⁸ **1528** subministrant] subministrunt *G*

- 1530 Adhuc aliud considera.¹⁹⁰⁰
 Electi¹⁹⁰¹ omnes in bono concordant,
 et bonum quod facere non¹⁹⁰² preualent¹⁹⁰³ in aliis amant,
 [PL 1219D] reprob¹⁹⁰⁴ uero in malo omnes concord¹⁹⁰⁵ sunt,
 in bono semper discordes existunt.¹⁹⁰⁶
- 1535 Et¹⁹⁰⁷ si alicui illorum¹⁹⁰⁸ ab aliquo iustorum forte¹⁹⁰⁹ uerbum increpationis
 uel admonitionis offertur,
 omnes resistunt,
 omnes pariter contradicunt,
 ipsi etiam qui non faciunt,¹⁹¹⁰
- 1540 quia¹⁹¹¹ ¹⁹¹² bona quæ¹⁹¹³ facere nolunt,¹⁹¹⁴

¹⁸⁹⁹ **1529** De concordia bonorum et malorum] De bona concordia ciuim Yrusalim et mala ciuim Babiloniorum *G*,
 De bona concordia ciuim Ierusalem, & mala concordia ciuim Babyloniae *Con*

¹⁹⁰⁰ **1530** considera] si placet *add. F*

¹⁹⁰¹ **1531** Electi] preelecti *F*

¹⁹⁰² **1532** non] *om. G Con*

¹⁹⁰³ preualent] *ante facere pos. G Con*

¹⁹⁰⁴ **1532/1533** amant, reprob] amant. Reprob *F G Con*

¹⁹⁰⁵ **1533** concord¹⁹⁰⁵ sunt] concordatur *G*

¹⁹⁰⁶ **1534** discordes existunt] discordatur *G*

¹⁹⁰⁷ **1534/1535** existunt. Et] existunt, et *D E*

¹⁹⁰⁸ **1535** illorum] eorum *F*

¹⁹⁰⁹ forte] *om. D*

¹⁹¹⁰ **1539** non faciunt] bona *praem. F*

¹⁹¹¹ **1539/1540** ipsi etiam qui non faciunt, quia] et non solum non faciunt, sed etiam *E*

in aliis¹⁹¹⁵ odio habentes¹⁹¹⁶ moleste¹⁹¹⁷ ferunt,
ideo¹⁹¹⁸ eum¹⁹¹⁹ omnes etiam¹⁹²⁰ qui non¹⁹²¹ nouerunt
dignum¹⁹²² odio ducunt,¹⁹²³
mendaciis detrahunt,
1545 iniuriis lacescunt.

DE ACIE AMBORVM.¹⁹²⁴

Contemplare¹⁹²⁵ diligenter,
et uidebis¹⁹²⁶ in toto isto¹⁹²⁷ certamine semper Caÿn paratum in acie¹⁹²⁸ contra Abel,¹⁹²⁹

¹⁹¹² **1540** quia] nec *F*

¹⁹¹³ que] *om. F*

¹⁹¹⁴ nolunt] uolunt *F*

¹⁹¹⁵ **1541** in aliis] bona *add. F*

¹⁹¹⁶ habentes] habent *E F*

¹⁹¹⁷ moleste] et *praem. E F*

¹⁹¹⁸ **1542** ideo] ideoque *F*

¹⁹¹⁹ eum] *om. F*

¹⁹²⁰ etiam] *om. E F*

¹⁹²¹ qui non] quos bene facere *F*

¹⁹²² **1543** dignum] dignos *F*

¹⁹²³ ducunt] dicunt *A B*

¹⁹²⁴ **1546** De acie amborum] Pugna amborum *F*

¹⁹²⁵ **1547** Contemplare] Contemplemur *F*

¹⁹²⁶ **1548** uidebis] uidebimus *F*

¹⁹²⁷ toto isto] *transp. G Con*

¹⁹²⁸ acie] aciem *F*

Cham^{1930 1931} stare contra Sem,
1550 Hýsmahel¹⁹³² armatum aduersus¹⁹³³ Ysaac,
Esau pugnare contra¹⁹³⁴ Iacob,
Saul resistere Daud,
Iudam in dominum,
Sýmonem¹⁹³⁵ irruere¹⁹³⁶ in Petrum.

1555 DE CVRSV IN STADIO.¹⁹³⁷

[PL 1220A] Vide¹⁹³⁸ etiam¹⁹³⁹ in hoc agone qualiter sepe reprobi cum electis currere
pro brauio¹⁹⁴⁰ proponunt,
et aliquamdiu¹⁹⁴¹ etiam¹⁹⁴² concurrunt,¹⁹⁴³

¹⁹²⁹ contra Abel] stare *add. Con*

¹⁹³⁰ **1549** Cham] et Cayn *G*

¹⁹³¹ Cham – Sem] *om. Con*

¹⁹³² **1550** Hýsmahel] *et praem. G Con*

¹⁹³³ aduersus] contra *F*

¹⁹³⁴ **1551** contra] *om. sed sup. l. rest. B, aduersus F*

¹⁹³⁵ Sýmonem] *et praem. G Con*

¹⁹³⁶ **1554** irruere] *post Petrum pos. D* magnum *praem. G Con*

¹⁹³⁷ **1555** De cursu in stadio] *cfr 1 Cor. 9: 24*

¹⁹³⁸ **1556** Vide] *videbimus F*

¹⁹³⁹ etiam] *om. F*

¹⁹⁴⁰ **1557** pro brauio] *om. Con*

¹⁹⁴¹ **1558** aliquamdiu] *aliquando diu Con*

¹⁹⁴² etiam] *om. G Con*

¹⁹⁴³ concurrunt] *currunt Con*

in¹⁹⁴⁴ 1945 itinere uero sudore¹⁹⁴⁶ fatigati deficiunt,¹⁹⁴⁷

1560 et turpiter ad uomitum ut canes¹⁹⁴⁸ redeunt.¹⁹⁴⁹

Veni¹⁹⁵⁰ huc¹⁹⁵¹ ad supercilium montis,

unde cuncta ædificia possis¹⁹⁵² conspicere¹⁹⁵³ dampnatę ciuitatis.

DE PRINCIPIBVS. [BCD]

Intuere¹⁹⁵⁴ principes et iudices,

1565 ecce¹⁹⁵⁵ posita est in eis bestię sedes.

Omni¹⁹⁵⁶ tempore ad malum sunt¹⁹⁵⁷ intenti,

semper negotiis¹⁹⁵⁸ iniquitatis inexplebiliter¹⁹⁵⁹ occupati,

¹⁹⁴⁴ **1558/1559** concurrunt, in] concurrunt. In *F*

¹⁹⁴⁵ **1559** in] *praem. Con*

¹⁹⁴⁶ uero sudore] *om. Con*

¹⁹⁴⁷ deficiunt] deficiunt *F*

¹⁹⁴⁸ ad uomitum ut canes] ut canes ad uomitum *G Con*

¹⁹⁴⁹ **1560** ad uomitum ut canes redeunt] cfr Prou. 26, 11 et II Pet. 2, 22a

¹⁹⁵⁰ **1561** Veni] Ascende *B*, Veniamus *F*, astende *add. G*, lemma De ciuibus Babylonie in speciali et primo de principibus et iudicibus aliorum *praem. G*, lemma De ciuibus Babyloniae in particulari, et primo de his qui sunt principes et iudices super alios *praem. Con*

¹⁹⁵¹ **1561** huc] adhuc *D*, nunc *F*

¹⁹⁵² **1562** possis] possimus *F*

¹⁹⁵³ possis conspicere] *transp. G Con*

¹⁹⁵⁴ **1564** Intuere] Intueamur *F*

¹⁹⁵⁵ **1564/1565** iudices, ecce] iudices. Ecce *F G Con*

¹⁹⁵⁶ **1566** Omni tempore] Sedes *in marg. A*

¹⁹⁵⁷ sunt] *om. F*, ante ad malum *pos. G*

¹⁹⁵⁸ negotiis] negotis *Con*, meliorem lectionem retinuit Migne, in *praem. G Con*

¹⁹⁵⁹ **1567** inexplebiliter] inexplicabiliter *D E*

flagitia non solum faciunt,
sed et alios facere instruunt.

1570 Sancta uendunt,
scelera¹⁹⁶⁰ emunt.
Totis¹⁹⁶¹ uiribus laborant,
ne soli ad¹⁹⁶² tartara ueniant.

DE CLERO.¹⁹⁶³

1575 [PL 1220B]Verte te¹⁹⁶⁴ ad clerum,
et uides¹⁹⁶⁵ in eis bestię tentorium.
dei seruitium¹⁹⁶⁶ negligunt,
terrenis lucris inseruiunt,
sacerdotium¹⁹⁶⁷ per immunditiam polluunt,¹⁹⁶⁸
1580 populum per simulationem¹⁹⁶⁹ seducunt.
Deum¹⁹⁷⁰ per mala opera abnegant,

¹⁹⁶⁰ **1570/1571** uendunt, scelera] uendunt. Scelera *F*

¹⁹⁶¹ **1571/1572** emunt. Totis] emunt, totis *E G Con*

¹⁹⁶² **1573** ad] *om. sed sup. l. rest. C*

¹⁹⁶³ **1574** De clero] De clericis et sacerdotibus Babyloniae *G Con*

¹⁹⁶⁴ **1575** Verte te] Vertamus nos *F*

¹⁹⁶⁵ **1576** uides] uidebimus *F*, uidebis *G Con*

¹⁹⁶⁶ **1577** dei seruitium] Tentorium *in marg. A*

¹⁹⁶⁷ **1578/1579** inseruiunt, sacerdotium] inseruiunt. Sacerdotium *G Con*

¹⁹⁶⁸ **1578** pollu(u)nt] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

¹⁹⁶⁹ **1580** sim(i)lationem] *scr. sed sup. l. corr. F*

omnes scripturas ad salutem pertinentes¹⁹⁷¹ abdicant.

Omnibus¹⁹⁷² modis se laqueos¹⁹⁷³ et ruinam¹⁹⁷⁴ populo substernunt,¹⁹⁷⁵

quem cęcum ipsi cęci ad interitum preeunt.¹⁹⁷⁶

1585

DE MONACHIS.¹⁹⁷⁷

Contemplare^{1978 1979} etiam¹⁹⁸⁰ monachorum conciliabula,¹⁹⁸¹

et uidebis¹⁹⁸² in eis¹⁹⁸³ bestię tabernacula.

Per fictam¹⁹⁸⁴ professionem deum iridentes, iram eius prouocant,

normam¹⁹⁸⁵ regularem moribus et uita calcant,

1590

per habitum¹⁹⁸⁶ sęculum fallunt,

¹⁹⁷⁰ **1580/1581** seducunt. Deum] seducunt, deum *C D F G Con*

¹⁹⁷¹ **1582** omnes scripturas ad salutem pertinentes] cfr II Ti. 3, 15-17

¹⁹⁷² **1582/1583** abdicant. Omnibus] abdicant, omnibus *C D F G Con*

¹⁹⁷³ **1583** laqueos] laqueum *Con*

¹⁹⁷⁴ ruinam] ruinas *ut uid. G*

¹⁹⁷⁵ substernunt] subministrant *F*, sufferunt *Con*, offerunt *Migne*

¹⁹⁷⁶ **1583/1584** cfr Matt. 15, 12-14 atque Luc. 6, 39

¹⁹⁷⁷ **1585** De monachis] Babilonii ciuitatis *add. G*, Babyloniae *add. Con*

¹⁹⁷⁸ **1586** Contemplare] Contemplemur *F*

¹⁹⁷⁹ Contemplare] Tabernaculum *in marg. A*

¹⁹⁸⁰ etiam] *om. G*

¹⁹⁸¹ conc(li)abula] *om. sed sup. l. rest. F*

¹⁹⁸² **1587** uidebis] uidebimus *F*

¹⁹⁸³ in eis] quoque *add. F*

¹⁹⁸⁴ **1588** Per fictam] enim *add. F*

¹⁹⁸⁵ **1589** normam] eius *add. G Con*

¹⁹⁸⁶ **1590** per habitum] perhibitum *B*

[PL 1220C] multos deceptos¹⁹⁸⁷ ipsi decepti decipiunt.

Sęularibus negotiis impliciti sunt,

in¹⁹⁸⁸ dei seruitio¹⁹⁸⁹ desides¹⁹⁹⁰ existunt.

Plerique illorum gulę et¹⁹⁹¹ illecebris dediti sunt,

1595 quidam in¹⁹⁹² immunditię sordibus computrescunt.

DE MONIALIBVS.¹⁹⁹³

Prospice¹⁹⁹⁴ etiam¹⁹⁹⁵ habitacula monialium,¹⁹⁹⁶

et cernes¹⁹⁹⁷ in eis bestię preparatum thalamum.¹⁹⁹⁸

Heę a tenera ętate impudicitiam¹⁹⁹⁹ discunt,

1600 complices sibi quamplurimos²⁰⁰⁰ ad cumulum suę dampnationis asciscunt.

Velo se operire festinant,

¹⁹⁸⁷ **1591** deceptos] *om. Con*

¹⁹⁸⁸ **1593** in] id est *praem. Con*

¹⁹⁸⁹ dei seruitio] *transp. Con*

¹⁹⁹⁰ desides] desi(stunt) *scr. sed sup. l. corr. C*

¹⁹⁹¹ **1594** et] *om. E*

¹⁹⁹² **1595** in] *om. F G Con*

¹⁹⁹³ **1596** De monialibus] *Babyloniae add. Con*

¹⁹⁹⁴ **1597** Prospice] *Prospiciamus F, Thalamus in marg. A*

¹⁹⁹⁵ **1597/1658** Prospice etiam *usq. concedat deus] om. E*

¹⁹⁹⁶ **1597** mon(i)alium] *om. sed sup. l. rest A*

¹⁹⁹⁷ **1598** cernes] *cernemus F*

¹⁹⁹⁸ preparatum thalamum] *transp. F*

¹⁹⁹⁹ **1599** impudicitiam] *immunditiam F*

²⁰⁰⁰ **1600** quamplurimos] *quamplurimas G Con*

quo magis frena luxurię laxare queant.

Omnibus²⁰⁰¹ fornicariis²⁰⁰² peius²⁰⁰³ 2004 prosternuntur,²⁰⁰⁵

et ut²⁰⁰⁶ insatiabilis Charybdis numquam stercore immunditię replebuntur.²⁰⁰⁷

1605 Heę animas²⁰⁰⁸ iuuenum illaqueant,

et gaudent si plures decipiant.

Et²⁰⁰⁹ 2010 hec [PL 1220D] uult²⁰¹¹ palmam uictorię,²⁰¹²

quę aliis²⁰¹³ preualet in scelere.

DE PLEBE.²⁰¹⁴

1610 Verte te²⁰¹⁵ ad reliquam plebem,

et inuenies²⁰¹⁶ in ea²⁰¹⁷ bestię effigiem.

²⁰⁰¹ **1602/1603** queant. Omnibus] queant, omnibus *G Con*

²⁰⁰² **1603** forni(c)ariis] *om. sed sup. l. rest. B*

²⁰⁰³ peius] promti *F*, penis *G*

²⁰⁰⁴ **1603/1604** peius *usq.* numquam] *om. Con*

²⁰⁰⁵ prosternuntur] prosterbuntur *G*

²⁰⁰⁶ **1604** ut] *om. sed sup. l. rest. F*

²⁰⁰⁷ replebuntur] replentur *G*, implentur *Con*

²⁰⁰⁸ **1605** animas] animos *F*, mentes *Con*

²⁰⁰⁹ **1606/1607** decipiant. Et] decipiant, et *C E*

²⁰¹⁰ **1607** Et] nam *praem. F*

²⁰¹¹ uult] habere *praem. G*, habere *add. Con*

²⁰¹² palmam uictorię] obtinere *add. F*

²⁰¹³ **1608** aliis] alios *F*

²⁰¹⁴ **1609** De plebe] De communi plebe ciuitatis Babiloniae *G Con*

²⁰¹⁵ **1610** Verte te] Vertamus nos et *F*, Imago *in marg. A*

²⁰¹⁶ **1611** inuenies] inueniemus *F*

Sacerdotes despiciunt,
de deo quicquam²⁰¹⁸ audire contempnunt.

Totum tempus uitę in uanitate et iactantia ducunt,²⁰¹⁹

1615 et ad omne opus bonum²⁰²⁰ reprobis sunt.

DE VVLGO.

Vulgus²⁰²¹ quoque indoctum,

bestię habet²⁰²² ýdolum.

Deum uerum non norunt,²⁰²³

1620 deo uentri²⁰²⁴ tota intentione deseruiunt.²⁰²⁵

Per uaria carnis desideria²⁰²⁶ diffluunt,²⁰²⁷

et per omnia uitam bestialem ducunt.

²⁰¹⁷ in ea] *om. G Con*

²⁰¹⁸ **1613** quicquam] quicquam *B*, quidquam *Con*

²⁰¹⁹ **1614** ducunt] deducunt *G*

²⁰²⁰ **1615** bonum] suum *G Con*

²⁰²¹ **1617** Vulgus] ýdolum *in marg. A*

²⁰²² **1618** habet] sunt *F*

²⁰²³ **1619** norunt] noscunt *G Con*

²⁰²⁴ **1620** deo uentri] cfr Phil. 3, 19

²⁰²⁵ **1620** deseruiunt] seruiunt *G*

²⁰²⁶ **1621** carnis desideria] *transp. G*

²⁰²⁷ Per uaria carnis desideria diffluunt] cfr Augustinus, *Confessiones*, 10, 29, 40 – ed. M. Skutella, editionem correctiorem curauerunt H. Juergens et W. Schaub, 1996, p. 238: per continentiam quippe colligimur et redigimur in unum, a quo in multa defluximus.

DE MULIERIBVS.²⁰²⁸

Veni²⁰²⁹ huc²⁰³⁰ ad huius uallis procliuia,²⁰³¹

1625 et uidebis²⁰³² [PL 1221A] monstruosa mulierum²⁰³³ conuenticula.

In his bestia omnes suas pompas et monstra posuit,

et has sua arma ferre constituit.

Vides²⁰³⁴ qualiter illa²⁰³⁵ iuuenes per luxuriam illaqueat,²⁰³⁶

illa multos ueneno enecat,

1630 hęc uiri uitam pro auro prodit,²⁰³⁷

hęc partus suos occidit,²⁰³⁸

hęc lites prouocat,

altera bella instigat,

ista maleficiis mentes hominum alienat,

1635 hanc uero nullus pecunia uel²⁰³⁹ luxuria satiat,

²⁰²⁸ **1623** De mulieribus] Babyloniae *add. Con*

²⁰²⁹ **1624** Veni] Veniamus *F*, Arma *in marg. A*

²⁰³⁰ huc] adhuc *B*, *om. F*

²⁰³¹ uallis procliuia] *transp. F*

²⁰³² **1625** uidebis] uides *A B*, uidebimus *F*

²⁰³³ mulierum] mulieris *Con*

²⁰³⁴ **1628** Vides] Videamus *F*

²⁰³⁵ illa] per illam *G*, *om. Con*

²⁰³⁶ illaqueat] illaqueantur *G Con*

²⁰³⁷ **1630** prodit] perdit *G Con*

²⁰³⁸ **1631** hęc partus suos occidit] *cfr Deut. 28, 53-7*

²⁰³⁹ **1635** uel] aut *G Con*

hęc ridendo multos decipit,

illa flendo plerosque seducit.

Hęc²⁰⁴⁰ sunt huius ciuitatis propugnacula,

et hęc sunt bestię iacula.

1640 D. O deus, quanta monstra²⁰⁴¹ prodigiosa conspicio.²⁰⁴²

DE DESTRVCTIONE BABYLONIĘ.²⁰⁴³ PROPVGNACVLI -- B].

