

Q U E E S T E 21

2014 / 1

TIJDSCHRIFT
OVER JOURNAL OF
MIDDELEEUWSE MEDIEVAL
LETTERKUNDE LITERATURE
IN DE IN THE LOW
NEDERLANDEN COUNTRIES

Judgment, Damnation, and Salvation in *Wech van Salicheit, Tafel vanden kersten ghelove*, and in Ruusbroec's Works

Apocalyptic Eschatological Concepts in Middle Dutch Texts and in Their Latin Sources

KEES SCHEPERS

Introduction

The focus on the end time, the belief that the dramatic and radical end of the world is near, is called Apocalypticism. The belief in – literally – the end of times and the beginning of eternity can be filled with hope and expectation, or with anguish. In Judaism the end brings the hoped-for new beginning of the messianic age; in Islam and Christianity the end is connected with the ominous ultimate judgment of mankind by Allah or God. In the fourteenth-century Low Countries the awareness of the possible imminence of the Final Judgment, and the turmoil that would precede it, was full of fear and doubt. In this period the almost feverish trepidation over the onset of the end was not caused by some gratuitous fascination with the bizarre and hard to interpret end time events, but rather by an existential anxiety over salvation or damnation, and particularly one's own eternal fate after Judgment. The verdict would be final, with no chance for appeal. The need to prepare for the heavenly court could not be greater, as there were only two possible outcomes: eternity in heaven or eternity in hell. Therefore one needed to know when judgment would take place and how God would judge.

Scholarship on the fourteenth-century *Zeitgeist* has pointed to numerous grounds for the pervasive apocalypticism. Wars and famines abounded, but the scourge of the plague, in particular, is seen as a major influence on the perception of life, and it caused a collective trauma. One third of the population in Western Europe was wiped out from 1347–1353 when a devastating epidemic of the Black Death swept over the continent, like an intangible but all the more horrifying wave. Whoever was not struck down, remained behind in shock and dread.

Well-known but enigmatic biblical texts came to be interpreted in light of these dramatic events. Especially important is the Olivet Prophecy, also known as the 'Little Apocalypse'.¹ It contains Jesus's description of the end times, expressed in mysterious apocalyptic language. The account is found, in different versions, in all three synoptic Gospels (Mk 13, Mt 24, Lk 21). If one read, for example, the account in the Gospel of Luke (21:9–11) about the signs on earth that would precede the end times, these phenomena could easily be understood to refer to current events:

1 Cf. Emerson 1981, 42–43.

When you hear of wars and uprisings, do not be frightened. These things must happen first, but the end will not come right away.' Then he said to them: 'Nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. There will be great earthquakes, famines and pestilences in various places, and fearful events and great signs from heaven ...

The same 'Little Apocalypse' also describes the coming of the Son of Man, in terms that seem to refer to the Final Judgment (Lk 21:25–28):

There will be signs in the sun, moon and stars. On the earth, nations will be in anguish and perplexity at the roaring and tossing of the sea. People will faint from terror, apprehensive of what is coming on the world, for the heavenly bodies will be shaken. At that time they will see the Son of Man coming in a cloud with power and great glory. When these things begin to take place, stand up and lift up your heads, because your redemption is drawing near.

The first letter of Paul to the Thessalonians was read as an equally apocalyptic text.² The description of the Lord coming down from heaven also seems to herald the Final Judgment.

For the Lord himself will come down from heaven, with a loud command, with the voice of the archangel and with the trumpet call of God, and the dead in Christ will rise first. After that, we who are still alive and are left will be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air. And so we will be with the Lord forever.

In the fourteenth century people read the Apocalypse in the context of both historical events and the aforementioned biblical phrases.³ They could understandably think that the time of judgment had come: 'Look, he is coming with the clouds,' and 'every eye will see him, even those who pierced him'; and all peoples on earth 'will mourn because of him' (Rev. 1:7). Frighteningly real in times of pest, moreover, is a further passage from the book of Revelation: 'Then I heard a loud voice from the temple saying to the seven angels, 'Go, pour out the seven bowls of God's wrath on the earth.' The first angel went and poured out his bowl on the land, and ugly, *festering sores broke out* on the people who had the mark of the beast and worshiped its image (Rev. 16:1–2) (my italics).

It is against this background – apocalyptic historical events interpreted in light of apocalyptic biblical texts – that we must understand late-medieval texts dealing with eschatology. This contribution presents the eschatological scenarios found in a small but significant corpus of Middle Dutch and Latin texts. The term 'scenario' is an informal term, often used in scholarly literature, to denote the sequence of events leading up to, during and after the Final Judgment.⁴ The first objective is to provide a factual overview of (aspects of) some eschatological scenarios in Middle Dutch spiritual literature, something which has not been done before.⁵ The second, and cen-

2 Cf. Bernard McGinn 1979, 11.

3 E.g. Smoller 2000, 156–187.

4 For example Horsley & Tiller 2012.

5 Whereas spiritual prose seeks to provide its readership with useful, factual information, the same cannot be said of narrative literary texts. Ulrike Wuttke recently found that the Brabantine authors Jan van Boendale and Jan van Velthem do not aim to present a comprehensive overview of all aspects of the end time events: in most of these

tral, objective is to establish to what extent apocalyptic eschatological concepts in vernacular texts are similar to or different from those commonly held in the Latin world. The corpus of texts represents a diversity of genres and intended audiences. The wide range of texts makes it possible to determine the effect of all three factors in the treatment of apocalyptic eschatology: is there simply a dividing line between the languages, or does a more nuanced picture emerge, in which the role of genre and audience is no less important than that of language? Ultimately we will be able to gain an understanding of eschatological views in different spheres of the literate world in the Low Countries.

The selected Middle Dutch texts are two important catechetical treatises, *Wech van salicheit* ('Way of Salvation') and Dirc van Delf's *Tafel van den kersten ghelove* ('Summary of the Christian Faith'), as well as two of John of Ruusbroec's mystical works (*Dat rijcke der ghelieven* ('The Realm of Lovers') and *Vanden kerstenen ghelove* ('The Christian Faith')).⁶ The first reason for their selection is obviously the considerable attention devoted to eschatology in each of them. The second reason is that they use (almost) the same Latin texts as source material. The starting point for the analysis is the comprehensive treatment of the apocalyptic-eschatological events in *Wech van salicheit*. The phases of the process as presented in this contribution are derived from the chapter headings in this text. The prominent position of the *Wech* seems justified, because it is considered the best structured catechetical treatise in Middle Dutch.⁷ Troelstra, whose work remains the richest study to date on catechetical texts in Middle Dutch, calls the *Wech van salicheit* a text 'of the finest caliber',⁸ and about its structure he exclaims: 'How well has this been thought through'.⁹

The selected Latin texts are Hugo Ripelin of Strasburg's *Compendium theologiae veritatis*, and Peter Lombard's *Libri quatuor sententiarum* (commonly known as the *Sentences*). They were selected for two reasons, the first being that they are important and widely circulated works, commonly read in the Low Countries as well; the second being that these two Latin texts are the main sources for the Middle Dutch discussion of eschatology. The latter fact obviously enables a clear-cut and meaningful comparison of the use of eschatological concepts in these Latin and Middle Dutch texts.

texts 'wird keine erschöpfende Behandlung aller eschatologischen Wissensbereiche angestrebt'. Wuttke compares eschatological views in the works of three fourteenth-century authors from Brabant in her dissertation (Wuttke 2012). Jan van Leeuwen, the third author discussed by Wuttke, wrote spiritual-mystical literature like Ruusbroec did, but he does not present well-defined eschatological views: '(es) kann sich bei der Darstellung seiner Eschatologie nur um einen Versuch handeln, die wichtigsten Passagen herauszugreifen und große Linien zu ziehen'. Wuttke 2012, 31.

⁶ *The Realm of Lovers / Dat rijcke der ghelieven* in Alaerts 2002; *The Christian Faith / Vanden kerstenen ghelove* in De Baere 1991, 341-468, edition: 381-437. Earlier edition in Pouckens & Reypens 1944-1948, vol. I.1: *Het Rijcke der ghelieven*; I.2: *Die gheestelike brulocht*.

⁷ Troelstra, 1901. *Des conincx summe*, another notable catechetical text, and Gerard van Vliederhoven's *Vanden vier utersten*, a widely read text discussing the Four Last Things, have not been included in the comparison, since the first is a translation from French and the second a translation from Latin.

