

# End of Time in the Middle Ages



## *The Vineyard of Our Saviour* Bodleian MS. Douce 134

TRANSLATED BY MARIJIM THOENE AND GUY MERMIER

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY MARTIN KAUFFMANN

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*An English Translation of "The Vineyard of Our  
Saviour," Bodleian MS. Douce 134*

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INTRODUCTION BY MARTIN  
KAUFFMANN

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# Introduction

The *Livre de la vigne nostre Seigneur* (MS. Douce 134) is a treatise, transcribed and illustrated perhaps in the early 1460s in south-eastern France, treating the Antichrist, the Fifteen Signs before Judgement, the Last Judgement itself, Hell, and Heaven: it describes (in French prose, frequently enriched by Latin quotations from the Bible and the Church Fathers) the events which the faithful believed would take place at the end of the world. The title was evidently inspired by the parable of the labourers in the vineyard, which is referred to in the opening quotation from the Gospel of St. Matthew (20:4): 'Go ye also into the vineyard, and whatsoever is right I will give you'. This seems to be the only surviving copy of the text: the name of its author is not given. The corrections and insertions by the original scribe on almost every page give the impression that scribe and author may have been one and the same person.

The manuscript's shelfmark in the Bodleian Library – MS. Douce 134 – preserves the name of the collector and antiquary Francis Douce, who bequeathed it to the Library on his death in 1834. Douce referred to the manuscript in his notebook as the 'very curious diabolical Vigne spirituelle'. Before him it had been owned by his friend Thomas Frognall Dibdin, who still remembered it vividly and described it in his reminiscences, published in 1836:

This MS. volume, executed probably at the very conclusion of the fourteenth century, was once mine. I had purchased it of Mr. Triphook for £20. It then became the property of Mr. Anderson, jun., at the sale of whose library it was purchased (at my particular instigation) by Mr. Douce, for precisely the same sum, or a pound only under. It is most extravagantly decorated with

illuminations: and the most gorgeous is the one here selected, being the *Assumption of the Virgin*. The back-ground is all gold, and unsoiled. The draperies are fresh and rich in colour. The entire illumination is in a blaze of splendour. And what DEMONS! Here is Beelzebub himself at full-length; an upright figure, with a head-attire which should seem to be a Tower of Babel! And what demoniacal groups of smaller dimensions – grotesque, savage, wild, murderous! My deceased friend used to chuckle aloud on expatiating upon these oddities...

The manuscript which made such an impression on Dibdin has a table of contents which specifies that this is the second book of the *Livre de la Vigne*; and its text refers to the first book as a treatise on the Passion of Christ. And indeed there is another manuscript, today MS. 337 in the Bibliothèque municipale in Grenoble in south-eastern France, which claims to be that first book. The Grenoble manuscript has a colophon of almost miraculous helpfulness, stating that it was completed on 5 March 1463, and that the second book was made before the first. This first book is a treatise on the Incarnation, Passion, and Resurrection of Christ, and on the nature and benefits of faith. But though the Grenoble manuscript has a number of physical similarities to the Oxford volume, there are also significant differences. Neither the scribes, nor the artists, seem to be the same; the Grenoble manuscript, by contrast with Oxford, has far fewer corrections and emendations; and its illustrations, instead of being inserted into the text, are confined to the margins. However these differences between the two parts are to be explained – is it possible that these are two assorted surviving halves from two different sets, rather than from the same one? – it is clear that the Douce manuscript had been separated from its other half by the 16th century, when a reader, coming across a reference in the text to the other half of the book, noted in the

margin that he had not seen it: 'Il y a ung aultre Livre de la Vigne quon n'a pas veu' (fol. 9v).

The Grenoble manuscript reached its present home along with other manuscripts from the Grande Chartreuse, the mother house of the Carthusian order, only some fifteen miles away. And here again there is a connection. Near the end of the Oxford manuscript is the entry into paradise and the ascent to the heavenly court where the Lord is adored. The miniature of the heavenly court is the only double-page spread in the book. Prominently featured at the front are two Carthusian saints, their white habits recognizable from the characteristic side-flap. One of them is probably St. Bruno, who founded the strictly contemplative Order at the Grande Chartreuse in the year 1084: it reached a peak of expansion in the later Middle Ages. The monks lived an austere semi-eremitical life in cottage-like cells attached in rows, and would meet their brethren only for the Mass and Offices, and for meals on feast days. But the Order had a long-standing interest in the copying of texts: the monks mostly read and wrote in their own cells, but talking was specially permitted when they worked together on the correcting of texts and the binding of books.

In some ways the *Livre de la Vigne* seems untypical of Carthusian writing: the Order's tradition of affective, mystical theology stressed not the end of the world and the torments of Hell so graphically portrayed in the Douce manuscript but the penitent's route of purgation, illumination, and union as the three steps in the ascent towards the Kingdom of Heaven. But it was not only their own needs which Carthusian monks sought to fulfill by their bookish activities. For an Order which had retreated from the outward-looking role in society of the old Benedictine houses, books could play a pastoral role: as the 12th-century Customs of the Order had put it, 'because we are not able to preach with our mouth the word of God, at least let us preach

it with our hands, namely, in the copying of books of edification'. Carthusian books were often characterized by the simplicity of their script, bindings, and decoration. By contrast the more lavish *Livre de la Vigne* was surely illuminated by professional artists and intended for an audience beyond the enclosure walls. It is in the network of relations between the Grande Chartreuse and the leading families of the surrounding area that we should be looking for the original destination of the *Livre de la Vigne*. In fact there is a name scratched into the upper cover of the Oxford manuscript: 'dominus Johannes Blathe' or perhaps 'Blache'. No such person has yet been identified, and he may have been a subsequent, rather than the original, owner; but it is encouraging to find that the name Blache is still local to the area of Grenoble today.

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# Translator's Preface and Acknowledgements

As an organist studying the iconography of the organ in medieval manuscripts I was drawn to the illuminated manuscript of *Le livre de la Vigne nostre Seigneur* (*The Book of the Vineyard of our Saviour*) in the Bodleian Library (MS. Douce 134) by one of its seventy six vivid and inventive images, showing an angel organist at the feet of enthroned Blessed Virgin Mary playing a closely observed pipe organ ([Figure 73](#)). When I asked Professor Guy Mermier at the University of Michigan to translate the accompanying Old French text I was intrigued to learn that the image of the instrument in this manuscript, unlike those in many other manuscripts, illustrated a descriptive text. The anonymous fifteenth-century author of *The Book of the Vineyard of our Saviour* had undertaken to explain the role of the organ in the music of paradise. Further study of the manuscript established that text and images were inextricably linked throughout; indeed all of the illustrations were created in response to a remarkable text that expresses a deep faith and a passionate desire to save souls from eternal damnation. We were both intrigued by the fervor and vision of the writer as well as by the power of the images that the illuminator devised, mirroring the events of the text to such a degree that surely the reader of this manuscript would dare not sin again! We were captivated by this 15<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript, whose template was Dante's *Divine Comedy* and whose illuminations recalled to us images of Matthias Grunewald's *Isenheim Altarpiece* and Hieronymus Bosch's *Hell* and *The Temptation of St. Anthony*. Thus began our collaboration and our joint effort to create an English translation of the Old French and

Latin of *Le livre de la vigne nostre Seigneur*. We based our translation directly on the manuscript, working from a photocopy of the original supplied by the Bodleian Library. An electronic version of the text is now provided by the Bodleian.

After Professor Mermier's death in 2011, I completed the project, taking advantage of the digital illuminations of MS. Douce 134 made available to the public by the Bodleian Library: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/8fbb7f90-658f-4f91-afc0-b8b8e6393f41>. A facsimile volume of the MS entitled *Manocritto Douce 134: conservato presso la Bodleian Library* was published in 2019 by Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Fondata Giovanni Treccani. Accompanying the facsimile is a book named *Mirabile vision, saggi e commenti* (*Wonderful Vision, Essays and Comments*).

During the years spent in creating the translation and notes of MS. Douce 134 I was given invaluable assistance, and I would like to extend my thanks to the many who helped in the preparation of this work. It was my great privilege to have listened to the late Professor Guy Mermier read aloud his translation of the old French MS. Douce 134, to have been his scribe, and to have worked with him on the many revisions, as I myself undertook to translate the extensive Latin quotations within the text. His enthusiasm, boundless energy, discipline, and dedication were formidable. Together we were literally captivated by the beatific vision of paradise and the terrors of hell of the anonymous writer of *The Book of the Vineyard of our Saviour*.

I would like first to offer my special thanks to the late Marilyn Mason, Professor Emerita of Organ at the University of Michigan, for encouraging me to play early organ music and to study its history in medieval manuscripts. I owe Professors of Musicology James Borders, also at the University of Michigan and Joseph Dyer, at the University of Massachusetts, Boston, for graciously answering my questions regarding medieval liturgy. I

also thank Jonathan Hasey, Director of Music at St. Francis of Assisi Roman Catholic Church in Ann Arbor, for identifying the chants sung by Carthusian monks listed in the Excursus, and to Dr. Debra Lacoste for her gracious assistance in accessing the Cantus Database.

I would like to offer thanks to my Latin teachers at the University of Michigan, Rebecca Schindler, Deborah Ross, and David Ross and at Tulane University Thomas Frazel, Susann Lusnia and Joseph Poe. I owe a debt of gratitude for help in translating to the late Fr. Achille Van Hoof, a Norbertine priest at Tongerlo Abbey in Louvain; Charles Witke, Professor Emeritus of Classical Studies at the University of Michigan and Assistant Rector of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church in Ann Arbor; and Thomas Frazel, Professor of Classics at Tulane University. I also wish to acknowledge my debt of gratitude to the late Hugh Shields, who at the beginning of our project in 1994, graciously sent me portions of his unpublished Ph.D. thesis dissertation, for Trinity College, Dublin, 1967, "An Old French book of legends and its Apocalyptic background pertaining to MS. Douce 134." I am also grateful to Professor Chris Nighman at Wilfrid Laurier University who has made *Manipulus florum* available electronically and who helped me locate the source of several Latin passages. I owe thanks to Maria Canal, Ph.D. in Romance Languages, at the University of Michigan for translating a few sentences of the Old French, which had not been translated by Guy Mermier, and to Blake Gutt, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages at the University of Michigan, for clarifying some passages in MS. Douce 134. I am also grateful to Elizabeth Sears, Professor of Medieval Art at the University of Michigan, for her encouragement and suggestions. I wish to thank Carmen-Wyatt Hayes, Professor of Spanish, Maria Rebbert, Professor Emerita of Romance Languages, and Lucy Moye, Professor Emerita of His-

tory, at Hillsdale College for reading the Excursus and offering insightful suggestions.

I extend my thanks, too, to the reference librarians at the University of Michigan for their expertise and kindness: Scott Dennis, the late Tom Burnett, and Judith Avery who showed me how to use the electronic databases and decode many formidable terms. I am grateful to Jason Imbesi, reference librarian at the School of Music, for help in accessing online articles. I give special thanks to Bryan Skib, Associate University Librarian for Collections, who directed me to works of theology and patiently answered my many questions. I am indebted to Evyn Krop, Librarian for Religious Studies and Curator of Islamic Manuscripts, for extensive help in many areas, including identifying publishers of early printed books, and verifying dates of writers. Without their help this project would not have been completed.

I express my thanks to the many scholars on the Medieval List Serve who generously shared their knowledge, some of whom include Paul Chandler, Matthieu Pignot, Otfried Lieberknecht, William Schipper, John Dillon, and Thomas Izbici. To Dr. Alice Isabella Sullivan, my copy editor I extend my thanks for her kindness, and attention to detail.

Finally, I would like to thank the Corpus Christianorum Library & Knowledge Centre in Turnhout, Belgium particularly Bart Janssens and Luc Jocqué for answering my many enquiries regarding bibliographic data in CCSL and CCCM; the University of Michigan, especially Jason Colman, Director of Michigan Publishing Services, and Joseph Muller, typesetter, for their patience and advice; as well as the Bodleian Library for their help in realizing this project, and especially Martin Kauffmann, Head of Early and Rare Collections and Tolkien Curator of Medieval Manuscripts, for preparing a splendid introduction to the manuscript. Lastly I thank my husband Jess whose infinite patience

and encouragement were indispensable in completing this project.



# Methodology in Translating the Old French and Latin

The text uniquely preserved in MS. Douce 134 is sermon-like. The anonymous evangelist-writer is happy to repeat turns of phrase for emphasis, and occasionally rambles with loosely linked thoughts coming one after the other.

In translating this text, Guy Mermier and I both tried at once to preserve and to clarify the structure and rhythms of the text. The table of contents at the beginning of the manuscript lists chapter divisions, which at times do not correspond with those in text. In keeping with our goal to present the manuscript as it is we include this table of contents that indicates the writer decided upon a new ordering of the topics as he wrote. Because there are no paragraph divisions within the chapters we decided to introduce these at logical points and to standardize inconsistent punctuation. The sentences are often lengthy and the syntax tends to be convoluted and complex. We decided that a too literal translation would be cumbersome, and frustrating for the reader. Therefore, while making every effort to maintain the style of the text in its formality and intensity, we reconstructed many sentences for readability; this often involved placing subject and verb in closer proximity. The work falls naturally into two main divisions, Hell and Paradise. Within these two divisions we subdivided the text into smaller sections where natural breaks in the text seemed to occur. We designated them: Hell I-VIII and Paradise I-IV.

Guy Mermier was responsible for the translation of the Old French text of *The Vineyard of Our Lord*. I provided annotations to this text and furnished the Latin translations for the many

Latin passages that the anonymous author had inserted into the text from the Vulgate as well as from other sources. The English italicized words indicate they have been translated from Latin. Verse numbers for the Latin Bible did not exist until the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. The author provided chapter numbers for the majority of the biblical passages, with the exception of the Psalms. In the notes I identify the Psalm by number and verse, and verse numbers for the other biblical passages indicating when this corrects the author. I have relied on the Douay-Rheims translation of the Old and New Testaments, first published by the English College at Rheims in 1602 and in 1582 respectively. The Douay Bible is available online through the Bible Gateway.

For all of the Latin passages quoting Gregory's *Moralia* I have used the English translation entitled *Morals on the Book of Job* provided by Members of the English Church published in four volumes in 1844, 1845, 1847 and 1850. The notes cite the book and paragraph numbers. The Roman numerals within parentheses correspond to paragraph numbers in the margins of the translation and refer to the paragraph numbers of an earlier translation and to the Latin editions in the PL and CCSL.

In Latin transcriptions in the notes I follow the author's spelling of Latin words as they appear in the manuscript, and indicate variations in parentheses. In instances where I have had to fill out abbreviations, I have used spellings in the *Library of Latin Texts* (*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* and *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*), the *Patrologia Latina* or the *HathiTrust Digital Library*. When the anonymous author changes the verb mood to imply the indicative rather than the subjunctive, I have retained the verb mood of the manuscript. I retain Latin word order, indicate textual omissions in brackets, and use the punctuation as employed in the editions mentioned above.

At times the anonymous author has inserted footnotes in the lower margin and the scribe has linked these by inserting drawn circles in the body of the text. Occasionally double crosses in red ink indicate footnotes. Sometimes the scribe has drawn horizontal lines to indicate that a particular passage was quoted earlier. To recreate the page, and give the reader a sense of scribal ingenuity, I have described these shorthand methods in the notes.

I have tried, whenever possible, to provide the source of each Latin quotation, noting when the author's identification differs from that of present scholarship. In the case of antiphons and hymns I have provided references to modern editions of texts and musical settings.

As I searched for the sources of the Latin passages transcribed in MS. Douce 134, using the electronic databases of the *Library of Latin Texts* (CCSL and CCCM), the *Patrologia Latina* (PL), the *HathiTrust Digital Library*, and the *Manipulus Florum*, I was impressed with the number of times that certain Latin passages appeared in other medieval works. Some passages were quoted with such frequency that they felt like smooth stones that had been handled by many hands. I include reference to relevant previous use in the notes because this indicates ideas and beliefs that reverberated through generations. This inclusion reflects the longevity and persistence of a belief system which focused on the terrors of the damned, "mors sine morte" ("death without dying"), and the unquenchable fires of hell described by Gregory in his *Moralia*, and the Day of Judgment, that moment "when unbelievers and faithful will perceive God" described by the Erythraean Sibyl. The citing of multiple sources also gives evidence of the recurrence of the beatific vision of the saints as described by St. Augustine in his *City of God* that echoed throughout the Middle Ages: "There we shall be still and see, shall see and love, shall love and praise."



# Abbreviations

## CAO

René Jean Hesbert. *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii*. Rome: Herder, 1963-1979. It is now accessed electronically through the Cantus Database.

## CCCM

*Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1966ff.

## CCSL

*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1953ff.

## CT

Sancti Thomae de Aquino, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Roberto Busa Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1980ff. Volume numbers and page numbers in the notes refer to this hard copy edition. CT also refers to an electronic version at <http://www.corpusthomisticum.org/>, 2005 Revised edition on the internet, by Enrique Alarcón.

## DS

*Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique doctrine et histoire*, 17 vols. Paris : Beauchesne, 1937-97.

## LCL

Loeb Classical Library. Saint Augustine, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, trans. William M. Green (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972).

## LLT

*Library of Latin Texts, Series*, Turnhout: Brepols.

**PG**

J.-P. Migne. *Patrologiae cursus completes, Series graeca*. Paris: Lutetiae, 1856-1866.

**PL**

J.-P. Migne and A.-G. Hamman. *Patrologiae cursus completes, Series latina*. Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1844-1855.

**MGH**

*Monumenta Germaniae historica*.

**SC**

*Sources Chrétiennes*, Editions du Cerf, Paris, 1943ff.

# Contents (anonymous author)

## Contents

### folio 2 recto

Here follows what is contained in the [ ] book on the vineyard of our Lord

i That toward the end of the world faith will decrease, etc.

ii Of the ills which are to come upon people, etc.

iii That the Antichrist will come toward the end of the world

iii Of the Antichrist and of his beginning

iii From what lineage the Antichrist will come

iiii How the Antichrist will be conceived

v Where the Antichrist will be born

v Who is the Antichrist

vi Of the advent of the Antichrist

vii That the Antichrist will present himself to the Jews, etc.

vii That the Antichrist will claim to be equal to God

vii That of the whole world several will convert to the Antichrist without any difficulty

viii Of the power of the Antichrist

viii Of the cruelty of the Antichrist

ix That the Antichrist will be a hypocrite and full of vices

ix That the Antichrist will blaspheme the name of our Lord Jesus Christ

x That by reason is demonstrated that what he will say is false

xi That the Antichrist will make the world crazy by high words

xii Of the disciples of the Antichrist

xiii That by reason is demonstrated that what they will say will be false

xiii That several heretics will develop at the time of the Antichrist

xiii That the Antichrist will attract to him several people through gifts

xv That the Antichrist will deceive the world by signs and miracles

xvi Of the signs that the Antichrist will make

xix That several people will not notice that the signs are false

xix Why God will allow the Antichrist to make false signs

xx Admonition to be careful not to be deceived by the signs

xxi Of the advent of Enoch and Elijah against the Antichrist

xxiii That the Antichrist will make himself adored

xxv That the Antichrist will reign because of the sins of the world

xxvi That Holy Church will be persecuted by the Antichrist

## **folio 2 verso**

xxvii Of the tribulation which will be at the time of the Antichrist

xxviii What things are necessary to the Christians, etc.

xxix How the Antichrist will torment the good Christians

xxxi That none deceive himself by repudiating our Lord Jesus Christ

xxxii Exhortation to the faithful of Jesus Christ

xxxv How long the persecution of the Antichrist will last

xxxvi Of the death of the Antichrist

xxxvii Of the time of peace that will be after the death of the Antichrist

xxxvii That as soon after the death of the Antichrist the sun and the moon etc.

xxxix Of the tribulation that the people will have because of the signs

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- lvii Of the place where the day of judgment will be held
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- lxv That the prelates and curates will give account
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- lxvi Of judges and other people of court

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lxviii Of Jews and all unbelievers

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lxix Of proud ones

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lxx Of thieves and plunderers

lxx Of murderers

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ciii That the damned will not be able to sleep

ciii Of the quality of the bodies of the damned

cvi That the pains of hell are without measure, etc.

cvi That the damned will have no comfort nor remedy

cvi Of the complaints, cries and wounds of the damned

cix Of the hatred which the damned will have together

cx That the damned will want to get out of hell, etc.