M.²⁰⁴⁴ Męnia męchę²⁰⁴⁵ ciuitatis²⁰⁴⁶ uidisti,²⁰⁴⁷

destructionem quoque eiuslibet²⁰⁴⁸ intueri.²⁰⁴⁹

Nunc²⁰⁵⁰ ciues Babýlonii²⁰⁵¹ cum sint plures in²⁰⁵² numero ciuibus Hierusalem

1645 [PL 1221B] semper bellum²⁰⁵³ inferunt,²⁰⁵⁴

²⁰⁴⁰ **1638** Hęc] Propugnacula *in marg. A*

²⁰⁴¹ **1640** monstra] *om. G Con*

²⁰⁴² D. O deus *usq. conspicio*] *om. F*

²⁰⁴³ **1641** Babyłonię] propugnaculi *add. B*

²⁰⁴⁴ **1642** M.] *om F*

²⁰⁴⁵ męchę] *om. Con*

²⁰⁴⁶ męchę ciuitatis] *transp. G*

²⁰⁴⁷ uidisti] uidimus *F*

²⁰⁴⁸ **1643** eiuslibet] eius liber *B*

²⁰⁴⁹ intueri] intuere *B*

²⁰⁵⁰ **1644** Nunc] Nam *A B*

²⁰⁵¹ Babýlonii] Babilonis *F*

²⁰⁵² in] *om. G Con*

²⁰⁵³ **1645** bellum] *om. sed in. marg. rest A*

²⁰⁵⁴ bellum inferunt] *transp. Con*

qui²⁰⁵⁵ apud eos in exilio positi sunt.

Postmodum uero rex cęlestis Hierusalem deus cum exercitu angelorum ueniens, hanc perditam
ciuitatem funditus subuertet,

et electos suos²⁰⁵⁶ inde liberans in cęleste palatium secum adducet,

1650 quibus tale²⁰⁵⁷ spectaculum tunc²⁰⁵⁸ prebet.

Hanc quam uides²⁰⁵⁹ Babýloniam,

id est,²⁰⁶⁰ huius mundi gloriam,²⁰⁶¹

cum suo principe diabolo et omnibus huius ciuitatis ciuibus,

scilicet huius mundi amatoribus,

1655 repente in stagnum ignis²⁰⁶² et sulphuris²⁰⁶³ precipitabit,²⁰⁶⁴

et tunc omnia in meliorem statum²⁰⁶⁵ electis²⁰⁶⁶ commutabit.^{2067 2068}

²⁰⁵⁵ **1646** qui] quia *G*

²⁰⁵⁶ **1649** suos] *om. Con*

²⁰⁵⁷ **1650** tale] nunc *add. G Con*

²⁰⁵⁸ tunc] *om. G Con*

²⁰⁵⁹ **1651** uides] uidemus *F*

²⁰⁶⁰ **1652** id est] *om. F*

²⁰⁶¹ huius mundi gloriam] *in praem. F*

²⁰⁶² **1655** stagnum ignis] cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, *Imago mundi*, 37 – ed V.I.J. Flint, 1982, p. 67: Hic et stagnum ignis dicitur, quia ut lapis mari ita animę illic inmerguntur.

²⁰⁶³ **1655** in stagnum ignis et sulphuris] Apoc. 20, 9

²⁰⁶⁴ precipitabit] mittet *G*, merget *Con*

²⁰⁶⁵ **1656** in meliorem statum] cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, *De neocosmo* – ed. R.D. Crouse, 1970, p. 232: Et haec cuncta Filius cum Patre usque modo operatur; per quem adhuc omnis corporea creatura in meliorem statum transformatur.

²⁰⁶⁶ electis] *om. G Con*

²⁰⁶⁷ commutabit] cum mutabit *B*, permutabit *Con*

D. Magnum spectaculum²⁰⁶⁹ prebuisti tu²⁰⁷⁰ omnibus hec²⁰⁷¹ legentibus,
ideo²⁰⁷² illi spectaculo te interesse concedat deus.

Qua²⁰⁷³ de causa²⁰⁷⁴ erunt iusti²⁰⁷⁵ semper in gloria?

1660 [PL 1221C] M. Quia si sine fine²⁰⁷⁶ uiuerent,
semper iusti esse uellent.

Iustitia igitur exigit,

ut semper beati sint,

qui semper iustitiam amplexati sunt.

1665 `DE FINE BONORVM ET MALORVM.`

D. Quę autem causa est,²⁰⁷⁷ quod iniusti²⁰⁷⁸ semper erunt in pęna?

M. Quia sine fine²⁰⁷⁹ uellent²⁰⁸⁰ uiuere,

²⁰⁶⁸ omnia in meliorem statum electis commutabit] cfr Honorius Augustodunensis, *De neocosmo*, ll. 853 – 855, ed. R.D. Crouse, p. 232: Et haec cuncta Filius cum Patre usque modo operatur; per quem adhuc omnis corporea creatura in meliorem statum transformatur; cfr Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, V, 876B – ed. E.A. Jeauneau, CC CM 165, p. 24; PL 122, 876B: Erit enim deus omnia in omnibus, quando nihil erit nisi solus deus. Nec per hoc conamur astruere substantiam rerum perituram, sed in melius per gradus praedictos redituram. Quomodo enim potest perire, quod in melius probatur redire? Mutatio itaque humanae naturae in deum non substantiae interitus aestimanda est, sed in pristinum statum, quem praeuaricando perdidit, mirabilis atque ineffabilis reuersio.

²⁰⁶⁹ 1657/1680 D. Magnum spectaculum usq. miseri erunt] *om. F*

²⁰⁷⁰ 1657 tu] *om. G Con*

²⁰⁷¹ Hęc] *om. sed sup. l. rest. D*

²⁰⁷² 1657/1658 legentibus, ideo] legentibus. Ideo *G Con*

²⁰⁷³ 1659 Qua] Et *praem. G Con*

²⁰⁷⁴ 1659/1680 Qua de causa usq. miseri erunt] *post impacabili discordia iniit pos. E (uide lineam 1463 supra)*

²⁰⁷⁵ erunt iusti] *transp. G*

²⁰⁷⁶ 1660 fine] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

²⁰⁷⁷ 1666 causa est] *transp. E G Con*

²⁰⁷⁸ iniusti] *-iusti duplicauit ut uid. sed exp. G*

ut sine fine possent²⁰⁸¹ male facere.

Igitur iustitia poscit,

1670 ut numquam supplicio careant,

qui numquam iustitiam uolebant.

D. Cur post resurrectionem non possunt iusti²⁰⁸² peccare?

M. Quia sic liberum eorum arbitrium²⁰⁸³ confirmatum est,

quod nil²⁰⁸⁴ mali uolunt,

1675 cum equales angelis erunt,

et ideo in perpetuum beati²⁰⁸⁵ erunt.

[PL 1221D]D. Et²⁰⁸⁶ cur iniusti²⁰⁸⁷ tunc²⁰⁸⁸ ad bonum conuerti non poterunt?

M. Quia liberum²⁰⁸⁹ arbitrium in²⁰⁹⁰ bono iam penitus amiserunt,

bonum²⁰⁹¹ semper odio habebunt,

²⁰⁷⁹ **1667** fine] *om. sed sup. l. rest. A*

²⁰⁸⁰ uellent] *ante fine pos. G*

²⁰⁸¹ **1668** possent] *post facere pos. G Con*

²⁰⁸² **1672** non possunt iusti] *ante post pos. G Con*

²⁰⁸³ **1673** eorum arbitrium *transp. G Con*

²⁰⁸⁴ **1674** nil] *nichil G Con*

²⁰⁸⁵ **1676** beati] *om. sed sup. l. rest. B*

²⁰⁸⁶ **1677** Et] *om. G Con*

²⁰⁸⁷ iniusti] *iusti Con, meliorem lectionem retinuit Migne*

²⁰⁸⁸ tunc] *om. G Con*

²⁰⁸⁹ liberum *usq. amiserunt] om. G Con*

²⁰⁹⁰ **1678** in] *om. sed sup. l. rest. E*

²⁰⁹¹ **1679** bonum] *et praem. E*

1680 et ideo in ęternum²⁰⁹² miseri²⁰⁹³ erunt.

EPÝLOGVS.²⁰⁹⁴

[PL 1222A] Vt igitur nostrę disputationis summam breui epýlogo concludam,²⁰⁹⁵

propositum dei est,

electorum numerum²⁰⁹⁶ ex angelis et hominibus perfici,

1685 predestinatio,

iustos in beatitudine semper gloriari,

iniustos autem²⁰⁹⁷ in miseria semper cruciari,

prescientia uel prouidentia,

futararum²⁰⁹⁸ rerum semper presens dei inspectio,

1690 necessitas,

hominem post peccatum²⁰⁹⁹ mori,

iustitia,

rectum uelle,

arbitrium,

1695 uolendi²¹⁰⁰ nolendique²¹⁰¹ iudicium,

²⁰⁹² **1680** in ęternum] *om. G Con*

²⁰⁹³ miseri] in perpetuum *add G Con*

²⁰⁹⁴ **1681** Epýlogus] *om. B, huius tractatus finalis add. G, Conclusio siue recapitulatio huius libri Con*

²⁰⁹⁵ **1682** concludam] *conducam F*

²⁰⁹⁶ **1684** electorum numerum] *transp. Con*

²⁰⁹⁷ **1687** autem] *semper G Con*

²⁰⁹⁸ **1689** futurarum] *in praem. E*

²⁰⁹⁹ **1691** peccatum] *peccata G Con*

libertas,

seruandi iustitiam potestas.²¹⁰²

Gratia,

boni inspiratio,

1700 uel mali liberatio,

[PL 1222B] meritum,

perseuerantia iustitię,

premium,²¹⁰³

summa²¹⁰⁴ beatitudo,

1705 supplicium,

ęterna miseria.

Et quia quosdam²¹⁰⁵ infantes ut puta²¹⁰⁶ baptizatos sola²¹⁰⁷ gratia non²¹⁰⁸ saluari,

quosdam uero ut puta²¹⁰⁹ non baptizatos sola iustitia²¹¹⁰ non²¹¹¹ dampnari

²¹⁰⁰ **1695** uolendi] rectae iustitiae *praem. G Con*

²¹⁰¹ nolendique] *om. G Con*

²¹⁰² **1697** seruandi iustitiam potestas] uel arbitrium nolendi uolendique iudicium *add. G*, uel arbitrium nolendi uolendi iudicium *add. Con*

²¹⁰³ **1702/1703** perseuerantia iustitię, premium] perseuerantia, iustitię premium *B*

²¹⁰⁴ **1704** summa] summum *G Con*

²¹⁰⁵ **1707** quia quosdam] *transp. G*

²¹⁰⁶ ut puta] utpote *F*

²¹⁰⁷ **1707/1708** sola usq. non baptizatos] *om. G Con*

²¹⁰⁸ non] *om. B F*

²¹⁰⁹ **1708** ut puta] utpote *F*

²¹¹⁰ iustitia] sua *praem. Con*

est ineuitabile,²¹¹²
 1710 et²¹¹³ quosdam prouectę ętatis iustitię per liberum arbitrium dilectores²¹¹⁴
 iustitia exigente promissam glorię coronam non²¹¹⁵ percipere,
 quosdam uero iustitię per liberum arbitrium spretores²¹¹⁶
 iustitia dictante debitam pęnam euadere²¹¹⁷
 est ineuitabile,
 1715 nomen²¹¹⁸ huic libello²¹¹⁹ indatur²¹²⁰ INEVITABILE.²¹²¹
 Hęc²¹²² de predestinatione, et²¹²³ prescientia,²¹²⁴ et libero arbitrio
 defer²¹²⁵ filiis ecclesię,
 quia ea scio²¹²⁶ despicient ciues²¹²⁷ Babýlonię.

²¹¹¹ non] *om. B, etiam F*

²¹¹² **1709** est ineuitabile] *om. F*

²¹¹³ **1710** et] *om. E F*

²¹¹⁴ **1710/1712** dilectores *usq. arbitrium*] *om. G Con*

²¹¹⁵ **1711** non] *om. B F*

²¹¹⁶ **1712** spretores] *spectatores G*

²¹¹⁷ **1713** euadere] *non praem. B*

²¹¹⁸ **1715** nomen] *Propter hoc praem. Con*

²¹¹⁹ libello] *operi F*

²¹²⁰ indatur] *inponitur F Con, non datur G*

²¹²¹ nomen huic libello indatur INEVITABILE] *expl. E*

²¹²² **1716** Hęc] *Verba scriptoris in marg. A*

²¹²³ et] *om. Con*

²¹²⁴ et prescientia] *om. F*

²¹²⁵ **1717** defer] *deferimus F, offero Con*

²¹²⁶ **1718** scio] *om G Con*

Sed quicumque hæc²¹²⁸ contempserit,²¹²⁹
1720 uel etiam²¹³⁰ [PL 1222C] impugnaverit,²¹³¹
se de numero ad uitam²¹³² predestinatorum non esse demonstrabit.²¹³³
Qui uero post hæc²¹³⁴ quætionem de libero arbitrio mouerit,²¹³⁵
cæcus clara die in montem²¹³⁶ offendit.²¹³⁷

DE LIBELLI SCRIPTORE. [BCD]

1725 D.²¹³⁸ Benedictus²¹³⁹ deus,
qui²¹⁴⁰ hoc inspirauit fratribus, ut uellent me ad te dirigere,
quatenus hæc mira mererer²¹⁴¹ a tuo mellifluo ore percipere.
Et reuera noueris quod²¹⁴² greges reproborum pro hoc uenerando opere

²¹²⁷ ciues] filii ciuesque *F*

²¹²⁸ **1719** hæc] *om. D, hoc G Con*

²¹²⁹ hæc contempserit] contempserint hæc *F*

²¹³⁰ **1720** etiam] *om. G Con*

²¹³¹ impugnaverit] impugnaverint *F*

²¹³² **1721** ad uitam] *post predestinatorum pos. F, om. G Con*

²¹³³ demonstrabit] demonstrabunt *F*

²¹³⁴ **1722** post hæc] *post quætionem pos. G Con*

²¹³⁵ mouerit] mouerint ullam *F*

²¹³⁶ **1723** montem] mortem *Con*

²¹³⁷ cæcus clara die in montem offendit] hii reuera cæci clara die in montes, id est in deum, et in Iesum Christum filium eius, et in Spiritum Sanctum, ab utroque procedente, grauius offendunt. Amen. *F expl.*

²¹³⁸ **1725** D.] *om. A*

²¹³⁹ Benedictus] verba legati *in marg. A*

²¹⁴⁰ **1726** qui] *duplicauit G*

²¹⁴¹ **1727** mererer] *om. sed sup. l. rest. C*

magno odio te²¹⁴³ abhominabuntur,
1730 et maxime ob hoc quod eos²¹⁴⁴ per liberum arbitrium seruos²¹⁴⁵ uitiorum immo demonum
probaueris detestabuntur.

Magnas autem grates tibi persoluet, gloriosus cętus ad uitam²¹⁴⁶ predestinatorum,
quod tam mirabile opus prompsisti²¹⁴⁷ in laudem ipsorum,
et²¹⁴⁸ quia²¹⁴⁹ sicut te dicere audiui,²¹⁵⁰ hoc quoque²¹⁵¹ a deo est²¹⁵² predestinatum,
1735 ut quicquid²¹⁵³ [PL 1222D] electi iuste petierint, eis tribuatur,
magnis precibus clementiam dei²¹⁵⁴ exorant,
ut te ultima dies in consortio illorum inueniat.

M.²¹⁵⁵ AMEN.²¹⁵⁶

²¹⁴² **1728** quod] *om. G*

²¹⁴³ **1729** te] *ante magno pos. G Con*

²¹⁴⁴ **1730** eos] *eisdem G Con*

²¹⁴⁵ seruos] *filios G Con*

²¹⁴⁶ **1732** ad uitam] *om. D*

²¹⁴⁷ **1733** prompsisti] *prom(i)sisti scr. sed eras. A, prom()sisti ras. ut uid. in B, promisisiti Con, meliorem lectionem retinuit Migne*

²¹⁴⁸ **1733/1734** ipsorum, et] *ipsorum. Et G Con*

²¹⁴⁹ **1734** quia] *om. G Con*

²¹⁵⁰ dicere audiui] *transp. G Con*

²¹⁵¹ quoque] *quod G Con*

²¹⁵² est] *ante a deo pos. Con*

²¹⁵³ **1735** quicquid] *quidquid C Con*

²¹⁵⁴ **1736** clementiam dei] *transp. G*

²¹⁵⁵ **1738** M.] *om. B C D*

²¹⁵⁶ *expl. Explicit ante dictus tractatus G*

Appendix I

English translation of the Cassandrian text of the *Inevitable*

HERE BEGINS INEVITABLE

THE BROTHERS' LEGATION TO THE MASTER.

The brethren walking in the house of God with consent (cf. Ps 54: 15) are instant in prayer (cf. Rom 12: 12) for your salvation.

THE AMBASSADOR'S ADDRESS.

They certainly send up prayers for your diligence, but they also render thanksgivings to Christ, the key of David, who for the merits of His mother unlocked for them by your ministry such great mysteries about her in the Song. For this reason, and on account of your elucidation of other things unknown to many, you have added to her praise, [and] have placed this most-holy Virgin, and all those who honor her, in your debt. It is on their legation that I am now engaged, and these same [brethren], with the utmost devotion, implore you to loose for them the inextricable knot of free choice, which your disputation has, or so it seems to them, rather rendered insoluble. For if, as you assert, only the predestined are saved, no matter what they do, they judge that free choice is utterly taken away, and they reckon that those who are damned are punished, not only without fault, but even unjustly.

THE MASTER'S DEFENSE.

Why do they accuse me, as though I had forged this of my own head (cf. Deut 18: 22 and Num 16: 28), or had introduced some new thing (cf. Acts 17: 21) into the world?

THE MASTER'S INVECTIVE.

Let them accuse Christ, let them charge the prophets and apostles who have said this in the Scriptures—provided they have read the Scriptures of sacred authority, or, when reading them, they have been able to understand their meaning! But if they have thought

reading unimportant, or, when reading them, have not taken the trouble to understand them, let them not injure me, but let them suffer the disgrace of their own negligence.

DISC. I approve your just invective, but, I pray, do not be irritated with me.

THE MASTER'S PROPOSITION AND AFFIRMATION.

MAG. These words—"Father, thou hast loved them, as thou hast also loved me, before the creation of the world" (Jn 17: 23-24)—are not mine, but Christ's, the Predestinator of the elect, and the dispenser of grace. How (*quomodo*) were those who were nearly all born in the time of Herod loved before the [creation of the] world? And yet they were loved by God, because they were chosen (*electi*) for glory through predestination.

Likewise he says: "You are not of my sheep" (Jn 10: 26). Who are his sheep, if not those for whom he prepared the pastures of life from the beginning?—those who declare in exultation: "We are his people and the sheep of his pasture" (Ps 99: 3). He called [them] 'his people' because there is also a 'People of Pharaoh.' He called them 'his sheep' because there are also other sheep "who are laid in hell" and "death shall feed upon them" (Ps 48: 15).

Likewise He says: "Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning" (Mt 25: 34). How was the kingdom prepared before the beginning of the world for those who were going to be born after many thousands of years, and still there are many who will be born in the future? Yet the glory of the kingdom had been prepared for those who had been predestined to it from the beginning.

The Holy Spirit also philosophizes through [St. Paul], the ‘vessel of election’ (Acts 9: 15), who bears witness that Christ speaks in him: “it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy” (Rom 9: 16). See what he said: “not of him that willeth.” This pertains properly to free choice [*liberum arbitrium*]. But because it is done through predestination, he subjoins: “but of God that showeth mercy”—[God], who said: “without me ye can do nothing” (Jn 15: 5).

Moreover, supposing he has guided you to this understanding, he straightway adds: “Before they knew how to do good or evil it was said: Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated” (cf. Rom 9:11-13). For what beginning of free choice was Jacob loved, who did not yet know how to do good? But what evil did Esau choose through free choice, so that he might deserve to be hated, who did not yet know how to do evil?

“Jacob have I loved,” that is, “I have predestined to glory.”

“Esau I have hated,” that is, “I have reprobated from the place of glory.”

Likewise, the Apostle [explains] more fully: “God hath prepared some vessels unto glory, some unto dishonor” (Rom 9:21) . The same [Apostle says] more strongly: “He chose (*elegit*) us in Christ before the foundation of the world” (Eph 1: 4). How did God choose the Apostles before the foundation of the world, unless He predestined them to the glory of [his] kingdom?

It is also said in Ecclesiastes: “Those whom God casts away are incorrigible.”⁴³⁴⁵ If they could have been saved through free choice, why are they incorrigible, when they have heard so many teachings [and] so many signs, when they have seen or suffered so

⁴³⁴⁵ I have been unable to find this reference.

many plagues? And how does God cast them away, except by not electing them to glory?

ON THE EXTINGUISHING OF FREE CHOICE.

DISC. It seems to me from these many true testimonies that free choice is not only smothered by predestination, but extinguished to such a degree that it cannot even find [any] tinder by which it could be rekindled.