⁸ 'van het zuiverste gehalte'. Troelstra 1901, 200.

⁹ 'Hoe goed is dit gedacht! Terwijl *Des conincx summe* zich als compilatie verraadt, hebben wij hier te doen met een weldoordacht plan, al worden bij de uitvoering de bouwstoffen ook ontleend aan de vaderen der Kerk en andere voortreffelijke schrijvers'. Troelstra 1901, 200. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

In their description of judgment, damnation, and salvation the anonymous compiler of *Wech van salicheit* as well as Dirc van Delf (1365–1404) and John of Ruusbroec (1293–1381) rely heavily on apocalyptic eschatological concepts transmitted through popular twelfth- and thirteenth-century theological *summae*. The *Wech*, written in Flanders or Brabant around 1400, ends with an extensive description of Last Judgment and its consequences.¹⁰ Dirc van Delf devotes five chapters to these subjects in his *Tafel van den kersten ghelove*. Ruusbroec discusses the same topics in some pages of *Dat rijcke der ghelieven* and of *Vanden kerstenen ghelove*. Whereas *Wech van salicheit* explicitly mentions its main Latin sources on eschatology, Dirc van Delf and Ruusbroec do not divulge their source texts. Two texts are used extensively in *Wech van salicheit*: Hugo Ripelin of Strasburg's *Compendium theologicæ veritatis*, and Peter Lombard's *Sentences*.¹¹ Apart from these texts, Dirc van Delf uses additional sources. Without acknowledging his source, Ruusbroec also uses Hugo Ripelin's exceptionally successful text.¹²

The following description and analysis unfolds in three phases. First, after describing the eschatological scenarios in *Wech*, in *Tafel*, and in Ruusbroec, the Middle Dutch texts will be compared with each other; second, the same description and analysis will be carried out with regard to the Latin texts. In the third phase, the eschatological concepts in the vernacular texts will be compared with those in the Latin texts.

Judgment, Damnation, and Salvation in *Wech van salicheit*

Wech van salicheit is the first and largest text in the Wiesbaden manuscript, a miscellany containing some 80 different texts on 152 leaves.¹³ The size of the *Wech* and its prominent place in the codex suggest that it was of great value for the intended readership. Its importance likely lies in its usefulness. The *Wech* provides a complete overview of all the major catechetical elements, before undertaking an extensive description of judgment, damnation and salvation.¹⁴ The text was also printed in three incunabula editions, in which the eschatological themes comprise chapters 75 to 90.¹⁵

The catechetical elements are organized in a structure that reflects the orientation towards the final cause, or ultimate objective, of human life, which is salvation. The essence

¹⁰ The text is available in a critical edition: Kienhorst & Schepers 2009. *Wech van Salicheit* on 137–288; the eschatological chapters on 237–288.

¹¹ No separate edition of Hugo's *Compendium* exists. The *Compendium* was edited among the opera of Albertus Magnus and Bonaventure in Borgnet 1895 and Peltier 1866. See also Steer 1981. Edition of the *Sentences: Sententiae* 1981.

¹² The textual parallels between Ruusbroec and the *Compendium* were identified in Schepers 1999. Daniëls noted correspondences between *Compendium* and Ruusbroec's *The Christian Faith / Vanden kerstenen ghelove*, but did not pursue those. See Daniëls 1939, esp. *Somerstuc*, vol. IIIb, 649.

¹³ Ed. Kienhorst & Schepers 2009.

¹⁴ The text is found in the following manuscripts: Wiesbaden, Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, 3004 B 10, f. 3ra–44va, Flanders/Brabant, c.1410; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, II 280, f. 1r–80r, Zevenborren, 1413; Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 1291, f. 1r–113r, xvB; fragment: Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 2557 (2), c.1400.

¹⁵ [The Netherlands: Printer of 'Wech der sielen salicheit', before 5 May 1479] (ISTC iw00010730); [Utrecht: Printer with the Monogram, before 5 May 1479] (ISTC iw00010740); Utrecht: [Printer with the Monogram], 13 Jan. 1480 (ISTC iw00010750).

is that the life of an individual Christian can be subdivided in four states, which are announced in chapter 3.¹⁶ These states are: a ‘state of innocence’ (*staet van onnoselheit*), in which the individual should try to stay away from sin; a ‘state of penance’ (*staet van penitencien*), that all persons almost inevitably arrive at and in which they must confess their sins and do penance; a ‘state of justice’ (*staet van gherechticheit*), in which the individual must strive to develop and maintain the right intentions; and finally a ‘state of perfection’ (*staet van volmaectheit*), in which the just life is lived on an even higher level. There are three additional ‘categories of content’, outside of this fourfold structure, and they contain the eschatological subject matter. They are labelled ‘What a person should fear’ (*wattie mensce es sculdich tonsiene*), ‘What he should try to flee’ (*wat hi sculdich es te vliene*), and ‘What a person should long for’ (*wat den mensce sculdich es te begerne*). These subjects are of importance for each person in every state of life due to the inevitability of the Last Things.

The *Wêch van salicheit* provides a very rich exposé on the Last Judgment. The following summary is based on the easily accessible version in the critical edition of the Wiesbaden manuscript.¹⁷ The description of the eschatological content of the *Wêch* goes into more detail than that of the other texts, because it contains the most comprehensive eschatological scenario that the other texts can subsequently be compared with.

The first chapter deals with the Fifteen Signs before Doomsday (74, 75).¹⁸ This is a ubiquitous theme in both Latin and vernacular eschatological texts.¹⁹ The version in *Wêch van salicheit* closely resembles the one found in a letter of Peter Damian, but it would be wrong to suggest immediate influence of that particular Latin text.²⁰ The Fifteen Signs in the Middle Dutch text are: (1) the waters will rise high; (2) the waters will sink deep; (3) the waters will return to their original state; (4) all the animals and fish will appear and roar; (5) the birds will gather in the field, their sound will be like wailing, and they will eat nor drink; (6) the stars will shoot fiery rays to earth, and there will be strange signs in the sun, the moon and the stars; (7) there will be a huge earthquake; (8) all the rocks will split into four parts and the pieces will bang into each other; (9) every building will collapse and be reduced to ashes; the mountains will fall into the valleys and the earth will become flat; (10) the trees, flowers and weeds will have dew like blood; (11) the people will emerge from the holes they fled into, and they will go around bewildered, unable to speak or comprehend; (12) the graves will open and the bodies will be ready to receive their souls and rise; (13) all people will die in order to rise with the dead; (14) heaven and earth will be on fire; (15) all the dead will rise. The text in the printed editions deals much more extensively with the Fifteen Signs than the manuscript version. Beyond this chapter, differences between manuscript and print are only minor.

¹⁶ In the following analysis the quoted texts are taken from the critical edition of the Wiesbaden manuscript; the added chapter numbers between brackets refer to the early printed editions.

¹⁷ The line numbers of the Wiesbaden edition are provided in the footnotes.

¹⁸ Wiesbaden, ll. 2754–2868. The printed version has two chapters on this subject (74 and 75). The text of (74) is lacking from the manuscript version.

¹⁹ Some Middle Dutch texts listing different numbers of torments of hell are mentioned in Scheepsma 2008, 177.

²⁰ Peter Damian wrote his *Epistola de die iudicii* in two versions. *Wêch van salicheit* is closer to the shorter version, which he wrote to his sister Rodelinda; see Damianus 1989, vol. IV.III, ep. 93, 26–30. On the genre in general Gerhardt & Palmer 2002.

The next chapter expounds on the way in which the people will be gathered before Judgment is to take place (76).²¹ First there will be a devastating fire; then the dead will be raised by an overwhelming sound of trumpets. They will be as old as Christ was when he died, which will even be the case with children. The resurrected will be congregated in the Valley of Josaphat.²² Next, the author describes how Christ will come to judge and who will be judged (77).²³ Four categories of people are distinguished, two of them blessed, two of them damned. So far, the author deals with the general aspects of apocalyptic eschatology; he is still setting the stage for the consequences of the Last Judgment for each individual.