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cxixv In glory are those who were humble in their hearts

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cliii That the weddings of paradise will be glorious

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clvii Of the great joy that the saints will have in the weddings of paradise

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clviii That the saints will make melodies with all sorts of sounding instruments

clix That the saints will have great pleasure in all their corporeal senses

clxi That the glory of saints is eternal

clxii That the saints will be certain to always be in glory

clxiii That the glory of the saints cannot be measured

clxiiii That in order to gain the glory of paradise one must deserve it

clxv That the kingdom of glory is not for everyone



# Hell I [1r-25r]

[1r] Here begins the last book of the Vineyard of Our Lord. As the evening had come the Lord of the Vineyard said to his procurer the following words: Matthew XX *Call the labourers and pay them their hire.*<sup>1</sup> That is to say, “Call the workmen, give them their salary.” By “that evening” is understood the end of the world, at the end of which the workers in the Vineyard of Our Lord will be called, and then their salary will be given to them. We must speak of this salary and dowry in this present book. Because the workers of the Vineyard will live toward the end of the world, they will see things that have not been seen by those who have lived before them, and they will have much more time and much more to do than the others before they can receive their dowries. For their information it must be told what things will occur towards the end of the world so that they know how to behave in this temple and how to be on their guard to avoid the perils which will be in the world. This will allow them to succeed and not be prevented from receiving a full salary in the glory of paradise.

1. Mt. XX: 8. The italicized text indicates an English translation of the Latin. The Biblical translations are from the Douay-Rheims Bible, published by the English College at Rheims. The New Testament was published in 1582 while the Old Testament appeared in 1609. Sometimes the anonymous writer of MS. Douce 134 will quote a scripture in French and then repeat the same scripture in Latin, or vice versa.

## Towards the end of the world faith will decrease and all evil will increase

Towards the end of the world faith will decrease and it will be found in a few people as our Lord Jesus Christ says in the Gospel book of Luke XVIII. But yet, *when the Son of man cometh, shall he find, think you, faith on earth?*<sup>2</sup> When the son of man who is Jesus Christ will come, do you think he will find faith on earth? The answer is “No,” except in a few people, because at the end of the world many will abandon faith and will leave it as the apostle says. I Timothy III *Now the Spirit manifestly saith, that in the last times some shall depart from the faith.*<sup>3</sup> And when faith will be lacking in people all good will cease and all evil will abound. [1v] At the end, times will be perilous because there will no longer be any faith, loyalty, truth, and confidence in people. Men will be covetous, haughty, proud, rebellious, disobedient, ungrateful, lustful, traitorous, deceitful, full of vices, and of sins. Of this the apostle speaks. II Timothy III *In the last days shall come dangerous times: Men shall be lovers of themselves, covetous, haughty, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, ungrateful, wicked, without affection, without peace, slanderers, incontinent, unmerciful, without kindness, traitors, stubborn, puffed up, lovers of pleasures more than of God.*<sup>4</sup> We already see that it has happened, that men will be evil as expressed above. Each person must fear this for himself and for his soul. Because people are so bad, their enemies come on top of them, win them over and get them to agree with their will without offering any resistance. And so men are what their enemies want and desire them to be. However, each person who considers this well must strive to do

2. Lk. XVIII: 8.

3. I Tm. IV: 1.

4. II Tm. III: 1-4.

the opposite and keep on his guard. He must be on guard not to fall into such a condition or predicament that would prevent him from acting well, and consequently would cause him to lose his salary in paradise.

## **The evils that are to come to people towards the end of the world**

Matthew XXIII As [Jesus] was sitting on Mount Olivet, the disciples came unto him privately, saying, Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign of thy coming and of the consummation of the world? And Jesus answering said, to them: Take heed that no man seduce you: For many will come in my name, saying, I am Christ; and they will seduce many. And ye shall hear of wars [2r] and rumors of wars. See that ye be not troubled. For these things must come to pass: but the end is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, and there shall be pestilences, famines, and earthquakes in places. Now all these are the beginnings of sorrows.<sup>5</sup> As our Lord Jesus Christ was sitting on the Mount of Olives his disciples asked him saying, “Tell us when these things will take place and what will be the sign of your advent and of the consummation of the world,” and Jesus answered them saying: “Be on guard lest anyone deceive you. Several people will come in my name saying: ‘I am the Christ’ and will deceive many. When you will see battles don’t be afraid. These things must be done first, but it is not yet the end. People will rise against people and kingdom against kingdom, and there will be deaths and famines and earthquakes in places. All these things are the beginning of pains.”

5. Mt. XXIV: 3-8.

By these words it is demonstrated that the world towards the end will be divided when people, as if they were out of their minds, will oppose each other. People against people, kingdom against kingdom will not be new because many times such things have occurred. We still frequently see battles and divisions, pestilence, death, and famines throughout the world. But when these things will occur along with earthquakes, terrors from the sky and great signs you will know that the end of the world is approaching. Because as our Lord says: "All these things are the beginnings of sufferings," that is to say, the beginnings of the greater ills that are to come in the world. And it must be known that all these wounds from wars, pestilences, death and famines will be for the punishment and destruction of the world. Because of the great abundance of malice that will be in the world, the people of the world will be exterminated in various ways: [2v] in part by battles, in part by pestilence and death and in part by famine. And those who will remain after will have even more tribulations and pains.

## **The Antichrist will come toward the end of the world**

In this time, that is to say, toward the end of the world, the Antichrist will come, as the Holy Scripture says in several places in the Old as well as in the New Testament. They tell from which people he will descend, who he will be, and what he will do. Oh Christians, when the memory of the Antichrist comes to your mind all your heart must shake and tremble as it would from death. Because as every creature naturally hates what is contrary to his life, the more one should hold in horror and fear in one's heart when hearing of the Antichrist. Because since the beginning of the world there was not a man in the world so great an enemy to the Christians, or so contrary to their life

than the Antichrist will be. Christians who are in the world will be examined and tormented by the Antichrist. Infinite ills will be multiplied throughout the world by the Antichrist. Christians as well as other people without number will die because of the Antichrist. Toward the end of the world the Antichrist will come when the people will be full of malice, and ills will be multiplied on the earth. Daniel VIII *When iniquities shall be grown up, there shall arise a king of a shameless face, and understanding dark sentences. And his power shall be strengthened, but not by his own force: and he shall lay all things waste, and shall prosper, and do more than can be believed. And he shall destroy the mighty.*<sup>6</sup> And Matthew XXIII *Iniquity shall be multiplied.*<sup>7</sup>

## The Antichrist and his beginning

The Antichrist was demonstrated in several figures. About this one reads that Daniel, the prophet, saw in a vision four beasts coming out of the sea, of which the fourth was terrible, marvelous, and strong beyond measure. It had great iron teeth, and ten horns, and another small horn coming out from the middle of the ten horns. Of this small horn the Doctors of Holy Church say that this is the Antichrist and this is founded in truth. Consider what the Holy Scripture says [3r] about this little horn. It will speak great words and will fight against the saints and beat them and he will say words against God. Daniel VII *I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them. Later it follows: And he shall speak words against the High One, and shall crush the saints of the most High.*<sup>8</sup> And all

6. Dn. VIII: 23-24.

7. Mt. XXIV: 12.

8. Dn. VII: 21 and 25.

this agrees completely with what the Holy Scripture says in the Apocalypse where it is written that St. John saw a beast coming out of the sea that had seven heads and ten horns and was saying great words and blasphemies against God. And it was appointed to him to battle the saints and beat them. Apocalypse XIII *And he opened his mouth in blasphemies against God, to blaspheme his name...And it was given unto him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them.*<sup>9</sup> And it must be said that the Antichrist was shown in the shape of a horn because of the strength and power he will have against all. And the fact that this horn was small means that the Antichrist in his beginning will be of small appearance. And he will look just like another man, but after a certain time he will grow and be big, marvelous, and powerful. And he will do things that no man ever did.

## From what lineage the Antichrist will come

The Antichrist will descend from the lineage of Dan who was one of the twelve sons of Jacob and about whom Jacob prophesied at the end of his life, saying what is written in the Holy Scriptures. Genesis XLIX *Dan shall be a snake in the way, a serpent in the path, that biteth the horse's heels, that his rider may fall backward.*<sup>10</sup> That is to say, Dan will become a snake in the way and a serpent on the path that bites the hooves of the horse to make the rider fall down. According to the Doctors of the Holy Church the Antichrist will be born from the lineage of Dan. They say “biting the hooves of the horse” means that the Antichrist will torment the bodies of the Christians in order to make their souls fall in error and eternal death [3v] by making them believe in

9. Ap. XIII: 6-7.

10. Gn. XLIX: 17.

him. The Antichrist is compared to these two venomous beasts, a snake on the path, and to a horned snake, because to those who go by the wide path and who fall into carnality and sin, the Antichrist will be like a snake. He will deceive them by hissing his false words. For those who take the path that is narrower, the Antichrist will be a horned serpent, because the good Christians who take the narrow path by leading a narrow life in order to achieve eternal life, the Antichrist as a horned serpent will force them by all sorts of torments to believe in him or he will kill them. And that is the reason why the Antichrist is compared to these two venomous beasts, that is to say, to a snake and to a “cerastes,”<sup>11</sup> a horned serpent.

11. Images of the cerastes from medieval manuscripts are available on the web. See David Badke, *The Medieval Bestiary*, accessed April 17, 2020, <http://bestiary.ca/beasts/beast532.htm>. Descriptions of the cerastes are found in an English translation from a Latin Bestiary of the twelfth century in *The Book of Beasts*, trans. and ed. Terence Hanbury White (New York, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 1984), 175-176. See also an English trans. of a thirteenth-century Latin bestiary with original miniatures produced in facsimile, *Bestiary: Being an English Version of the Bodleian Library, Oxford M.S. Bodley 764*, trans. Richard Barber (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993), 198. This bestiary states: “The horned serpent is a snake which gets its name from the horns on its head, which are like those of rams. It is called ‘cerastes’ in Latin from the Greek word ‘cerasta’ meaning horns. For it has four little horns, and by pretending that they are something which can be eaten, it kills animals. For it buries its whole body in the sand, and gives no clue as to its whereabouts except for those horns, with which it lures and captures birds and animals. It is more flexible than other snakes, and does not appear to have a spine. The cerastes lies in the road and bites the heels of horses, so that they rear up, and their riders fall off.”

## How the Antichrist will be conceived

Some people say that the Antichrist will be conceived by a sacred nun, but it is not probable because where he will be born there will be no nuns as there are in the Christian religion. But what St. John of Damascus says is very probable, that is to say, that the Antichrist will be a bastard because he will be engendered and conceived in the sin of fornication and that is a very bad beginning.

And still there is much worse. Because he will be totally inclined and abandoned to evil the devil will enter his body and will live in him and will possess him totally as his own vessel. According to Job XXXVII *Then the beast shall go into his covert, and shall abide in his den.*<sup>12</sup> St. Gregory says: *The ancient enemy, enters that ruined man, his peculiar vessel, who is specially called the Antichrist.*<sup>13</sup> Also St. John of Damascus Book IIII, penultimate

12. Jb. XXXVII: 8.

13. "Antiquus (antiqui in CCSL and PL with the exception of Tornacensis who uses *antiquus*) hostis vas proprium illum perditum hominem ingreditur, qui specialiter antichristus nuncupatur." Gregorius I, c. 540-604, *Moralia in Job*, lib. 32, par. 15, lin. 11, ed. Marc Adriaen (1985), CCSL 143B: 1646. See also Gregorius I, *Moralia*, lib. XXXII, cap. XV in PL 76: 648. S. Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job*, bk. XXXII, par. 22 (xv), trans. Members of the English Church (Oxford: John Henry Parker and London: J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1850), v. 3, pt. 2, 527-528. Gregory is quoted and cited by Lathcen, died 661, *Ecloga de Moraliibus Iob quas Gregorius fecit*, lib. 32, lin. 129, ed. M. Adriaen, (1969), CCSL 145: 340; Hincmarus Rhemensis, c. 806-882, *De praedestinatione*, cap. XXVII and Epilogi cap. VI in PL 125: 279, 461; Alulfus Tornacensis, died c. 1141 or c.1144, *Expositio Novi Testamenti*, pars. secunda, lib. V, cap. LIX in PL 79: 1416; and Rupertus Tuitiensis (dubium), c. 1075-1129, *Commentarius in Job*, cap. 40 in PL 168: 1180. This is the first of many quotes from Gregory's *Moralia* the anon. author cites to define the Antichrist. The medieval scholar, Bernard McGinn, offers a succinct

chapter: For God permits the Devil to inhabit him, because He foresees the future perversity of his will.<sup>14</sup> And so the Antichrist will not only be a man but he will be both a man and a devil. Now look at what follows. **[Figure 1]**

And thus he will be conceived in sin and be born in sin. And he will be nourished totally in sin, he will be totally inclined and abandoned to all vices and to all evils by the devil who will inhabit him, who will teach him and incite him to do wrong. Because of this he is called man of sin and son of perdition. II Thessalonians II... *for unless there come a revolt first, and the man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition.*<sup>15</sup> And just as our Lord Jesus Christ inhabited all plentitude of divinity corporally and all grace, similarly in the Antichrist will inhabit **[4v]** all iniquity, malice, and falsity.

description of the role of Gregory's Antichrist in his book, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2000), 81. "Antichrist is 'the head of all hypocrites...who feign holiness to lead to sinfulness' (*Moralia*, PL 76: 343B), while Job, the type of Christ, signifies the patient and humble suffering that leads us within to God."

14. "Presciens enim Deus iniquitatem eius future voluntatis concedit in eo habitare diabolum." St. John of Damascus, c. 676-749, quotes John Chrysostom, c. 347-407, hom. 3 on 2 Thess. 2, in PG 62: 482. *The Fathers of the Church: Saint John of Damascus Writings*, trans. Frederic H. Chase, Jr. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1958), 37: 400.
15. II Th. II: 3. The Jerusalem Bible reads: "It (the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ) cannot happen until the Great Revolt has taken place and the Rebel, the Lost One, has appeared."

## Where the antichrist will be born

There are diverse opinions concerning the place where the Antichrist will be born. Certain people say he will be born in Babylon and some say in Corozain. However several say he will be born in Babylon and there are authorities on this. *According to the gloss on chapter II of the second letter to the Thessalonians the*

16. Lines 5-15 on folio 4v are very difficult to decipher. While the anon. writer mentions a gloss on II Thessolonians 2, the title and author are not mentioned. Perhaps he/ she may be referring to a passage from *De Tempore Antichristi* by Adso the Benedictine abbot of Montier-en-Der, d. 992, who wrote: "In Babilone vero nascetur et in civitatibus Bethsaida et Corozaim nutrietur et conversabitur." ("In Babylon in truth he will be born and brought up and given a way of life in the cities of Bethsaida and Corozaim.") See Adso, *De Antichristo, De tempore Antichristi*, ed. Daniel Verhelst (1976), CCCM 45: 132-137. Bernard McGinn in his book, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2000), 101 describes the impact of Adso's treatise on the Antichrist: "The popularity of Adso's work was immense: the critical edition uses 171 manuscripts and identifies no fewer than nine different versions of the text, many of them pseudonymously ascribed to the most noted of medieval authors." McGinn quotes the medievalist, Richard Emmer-son, in describing the secret of the treatise's popularity: "the establishment of a vita of Antichrist that closely parallels the structure of the popular saints' lives was a creative act with great ramifications for the later Antichrist tradition." The modern spelling of Corozaim is Chorazin. It is a place in upper Galilee, 3 miles north of Capernaum. Jesus preached in Chorazin and was disappointed by the response of its inhabitants (Matt. 11: 21; Luke 10: 13). Eusebius (Onomasticon 174: 25) reported that the city was in ruins in the fourth century. Its ruined synagogue is mentioned by Petrus Diaconus in the 12th- century. It is located at Horvat Korazain, 2 mi. north of Copernaum. The synagogue was excavated by H. Kohl and C. Watzinger in 1905 and by J. Zory in 1926. The above information is from Michael Avi-Yonah, "Chorazin," in *Encyclopedia Judaica* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1971), 5: 492-495.
17. The name in the manuscript is a word showing abbreviations, and is spelled Jero. The reference is to Jerome's *Commentariorum in Daniele prophetam liber*. See *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel*, ch. 11, v. 26, trans. Gleason L. Archer, Jr. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1958), 132: "the [Antichrist] is to be born of Jewish people and come from Babylon..."

says the Antichrist will come from the Jews and is born in Babylon. Likewise the authority Methodius says he will be born in Babylon.<sup>18</sup> Although the Antichrist will descend from the lineage of Dan, as it has been said before, the lineage, which is one of the ten tribes of the people of Israel who were taken in captivity to the kingdom of the Assyrians and are now within the mountains of Caspie which extend from Septentrion<sup>19</sup> to the end of the world,

18. The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius was written in Syriac in the seventh-century and erroneously attributed to the fourth-century Methodius of Patara, a martyred bishop. This treatise, written by an anonymous Syrian author, was one of the most widespread of medieval apocalyptic texts. The anonymous author of MS. Douce 134 appears to misquote Pseudo-Methodius, for Pseudo-Methodius states: "He (the Son of Perdition, the False Messiah) will be conceived and born in Chorazin, brought up in Bethsaida, and will reign in Capernaum. Chorazin shall boast of him, because he was born there, Bethsaida because he was brought up there, and Capernaum because he reigned there. For this reason our Lord replied 'Woe' to the three of them in his Gospel, saying: 'Woe to you Chorazin, woe to you, Bethsaida, and you, Capernaum who was raised up to heaven: you shall be brought down to lowest Sheol.'" The preceding quotation is from *The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, trans. Andrew Palmer, in *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993), 239-240. See Pseudo-Methodius, *Epistula de Antichristo*, ed. Daniel Verhelst (1976), CCCM 45: 146-152. See also Francisco Javier Martinez, "Eastern Christian apocalyptic in the early Muslim period: Pseudo-Methodius and Pseudo-Athanasius" (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 1985).