MAG. Why do you so hate to hear the word ‘predestination’? Or are you afraid that perhaps you are not [yourself] predestined, and thus your labor should be taken away along with its reward? Are you not aware that one who has sinned less will receive a lesser punishment? Let all, therefore, both the predestined and those who are not predestined, always labor in the good with all their strength, because if they are predestined they will gain a greater reward for their greater labor; if they are not predestined, the less impiously they have acted, the less punishment they will endure. But what free choice can do without the assistance of grace (*iuvante gratia*), you will see in what follows.

DISC. I beseech you to treat this matter more broadly, and not to neglect the smallest difficulty for someone who is dull or blind besides.

THE MASTER’S DEFENSE OF PAUL AND AUGUSTINE.

Since the greatest doctors have [already] composed many treatises on this matter—principally St. Paul to the Romans and [what] St Augustine put forth in four books—what further do you ask of me, who am without eloquence when compared with them?

DISC. Those men have indeed disputed uncommonly well, but I confess they have left us more uncertain than they found us. But you somehow make palpable briefly what those men have not made clear (at least to us) by their long considerations.

THE MASTER'S PROMISE.

MAG. Because I seek not mine own (cf. 1 Cor 13: 5) but [rather] the things that belong to charity, I do not deny [you] what you seek. I despise verbal trappings when I am taking thought for the simplicity of the brethren. I also despise the spiteful teeth of the envious, because my help is of the Lord (cf. Ps 120: 2). But so that the whole of the following work can be easily noted by the reader, I should first like to abridge the substance of the whole matter (*summam totius materiae*) into a brief summary (*in breue corollarium*).

ON GOD'S REPUBLIC.

The subject of this *Inevitabile* then is fanned on the following threshing floor: that from the beginning the most wise Providence of God the Creator set up, by a most orderly arrangement (*dispensatio*), a Republic in which he also preordained a place of glory for his sons, but for his slaves—or rather for his enemies!—a place of dishonor; and no one will be able to reach the place of glory unless he has been predestined to it, having been both led by the grace of God, so that he might will the good, and assisted by God's help, so that he might be capable [of doing it]. Also, no one will reach the place of dishonor

unless he has been foreknown to it before the ages; and having been most justly abandoned by the grace of God—indeed, deserted by God!—he will hasten irrevocably to this [place] with all speed by free choice (*liberum arbitrium*). But of infants who lack free choice, some, since they are baptized (*ut baptizati*), are assumed into the place of glory through the most merciful goodness of God, since they were predestined. But others, being as they are not baptized (*ut non baptizati*), are set in a place of dishonor by the incomprehensible and unsearchable, yet most just judgment of God. And whatsoever is done in heaven, or in earth, or in whatever creature of God, the only good God entirely does, or allows to be done. For God works all good things through the predestined by the cooperation of their free choice; but, on the other hand, he justly allows evil things to be done by the reprobate through their free choice. And equal praise to God is found in all these things.

DISC. By God's inspiration lay open this complicated mess, and roll back this immense veil!

ON FREE CHOICE.

MAG. Then tell me in the first place: How do you say free choice is usually defined (*uocitari*).

DISC. As you have defined it: The freedom of choosing good or evil.

MAG. In which nature do you place these laws of freedom?

DISC. In the angelic and the human.

CONCERNING THE DEVIL.

MAG. It was written of the first angel [that he was]: “full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty” (Ezek 28: 12). If he was full of wisdom, [then] he knew that beauty was better than deformity.

DISC. Otherwise he would not have been wise.

MAG. But it belongs to the wise to choose the good and reject evil.

DISC. So it does.

MAG. But he chose evil and rejected good. For the beauty which he had and abandoned is good, and the deformity into which he fell by choosing is evil. Moreover, it follows that either (1) this scripture, which attests that he was full of wisdom and perfect in beauty, is lying; or (2) that the scripture speaks the truth, but that he was unable to keep the beauty that he had when he desired a greater, and so he knowingly chose evil through free choice.

DISC. It would rightly said that he chose evil, we read that good and evil were offered to him. But since there was nothing evil, especially since God made all things very good (cf. Gen 1: 31), it seems extraordinary how he can be said to have chosen evil.

MAG. God “created all things simultaneously” (Sir 18: 1). For in the same moment in which he created heaven he also created hell. If, therefore, the angel was “full of wisdom,” he surely knew that torments had been prepared for those who did not fear God (*dei contemptoribus*). And when he defied God (*deum contempsit*) he knowingly fell into evil. Therefore, he is justly said to have chosen evil when, defying the majesty of God, he knew that he was not able to evade the torment he had foreseen.

DISC. In what did he defy God?

MAG. He thought that having the dignity given him by God was something to be despised; and because he wished to be “like the most high” (Isa 14: 14) he desired a greater dignity than God was willing to give him.

DISC. Since, as I believe, no angel enters into the perfect loftiness of the majesty of God, how did he wish to be equal to Him whose greatness he did not know?

MAG. He longed to be equal to Him after a certain manner (*quodammodo*)—namely, to order the ministries of the angels like God does.

DISC. Doesn’t everyone without exception seek to be quickly elevated in dignity because he judges power to be superior to subjection? Thus it seems to me that he chose good when he desired a greater glory.

MAG. On the contrary, he is convicted by this of having chosen evil. For he had all sufficiency and there was nothing that could have been added to his glory. Therefore, when he was not content with glory, but rather wished to seize presumptuously—or rather violently!—what was God’s alone, he knowingly rushed headlong into the place that he knew was prepared for the presumptuous, because, having spurned the good, he preferred evil.

DISC. Why did God take away from him the glory that he had simply because he desired a greater?

MAG. God did not take it from him, but he abandoned it of his own free will. It is as if I gave you [some] writing tablets and kept for myself a book that I did not wish to give to you; [if] you threw the tablets away in order to take the book that I did not wish to give to you, you would justly lack both. Just so, the devil abandoned the glory that he had in the hope that a greater glory, which [God] did not wish to give him, would take its place, and for that reason he did not get [the glory that] he longed for in an evil way, nor did he regain what he abandoned. Since then he was deprived of both [glories], he was also removed from the place of glory, and the scorner himself fell into the place that he foresaw prepared for the scornful. And because he fell from the place of glory, he lost wisdom and beauty and every good at the same time. But because he knowingly fell into the place of dishonor, straightway he was justly enveloped with deformity and every horror.

CONCERNING HELL.

DISC. How can it be that God created all things very good (Gen 1: 31), when hell, which he made, is evil beyond measure? Or what was the cause of his making it, when as yet no one had sinned?

MAG. Hell proves to be good *per se*, but it is called evil because punishments are administered in it. Moreover, among all the natures of things, nothing is called evil except for punishment. Nevertheless, good is predicated of punishment when it is intended by a judge for the dissolute (as a robber, for example), whereas evil is predicated of it because it is bitter to those by whom it is endured. Indeed sin is called evil because someone is given over to punishment through it.

God made all things very good, but nevertheless there are contraries among them. For heaven and hell are indeed contrary the one to the other, but both are good *per se*. For heaven is declared to be good, because in it the majesty of God is praised by the elect. Nevertheless, hell is [also] affirmed to be good, because in it the justice of God is exercised upon the condemned, and for that reason it is magnified by the just in equal measure. Water and fire are contraries, but both are good.

THE RACE OF CREEPING THINGS.

The salamander lives in flame, but dies in moisture. Likewise a fish is nourished in water, but dies in fire. Therefore, nothing is evil, but each one is good *per se*, even though they are contrary to one another. Moreover, God made hell before sin, precisely so that those who were falling away from God through free choice, since they had seen the torments, would fall into them knowingly [and] would be less excusable.

DISC. Why did the angel not rather choose to stand firm in heaven, since he knew it to be incomparably superior to hell?

MAG. I wish that you and those who together with you affirm that free choice prevails over predestination would tell me this!

DISC. I beseech you, in the charity of Christ, that you would go through in order what you have grasped.

MAG. [The devil] was not able to remain in the place of glory, because he had not been predestined to it.

DISC. Would he not have been able to abide there had he chosen to remain there through free choice?

MAG. He would not have been able, because he did not will as he ought [to have willed]; for he was cast down from thence because he willed to be there without God's assistance—or rather, when God was unwilling.

DISC. What if he should have willed with the assistance of God?

MAG. He fell precisely because he did not will this. Moreover, he was not able to will this precisely because he did not wish to have the ability from God, but [rather] to have it

from himself. He therefore deserted God and the glory that he had through [his] free choice, and he inevitably fell into the evil which he foreknew.

DISC. Why was he not able to avoid [this] through free will?

ON POSSIBILITY.

MAG. Why do you press me? You have set forth as the subject of your discussion (*propono*) the freedom of choice and behold you introduce the possibility of doing, even though the freedom of choosing and the faculty of acting are totally different! In point of fact, free choice is only the freedom of choosing the good or evil, which is proper to angels and men, whereas the possibility of doing good appertains to the gift of God alone.

DISC. I thank you, because hitherto I have not considered this distinction.

MAG. You are deceived by this error along with many others, since you do not attend to the power of expression and to the difference between the freedom of choice and the possibility of doing; and so long as you reckon them to be the same you are forever introducing new questions. The angel was able to choose good through free choice, but he could in no wise accomplish it without the assistance of God. And indeed God did not give him the ability precisely because he did not predestine him to glory.

LIKEWISE CONCERNING THE DEVIL.

DISC. Why did [God] create him, if He did not predestine him to glory with the other angels?

MAG. To increase of the glory of the elect, so that they might brim over with more abundant joy when they beheld him being subjected to such atrocious torments. For it is written: “This dragon which thou hast formed to sport with (*ad illudendum ei*)” (Ps 103: 26). For we tend to be filled with more wondrous joy if we happen to hear or see contrary things—that the water is made solid under Peter’s feet, for example, or that the three boys are not consumed in the Assyrian fire. In just such a way the elect have a more excellent joy when they see torment, the contrary of their delight—that is, they rejoice that their immense glory differs so greatly from the misery of those others.

DISC. Surely you don’t mean that the torment of the wretched is the joy of the elect?

MAG. There is no misery in heaven. Therefore no sadness belonging to those who are placed in hell touches the heart of the elect. But just as our vision is nourished if we see different animals playing in the sea, so they rejoice in God’s universal ordering [of things].

DISC. Why did God place the devil in heaven, even for a moment, when he had arranged from the beginning that he would be set in another place?

MAG. It is like when a goldsmith (*aurifex*) brings forth simultaneously (*simul*) all the precious stones in a palace for the crown, yet does not place them all in one order in his work, but presses some into a higher, some into a lower part, so that the image is seemly. Just so, it was fitting that this should be done in God’s celestial palace when He was

bringing forth the angels, like fiery stones, from the treasure house of his wisdom, but decreed that some would remain in the higher part of his work, while He fitly resolved to place others in the lower.

CONCERNING THE FALL OF THE DEVIL.

Likewise, when holes have been prepared by a goldsmith, if a stone falls into an opening not suitable for it, he straightway both removes it and places it in an appropriate place. Just so, since the first angel, like a great stone, had occupied inappropriately a place not prepared for him, he was rooted out by the highest maker (*summus opifex*) and cast down into a place appropriate for him.

DISC. Why did God perfect him in wisdom and beauty, when he was not going to remain in a place of beauty and glory?

MAG. Just as the earth grows hot from the presence of the sun [but] cools because of its absence, so [the Devil], who was created by the eternal wisdom of God, remained among the wise angels as long as he was wise by participation in wisdom. Likewise, just as the sun makes the air bright when it illuminates it, [but] makes it dark when it withdraws its rays, so [the Devil] remained among the shining angels so long as he was bright from the brightness of the Eternal Sun. But after he fell from the place of glory he put off wisdom and beauty, and occupying a place of dishonor because of his fall, he was straightway enclosed by the horror of foolishness and darkness. Wisdom is light. So long as he clung to it, he shone with honor; when he freely withdrew from it, straightway tumbling down

from the place of glory, he trembled with the darkness of foolishness in a place of torment.

DISC. Why did God not create only the elect angels in heaven and the damned in hell?

ON THE SPECTACLE OF THE ANGELS.

MAG. In this way he furnished an extraordinary spectacle by means of the elect angels. Form in your mind [the image of] a high mountain which has a very pleasant field on the one side and a horrible valley on the other, with a smoke-belching appearance; and [imagine] a crowd placed at the summit of the mountain, and part of it hastening to the pleasant things of the field, but part hastening to the horrid things of the valley. God placed the throng of angels in heaven in just such a way, as though on a mountain, from which [each] opposing part quickly sought the place destined for it. And indeed the elect hastened to glory—to the pleasant things of the Elysian fields, so to speak—with all speed, by loving their Creator through free choice. The reprobate, on the other hand, fell down to the horrid things of Tartarus—as it were to the lowest part of the valley—by despising God with all their effort through free choice.

DISC. The things that you say are greatly to be praised, and are exceeding glorious!

ON FREE CHOICE.

Through everything [that has been said] just above, it seems to me that free choice [would have been] utterly (*perpenitus*) weakened, had it not been strengthened by divine grace, prevenient and subsequent.

MAG. So it is. For choice is free in man only before sin. But once it has set aside the good [and] has chosen evil—that is, sin—through the consent of the will (*per consensum*), it will be no longer free, but captive. “For by whom a man is overcome, of the same also he is the slave” (2 Pet 2: 19). For example, if one subjects himself to lust through free choice, he will be immediately reckoned a slave of the demon who is believed to preside over this vice. We must [also] think this way with regard to the other vices. Therefore, he will no longer be permitted to do what he wishes by free choice, but [only] that which the one to whose lordship he has freely subjected himself suggests. Neither does he have the free choice to wrest himself from the yoke of his lordship, except the grace of God go before him, so that he might desire the good which he rejected, and follow him, so that he might have the strength to fulfill it.

DISC. The things which you say are very serious and to be feared by all people!

MAG. Let us forego these things, and for a little while (*paulo*) sing of greater things.

CONCERNING PREDESTINATION.

Don’t you know that the joys of heaven and the punishments of hell are granted according to predestination rather than according to merits?

DISC. What ear is able to bear these things?—either that these persons are not allotted punishments, or those persons joys, in accordance with [their] merits!

MAG. Listen patiently and you will see more clearly by the light. What are the merits of infants, seeing that the kingdoms of the heavens are given to some, but the torments of hell inflicted upon others? By what merit did the robber, who lived in robbery from his birth even unto the moment of his death, deserve the kingdom of heaven (cf. Lk 23: 33-43)? For what merit have those who performed many miracles here descended to hell? [Yet] it is said of them: “Many will say to me in that day: ‘Lord, have not we performed many signs in thy name?’ And I will profess unto them, ‘I never knew you’” (Mt 7: 22-23a). You know that for this reason many go about in malice insatiably, from their childhood even unto their old age, and in the very moment that they depart this life they are straightway snatched away through penitence from the very jaws of the devil and led to the pleasantness of a fostering paradise. Most of those [who live] in monasteries, on the other hand, go through life under great strictness, [and] very many who live in the wilderness lead a solitary life with the greatest abstinence, [but] at the last they descend to the lowest depths of the abyss.

DISC. This is to be wondered at with all amazement!

MAG. Learn the causes of the individual cases. Those who die in monasteries trust in their own judgment, despise the things admonished by the prelates, and oppose [them] in disobedience. But those who perish in the wilderness live without discernment, follow as holy what they choose for themselves, [and] they reject the examples of the fathers because they despise them. And these perish because they are not of the Lord’s sheep—that is, of the predestined. It is written of them: “There are ways which seem just to men,

whose end leads to destruction” (Prov 14: 12). But those who flee in death to the remedies of penance are of the predestined, and are therefore not able to perish.

Moreover, predestined infants are assumed into glory, but those who are not predestined are subjected to punishments. Look! do you see how much predestination transcends merits, how much greater [its] power than [that of] free choice (*quantum libero arbitrio preualeat*)?

DISC. I both see and rejoice that I see.

ON THE GRACE OF GOD.

MAG. The kingdom of heaven is granted not according to merits, but according to grace. For what has man deserved except evil? Or for what merit does anyone expect a reward from God? For God works in the elect whatever good they do, as it is written: “it is God who worketh in us, both to will and to be able, according to His good will” (Phil 2: 13). If it is God who works, what reward is allotted to man? God works and the elect cooperate. God works by leading the elect to will by his grace, and works in them ‘to-be-able’ (*posse*) by His follow-up; they co-operate by free choice, by consenting through a good will. This good will in them is rewarded, as it is written: “we have received grace for grace” (Jn 1: 16). We receive grace when God leads us so that we might will, and when He follows up that we might be able to accomplish (*possimus*). He will give us another grace for this grace when He rewards us in glory.

ON THE LABOR OF THE PREDESTINED.

DISC. If predestination saves the elect necessarily, why do they labor at anything? Or why [should anyone] preach to the gentiles in order that they might be converted? Or

why is the word of admonition daily administered to the people by priests, so that they might advance in the service of God that is preached?

MAG. Just as fire necessarily glows hot and ice necessarily freezes, so all those who are predestined to the kingdom of God will necessarily be saved. But because no one presumes that he is predestined—since not even Paul, the vessel of election (cf. Acts 9: 15), presumed this of himself—it is necessary that they apply themselves with their whole effort to the labor by which they might obtain predestination. For predestination is indeed attained through labor, as it is said in the sacred authority: “through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God” (Acts 14:21). Predestination is therefore given to infants through the sharpness of death, to young men through the discipline of work, to those doing penance *in extremis* through the trial of the torment of purgatory.

CONCERNING THE GENTILES.

But we preach to the gentiles because the predestined “standing idly” outside (*foris*) “in the marketplace” (Mt 20: 3) are summoned to labor in the Lord’s vineyard. A denarius is also given to them as a reward, because predestined glory will be given to those who will be found laboring even unto the end. It also often happens that some of the reprobate enter into the vineyard with them, but in the beginning of the labor they leave off from the work, and either leave the vineyard blaspheming, or, if they remain in the vineyard, impede those who labor. Of these it is said: “they went out from us, but they were not of us” (1 Jn 2: 19a). And likewise: “they were multiplied above the number” (Ps 39: 6b)—that is, [above the number] of the predestined. In fact there have been many who have

clung fast to Peter's net by faith, but who leapt back into the waves of vices when the net broke because they were not foreknown in the number of the elect (cf. Lk 5: 4-7).

CONCERNING THE FAITHFUL.

But when the Christian people (*populus fidelium*) becomes worn out in the labor of its pious work, it is supported by the word of admonition lest it give up, just as a sick man, who, hastening to church but falling aside in the way, is supported by another so that he might accomplish the journey.

ON TWOFOLD PREDESTINATION.

Predestination to life is therefore obtained through the grace of God, but predestination to death is brought about through free choice. For the reborn who die in Christ, or those who are now grown up and doing good things, are predestined to life, but those who are not regenerated, or hardened in evils, are appointed to death.

Exhortations, corrections, and divine instructions are made for the sake of the predestined, so that they might turn away from evil and do good through free choice; yet they could by no means do this on their own (*per se*), since they can do nothing without God (cf. Jn 15: 5b). But because they were predestined, the grace of God went before them so that they might will, and followed them so that they might also be able to accomplish (*possint*).

But because the unchangeable predestination of God remains fixed, when the reprobate have been forsaken through justice, they neither will the good, nor are they capable of doing it. They hear all admonitions with deaf ears; they see all examples of good things with a blind, or rather a hardened heart. They grow ever worse and worse (cf. 2 Tim 3: 13) through free choice, and in withdrawing themselves from God, they

justly perish by it. Because no one is able to come to the Son—who is Eternal Life — except the Father draw him by grace—that is, by the Holy Spirit (cf. Jn 6: 44)—He chooses whom He will through His mercy and reprobates whom He will through His justice. No one is able to say “why dost thou so” (cf. Job 9: 12) to the One “whose ways are altogether mercy and truth” (cf. Ps 24: 10a).

Imagine a city in which the whole populace had offended the king, and some of them the king justly condemned, [but] others he mercifully released. In the same way, when the whole world had offended God, He punished some through justice, [but] released others through His mercy.

DISC. Pour forth your heart and utter the hidden things of God.

MAG. Listen diligently with the ear of your heart to the things that have been revealed, so that I might briefly unfold to you all the things that are hidden.

OF THE MANSIONS OF THE PREDESTINED.