In the following chapter the author again describes in general terms why judgment should be feared (78).²⁴ There are seven identifiable reasons: the awesome nature of the judgment, which instilled fear even in the fathers and prophets; all evil deeds will become public; the devils will be waiting to pull the damned into hell; even the chosen and the choirs of angels will stand in awe before this judgment; nobody will know what category he or she will belong to; the judgment will be irrevocable; God himself will stand in judgment. Under these terrifying circumstances the individual souls will be accused and feel tormented by seven causes: God, whom they have angered; creatures and creation, that they did not love appropriately; Holy Scripture, the commandments of which they did not follow; their conscience, which they have sullied; the devils, which they have served; finally hell, which they did not fear (79).²⁵ In the same chapter the author distinguishes seven reasons why God – the first of the aforementioned accusers – will torment and accuse the souls.²⁶ The author similarly identifies several ways in which the souls will be accused before God by creatures and creation. Thus the souls will be surrounded by accusers and tormenters, and there will be no escape.²⁷

The text continues by describing the renewal and purification of heaven and earth after the Last Judgment (80).²⁸ The most conspicuous aspects are that heaven and earth will become motionless and much brighter. The sun and moon will no longer set and rise. Purgatory will cease to exist, and only heaven and hell will remain for the blessed and the damned.

Now the author turns to the actual consequences of damnation and salvation for the individual soul (81).²⁹ He starts by listing the six general horrors the souls will en-

21 ll. 2869-2940.

22 This valley is mentioned once in the Bible (Joel 3:2); its meaning is interpreted using Matthew 25.

23 ll. 2941-3025.

24 ll. 3026-3134.

25 ll. 3135-3165.

26 ll. 3166-3246. They have wasted their time instead of repenting and receiving God's mercy; they have despised the sacraments of the Church; they did not honor the feasts and holy days of the Church; they have not kept its commandments; nor have they followed the examples of the saints and the blessed; they have not compassionately considered God's bitter passion; finally, they did not believe in the reward that God had promised.

27 ll. 3247-3361. The heavens, allegorically identified as the blessed, will no longer shine their light on the sinners; the four elements (fire, air, water and earth) will torment the souls in the ways described in the passage on the Fifteen Signs before Doomsday; the birds, the fishes and the animals will accuse the souls of gluttony; the wood and bricks that houses are built of, will accuse the souls of pride and concupiscence; silver and gold and all precious goods will accuse the souls of avarice.

28 ll. 3362-3438.

29 ll. 3439-3510.

counter in hell. The damned will eternally be separated from the blessed; they will forever be deprived from the vision of God; hell is a horrible place; the devils and the other sinners will be horrendous to look at; pain will be eternal; the pains of body and soul will be manifold. The next chapter is devoted to nine pains of the body in hell (82).³⁰ The sinners suffer constant hunger and thirst; they have to endure an unbearable stench; they find themselves in the midst of inextinguishable fire and carry an immortal worm; they are surrounded by a palpable darkness; they will be shackled with fiery chains; they receive horrendous hammer-blows from their tormentors; they undergo the pain of a bitter cold; the sinners will be cut up by the sword, which allegorically means the verdict of God; finally, they will suffer a devastating combination of manifold pains. The sinners in hell are equally tormented by nine pains of the soul (83).³¹ They will suffer defectiveness of reason and knowledge; they will be oblivious of Scripture and have no knowledge of God or of whatever is good; the damned will continuously be aware of their sins; they realize that their suffering will be eternal; this leads to perpetual sadness; the will of the damned will be inordinate, leading to the will to die; the damned will envy both God and each other; they will be despised and scorned by the devils; their memory and intellect will be confused, causing fear that the suffering will be even more intense. The author ends the chapter with a summary of these nine torments of the soul.³²

The exposé returns to more general aspects by describing the four parts of hell – following the *Compendium* – as they exist before the Final Judgment (84).³³ In the first part or compartment the damned are gathered who suffer continuous physical pain as well as the deprivation of the sight of God. The second compartment contains those who died young and without baptism. Even though they suffer from never being able to see God, they endure no physical pain. Above this section is purgatory, where the assembled experience the fire of purgatory and the absence of the face of God. Above these three sections there is a place called limbo. This is where the fathers and prophets from the time between Adam and Christ dwell. Their sole suffering is deprivation of the sight of God.

The logical step for the author to take in the following chapter is to discuss the fire of purgatory and the possible merit of suffrages (85).³⁴ The fire in purgatory is not eternal, but it is extremely painful. Nobody can come before God who is not completely purified, and therefore these people have to be in purgatory. The merit of suffrages is considered next.³⁵ It can only benefit the category of the truly repentant who did not sin gravely. Only for such persons can prayer, sacrifices, and offerings have a beneficial effect.

In the five final chapters *Wech van salicheit* deals with heaven and its joys. The author begins by noting that even though the blessed are all in heaven, there are still differ-

30 ll. 3511–3647.

31 ll. 3648–3765.

32 ll. 3766–3796.

33 ll. 3797–3830.

34 ll. 3832–3880. What is one chapter in the printed version is divided over two chapters in the manuscript version.

35 ll. 3881–3981.

ences as to the amount of bliss they experience. He lists seven general reasons why each person should long for heaven (86): the constant joy of the blessed in heaven; the beauty of heaven; the utter peace; the joyful company of the blessed; perfect knowledge of God; eternal enjoyment of God; finally, the delight in having been chosen to be with God.³⁶ The following chapter lists the general joys that the glorified blessed will relish in heaven, both as to the soul and the body (87).³⁷ The three spiritual joys – knowledge, love and fruition – are connected with the three higher faculties. The four bodily joys are clarity, impassibility, agility, and subtlety. The seven joys of the soul are discussed in the next chapter (88).³⁸ The blessed will have perfect wisdom; they will enjoy great friendship among each other; there will be harmony and unity; the blessed will rejoice in perfect happiness; they will be assured of everything that is good; they will have complete control over their will; they will be pleased about the high honor bestowed upon them. The blessed also have seven bodily joys in heaven (89).³⁹ Their bodies will have beauty; they will feel completely comfortable; they will be immortal; their bodies will have strength, good health, the ability to contain God (this has to do with the aforementioned ‘subtlety’ as mentioned among the four bodily joys), and they will have agility (which was also mentioned earlier).

Chapter*	Title	Category
(74, 75)	Fifteen Signs preceding the Last Judgment	General aspects
(76)	How all creatures will be gathered before Judgment	General aspects
(77)	How Christ will come to judge, and whom he will judge	General aspects
(78)	How terrifying Last Judgment is and for what reasons	General aspects, damnation
(79)	By whom the sinner will feel tormented on Judgment Day	General aspects, damnation
(80)	Renewal of heaven and earth after Judgment	General aspects
(81)	The horrors of hell, and why one should flee them	Each individual, damnation
(82)	The nine pains of the body in hell	Each individual, damnation
(83)	The nine pains of the soul in hell	Each individual, damnation
(84)	The four parts of hell	General aspects
(85)	On the fire of purgatory and on suffrages	General aspects
(86)	On the joys of heaven, and why they are desirable	General aspects
(87)	On the joys of heaven, in general	General aspects
(88)	On the joys of heaven, for the soul, individually	Each individual, salvation
(89)	On the joys of heaven, for the body, individually	Each individual, salvation
(90)	Why man ought to long for the joys of heaven	General aspects

* Chapter numbers are from the printed edition: [The Netherlands: Printer of ‘Wech der sielen salicheit’, before 5 May 1479] (ILC 2205, IDL 4708, CA 1776). The manuscript version does not have chapter numbers.

³⁶ ll. 3982–4150.

³⁷ ll. 4151–4212.

³⁸ ll. 4213–4377.

³⁹ ll. 4378–4528.

In a final chapter the author presents two general reasons, on top of all the others, why each person should long to be in heaven (90).⁴⁰ The first one is that these joys are God's designated reward for all people, the second that they are the final cause, the ultimate end, of the way of salvation, as God the Son himself has shown.

The two Latin source texts provide the basic material for the apocalyptic-eschatological chapters in the *Wêch*; the text normally refers to them explicitly. The *Compendium* is referred to by the name 'Albertus', implying that the text of Hugo's *Compendium* used by the author was wrongly attributed to Albertus Magnus. The other main source, Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, is referred to by *die meester van sentencien* ('the master of Sentences').