19. Caspie/ae refers to the Caucasus mountains. "Caucasus" is a mountain range from the Black Sea to the Caspian. The main Caucasus lies to the north, the Lesser Caucasus to the south: they are joined by the Likhi mountains that separate Colchis and Transcaucasian Iberia. The preceding information is from David C. Brand "Caucasus," *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. Simon Hornblower and Anthony Spawford, rev. 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 304-305. "Septen-

it does not follow that the Antichrist must be born within the mountains of Caspie or come out of the lineage of Dan because some of these lineages lived in different places and so maybe the Antichrist will be born in Babylon. Thus it might be that the Antichrist will be born in Babylon, because these people (in the mountains of Caspie) are so enclosed that they cannot get out. About this one reads that when King Alexander had come to the mountains of Caspie, they asked him how they could go out from there. Since he knew that they were enclosed because they had abandoned and relinquished God, and sacrificed to idols, and that the prophets had said that they would not return from their captivity, he answered them that he would close them up even more strongly. And since he wanted to close their narrow passages and seeing that it could not be done by human labor, he prayed to God to accomplish this task. And immediately by the will of God the mountains closed in on each other and closed the place so tightly that there is no longer any passage and thus they are there enclosed until the time of the Antichrist.<sup>20</sup>

trion" refers to the northern areas of the earth. See *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 2: 480. Reference is made here to the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, which were carried away by the Assyrians in 722 B.C. The exact location of where they were taken is still not agreed upon by Biblical scholars.

20. The phenomenal military prowess of Alexander the Great, 356-323 B.C., inspired legends describing his supernatural powers which in turn became part of the apocalyptic tradition in the fifth century of the Christian era. Andrew Runni Anderson in his book, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1932), describes the manuscripts containing the legend of Alexander praying and beseeching God to close the mountains together in order to trap twenty two sinful nations. See pages 35-49 for translations of several versions of manuscripts of this legend of Alexander, namely from the Greek Pseudo-Callisthenes and

## Who is the Antichrist?

The Antichrist properly is the one about whom God speaks through the prophet Ezekiel and calls him Gog because the Antichrist is a common name and appellation, but Gog is the proper name of the Antichrist. And several causes can be advanced to demonstrate that it is so. [5r] Firstly because God names Gog saying through the prophet Ezekiel XXXVIII *Son of man, set thy face against Gog, the land of Magog.*<sup>21</sup> In another place of the Holy Scripture, that is to say, in the Apocalypse, the Antichrist is called by that very name, “Gog.” Apocalypse XX *Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, and shall go forth...and seduce the nations which are over the four quarters of the earth, Gog, and Magog,*<sup>22</sup> that is to say, that Satan will be liberated from his jail and he will deceive the people who are on the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog.

Thus it is said that Gog and Magog are the first ones who will be deceived because the devil will deceive first Gog who is the Antichrist and Magog who is the family servant of the Antichrist, and after them by those very ones he will deceive the

Pseudo Methodius. See also Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1979), 56–59, for a discussion of the development of the apocalyptic interpretation of the legend of Alexander, and a version of the legend in which Alexander acts like the prophet Daniel in prophesying that in the last days Gog and Magog will break forth from their entrapment in the mountains. McGinn quotes a translation of a metrical homily ascribed to the Syrian ecclesiastical writer Jacob of Serugh (c. 451–521), taken from Ernest A. Wallis Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1889), 186–188, 193, 196–198.

21. Ez. XXXVIII: 2.

22. Ap. XX: 7.

people who are on the earth. The fact that Gog is the Antichrist is understood by what God says through the prophet Ezekiel XXXVIII. *Thou then art he, of whom I have spoken in the days of old, by my servants, the prophets of Israel.*<sup>23</sup> God speaking of Gog says thus: “You are the one of whom I have spoken in the past by my servants, the prophets of Israel.” In several places God has spoken through the prophets of the coming of the Antichrist as it appears through their prophecies. Ezekiel says that Gog is the Antichrist and he will come with a great multitude of people as a storm to cover the earth. Ezekiel XXXVIII *And thou shalt go up and come like a storm, and like a cloud to cover the land, thou and all thy bands, and many people with thee.*<sup>24</sup> And the Holy Scripture speaking of the Antichrist agrees with such words, that is to say, the number of people of Gog and Magog is like the sands of the sea and they will come on the breadth of the earth. Apocalypse XX *It is said of Gog and Magog...whose number is as the sand of the sea. And they ascended [5v] upon the breadth of the earth, and surrounded the camp of the saints.*<sup>25</sup>

Thus what God says about the coming of Gog is understood that all the men of the earth will be directed against his brother and the evangelist says that in the time of the Antichrist the brother will kill his brother, the father the son, and the sons will attack their parents and torment them to death. Matthew X *The brother also shall deliver up the brother to death, and the father the son: and the children shall rise up against their parents, and shall put them to death.*<sup>26</sup> And thus for the causes mentioned above it is manifest that Gog is the Antichrist.

23. Ez. XXXVIII: 17.

24. Ez. XXXVIII: 9.

25. Ap. XX: 7-8.

26. Mt. X: 21.

## The coming of the Antichrist

When the time of the Antichrist preordained by God will have come, the Antichrist will come out from his place and all those people will come out of the mountains of Caspie which are toward the end of the world. And of this God speaks through the prophet Ezechiel XXXVIII. *Behold, I come against thee, O Gog, the chief prince of Mosoch and Thubal.*<sup>27</sup> *And I will turn thee about, and I will put a bit in thy jaws; and I will bring thee forth, and all thy army, horses and horsemen, all clothed with coats of mail, a great multitude, armed with spears, and shields, and swords.*<sup>28</sup>

Other people will join with the Antichrist, for instance the people of Persia, the Ethiopians and the Libyans because as Daniel says, Daniel XI, he will go through Libya and through Ethiopia and then these people will join him, Gomer<sup>29</sup> and all

27. Ez. XXXVIII: 3, “Meshech” and “Tubal” refer to individuals as well as nations. As persons they are listed as two of the seven sons of Japheth, Noah’s son, according to the Table of Nations (Gen. 10:2) and in a parallel genealogy in I Chro I: 5. Both Herodotus (7.78) and Josephus (Ant. I.124) place Meshech and Tubal in East Asia Minor. The latter locates these people in the area later known as Cappadocia. Herodotus equates them with the Phrygians somewhat farther west in Asia Minor. In Ez. 32:17-32, both nations are described as uncircumcised, (i.e. barbaric) terrorists. The preceding information is from “Meshech” and “Tubal” by David W. Baker, *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1992), 6: 670 and 4: 711.

28. Ez. XXXVIII: 4.

29. The following information is from David W. Baker, “Gomer,” *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1992), 2: 1074. Gomer’s descendants were allied with Togarmah in support of Magog, Meshech, and Tubal, brothers of Gomer in the early genealogies. “They are to be defeated as part of God’s judgment on Gog, king of Magog (Ez. 38: 2-6). These peoples are probably to be identified with

his companies, the house Togorma<sup>30</sup> and all its force and several people with him, all carrying arms swords, coats of mail, lances, scabbards and helmets. According to what follows in Ezekiel. *The Persians, Ethiopians, and Libyans with them, all with shields and helmets.*[And later in that chapter] *Thou son of man, prophesy and say to Gog: [Thus saith the Lord God]: Shalt thou not know, in that day, when my people [of Israel] shall dwell securely? And thou shalt come out of thy place from the northern parts, thou and many people with thee, all of them riding upon horses, a great company and a mighty army.*<sup>31</sup> Also Jeremiah VI *Behold, a people cometh from the north country, and a great nation shall rise up from the ends of the earth. They shall lay hold on arrow and*

the Cimmerians. These were Indo-Europeans from the Ukraine in south Russia.”

30. Togarmah, mentioned in Gen. 10: 3 and I Chr. 1: 6 is one of the three sons of Gomer, who is the son of Japheth, Noah's son. His progeny, or those called by that same name, are referred to twice in the book of Ezekiel. In an oracle against Tyre, Beth-togarmah or ‘the house of Togarmah’ is described as trading war horses and draft horses and mules with Tyre for her merchandise (27: 14). According to the location of other trading nations from the same Biblical context (Ez. 27: 1-13 the geographical location of Togarmah (Thogorma) is to Israel's north. This direction is described in Ez. 38: 6. Here Togarmah is said to come from the far north in her support of Gog, who would, in the end, be defeated along with all her allies. Assyrian and Hittite sources refer to the location of Togarmah as being modern Gurun, Turkey.

“This people which had an historical role in its contact with Tyre in Ez. 27: 14 seems to take on an eschatological connotation in 38:6 when the mighty fall of Gog is described.” The preceding information is from David W. Baker, “Togarmah,” *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1992), 6: 594.

31. Ez. XXXVIII: 5 and 14-15. The bracketed words are omitted in the manuscript.

*shield: they are cruel, and will have no mercy.*<sup>32</sup> And the Antichrist will come into Jerusalem as God gives us to understand by the prophet Ezekiel XXXVIII. *Thou shalt be in the latter days, and I will bring thee upon my land; that the nations may know me, when I shall be sanctified in thee, O Gog.*<sup>33</sup> [\[Figure 2\]](#)

## **The Antichrist will present himself to the Jews and they will convert to him**

When the Antichrist will have come in Jerusalem he will present himself to the Jews and will tell them that he is the Messiah himself, the Christ who was promised to them in the law and he will have himself circumcised. And according to St. Augustine he will contrive to restore the ceremonies of the law. Because of this the Jews will believe in him and they will receive him as Christ. And of this our Lord speaks in the Gospel. John VI *am come in the name of my Father, and you receive me not: if another shall come in his own name, him you will receive.*<sup>34</sup> Our Lord Jesus Christ said to the Jews: “I have come in the name of my Father, and you did not receive me. Another will come in his name, that is to say, the Antichrist who will seek his own glory to the exaltation of his name, and you will receive him.”

32. Jr. VI: 22-23.

33. Ez. XXXVIII: 16. This passage is elucidated in The Jerusalem Bible, [Yahweh speaks to Ezekiel telling him to say in prophecy to Gog]:  
“...You plan to invade Israel, my people. You will be like a cloud covering the earth. I myself am going to bring you in days to come to attack my country, so that the nations may learn what I am, when I have used you, Gog, to display my holiness to them.”

34. Jn. V: 43.

And precisely God will allow the Jews to receive the Antichrist, for the sin of incredulity, because they did not want to believe in our Lord Jesus Christ the son of God, nor to receive him, the one whom God the Father has sent in this world to save the world. Precisely God will allow the Jews to receive the Antichrist full of malice and falsity so that according to the apostle they believe falsity, they who did not want to believe the truth. II Thessalonians II *Him whose coming is according to the working of Satan, [in all power, and signs, and lying wonders,] And in all seduction of iniquity to them that perish: because they receive not the love of the truth that they might be saved. Therefore God shall send them the operation of error, to believe a lie. That all may be judged, who have not believed the truth, but have consented to iniquity.*<sup>35</sup>

## The Antichrist will claim to be equal to God

The Antichrist will be so presumptuous that he will claim to be equal to God and because of this he will sit himself in the Temple of God as if he were God. And of this the Apostle speaks. II Thessalonians II *For unless there come a revolt first, and the man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, Who opposeth, and is lifted up [7r] above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself as if he were God.*<sup>36</sup>

The prophet also says that the Antichrist will not pay attention to God. Daniel XI *And he shall make no account of the God of his fathers:...and he shall not regard any gods: for he shall rise up against all things.*<sup>37</sup> This will come from great pride by which he will be overcome with vanity and will love his own excellence

35. II Th. II: 9-11. Brackets indicate scripture omitted from the manuscript.

36. II Th. II: 3-4. II Th. II: 3 was quoted earlier in n. 13.

37. Dn. XI: 37.

and will seek his own glory and will raise himself above all, and he will not praise or admit any other god but himself. This presumptuousness and elevation of heart and thought, the devil will put in his heart in making him believe to be equal to God. Those he has under his power he makes rise and go up by presumptuousness, and makes them believe about themselves something they are not and makes them presume of themselves beyond measure in excess.

The Antichrist, in thus elevating himself and claiming that he is equal to God, will follow Lucifer who says of himself: "I shall climb to the height of the skies, and I shall be similar to the very high God." In addition the Antichrist will usurp for himself the reverence and honor due to God and will make himself adored instead of God. He will also do new things to destroy the law of our Lord Jesus Christ. Daniel VII *He shall think himself able to change times and laws.*<sup>38</sup> But you must accept nothing that he does, nor things that he says under any shape of words or appearance of good because what does not come from God must be considered and held for naught, and what does not proceed from God is not firm nor solid because it has no foundation. And all that he will say or preach, all will be contrary to the law of our Lord Jesus Christ, it will be false and abominable and damnable.

## **In the whole world several will convert to the Antichrist without any difficulty**

After the Antichrist and his people will have been in Jerusalem, they will leave from there and go through the world. And where the Antichrist will not go in person he will send his people and

38. Dn. VII: 25.

his disciples according to what the prophet says. Daniel XI *And he shall lay his hand upon the lands.*<sup>39</sup> And Isaiah XVIII *Woe to the land, the winged cymbal, which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia. That sendeth ambassadors by the sea, and in vessels [7v] of bul-rushes upon the waters.*<sup>40</sup> The words St. Gregory spoke concerning the Antichrist: “And wherever the disciples of the Antichrist will go, they will always grow because throughout the world people will convert to the Antichrist in infinite numbers.”<sup>41</sup> And the false Christians who will be without God and without law will convert to him without any difficulty. Kings and princes will also convert to the Antichrist. According to what is said in Apocalypse XVII *As the kings, their strength and power they shall deliver to the beast [\* that is the Antichrist].*<sup>42</sup>

And that the kings will convert to the Antichrist is what God says through the prophet Ezekiel XXXVIII *And the mountains*

39. Dn. XI: 42.

40. Is. XVIII: 1-2. This is an oracle against Cush (Egypt). The Jerusalem Bible reads: “Country of whirring wings beyond the rivers of Cush, who send ambassadors by sea, in papyrus skiffs over the waters.”

41. The title of the work from which this quote is taken is not given. The text is in Old French not Latin. However, Gregory in his *Morals on the Book of Job* describes how the Antichrist wins his followers. He states the body of the Antichrist is a vessel of evil and that he corrupts by cunning and devious arguments that persuade man that it is right to cheat, lie, steal, murder and commit adultery. “[The Antichrist] destroys him by the craftiness of his persuasion. And again, as the marrow strengthens the bones which it moistens, so also does the subtlety of his genius, infused by the power of a spiritual nature, strengthen his designs.” Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job*, bk. XXXIII, par. 40 (xxi), trans. Members of the English Church (Oxford: John Henry Parker and London: J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1850) v. 3, pt. 2, 541.

42. Ap. XVII: 12-13. [\*] indicate the anon. author’s gloss on the scripture.

*shall be thrown down, and the hedges shall fall.*<sup>43</sup> That is to say, that in the coming of Gog, who is the Antichrist, the mountains will be upset and the hedges will fall. By “the mountains that will be thrown down” you must understand they are the kings, princes, prelates and other persons of high dignity. “The hedges which will fall” refer to the Christian religion. And when the most important people will convert easily to the Antichrist, the least important people will have no difficulty in being converted. And so, the people and disciples of the Antichrist will multiply in an extraordinary manner because so few people stable and solid in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ will remain compared to those who will convert to the Antichrist. They will be in large number because the Antichrist will attract to him the greatest part of the world. And of this the Holy Scripture speaks. Job XXI *He shall draw every man after him, and there are innumerable before him.*<sup>44</sup> It must be said here that even though the Scriptures say that he will attract toward him all men, however several will remain firm in their faith. However what is said is that he will attract to him every man, and this is said because the greatest multitude of people from all parts of the world will convert to him.

## The power of the Antichrist

The Antichrist will have power over the kings of the earth and over all people, as the Holy Scripture says. Habakkuk I *And their prince shall triumph over kings.*<sup>45</sup> Also Apocalypse XIII *Power was*

43. Ez. XXXVIII: 20.

44. Jb XXI: 33.

45. Hab. I: 10.

*given him over every tribe, and people, and tongue, and nation.*<sup>46</sup>  
And so he will have strength against all earthly power and will surmount all, big and small and will lead [8r] all into subjection.

The power that the Antichrist will have will be by divine permission according to the Holy Scripture. Job IX *The earth is given into the hand of the wicked.*<sup>47</sup> And his strength will be greatly increased by the multitude of people who will have joined him, kings as well as princes, and other people who will take his side. Daniel VIII *And his power shall be strengthened.*<sup>48</sup> And because the great power that he will have over all, there will be no one great or small who will be able to resist by temporal or corporal force as the Holy Scripture says. Daniel XI *There shall be none to stand against his face.*<sup>49</sup> Also *And his chosen ones shall rise up to resist, and they shall not have strength.*<sup>50</sup> Also Apocalypse XIII *Who is like to the beast? and who shall be able to fight with him?*<sup>51</sup> Who will be similar to the beast? Who is the Antichrist and who will be able to fight against him? In fact no one, because no one will be able to do anything against him because of his marvelous words, his monstrous signs, and the great multitude of people he will have on his side.

## The cruelty of the Antichrist

The Antichrist will be contrary to all things, that is to say, to law, religion, justice, holiness, and to all good, and all virtues.

46. Ap. XIII: 7.

47. Jb. IX: 24.

48. Dn. VIII: 24.

49. Dn. XI: 16.

50. Dn. XI: 15.

51. Ap. XIII: 4.

And by his cruelty he will rise against all, and he will overrun them. And the Holy Scripture speaks of this. Daniel XI *He shall rise up against all things.*<sup>52</sup> Also Daniel VIII *He shall lay all things to waste, and do more than can be believed,*<sup>53</sup> that is to say, more than one can believe. He will destroy and will ruin everything. He will destroy Christendom, and the law of Jesus Christ, and he will persecute Christians to death. He will kill people in great number physically or spiritually who will not convert to him. And the Holy Scripture speaks of this. Daniel XI *He shall come with a great multitude to destroy and slay many.*<sup>54</sup> Also Daniel VII *He shall crush the saints of the most High one.*<sup>55</sup> Also Joel II *At their presence the people shall be in grievous pains.*<sup>56</sup> And in all his actions he will prosper, and he will be able to do whatever he wants without being stopped because no one will be able to prevent him from doing what he wants. **[8v]** And the devil who is subtle and malicious will advise him about all forms of evil. And what the devil will put in his thought, he will accomplish to the best of his power. And so his maliciousness will run its course and will be put into action and effect as the Holy Scripture says. Daniel VIII *And craft shall be successful in his hand.*<sup>57</sup> Of the cruelty of the Antichrist we shall discuss more thoroughly and in particular later. However let what is said here in general suffice for the time being.