For the reasons given (*itaque*), God prepared in His house—that is, in a place of glory—many mansions (cf. Jn 14: 2) from the beginning, to which He predestined the elect, such that different ones were allotted to different mansions for different merits. Led and aided by divine grace, the predestined continually hasten towards these [mansions] in various ways. Yet no one will obtain another [mansion] than the one to which he was preordained before the ages—that is to say, one who has labored more [will obtain] a more worthy [mansion], one who has labored less, an inferior one. Neither will anyone

be able to labor more, or to ascend higher by his labor, than to that measure which the eternal disposition fixed for him in advance (*prefixit*) from the beginning.

ON THE PUNISHMENTS OF THE REPROBATE.

On the other hand, God instituted from the beginning, in a place of dishonor, various punishments, to which, for diverse merits, He foreknew future angels and men who were going to sin. No one will go into these [punishments] unless he has been foreknown to them before the ages. Neither will anyone possess another [punishment] than the one that the divine Prescience foresaw he would possess for his merit: that is to say, one who is more occupied in malice will have a greater penalty, one who [is less occupied] will inherit a smaller one. And no one will be able to commit more evil than divine Providence foreknew he would do, and justly permitted him to do, in his time. Hence it is written: “the sins of the Amorites are not yet fulfilled” (Gen 15: 16). And the Apostle: “that they may fill up their sins always” (1 Thess 2: 16). What is it ‘to fill up sins,’ but to hasten inevitably toward that measure of malice that God foreknew they would reach? It is therefore inevitable that all whom God has predestined to the kingdom be saved; and it is inevitable that all whom he has foreknown for punishment be damned.

CONCERNING NECESSITY.

DISC. It seems to me that the common opinion, which states that all things that happen to men, or which men do themselves, happen of necessity and are done in accordance with the law of God, is strengthened by this extraordinary assertion.

MAG. This opinion is partly confirmed by the truth, partly undermined by falsity. For it is false in this respect (*in hac parte*): God does not predetermine that all the evil things

(*quaecumque mala*) men do, or misfortunes they recklessly incur through [their] carelessness, will happen, but he foreknows that they will be done, and justly permits them to happen.

But in what remains the statement can stand. For God determined from the beginning that anything favorable that should happen to the elect would happen, and it was inevitable that this should happen. But without doubt (*utique*) God disposed that anything unfavorable that should befall them would come upon them for three reasons: in the first place, so that some might be corrected from sins through adversity (*per aduersa*), as was David; secondly, so that some, although tempted, might rather receive a crown, like Job; thirdly, so that some might be drawn back from the delight of sin, like Paul was. And again it was inevitable that this should happen.

On the other hand, God did not determine that anything favorable that happens to the reprobate would happen, but he foreknew the future, and permitted it to happen. But God disposed that adversities (*aduersa*) that touch them would happen to them for two reasons: in the first place, so that the elect might be corrected through their misfortunes, as we read in the destruction of Korah (Num 16: 32); secondly, so that they might be restrained from malice, lest they should do as much harm as they wished, as was permitted with Antiochus and Herod (cf. 1Macc 6: 12-16 and Mt 2: 19). And again, it was inevitable that this should happen.

ON THE 'INEVITABLE'.

All things, therefore, that have been predestined by God happen in this way of necessity. On the other hand, it is inevitable that the things he did not determine, but foreknew were going to happen, should happen, when the perverse mind that conceives [them] acts

through free choice. This is why it is impossible to escape (*euadere est ineuitabile*) the day of [one's] death or some other misfortune, even though it is foretold to many people. For the prophet certainly predicted the destruction of death for the sons of Eli, and yet it was impossible for them to avoid it (*hoc euadere ineuitabile fuit*). For it is written: "And they hearkened not to their father, because the Lord wished to slay them" (1 Sam 2: 25b). Why did they not hearken unto their father, unless they were unable to escape the evil which they deserved? What is "the Lord wished to slay them," but [another way of saying that] "He permitted them to undergo the death to which he foreknew they would hasten through [their] free choice"? This is why Julius Cæsar was by no means able to evade the predicted day of his death, [even though] he very anxiously (*nimia cura*) wished to evade it.

DISC. It seems to me as inevitable that the Predestination and Prescience of God should be done, as that the sun shine or fire glow hot.

THAT GOD ALONE WORKS ALL THINGS.

MAG. It is inevitable that all things which God has predestined or foreknown should happen, since He alone makes all things or permits them to be made. For all good things that are done—either in heaven, or in earth, or in every one of God's creatures—God, who alone is good (*deus solus bonus*) (cf. Mt 19: 17 and parallels), works through the elect—either angels or humans—when they cooperate by consenting through free choice.

CONCERNING GOD'S WORK THROUGH THE ELECT.

God works through the elect in the same way as He converted the Gentiles through the Apostles; He [works] by inspiring interiorly and giving the increase, [while] they

cooperate through an outward ministry, by planting and watering (cf. 1 Cor 3: 4-9). But if the inimical elect do something, as David did against Uriah (cf. 2 Sam 11: 2-12: 25), God justly permits it to happen, because he nevertheless converts it unto His own praise, when they have become more humble after [their] fall and give more abundant thanks to the One by whom “all things”—even sins!—“work together for good” (cf. Rom 8: 28). Therefore all things are “from Him and through Him” (Rom 11: 36).

CONCERNING GOD’S WORK THROUGH THE REPROBATE.

God also works through the reprobate, when He exercises his justice through them, just as he destroyed Jerusalem through the Chaldeans (Jer 30: 24). Behold, God and the Chaldeans worked one and the same work in a different way, and yet the former is thereafter lauded, and the latter damned, because what He did was on account of justice, [while] what they did was because of cruelty. Similarly, God betrayed His Son through Judas and redeemed the world from death. Behold, God and Judas worked one work with a different intention (*diuersa mente*). But the whole world thereafter venerates God, but detests Judas, because what God did because of His friendship with the human race Judas did on account of avarice.

CONCERNING GOD’S WORK THROUGH THE DEVIL.

I boldly assert that God even works through the devil, when He determines that through him justice will be executed upon the reprobate. But what God does through His most just equity, the devil does through most wicked cruelty. Yet he is not able to do unto them more than is permitted. For this reason God is worthily praised, but for the same work the devil is culpably damned. Moreover, God permits all the things that the

reprobate do through free choice against his purposes to happen, but [these acts] are turned to His glory, when he justly subjects [the reprobate] to punishments.

Therefore God works all things, by either promoting or permitting [them]. And because “all things are of him” (Rom 11: 36)—as we read in the Book of Wisdom, “good things and evil are from God” (Sir 11: 14)—all things are good and there is nothing evil, unless that is called ‘evil’ which is bitter to those who suffer something adverse. And therefore all things are to the praise and glory of God, who “hath mercy upon whom he will” by giving them glory, and “hardeneth whom he will” by placing them in punishments (cf. Rom 9: 18).

DISC. Never have these things been heard in the world!

ON THE SLOTHFUL.

MAG. On the contrary, they are heard daily in the Scriptures, but the slothful and negligent pay no attention to them, and therefore they are not understood. But when these things have been heard by the learned in disputation, they are astonished, as though roused from sleep. They laugh, they doubt that they are true, because they imagine that they have not been written anywhere.

ON THE STUDIOUS.

But they are read, attended to, discussed, understood, and stored up in the memory by the studious. For when Christ the Bridegroom was departing [at his Ascension], He left behind Him the keys of knowledge (cf. Lk 11: 52) for his Bride, the Church, who daily opens the secret things of God to her sons who are knocking, unlocking [them] by means

of the intellect; but holy things she hides away (*claudit*) from dogs, and pearls from swine, lest they be defiled (cf. Mt 7: 6).⁴³⁴⁶

DISC. You conclude by inference all the things you have proposed, basing yourself on testimonies so strong, that anyone who [in the future] will stubbornly presume to censure these things will be shown to wander more aimlessly than a blind man.

MAG. To set forth briefly for you the whole ripe wilderness of predestination and free choice, I set before you by way of example two men – namely, Judas and Paul.

CONCERNING JUDAS.

Who, when he saw Judas among the elect apostles, chosen by the inspector of hearts—and [when he saw] that he not only preached with the apostles, but also shone with miracles—would ever have doubted that was predestined?

DISC. No one.

MAG. Why then did he perish, when the Lord set him up as prince of the world, and conferred upon him so many gifts of grace?

⁴³⁴⁶ This rather dense sentence contains allusions that are difficult to render in English, but which would have been clearly apparent to the medieval reader. Honorius weaves a single sentence from the language of Matthew 7: 6-8 and the Great Advent Antiphon ‘*O Clavis David*,’ taking advantage of the common occurrence of the verb ‘open’ (*aperire*) in both texts. The full texts read as follows: “Give not that which is holy to dogs; neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest perhaps they trample them under their feet, and turning upon you, they tear you. Ask, and it shall be given you: seek, and you shall find: knock, and it shall be opened (*aperietur*) to you. For every one that asketh, receiveth: and he that seeketh, findeth: and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened” (Mt 7: 6-8); “O Key of David and Sceptre of the House of Israel! Who openest (*aperis*) and no man shutteth; Who shuttest and no man openeth (*aperit*); come and bring forth from his prison-house the captive sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death” (*O Clavis David*). The latter is itself composed of from at least three Scriptural sources – Isaiah 22: 22 and 42: 7 and Revelation 3: 7.

DISC. I suppose because he betrayed the Lord.

MAG. Surely you don't think that his heart was with the Lord, seeing as he was not thoroughly afraid to betray the giver of so many gifts?—and that for a paltry sum!

DISC. By no means.

MAG. Since he knew that it was evil to betray his Master and Lord (cf. Jn 13: 13), why did he not avoid doing this through free choice?

DISC. I suppose he was not able.

MAG. Why?

DISC. I suppose he did not have the grace of the possibility of doing so (*gratia possibilitatis*).

MAG. Why did he not receive it with Peter?

DISC. You tell me.

MAG. Because he was not predestined with Peter. Why did Peter not betray the Lord?

DISC. I suppose he was not able to do it.

MAG. And did Judas have to do this?

THE LORD SPEAKING THROUGH MOSES ABOUT THE PHARAOH.

DISC. Since it is written of Pharaoh: “To this purpose have I set thee up, that my name may be glorified through thee” (Rom 9: 17; Ex 9: 16), I suppose that Judas was [also] set up for this purpose, especially as God disposed from the beginning that his Son would be betrayed, and He foreknew that this would be done through Judas, most especially since it was necessary that the Scripture be fulfilled, which predicted these things concerning Him, as we read in the Gospel: “that the Scripture may be fulfilled: He that eateth bread with me shall lift up his heel against me” (Jn 13: 18).

MAG. I approve your subtlety. Peter had never conceived in his mind the wish to betray the Lord, nor was he able, because he had been predestined. When Judas conceived to do these things through free choice, however, it was inevitable that they should happen, because he was not predestined. [This was] especially [the case] since God foreknew these things of him, even though his Prescience did not compel [Judas] to these things, but, to say entirely what I think, His eternal design established him to do these things.

DISC. Even though I quoted this [passage] concerning Pharaoh, it seems to me that I have not understood it clearly.

MAG. I will explain this to you briefly and perhaps clearly. In the first place, observe three things—namely, the afflicted people, Pharaoh who is afflicting them, and God who is rescuing them. It is surely necessary that the just be tempted in this life in order that they might be proven, and it is necessary that this be done through evil men, but they [must] be liberated by God.

CONCERNING THE DEVIL.

Because the devil fell into evil through free choice, God justly permitted him to be hardened in malice and He set him up as His workman to purify the vessels of mercy (cf. Rom 9: 23). This workman makes all the impious his instruments, of whom Pharaoh was one. So long as he chose by free choice to serve the devil through malice, God justly permitted him to be hardened in malice, when He did not set him free from it. And this is why he was not able to hear the teaching of Moses, and why he was unwilling to receive the discipline, even though he was scourged with signs from God. And since it was necessary for the People of God to be tried by affliction and to be proven by adversity, God prepared Pharaoh, whom He chose from [among] the hammers of the devil in order to beat His vessels for this specific purpose—that is, to try the People. And thus Pharaoh unknowingly served the just—as a slave serving sons—when he instructed them, separating them from the vessels of wrath with scourges. The devil and the impious indeed will evil on their own (*per se*), but without the permission of God they can do nothing. And since they are permitted by God to have power over the elect, they are said to have been set up for this specific purpose. Moreover, the name of God was made known to everyone through Pharaoh, when he justly perished with all his people, and

God delivered those who had been oppressed by him with signs and portents, like vessels from a furnace when they have been tried by the fire.

CONCERNING JUDAS.

DISC. But what of Judas?

CONCERNING ADAM.

MAG. God foreknew the fall of the first man, and for his reparation He established from the beginning that His own Son would become incarnate and suffer. He also foreknew that Judas would be born, and that he would choose evil through free choice, and that through the same malice he would betray His Son. Therefore, the Lord set him up for this purpose when He permitted him to be born and allowed these things to be done by him which He decreed his hands would accomplish.

DISC. You have dug in the wall and behold a door has appeared (cf. Ezek 8: 8)! Lead me further inside (*interius*) and show what things lie within (*intus*)!

CONCERNING PAUL.

MAG. Who would have guessed, when Paul was watching over the garments while the Jews were stoning Stephen (cf. Acts 7: 57), and when he was making havoc of the Church of God, that he was predestined? Yet because he was predestined he was not able to remain for long in the winter of error, [and] it was impossible that he should perish. And indeed the hard ice was unexpectedly melted by the heat of the eternal Sun. Or one should rather say that when [Paul] himself was becoming the sun of the Church, but was [yet] covered by a cloud of error, he burst forth from the darkness and poured the rays of his light upon all the gentiles by his word and example.

DISC. What if he had died in that error?

MAG. Why have you not said: What if the sky should fall? It is as impossible that the sky should fall as that one of the elect should perish! If he had died in error, he would not have been elect. But because he was predestined he was not able to die before his conversion.

DISC. Now that I have been brought within by you, I see many magnificent things! But I grieve that there are still more things here that are sealed up (*sigillata*) that I am unable to understand. I therefore beseech you to open for me, with the key of knowledge committed unto you, these things that remain closed, and to cause me to contemplate them, when once you have unwrapped these veils.

MAG. May the Lord, who promises prosperity to one who knocks very diligently (cf. Mt 7: 7-8 and Lk 11: 5-10), open to you, for my sake, the concealed riches of the secret places (cf. Isa 45: 3).

CONCERNING THE ERROR OF THE ELECT.

DISC. What reason, pray, do we give for God's allowing those whom He has predestined to reign with him forever to remain for a long while in error?

CONCERNING LONGSUFFERING.

MAG. By bearing with them in error for a long time, as he did with Paul, God dispenses (*praerogat*) His patient longsuffering; but in recalling them suddenly to penitence, as

likewise with Paul and Mary Magdalene, He demonstrates the riches of His mercy. For these He came into the world, for these He also underwent death.

CONCERNING ANNAS AND CAIAPHAS, HEROD AND PILATE.

And although He died for sinners, His death did not benefit Annas and Caiaphas, Herod and Pilate, but greatly injured them, not only because they had conspired in the death of the Lord, but because they had freely (*gratis*) hated the Good (Jn 15: 25 and Ps 34: 19b) and were not of the predestined.

For the rest, a great many of the elect consented, albeit unknowingly, in the murder of Christ, for whom He prayed on the Cross: “Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do” (Lk 23: 34). And afterwards, believing, they drank the blood which before they poured out in violent rage.

DISC. Since men’s evil deeds do not harm God in the least, and [since] their good deeds confer nothing [upon Him], why does He separate them after death and not put them in one place in equal degree and in the same manner?

CONCERNING GOD’S MANIFOLD ARRANGEMENT.

MAG. Because of beauty (*pulchritudo*), so that he might vary the universe (*uniuersitas*) of his work, just as a painter does not put all colors in one place, but in different places, to attain diversity of beauty (*decoris*). For what would be the beauty of a picture, if the whole panel were covered with one color? It could not even be called a picture! As it is, He paints different colors in different places and adorns the whole picture by varying them in manifold ways, and thus He renders His whole work delightful to look at. In the

same way an engraver of stones engraves different gems in different places and thus renders his work delightful to look at.

CONCERNING THE STARS.

And to touch upon the single instances in summary fashion (*summatim*), and as it were pluck some flowers thence for a little crown, what, pray, would be the beauty, if all the stars in heaven were equal? But now the beauty is more remarkable, when one is greater than another, one is more clearly perceived than another.

CONCERNING THE BIRDS.

What beauty would there be in the air also, if equality were to make all the birds alike, of one genus and of one color. But now, what variety there is among them, in genus, in color, in fierceness, in meekness!

CONCERNING THE FISHES.

And indeed, what beauty could there be in the sea if there were but one genus of fish. But how beautiful it is now to see different genera of fish in it, and of animals and seabirds, and [to see] that some greatly differ from others with respect to form, some with respect to size.

CONCERNING THE BEASTS.

Again, what beauty would there be upon the earth if there were but one genus of beasts, one of trees, one of stones, one of plants, one color of flowers? But how wonderful is the beauty now contemplated among beasts, among reptiles, among serpents? They furnish greater delight to those who gaze upon them, since they greatly differ among themselves, with different genera, different colors, different natures.

CONCERNING THE TREES.

How great is the diversity among trees and in their foliage and blossoms!

CONCERNING STONES.

How glorious is the difference among stones and [the difference] in their colors!

CONCERNING PLANTS AND FLOWERS.

How marvelous is the variety among plants and their flowers! How delightful and how various is the beauty in [their] colors! This diversity of single instances furnishes greater beauty and admiration to those contemplating it than if there were but one genus.

Let us pass from the smaller to the greater.

CONCERNING MAN.

What beauty would there be in a man, if all his members were one? As it is, it is much more beautiful that there are different members—that there is vision, hearing, smelling, taste; that there are hands, feet, and other members—than if the whole body were comprised of one member only. Indeed what beauty would there be in the human race if all men were equal? What beauty would there be among the clergy if all were prelates, or among the people if all were kings?

CONCERNING PRELATES AND OTHERS.

Oh how glorious is the variety among the clergy, when some are prelates, some priests of an inferior status, some placed in other orders (*gradus*), but among the people, some are kings, some princes, some statesmen, some soldiers, some farmers!

CONCERNING THE DIVERSITY OF THINGS.

How wonderful a variety there is, seeing there are different races, different nations, different tongues, different ranks, different dignities, different cities, different laws, different rights, different assemblies.

CONCERNING WOMEN.

How sweet and delightful again is the diversity among women, such that one excels another in her birth, this one excels that one in beauty, one excels another in dignity, one excels another in affability.

CONCERNING AGES.

O how the tenderness of infants delights the mind, the strength of young men, the dignity of old men, and in all these that there is a great difference both of forms and of manners!

CONCERNING VESSELS.

But the splendor in the house of every master is also increased by the fact that there are different vessels, some (as for instance, those made of gold and silver) to honor, but some (as those made of iron and wood) to dishonor (cf. 2 Tim 2: 20). Although these are not all in one place or equal, yet all are necessary in the house. All these force upon the one contemplating God's Republic (*in dei re publica*) the astonishing delights of a kind of picture.

CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

In a word, God disposed all things in His kingdom (which is, heaven, earth, hell, and all things united to or subjected to these) as it pleased Him and as was fitting. The angels He placed in heaven, since it was proper to heaven; men He placed upon earth, since it was proper to the earth; the demons He placed in hell, since it was proper to hell; other things He placed in other creatures, because it was proper to them. And in vain will anyone inquire concerning the difference in the places where anyone is put by the arrangement of God, since praise is returned to God from all places.

CONCERNING THE PRAISE OF GOD.

God is praised from heaven by the angels, because they enjoy the vision of His sweetness. From earth He is praised by men, because they are nourished by him. And since it is written: “let every spirit praise the Lord” (Ps 150: 6), His praise is made manifest from hell, when the rebel spirits are subjected to Him in punishments.

CONCERNING THE PALACE AND GLORY OF GOD.

But how sweet and glorious is thought to be the diversity in the very palace of God, which we call the kingdom of heaven, when the angels are said to have one glory, archangels another, those orders and those orders another and another, patriarchs and prophets another, apostles another, martyrs another, confessors another, virgins another, widows another, married women another, and other orders another. All these different things the ever-the-same and unchanging wisdom of God instituted from eternity with such changeable beauty and astonishing wonder.

DISC. I give thanks to God that I see clearly ornaments of such incredible beauty in the House into which you have led me. You have decently opened the things that were shut, and gracefully sealed up the veils once more. But since God disposed these things in this way from eternity, and it is inevitable that all things should happen in this manner, why will there still be a last judgment?

CONCERNING THE LAST JUDGMENT.