Remarkably, no references to authorities are found in some sizeable chapters that seem to be particularly characteristic for *Wêch van salicheit*. The text clearly intends to be exhaustive and explicit when it comes to the effects of the Last Judgment for the individual. These chapters contain long lists, regarding three subjects: the many causes for the horrifying nature of the Last Judgment (78, 79), the horrors of hell for each individual (81, 82, 83), and the joys of heaven for each individual (88, 89). The author apparently wants to provide his readers with the bare 'facts'; he does not seem to be interested in conveying different, possibly conflicting scholarly opinions. The *Wêch van salicheit* does not mention any Latin authorities concerning these lists, which does not mean he did not use any; the origin of their content remains unknown for now.

Wherever the text of the *Wêch* is based on one of the known source texts, it follows it closely and faithfully with regard to the content; little to nothing is added or deleted. The sometimes quite extensive changes are essentially stylistic: the scholastic mode of listing aspects in a very succinct manner using an iterative way of structuring the phrase, which is found in both the *Compendium* and in the *Sentences*, is abandoned in exchange for less rigidly organized Dutch sentences. The translation also tends to be explicit and to explain the meaning in much more graphic language.

Judgment, Damnation, and Salvation in Dirc van Delf's *Tafel vanden kersten ghelove*

When the university-educated Dominican Dirc van Delf wrote his catechetical treatise *Tafel vanden kersten ghelove* ('Summary of the Christian Faith'), he worked at the court of Albrecht van Beieren in The Hague.⁴¹ He was one of the most learned men (and one of the few) in the Northern Low Countries of his days. His treatise is aimed at providing his secular, lay readership with all the available knowledge of the Christian faith. Dirc van Delf consciously meant his catechetical *summa* to be a conduit of Latin knowledge for a lay audience. As such his text finds itself at the end of the line with regard to the transfer, verifiability and exchangeability of scholarship. To serve his readers better, he purposely tried to write in a pleasant literary style. He gave up the

⁴⁰ ll. 4529-4572.

⁴¹ Van Oostrom 1988, 180-185.

characteristic scholastic focus on precise referencing and detail in exchange for accessibility and attractiveness. Van Delf does not name his sources, which father Daniëls, the modern editor of his *Tafel vanden kersten ghelove*, has so carefully unearthed.⁴² This undoubtedly has to do with his stated objective: ... *want ic nu mit desen boec wairlike lude leren wil* ('... for with this book I now want to instruct the secular people'; Somerstuc. f. 90^d). He wants to transmit information, not provide scholarly learning. Nevertheless, his work does show the traces of his academic training in the formal characteristics of his text, especially in his tendency to refer, in general, to 'the masters' or 'the doctors', and in his habit of presenting the content using 'questions', derived from scholastic *quaestiones*. Instead of comprehensiveness and detail, so characteristic of the *Wech van salicheit*, we here find selected issues presented in an expressive and evocative literary style that his audience must have appreciated.

Whereas *Wech van salicheit* carefully dissected the entire apocalyptic-eschatological process in 17 chapters filled with lists of facts, Van Delf tackles the same subject matter in only five chapters. The five chapters discuss issues related to the main aspects of the apocalyptic scenario: (49) Antichrist; (50) Final Judgment; (51) hell; (52) purgatory; (53) heaven.

The first chapter (49) is entirely devoted to the story of life and death of the Antichrist, his origin, his rise to power, and his final demise.⁴³ The Antichrist was not discussed at all in *Wech van salicheit*, but he was extensively discussed in the *Compendium* – as we will see – and this was indeed almost the sole source for Dirc van Delf in this chapter.

In the next chapter Van Delf turns to the Final Judgment itself, and he addresses seven questions connected to it. How are we to know when the Final Judgment will start? (Van Delf mentions 'The fifteen signs' just as *Wech van salicheit* did, but the signs are not the same); Where will the judgment take place?; What will the throne of the judge look like?; How will the judge arrive in court?; Who will be the accusers and the witnesses?; How frightened will the sinner be?; How will the verdict be pronounced? Even though Dirc deals with almost identical issues as the *Wech* did, his treatment is entirely different. The simple explanation is that the *Wech* finds its inspiration in the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard and the *Compendium*, whereas Dirc follows the *Legenda aurea* in this chapter.

The following chapter discusses nine questions relating to the nature of the punishment in hell. To name just a few: why is there eternal punishment for temporal sins?; Is the pain of hell the worst possible suffering?; Is the fire of hell unspeakably hot?; What does the ultimate darkness mean? Dirc's text is based mainly on the *Compendium* here, but it draws on many other sources as well.

In his chapter on purgatory Van Delf seems to be concerned not only with the intensity of the temporary pain, but also, and more importantly, with the way people on earth can help the souls in purgatory, and with their transition from purgatory into heaven. Van Delf presents thirteen questions related to purgatory. Two source texts influenced Dirc in this chapter: the *Compendium* and the *Legenda aurea*. The *Wech van salicheit*, for its part, only brushed over the subject of purgatory.

42 Daniëls 1939.

43 Cap. 49, ed. Daniëls 1939, vol. IV, 615–626.

In the last chapter, which exceeds the chapters on hell and purgatory in length, Van Delf focuses on the joys of heaven. After describing the renewal of the earth, he turns to the joys, which he subdivides in joys from things above us, below us, inside us, and around us. Even though the *Compendium* was the main source for both *Wech van salicheit* and Dirc van Delf, there is no overlap in their treatment of the subject.

In these five chapters Van Delf almost never refers to the main sources he actually used (as Daniëls demonstrated). It is striking that the *Compendium theologiae veritatis* is again the most important source, and that Van Delf uses the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard as well. Probably with an eye to his secular readership, Van Delf also chose more narrative sources, in particular the *Legenda aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, the *Vita Jesu Christi* of Ludolphus de Saxonia, and the *Historia scholastica* of Petrus Comestor.

Dirc van Delf's work clearly has the qualities of both a *compendium* and a compilation: it is comprehensive in its scope, and it is based on authoritative Latin sources. The specific character of the *Tafel* lies in the application of a sophisticated literary style to the mosaic of selected texts. As Daniëls puts it: 'From numerous Latin works he has compiled the best parts, assembled them into a unity, and conveyed it in clear and smooth Dutch.'⁴⁴ Dirc van Delf, even though he might be said to develop a 'vernacular theology', proves himself to be fundamentally dependent on Latin sources.⁴⁵

Dirc is both faithful and creative in using his sources: he adopts the substance, but he phrases his borrowings in an attractive literary style, often wandering off in extensive digressions. This technique should be studied in-depth to identify his exact translation technique, but this cannot be done here. Clearly, Dirc is stylistically much more refined than the author of the *Wech*.

Judgment, Damnation, and Salvation in Ruusbroec's Works

Dat rijke der ghelieven

Dat rijke der ghelieven ('The Realm of Lovers') is Ruusbroec's first treatise, in which he describes the mystical ascent as he does in manifold ways in all of his works. Ruusbroec uses the *Compendium theologiae veritatis* in the section where he describes the first of five 'kingdoms' or 'realms' that God reveals to man.⁴⁶ This first one is the sensible, perceptible kingdom, comprising the universe and every human person, soul and body, as they will exist after judgment. In these pages Ruusbroec first depicts the run-up to the Last Judgment, then the actual event itself, followed by its aftermath.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ 'Uit tal van Latijnsche werken heeft hij 't beste saamgelezen, dit tot een geheel verbonden en in een helder en vloeiend Dietsch weergegeven'. Daniëls 1939, vol. I, 29.

⁴⁵ Cf. McGinn 1994, 6–11. 'Vernacular theology' is often devotional rather than theological, sometimes mystical, developed by authors who were not academically trained. Since Dirc was a master of theology and is so deeply rooted in his scholastic background and sources, he does not really fit the mold of authors of vernacular theology.

⁴⁶ An analysis of Ruusbroec's use of the *Compendium* in Schepers 1999.

⁴⁷ Alaerts 2002, ll. 2492–2550; Pouckens & Reypens 1944–1948, vol. I, 90.25–93.4.

He then proceeds to describe the characteristics of the glorified body.⁴⁸ The identical characteristics are discussed in chapter 87 of *Wech van salicheit*.

When the Day of Judgment arrives, a fire will burn everything on earth. Christ will appear as judge, and order all persons to congregate, soul and – resurrected – body. The Judgment will take place in the Valley of Josaphat. The damned will be cursed and the just will be blessed. Immediately after the Judgment, and after the damned have sunken into the pit of hell, heaven and earth will be renewed. This then becomes the focus of Ruusbroec's attention. The four elements must be purified, since they had been putrefied by man. Earth, water, air and fire will receive clarity and subtlety. Heaven and earth will thus become the eternal abode for the glorified persons.