52. Dn. XI: 37.

53. Dn. VIII: 24.

54. Dn. XI: 44.

55. Dn. VII: 25.

56. Jl. II: 6.

57. Dn. VIII: 25.

## The Antichrist will be a hypocrite and full of vices

To better bring people to believe in him the Antichrist will show signs of great holiness so that he will be considered as very holy. But so that no one is deceived into converting to him on account of these signs of holiness, it must be said that the appearance of holiness he will show by signs will be nothing but hypocrisy. About this are the words of chapter XXXIII of Job. *Who maketh a man that is a hypocrite to reign for the sins of the people?*<sup>58</sup> Saint Gregory calls the Antichrist the chief of all hypocrites, he says that he is the greatest hypocrite of the world, and for good reason: because the other hypocrites, by showing signs of holiness want to appear as holy on the outside, what they are not within. But the Antichrist will do more because by the signs of holiness he wants to appear holy, but what is worse, he will feign to be God and all this in order to deceive. According to Gregory: *For he assumes a false guise of sanctity, who though a lost man, and an evil spirit, falsely announces himself to be God.*<sup>59</sup> Furthermore the

58. Jb. XXXIV: 30.

59. "Ille namque \*sanctitatis (principaliter in PL and CCSL) hypocrisim sumit qui cum sit damnatus homo, et nequam spiritus, Deum se esse simulat (mentitur in CCSL)." Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Job*, lib. 25, par. 16, lin. 23, ed. Marc Adriaen (1985), CCSL 143B: 1259-60. See also Gregorius I, *Moralia*, lib. XXV, cap. XVI in PL 76: 343. Translation from Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job*, bk. XXV, par. 34 (xvi), trans. Members of the English Church (Oxford: John Henry Parker and London: J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1847), v. 3, pt. 1, 125. The anon. author replaces "principaliter" with "\*sanctitatis" from the previous sentence to make the meaning of the excerpted sentence clear. The previous sentence reads: "An non eius membra sunt, qui per affectatae sanctitatis speciem appetunt uideri quod non sunt?" (Are they not his very members, who seek by a shew of affected sanctity to seem what they are not?) The passage is found and attributed to Gregory I in Odo Clu-

Antichrist will be proud beyond measure because by his pride he will raise himself above all and against God. Daniel XI *And he shall be lifted up, and shall magnify himself against every god.*<sup>60</sup> Also II Thessalonians II *The man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth, and is lifted up above all that is called God, or that is worshipped.*<sup>61</sup> The extraordinary feats he will do by devilish arts will cause him to have immense pride.

And besides, the devil [9r] will raise himself up high to usurp the name of God. Also the Antichrist will be idolatrous because he will adore covertly and secretly a private devil that he will have, and thanks to him, he will perform so many marvelous things. And of this the Holy Scripture speaks. Daniel XI *But he shall worship the god Maozim, in his place: and a god whom his fathers knew not, he shall worship with gold and silver.*<sup>62</sup> Also the Antichrist will be avaricious because he will have his heart made of gold and silver and by his miserliness he will pillage as the prophets say. Ezekiel XXXVIII *To take spoils, and lay hold on the prey.*<sup>63</sup> And Daniel XI *He shall scatter their spoils, and their prey, and their riches.*<sup>64</sup> Also the Antichrist will be irascible because against those who will not want to convert to him, he will exercise his anger and furor and will make them die. Daniel XI *He shall come with a great multitude to destroy and slay many.*<sup>65</sup> Also the Antichrist will be lascivious secretly because he will be overcome with concupiscence for women as the Holy Scripture says.

niacensis (Odo of Cluny), c. 878-942, *Moralia in Job*, lib. XXV in PL 133: 399.

60. Dn. XI: 36.

61. II Th. II: 3-4.

62. Dn. XI: 38.

63. Ez. XXXVIII: 12.

64. Dn. XI: 24.

65. Dn. XI: 44.

Daniel XI *And he shall follow the lust of women.*<sup>66</sup> It is necessary to say all these things so that we can know well the Antichrist as he will be and so that we will not be deceived by his beautiful appearance. And since by the Holy Scripture is proven that the Antichrist will be full of vices and that he will be a man of sin and the son of perdition, one will have to be careful not to listen to him and not to trust what he will say because one must trust more the Holy Scripture which is true rather than the falsehood of the Antichrist who is deceitful.

## The Antichrist will blaspheme the name of our Lord Jesus Christ

The Antichrist will revile the holy name of our Lord Jesus Christ and of this the Holy Scripture speaks. Daniel XI *And he shall speak great things against the God of gods.*<sup>67</sup> Also Apocalypse XIII *And he opened his mouth in blasphemies against God, to blaspheme his name, and his tabernacle.*<sup>68</sup> The blasphemous words that the Antichrist will say against God will be to deny that our Lord Jesus Christ is God, saying that he was not [9v] the true Son of God and that those who believed in him were deceived. And that if he had been the true Son of God, God would not have let him be so dishonored, insulted, and ill treated by people of no worth, and that he would not have tolerated him to be crucified with thieves and let him die such an awful death because it would not have been to his honor. And because Jesus Christ caused the law of God, the all powerful, to cease and gave another law, God tolerated him to be tormented so and delivered

66. Dn. XI: 37.

67. Dn. XI: 36.

68. Ap. XIII: 6.

to a bitter death. Such words and similar ones the Antichrist will say to subvert and extinguish the holy name of our Lord Jesus Christ and to make people believe that our Lord Jesus Christ is not the true Son of God. The Antichrist will say everything to remove from people the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ and to make them believe in him. And however, so that simple people by hearing such words or other similar words be not deceived into believing them, it must be said that our Lord Jesus Christ did not suffer death and passion for such causes, but to redeem the human lineage from the death of hell which could not be redeemed if not by the sacrifice of the innocent Lamb of God who is Jesus Christ, the blessed Son of God, as it has been said in more detail in the first Book of the Vineyard, that is to say, in the treatise on the passion.<sup>69</sup> Saying that God has tolerated the crucifixion of Jesus Christ because he changed his law is not correct for Jesus Christ did not change the law, but beyond this law he instituted the New Testament, and he has done all this by the will of the Father who sent him into this world to do that because the law of Moses was not sufficient for salvation, according to the apostle. Hebrews VII *For the law brought nothing to perfection,*<sup>70</sup> because this law did not save people for eternal life, but allowed temporal good to those who kept it. And however the Son of God by the will of the Father has given another law, brief and perfect by which eternal life is promised to those who keep

69. In the margin it is written: "there is another Book of the Vineyard that we have not seen." Here reference is made to the first part of the *Livre de la vigne*, MS. 337, entitled *La Montée au Calvaire* which survives in the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Grenoble, France. It is a treatise on the passion of Christ, and like MS. Douce 134 contains Latin passages. Unlike MS. Douce 134 the images are drawn in black ink and appear only in the margins.

70. Heb. VII: 19.

it. And therefore [10r] whatever the Antichrist and his disciples will say, one must not listen to them because what they say will have the appearance of truth but it will be nothing but lies. And because the Antichrist and his disciples will blame the holy name of our Lord Jesus Christ, they will show that they are not on God's side, but are on the opposite side. According to the Holy Scripture I Corinthians XII *That no man, speaking of the Spirit of God, saith anathema to Jesus.*<sup>71</sup> And I John III *And every spirit, that dissolveth Jesus, is not of God, and this is antichrist.*<sup>72</sup>

### **By reason it is demonstrated that what the Antichrist will say will be false**

In order to demonstrate the truth against the untruth of the Antichrist several reasons and considerations must be advanced by which the words of the Antichrist are demonstrated to be false. First, the Antichrist will say that he is the Messiah, the Christ promised in the law, and that there is no other Christ but he himself, and this will be a manifest lie. Such a thing can be known by such consideration, because our Lord Jesus Christ has said in the Gospel that before the end of the world several will come and will say, "I am the Christ." Matthew XXIII *For many will come in my name, saying, I am Christ: and they will seduce many.*<sup>73</sup> Also Matthew XXIII *For there shall arise False Christs,*

71. I Cor. XII: 3. The same passage in the Jerusalem Bible reads: (Christ speaking to his disciples) "I want you to understand that on one hand no one can be speaking under the influence of the Holy Spirit and say, 'Curse Jesus,' and on the other hand, no one can say, 'Jesus is Lord,' unless he is under the influence of the Holy Spirit."

72. I Jo. IV: 3.

73. Mt. XXIV: 5.

*and false prophets.*<sup>74</sup> Therefore as the Antichrist will have come saying that he is Christ, in this it will appear that the words of our Lord Jesus Christ are true, because he spoke of the things to come, which no one else can know but himself, if not God. This shows that he is the true God and true Christ. Therefore if we want to believe and hear the truth, we must believe that the true Christ is the one who told of the Antichrist to come, not the one who claims to be Christ. Also, if the Antichrist says he is Christ, this is an obvious untruth because the Holy Scripture does not call him Christ, but the Antichrist. He is called so because he will do the complete opposite of **[10v]** our Lord Jesus Christ. And everywhere when the Holy Scripture speaks of the Antichrist it speaks only evil about him.

Also the Antichrist will say that he is the saviour of the world and that there had been no saviour before him. And that this will be false appears clearly because several things are required to save the world, that is to say, divine law, time to publish it and proclaim it throughout the world, and time to take it and put it into effect. Several remedies are also required to atone for the transgressions and offenses of human nature, such as the Holy Sacraments, provided by our Lord Jesus Christ. However the Antichrist will come towards the end of the world and will not be able to do any of these things. It will be too late to use these remedies. And in so little time one could not learn, nor know, nor put into effect the things, which are necessary to save the world. Also if you want to know more fully that he will not be the Christ, but the Antichrist, you will know it by what the Holy Scripture says, that is to say, that he will speak against God and will blaspheme the holy name of God, as it has been said at the beginning of the preceding chapter.

74. Mt. XXIV: 24.

If he were the Christ he would not speak against God, because by speaking thus against God he would show that he is not on the side of God, but on the opposite side. Of this our Lord speaks in the Gospel of Luke XI. *He that is not with me, is against me: and he that gathereth not with me, scattereth.*<sup>75</sup> [Here it must be said that he will not call himself the Antichrist because by this name his malice would be discovered by all. He will not call himself the Antichrist because by this name the devil could not deceive the world so fully. He will not call himself the Antichrist because he will want to be taken for the Christ. And for this he will have himself called by a word which in Greek means “The Christ.” And all this he does to better deceive the world. And therefore because he will be called “Messiah” we will not know that he is the Antichrist, but we will know him by his words that will be against God, and by his works that will be contrary to the works of our Lord Jesus Christ. According to Ambrose in his commentary on St. Luke, Book V: *He will come who will usurp Christ’s name, whom you might not be able to differentiate from Christ, but you may be able to discern him by consideration of his deeds.*<sup>76</sup>

75. Lk. XI: 23.

76. “Veniet Christi (enim qui hoc sibi in PL) nomen usurpet, quem licet (hominis in PL) appellatione non queas secernere; factorum tamen consideratione discernas.” Ambrosius Mediolanensis (St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan), c. 339-497, *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucan*, lib. V in PL 15: 1663. The brackets enclosing the words “Here is must be said” and ending with the passage by Ambrose indicate that it occurs as a footnote. The sign “001” appears in the left margin indicating where the foot note designated “001” should be inserted.

## The Antichrist will drive the world mad by his haughty words

The Antichrist will deceive people by his words, because he will speak haughtily and will say great and marvelous things. And of this the Holy Scripture speaks. Daniel VII *And behold eyes like the eyes of a man were in this horn, and a mouth speaking great things.*<sup>77</sup> Also Daniel VII *I beheld, because of the voice of the great words which that horn spoke.*<sup>78</sup> According to these authorities the words of the Antichrist will be great and mar-**[11r]**velous in as much as it will be a great marvel to hear him speak, because no one will have ever heard a man speak in the way he will speak. The things he will say will not ever have been heard and no one will know how to contradict him. There is not a man who knows exactly what things he will say. However, maybe some of his words will be arguments and disputations of the Holy Scripture or other matters. Daniel VII *There will arise a king shameless in face and understanding propositions.*<sup>79</sup> Some of his words will be about great and exalted things such as things about heaven and hell. And he speaks all this to show that he is the Son of God otherwise he could not know such things if he were not Christ. However, by such exalted words and great things one should never be moved because the devil who knows many things about the state of paradise and about the government of hell will put everything into the Antichrist's mind and speech.

In addition to the things the Antichrist will say, under the appearance of some good, he will sow falsehoods throughout the world and will preach false doctrines to deceive the world. Everything he will say he will try to base it on the appearance of

77. Dn. VII: 8.

78. Dn. VII: 11.

79. The chapter cited is incorrect, the passage is found in Daniel 8: 23.

good by sophistry and deceiving arguments so that it will seem to be pure truth. And worse yet, what he will say he will confirm by authority of the Holy Scripture as much as possible. But by doing so he will pervert the sense of the Holy Scripture by applying it to another meaning than it has. And in this manner he will make several people fall into error, because people will believe easily everything people will say to them. The people will be so blinded of sense and understanding that what will be false they will believe to be true. However to prevent people from believing it, it must be known that all the false doctrines of the Antichrist will be the doctrines of the devils, as the apostle says clearly. I Timothy III. **[11v]** *Now the Spirit manifestly saith, that in the last times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to spirits of error, and doctrines of devils. Speaking lies in hypocrisy.*<sup>80</sup> That is to say, that towards the end of the world several people will abandon the faith and will understand and believe the spirits of error and the doctrines of the devils who will lie like hypocrites. And therefore since it is obvious that the false doctrines of the Antichrist and his disciples will be doctrines of the devils and lies, every man must refrain from accepting and receiving them because whoever will believe in them and receive them will be miserably deceived.

## The disciples of the Antichrist

The Antichrist will have several disciples and false prophets of whom our Lord speaks in the Gospel. Matthew XXIII *Many false prophets shall rise, and shall seduce many.*<sup>81</sup> And I John III *Many*

80. I Tm. IV: 1-2.

81. Mt. XXIV: 11.

*false prophets are gone out into the world.*<sup>82</sup> And it will not be surprising that the Antichrist in his time will have so many disciples considering that from the beginning of Holy Church there were already several from the side of the Antichrist as Saint John the Evangelist says. *I John II Little children, it is the last hour: and as you have heard that antichrist cometh, and now there are many antichrists.*<sup>83</sup> These false prophets and disciples of the Antichrist will go through the kingdoms of Christendom and will be in such great number that there will be hardly a town or castle or place where there will be none.

These false prophets and disciples will preach saying that their master the Antichrist is the true Christ and the Saviour of the world, and they will admonish people to believe in him if they want to be saved, and they will say that whoever does not believe him and convert to him will be damned. [And all this they will say to prevent people from having more faith and hope in Jesus Christ and to provoke and encourage them to believe in the Antichrist and have faith and hope in him.]<sup>84</sup> And several, particularly those who are hardened and obstinate in their wickedness and sins, and the simple people too will believe; they will believe that the Antichrist is the true Christ, and they will fall into error, and they will be deceived, and this will not be surprising because just as hearing the truth people are enlightened and moved towards salvation, [12r] in the same way, hearing falsehoods people are deceived easily and led to perdition.

82. I Jo. IV: 1.

83. I Jo. II: 18.

84. The brackets indicate that the sentence originally appeared as a footnote in the manuscript. The letters o-ll in the margin of the text indicate where that the note at the bottom of the folio designated with the sign o-ll should be inserted.

And it must be said that because so many people will convert to the Antichrist, several others will follow them, and without thinking will convert to him. It is as if one should follow the multitude more than the truth. These false disciples will follow their master the Antichrist in hypocrisy because they will present a good appearance on the outside and signs of holiness and will appear to be the disciples of Jesus Christ. Our Lord Jesus Christ speaks of this in the Gospel. Matthew VII *Beware of false prophets, who come to you in the clothing of sheep, but inwardly they are ravenous wolves.*<sup>85</sup> Also II Corinthians XI *Satan himself transformeth himself into an angel of light. Therefore it is no great thing if his ministers be transformed as the ministers of justice.*<sup>86</sup>

Their words will have the appearance of truth and reason, as they will appear to be sound doctrine and pure truth. But among these words they will mix error and falsehood and that will be enough to deceive people in great numbers who will not be on their guard. For this our Lord Jesus Christ admonishes to be careful not to be deceived by their words. Matthew XXXIII *Take heed that no man seduce you.*<sup>87</sup> And later in II Thessalonians II *Let no man deceive you by any means.*<sup>88</sup> And it will be necessary to be on guard when there will be so many deceivers throughout the world. In order to avoid being deceived by these false prophets of the Antichrist, our Lord Jesus Christ says in the Gospel what must be done: that is to say, not to believe them. Matthew XXIII *Then if any man shall say to you: Lo, here is Christ, or there: do not believe him.*<sup>89</sup> Also I John III *Dearly beloved, believe not every*

85. Mt. VII: 15.

86. II. Cor. XI: 14-15.

87. Mt. XXXIV: 4.

88. II Th. II: 3.

89. Mt. XXIV: 23.

spirit, but try the spirits whether they be of God.<sup>90</sup> Before everything we must find out the nature of their mind.

And Jesus Christ says how they will be recognized, that is to say, they will speak against Jesus Christ. I John IIII *Every spirit, that dissolveth Jesus, is not of God, and this is antichrist.*<sup>91</sup> And the fact that they will speak against Jesus Christ will show they are disciples of the Antichrist. And by consequence people should not believe anything [12v] they say, because everything will be false, and judged execrable, cursed, and damnable as it is given to understand in the words of the apostle in Galatians I. *But though we, or an Angel from heaven, preach a gospel to you beside that which we have preached to you, let him be anathema.*<sup>92</sup>

## **The reasons proving that what the disciples of the Antichrist say, “that the Christ is on earth” is false and how one will know the advent of Jesus Christ**

In order to turn away the faithful of Jesus Christ from following the multitude of people in believing that the Antichrist is the Christ, one must think of the words of our Lord Jesus Christ in the Gospel. Matthew XXIII *Then if any man shall say to you: Lo, here is Christ, or there: do not believe him...If they shall say to you: Behold he is in the desert: go ye not out: Behold he is in the closets, believe it not.*<sup>93</sup> That is to say, if anybody tells you “Here the Christ is” or “there”, do not believe it. If they tell you “Here the Christ is in the desert” do not go out to see. If they tell you “Here he is in secret places,” do not believe it. And as far as this is

90. I Jo. IV: 1.

91. I Jo. IV: 3.

92. Ga. I: 8.

93. Mt. XXIV: 23, 26.

concerned, it would be a great deception if the faithful of Christ who know that Jesus Christ went up to heaven on the day of the ascension and sat on the right side of God the Father in paradise, believed that he was in the desert or some other place on earth corporally, although he is everywhere by divine majesty. Therefore one should never believe that the Christ is corporally on earth, neither here nor there, because our Lord Jesus Christ says otherwise in the Gospel. We will know his advent, just as the lightning comes from the east and appears in the west, similarly will be of the advent of the Son of Man. Just as the brilliant lightning in the sky in the east suddenly appears as far as the west, similarly the world will know by signs the advent of our Lord Jesus Christ.

And our Lord added saying, in whatever place his body will be, that is to say, where our Lord is in person, there the eagles will be assembled, that is to say, the angels as it is written in the Gospel. Matthew XXV: *And when the Son of man shall come in his majesty, and all the Angels with him.*<sup>94</sup> [13r] More must be known, that great signs in the sky and earth must precede the advent of our Lord Jesus Christ. Signs that the Antichrist, in spite of all his power, could not make, and by consideration of these things it is manifest that it will be a falsehood to say that Christ is here or there on earth because he is in heaven, and until the coming of these signs he will not come down from heaven.

94. Mt. XXV: 31.

## Several heretics will appear during the time of the Antichrist

In the time of the Antichrist several heretics will appear in the world as the Holy Scripture says. II Peter III *Knowing this first, that in the last days there shall come scoffers with deceit, walking according to their own lusts.*<sup>95</sup> And these perfidious heretics will show their real nature because they will preach publicly their heresies through which there will be a great doubt of the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ in Christendom to the point that several people will not know in whom to believe, nor what God to hold and adore, nor what law to hold because through these heretics the voice of truth, that is to say, the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the truth of the Gospel will be greatly blasphemed as St. Peter says in II Peter II. *But there were also false prophets among the people, even as there shall be lying teachers among you, who shall bring in sects of perdition, and deny the Lord who bought them, bringing upon themselves swift destruction. And many shall follow their luxuries, through whom the way of truth shall be blasphemed: And through covetousness with feigned words they shall make merchandise of you.*<sup>96</sup> Also Daniel VIII *Truth shall be cast down on the ground.*<sup>97</sup> And so the Catholic faith and the truth of the Gospel will be greatly blasphemed by these perfidious heretics and by the Antichrist and his disciples who will appear in several places.