MAG. It is just like a painter when he is about to arrange single colors each in its own place as seems good [to him]. He assigns all things that are black in color to the bottom, so that the adornment of the whole picture might shine more brightly. In the same way, when God disposes as He wills all the variety of his preeminent work, He will separate

the reprobate from the elect at the bottom, like black from a more precious color, so that from the blackness of the one people's suffering the splendor of the other's joy might be made more splendid.

CONCERNING THE COLORS IN GOD'S PICTURE.

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

DISC. Through your description I finally see all the beauty of the Lord's House; but now I long to see the buildings of the city of Babylon as well. Lead me, therefore, through this eastern gate, and explain why man was placed in paradise when he was not to remain there.

CONCERNING THE SEVEN SEALS.

MAG. The mysteries of the adulterous city must be unfolded by the One who opened the seven seals of the book by assuming flesh of the Virgin by the Holy Spirit, being born, suffering the death of the Cross, resting in the sepulchre, descending into hell, being resurrected from the dead, [and] by ascending into heaven. I am therefore setting you upon this mountain, and I will show you all the dwelling places of the profligate city.

CONCERNING ADAM.

Because he was predestined, the first man was placed in paradise—that is, in a place of delight. But because each genus (*utrumque genus*)—namely, that of the elect and that of the damned—had their origin from him, when Adam went forth (*exiens*) [from paradise] through his free choice, he carried both families away in himself, as it were outside (*foris*), so that the reprobate might not be born in paradise; and although he put both of them out in the place of this world’s struggle, when he was returning with the elect—albeit with toil—he left the reprobate outside (*foras*). In this contest they contend with great might from both sides, and indeed when the victors have been crowned they repair triumphant to the stars. The vanquished, however, descend confounded to the very depths of the abyss. But stand here and consider both pathways.

ON THE WAY OF THE JUST.

Someone walks through the way of humility from infancy and always advances toward the better, even into old age. He esteems all men better than himself (cf. Phil 2: 3), but he reckons himself inferior to all. He praises everyone else’s acts, he condemns his own. Another lays hold of the narrow way of chastity, he guards all his senses by keeping strict custody, and yet he reckons all others to be saints, but judges himself as unclean. Another treads the mountain path of patience, he patiently tolerates all harsh and bitter things for Christ, he thinks others gentle, he thinks himself severe. Another walks through the way of abstinence, he is softened by great punishment of the flesh, and yet he esteems others by honoring them as stricter in abstinence, [while] he condemns himself as gluttonous. Another, walking through the broad way of charity, not only loves his friends in God, but also loves his enemies on account of God. When he has received abuse, he not only lightens the punishment for one who asks for mercy, but also hastens

to be reconciled with him. These and the like are the pathways of the citizens of Jerusalem, by which they hasten from exile toward everlasting dwellings (cf. Lk 16: 9).

ON THE BROAD WAYS OF THE REPROBATE.

Turn yourself to the citizens of Babylon and see the sort of broad ways through which they go. One starts with lust from his earliest age and persists in it insatiably into his old age. He never thinks about what he has already done, but he considers what he can still do. Another subjects himself to gluttony and drunkenness from boyhood and pursues these things with delight even into his old age. Another hastens with all his effort to rape, another continually applies himself to robbery, another feeds upon cruelty, another is not satisfied with profit. This one consumes away with jealousy, but this one is soiled with uncleanness. This one despises everyone because he is lifted up with pride; this one, being full of hatred, afflicts everyone else with lies and slanders. Such and such are the broad ways of the reprobate, by which they irrevocably hasten to the depths of hell.

CONCERNING THE REPROBATES' CONFLICT AGAINST THE JUST.

Behold also now the lines of battle drawn up for war in different ways. The reprobate abhor the words and sayings of the just, they detest their fellowship, they refuse every one of their counsels—it is burdensome for them even to see them! Often they skillfully surround them; more often they fraudulently or even violently spoil their goods; most often they afflict them with scourging or other torments, or even slay them by cutting off their members or by various tortures (cf. Heb 11: 36-8).

CONCERNING THE CONTEST OF THE JUST.

The just, on the other hand, suffer the conduct of the reprobate as a great weight, they lament their miserable conversation, they shun their contagion as much as they are able;

they choose to be freed quickly from living with them, they supplicate God for their salvation, they minister to them the necessities that they are able.

ON THE HARMONY OF THE GOOD AND EVIL.

Consider something further. All the elect are united in the good and they love in others the good that they are not able to do themselves. But the reprobate are all united in evil, they are always at variance in the good. And if a strong word of rebuke or admonition is offered to one of them by one of the just, they all resist, they all equally contradict him; and even those who don't bother to do anything (*qui non faciunt*)—all of them, even those who have not known him—reckon him worthy of hate, disparage him with lies, and wound him with injuries, [and all] because they are vexed on account of their hatred in others of the good things that they do not wish to do [themselves].

CONCERNING THE BATTLE ARRAY OF BOTH PEOPLES.

Watch attentively and you will see that in this whole conflict Cain is drawn up in battle against Abel, Ham against Shem, that Ishmael is armed against Isaac, that Esau fights against Jacob, that Saul opposes David, that Judas attacks the Lord, while Simon Magus attacks Peter.

ON RUNNING IN THE RACE.

See also how often in this contest the reprobate decide to run for the prize along with the elect (cf. 1 Cor 9: 24), and they certainly do run for awhile, but they break off along the way, exhausted from their toil, and foully return like dogs to their vomit (cf. Prov 26: 11 and 2 Pet 2: 22a). Come here to the summit of the mountain, whence you can see all the buildings of the condemned city.

CONCERNING THE PRINCES.

Look upon the princes and the judges. Behold the throne of the beast is set among them. At every moment they are intent upon evil, insatiably employed in affairs of iniquity; they not only perform disgraceful acts, but they instruct others to do them. They sell sacred things, they purchase things that are wicked. They labor with all their strength lest they should go alone to Tartarus.

ON THE CLERGY.

Turn to the clergy and see the tabernacle of the beast [pitched] among them. They neglect the service of God, they are devoted to earthly gains, they pollute the priesthood with uncleanness, they seduce the people with deceit. They deny God through evil works, they renounce all the Scriptures that lead to salvation (2 Tim 3: 15-7). They scatter themselves as traps for the people and cause their downfall; themselves blind, they lead this blind people to destruction.

ON THE MONKS.

Gaze also upon the assemblies of the monks and you will see the tabernacles of the beast amongst them. Scoffing at God through their feigned profession, they provoke His wrath, they tread the Rule (*norma regularis*)⁴³⁴⁷ underfoot when it comes to life and morals. They deceive the world through the habit; themselves deceived, they deceive many who are [also] deceived. They are implicated in secular affairs; they are idle in the service of God. A good number of them are given over to gluttony and seductive charms, [while] some putrefy in the squalors of uncleanness.

ON THE NUNS.

⁴³⁴⁷ Gregory the Great (*Epistula 5*, PL 77, col. 910A) appears to use this phrase to refer to a monastic rule (perhaps the Rule of St Benedict): *Et iuxta normam regularem debent in suo habitu per triennium probari, et tunc monachicum habitum deo auctore suscipere.*

Look also upon the habitations of the nuns and you will see in them a marriage bed prepared for the beast. These women learnt uncleanness from a tender age, they unite many confederates to themselves to the increase of their own damnation. They hasten to cover themselves with the veil, by which they rather seek to relax the reigns of lust. They are most wickedly prostituted by all fornicators, and, like insatiable Charybdis, they are never filled enough with the dung of uncleanness. They ensnare the souls of young men and they rejoice if they deceive more. And she who outdoes the others in sin demands the palm of victory.

CONCERNING THE PEOPLE.

Turn to the common people that remains and you will find in it the likeness of the beast. They despise priests, they scorn to hear anything from God. They spend their entire life in vanity and ostentation and they are reprobate with regard to every good work.

CONCERNING THE MULTITUDE.

The ignorant multitude also possesses the idol of the beast. They have not known the true God, they are completely devoted to the god which is their belly (cf. Phil 3: 19). They are wasted away through various desires of the flesh, and they lead a bestial life in every respect.

CONCERNING THE WOMEN.

Come here to the slopes of this valley and see the monstrous assembly of women. Among these the beast has placed all his pomps and monstrosities and he has drawn them up to bear his arms. You see how that one ensnares young men through lust, that one kills many with poison, this one betrays the life of a man for gold, this one kills her own young, this one provokes strife, another instigates wars, that one drives men mad with

sorcery, but no one satisfies her with money or lust, this one beguiles many by her laughter, that one seduces very many with her tears. These women are the ramparts of this city and the darts of the beast!

DISC. O God, how many strange monsters I see!

ON THE DESTRUCTION OF THE RAMPARTS OF BABYLON.

MAG. You have seen the walls of the adulterous city; it is also necessary to look upon the destruction of each one of them. Now since the citizens of Babylon are more in number, they always bring war upon the citizens of Jerusalem, because they are placed with them in exile. But presently God, the King of the heavenly Jerusalem, will come with a host of angels and utterly overthrow this ruined city; and freeing His elect from there, He will bring them with Himself into his celestial palace, [and] will then furnish for them the following spectacle. This Babylon which you see (that is, the glory of this world with its prince, the devil, and all the citizens of this city—namely, the lovers of this world) he will suddenly cast down into a lake of fire and brimstone, and then all things will be changed into a better state for the elect.

DISC. You have shown forth a great spectacle to all who are reading these things. May God therefore vouchsafe for you a part in that spectacle.

EPILOGUE CONCERNING THE JUST.

MAG. Let me here conclude the whole sum of this book as follows. No one will enter the place of glory, therefore, except the one whom divine Providence has predestined to that place from the beginning. And no one will obtain predestination according to merits,

which infants do not have, but he will have it in accordance with the free grace of God. But God will place them in many mansions—that is, he will give them different joys; for instance, [he will give] to infants and those doing penance *in extremis* in accordance with grace alone, but to others in accordance with different merits and various labors as well, as to the martyrs and to all struggling in the laws of the Lord for this hope unto the end.

CONCERNING THE REPROBATE.

Also, no one will be a partaker of sufferings in the place of dishonor, except one whom the divine Prescience has foreknown to this future. Moreover, those who are plunged there will be cast down in accordance with the hidden and incomprehensible justice of God rather than in accordance with merits, which infants do not have. Nevertheless, since those who have chosen evil through free choice have loved it by working with their whole heart even unto the end, they will inherit different punishments for different merits.

NAME OF THE BOOK.

And since it is impossible that all these things should not happen in this manner, let the name INEVITABLE be given to this book. Carry these things concerning predestination and free choice to the sons of the Church, because I know the citizens of Babylon will despise them. But whoever disdains or even impugns these things will show that he is not of the number of the predestined. But anyone who puts forth a question concerning free choice after these things is a blind man finding fault with a mountain on a clear day.

ON THE WRITER OF THE BOOK.

DISC. It was the blessed God, who inspired the brethren to wish me to direct these matters (*hęc*) to you, so that I might be worthy to perceive these marvelous things from

your mellifluous mouth. And you certainly know that the company of the reprobate will deprecate you with a great hatred for this venerable work, and they will especially detest you on account of the fact that you have proven that they are slaves of vices—or rather, of demons!—through free choice. The glorious crowd of the predestined, however, will render great thanks to you because you have brought forth so marvelous a work in praise of them. And since, as I heard you say, it is also predestined by God, that everything that the elect seek justly will be given them, let them entreat with great prayers the clemency of God, so that the last day might find you in their company.

MAG. Amen.

Appendix II

English translation of the Conenine text of the *Ineuitable*

INEVITABILE

THE BROTHERS' LEGATION TO HONORIUS.

The brethren walking in the house of God with consent (cf. Ps 54: 15) are instant in prayer (cf. Rom 12: 12) for your salvation.

THE AMBASSADOR'S ADDRESS.

They certainly send up prayers for your diligence, but they also render thanksgivings to Christ, the key of David, who for the merits of His mother unlocked for them by your ministry such great mysteries about her in the Song. For this reason, and on account of your elucidation of other things unknown to many, you have added to her praise, [and] have placed this most-holy Virgin, and all those who honor her, in your debt. It is on their legation that I am now engaged, and these same [brethren], with the greatest devotion, implore you to loose for them the inextricable knot of free choice, which your disputation has, or so it seems to them, rather made insoluble. For if, as you assert, only the predestined are saved, no matter what they do, they judge that free choice is utterly taken away, and they reckon that those who are damned are punished, not only without fault, but even unjustly.

Hence I beseech you to treat this matter more broadly, and not to neglect the smallest difficulty for someone who is dull or blind besides.

MAG. Since the greatest doctors have [already] produced many treatises on this matter, what further do you ask of me, who, compared with them, am without eloquence?

DISC. Those men have indeed disputed uncommonly well, but since, as it seems to us, they have held differing opinions, they have rendered us uncertain. But you, as I truly confess, somehow briefly make palpable to us what those men have not even made clear by their long considerations.

MAG. Because I seek not mine own (cf. 1 Cor 13: 5) but [rather] the things that belong to charity, I do not deny [you] what you seek. I despise verbal trappings, so long as I am mindful of the simplicity of the brethren. I also despise the spiteful teeth of the envious, because my help is of the Lord (cf. Ps 120: 2).

HERE BEGINS INEVITABLE

DISC. I pray that you uphold me as though I were a fool, and that you correct by the word of truth the ignorance of those who are inquiring [of you] through me.

MAG. The Truth will set free from the darkness of error those who are seeking Her and will illuminate them with the light of Her splendor. For, if you make yourself a fool for charity's sake, Wisdom will come forth to meet you with the light of Truth.

DISC. Three knots twist themselves up together in an absolutely tangled mess, which scarcely anyone passes through without becoming entangled in them.

One, which asserts: *That only the Predestined are saved.*

Another, which adds: *That men attain salvation through grace alone.*

A third, which says: *That free choice alone effects salvation.*

In the first place, therefore, slash the knot of Predestination, which binds with a certain violence the hinge [upon which] the entire question [turns]. For some think that Predestination pertains to the elect alone, since the Apostle says: “Moreover, whom he predestinated, them he also called, justified, and magnified” (Rom 8: 30). Whence I ask you to tell me first, what is Predestination?

ON PREDESTINATION.

MAG. Predestination is nothing other than God’s eternal preparation, in accordance with each person’s merits, either for glory or for punishment.

Now (*autem*) there is a twofold predestination: one of good people to glory; another of the evil to punishment.

But (*sed*) since some people still grumble about Providence and Foreknowledge, as though they would inflict necessity upon men, you must know that Providence does not compel anyone to the study of the good, nor does Predestination drag anyone of necessity towards the reward of life. Similarly, Foreknowledge forces no one towards sin, and Predestination impels no one to punishment.

Furthermore (*porro*), those whom [God] has foreseen will persevere in good [works] have been predestined to glory, but those whom He has foreknown will end their life in evil have assuredly been foreordained to punishment.

Therefore (*ergo*), God predestined before the ages [all] those whom He foreknew would believe in His Son and would voluntarily keep His commandments. He called them to faith in His own time, justified them through baptism, magnified them with virtues, and glorified them as “vessels of mercy” (cf. Rom 9: 23). But those whom He foreknew would by no means do these things, He rejected from the kingdom of glory and

appointed them for punishment, as “vessels of wrath” (cf. Rom 9: 22) fitted for punishment.

CONCERNING THE ELECT.

DISC. Since it is written: “Father, thou hast loved them before the creation of the world” (Jn 17: 23-24), it appears that those who were loved by God before the beginning of world are saved by necessity.

MAG. Nothing is future to God, but all things are present to Him, who has already made the things that are going to be. Therefore, all those who are going to be just, have always been [just] in the presence of God, and it is for that reason that they were loved before the creation of the world, but He elected them to glory in His own time, in accordance with their merits.

Not necessity, therefore, but their own proper merit, draws to glory those whom God has chosen by predestining them before the creation of the world, to whom He will Himself say at the end of the world: “Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning” (Mt 25: 34). And the Divine Voice immediately says that this kingdom is given on account of merits, when it runs through the list of (*replicando*) their good works (Mt 25: 35-6).

DISC. Now that you have removed the ‘bolt’ of Predestination, come now!—enter the forest of the longed-for disputation, and unlock what free choice is, and how Predestination or Foreknowledge are not opposed to it, and how it harmonizes with grace,

and cut off with the sword of reason all the heads of the Hydra (*ydrē*) arising from these questions (*hinc*)!

ON FREE CHOICE.

MAG. Tell me first what you think free choice is?

DISC. It seems to me that free choice signifies: The freedom to choose good or evil.

MAG. Although this definition is pleasing to most people, I fear that acute reason (*perspicax ratio*) might reject it. For 'choosing' is only said of two or more things, where the option of choosing from among many is set before one. But nothing but justice alone was offered to the man or the angel, to whom alone free choice has been given. Had this (i.e. justice) be preserved intact (*seruata*), they would have enjoyed eternal beatitude. Therefore, this definition of free choice does not seem suitable (*conueniens*).

DISC. What if one said that death and life were offered to man, and he chose death?

MAG. This is not true, for he did not choose death; but because he was deceived he coveted (*concupiuit*) a higher knowledge.

DISC. What if someone said that God offered good, while the Devil urged evil, but what the man wished to choose was left in his free choice?

MAG. However much (*utcumque*) this might be able to be said of the man, nevertheless it cannot [be said] about an angel, since there was no one who urged him to anything evil. Furthermore, there is nothing intermediate between good and evil. If man were seen to have been established in some intermediate state, then perhaps the freedom of choosing good or evil would rightly said to belong to him. But since man was placed only in the good—namely, as created by the God the Good—choosing evil is nothing other than a certain deficiency of the mind (*animi*) in the good—namely, when it abandoned the justice that it ought to have preserved intact, and when it turns away to injustice that it knows it ought to avoid.

ON CHOICE.

DISC. But I eagerly await to hear from you what its definition is.

MAG. Therefore, choice (*arbitrium*) is the judgment (*iudicium*) of one's own will—what one wills or what one does not will. This is called free (*liberum*) because it is not necessary, but there is also a freedom of willing and not willing in one who has reason. And since free choice is given only in order to preserve justice intact, in which the soul's health (*salus anime*) consists, the following definition is reckoned suitable for it: Freedom of choice is the power of preserving intact rectitude of the will, for the sake of rectitude itself. For a right will is to will what God wills. But God wills that the rational creature be subjected to Him, not by compulsion, but freely, so that it might be well for it. When it wills this, then it is upright (*rectus*). It is free to follow this rectitude, constrained by no necessity. Moreover, rectitude of the will is justice. Therefore, if it [i.e. the rational creature] loves justice, not for any other reason than on account of justice

itself, it will have its reward—God, who is Justice and the highest Beatitude. Therefore, the most suitable definition of free choice is: The power of preserving rectitude of the will intact for the sake of rectitude itself, by which it would justly possess eternal beatitude.

DISC. But how does he now have free choice for preserving justice intact, since he does not have justice?

MAG. Just as someone has sight in order to see the sun, even though that be absent which he could assuredly see if it were it present, so man naturally possesses free choice in order to preserve justice intact, even if that be wanting which he could preserve were it present.

Moreover, this thing which he does not have [i.e. justice] he cannot have of himself (*per se*), since no one except God has what he has not received. If this is given to him, it is grace, who said: “Without me you can do nothing” (Jn 15: 5). But free choice is not-to-desert-justice-that-has-been-received. Moreover, to preserve it is merit.

Therefore, “it is not of him that willeth” (you supply what it is that he wills), “nor of him that runneth” (you supply what he runs), “but of God that showeth mercy” (cf. Rom 9: 16)—[God] who, from no preceding merits, but freely, leads (*praeuenit*) him by grace, when he gives so that he might be just, and follows (*subsequitur*) him, that he might run in the stadium of justice until he obtain the prize of life (cf. 1 Cor 9: 24).

It is just as if a naked, destitute man were clothed by a rich man. It is not of himself that [the destitute man] is clothed, but of the one who bestows the garment; yet it

is his own decision whether he wears the garment or sets it aside. So it is with free choice led and accompanied by grace.

OF JACOB AND ESAU.

DISC. Since the Apostle says: “Before they knew how to do good or evil it was said: Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated” (cf. Rom 9:11-13), some appear to be saved or damned, not in accordance with their merits, but according to God’s purpose, or God seems to punish the deeds of some before they are performed. For by reason of what merit did Jacob deserve to be loved, who did not yet know how to do good? For what crime was Esau hated, who was as yet performing no evil?

CONCERNING GOD’S PURPOSE.