Ruusbroec subsequently addresses the question what the characteristics of the glorified body will be that is to live in this renewed realm of heaven and earth. To ensure that the body no longer burdens the soul as it did before, it is gifted with four qualities. These qualities are related to the four elements. The first quality is clarity, because the element of water is glorified in the body. The second quality is impassibility, because the element of earth is glorified in the body, and lends it strength and robustness, and hence the inability to suffer. The third is subtlety, with the element of fire being glorified in the body. The fourth quality of the body is agility, as the element of air is glorified in it. Ruusbroec furthermore explains that Christ manifested these four qualities during his earthly life. Additionally, the souls will enjoy the sight of God, enjoy the beauty of heaven and enjoy the music of the heavenly spheres.

Vanden kerstenen ghelove

Ruusbroec again uses the *Compendium theologiae veritatis* in *Vanden kerstenen ghelove* ('The Christian Faith').⁴⁹ In this text he provides an exegesis of the Twelve Articles of Faith as found in the Nicene Creed (*Credo*). Ruusbroec's interpretation is partly based on the *Compendium* when he considers the eleventh and twelfth Article of Faith: the Resurrection of the Dead, and the Eternal Life.

The eleventh Article teaches that man should expect the resurrection of the dead.⁵⁰ Ruusbroec tells us that it is only right that the blessed should be rewarded both as to their body and their soul, and conversely, that the sinners will suffer body and soul. The dead will rise after the trumpets have sounded, and they will be as old as Christ was. Ruusbroec stresses that those who had physical handicaps during their life, will have perfect bodies after the resurrection. The blessed will enjoy the sight of the glorious Christ, while the damned will see his wrathful face.

Ruusbroec discusses the twelfth Article more extensively: what does eternal life mean for the blessed and the damned?⁵¹ He first depicts the desirability of eternal blessedness, before evoking the horrors of eternal damnation. Perfect salvation means

48 Alaerts 2002, ll. 2551–2611; Pouckens & Reypens 1944–1948, vol. I, 93.5–95.9.

49 De Baere 1991, ed. 380–437; Pouckens & Reypens 1944–1948, vol. III, 61–78.

50 De Baere 1991, ll. 150–194; Pouckens & Reypens 1944–1948, vol. III, 67–69.

51 De Baere 1991, ll. 195–403; Pouckens & Reypens 1944–1948, vol. III, 69–77.

to know, love and enjoy God forever. This is the essential reward for a just life. But there are additional aspects to this reward that Ruusbroec identifies: wisdom, strength, richness, beauty, peace, and joy. The reward is overwhelming and incomprehensible, because God himself is the reward. Here Ruusbroec enters into the domain of his beloved vocabulary of ‘flowing in’ and ‘flowing out’, culminating in a sentence he could also have written with regard to the apex of mystical experience: ‘And we shall lose ourselves in it [the joy of the Lord] and remain there essentially in an eternal enjoyment.’⁵² This inexplicable joy will be experienced with the glorified creation below us, and in the presence of angels and saints who will equally love and enjoy God. Ruusbroec identifies the same characteristics of the glorified body as he did in *Dat rijcke der ghelieven*: clarity, impassibility, subtlety, and agility. But he adds to that a description of the joys of both the inner and outer senses. This is a digression one would not normally find in an eschatological treatise, but it is entirely appropriate in a Ruusbroec text. He continues in this mystical vein that gradually turns into a stern warning against false idleness, another favorite theme of Ruusbroec.

The description of eternal damnation is next. The punishment of the damned is eternal, because they have sinned eternally against the eternal God. The first and most intense punishment is the pain of loss. The eternal loss of the beatific vision means one will forever be separated from the presence of God. Other pains follow: an eternal fire; a hellish cold; an eternal darkness, both internal and external; the gnawing worm of conscience; a huge fear; an eternal death; eternal despair. In a more moral-instructive paragraph Ruusbroec mentions another seven pains that are connected to the seven deadly sins. Finally, Ruusbroec adds a long list of torments in hell, without any further elucidation.

Features of Eschatology in *Wech van salicheit*, in *Tafel vanden kersten ghelove*,
and in Ruusbroec

The vernacular texts on eschatology answer obvious urgent questions that any average person might be troubled by if he or she ponders on the Last Judgment. When will it take place, and where does it occur? How exactly will this judgment unfold? Who will stand in judgment and who will be judged? What categories of the judged will there be? What will happen to the damned and the blessed? Where will they go to? What are the general characteristics of heaven and hell? What torments will the damned endure, and what joys will there be for the blessed? Will the joys and pains really be eternal? The vernacular texts primarily express interest in those aspects of the Last Judgment that are pertinent to individual people. They also agree that there is no connection to any historical event, and hence there is no need to interpret history to prognosticate the start of the Judgment. In this respect all of the texts differ significantly from doomsday texts that were popular throughout Europe, such as the

⁵² *Ende daerinne zelen wi ons verliezen ende wezeleke bliven in een ewech ghebruken*. De Baere 1991, ll. 233–234; Pouckens & Reypens 1944–1948, vol. III, 71, ll. 5–6.

works of twelfth-century theologian and esotericist Joachim of Fiore (c. 1135–1202).

The treatment of the events surrounding the Last Judgment by the author of *Wech van salicheit*, by Dirc van Delf and by Ruusbroec manifests both common features and differences. The authors have conspicuously different objectives. The author of the *Wech van salicheit* wants to provide a complete overview, consciously describing every single element of the process of judgment, damnation and salvation. He is keen to exhaustively list all aspects. Dirc van Delf equally presents all the end time events in five neatly distinguished chapters, providing answers to pressing questions based on his Latin sources. Ruusbroec has a much more restricted objective, and he focuses his attention on some specific aspects he wants to highlight. The central issues for him are: the event of Judgment itself and its consequences for the damned and the saved. He, moreover, explains the rationale for the events which he considers to be part of a coherent, divine plan. These divergent approaches bring out the different objectives of the authors and the differences in genre of their texts.

Every eschatological aspect discussed by Ruusbroec is also found in *Wech van salicheit*, which contains a full account of the Final Judgment. But the catechetical text obviously does not have the mystically tinted asides that are so characteristic of Ruusbroec's eschatological considerations. Ruusbroec, even when dealing with something as 'factual' as the Last Judgment, is constantly aware of the fact that everything he says must relate to the mystical life into which he wants to guide his readership. Therefore his evaluation of the Last Judgment is connected to the intimate spiritual life of the reader. This is different from *Wech van salicheit*, where the clear objective is to help the readers avoid damnation and lead a life that is a way of salvation. The text is more instructive and informative. It goes to greater lengths to instill both fear and desire.

Although the *Wech* and the *Tafel* are comparable in their desire for comprehensiveness, the marked difference between both texts becomes clear in their treatment of what hell and heaven will be like. Whereas the *Wech van salicheit* merely has lists (nine pains of the soul, nine pains of the body; joys for the soul, joys for the body), the *Tafel* relates the solutions from scholastic discourse to dogmatic *quaestiones*.

Judgment, Damnation, and Salvation in Hugo Ripelin of Strasburg's *Compendium theologiae veritatis*

In his *Compendium theologiae veritatis* Hugo Ripelin of Strasburg provides, as the title suggests, a summary of the main tenets of Christian belief. They are organized in seven books.⁵³ The *Compendium* derives its material from what had been developed in scholastic theology. The main identified sources are the *Breviloquium* of Bonaventure († 1274), the *Summa aurea* of William of Auxerre († 1231) and the *Summa Halensis*, named after its primary author: Alexander of Hales († 1245).⁵⁴ Hugo does not independently investigate these theological truths; he merely hands on what others have

53 Liber I: *De natura deitatis*; II: *De operibus conditoris*; III: *De corruptela peccati*; IV: *De Christi humanitate*; V: *De gratiarum sanctificatione*; VI: *De sacramentorum virtute*; VII: *De ultimis temporibus*.

54 Steer 1981, 230–239.

established before him, and adds a pastoral tone to the scholastic contents. Hugo does not strive to be an independent theological thinker. His elaboration is based on established theological reasoning, on authorities and on the Bible. He meant his work to be a manual of practical theology.