And the devils who will be with them will try to subvert the hearts and thoughts of the Christians and make them fall into error by persuading them to believe in the heresies which will be sowed throughout the world, and thus the Christians [13v] will

95. II Pt. III: 3.

96. II Pt. II: 1-3.

97. Dn. VIII: 12.

be tempted from outside and within, by outside, by hearing the words of the heretics and from within by the subtle suggestions of the devils who subtly persuade them to follow the heretics in their heresies. This temptation will be strong and perilous because it will extinguish and diminish the light of faith among Christians and consequently separate them from God and make them lose their dignity and glory of paradise if they do not watch out. However it will be necessary for all to be on guard on all sides, outside and inside, in order not to be corrupted by the words of heretics, nor be subverted by the temptations of the enemies. Faithful of Jesus Christ who will live at the time of the Antichrist, remain firm in God and in the faith and do not believe the heretics nor in the errors of the heretics and disciples of the Antichrist and do not convert to them because by doing so, you would put yourselves in the power of the enemies in hell according to the Gospel. Matthew VII *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, tear you.*<sup>98</sup>

Because the man of faith is not strong enough to resist such a large multitude of visible and invisible adversaries, nor such great abundance of maliciousness because the devils are malicious and deceive people more by falsehoods than otherwise, the apostle advises to take the armor of God. Ephesians VI *Put you on the armor of God, that you may be able to stand against the snares of the devil.*<sup>99</sup> Put on the armor of God so that you can resist the falsehood of the devil, that is to say, you cannot resist the devil without the armor of God. What are the armors of God? The apostle declares in Ephesians VI *In all things taking the shield of faith, wherewith you may be able to extinguish all*

98. Mt. VII: 6.

99. Eph. VI: 11.

*the fiery darts of the most wicked one: And take unto you the helmet of salvation; and the sword of the spirit, (which is the word of God).*<sup>100</sup> There are three types of armor according to the apostle: the shield of faith by which is understood constancy and firmness in faith, the helmet of salvation by which is understood faith in God, and the sword of the spirit which is the word of God. By these three things the temptations [14r] of the enemies and all heresies are pushed back and the enemies vanquished, and man is protected from falling into their hands.

In order to give a way to help oneself with these arms, something more must be said. Oh Christians when they will speak to you of the new Christ, take the shield of faith and remain firm in the faith of Jesus Christ and with faith in God take the sword of the spirit which is the word of God and answer that there is no other Christ but Jesus Christ the Son of God, who was born of the Virgin Mary and that is the truth. God the Father has brought him the testimony that he is his son. St. John the Baptist has testified that he is the son of God, and the apostles, martyrs and confessors of the Holy Church testified the same. The prophets also before his advent have prophesied his incarnation, nativity, passion, resurrection and ascension. And to all these things the angels of heaven have appeared to show that he is the Christ. All this is so clear and obvious that no one can contradict it. And for that, one must not speak of another Christ because there is no other and there can be no other. To confess Jesus Christ and the faith, St. Peter advises. I Peter III *But sanctify the Lord Christ in your hearts, being always ready to satisfy every one that asketh you a reason of that hope which is in you.*<sup>101</sup> Oh Christian if you hold yourself firm in the faith, God is in you, through

100. Eph. VI: 16-17.

101. Error in MS. It should be I Peter III: 15.

whose help you win over your enemies, and you earn victory and glory. I John V *Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?*<sup>102</sup> But if you act differently you are dead, you lose everything. II John I *Look to yourselves, that you lose not the things which you have wrought: but that you may receive a full reward. Every one who recedeth, and continueth not in the doctrine of Christ hath not God.*<sup>103</sup>

## **The Antichrist will attract to him several people through gifts**

The Antichrist will attract a great part of the world through gifts that he will give people because he will have a great quantity of gold and silver as the Holy Scripture says. Daniel XI *And he shall have power over the treasures of gold, and of silver.*<sup>104</sup> The treasures, which are buried in the earth, will be found by the craft of the devil and put under the power of the Antichrist. He will say that they are revealed to him by divine providence. To the confirmation of his words he will find the authority of the Holy Scripture to support what he says, that is to say, what is written. Isaiah XLV *And I will give thee hidden treasures, and the concealed riches of secret places.*<sup>105</sup> I shall give you the hidden treasures and the Antichrist will say that it is prophesied by him and that these treasures are given to him by God to distribute them to those who will convert to him (the Antichrist) as to the true Christ of God, and that such is the will of God that they have riches in this world and in the other. And it will seem to people that it will be

102. I Jo. V: 5.

103. II Jo. I: 8-9.

104. Dn. XI: 43.

105. Is. XLV: 3

according to God, and no one would be able to contradict this, that it is better that they get easily [14v] such riches which if they had remained in the earth would be totally lost. And thus by not understanding the falsehood of the Antichrist several people will be miserably deceived, because although the words of the Antichrist will have the appearance of good and will seem to be according to God and founded on the Holy Scripture by the authority mentioned above, however it will be all falsehood because the Antichrist was not given the authority. The authority is given to Cyrus, the King of Persia mentioned here. *Thus saith the Lord, to my anointed Cyrus.*<sup>106</sup> The said authority of our Lord Jesus Christ is also understood through the mystery of what follows here. *That thou mayst know that I am the Lord who called thee by thy name, the God of Israel. [\*For in Christ are all treasures of wisdom and concealed knowledge.]*<sup>107</sup> The Antichrist will also pretend that in former times God has given to people temporal goods in order to incite them to keep his law. Psalm *He gave them the lands of the Gentiles: and they possessed the labours of the people: That they might observe his justifications.*<sup>108</sup> [The Antichrist will claim] that in giving gifts to people in order to make them convert to him and to his law he follows God. But in this he will follow the devil who showed our Lord Jesus Christ all the kingdoms of the world and their glory saying to our Lord:

106. Is. XLV: 1. Isaiah the prophet foretells that God will speak these words to Cyrus whom God has chosen to free the Jewish exiles from Babylon, see Is. 45: 13. The prophecy was fulfilled by Cyrus when he became king of Persia, captured Babylon and had the Jewish exiles released in 539 B.C. The historical information cited is from T. Cuyler Young, Jr. "Cyrus," *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1992), I: 1231-1232.

107. Is. XLV: 3. The [\*] indicate the anon. author's commentary and reworking of Is. 45: 3 (see n. 105).

108. Ps. CIV: 44-45.

“I shall give you all these riches if you agree to adore me.” And you must know that he will not have difficulty attracting people to the Antichrist by giving gold and silver, considering that people are lusting after such things. Furthermore the Antichrist will distribute lands and possessions to those who will want to convert to him. And the Holy Scripture speaks of this. Daniel XI *And he shall divide the land gratis.*<sup>109</sup> Everything will have to be coming from him as if he were lord of the world, and he will do all this in order to obtain the favor of the people but it will be at the great prejudice and deception of the people because those who will convert to him to have these riches will be mortified in their soul, and thus what the Holy Scripture says will be accomplished. Daniel VIII *In the abundance of things he shall kill many.*<sup>110</sup> That is to say that by abundance of all [15r] riches he will kill several people, that is to say, their souls as it was said.

## The Antichrist will deceive the world by signs and miracles

The Antichrist will deceive the world by signs and miracles he will perform, and none of them will be true but people will believe in them all the more. The other signs and miracles for the most part will be fantastic, false and deceiving. And such miracles will be done through devilish art because the devil who is sharp and subtle to imagine and find all kinds of falsehoods and new tricks will put in the mind of the Antichrist all these incredible new things and falsehoods and will help him to perform them. And the Holy Scripture speaks of this. II Thessalonians II *Him, whose coming is according to the working of Satan, in all*

109. Dn. XI: 39.

110. Dn. VIII: 25.

power, and signs, and lying wonders, And in all seduction of iniquity to them that perish.<sup>111</sup> Also Apocalypse XIII And the dragon gave him, [\* that is the devil the antichrist], his own strength, and great power,[\* that is, for the making of wonderful signs and for the subversion and deception of men].<sup>112</sup> Also Apocalypse XX Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, and shall go forth and seduce the nations.<sup>113</sup> These authorities hold that the signs and miracles of the Antichrist will be works of the devil, false and deceiving in order to deceive people. Because just as our Lord Jesus Christ by his holy doctrine and by true miracles converts people and attracts them to salvation, similarly on the contrary the Antichrist by false doctrine and false miracles will attract people to perdition and damnation. One must know that just as the Antichrist will make great signs and perform great marvels by the art of the devil, similarly by devilish art the disciples and prophets of the Antichrist will have the power to make signs and miracles just like the Antichrist. And our Lord Jesus Christ speaks of this in the Gospel. **[15v]** Matthew XXIII For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders, insomuch as to deceive (if it were possible) even the elect.<sup>114</sup> Our Lord Jesus Christ says that false Christs and false prophets will rise and will make great signs and shows, enough to cause the elect to fall into error if possible. Also Apocalypse XVI And I saw from the mouth of the dragon...and from the mouth

111. II Thess. II: 9-10.

112. Ap. XIII: 2. The [\*] indicate the anon. author's commentary.

113. Ap. XX: 7.

114. Mt. XXIV: 24.

*of the false prophet [\*go forth], three unclean spirits like frogs. For they are the spirits of devils working signs.*<sup>115</sup>

And it must be known that if the words of the Antichrist will be powerful to subvert and deceive people, and to make them fall into error, more extraordinary and more powerful will be the signs and miracles that he will do because they will be extraordinary enough to subvert the sense of people and to make people change and believe in him so much so that out of one hundred there will remain only ten firm in faith because the Antichrist will show himself haughty and powerful in words and his works will seem to be divine virtue. In that time the true Christians and faithful of Jesus Christ will not perform miracles like those who believed in Jesus Christ at the beginning of the Holy Church. [And thus from the faithful of Jesus Christ the signs of truth will be removed, the words of doctrine will cease, the remedies of health will no longer operate, the glory of miracles will cease, and the divine works will come to nothing.]<sup>116</sup> And the reason they will not make miracles is because then there will not be enough time to seek to convert anyone to God by miracles. True Christians will have enough to do to protect themselves from the false miracles of the Antichrist and to keep firm in faith.

115. Ap. XVI: 13-14. The...indicate that this text has been omitted: “and from the mouth of the beast.” [\*] indicate the verb exeo, exire (to go out, go away, go forth) is added by the anon. author.

116. The text within parentheses appears as a footnote in the manuscript. The symbol 0- appears in the margin near the body of text, and 0-appears at the bottom of the page.

## The signs that the Antichrist will make and what they will be

The signs and miracles that the Antichrist will make will be such that he will make the wind to blow, rain, lightning, fire, and thunder come down from the sky, the trees to bloom suddenly and suddenly to dry and rot, and the natural things change into other species and shapes, and he will bring the dead to life. All these signs and others will be **[16r]** monstrous, and will not be made for need nor any good, but will be signs of great vanity and pride and for ostentation of great marvels to stupefy people and deceive them and to make them fall into error. People seeing such great marvels will believe in them saying that there was never a man who did such things. There is no man like the Antichrist who can be compared to his strength. To prevent people from converting to him on account of such signs several things must be said. First he will cause the wind to blow, but this the Antichrist will not do by himself because he could not, but it will be the devil who will do that and this will not be new. About this we read that after the devil had received permission from God to destroy and put to perdition everything that Job had, a messenger came and said to him: "While your sons and daughters ate and drank wine in the house of their older brother (your first born), suddenly a strong wind came from the desert region which destroyed the four corners of the house so much that it collapsed and crushed your sons and they died."<sup>117</sup> Because of these words St. Gregory said that the devil can trouble the air and make winds. And this must be believed because he was the one who caused this strong wind against this house so much so that it destroyed it and made it collapse upon the sons of Job.

117. Story recounted in Job I: 19.

Similarly it will be the devil who will make lightning and thunders, not natural thunders proper, but great noises and great upheavals in the sky like thunders. Because as St. Gregory says, the devil can move the elements through divine permission. An example must be told about this. Once a man had entered the order of preachers, and as the time of his profession drew near he asked the prior permission to return to his country to put his affairs in order. The prior granted him his request and went with him. The brother took the prior to a fountain and threw water upon a stone which was there and immediately the sky turned dark [16v] and the clouds began to run; there was lightning and it began to thunder and rain, so much that the earth as far as one league was covered. And as a holy man was asked if such things can be done so and how, he answered that by magical art such things can be done by the ministry of the devils who can upset and trouble the air to make rains, lightning and tempests when they want, however only with God's permission.

Also the Antichrist will cause the fire of the sky to come down from the sky, as the Holy Scripture says. Apocalypse XIII *He did great signs, so that he made even fire to come down from heaven upon the earth in the sight of men,*<sup>118</sup> that is to say, that the Antichrist will make great signs in causing the fire of the sky to descend on the earth in front of men. But you should not marvel at that because everything will be done through the art of the devil and by divine permission. And the devil has done in the past such a thing. We read in the Holy Scripture that when the devil had received permission of God to destroy all the belongings of Job, immediately the fire came down from the sky and burned the sheep of Job as it is written in the first chapter of the book of Job. *The fire of God fell from heaven and striking the sheep and the*

118. Ap. XIII: 13.

*servants, hath consumed them.*<sup>119</sup> And the devil did all this. And however one should never be astonished when in the time of the Antichrist the devil will cause fire to fall from the sky because it will not be anything new. One should not be afraid of this fire that it may hurt the faithful of Jesus Christ, because it will not be arranged to hurt them at all, but it will be only to scare people and to urge them to convert to the Antichrist by seeing such marvels.

Also the Antichrist will cause the trees to bloom suddenly. God never did such a thing because trees do not bloom suddenly but little by little according to the order of nature and according to the divine disposition. And the fact that the trees will bloom suddenly **[17r]** will not be according to the order of nature, nor to God's disposition, but it will be through diabolical art. It will not be true but an illusion of the devil who will cause the trees to seem to bloom.

Also the Antichrist will cause natural things to change to other species and into other shapes and colors so much so that a thing will seem to be another. This happened many times. Those who use the magical art of the devil do such things as they wish, to the point that they can make a pile of earth look like a castle garnished with towers, smaller towers and all that it contains. And they can make a wheat field appear as if it were a group of armed men from head to foot that will seem to move when the wheat moves in the wind. And the buffoons, jugglers and players of tumbling acts do similar things as they go about the countryside. A juggler appears to cause a rooster to pull a great piece of wood, when in reality it is only a piece of straw, and he opens the mouth of his horse and he seems to get inside the stomach of his horse. Such things are the illusions of the devil because by

119. Jb. I: 16.

the art of the devil such things appear to be other than they are. And thus the eyes and senses of people are plunged into illusion and made fools in believing what they see and not knowing what is. Such will be the works of the Antichrist because they will be made by the art of the devil. One will have to hold himself to his beliefs and be careful not to convert to him because of such illusions and diabolical fallacies.

Also the Antichrist will appear to bring the dead to life. Now one must examine how. If he sees that you will not believe in him on account of the signs and miracles he will have performed in front of you, he will say to you: “Now if I raise your father from the dead, will you not believe it? **[17v]** You will not be able to deny it when you will see him. Take me to the place where he was buried and when he will be in the pit and when the earth will be dug out your father will be brought to life and in the same form as you saw him during his life, and you will recognize him. And your father will look at you and as if he knew you he will speak to you and will say: ‘O my child are you here? Know that since the time that I passed away I was among the torments of hell until now because I believed in that prophet Jesus Christ. And I would have never been able to leave if the saviour of the world here present had not freed me and raised me from death to life through his power. However, my child, do not let yourself be deceived in believing in Jesus Christ so that the same thing that happened to me happens to you, but believe in this true saviour of the world who brought me to life as you can see, if you want to be saved, otherwise you are lost forever and ever.” And the Antichrist will say: “Now my friend, now you have seen signs from the sky and signs on earth, and now you have your father as witness and you cannot deny that, neither you nor any living man, because the signs that I give are obvious, manifest and true, and consequently they are credible as the Holy Scripture

says: *Thy testimonies are become exceedingly credible.*<sup>120</sup> You see clearly the truth and you can know that such things cannot be done except by divine virtue. However if you want to believe in me I shall forgive your sins and you will be saved. Otherwise if you do not want to believe the truth, know that surely you will be damned. Furthermore you will have been informed about the truth and you will have seen so many obvious signs in testimony of truth and you will have remained obstinate in your opinion, so all the more you will be more horribly tormented. And when you will feel thus tormented in hell, you will repent not to have believed **[18r]** in me, but it will be too late because I will never have mercy on you, nor will I free you no matter what prayers are made for you.” All these words are put down purposely to advise the faithful of Jesus Christ so that when the Antichrist will speak these words or similar words they are warned of the power that he will have in deceiving people by false miracles and false words because this will be a strong temptation. However there is something to say about this matter: even though the one raised from the dead will seem to resemble your father, because he will resemble him in his face and in the way he speaks and in all ways, so much so that you will believe that it is him without a doubt, however he will not be your father, but it will be a devil under the guise of your father because the devil knew your father well and what he looked like when he was alive, and he (the devil) will know well how to take his appearance, and he will tell you these words or similar ones to deceive you and to urge you to believe in the Antichrist. It is the truth that he will not be your father. You must know that no one can bring the dead to life except by God’s will and also the body cannot be reformed nor the soul returned to the body if not through the power of God.

120. Ps. XCII: 5.

And the resurrection of the dead will not be done until the end of the world, that is to say at the time of the general resurrection when all will arise and thus the resurrection of the dead that the Antichrist will do will be only the illusion of the devil to deceive people.

(Furthermore, the Antichrist will have images speak and foretell the future as the gloss of the Apocalypse says. And because the images of the churches will speak, it will seem to be coming from God and appear to be great. It will all be done to make people believe that the Antichrist is the true Christ. However to prevent people from believing him (the Antichrist) it must be said that images cannot speak by themselves. In fact it will be devils who will speak in these images and not the good spirits because the angels never entered images to speak. The Antichrist will perform several other signs and miracles in order to deceive people so much that there is not a man who can [18v] imagine all the false signs that the Antichrist will make because the devils who)<sup>121</sup> are malicious will find so many ways to do marvelous things in front of people that it will be a great marvel to see them. Besides, they will tempt people secretly from within and will strive to corrupt their hearts and senses into making them believe in what they will see.

121. The text in parentheses (Furthermore...who) appears in minuscule script at the bottom of [18r] and the top of [18v] indicating perhaps that the anon. writer had run out of space and had to squeeze in more text than he or she had anticipated.