MAG. As has been said above, to God nothing is future. Holy Scripture bears witness that Jacob was simple, but Esau profane. And that which they were to do in their own time through free choice, this they were in the sight of the Lord before they were born. Therefore, it was since Jacob was simple in the Lord’s presence (*in presentia domini*) that the Lord loved him. But it was because Esau was profane that He hated him.

Moreover, ‘I have loved’ sets past time before the mind on account of eternity, because just as the past is *always* past, so everything is immutable that eternity foresees is going to be done.

Furthermore, since there is no injustice with God, He punishes no one without preceding injustice, but mercifully forgives many people sins that have been committed.

Therefore, although it is necessary that everything be done which God has purposed, foreknown, and predestined to be done, nevertheless, purpose, prescience, and

predestination inflict no force of necessity upon anyone, unless someone does what he wills by free choice.

And those who turn away from evil and do good through free choice are “his people and the sheep of his pasture” (Ps 99: 3), and He has prepared the pasture of life for them, and chose them in Christ “before the foundation of the world” (Eph 1:4).

But those who fall by [their] freedom, and are constrained by no necessity, but voluntarily subject themselves to slavery, when they have been made slaves of sin are immediately subjected to the demons who preside over the vices. These are the ‘People of Pharaoh,’ and they are not of the Lord’s sheep, but are the “sheep who are laid in hell” whom “death shall feed upon” (Ps 48: 15). Such as these, having heard so many teachings, seen so many signs, and endured so many plagues, are incorrigible, and the Lord casts them away when He justly leaves them in injustice.

Therefore the Predestination and Prescience of God remain immutable and fixed, since all things that God foreknows and predestines will be done, are unchangingly done. Moreover, grace and free choice effect the salvation of man by a mutual covenant, [while] the will on its own (*sola*), falling away by its freedom, inclines toward sin.

DISC. Since you have elegantly untied the knot of free choice through grace, your helper, I ask that you signify whether the devil was created for beatitude.

CONCERNING THE DEVIL.

MAG. It is well known that the rational creature was created for beatitude. Now the devil is a rational creature. Therefore he was created for beatitude. For it is written of

him: “full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty, thou wast in the pleasures of the paradise of God” (Ezek 28: 12-13).

DISC. And why is it that the Lord said of him that “he stood not in the truth” (John 8:44).

MAG. That is, he did not remain in rectitude of the will. For he voluntarily forsook justice, and therefore he justly lost beatitude.

DISC. What is beatitude?

ON BEATITUDE.

MAG. A sufficiency of all goods without any need.

DISC. Why did [God] not make him such that he was not able to lose [beatitude]?

MAG. If He had made him such, then he would have made him subject to necessity, like the beasts. On the contrary, [God] made him just, blessed, and free: just, so that he might will what God willed; blessed, so that he might enjoy God forever; free, so that he might will justice, not under constraint, but voluntarily, and for this merit might justly be blessed forever.

DISC. And why did [the devil] fall from this glory?

ON THE FALL OF THE DEVIL.

MAG. Because he desired what he ought not, and what God did not will, since he wished to be “like the most high” (Isa 14: 14).

DISC. Similar in what way?

MAG. He wished to be called God and to be adored as God by the angels.

DISC. Since he does not exist in a place, inasmuch as he is incorporeal, whence and how did he fall?

MAG. As someone who while standing in the light of the sun suddenly loses his sight is said ‘to have fallen into darkness,’ even though he has not changed place, just so the devil, when the vision of God was suddenly lost and the immense glory taken away, is said to have fallen from heaven into misery, even though he did not change place, especially as he was not in any place (*in nullo [sc. loco]*).

DISC. Since God is blessed in every respect and has always been sufficient unto himself, for what reason (*quæ causa exstitit*) did He wish to create anything?

ON THE CREATION OF THE WORLD.

MAG. He created all things on account of his own goodness, so that those things into which the abundance of his goodness flowed forth might exist (*ut essent*).

For indeed every creature enjoys the goodness of the Creator in some manner: some in that they exist (*quod sunt*), some in that they live, some in that they sense, some

in that they understand. The individual things, therefore, are good; but considered altogether they are very good (cf. Sir 39: 21 and Gen 1: 31).

Moreover, he created the angelic and human nature in order to see Him. To this [nature] (*quæ*) he gave justice, so that it might have its own proper merit before Him, which He would justly be obliged to reward. But in order that they might have complete joy (*plenum gaudium*), he added free choice, by which they might preserve intact the justice that he gave them, not under constraint, but freely, and thus, forever blessed, they might reign with him.

DISC. And if they were created for beatitude, why do so many perish?

MAG. Since they fall away from the good through free choice and subject themselves to sin, they are justly deprived of the glory of beatitude, and are given over to punishments.

DISC. And how is it true that “God will have all to be saved” (1 Tim 2:4)?

MAG. God created the rational creature for glory. But angels and men are the rational nature. Therefore they were all created for glory. Moreover, in that he created them for glory, he did this either willingly or unwillingly.

DISC. He was not able not to be willing.

MAG. Therefore he made [them] willingly.

DISC. This follows.

MAG. Moreover, what God wills once, he always wills. For his will is immutable.

Therefore, he always wills all men to be saved.

DISC. And if he wills it, why are not all [men and angels] saved? “For who resisteth his will?” (Rom 9:19).

MAG. The destruction of those who perish does not proceed from the will of God, who “desireth not the death of a sinner” (Ezek 18:32), and who “made not death, neither hath pleasure in the destruction” of those who are dying, but [it proceeds] from free choice, whereby they voluntarily forsake justice, which is the condition of beatitude (*pactum beatitudinis*). When they have forsaken justice, they lose beatitude, and thus they are forever miserable.

DISC. How [does it proceed] from free choice?

MAG. The angel, drawn by no predestination, by no necessity, but by free will alone, forsook justice when he willed to be “like God” (Isa 14:14). And since he burst the fetter of beatitude, which was justice, by his own will acting on its own (*propria uoluntate*),⁴³⁴⁸

⁴³⁴⁸ This entire passage is dependent upon Anselm, *De casu diaboli*, 4. The point of the adjective ‘*propria*,’ in this instance, is that the devil’s rational will (*uoluntas*) acted as though it were its own criterion, rather than the divinely-created justice (and therefore, ultimately, God himself, who is Justice Itself). Hence Anselm describes the ‘*propria uoluntas*’ as ‘*nulli subdita*’ (‘subject to no one else’).

when he had justly lost beatitude he fell into misery, from which, by the pronouncement of justice, he deserved never to be removed.

DISC. Why did he not deserve to be restored [to his former beatitude]?

MAG. The nature of justice (*ratio iustitię*) demanded this. For since he fell with no one compelling him, in accordance with justice (*iuste*) no one ought to lift him up.

DISC. What of man?

ON THE FALL OF MAN.

MAG. Similarly, man forsook justice, constrained by no force, impelled by no necessity, but by free will, and subjected himself to injustice, when he longed inordinately (*concupiuit*) to be as God.

DISC. Why did this fall deserve to be set aright?

MAG. This one's (*huius*) reparation was grace; but the nature of justice also demanded that this be done. For since he fell impelled by another, in accordance with justice he ought to be lifted up by another.

DISC. I do not believe that it was fitting for God to give them free choice, [when] he foreknew they would sin through it!

MAG. This is like saying: It was not reasonable (*oportuit*) [for God] to give them knowledge, which he foreknew they would misuse! If he had not given them knowledge, what would separate them from the brute beasts? If he had not given free choice they would have been made subject to necessity in every respect, like the beasts, nor would they have any merit before God. It was therefore necessary (*oportuit*) for Him to give them knowledge, by which they might know the Creator. Furthermore he also added free choice, by which they might freely preserve the justice through which they would be forever blessed.

DISC. If God foreknows all things, then he surely foreknew that they would act badly, and that they would suffer eternal punishment on account of this. Why then did he wish to create those who were going to do so many and such great shameful and atrocious things, and to lay up for them eternal punishments?

MAG. God foreknows all things, since this is consistent with his eternity, which has known nothing future, as though it were yet to be done, nor anything past, as though it had already happened, but beholds all things—those which are yet to be done and those which have already been accomplished—in an immutable, present gaze.

But the nature of justice and power demanded that he create the angel or the man, both of whom he foreknew would act badly: power, because he foreknew [both] that their malice was utterly unable to injure him, and how many good things in the universe (*in uniuersitate*) he planned to make from their evils; justice, on the other hand, because it

was just that God should make everything in the universe (*in uniuersitate*) that was going to be useful for something.

THAT THE DEMONS ARE USEFUL.

Indeed, the wise are also not ignorant of how useful and how necessary the demons or evil men are in the republic of God! Therefore, he gave his creatures justice, which he foreknew they would in no way preserve; or rather, he created them just, since it was consistent with his goodness that he might make nothing except what was just and right.

He also gave them free choice, that is, he made them masters of their own will, since it belonged to his perfection (*sue perfectioni conuenit*) that he should bring nothing to completion except that which was perfect. For they should not have been perfect had they not been free. And had they not been free, they should have been subjected to necessity, like the beasts. Therefore, he made all things as he willed, and as he ought to make them.

DISC. Why did God not prevent them from doing evil, when he was able? If he willed it and was unable, then he was weak. But if he was able and did not will it, then he did wish them to sin, and thereafter to suffer punishments. And when he permitted them to sin, surely he consented in their sins. For if a certain prince foreknows that anyone subject to him wishes to kill someone else, and he does not prevent him while he is able, he assuredly consents in the murder when he allows it to be done. But if he permits it unwillingly, he shows himself weak.

MAG. God did not debar them from evil because the nature of His immutability did not allow it. For God created them for complete joy. Now they would not have had complete joy had they not been free. Therefore, he gave them free choice so that they might have complete joy; or rather, he created them free, that is, masters of their own will, so that they might freely delight in exultation, and so that they might delight in joy (*gaudio fruuntur*), not being constrained by necessity or compelled by violence.

THAT GOD CANNOT TAKE AWAY FREE CHOICE.

Therefore, the freedom that he once gave to them, the immutable God was under no obligation to take away, nor was he even able. For if he had taken it away, then he would not have willed them to will what he willed them to will, which is impossible. Now He willed them to will justice. But to sin is nothing other than not-to-will-justice. And for this reason evil or sin is nothing substantial, but [is] injustice. But injustice is nothing else than where-justice-is-not, just as silence is where-a-voice -is-not, just as darkness is where-light-is-not. To do evil, therefore, is nothing other than to abandon a just will. But had they not been able to sin because they were prevented by God, [then] He would have somehow taken freedom away from them. And if they had preserved justice intact because they were constrained, they would not have had the merit of justice.

DISC. What? Were the good angels not able to sin?

MAG. This does not arise out of the necessity of weakness (*ex impotentiae necessitate*), but from a will of great power. For the power to will always what one ought and what is fitting, is great—for example, to be always healthy and wise; [but] the greatest weakness,

or rather insanity, is to will what one ought not and what is not fitting—as to wish to kill oneself. For since these [good angels] preserved justice intact by free will when the other angels had fallen away into injustice, they were straightway so confirmed in this will on account of this merit that they do not wish evil anymore (*ultra*), and it is on this account that it is said that they are not able.

DISC. But, as has been said, God seems to have consented in the sin of those whom he permitted to sin, or rather, to have created for punishments those whom he did not debar from sin.

MAG. When the truth has been considered, it shows that the matter is far different (*aliud longe*). For although the ways of the Lord are as far removed from the ways of men as the heavens are exalted above the earth, yet this matter is not much different from our own ways of thinking (*cogitationes*), which clear reason (*perspecta ratio*) elucidates for us as follows. It does not always follow that someone who allows something to be done consents in the doing of it if he is able to prevent it. For someone allows thorns to spring up in his field, since he cannot prevent them; yet he does not consent. Neither does he let them spring up into a bulwark of hedges nor into fuel for fires, even though they are fitted for both.

THAT GOD DOES NOT CONSENT IN SIN, WHICH HE NEVERTHELESS PERMITS.

Just so, when God permitted them to sin, he did not, for all that, consent in the sin; neither did he create for punishments, those whom nevertheless He later gave over to punishments after their sins. But He “hath crowned with glory and honor” (Ps 8: 6) those

who by their free will were clinging to Him, who is the highest beatitude. Nevertheless, he punished with appropriate sufferings those who by their free will were falling away from Him, who is eternal justice; and by the adversity of the one, as by a hedge of thorn, he strengthened the glory of the others, and he illuminated his whole work by their burning.

DISC. Why did God create those whom he foreknew would not in the least preserve justice intact, and would for that reason lose their glory, and not just those whom he foreknew would remain in glory for preserving justice?

MAG. This is like complaining: Why did God permit there to be night, since the night's dark, but the day is light—as though it were useless and not necessary!—when it is rather rest for those who labor and a renewal of energies. Just so good is made agreeable through what is bad. And truly the just appear glorious compared to the unjust, just as the day shines more pleasingly when compared with the night.

THAT GOOD IS MANIFESTED THROUGH EVIL. [ADD NOTES RE ERIUGENA?]

Therefore the nature of the good required that God allow there to be evil, through which the good might shine more clearly, and the universe (*uniuersitas*) might sound harmoniously (*consonaret*) in all things through the oppositions of reciprocating modes (*reciprocis modulis per contrarietates suas*). For although evil is nothing substantially, and therefore it forces no dissonance upon the eternal disposition of God, nevertheless, that which is through itself (*per idipsum*) makes all substances appear good, and it becomes clear how good it is to cling to God, the highest good.

DISC. It seems a very extraordinary thing that the goodness of God willed to create something that would be subjected to eternal sorrows and eternal torments, since it would seem much better for something (*aliquam rem*) not to exist [at all] than for it to exist in misery, or [better for it] to be insensible, like a rock, rather than to feel eternal sorrows.

MAG. It seemed better to the wise God to be (*esse*) that which is, in whatever way [it might be] (*quod utcumque est*), than not to be in any way, and for that reason he made to be (*esse*) everything that is.

Moreover, through His not making all things equal, but dissimilar, both the ineffable wisdom of the artist and the inestimable and diverse beauty of the work are known. And although God made punishments, yet he created nothing for punishments. Otherwise, the creature that lacks sense would be more excellent than the sensitive creature, which would sense the sorrow of punishment without end.

Furthermore, the rational creature justly lost the glory that had been promised it when it voluntarily gave up the justice that it had, and thus it fell into misery.

WHAT MISERY IS.

Now misery arises from grief (*est inde dolere*) for what one has lost, and from not being able to have what one desires, and from being afflicted by those things in which one is, and not being able to be made free from them. Moreover, to be tormented by punishments is nothing other than to suffer what is contrary to oneself against one's will. For God created two and two, contrary to one another, for the beauty of the universe (*uniuersitatis*), as water[, which is contrary] to fire, and earth[, which is contrary] to air.

And animals created in these suffer pain from their contraries, as things formed in water or on the earth are tormented in fire.

THE SALAMANDER.

For the salamander lives in flame, [and] dies in moisture, but a fish is nourished in water, [and] dies in fire. For the rational nature, therefore, to sense the bitterness of sorrow is not to have the sweetness of beatitude (*suauitatis beatitudinem*). For the nature of justice demands that those who voluntarily free themselves from the glory of beatitude (*glorię beatitudine*) should be in the bitterness of misery forever. Moreover, this is the reason that they were created immortal—so that this should be without end.

DISC. Since it was disposed by God from eternity that his Son would become incarnate, man appears to have sinned of necessity, in order that God's purpose might be fulfilled. For had he not sinned, the Son of God would not have become incarnate, and so God's decree would have been made void. Therefore, both seem to depend upon necessity, both that the one sinned, and the other came in the flesh.

THAT CHRIST WAS TO BECOME INCARNATE FROM ETERNITY.

MAG. God foreknew the fall of man from eternity, and for that reason resolved from eternity that his Son would become incarnate for man's (*eius*) redemption. Furthermore, man sinned by no necessity, but only through free will, for which reason the Lord imputed sin to him. Had he sinned necessarily, he would not have been guilty, since he should have done [only] what he was unable to avoid. But he was guilty precisely because the Lord warned him about sin beforehand, and set before him the punishment of death, and he despised the divine admonition. But that the Son of God was incarnate, or

was offered as a sacrifice for man, was his will alone, insofar as it concerned him. In respect to man, it was the greatest necessity. For except the One had become incarnate, the other would never have been saved. It was therefore necessary for man that He should have willed to be incarnate.

WHY AN ANGEL OR MAN DID NOT REDEEM MAN.

DISC. Why was an angel or a man not sent to heal man, but the Son of God?

MAG. The nature of justice demands this. For, an angel ought not to have been sent for a man, since man in no way belongs to the angelic nature. But a man ought not to have been sent, since every man was a sinner, and a sinner was unable to redeem a sinner. It was therefore necessary that he be sent, who, being alone without sin, was able to reconcile man to God.

ON THE INCARNATION OF CHRIST.

DISC. Why was neither the Father nor the Holy Spirit, but only the Son, incarnate?

MAG. Justice demanded this. For He is God, as it were, in the second place after the Father, not in dignity, but in order. For he is equal to God the Father—namely, as being one with him—whence he is called both the likeness and image of God. But the devil grasped this privilege for himself, when he willed to be “like the most high”—namely, to be called God and to be adored as God by the angels. And because he did not obtain this in heaven from the angels, he taught that he was to be worshipped and adored as God by men in the world. It was therefore necessary that He who was injured should come (i.e.

God the Son), and that he should show that he was the true God and that the other was a liar.

DISC. And why did he come in man?⁴³⁴⁹

MAG. So that he, being Himself an innocent man, might make satisfaction to God the Father for a guilty man, and that he might both restrain the tyrant through man, and also rescue the man deceived by him.

DISC. For what reason (*per quid*) did the devil lose man, whom he possessed, as it were, justly?

THAT THE DEVIL LOST MAN THROUGH JUSTICE.

MAG. Through the justice and power of God. For he gravely offended, as a blind man, against the power of God, since not only did he make himself coequal to God, but exalted himself above God (cf. Isa 14: 12-13 and 2 Thess 2: 3-4), when in the temptation he commanded the Son of God, who is coequal to the Father, to adore him (Mt 4: 9 and Lk 4: 7). But he gravely incurred the disfavor of God's justice in the passion, when he killed a just and innocent man. He therefore experienced power through justice. For when a just man is unjustly killed, the unjust tyrant is justly overthrown, and a man who has been unjustly overthrown because he has been deceived is redeemed through justice, and through power is placed above the angel whom he worshipped as God. Whence

⁴³⁴⁹ i.e. in human nature.

favorable circumstances (*prosperę res*) are still (*adhuc*) called ‘second things’, since eternal power is attained through justice.

DISC. Is there free choice in infants?

MAG. Free choice is in them naturally, but as fire is lies hidden in flint, it is in no way active (*nichil operatur*) in them.

DISC. Why are all children not therefore saved after the redemption, [since] free choice is as yet in no way actually at work in them?

MAG. This proceeds from the nature of justice, which owed nothing to man apart from punishment.

DISC. Why are many saved, in whom likewise (*ęque*) free choice is in no way actually at work?

WHY ALL INFANTS ARE NOT SAVED.

MAG. Now this proceeds from grace, which also bestows its gifts upon the unworthy. Imagine a city in which the populace had offended the king, and the king justly punished some of them, [but] others he mercifully set free. In the same way, when the whole world had offended God, he inflicted punishment upon some through justice, but he pardoned some through mercy.

DISC. Whence is it that many who are now masters of their free choice are saved, and most (*plurimi*) are not saved?

MAG. It is for the same reason that has just been given. Those who are saved are saved by grace, free choice, the gift of God, and the merit that belongs peculiarly to man (*ex proprio hominis merito*).

THAT ALL ARE SAVED BY GRACE.

For it is by grace that, when they are led by God, they will the good, by free choice that they do not forsake the good. Perseverance in this good is ascribed to the gift of God and to human merit, for which he will also be given the gift of life. For “he that shall persevere to the end, he shall be saved” (Matt 24: 13).

DISC. Whence is it that some who have been long rooted in evil deeds are saved in the end?

MAG. From grace and free choice: for the good will is freely and divinely inspired in those who have been led by grace, [and] they cooperate with the grace offered [them] by free choice, and they are saved on account of this merit. These two things (*viz.* divine inspiration and cooperation) are simultaneous, as the soul and the body. Choice is vivified by grace, as the body is vivified by the soul); choice cooperates with grace, as the body cooperates with the soul. Grace is capable of salvation in its own right (*per se*) without free choice; free choice without grace is powerless to do good. Merit is therefore imputed to free choice through the work of grace (*per gratiam*), perseverance in which

crowned with the prize. It is grace that so many people (*perplures*) go about insatiably from their childhood even unto their old age in malice, and in the very moment that they depart this life are straightway snatched away through penitence from the very jaws of the devil and led to the pleasantness of a fostering paradise.