Only fairly recently could the *Compendium* be attributed with certainty to Hugo. Numerous manuscripts mention either Thomas Aquinas, Albertus Magnus or Bonaventure as its author. As a consequence the text was edited twice among the works of other authors.⁵⁵ Little is known about the life of Hugo Ripelin of Strasburg.⁵⁶ He was probably born in the first decade of the thirteenth century in Strasbourg and died in the same place in 1268. For a long time Hugo was prior of the Dominican convent in Zürich; records mention him as such from 1232 to 1259. In 1261 he is prior in Strasburg. It is not known whether he received university training; the often mentioned instruction by Albertus Magnus most likely did not occur.⁵⁷ What we know for certain, is that his text was a huge success. More than 1000 manuscripts are extant, the precise number is unknown.⁵⁸ The text occasioned numerous translations in many vernaculars. Some Middle Dutch texts used the *Compendium* as well.⁵⁹ Parts of the text were translated.⁶⁰

Hugo devotes his entire seventh and last book to the Last Judgment and every episode connected to it: *De ultimis temporibus* ('On the last days'). In the first, very short chapter the events surrounding the Last Judgment are neatly divided between those that occur before, those that are concomitant, and those that follow the Judgment. Three things happen before it: the fire of purgatory, the suffrages of the Church, and the persecution by the Antichrist. Two events concur with the Final Judgment: the burning of the entire earth, and the resurrection of the dead. Finally, there are the two dramatic consequences of Judgment: infernal punishment and heavenly glory.

The rest of the book discusses these aspects in chronological order. First there are the pre-Judgment events. Two chapters are devoted to purgatory and the severity of the purgatorial fire (1, 2). The text lists the reasons why purgatory needs to exist, and why the souls immediately go to heaven after having been exculpated from their sins. The text manifests a preoccupation with explaining the logic behind theological truths. Three chapters deal with the suffrages of the Church. One chapter provides justification for the papal prerogative to promulgate indulgences (4, 5, 6). The following eight chapters are devoted to the Antichrist and the episodes related to his attempt to deceive and control humanity (7–14). The account explains the many biblical phrases concerning the Antichrist, and also includes the enigmatic narratives about Gog and Magog, and Elija and Enoch.⁶¹ These chapters were followed closely by Dirc van Delf.

55 Borgnet 1895, 1–306; Peltier 1866, 61–246.

56 Relatively extensive account in Fischer 1969; see also Steer 1983; Boner 1954.

57 Hugo was no student of Albert (c. 1193/1200–1280), but belonged to the same generation; see Steer 1981, 9–10.

58 Steer 1981, 14; Bloomfield 1979, 550–553.

59 An important text, apart from *Wêch* and *Tafel*, is the anonymous *Spieghel der menscheliker behoudnisse*. On the *Compendium* as source text for Middle Dutch texts: Warnar 1993, 36–51 and 372–80, esp. 373, n. 19.

60 Listed under Hugo Ripelin van Straatsburg in Stooker & Verbeij 1997, vol. II, 560.

61 When the thousand years are over, Satan will be released from his prison and will go out to deceive the nations in the four corners of the Earth – Gog and Magog – and to gather them for battle. In number they are like the sand on the seashore (Rev. 20:7–10). The 'two witnesses' from Rev. 11:3–12 were often identified as Enoch and Elijah.

After Antichrist's death, the conflagration of the earth and the resurrection of the dead signal the imminent onset of the Last Judgment, which is to take place in the Valley of Josaphat. The author bases the characteristics of the Judgment on the interpretation of several biblical phrases (15, 16, 17). The judges and the judged are then introduced in emphatically judicial terms, indicating that this judgment is organized in accordance with the rules of a court of law. Present at judgment are four categories of people, two of them will be judged; the other two will go straight to either hell or heaven. Subsequent to the judgment, the world will be renewed after the elements have been cleansed by a purgative fire (20). This renewal also involves the universe coming to a standstill and an intensifying of the brightness of light. All four elements will be made pure.

Next, Hugo turns to the actual consequences of the Final Judgment for the damned and the saved. The variety of sins is mirrored by a diversity of punishments. The general circumstances are horrendous: there is a paradoxically obscure light, the damned see what the glorified enjoy and what they themselves will never have, and the worm of conscience gnaws at them. On top of that, there are eight particular punishments. (21, 22). These are: loss, being bound by chains, lashing by rods, retaliation, dishonor, exile, death and servitude.⁶²

The *Compendium* discusses the joys of heaven much more extensively, in six chapters (23–28). The first of these identifies the ultimate goal of each soul (23). Hugo uses biblical quotes to prove that the Christian objective of beatitude is superior to that of the philosophers. It consists in being joined to God and to behold Him. The next chapter discusses the gifts for the blessed soul in general terms. An important distinction is that between the gifts for the soul and those for the body (24). The chapter elaborates on the fact that the soul is the bride to the bridegroom, and that the bride receives different kinds of wedding gifts. Hugo first gives a general introduction to the three main gifts, being cognition, delight and comprehension (25).⁶³ He rationalizes the logic behind these three gifts in several ways (among which their connection to the three highest faculties and to the three divine persons) (26). He follows the same procedure in discussing the gifts of the glorified body (27). He first identifies them: clarity, impassibility, agility, and subtlety. He then explicates why the glorified body needs them. In the next chapter he again explains their nature in more detail using authorities and biblical phrases (28).

In two chapters on the aureole, the physical manifestation of inner excellence, Hugo explains its nature in general and in detail (29, 30). Virgins, preachers and martyrs deserve to receive it. In a final chapter Hugo points out that the multitude and diversity of heavenly joys is too big to even try to enumerate them. The joys are a delight to all the spiritual senses, and Hugo adduces several authorities who attest to this.

62 *Compendium*, lib. 7, cap. 22: *dammum, vincula, verbera, talionem, ignominiam, exilium, mortem, servitatem*.

63 *Compendium*, lib. 7, cap. 25: *cognitio, dilectio, comprehensio*.

Judgment, Damnation, and Salvation in Petrus Lombardus's *Libri quattuor sententiarum*

Peter Lombard (c. 1100–1160) was an early scholastic theologian. Born in Italy from a poor family, he was given the opportunity to study in France. He became a teacher at the cathedral school of Notre Dame, where he wrote, among other works, his *Libri quattuor sententiarum*.⁶⁴ In this work he assembled theological opinions on a great number of theological issues. He collected these opinions – ‘sentences’ – on the basis of the works of the Church Fathers and the Bible. These opinions were systematically organized in four books, covering the entire body of theological doctrine. His *Sentences* became the standard textbook of theology at the medieval universities until the sixteenth century. Every student in theology was exposed to it, and countless commentaries on the *Sentences* were written.⁶⁵ His textbook remained influential over many centuries.⁶⁶

In his fourth book of *Sentences* Peter Lombard devotes eight distinctions, comprising 47 chapters in total, to aspects of the Last Judgment. Perhaps surprisingly, the narrative elements in the eschatological scenario, consisting of the advent of the Last Judgment, the Judgment itself and its consequences, are implicitly taken as a given in the *Sentences*; they are apparently considered well-known facts and receive no further consideration from Peter. That this is indeed the case follows from the fact that the questions discussed only make sense in the context of such a scenario. The theological content is presented in the framework provided by the elements of the well-known scenario. For example, one can only discuss the question ‘who will blow what trumpet when the dead will be resurrected before Judgment’, if one accepts that the dead will indeed rise after the sounding of trumpets. In the chapter *de voce tubae* (dist. 43, cap. 2; ‘on the sound of the trumpet’) Peter Lombard presents four different views, biblical and patristic, on the nature and origin on the sound that will make the dead rise. Lombard proceeds likewise with numerous other established ‘facts’. He links these events to and elucidates them with theological views of the fathers and with biblical phrases.

The distinctions do not have separate titles in the *Sentences*; their content can be summed up like this: first there is the run-up to the Judgment (dist. 43), followed by aspects of the judged (44), the nature and effect of suffrages (45), and the characteristics of the Judgment (46). Lombard then considers some additional aspects of the Judgment (47), identifies the judge and the place of Judgment (48), discusses beatitude (49), and identifies some aspects of the damned (mostly) and the beatified (50). The order and subject matter of the chapters comes as no surprise after the texts we have already discussed.