## Several will not perceive that the signs that the Antichrist will make are false by the devil's art

The signs and miracles that the Antichrist will make will be made in such a way that they will seem to be true and of great virtue. And because they will be visible many people will be made stupid in as much as they will not notice that they are hidden falsehoods. Simple people who are not used to seeing such illusions and have no knowledge of such things will believe easily what they will see. Bad Christians too will be so blinded that they will not recognize that these signs are false. And the Holy Scripture speaks of this. Daniel XII *And the wicked shall deal wickedly, and none of the wicked shall understand.*<sup>122</sup> Also Sophonias I *They shall walk like blind men, because they have sinned against the Lord.*<sup>123</sup> And so by lack of understanding the falsehood of these miracles people will be deceived in great number, particularly the simple and the bad. But the good and faithful of Jesus Christ who are instructed in the faith and love of our Lord Jesus Christ and in the observance of his commandments will understand that these are all falsehoods as the Holy Scripture says. Daniel XII *But the learned shall understand.*<sup>124</sup> They will recognize this because they will see preaching a different Christ than the one they have in their hearts and to whom they are united by true faith and love. They will recognize this (these falsehoods) because the things that they will hear and will see will not agree with the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, which they have imprinted in their hearts. They will recognize this because our Lord Jesus Christ has said previously that these things were going to happen and be done in order to deceive people and

122. Dn. XII: 10.

123. Sph. I: 17.

124. Dn. XII: 10.

even [19r] the elect if possible. They will recognize this through shining grace. They will be faithful to Jesus Christ, and through his grace God will illuminate them to recognize falsehood and will not stand for them to be deceived by fallacious, diabolical lies, and illusions.

## Why God will allow the Antichrist to perform false signs and miracles

Since the signs and miracles of the Antichrist will be false and deceiving, why will God, who is merciful, and who does not want man to die but wants the salvation for all creatures, allow this Antichrist, this liar and hypocrite, to perform so many marvelous things to make his people stupid and without sense and to cause them to fall into error? And why will he permit that man be thus deceived by believing these false signs and to convert to the Antichrist? To this it can be said that God will stand all this in order to show who will, or will not be firm in faith, and to see who will remain with our Lord Jesus Christ and who will convert to the Antichrist. Because in this manner those who belong to Jesus Christ will be proven as well as those who belong to the Antichrist. I Corinthians XI *For there must be also heresies: that they also, who are reprov'd, may be made manifest among you.*<sup>125</sup> To believe in Jesus Christ and hold the faith is an easy thing to do, particularly in time of peace when there is no dispute. But when people have their faith checked by trouble, then it becomes clear who is firm in faith and who is not. The faith that is tested in times of trouble and adversity and is kept and retained and found firm and stable is the faith that saves man

125. I Cor. XI: 19.

according to the Gospel. Matthew XXIII *But he that shall persevere to the end, [\* in the faith and love of the Lord] he shall be saved.*<sup>126</sup> To the contrary, the faith which is abandoned for hearing false doctrine and for seeing false signs made and false miracles is not firm nor perseverant because it is perverted and consequently is considered as nothing and like dead. And with such a faith man could not be saved. Therefore those who because they saw such signs will abandon the faith and will convert [19v] to the Antichrist are not among the saved as the Holy Scripture says. Daniel IX *Christ shall be slain; and the people that shall deny him shall not be his.*<sup>127</sup>

God will also accept that the Antichrist makes false signs and performs miracles in front of people because of their ingratitude to our Lord Jesus Christ who has done great and marvelous things for their salvation. That is to say, he came down from heaven and has taken our humanity and has remained in this world for the salvation of people, and has given knowledge of his holy name and has given them his law which is the law of life leading to salvation, and has instituted the holy sacraments for remedy and salvation of their souls, and has suffered death and his passion in order to deliver them from the death and of hell, and to all these graces and benefits which are so great they have not paid attention and have not been grateful to him. And for this God will accept that they will be perverted by false signs as ingrates and unworthy of his graces.

God will also accept that the Antichrist makes so many false signs in front of people in order to attract them to him because they have not wanted to be God's subjects and because they did not keep his commandments, or the law of our Lord Jesus Christ.

126. Mt. XXIV: 13. [\*] indicate the anon. author's comment.

127. Dn. IX: 26.

For this God will allow that by false signs and miracles they convert to the Antichrist and become his subjects and go by the path of darkness holding the false for the truth. God will also allow the Antichrist to perform many false miracles in front of people in order to subvert them because they did not care to have works belonging to the faith or to lead a good life in order to acquire glory in paradise. Thus those who will have the foundation of faith and will not have tried to have accomplishments of perfection through good works will easily lose what they had, i.e. the foundation of the faith, because faith requires to be established and confirmed in man through good works, otherwise it quickly vanishes and abandons man for little because a thing that is not well rooted **[20r]** is easily uprooted. Matthew XXV *But from him that hath not, [\* that is care of doing works pertaining to the faith;] that also which he seemeth to have shall be taken away, [\* that is faith itself].*<sup>128</sup> God will also accept that the Antichrist will make many false signs and miracles in front of people because of their sinful life and for their vices and sins by which they offended God and provoked his indignation. For this God will allow that by false signs they are abused and lose their senses and are subverted and deceived. And of this the Holy Scripture speaks. Proverbs III *He shall scorn the scorers, [\* that is, he will permit them to be deluded].*<sup>129</sup> It will be different for those who love our Lord Jesus Christ and are united to him by faith and love and are in his grace and keep his commandments because our Lord Jesus Christ will see that they are not deceived by the false miracles of this false hypocrite the Antichrist. And this is given to be understood in the Apocalypse. Chapter III *Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I will also keep*

128. Mt. XXV: 29. [\*] indicate gloss on the scripture.

129. Pr. III: 34. [\*] indicate gloss on the scripture.

*thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon the whole world to try them that dwell upon the earth.*<sup>130</sup>

## **Admonition to be careful not to be deceived by the signs of the Antichrist**

After our Lord Jesus Christ had told his disciples about the false signs and miracles that the Antichrist and his disciples will perform, he added this word: *Behold, I have foretold you all things.*<sup>131</sup> Here I have told you before all these things. These words our Lord said for certitude of truth because all these things will happen as he said before. And although he said these things to his apostles they are put in the Gospel for the advice of all, generally and particularly, for those who will live during the time of the Antichrist. Our Lord Jesus Christ who knows all that will occur in the future through his great pity has described everything before, that is to say, the signs and miracles that **[20v]** the Antichrist and his disciples will perform so that when people will see such things done they will not be surprised, nor bereft, but will remember the words of our Lord Jesus Christ who said before that all this was to come. He said everything before so that people know that the signs of the Antichrist will be false and deceiving and consequently so that no one be converted to the Antichrist on account of such signs but keep steadfast in the faith of Jesus Christ.

He said everything before so that everyone would be informed and know that he must be on guard. He said everything before to make people cautious and knowledgeable against the false signs

130. Ap. III: 10.

131. Mk. XIII: 23. This is one of the few times the writer does not give a scripture reference.

of the Antichrist so that nothing would harm them, because the falsehoods, which are known beforehand, cannot harm in any way if man wants to watch for them. And it must be known what our Lord Jesus Christ says that several false Christs and false prophets will appear and will perform great signs and shows, enough to make even the elect fall into error if it is possible. He demonstrated the great peril that will exist in these times. And because of this he adds the above words, i.e. "I have told you these things before to warn you about the great peril that will exist then if you fall into error for the false signs which will be made. I give you opportunity to be firm and constant, well advised of everything that is to happen. And so it is up to you to attend to yourself if you wish not to incur the peril, because to this end I am saying it to you." These words must move all and everyone concerned to be on one's guard to avoid the peril because each one must take care of one's soul and fear the peril of one's soul and be careful not to be deceived by the false signs and miracles of the Antichrist and be damned. To such an end this must be known to advise each person not to believe the words and false signs of the Antichrist. The Gospel will be preached [21r] throughout the world to all people as our Lord Jesus Christ says in the Gospel. Matthew XXIII *And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world, for a testimony to all nations.*<sup>132</sup> By preaching the Gospel our Lord, God will inspire the preachers who then will be more ardent to preach than ever. And they will do that to warn the people to hold firm in faith and to advise all against the false words and miracles of the Antichrist so that no one will be deceived in believing what he will hear or see. They will tell the people that they need to be on guard. So several will be inspired to be on

132. Mt. XXIV: 14.

guard and to remain firm and stable in their faith. If the people were not pre-warned they would see performed so many marvels and would too easily be deceived, but by being warned in advance they have a wonderful opportunity to be on guard because the peril that is known before is more easily avoided and man knows better how to be on guard. The preaching of the Gospel also will be done throughout the world so that no one is excused for being ignorant of what will happen, and if after the preaching of the Gospel anyone converts to the Antichrist will not be able to accuse anyone but himself of the ill that will befall him. And it must be known that when saying that the Gospel will be preached throughout the world it will be when the Antichrist will be about to come and not when he will have come because when he will reign preachers will not dare to preach the faith of Jesus Christ publicly for fear of the Antichrist, and on account of the large number of his disciples who will preach false doctrines contrary to the faith of Jesus Christ.

## The advent of Enoch and Elijah against the Antichrist

At the time when the Antichrist will reign, God will send Enoch and Elijah into this world and the Holy Scripture speaks of this. Ecclesiasticus XLIIII *Henoch pleased God, and was translated into paradise, that he may give* **[21v]** *repentance to the nations, [\*that is in the time of the Antichrist].*<sup>133</sup> Thus it will be in the time of the Antichrist. Also Malachi, the last chapter *Behold, I will send you Elias, the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord. And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the chil-*

133. Ecli. XLIV: 16. [\*] indicate commentary on the scripture by the anon. author. The name Henoch is used for Enoch in the Douay-Rheims 1609 version of the Old Testament.

dren, and heart of the children to their fathers.<sup>134</sup> Also Matthew XVII His disciples asked him, saying: Why then do the Scribes say that Elias must come first: But he answering, said to them: Elias indeed shall come, and restore all things.<sup>135</sup> These two prophets, Enoch and Elijah, are in earthly paradise and they were carried there a long time ago before the advent of our Lord Jesus Christ, that is to say, Enoch after the beginning of the world and Elijah at the time of the Kings of Israel. For this they are kept on earth and kept alive in order to be able to come and preach against the Antichrist, and to resist him, and contradict his false words and deceiving signs, and to warn the people not to believe them, and to bring back those wandering in error to the path of truth. Here one must consider that God could invite some of them who will be in the end of the world to preach against the Antichrist, but long ago for a certain reason he reserved these two, Enoch and Elijah. So that this act would have greater authority and would be more efficient because it will known in the world and manifested by the Holy Scripture that God has separated them from the world and kept them alive in order to send them into the world at the end of time. In this way their acts will be all the more certain and approved and more firm and stable than others would be if they were invited to preach against the Antichrist, and no one would know who they might be. God also could invite some of the saints of the New Testament to come and preach against the Antichrist, but through some knowledge he has chosen these two, Enoch and Elijah, to do that instead of those in the New Testament. Enoch and Elijah because they are they are not of the time of the New Testament and lived before the advent of our Lord Jesus Christ, [22r] they did not receive holy

134. ML. IV: 5-6. The name Elias is used for Elijah as in *ibid*.

135. Mt. XVII: 10-11.

baptism they will announce that our Lord Jesus Christ is the true Son of God and the true Christ and they will preach that the Catholic faith is true; for this the world will have cause to give credence to them and their words.<sup>136</sup>

If God sent in this world Saint Peter and Saint Paul to preach the faith against the Antichrist, perhaps the Jews and other unbelievers would not believe them nor their words, but they

136. The anon. writer of MS. Douce 134 believed both Enoch and Elijah, who did not experience death, would return and be preachers for Christ at the end of time. Enoch did not die, “he (Enoch) walked with God, and was seen no more because God took him,” Gen. 5: 24. For additional information on Enoch see J. Plastaras, “Enoch,” *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Detroit, MI: Gale and Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 5: 265. Elijah left the earth in a burning chariot. See IV Kings 2: 11. “And as they (Elijah and Elisha) went on, walking and talking together, behold a fiery chariot and fiery horses parted them both asunder: and Elias (Elijah) went up by a whirlwind into heaven.” Another scriptural reference to Elijah appearing before the advent of Christ is Malachai 4: 5: “Behold, I will send you Elias (Elijah), the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord.” The witnesses mentioned in Revelation 11: 3 are interpreted by some to be Enoch and Elijah: “And I will give my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred sixty days, clothed in sackcloth.” Other scripture indicating the return of Elijah and Enoch at the end of time include Matthew 17: 11 and Ecclesiasticus 44:16 and 48:10. For further reading on Elijah in eschatological times see G. J. Dyer, “Elijah (Second Coming Of),” *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Detroit, MI: Gale Publishers; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 5: 159. An example of the prominence of Elijah and Enoch in apocalyptic literature is seen in *The Flowing Light of the Godhead* by Mechthild of Magdeburg, c. 1207-1282. In her vision of the end of time Elijah and Enoch appear on earth to preach and rescue the last generation from the Antichrist. See *Mechthild of Magdeburg: Selections from The Flowing Light of the Godhead*, trans. Elizabeth A. Andersen (Cambridge: Brewer, 2003), 79-85, 110-113.

could say these words: “You preach your Christ and his law and the faith that you received from him and that you used to preach when you were in the world, we do not believe you because you are of his disciples.” For this reason God has decided to keep Enoch and Elijah so that the Jews who refused to receive the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ will have more reason to believe in our Lord Jesus Christ and to receive the faith when they will see Elijah who was of the Jewish faith preaching the Gospel. So God the Father wanted Elijah to see our Lord Jesus Christ in this world when he transfigured himself in front of his apostles on Mt. Tabor.<sup>137</sup> According to Holy Scripture, previously mentioned, Elijah will convert the heart of the fathers to their sons and the heart of sons to their fathers because he will move the Jews who were unbelievers and miscreants to believe in our Lord Jesus Christ and to follow the faith of their fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob who because of the merit of their faith are saved, and so he will convert the heart of the sons to their fathers, that is to say, to follow their faith, and consequently when the fathers will see that their sons will be converted to our Lord Jesus Christ they will have their heart inclined to their sons. And thus the Jews will convert to our Lord Jesus Christ in the end of the world as the prophets say. Psalm *They shall return at evening, and shall* [22v] *suffer hunger like dogs: and shall go round about the city.*<sup>138</sup> Also Hosea III *For the children of Israel shall sit many days without a king, and without prince, and without sacrifice, and without altar, and without ephod, and without theraphim. And after this the children of Israel shall return, and shall seek the Lord, their*

137. No name is given to the mountain of transfiguration in the Bible. Yet it was called “Mt. Tabor” by tradition by the fourth century C.E. See Rafael Frankel, “Mt. Tabor,” *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1992), 6: 304-305.

138. Ps. LVIII: 7.

God, and David, their king: and they shall fear the Lord, and his goodness, in the last days.<sup>139</sup> Also Isaiah X If thy people, O Israel, shall be as the sand of the sea, a remnant of them shall be converted.<sup>140</sup> Also Romans XI Until the fulness of the Gentiles should come in, And so all Israel should be saved.<sup>141</sup>

Here must be said that the Jews used to be the people of God, and God was with them, but because they did not keep the law of God they have been abandoned by God, as God says in the Holy Scripture. Hebrews VIII *For they continued not in my testament: and I regarded them not.*<sup>142</sup> Furthermore because they did not want to believe in our Lord Jesus Christ nor receive the preaching of the Gospel they were more and more abandoned by God as our Lord says in the Gospel. Matthew XXIII *Behold, your house shall be left to you desolate.*<sup>143</sup> Thus the preaching of the Gospel and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ which the Jews refused was carried to the Christians as we can see accomplished and the Holy Scripture says. Acts XIII *Then Paul and Barnabas said boldly: To you it behooved us first to speak the word of God: but seeing you reject it, and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life: behold we turn to the Gentiles. For so the Lord hath commanded us.*<sup>144</sup> The Jews for their unbelief were abandoned by God. And just the same at the end of the world the Christians will not pay attention to our Lord Jesus Christ, nor to his grace, nor to

139. Ho. III: 4-5. The following terms are defined in the commentary on Hosea III: 5 in the Jerusalem Bible: An ephod “was the priest’s amulet by which he determined the will of Yahweh: the teraphim (theraphim), a ‘household god’ (of unknown form).”

140. Is. X: 22.

141. Rm. XI: 25-26.

142. Heb. VIII: 9.

143. Mt. XXIII: 38.

144. Ac. XIII: 46-47.

his faith, nor to his law, and will lose the grace of God and will be abandoned by God, left without anything except their vanity. The grace of the Gospel, which the Christians will ignore, will return to the Jews toward the end of the world. And they will receive it with great [23r] devotion and they will convert to Jesus Christ and will receive the faith and holy baptism and this is represented in the Mass when the priest, in order to say the Gospel, carries the book of the Gospel to the left of the altar as a sign that the preaching of the grace of the Gospel that the Jews did not want to receive was passed on to the people who are now the Christian people. But before the end of the Mass, the priest carries back the Book of the Gospel to the right part of the altar signifying that the faith of Jesus Christ and the grace of the Gospel will return to the Jews before the end of the world. And the Christians for their ingratitude will remain empty of grace.

Oh Christians, understand here and look to what end you must come if you do not pay attention to yourselves. Oh Christians, consider if it will be for you a beautiful honor to be worse than the Jews. The Jews in the end, by great devotion will convert to our Saviour Jesus Christ and will be made Christians and you, by failure to recognize the grace of God, will be abandoned by God. The Jews will receive the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Gospel and will profit in the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and for your bad life the grace of the Gospel will be taken away from you. Faith and holy baptism will be of no help to you when the fervor of faith in you will be weakened and stifled. It is nothing that our Lord Jesus Christ has shed his blood to remove you from the death of hell when you will be separated from him in your heart. You were on the way to salvation, but you failed to recognize the grace of God and turned your heart away from God and pursued your own way. The Jews by true faith and fervor of devotion will enjoy the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and will be saved. They will obtain your place in paradise. O Chris-

tians, what will I say to you? There is no living man who, if he considers these things, must not cry bitterly about you.

Now let us go back [23v] to our subject. These two prophets Enoch and Elijah will have the power to perform great signs in the world, such as preventing the sky from making rain over the earth, changing water into blood, and sending all the ills into the world as many times as they want. And that is what the Holy Scripture says. Apocalypse XI *These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy: and they have power over waters to turn them into blood, and to strike the earth with all plagues as often as they will.*<sup>145</sup> They will preach three and a half years publicly against the Antichrist and will convince him and confound him by the divine authority that will be given to them. And because the Antichrist will not be able to contradict them, because truth is always stronger and surmounts all falsehood, the Antichrist out of resentment that he will have, will kill them, and the Holy Scripture speaks of that in Apocalypse XI. *And I will give to my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred sixty days, clothed in sackcloth. And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast, that ascendeth out of the abyss, [\*that is the Antichrist] shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them.*<sup>146</sup> And after they are killed their bodies will remain on the spot for three and a half days and will not suffer to be put in sepulchres. And after three and a half days they will come alive and go up to heaven and they will see their enemies and there will be a great earthquake as the Apocalypse says.