DISC. And why are others not saved?

MAG. It is not unknown that this is from justice and free choice: from justice, since they are not weakened with respect to good by grace, but are [rather] permitted to be hardened in malice. Even though the fount of grace may flow unto them very often and bestow penitence upon them for an hour (*ad horam*), they straightway reject it and return like dogs to their vomit (Prov 26:11 and 2 Pet 2:22). But [also] from free choice, since they do not will to receive the justice offered [them], and rather delight in iniquity. For those spoken of above, the Word of God is the cause of salvation and the road to life; but to these men it is the cause of death and the witness to their destruction.

THAT NO ONE PREDESTINED SHALL PERISH.

The former are “vessels of mercy” (Rom 9: 22), prepared “unto honor” (2 Tim 2: 21); the latter are “vessels of wrath” (Rom 9: 22), prepared “unto dishonor” (2 Tim 2: 20). No one from among the former will be able to perish, no one of the latter will be saved. For the former, a kingdom was prepared from the creation of the world (Mt 25: 34b); for the latter, a furnace of fire (Mt 13: 42 and 50) with the devil and his angels (Mt 25: 41b).

THAT MANY IN THE CLOISTER SHALL PERISH.

It is on account of this difference that it comes to pass that most of those [who live] in monasteries go through life under great strictness, [and] very many who live in the wilderness lead a solitary life with the greatest abstinence, [but] at the last they descend to the lowest depths of the abyss.

DISC. This is to be wondered at with all amazement!

MAG. Learn the causes of the individual cases. Those who die in monasteries trust in their own judgment, despise the things admonished by the prelates, and oppose [them] in disobedience.

ON THE MONKS.

But those who perish in the wilderness live without discernment, follow as holy what they choose for themselves, [and] despising the examples of the fathers they reject them. It will be written of them: “There are ways which seem just to men, whose end leads to destruction” (Prov 14: 12).

DISC. Why are some of those who are equal in the same fault saved, [but] some damned?

THAT SOME OF THOSE WHO ARE EQUAL IN EVIL ARE SAVED THROUGH GRACE
[WHILE] OTHERS ARE DAMNED THROUGH JUSTICE.

MAG. Here is proclaimed the incomprehensible justice of God, who is declared “terrible in his counsels over the sons of men” (Ps 65: 5), who chooses whom he will through his mercy and reprobates whom he will through his justice, to whom no one is able to say

“why dost thou so” (cf. Job 9: 12), “whose ways are altogether mercy and truth” (cf. Ps 24: 10a).

DISC. Is salvation attributed more to grace or to free choice?

THAT NO ONE IS SAVED WITHOUT GRACE.

MAG. The whole of salvation is attributed to the grace of God, to whom merits are also ascribed, since no one is able to come to the Son—who is life eternal—except the Father draw him by grace—that is, by the Holy Spirit (cf. Jn 6: 44) For, without him we can do nothing (Jn 15 :5). For “it is God who worketh in us, both to will and to be able, according to his good will” (Phil 2: 13).

DISC. If it is God who works, what reward is allotted to man?

THAT GOD WORKS THROUGH THE GOOD.

MAG. God works and the elect cooperate. God works by leading the elect to will by his grace, and works in them ‘to-be-able’ (*posse*) by his follow-up; they cooperate by free choice, by consenting through a good will. This good will in them is rewarded, as it is written: “we have received grace for grace” (Jn 1: 16). We receive grace when God leads us so that we might will, and when he follows up that we might be able to accomplish (*possimus*). He will give us another grace for this grace when he rewards us in glory.

ON THE LABOR OF THE PREDESTINED.

DISC. Some are wont to say that the predestined are saved necessarily. But if this is so, why do they work at anything? Or why [should anyone] preach to the gentiles in order

that they might be converted? Or why is the word of admonition daily administered to the people by priests, so that they might advance in the service of God that is preached?

MAG. The predestination of God certainly neither saves nor damns anyone violently. But when once they have been predestined to the kingdom of God for [their] merits, then assuredly they are saved of necessity, since the glory set before them is rewarded [to them] for their merits by justice. But because no one presumes that he is predestined—since not even Paul, the chosen vessel (cf. Acts 9: 15), presumed this of himself—it is necessary that they apply themselves with their whole effort to the labor by which they might obtain predestination. For predestination is indeed attained through labor, as it is said in the sacred authority: “through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God” (Acts 14:21). Predestination is therefore given to infants through the sharpness of death, to young men through the discipline of work, to those doing penance *in extremis* through the trial of the torment of purgatory.

CONCERNING THE GENTILES.

But we preach to the gentiles because the predestined “standing idly” outside (*foris*) “in the marketplace” (Mt 20: 3) are summoned to labor in the Lord’s vineyard. A denarius is also given to them as a reward, because predestined glory will be given to those who will be found laboring even unto the end. It also often happens that some of the reprobate enter into the vineyard with them, but in the beginning of the labor they leave off from the work, and either leave the vineyard blaspheming, or, if they remain in the vineyard, impede those who labor. It is said of these: “they went out from us, but they were not of us” (1 Jn 2: 19a). And likewise: “they were multiplied above the

number” (Ps 39: 6b)—that is, [above the number] of those predestined to life. In fact there have been many who have clung fast to Peter’s net by faith, but who leapt back into the waves of vices when the net broke because they were not foreknown in the number of the elect (cf. Lk 5: 4-7).

CONCERNING THE FAITHFUL.

But when the Christian people (*populus fidelium*) becomes worn out in the labor of its pious work, it is supported by the word of admonition lest it give up, just as a sick man, who, hastening to church but falling aside in the way, is supported by another so that he might accomplish the journey. For the Word of God is the seed of the soul (cf. Lk 8: 11), but the field is human hearts. When this seed is scattered by God’s husbandmen it is the grace of God. But if it is received by the husbandry (cf. 1 Cor 3: 9), it is free choice. If it puts forth the bud of good works, when once it has been received by faith, it will be God’s harvest in predestined glory.

ON THE FALL OF THE ANGEL OR MAN.

DISC. Although clear reasoning has set all these things forth through (*de*) the light of truth, it is necessary that they should very much please all the studious in every respect. Furthermore, it disturbs me a great deal that the angelic nature was able to fall if it was created for beatitude. For it seems that some force impelled it, that it fell irreparably in this way. I am no less disturbed about the fall of man—[namely,] that he was able to fall from such great glory into such great misery, if no necessity impelled him. Whence I ask that you to pour forth your heart and utter the hidden things of God.

ON THE CITY OF GOD.

MAG. Listen diligently with the ear of your heart to the things that have been revealed, so that I might briefly unfold to you all the things that are hidden.

Before God created the world, he foreknew the fall of both the angel and man. He allowed to happen because (*ideo . . . quia*) He judged that good would be made manifest by evil. He also foreknew who and how many would remain with him, who and how many would fall away from him, [and] who and how many would return to him. For had He not known these things, He would not have been prescient of future things. And if the number of the elect were not certain, then the kingdom of God would not rest upon an ordered disposition, but upon a chance event, [and] a multitude of uncertain number would flock to it. But since the number of our hairs is certain in the sight of God (Mt 10: 30; Lk 22: 7), much more is the number of the elect fixed beforehand (*praefixus*) in his sight. As many, therefore, as were written beforehand (*praescripti*) by God among this number, were chosen (*electi*) for beatitude before the creation of the world. Not one of these will perish, but each one will hasten to his predestined glory with his whole effort. But those who are multiplied above this number are not numbered among Christ's Sheep. And since this number was diminished by the falling angels, it was restored by men who were being born. And for that reason, just as we begin to count from one, so this number began from one man. And just as number grows to perfection, so the human race grows up to the completion (*perfectionem*) of the elect. This sacred number, therefore, which is known to God alone, and fixed beforehand by him with eternal certitude, is, as it were, the boundary (*ambitus*) of a certain city, within which it is necessary that all those who are foreknown from eternity as citizens of this city should be contained. Moreover, the law of the city is inviolable justice, instituted by the most just king. But those who

preserve this [justice] intact are called ‘the just,’ and these alone are numbered among [its] citizens. The special prerogative of this holy city is freedom, its rule beatitude. All the inhabitants of this city, therefore, are just, free, and blessed. And since the angel or man were free, they did not want to keep the law of this city, and for this reason were not able to be numbered amongst its citizens. But they aspired to rule it, when both desired to be in it as God. Therefore, no force, no necessity, expelled them from this city, but the fixed law of justice prohibited violators of the law from being citizens in it.

DISC. Oh! into how high a watchtower you have led me, in which I clearly see many things! But I ask for those things to be opened that are still closed. If man falls through free choice, why does he not rise again through free choice?

MAG. Man is of himself able to send himself from the high mountain into the deep pit, but he is not able to return unless he is helped by another. Thus he is certainly able to forsake justice through free choice, but he is not able to regain it by himself, but through grace alone. “For by whom a man is overcome, of the same also he is the slave” (2 Pet 2: 19). For one who is made subject voluntarily to lust or whatsoever other vice, is handed over straightway to the service of the demon who presides over that vice. He is not even able by free choice to wrest himself from the yoke of his lordship, to whose dominion he willed to subject himself freely, except the grace of God lead him, so that he might desire the good which he rejected, and follow him, so that he might have the strength to fulfill it.

DISC. Since the will of man was made free, whence is it so prone to evil, and so slow to good?

MAG. Every rational will naturally desires the highest good. But when it is deceived by error, it slips into what is false, which is evil. For everyone wills to be blessed, and for that reason each desires as much as possible (*quam maxime*) that in which he hopes he will become blessed. But since the highest good, or beatitude, consists in God alone, anyone who desires something placed below God as the highest good, errs. Moreover, the cause of this error is this: God made man just and blessed, without any need, in a sufficiency of all goods, and gave him free will for justice and beatitude, so that by the will for justice he might rule his subdued body, [and] by the will for beatitude he might obey God. Therefore, he had justice in order to honor God, but beatitude for his own benefit. And had he honored God by preserving justice intact, he would have reached the highest beatitude of the angels. But since he forsook justice, he lost beatitude, but [still] retained the will for beatitude. Therefore, since he burns with a desire for benefits (*commoda*), but is not able to have the benefits suitable to rational nature that he has lost, he turns himself to false things, to things which are fit (*commoda*) for beasts, and to bestial appetites. And since he was made like irrational animals, he therefore copulates through concupiscence, like beasts, gives birth in sorrow, nourishes infants with milk, as a beast her whelps, and desires only advantages (*commoda*) of the body.

DISC. Why are the beasts not damned for these things?

WHY THE BEASTS DO NOT SIN.

MAG. Appetites are not sin in brute beasts, but are natural, but in men they are irrational. For indeed other animals are driven by necessity, [while] man is ruled by freedom. Whence it is written: Whoever does this or that, let him be killed—as if to say, whoever does what a man ought not to do, let him be removed from among men (i.e. killed).

DISC. Why is it that some advance with an immense effort so that they live well, and they are profited nothing? Or, after a great advance, they fall away from [their] purpose? Does some hidden force draw them back, lest they should be able to fulfill the work they have begun?

THAT EVERY SIN IS COMMITTED BY THE WILL ALONE.

MAG. No necessity draws them back, but the will alone diverts them from their purpose (*eos auertit*), when they will what temptation suggests rather than what reason convinces them of (*persuadet ratio*). Some also trust choice rather than grace and ascribe all things to their own merit: therefore, when grace has deserted them, they justly lose their labor.

DISC. Why did God make human choice so mutable?

MAG. For his great advantage. For one who can be converted to evil can likewise be converted to the good. If man, who once fell, were not mutable, he would never be able to be converted to the good.

DISC. Why did God not make him such that he would be immutable in good?

MAG. Then he would have been equal to God. For this belongs to God alone.

DISC. If everyone works by free choice, how does God work all in all?

MAG. All good things that are done—either in heaven, or in earth, or in every creature—God alone, who alone is good (cf. Mt 19: 17 and parallels), works through the elect—either angels or humans—when they cooperate by consenting through free choice.

CONCERNING GOD’S WORK THROUGH THE ELECT.

God works through the elect in the same way as he converted the Gentiles through the Apostles; he [works] by inspiring interiorly and giving the increase, [while] they cooperate through an outward ministry, by planting and watering (cf. 1 Cor 3: 4-9). But if the inimical elect do something, as David did against Uriah (cf. 2 Sam 11: 2-12: 25), God justly permits it to happen, because he nevertheless converts it unto his own praise, when they have become more humble after [their] fall and give more abundant thanks to the One by whom “all things”—even sins!—“work together for good” (cf. Rom 8: 28).

Therefore all things are “from him and through him” (Rom 11: 36).

CONCERNING GOD’S WORK THROUGH THE REPROBATE.

God also works through the reprobate, when he exercises his justice through them, just as he destroyed Jerusalem through the Chaldeans (Jer 30: 24). Behold, God and the Chaldeans worked one and the same work in a different way, and yet the former thereafter is lauded, and the latter damned, because what he did was on account of justice,

[while] what they did was because of cruelty. Similarly, God betrayed his Son through Judas and redeemed the world from death. Behold, God and Judas worked one work with a different intention (*diuersa mente*). But the whole world thereafter venerates God, but detests Judas, because what God did because of his friendship with the human race Judas did on account of avarice.

CONCERNING GOD’S WORK THROUGH THE DEVIL.

I Boldly assert that God even works through the devil, when he determines that through him justice will be executed upon the reprobate. But what God does through his most just equity, the devil does through most wicked cruelty. Yet he is not able to vent his rage upon them more than is permitted. For this reason God is worthily praised, but for the same work the devil is culpably damned. Moreover, God permits all the things that the reprobate do through free choice against his purposes to happen, but [these acts] are turned to his glory, when he justly subjects [the reprobate] to punishments. Therefore God works all things, by either promoting or permitting [them]. And because “all things are of him” (Rom 11: 36)—as we read in the Book of Wisdom, “good things and evil are from God” (Sir 11: 14)—all things are good and there is nothing evil, except what is bitter to those who suffer something adverse is called ‘evil.’ And therefore all things are to the praise and glory of God, who “hath mercy upon whom he will” by lavishing grace upon them, and “hardeneth whom he will” by leaving them in malice (cf. Rom 9: 18).

DISC. Never have these things been heard in the world!

ON THE SLOTHFUL.

MAG. On the contrary, they are heard daily in the Scriptures, but the slothful and negligent pay no attention to them, and therefore they are not understood. But when these things have been heard by the learned in disputation, they are astonished, as though roused from sleep. They laugh, they doubt that they are true, because they imagine that they have nowhere been written.

ON THE STUDIOUS.

But they are read, attended to, discussed, understood, and stored up in the memory by the studious. For when Christ the Bridegroom was departing [at his Ascension], he left behind him the keys of knowledge (cf. Lk 11: 52) for his Bride, the Church, who daily opens the secret things of God to her sons who are knocking, unlocking [them] by means of the intellect; but holy things she hides away (*claudit*) from dogs, and pearls from swine, lest they be defiled (cf. Mt 7: 6).⁴³⁵⁰

DISC. You conclude by inference all the things you have proposed, basing yourself on testimonies so strong, that anyone who [in the future] will stubbornly presume to censure these things will be shown to wander more aimlessly than a blind man. But I ask that you explain whether favorable and adverse things happen through free choice.

⁴³⁵⁰ This rather dense sentence contains allusions that are difficult to render in English, but which would have been clearly apparent to the medieval reader. Honorius weaves a single sentence from the language of Matthew 7: 6-8 and the Great Advent Antiphon ‘*O Clavis David*,’ taking advantage of the common occurrence of the verb ‘open’ (*aperire*) in both texts. The full texts read as follows: “Give not that which is holy to dogs; neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest perhaps they trample them under their feet, and turning upon you, they tear you. Ask, and it shall be given you: seek, and you shall find: knock, and it shall be opened (*aperietur*) to you. For every one that asketh, receiveth: and he that seeketh, findeth: and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened” (Mt 7: 6-8); “O Key of David and Sceptre of the House of Israel! Who openest (*aperis*) and no man shutteth; Who shuttest and no man openeth (*aperit*); come and bring forth from his prison-house the captive sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death” (*O Clavis David*). The latter is itself composed of from at least three Scriptural sources – Isaiah 22: 22 and 42: 7 and Revelation 3: 7.

MAG. On the contrary, through the grace and justice of God. Indeed, the grace of God provides favorable things, but justice dispenses adverse things. But the just are stirred up by favorable things towards unending goods, while the unjust are rewarded by favorable things like the rich man [in the Gospel] (Cf. Luke 16: 25). Adverse things, on the other hand, touch the elect for three reasons: in the first place, so that some might be corrected from sins through adversity (*per aduersa*), as was David; secondly, so that some, although tempted, might rather be crowned, like Job; thirdly, so that some might be drawn back from the delight of sin, like Paul was. But they strike the reprobate for two reasons: in the first place, so that the elect might be corrected through their just misfortunes, as we read in the destruction of Korah (Num 16: 32); secondly, so that they might be restrained from malice, lest they should do as much harm as they wished, as it is written of Antiochus and Herod (cf. 1Macc 6: 12-16 and Mt 2: 19).

DISC. You have dug in the wall and behold a door has appeared (cf. Ezek 8: 8)! Lead me further inside (*interius*) and show what things lie within (*intus*)!

CONCERNING PHARAOH.

Since the Scripture says that Pharaoh was hardened by God—or rather, that he was set up to this purpose, that through him the name of God might be declared throughout all the earth (cf. Rom 9: 17 and Ex 9: 16)—who does not see that he afflicted the people by a compelling necessity, since he was set up to this purpose, and was overwhelmed, as it were, by a certain fate that was influencing him?

MAG. Observe three things: the afflicted people, Pharaoh who is afflicting them, and God who is freeing them. God tries the elect by tempting them through the reprobate in the furnace of tribulation, like golden vessels, but the damned do not themselves intend that their vexation should be profitable to the salvation of those whom they afflict only out of the spite of cruelty.

Furthermore, God justly permitted the devil, who freely forsook justice, to be hardened in injustice, like a blacksmith's anvil, and set him up as a workman for purifying the vessels of mercy. This workman makes all the impious his instruments, of whom Pharaoh was one. So long as he preferred to serve the devil by free choice, God hardened him, when he did not free him from the hardness of malice.

And since it was necessary for the people of God to be tried by affliction and to be proven by adversity, God prepared Pharaoh for this specific purpose—that is, to try the people—when he offered himself through free choice as, so to speak, one of the devil's hammers, in order to beat God's vessels. And thus Pharaoh unknowingly served the just – as a slave serving sons – when he instructed them, separating from the vessels of wrath with scourges. The devil and the impious indeed will evil on their own (*per se*), but not as much as they want, but they are able to do as much as they are permitted. And since they are permitted by God to have power over the elect, they are said to have been set up for this specific purpose. Moreover, the name of God was made known to everyone through Pharaoh, when he justly perished with all his people, and God delivered those who had been oppressed by him with signs and portents, like vessels from a furnace when they have been tried by the fire.

CONCERNING JUDAS.

DISC. It is also written of Judas: “that the Scripture may be fulfilled: He that eateth bread with me shall lift up his heel against me” (Jn 13: 18). And again: “none of them whom thou gavest me is lost, but the son of perdition: that the scripture may be fulfilled” (Jn 17: 12). And since, as the Lord Himself was [here] attesting, it was necessary that the Scripture be fulfilled, who except one who is altogether blind would not see that Judas betrayed the Lord, impelled by some force of necessity, especially as the Lord came to suffer, and it was necessary that he be betrayed by someone?

MAG. As concerns himself, the Lord willed to suffer, not by necessity, but by his most free will, which was impassible nature; but this was very necessary for us, whom the necessity of death drove to destruction. No necessity, but a malicious will, incited Judas to betrayal, when, along with the Jews, he preferred to hate the Lord, rather than to love him along with the apostles. Similarly, the Jews killed Him, compelled by no necessity, but impelled by the worst sort of will, when they freely hated Him, whom they deplored because He shone with signal virtues. But since the Holy Spirit, to whom all future things are present, foreknew that they wished to do such things, He predicted [it] by the prophets in the Scriptures, just precisely (*sicuti . . . totum*) as it later happened. Yet the Scripture inferred no necessity of willing or doing upon them; just as if I should to foreknow a war, and should predict that it was going to happen, my words would not make the war necessary, but would foreshow the voluntary.