Clearly, it is not curiosity about the actual occurrences that motivates Peter Lombard; there is another driving force behind his treatment of the Last Judgment. His attention is focused on theological questions that come up in connection with the

⁶⁴ *Sententiae* 1981.

⁶⁵ Stegmüller 1947.

⁶⁶ Pope Benedict XVI presented Peter Lombard as an example for present-day catholic theologians at an audience (30 December 2009).

established facts surrounding the Last Judgment. The narrative aspects, common in other texts, are almost completely absent in the *Sentences*.

Features of Eschatology in the *Compendium Theologicae Veritatis* and in the *Sententiae*

Peter Lombard's *Sentences* are a work of a completely different character than the vernacular texts, but it is also surprisingly different from Ripelin's *Compendium*. In fact, comparing the two Latin texts brings out the truly scholastic, academic nature of the *Sentences*, and makes the rather popularizing character of the *Compendium* stand out. Some aspects of form and structure in the *Sentences* catch the eye because of their total absence in the other texts, both Middle Dutch and Latin. A typical scholastic feature of the text is the *determinatio*. In many cases Peter Lombard attempts to reconcile conflicting opinions, and in some he settles an issue by putting forward his preferred opinion. Such a solution is called a *determinatio*.⁶⁷ Another scholastic characteristic is the *responsio*.⁶⁸ A good example is Peter's response to the problem of two equally good persons, one of them rich, one of them poor. The rich person is aided through many special prayers and offerings, the poor one only through common prayers. Do they benefit equally from these suffrages? And if so, what is the use of special suffrages for a rich person? One response is that both the rich and the poor indeed benefit equally, but another is that the benefit for the rich person is more swift, even though it is eventually the same. The second response is preceded by the word *alter*.

Does such a thing as a set of commonly held concepts concerning the actual events surrounding the Last Judgment exist in medieval Christian doctrine? In certain circles that must have been the case. If one looks at the *Sentences*, one must conclude that Lombard implicitly assumed such knowledge among his readership, since he does not bother to identify the apocalyptic events. Therefore his learned, clerical readers must have known those concepts, as the problems and questions he discusses can only be understood if one is already aware of what the pertinent events are.

Concluding Comparison of Eschatological Concepts in Middle Dutch and Latin Texts

In the following graph I have listed all aspects of apocalyptic eschatology that *Wêch van salicheit* discusses, and indicated which of those aspects are addressed by Dirc van Delf, by Ruusbroec, and by the two Latin *summae*. This allows for some conclusions with regard to the apocalyptic-eschatological content discussed in each text, in relation to its character and objective.

⁶⁷ One *determinatio* is found in this part of the book, in dist. 44, cap. 3, where Peter decides on the state of the bodies after the resurrection.

⁶⁸ *Responsiones* in this part of the book: dist. 45, cap. 4; dist. 46, cap. 3.

Chapter	Titles <i>Wech van salicheit</i>	Tafel	Ruusbroec		Ripelin	Lombard
(74, 75)	Fifteen Signs preceding the Last Judgment	x	----	----	----	----
(76)	How all creatures will be gathered before Judgment	----	Realm	Faith	x	x
(77)	How Christ will come to judge, and whom he will judge	x	Realm	----	x	x
(78)	How terrifying Last Judgment is and for what reasons	x	----	----	----	x
(79)	By whom the sinner will feel tormented on Judgment Day	x	----	----	----	----
(80)	Renewal of heaven and earth after Judgment	x	Realm	----	x	x
(81)	The horrors of hell, and why one should flee them	x	----	(Faith)*	----	----
(82)	The nine pains of the body in hell	----	----	(Faith)	(x)	----
(83)	The nine pains of the soul in hell	----	----	(Faith)	----	x
(84)	The four parts of hell	----	----	----	x	----
(85)	On the fire of purgatory and on suffrages	x	----	----	----	x
(86)	On the joys of heaven, and why they are desirable	x	----	----	----	x
(87)	On the joys of heaven, in general	x	Realm	Faith	x	----
(88)	On the joys of heaven, for the soul, individually	----	----	Faith	x	----
(89)	On the joys of heaven, for the body, individually	----	----	----	----	----
(90)	Why one ought to long for the joys of heaven	----	----	----	----	----

* A reference in brackets means that the chapter in this particular text contains some but not all of the elements found in the *Wech van salicheit*.

The description and analysis of aspects of apocalyptic eschatology yields the following results.

Wech van salicheit is a catechetical text: it wants to be a comprehensive and practical guide for moral instruction, so that people might avoid damnation and seek beatitude. As a consequence, it is the most exhaustive text, giving ample attention to the fate of both damned and saved individuals. The subjects discussed in some chapters of *Wech van salicheit* are not covered by the Latin sources, Hugo of Ripelin and Lombard. Specifically the extensive listings of pains and joys are not based on the Latin sources, and the origin of this content remains unclear.

The *Tafel* is instructive and comprehensive like the *Wech* but in an entirely different way. Whereas the *Wech* is aimed at simple, devout people – as the anonymous author tells us – and wants to guide them towards salvation, the *Tafel*, even though no less all-encompassing, seeks to present its material for a secular audience, not necessarily very devout, in an appealing way. The *Tafel* thus has a wide scope, which makes it resemble the *Compendium*, and it applies a scholastic mode of presenting the material, which makes it resemble the *Sentences*.

Ruusbroec's eschatological expositions are mere asides in his fundamentally mystagogical treatises. Ruusbroec shows little interest in fully exploring every aspect of eschatology; he accepts common notions, and tries to understand their sense and meaning within the divine order. The basic concepts are derived from Hugo of Ripelin; Ruusbroec's mystical digressions are his own invention.

On an imaginary scale from factual and narrative to abstract and theological the *Compendium* stands much closer to the vernacular texts than to Lombard's *Sentences*. It shares with them a focus on the fate of the individual and on the general structure of the events surrounding the Last Judgment that is not found in Lombard's academic, theological *summa*. Hence, surprisingly, the *Compendium* stands outside of the academic, scholastic world, and provides instruction and practical advice on living a Christian life for a general audience – albeit in Latin. Its objective can be compared with that of *Wech* and *Tafel*, rather than with Ruusbroec's mystagogical works. This finding is consistent with the growing need ever since the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 to divulge academic learning to less learned audiences through compendia, florilegia and commentaries.⁶⁹ Lombard's *Sentences* stand apart from the other texts in adopting stylistic and structural features from scholastic theology. Consequently, the text differs widely from the others both in form and content. A focus on theological issues concerning apocalyptic eschatology is found only – in the corpus discussed – in Lombard's *Sentences*. They are aimed at a niche-readership: that of academic clergy.

When it comes to the explicit or implicit general concepts about the end time events, there seems to be no difference between the four texts, and hence neither between the views held in the Latin and vernacular cultural spheres. For all four authors it is a certainty that the Last Judgment and its dramatic consequences will someday arrive. It is only the treatment of the scenario and the particular interests that differ. The texts prepare their respective audiences in specific ways for this inevitable event, with a presentation and discussion of theological questions related to the end time events at one end of the spectrum (Lombard, *Sentences*), and a factual account at the other end (*Wech van salicheit*). Ruusbroec, Dirc van Delf, and the *Compendium* have their separate niches somewhere between these poles. Ruusbroec only contemplates those issues that have a place in his concept of the mystical life. Dirc van Delf, being a master of theology as well as a good writer, straddles between scholastic formal conventions and a desire to present his audience with attractive style. The *Compendium* sets forth established views both on the events and the related questions.