## The Antichrist will make himself adored and will

145. Ap. XI: 6.

146. Ap. XI: 3 and 7. [\*] indicate commentary on the scripture.

## make people wear his sign on their foreheads

The Antichrist, the damned, will make people adore him, and they will convert to him. And the Holy Scripture speaks of this. Apocalypse XIII *And all that dwelt upon the earth adored him: whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb.*<sup>147</sup> That is to say, all those who live on earth will adore the Antichrist. Here it must not be understood that all in general will adore him, but the greatest part, that is to say, the disloyal and this agrees with what follows in the said authority. [24r] *So be it, those whose names are not written in the book of the life of the Lamb.*<sup>148</sup> And it must be known that the disciples of the Antichrist will carry his image wherever they go and the false prophet of the Antichrist will cause the people to adore this image. The Holy Scripture says. Apocalypse XIII *And he caused the earth, and them that dwell therein, to adore the first beast, [\*this is the Antichrist and he will be in his own person or in his image].*<sup>149</sup> And to cause them to believe the image of the Antichrist, that it is a marvelous thing, living and of great appearance of truth, the false prophet will give spirit to the image and will cause the image to speak. Apocalypse XIII *And it was given to give life to the image of the beast, and that the image of the beast should speak.*<sup>150</sup> The spirit that the false prophet will give to the image of the Antichrist will be the evil spirit, and then the image will speak, that is to say, the devil in the image. As many times as he speaks the idol speaks, otherwise the image could not speak. About the fact that this image will speak one should not be surprised considering what the Holy Spirit says, that is to say, that the dragon who is the

147. Ap. XIII: 8.

148. Repetition of part of Ap. XIII: 8.

149. Ap. XIII: 12. [\*] indicate gloss.

150. Ap. XIII: 15.

devil will give his power and strength to the Antichrist. Apocalypse XIII *And the dragon, [\*the diabolical Antichrist,] gave him his own strength, and great power.*<sup>151</sup> And then the false prophet will have the same power to cause the image of the Antichrist to speak and to make other marvelous things, *And he executed all the power of the former beast in his sight.*<sup>152</sup>

And the false prophet will cause anyone who will not adore the image of the Antichrist to be killed. Apocalypse XIII *And he should cause, that whosoever will not adore the image of the beast, should be slain.*<sup>153</sup> In that he will have killed those who will not adore the image, he will show he is not on the side of God because never did God force a man by cruelty to make him believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, but the false prophet will do more because he will force people to adore the image, and those who will not want to adore it he will kill them. And he will do that out of resentment when he is not obeyed, so that the others for fear of being killed will submit more promptly to adore the image of the Antichrist.

But in addition the false prophet will do even more, he will have all the great and small, rich and poor, imprinted [24v] with the sign of the Antichrist on their right hand or on their forehead, so that no one can buy or sell who will not have the sign of the Antichrist. And the Holy Scripture speaks of this in Apocalypse XIII *And he shall make all, both little and great, rich and poor, freemen and bondmen, to have a mark in their right hand, or on their foreheads. And that no man might buy or sell, but he*

151. Ap. XIII: 2. [\*] indicate gloss.

152. Ap. XIII: 12. Ap. XIII 11 reads: "And I saw another beast coming up out of the earth, and he had two horns, like a lamb, and he spoke as a dragon."

153. Ap. XIII: 15.

that hath the mark, of the name of the beast.<sup>154</sup> To this the false prophet will have people wear the sign of the Antichrist on their right hand or on their forehead so that by the sign those who will be on the side of the Antichrist will be known, and so that the others who will not wear the sign will be known and will be forced to wear the sign or be persecuted to death.

And so there will be great tribulation throughout the world. Now we must examine things more thoroughly concerning those who will adore the Antichrist or his image. They will adore with him the devil who will be in him and the Holy Scripture says this in Apocalypse XIII *And they adored the dragon, [\*that is the devil,] which gave power to the beast: and they adored the beast.*<sup>155</sup> And this adoration will be just like paying homage to the devil. And because they will receive the mark of the Antichrist, they will declare not to be any longer with Jesus Christ but with the Antichrist. Oh what an extraordinary thing it will be to give up being a Christian and to side with the Antichrist. For having done that, Jesus Christ will no longer consider them his, and consequently they will not be among the numbers of the saved, and this is expressed in the Holy Scripture, that is to say, their names are not written in the book of life. Apocalypse XIII *And all that dwelt upon the earth adored him: whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb which was slain.*<sup>156</sup>

Furthermore, in receiving the sign of the Antichrist they will have their sense and mind perverted. About which one reads that Saint Hildegard wrote in her books inspired by the mouth of God that Lucifer from the beginning of his existence and ruin has recorded in his thoughts certain words which he never revealed, which he will reveal to the Antichrist. And the [25r]

154. Ap. XIII: 16-17.

155. Ap. XIII: 4. [\*] indicate gloss.

156. Ap. XIII: 8. This passage was quoted earlier in notes 147 and 148.

Antichrist will write them in notes and will put them on foreheads or on the hands of those who will convert to him.<sup>157</sup> And whoever will carry these words on him he will not doubt the Antichrist nor his law, but will believe firmly that he is the true Messiah and that Jesus Christ was a deceiver. And this writing is called in the Apocalypse *caracter bestie*,<sup>158</sup> that is the sign of the Antichrist. And this is said by the spirit of prophecy so that all be

157. A similar passage occurs in Hildegard, *Liber divinorum operum simplicis hominis* (*The Book of the Divine Works as Written down by a Simple Human Being*), Visio X in PL 197: 1032B-1033B. Regarding the inscriptions of the Antichrist she says: "He will have inscriptions marked on the foreheads of his followers. In this way he will inscribe all evil upon them, just as the old serpent did for human beings by deceiving them and arousing their passion in order to keep them in its power. By means of this inscription and in opposition to baptism and Christ's name, the Antichrist will so capture human beings through magical spells that they will no longer wish to be free of him...Previously this inscription was neither seen nor imagined in any language. Lucifer has devised it himself and offered it as a scheme to seduce humanity so that it will no longer respect its creator." The quotation is from Hildegard's Tenth Vision, chap. 32 "On the End of Time" found in *Hildegard of Bingen's Book of Divine Works with Letters and Songs*, trans. Robert Cunningham, ed. Matthew Fox. (Rochester, VT: Bear and Co., 1987), 257-258. Cunningham bases his translation on several sources: the critical German text by Heinrich Schipperges, the Univ. of Ghent manuscript of *De operatione Dei Welt und Mensch* (Salzburg, Austria, 1965). Schipperges consulted the Univ. of Ghent manuscript of *De operatione Dei*, (Codex 241), dated 1170-1173. It was completed at Rupertsberg under the supervision of Hildegard. He also consulted another copy dating to the Rupertsberg scriptorium that is included in the Wiesbaden Codex of Scivias, as well a 13th century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Municipale de Troyes, Codex 681 and the Lucca Manuscripts, Codex 1942.

158. Biblical references pertaining to the sign of the beast are found in Ap. XVI: 2, XIV: 10-12, XIX: 19-21, and XX: 3-5.

on their guard to receive this scripture of Lucifer because those who will receive it will be deceived because by the virtue of this scripture, the judgment of God allowing, they will be victims of blindness of thought and will fall into error and will be eternally damned. And this agrees with the authority of the Apocalypse that is in the end of this chapter. Here is what they will have earned to try to escape death. And nevertheless they will die and will be horribly tormented as it is written in the Apocalypse XVI. *And the first [\*angel] went, and poured out his vial upon the earth, and there fell a sore and most grievous wound upon the men, who had the mark of the beast; and upon them who adored his image.*<sup>159</sup>

And if they are severely tormented in this world, they will be more horribly tormented in hell because there they will be in burning fire and stinking sulfur forever, and will never have rest from the torments that they will suffer as the Holy Scripture says. Apocalypse XIII *And the third Angel followed them saying with a loud voice: If any man shall adore the beast, and his image, and receive his mark on his forehead, or in his hand: He also shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is mingled with pure wine, in the cup of his wrath, and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the sight of the holy Angels, and in the sight of the Lamb: And the smoke of their torments shall ascend up for ever and ever: neither have they rest day or night, who have adored the beast, and his image, and whosoever received the mark of his name.*<sup>160</sup>

159. Ap. XVI: 2. [\*] indicate gloss.

160. Ap. XIV: 9-11.



# Hell II [25r-49v]

## The Antichrist will reign for the sins of the world

For the ills of the world of which it will be full, the Antichrist will come as the flail and stick of God to whip and torment the inhabitants of the world, and God will make him reign for the sins of the people. Job XXXIIII *Who maketh a man that is a hypocrite to reign for the sins of the people?*<sup>1</sup> And that will not be surprising because in other times for [25v] a similar cause, that is to say, for the sins of men, a similar thing happened. About this one reads in the Holy Scripture that there was a king named Antiochus<sup>2</sup> who resembled the Antichrist who rose against the

1. Jb. XXXIV: 30.

2. Antiochus IV Epiphanes was King of the Seleucian Kingdom of Syria (175-163 B.C.). His edicts against the practices of the Jews are mentioned in I Machabees 1: 43-53. The most horrible desecration was the erection of an altar to the Olympian Zeus in 167 B.C. in the Temple. This act was called the "abomination of desolation" and is described in Daniel, ch. 11. The preceding information is from J. F. Devine, "Antiochus IV Epiphanes," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed. (Detroit, MI: Gale and Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 1: 528. F. J. Montalbano, in his article, "Abomination of Desolation," in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, in *ibid.*, 1: 23 states that "In Christ's eschatological discourse in Mt. 24: 15 and Mk. 13: 14 the abomination of desolation is linked with the fall of Jerusalem and the end of the world." In view of Christ's eschatological discourse and St. Paul's description of the Antichrist (2 Thes. 2: 3-12) Montalbano concludes that "it is probable that the abomination of desolation is to be identified with the 'man of sin,' 'the son of perdition'...who in the last days 'sits in the temple of God and gives himself out as if he were God' (2 Thes. 2: 4)."

people of God and killed a great number of people and took the plates of gold and silver and the ornaments of the temple of God and the treasures that he found. Among the other wrongs he committed, he forbade people to sacrifice in the temple of God, had the observance of Holy Saturday stopped, and he prohibited people from keeping the law of God. He ordered them to do the opposite of what God had ordered, and whoever would not act according to the order of the king was killed. And the followers of the king chopped up the books of the law of God and threw them into the fire, and those who kept the law of God were killed. God allowed all these things because of the sins of the people, and especially the sins of the priests, about whom the Holy Scripture says were not inclined to do the service of the altar, but despised the temple, and they did not want to make sacrifices, but hurried to go and play and fight like other people. II Machabees IIII *The priests were not now occupied about the offices of the altar, but despising the temple and neglecting the sacrifices, hastened to be partakers of the games, and of the unlawful allowance thereof, and of the exercise of the discus...For acting wickedly against the laws of God doth not pass unpunished.*<sup>3</sup> Similarly for the abundance of ills that will be in this world, the Antichrist will come and God will make him reign as a hypocrite to mock and insult those who do not pay attention to God and who do not fear offending him with their sins. He will also make the Antichrist reign as a cruel tyrant in order to torment them as the prophet says. Habakkuk I [26r] *Lord, thou hast appointed him for judgment: and made him strong for correction.*<sup>4</sup>

## The Holy Church will be persecuted by the

3. II Mc. IV: 14 and 17.

4. Hab. I: 12.

## Antichrist and his disciples

At the time of the Antichrist the Holy Church and the entire Christian world will be oppressed and persecuted by the Antichrist and his disciples, and the Holy Scripture speaks of this. Apocalypse XI *And the holy city [\*that is the Holy Church] they shall tread under foot forty-two months.*<sup>5</sup> In that time the service of the Holy Church will stop because no longer will Mass or Matins be said especially in public. The holy sacraments will not be administered. The sacrifice of Holy Church will cease as the prophet says. Joel I *Sacrifice and libation is cut off from the house of the Lord.*<sup>6</sup> Also Daniel VIII *It was magnified even to the prince of the strength: and it took away from him the continual sacrifice, and cast down the place of his sanctuary. And strength was given him against the continual sacrifice because of sins.*<sup>7</sup> The Antichrist will be magnified and elevated to the prince of strength, that is to say, against God the all-powerful. And he will remove from him the continual sacrifice and reduce to nothingness the place of sanctification. And strength will be given to him because the continual sacrifice for sin has been eliminated. So the Antichrist will cause the service of the church and the sacrifice of the Mass to cease, and he will persecute the men of the church to death. All this will happen on account of the sins of the people. In several places churches and altars will be destroyed. The clothing of the priests, ornaments, books, chalices, crosses and images will be torn to pieces. The priests will not dare to wear a crown nor the vestment of a priest and that will make

5. Ap. XI: 2. [\*] indicate commentary of the anon. author of MS. Douce 134.

6. Jl. I: 9.

7. Dn. VIII: 11-12.

them sad. Joel I *The priests, the Lord's ministers, have mourned.*<sup>8</sup> Good Christians also will be troubled, sad and upset when they will see Christianity subverted so. They will all be upset because the holy sacraments will not be offered, the remedies of their salvation will be prevented and they will not know what to do or whom to ask for help. However, so that they will not remain totally depressed, there will be a remedy: to commend themselves humbly to God and put their hope in him because he comforts those who have [26v] hope in him and turn to him in their tribulation as the prophet says. Nahum I *The Lord is good, and giveth strength in the day of trouble: and knoweth them that hope in him.*<sup>9</sup>

## The tribulation that will be at the time of the Antichrist

At the time of the Antichrist there will be great tribulation throughout the world, so great that there was never a greater tribulation since the beginning of the world as the Gospel says. Matthew XXIII *For there shall be then great tribulation, such as hath not been from the beginning of world until now, neither shall be.*<sup>10</sup> Daniel XI *And a time shall come, such as never was from the time that nations began, even until that time...*<sup>11</sup> This tribulation will be against the good Christians and faithful of Jesus Christ. Because they will remain firm in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ they will be harmed, mocked, despised and hated by all, as our Lord says in the Gospel. Matthew XXIII *And you*

8. Jl. I: 9.

9. Nh. I: 7.

10. Mt. XXIV: 21.

11. Error in MS. It should read Dn. XII: 1.

*shall be hated by all nations for my name's sake.*<sup>12</sup> In that time when they will find any Christians who will not wear the sign of the Antichrist, they will be blamed and insulted and they will be reproached for holding the faith of Jesus Christ, and for this they will be accused and persecuted to death. They will put their hands on them and they will be brought to the masters of the sect of the Antichrist to be examined about their faith by force of torments. And of this the Gospel speaks. Luke XXI *But before all these things they will lay their hands on you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues and into prisons, dragging you before kings and governors, for my name's sake.*<sup>13</sup> Matthew XXIII *Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall put you to death.*<sup>14</sup> True Christians will not dare to appear and will not know whom to trust because the father will not be sure of his son nor the son of the father, and the brother will not dare to trust his brother because as the Gospel says: the brother will give his brother to death, and the father the son, and the sons will attack their parents and will torment them to death. Matthew X *The brother also shall deliver up the brother to death, [27r] and the father the son: and the children shall rise up against their parents, and shall put them to death.*<sup>15</sup> Also Luke XXI *And you shall be betrayed by your parents and brethren, and kinsmen and friends: and some of you they will put to death.*<sup>16</sup> That is to say, that you will be betrayed by your parents, by your brothers and cousins and friends, and they will torment you to death. And this agrees with what the prophet says. Ezekiel XXVIII *Every*

12. Mt. XXIV: 9.

13. Lk. XXI: 12.

14. Mt. XXIV: 9.

15. Mt. X: 21. Quoted earlier in Hell I, n. 26.

16. Lk. XXI: 16.

*man's sword shall be pointed against his brother.*<sup>17</sup> That is to say, the sword of each person will be turned against his brother. Oh what a scandal and great, terrible temptation there will be when those who should be friends are made enemies, and those who should help and protect people will be those who will accuse and persecute them to death. There will be no family ties, nor friendship that will hold them.

Never was there such persecution as complete or as terrible against the true Christians as will exist then, and all this, because they will be Christians. For that they will be hated by all, everyone will shout against them, they will manifest their maliciousness and persecute them. The Antichrist will persecute them and the devil will reign. All this tribulation and persecution will move the devil against the true Christians to separate them from Jesus Christ and to diminish and extinguish in them all the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ so that their faith in Jesus Christ will be of no help, nor holy baptism, nor the other sacraments nor the death and passion of Christ. But however as our Lord says in the Gospel, those who will persevere to the end will be saved. Oh the good words of our Lord Jesus Christ. Oh word of joy and consolation. Oh word of comfort in time in tribulation. Oh word containing eternal salvation. Who will persevere to the end will be saved. This word must move every man to stand firm against tribulation. This word must encourage every man to give up body and soul to martyrdom. [27v] This word must encourage every man to persevere in the faith until the end and whoever will put these words into effect will have been born with great fortune because in the end he will be saved.

17. Error in MS. It should read Ez. XXXVIII: 21.

## What the Christians need to achieve victory over the Antichrist

In the time of tribulation that will grow in intensity, three things are necessary for the faithful of Jesus Christ to avoid being beaten and to obtain victory against enemies visible and invisible. The first is humble prayer by which they pray to God often and devoutly, asking that he help them bear patiently all sorts of torments and not let them be beaten nor overcome by their enemies by force of torments or in some other way. Without the help of God man is a little thing and is not strong enough to suffer harsh tribulation without weakening, but with the help of God man is invincible and powerful against all things.

And for the faithful of Christ to have God's help to triumph over their enemies visible or invisible, they must be united of heart and love for our Lord Jesus Christ because thus God will be in them and will give them strength and victory against all. It is the reason why the martyrs triumphed over their adversities and over all sorts of torments because they had God in their hearts. And so because they will have God in them, they will not be able to be separated from him no matter what torment they receive. Romans VIII *Who then shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation? or distress? or persecution? or famine? or nakedness? or danger? or the sword?*<sup>18</sup>

The second thing necessary to have is patience. Patience is the only remedy against the insults, adversities, persecutions and tribulations of the enemies and adversaries, because if man wanted to defend himself he would waste his time and his trouble. And if he were impatient or if he became angry with his enemies for their harm he would not triumph over them in this

18. Rm. VIII: 35.

manner [28r] but he would be beaten. And therefore do not get angry with your adversaries and do not be impatient, because all the harm they will do will be done with divine permission. And just as man must not get angry at God when God sends him adversity or gives him affliction, in the same way he must not get angry when God allows that he is persecuted by others, because nothing is done without cause. Also you must not get angry with your friends nor with your enemies because they are to the faithful of Jesus Christ the cause of their great fortune. They make them fly in the glory of paradise if they take their tribulation in patience. In the Gospel our Lord Jesus Christ urges his faithful to be patient. Luke XXI *In your patience you shall possess your souls.*<sup>19</sup> That is to say, in your patience you will possess your souls. By patience the faithful possess their souls and have them in their power while the enemies have no power over them. So the enemies cannot be better beaten and confused than when we have patience in tribulation because then they do not know what to say or do because they lost their cause. By patience also the torments do no harm to the faithful but are the cause of their eternal glory.

The third thing that is necessary for the faithful of Jesus Christ is perseverance, about which we have spoken in the preceding chapter. Without perseverance all that man proposes or begins is useless unless he perseveres to the end, that is to say, until death and until he reaches the end of the tribulation and obtains victory over his enemies. This perseverance is understood: perseverance in faith and in confession of the holy name of our Lord Jesus Christ, perseverance in supporting tribulation and bearing harms and pains. If man does not persevere in these two things, [28v] as soon as he gives up perseverance, the battle is

19. Lk. XXI: 19.

over and won against him and he falls into the hands of his enemies. But while he perseveres in faith and in bearing tribulation, he is above his enemies and God is with him to help him, to deliver him, and glorify him. According to the Psalmist, *I am with him in tribulation, I will deliver him, and I will glorify him.*<sup>20</sup>

And so through such perseverance in the end he will be saved. Matthew XXIII *But he that shall persevere to the end, he shall be saved.*<sup>21</sup> No one will be able to last among the torments unless he is helped by the grace of God, because no one is certain of himself among such great abundance of maliciousness, even if he can remain firm in faith without being crushed, even if he can stand patiently the torments with perseverance until death without weakening, because the tribulation will be so horrible that it will be enough to make one abandon God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ and holy baptism.