DISC. What then? Who will persuade me that it was not necessary for Christ to be crucified by the Jews, who came to be killed by them? Surely he would not have done this had they not been bound to do it?

MAG. And do you believe that the Jews alone killed Christ?

DISC. What else?

MAG. All of the wicked, from the beginning even unto the end of the world, have consented in the murder of Christ. For as many as have hated justice and truth have persecuted the just on account of justice and truth, which is Christ, and all are found guilty of the Lord's death. Indeed, they should have wished, if they were able, to destroy all the just, so that they might be untroubled in fulfilling their own desires without contradiction. Therefore, if those men had not done it, men like them would have accomplished it.

DISC. Now that I have been brought within by you, I see many magnificent things, but I grieve that there are still more things here that are sealed up (*sigillata*) that I am unable to understand. I therefore beseech you to open for me these things that are closed with the key of knowledge committed to you, and cause me to contemplate them when once you have unwrapped these veils.

MAG. May the Lord, who promises prosperity to one who knocks very diligently (cf. Mt 7: 7-8 and Lk 11: 5-10), open to you, for my sake, the concealed riches of the secret places (cf. Isa 45: 3).

DISC. But what reason do we give for God allowing those whom he has predestined to reign with him forever to be in error for a long while?

CONCERNING THE ERROR OF THE ELECT.

MAG. By bearing with them in error for a long time, as he did with Paul, God dispenses (*praerogat*) his patient longsuffering; but in recalling them suddenly to penitence, as likewise with Paul and Mary, he demonstrates the riches of his mercy. For these he came into the world, for these he also underwent death.

And although he died for sinners, his death did not benefit Annas and Caiaphas, Herod and Pilate, but greatly injured them, not only because they had conspired in the death of the Lord, but because they had freely (*gratis*) hated the good (Jn 15: 25 and Ps 34: 19b), and had neglected the remedy of penitence.

For the rest, a great many of the elect consented, albeit unknowingly, in the murder of Christ, for whom he prayed on the cross: “Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do” (Lk 23: 34). And afterwards, believing, they drank the blood which before they poured out in violent rage.

DISC. Since men’s evil deeds do not harm God in the least, and [since] their good deeds confer nothing [upon him], why does he separate them after death and not put them in one place in equal degree and in the same manner?

MAG. It is contrary to the nature of justice that the just should obtain a place with the unjust. Wherefore, just as a painter variegates his work with colors, so God brilliantly beautifies his kingdom by means of discrete orders.

For what would be the beauty of a picture, if the whole panel were covered with one color? It could not even be called a picture! As it is, he paints different colors in different places and adorns the whole picture by varying them in manifold ways, and thus he renders his whole work delightful to look at. In the same way an engraver of stones engraves different gems in different places and thus renders his work of greater value.

And to touch upon the single instances in summary fashion (*summatim*), and as it were pluck some flowers thence for a little crown:

CONCERNING THE STARS.

What pray would be the beauty, if all the stars in heaven were equal? But now the beauty is more remarkable, when one is greater than another, one is more clearly perceived than another.

CONCERNING THE BIRDS.

What beauty would there be in the air also, if equality were to make all the birds alike, of one genus and of one color. But now, what variety there is among them, in genus, in color, in fierceness, in meekness?

CONCERNING THE FISHES.

And indeed, what beauty could there be in the sea if there were but one genus of fish. Oh! how beautiful it is now to see different genera of fish in it, and of animals and

seabirds, and [to see] that some greatly differ from others with respect to form, some with respect to size!

CONCERNING THE BEASTS.

Again, what beauty would there be upon the earth if there were but one genus of beasts, one of trees, one of stones, one of plants, one color of flowers? Oh! how wonderful is the beauty now contemplated among beasts, among reptiles, among serpents! They furnish greater delight to those who gaze upon them, since they greatly differ among themselves, with different genera, different colors, different natures.

CONCERNING THE TREES.

How great is the diversity among trees and in their foliage and blossoms?

CONCERNING STONES.

How glorious is the difference among stones and [the difference] in their colors?

CONCERNING PLANTS AND FLOWERS.

How marvelous is the variety among plants and their flowers! How delightful and how various is the beauty in [their] colors! This diversity of single instances furnishes greater beauty and admiration to those contemplating it than if there were but one genus.

Let us pass from the smaller to the greater.

CONCERNING HUMAN BEINGS.

What beauty would there be in a man, if all his members were one? As it is it is much more beautiful that there are different members – that there is vision, hearing, smelling, taste; that there are hands and feet, and other members –than if the whole body were comprised of one member only. Indeed what beauty would there be in the human race if

all men were equal? What beauty would there be among the clergy if all were prelates, or among the people if all were kings?

CONCERNING PRELATES AND OTHERS.

Oh how glorious is the variety among the clergy, when some are prelates, some priests of an inferior status, some placed in other orders (*gradus*), but among the people, some are kings, some princes, some statesmen, some soldiers, some farmers!

CONCERNING THE DIVERSITY OF THINGS.

How wonderful a variety there is, seeing there are different races, different nations, different tongues, different ranks, different dignities, different cities, different laws, different rights, different assemblies.

CONCERNING WOMEN.

How sweet and delightful again is the diversity among women, so that one excels another in her birth, this one excels that one in beauty, one excels another in dignity, one excels another in affability.

CONCERNING AGES.

O how the tenderness of infants delights the mind, the strength of young men, the dignity of old men, and in all these that there is a great difference both of forms and of manners.

CONCERNING VESSELS.

But the splendor in the house of every master is also increased by the fact that there are different vessels, some (as for instance, those made of gold and silver) to honor, but some (as those made of iron and wood) to dishonor (cf. 2 Tim 2: 20). Although these are not all in one place or equal, yet all are necessary in the house. All these force upon the one

contemplating God's Republic (*in dei re publica*) the astonishing delights of a sort of picture.

CONCERNING THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

In a word, God disposed all things in His kingdom (which is, heaven, earth, hell, and all things united to or subjected to these) as it pleased him and as was fitting. For the angels who were clinging to Him through love He placed together in the palace of heaven—namely, as friends; the demons who were falling away from Him through pride, He handed over to the prison of hell, as enemies; men who are transgressing His commandments He has appointed for exile in the world, as contemptuous slaves; those who have been reconciled [to Him] through His Son, He has placed in the pastures of paradise; those who do not wish to be reconciled He consigned to the lower lake to be tortured.

CONCERNING THE PRAISE OF GOD.

And although the foolish do not understand, the wise are not unaware that equal praise is referred to God by every creature. For just as He is magnified by the excellence of the angels, in the same way is He glorified by the existence of men or animals. And just as He is praised from the heaven, in that it is illumined by the sun, the moon, and the stars, in like manner is He honored from the earth, inasmuch as it is adorned by flowers, fruits, and groves. Thus the praise of justice mounts up to Him from hell, when just judgement is exercised in it upon the reprobate.

CONCERNING THE PALACE AND GLORY OF GOD.

But how sweet and glorious is thought to be the diversity in the very palace of God, which we call the kingdom of heaven, when the angels are said to have one glory,

archangels another, those orders and those orders another and another, patriarchs and prophets another, apostles another, martyrs another, confessors another, virgins another, widows another, married women another, and other orders another. All these different things the ever-the-same and unchanging wisdom of God instituted from eternity with such changeable beauty and astonishing wonder.

DISC. I give thanks to God that I see clearly ornaments of such incredible beauty in the house into which you have led me. You have decently opened the things that were shut, and gracefully sealed up the veils once more. But since God ordered these things in this way from eternity in such a marvelous order and in such an orderly fashion, why will there still be a last judgment?

CONCERNING THE LAST JUDGMENT.

MAG. The nature of justice demands that judgment be carried out, so that those who now hide themselves in hypocrisy might appear wicked, and that those who now glory publicly in their evil deeds might then justly undergo the punishments they deserve, and that those who disdain the laws, despise justice, oppress the poor and the just, and are secure through their power, abound in robberies, rejoice in the injury of others, insult the just, tread the words of God underfoot, are praised for such things as these and things similar to these, [and] are honored by all men [only] on account of terror—[so that] these, I say, might then be separated from the just [who have been] oppressed here, and from [their] joy, and so that they might be united in a just punishment. On the other hand, [judgment must occur so that] the just who are now unjustly oppressed might be raised

up, and that those who suffer want, even though they are living good lives, might be rewarded, and that those who are reproached for justice' sake might be honored.

CONCERNING THE COLORS IN GOD'S PICTURE.

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

CONCERNING ORDERS.

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

DISC. Through your description I finally see all the beauty of the Lord's house; but now I long to see the buildings of the city of Babylon as well. Lead me, therefore, through this eastern gate, and explain why man was placed in paradise when he was not to remain there.

CONCERNING THE SEVEN SEALS.

MAG. The mysteries of the adulterous city must be unfolded by him who opened the seven seals of the book by assuming flesh of the Virgin by the Holy Spirit, being born, suffering the death of the cross, resting in the sepulchre, descending into hell, being resurrected from the dead, [and] by ascending into heaven. I am therefore setting you upon this mountain, and I will show you all the dwelling places of the profligate city.

CONCERNING ADAM.

MAG. The first man was created for beatitude, [and] was placed in paradise—that is, in a place of delight. But since he did not will to keep the Lord's commandment, the despiser justly underwent exile in the world. Had he never tasted the delights of paradise, but broken the commandment he had received, [simply] having been placed in this world, he would perhaps never have done penance, and would thus have been an exile forever. But as soon as he recalled to his memory (*ad memoriam reuocat*) the sweetness of paradise that he had once experienced, but quickly lost in exile, he punished himself with a burdensome penance, on which account he merited to return. Then from his loins (*cuius utero*), as from a sort of castle, came forth a twofold army—namely, of the elect and of the reprobate; and there entered a fierce struggle of warlike discord. In this contest they contend with great might from both sides, and indeed when the victors have been crowned they repair triumphant to the stars. The vanquished, however, descend confounded to the very depths of the abyss. But stand here and consider both pathways.

ON THE WAY OF THE JUST.

Someone walks through the way of humility from infancy and always advances toward the better, even into old age. He esteems all men better than himself (cf. Phil 2: 3), but he

reckons himself inferior to all. He praises everyone else's acts, he condemns his own. Another lays hold of the narrow way of chastity, he guards all his senses by keeping strict custody, and yet he reckons all others to be saints, but judges himself as unclean. Another treads the mountain path of patience, he patiently tolerates all harsh and bitter things for Christ, he thinks others gentle, he thinks himself severe. Another walks through the way of abstinence, he is softened by great punishment of the flesh, and yet he esteems others by honoring them as stricter in abstinence, [while] he condemns himself as gluttonous. Another, walking through the broad way of charity, not only loves his friends in God, but also loves his enemies on account of God. When he has received abuse he not only lightens the punishment for one who asks for mercy, but also hastens to be reconciled with him. These and the like are the pathways of the citizens of Jerusalem, by which they hasten from exile toward everlasting dwellings (cf. Lk 16: 9).

Turn yourself to the citizens of Babylon and see the sort of broad ways through which they go.

ON THE BROAD PLACES OF THE REPROBATE.

One starts with lust from his earliest age and persists in it insatiably into his old age. He never thinks about what he has already done, but he considers what he can still do. Another subjects himself to gluttony and drunkenness from boyhood and pursues these things with delight even into his old age. Another hastens with all his effort to rape, another continually applies himself to robbery, another feeds upon cruelty, another is not satisfied with profit. This one consumes away with jealousy, but this one is soiled with uncleanness. This one despises everyone because he is lifted up with pride; this one,

being full of hatred, afflicts everyone else with lies and slanders. Such and such are the broad ways of the reprobate, by which they irrevocably hasten to the depths of hell.

CONCERNING THE REPROBATES' CONFLICT AGAINST THE JUST.

Behold also now the lines of battle drawn up for war in different ways. The reprobate abhor the words and sayings of the just, they detest their fellowship, they refuse every one of their counsels—it is burdensome for them even to see them! Often they skillfully surround them; more often they fraudulently or even violently spoil their goods; most often they afflict them with scourging or other torments, or even slay them by cutting off their members or by various tortures (cf. Heb 11: 36-8).

CONCERNING THE CONTEST OF THE JUST.

The just, on the other hand, suffer the conduct of the reprobate as a great weight, they lament their miserable conversation, they shun their contagion as much as they are able; they choose to be freed quickly from living with them, they supplicate God for their salvation, they minister to them the necessities that they can.

ON THE HARMONY OF THE GOOD AND EVIL.

Consider something further. All the elect are united in the good and they love in others the good that they are not able to do themselves. But the reprobate are all united in evil, they are always at variance in the good. And if a strong word of rebuke or admonition is offered to one of them by one of the just, they all resist, they all equally contradict him; and even those who don't bother to do anything (*qui non faciunt*)—all of them, even those who have not known him—reckon him worthy of hate, disparage him with lies, and

wound him with injuries, [and all] because they are vexed on account of their hatred in others of the good things that they do not wish to do [themselves].

CONCERNING THE BATTLE ARRAY OF BOTH PEOPLES.

Watch attentively and you will see that in this whole conflict Cain is drawn up in battle against Abel, Ham against Shem, that Ishmael is armed against Isaac, that Esau fights against Jacob, that Saul opposes David, that Judas attacks the Lord, while Simon Magus attacks Peter.

ON RUNNING IN THE RACE.

See also how often in this contest the reprobate decide to run for the prize along with the elect (cf. 1 Cor 9: 24), and they certainly do run together [with the just] (*concurrunt*) for awhile, but they break off along the way, exhausted from their toil, and foully return like dogs to their vomit (cf. Prov 26: 11 and 2 Pet 2: 22a). Come here to the summit of the mountain, whence you can see all the buildings of the condemned city.

CONCERNING THE PRINCES.

Look upon the princes and the judges. Behold the throne of the beast is set among them. At every moment they are intent upon evil, insatiably employed in affairs of iniquity; they not only perform disgraceful acts, but they instruct others to do them. They sell sacred things, they purchase things that are wicked. They labor with all their strength lest they should go alone to Tartarus.

ON THE CLERGY.

Turn to the clergy and you will see the tabernacle of the beast [pitched] among them. They neglect the service of God, they are devoted to earthly gains, they pollute the priesthood with uncleanness, they seduce the people with deceit. They deny God through

evil works, they renounce all the Scriptures that lead to salvation (2 Tim 3: 15-7). They scatter themselves as traps for the people and cause their downfall; themselves blind, they lead this blind people to destruction.

ON THE MONKS.

Gaze also upon the assemblies of the monks and you will see the tabernacles of the beast among them. Scoffing at God through their feigned profession, they provoke his wrath, they tread the Rule (*norma regularis*)⁴³⁵¹ underfoot when it comes to life and morals. They deceive the world through the habit; themselves deceived, they deceive many who are [also] deceived. They are implicated in secular affairs; they are idle in the service of God. A good number of them are given over to gluttony and seductive charms, [while] some putrefy in the squalors of uncleanness.

ON THE NUNS.

Look also upon the habitations of the nuns and you will see in them a marriage bed prepared for the beast. These women learnt uncleanness from a tender age, they unite many confederates to themselves to the increase of their own damnation. They hasten to cover themselves with the veil, by which they rather seek to slacken the reigns of lust. They are most wickedly prostituted by all fornicators, and, like insatiable Charybdis, they are never filled enough with the dung of uncleanness. They ensnare the souls of young men and they rejoice if they deceive more. And she who outdoes the others in sin demands the palm of victory.

CONCERNING THE PEOPLE.

⁴³⁵¹ Gregory the Great (*Epistula 5*, PL 77, col. 910A) appears to use this phrase to refer to a monastic rule (perhaps the Rule of St Benedict): *Et iuxta normam regularem debent in suo habitu per triennium probari, et tunc monachicum habitum deo auctore suscipere.*

Turn to the common people that remains and you will find in it the likeness of the beast. They despise priests, they scorn to hear anything from God. They spend their entire life in vanity and ostentation and they are reprobate with regard to every good work.

CONCERNING THE MULTITUDE.

The ignorant multitude also possesses the idol of the beast. They have not known the true God, they are completely devoted to the god which is their belly (cf. Phil 3: 19). They are wasted away through various desires of the flesh, and they lead a bestial life in every respect.

CONCERNING THE WOMEN.

Come here to the slopes of this valley and you will see the monstrous assembly of women. Among these the beast has placed all his pomps and monstrosities and he has drawn them up to bear his arms. You see how that one ensnares young men through lust, that one kills many with poison, this one betrays the life of a man for gold, this one kills her own young, this one provokes strife, another instigates wars, that one drives men mad with sorcery, but no one satisfies her with money or lust, this one beguiles many by her laughter, that one seduces very many with her tears. These women are the ramparts of this city and the darts of the beast!

DISC. O God, how many strange monsters I see!

ON THE DESTRUCTION OF THE RAMPARTS OF BABYLON.

MAG. You have seen the walls of the adulterous city; it is also necessary to look upon the destruction of each one of them. Now since the citizens of Babylon are more in number, they always bring war upon the citizens of Jerusalem, because they are placed

with them in exile. But presently God, the king of the heavenly Jerusalem, will come with a host of angels and utterly overthrow this ruined city; and freeing his elect from there, he will bring them with himself into his celestial palace, [and] will then furnish for them the following spectacle. This Babylon which you see (that is, the glory of this world with its prince, the devil, and all the citizens of this city—namely, the lovers of this world) he will suddenly cast down into a lake of fire and brimstone, and then all things will be changed into a better state for the elect.

DISC. You have shown forth a great spectacle to all who are reading these things. May God therefore vouchsafe for you a part in that spectacle. For what reason are the just are forever in glory?

MAG. Because they would always wish to be just if they were to live without any limit. Justice therefore demands that those who have always cherished justice should be forever blessed.

ON THE END OF THE GOOD AND THE EVIL.

DISC. Moreover, what is the cause of the unjust being forever in punishment?

MAG. Because, they would wish their lives to be without an end, only to be able to do limitless (*sine fine*) evil. Justice therefore demands that those who never willed justice should never be without suffering.

DISC. Why are the just unable to sin after the resurrection?

MAG. Because when they are equal to the angels their free choice is made so strong that they will nothing evil, and for this reason they are forever blessed.

DISC. And why are the unjust not then able to convert to the good?

MAG. Since they have now utterly lost free choice in the case of the good they will always hate the good, and it is for that reason that they are eternally miserable.

EPILOGUE.

Let me then sum up (*concludam*) the substance (*summam*) of our disputation with a brief epilogue: 1) God's purpose is that the number of the elect be brought to completion (*perfici*) from among (*ex*) angels and men; 2) Predestination, that the just be glorified forever in beatitude, but the unjust tormented forever in misery; 3) Prescience or Providence, God's ever-present contemplation (*inspectio*) of future realities; 4) Necessity, that man dies after sin; 5) Justice, to will rightly; 6) Choice, the decision (*iudicium*) of willing and not willing; 7) Freedom, the power of preserving justice intact; 8) Grace, an inspiration of the good or liberation from evil; 9) Merit, perseverance in justice; 10) the Reward, the highest beatitude; 11) Punishment, eternal misery.

And since it is inevitable that some infants—namely, the baptized—be saved by grace alone, but some—namely, the unbaptized—be damned by justice alone, and [since] it is inevitable that some of an advanced age, lovers of justice through free choice, receive the promised crown of glory that justice requires, but that some, despisers of

justice through free choice, not escape the deserved punishment that justice prescribes, the name given to this book is INEVITABLE.

Carry these things concerning predestination, prescience, and free choice to the sons of the church, because I know the citizens of Babylon will despise them. But whoever disdains or even impugns these things, will show that he is not of the number of those predestined to life. But anyone who puts forth a question concerning free choice after these things is a blind man finding fault with a mountain on a clear day.

ON THE WRITER OF THE BOOK.

DISC. It was the blessed God, who inspired the brethren to wish me to direct this matter (*hoc*) to you, so that I might be worthy to perceive these marvelous things from your mellifluous mouth. And you certainly know that the company of the reprobate will deprecate you with a great hatred for this venerable work, and they will especially detest you on account of the fact that you have proven that they are slaves of vices—or rather, of demons!—through free choice. The glorious crowd of the predestined, however, will render great thanks to you because you have brought forth so marvelous a work in praise of them. And since, as I heard you say, it is also predestined by God, that everything that the elect seek justly will be given them, let them entreat with great prayers the clemency of God, so that the last day might find you in their company.

MAG. Amen.

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