Samenvatting

In deze bijdrage worden de uitgebreide eschatologische scenario's besproken die in enkele Middelnederlandse teksten uit de veertiende-eeuwse geestelijke letterkunde zijn ontvouwd, met name in *Wech van salicheit*, in Dirc van Delf's *Tafel van den kersten ghelove* en in twee van Ruusbroecs traktaten. Een dergelijk feitelijk overzicht van gangbare en representatieve voorstellingen van de gebeurtenissen rondom het Laatste Oordeel bestond nog niet. Deze eindtijd-voorstellingen worden geconfronteerd met de scenario's die we aantreffen in twee invloedrijke en wijdverbreide Latijnse *summae*: Hugo Ripelin van Straatsburgs *Compendium theologiae veritatis*, en het *Sententiën*-commentaar van Petrus Lombardus. Deze *summa's* zijn bovendien de belangrijkste bronnen van de Middelnederlandse teksten voor wat betreft de visie op de Eindtijd. Ten slotte wordt de verhouding geschetst tussen de eschatologische scenario's in de Latijnse en Middelnederlandse teksten, waarbij verrassenderwijs blijkt dat het *Compendium theologiae veritatis* nauwer bij de informatieve volkstalige teksten aansluit dan bij het Latijnse scholastiek-academische discours. Opmerkelijk is ook dat Dirc van Delf uitgebreid gebruikt maakt van de Latijnse scholastieke conventies, als structuurprincipe van zijn literair gesofisticeerde tekst. Ruusbroec concentreert zich op de elementen die gerelateerd zijn aan zijn opvatting van het mystieke leven.

Adress of the author:

Ruusbroec Institute
University of Antwerp
Prinsstraat 13
B-2000 Antwerpen

Bibliography

- Alaerts, J. (ed.), *Jan van Ruusbroec, Opera omnia IV: Dat rijcke der ghelieven*. Tiel: Lannoo/Turnhout: Brepols, 2002 (Studiën en tekstuitgaven van Ons Geestelijk Erf 20, 4/CCCM 104).
- Bloomfield, M.W., et al., *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100-1500 A.D.* Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1979 (The Mediaeval Academy of America Publications 88).
- Boner, Georg, 'Über den Dominikanertheologen Hugo von Straßburg', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 24 (1954), 269-286.
- Borgnet, St.C.A. (ed.), *B. Alberti Magni, Ratisbonensis episcopi, ordinis Praedicatorum, Opera Omnia XXX-IV*. Paris, 1895, 1-306.
- Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit, Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani IV.III*. München: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1989.
- Daniëls, L.M.Fr. (ed.), *Tafel van den Kersten Ghelove I-III*. Antwerpen: Neerlandia/Nijmegen: Dekker & Van de Vegt, 1939.
- De Baere, G., Th. Mertens & H. Noë (eds.), *Jan van Ruusbroec, Opera omnia X: Vanden blinkenden steen, Vanden vier becoringhen, Vanden kerstenen ghelove, Brieven*. Tiel: Lannoo/Turnhout: Brepols, 1991 (Studiën en tekstuitgaven van Ons Geestelijk Erf 20, 10/CCCM 110).

- Emmerson, Richard Kenneth, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: a Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981.
- Fischer, Heribert, 'Hugues Ripelin de Strasbourg', in: *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité VII.I*. Paris: Beauchesne, 1969, col. 894/5.
- Gerhardt, Chr., & N. Palmer (ed.), *Das Münchner Gedicht von den fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem Jüngsten Gericht. Nach der Handschrift der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek Cgm 717, Edition und Kommentar*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2002 (Texte des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit 41).
- Horsley, Richard A., & Patrick A. Tiller, *After Apocalyptic and Wisdom. Rethinking Texts in Context*, Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2012.
- Kienhorst, Hans, & Kees Schepers (eds.), *Het Wiesbadense handschrift. Hs. Wiesbaden, Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, 3004 B 10*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2009 (Middeleeuwse Verzamelhandschriften uit de Nederlanden 11).
- Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae in iv libris distinctae I-II*. Grottaferrata: Collegii S. Bonaventurae Ad Claras Aquas, 1981.
- McGinn, Bernard, *Visions of the end. Apocalyptic traditions in the Middle Ages*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979.
- McGinn, Bernard (ed.), *Meister Eckhart and the Beguine Mystics. Hadewijch of Brabant, Mechthild of Magdeburg, and Marguerite Porete*. New York: Continuum, 1994.
- Pansters, Krijn, *De kardinale deugden in de Lage Landen 1200-1500*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2007 (Middeleeuwse Studies en Bronnen 108).
- Peltier, A.C. (ed.), *S.R.E. Cardinalis S. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia VIII*. Paris, 1866, 61-246.
- Pouckens, J.B. & L. Reypens (eds.), *Jan van Ruusbroec, Werken. Naar het standaardhandschrift van Groenedaal uitgegeven door het Ruusbroec-Genootschap te Antwerpen I-IV*. Tiel: Lannoo, 1944-1948 (2nd revised edition).
- Scheepsma, Wybren, *Preaching in the Medieval Low Countries at the turn of the Fourteenth Century*. Leiden: Boston, 2008 (Brill's Series in Church History 34).
- Schepers, Kees, 'Het *Compendium theologiae veritatis* van Hugo Ripelin van Straatsburg als bron voor Ruusbroec', in: *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 73 (1999), 131-149.
- Smoller, Laura E., 'Of Earthquakes, Hail, Frogs, and Geography. Plague and the investigation of the Apocalypse in the Later Middle Ages', in: Caroline Walker Bynum & Paul Freedman (eds.), *Last Things. Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages (The Middle Ages Series)*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000, 156-187.
- Steer, Georg, *Hugo Ripelin von Straßburg. Zur Rezeptions- und Wirkungsgeschichte des "Compendium theologiae veritatis" im deutschen Spätmittelalter*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1981.
- Steer, Georg, 'Hugo Ripelin von Straßburg', in: *Verfasserlexikon IV*. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1983 (2nd rev. edition), col. 252-66.
- Stegmüller, F., *Repertorium commentariorum in sententias Petri Lombardi I-II*. Würzburg: Schöningh, 1947.
- Stooker, Karl, & Theo Verbeij, *Collecties op orde. Middelnederlandse handschriften uit kloosters en semi-religieuze gemeenschappen in de Nederlanden I-II*. Leuven: Peeters, 1997 (Miscellanea Neerlandica 15-16).
- Troelstra, A., *De toestand der catechese in Nederland gedurende de vóór-reformatische eeuw*. Groningen: Wolters, 1901.
- Van Oostrom, F.P., *Het woord van eer. Literatuur aan het Hollandse hof omstreeks 1400*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1988 (2nd edition).
- Warnar, Geert, 'Biecht, gebod en zonde. Middelnederlandse moraaltheologie voor de wereldlijke leek', in: Th. Mertens (ed.), *Boeken voor de eeuwigheid*. Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1993 (Nederlandse literatuur en cultuur in de Middeleeuwen 8), 36-51, 372-80.
- Wuttke, Ulrike, *Dit es dinde van goede ende quade. Eschatologie bei den Brabanter Autoren Jan van Boendale, Lodewijk van Velthem und Jan van Leeuwen (14. Jahrhundert)*. Ghent: Universiteit Gent, 2012 (Unpublished dissertation Ghent University).

Inhoud/Contents

KEES SCHEPERS	Judgment, Damnation, and Salvation in <i>Wêch van Salicheit, Tafel vanden kersten ghelove</i> , and in Ruusbroec's Works Apocalyptic Eschatological Concepts in Middle Dutch Texts and in Their Latin Sources	I
JORIS REYNAERT	Het 'Spel van Olivier van Leefeldale' Toneel en Brabantse geschiedschrijving in de vijftiende eeuw	23
ANNA DLABAČOVÁ	Naar aanleiding van .../Apropos of ... Conventspreken unconventional benaderd? <i>Schrijven in commissie. De zusters uit het Brusselse klooster Jericho en de preken van hun biechtvaders (ca. 1456-1510).</i> PATRICIA STOOP	56
JOZEF JANSSENS	Over mooie ontrouwen ... <i>Beatrijs de wereld in. Vertalingen en bewerkingen van het Middelnederlandse verhaal</i> TON VAN KALMTHOUT, ORSOLYA RÉTHELYI & REMCO SLEIDERINK (red.)	57
WIM HÜSKEN	Van Elckerlijc tot Jedermann <i>Elckerlijc – Jedermann.</i> CLARA STRIJBOSCH & ULRIKE ZELLMANN (ed./vert.)	60
INGRID FALQUE	Repenser le rapport texte-image dans la tradition du <i>Speculum Humanae Salvationis</i> <i>Een lekenboek in woord en beeld. De Spiegel der menschliken zalicheid.</i> BERNADETTE KRAMER	64
RENÉE GABRIËL	Als ich diß buch in flemisch fant / Da müst es mir gefallen <i>Bibliographie der niederländischen Literatur in deutscher Übersetzung I: niederländische Literatur bis 1550.</i> RITA SCHLUSEMANN	67