There is another remedy. That is to say, one can take refuge in the desert or unlivable places such as in the woods or mountains or holes or caves. And to do that, our Lord gives advice saying what is written in the Gospel. Matthew XXIII *Then let them that are in Judea flee to the mountains: And let him that is on the house top, not come down to take any thing out of his house.*<sup>22</sup> Several saints did that in similar cases because they hid in deserted places in holes and caves in the earth as the apostle says. Hebrews XI *In solitude wandering in deserts, in mountains, and dens, and in caves of the earth.*<sup>23</sup> And it will be a safer thing to do than to expose oneself to greater peril.

20. Ps. XC: 15.

21. Mt. XXIV: 13.

22. Mt. XXIV: 16-17.

23. Heb. XI: 38.

## How the Antichrist will torment the good Christians

As for those whom the Antichrist will not succeed to convert to him through words, gifts or miracles, he will persecute them to death on account of the bitter resentment he will feel for seeing himself overcome and despised. And about this there are several authorities in the Holy Scripture in the Old Testament as well as the **[29r]** New. Daniel VII I beheld, and lo, that horn made war against the saints, and prevailed over them.<sup>24</sup> Also Daniel VIII [He] will do more than can be believed. And he shall destroy the mighty, and the people of the saints, according to his will.<sup>25</sup> Also Apocalypse XIII And it was given to him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them.<sup>26</sup> According to these authorities the Antichrist will make war against the saints of Jesus Christ and will beat them. And because he will have been impotent against their spirits, like a crazy person he will exercise all his spite and cruelty on their bodies to take revenge on them, and he will torment them with the most horrible pains that he will be able to imagine or contrive. Now we must see how he will deal with them. He will not kill them suddenly, but he will make them languish a long time in torments, and he will exercise all his fury against them in order to overcome them. Some he will starve until they are totally weakened by starvation. That will be difficult to bear.

Others he will make stand totally naked in the cold until they are all frozen stiff. For some he will pluck out their eyes from their head and others he will pull out their teeth. Some he will make undress and hang naked by their feet and he will beat them with belts until blood will flow from all parts and their flesh will be totally torn. Others he will have skinned alive. Some he will

24. Dn. VII: 21. Previously quoted in Hell I, n. 8.

25. Dn. VIII: 24-25.

26. Ap. XIII: 7.

have pierced with sharp awls or with daggers throughout their body. Others he will have cut up with knives. Some he will put to torture and will have them drawn by the feet and by the hands until their joints are separated and torn from each other. The others he will have dismembered by cutting off one finger at one time and another finger at another time and so on—until all the fingers are cut off. [29v] Then at a later time he will have a fist cut, another time an arm, another time a foot, another time a leg until the body remains like a trunk. To some he will apply fire to torment them horribly. Daniel XII *Many shall be chosen, and made white, and shall be tried as fire.*<sup>27</sup> When he will have tormented them for a long time, if they do not convert to him, he will have some hanged and others he will bury alive in the earth. He will have the heads cut off of some, others he will have devoured by beasts, some he will have burned, others he will have drowned. He will roast some, others he will boil, some he will have stoned, and others he will have pierced with arrows. Others he will have their heads broken with axes and mauls and bludgeoned like dogs, others he will have crucified, some he will have thrown in deep wells. He will make others climb to a high place and will make them jump down from high to destroy them. He will have others dragged naked among thorns, he will kill others with a lethal venom and he will make them die in great pain. That is how the blessed saints of Jesus Christ will be treated one after another so that some will be afraid of what they will see done to others and out of fear will convert to the Antichrist.

Everywhere there will be great tribulation, great complaints, and great cries, everywhere there will be great bloodshed. Apocalypse XVII *And I saw the woman drunk with the blood of the*

27. Dn. XII: 10. The New Jerusalem Bible reads: “Many will be cleansed, made white and purged.”

saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus.<sup>28</sup> And it must be known that the Antichrist in fighting the saints will do what he wants with them, and no one will prevent him. And the saints will be as though removed from God and will receive help from no one. However the angels will always be present to receive their souls as soon as they will leave their bodies to carry them to the glory of paradise. Daniel XII *But at that time shall Michael rise up, the great prince, who standeth for the children of thy people.*<sup>29</sup> That is to say, that in that time Saint Michael the great prince will rise, not to defend the faithful of Jesus Christ and prevent them from being killed, but to receive their souls when they will leave their bodies. [30r] [[Figure 3](#)] [30v]

## The murderer Antichrist who will persecute to death the saints of Jesus Christ

By his acts the Antichrist will clearly show that he is not on God's side but is against God, acting against God's command, who commands that no one kill a man. God also does not have such a manner to have people convert to him by force of torments. Our Lord Jesus Christ and his disciples converted people in all humility and kindness, grace and charity without using force on anyone. Because if a man receives the word of God and converts to God, it is his good, but if he does not do it, it is his loss. Otherwise he must not be forced. *But the devil, the despised, rises up in scandal and is kindled into rage—likewise all whom he possesses.*<sup>30</sup> When one does not immediately obey the devil and

28. Ap. XVII: 6.

29. Dn. XII: 1.

30. "Sed contemptus dyabolus (diabolus in PL and CT) surgit in scandala et in furorem succenditur. Similiter omnes quos possidet." The first

all those whom he possesses, they become mad and moved to fury to torment one who contradicts them. By force of torments they are forced to do what they want, just as the unbelievers and tyrants did formerly to the martyrs of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is their way. They do not know another way.

Here a question may be asked in this manner. How can we know that the Antichrist will torment the saints of Jesus Christ in this way and will make them die in so many ways and so cruelly? To this may be answered that all this is founded in the Holy Scripture. And first it must be said that in the past there were several bad men who tormented terribly the people of God, like Nebuchadnezzar, Oloferne and Antiochus<sup>31</sup> who had the shape

words of the Latin sentence, “Diabolus contemptus surgit in scandala” (“The devil, the despised, rises up in scandal”) appear in Walafridus Strabo, c. 808–849, *Evangelium secundum Marcum*, cap. 1 in PL 114: 182. The same phrase is attributed to Hieronymus (Jerome) by Thomas Aquinas, *Catena aurea in Marcum* cap. 1, lec. 9, lin. 122 in *Commentaria in Scripturas*, in CT, 5: 249. The phrase is attributed to Anonymus (Hieronymus [Pseudo]), *Expositio Evangelii secundum Marcum*, cap. (s.s.) 1, lin. 251, ed. Michael Cahill (1997), CCSL 82: 17. Cahill notes that this commentary on Mark is the first known and had an enormous influence in the Middle Ages. He further explains that the commentary was erroneously attributed to Jerome and was often quoted in the *Glossa ordinaria* and Thomas Aquinas’ *Catena aurea*. Cahill believes that the commentary was written by a learned abbot for the instruction of the monks in his community at the beginning of the seventh century. The location of the community has not been proven. The phrase “in furorem succenditur. Similiter omnes quos possidet” was not found in any electronic resource and may be the words of the anon. author of MS. Douce 134.

31. The Book of Judith in the Old Testament recounts how Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Assyrians, sends his chief general, Holofernes to lay siege on the Western countries for refusing to pay tribute to him, and of Judith, a wealthy and beautiful Hebrew widow who slays Holofernes. Her people had grown weary of fighting in Bethulia and

of the Antichrist, and several emperors, presidents and other bad tyrants who tormented the martyrs of our Lord Jesus Christ and made them die in several ways and with similar torments which have been mentioned as one reads in their passions. The Holy Scripture says that the Antichrist will not do what his **[31r]** fathers or the fathers of his fathers ever did. Daniel XI *And he shall do that which his fathers never did, nor his fathers' fathers.*<sup>32</sup> This means that he will do worse than all the tyrants who were ever before him.

Another question can also be asked in this manner. How and why will our Lord Jesus Christ stand for his faithful to be so tormented? Because one can understand that he does that to bad Christians, letting them be deceived by false signs and false miracles, as we have said before, but what about the saints who keep faith in Christ, why does he let them be tormented so by this devil without defending them or helping them? To this is answered that all this is for the best for them because there is hardly in this world even a saint who does not have some evil to purge. And it will be better for them to suffer in this world some

were about to surrender when she devised a plan to enter the enemy camp under the guise of a deserter and enter the tent of Holofernes. When he fell into a drunken sleep she decapitated him and carried his severed head to Bethulia. The next day the army of Holofernes took flight and the temple at Jerusalem was saved from destruction. The historical Nebuchadnezzar reigned as king of Babylon from 605-525 B.C. During his long reign he saw Babylonia rise to its zenith as a world power. D. L. Magnetti points out in his article, "Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon" in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed. (Detroit, MI: Gale and Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 10: 225, that "no historical value is to be attached to the Nebuchadnezzar of the Book of Daniel or that of Judith." For information regarding Antiochus see n. 2.

32. Dn. XI: 24.

torment than to suffer in purgatory, all considered. God also will allow the Antichrist to have power over them and to do what he wants with them and all this for their advantage because of their own will and decision. The more they will choose to persevere in the faith and voluntarily submit to suffer all sorts of torments for the holy name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the more they will have merit for it, and consequently more glory. On the contrary those who for fear of torments will choose to convert to the Antichrist will be more horribly tormented in hell and will not be able to attribute the cause of their damnation to anyone other than to themselves, because by their own will they have converted to the Antichrist without resisting him though they knew well that everything about the Antichrist was nothing but a falsehood.

### **No one should deceive himself by repudiating our Lord Jesus Christ, hoping to make penance for it afterwards**

In the time of the great persecution some people [31v] could imagine that they could say for their own sake, “If I reject our Lord Jesus Christ in words only, I shall have nothing to fear because I shall not reject him in my heart and God sees in the heart of man.” And for this reason they will reject our Lord Jesus Christ. Oh, you whoever you are, who imagine such a thing, don’t deceive yourself. If you reject him, or if by chance you plan to repent and to make penance afterwards, you will be miserably deceived. You can consider yourself as dead because by rejecting your Saviour Jesus Christ you put yourself to death. Not only by rejecting him but also with this you will have to do other things, that is to say, convert to the Antichrist and adore him and carry his sign, and for those things and more you will bring yourself to death. And by doing that you put yourself to

death, and this is demonstrated in several ways. And first as for salvation, it is necessary to confess to Jesus Christ by mouth, according to the apostle. Romans X *For, with the heart, we believe unto justice: but, with the mouth, confession is made unto salvation.*<sup>33</sup> So on the contrary to reject Jesus Christ by mouth is a thing contrary to salvation, about which the Holy Scripture says: those who will reject Jesus Christ will not belong to Jesus Christ. Daniel IX *Christ shall be slain: and the people that shall deny him shall not be his.*<sup>34</sup> Our Lord Jesus Christ confirms this in the Gospel. Matthew X *Whoever shall deny me before men, I will also deny him in front of my Father, who is in heaven.*<sup>35</sup> Also II Timothy II *If we deny him, he also will deny us.*<sup>36</sup> According to these authorities the one who will reject our Lord Jesus Christ in front of men, Jesus Christ will reject him. And so for his rejection he will be reproached by God and separated from the number of the saints. And such a person can well say that [32r] he is dead. Now man, consider what you will be able to do by yourself and what penance, when because of your rejection you will be thus reproached and abandoned by God for rejecting Jesus Christ and adoring the Antichrist. Man separates himself from God and becomes a companion of the devil, abandons life and takes death. And whoever does that belongs to the devil because to him he must be by right; he has given himself and converted. II Peter II *For by whom a man is overcome, of the same also he is the slave.*<sup>37</sup> Therefore the devil will have power over those who will reject Jesus Christ and will convert to the Antichrist.

33. Rm. X: 10.

34. Dn. IX: 26. Verse appeared earlier in Hell I, n. 127.

35. Mt. X: 33.

36. II Tm. II: 12.

37. II Pt. II: 19.

Thirdly, those who will reject the Lord Jesus Christ and convert to the Antichrist, take his sign and will adore his image will die because they will be killed with the people of the Antichrist as God says through the prophet. Ezekiel XXXIX *Thou shalt fall upon the mountains of Israel, thou and all thy bands, and thy nations that are with thee.*<sup>38</sup> Also Apocalypse XIX *And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet: who wrought signs before him, wherewith he seduced them, who received the mark of the beast, and who adored his image. These two were cast alive into the pool of fire burning with brimstone. And the rest were slain by the sword of him that sitteth upon the horse, which proceedeth out of his mouth.*<sup>39</sup> However, no one must put himself in peril of eternal death by rejecting Jesus Christ. Even if he repents of it afterwards, he is not assured of forgiveness, and he may not have time to repent.

## Exhortation to the faithful of Jesus Christ to keep firm in their faith of Jesus Christ

Since those who will reject Jesus Christ and convert to the Antichrist will die, as it has been said, the faithful of Jesus Christ must remain more and more encouraged to remain firm with our Lord Jesus Christ and to persevere in their faith until death. And of this they are urged in the Holy Scripture. II Thessolonians II *For the mystery [32v] of iniquity already worketh: only that he who now holdeth, do hold [\*namely the Catholic faith]...*<sup>40</sup> Whoever holds the faith in time of peace may he hold it in time of adversity because neither for tribulation nor for death does

38. Ez. XXXIX: 4.

39. Ap. XIX: 20-21.

40. II Thess. II: 7. [\*] indicates commentary by author of MS. Douce 134.

faith move or change, but is always the same in adversity as in prosperity. Apocalypse II *Yet that which you have, hold fast till I come.*<sup>41</sup> Also Apocalypse III *Hold fast that which thou hast, that no man take thy crown.*<sup>42</sup> Hold what you have, that is to say, the Catholic faith so that no one takes your crown. According to these words, by leaving the faith man loses his crown and consequently himself. It is obvious that the Antichrist will persecute the faithful of Jesus Christ to make them reject Jesus Christ and the faith and force them to convert to him so that for fear of torments they put themselves in peril of rejecting their faith. They must choose death rather than abandon their faith. And for that our Lord Jesus Christ urges them not to be afraid of the tyrants nor of death, as he says in the Gospel. Matthew X *Fear not them that kill the body, and cannot kill the soul.*<sup>43</sup> Do not be afraid of those who kill the body because they cannot kill the soul. It is true that the tyrants cannot kill the soul, but man can kill his soul and in fact kills it when for fear of torments and of death he rejects Jesus Christ and his faith, because by doing so he exposes himself to the judgment of God, something to be feared. So our Lord Jesus Christ warns in the Gospel to fear God who can send to hell those who by fear of death reject their faith. And because the death of the body is quite unimportant compared with the death of the soul, which is horrible and eternal, death eternal of the body and of the soul is more to be feared than the transitory death of the body. [33r]

It is better to choose to suffer pain and corporal death, brief and transitory, and to be immediately comforted than to be exposed to eternal death of the body and soul in order to delay the death of the body, because for refusing to suffer corporal

41. Ap. II: 25.

42. Ap. III: 11.

43. Mt. X: 28.

death, man loses his soul, as our Lord Jesus Christ says in the Gospel. Matthew XVI *For whosoever will save his life, [\*that is, by denying Christ out of fear of the penalties of death and temporal pain,] shall lose it.*<sup>44</sup> Also Ecclesiasticus XXXVI *Let him that escapeth be consumed by the rage of the fire.*<sup>45</sup> Also Job VI *They that fear the hoary frost, the snow shall fall upon them.*<sup>46</sup> By these authorities it is given to understand that those who will refuse to die for Jesus Christ will have more to suffer than those who will choose to die promptly for him. Those who will want to die for Jesus Christ will be blessed in comparison with the others because they will be freed from temporal and eternal death. And of this the Holy Scripture speaks. Apocalypse XXI *God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes: and death shall be no more.*<sup>47</sup> And those who for fear of dying will reject the faith will not escape death for that, but with corporal death they will incur eternal death. And so in order to save their lives, they will lose life and will be exposed to death from which they will never be delivered, and they will never recover the life they lost. And for all this, you faithful of Jesus Christ who will be in the time of the Antichrist, since in any case you must die one way or another, choose to die for Jesus Christ, who has wanted to die for you, because you cannot die more gloriously. What more do you expect in this world?

The end of the world is near. Proceed confidently, because never will you have such a good deal if you want to obtain eternal glory. There is no other path but through martyrdom. If you desire eternal glory, you must desire to do what you must do to obtain it. For this choose to die gloriously for Jesus Christ

44. Mt. XVI: 25. [\*] indicate commentary by writer of MS. Douce 134.

45. Ecli. XXXVI: 11.

46. Jb. VI: 16.

47. Ap. XXI: 4.

because it is the cause of your [33v] glory and felicity. By suffering martyrdom for Jesus Christ you reach the glory of God as Gregory says: *Through the cup one attains to majesty.*<sup>48</sup> Also Apocalypse XV *And I saw as it were a sea of glass mingled with fire, and them that had overcome the beast, and his image, and the number of his name, standing on the sea of glass, having the harps of God: And singing the canticle of Moses, the servant of God, and the canticle of the Lamb.*<sup>49</sup> By this authority it is signified that those who will triumph over the Antichrist will be in eternal joy, singing happily and melodiously, but the Antichrist can be beaten only by suffering death.

Oh faithful of Jesus Christ, keep this faith because it is time for you to work forever and ever, then you have either lost everything or gained everything. You must fight for the truth and

48. "Per calicem pertingitur ad maiestatem." Gregorius Magnus, 590–604, *Homiliae in evangelia*, lib. 2, hom. 27, par. 4, lin. 72, ed. Raymond Étaix (1999), CCSL 141: 232. Gregory delivered these sermons spanning the entire liturgical year between 590–592. Later he or his amanuensis gathered them together into two books for publication, they were highly popular during his lifetime and throughout the Middle Ages. The preceding information is given by Paul Tombeur as background on the text in the electronic version of CCSL 141: 232. See also Gregorius I, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, bk. II, hom. XXVII in PL 76: 1562.

49. Ap. XV: 2–3. Traditionally the Song of Moses consists of two canticles. The text of the first is Exodus 15: 1–19, the second is Deuteronomy 32: 1–43. The text of the Canticle of the Lamb is Revelations 19: 1–7. A depiction of the Song of the Lamb is seen in Jan Van Eyck's Ghent Altarpiece (1424–1432) in St. Bavo's Cathedral, Ghent, and may well have been visited by Philip the Good (1397–1467), who was Duke of Burgundy from 1419 until his death. He may have commissioned Van Eyck to paint portraits of himself and his wife, Isabella of Portugal, although if he did, they no longer exist. For Van Eyck's role in the Burgundian Court see Craig Harbison, *Jan Van Eyck: The Play of Realism*, 2nd ed. (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2012), 22–28.

for life. Otherwise without obtaining victory you would not be crowned in paradise as the apostle says. I Timothy II (He) is not crowned, except he strive lawfully.<sup>50</sup> The battle that you must fight is to keep your faith until death and to suffer death for Jesus Christ and for the faith, truth and eternal life. Do not lose your crowns by refusing to die for Jesus Christ. Do not flee death since you are in the hand of the Antichrist, and since you must escape from the hands of your enemies by death. Enter glory or remain under the power of your visible or invisible enemies.

Do not be afraid to move forward by fear of the torments because as St. Andrew says in his passion, these corporal pains are either light and can be suffered or they are severe and immediately cause the soul to leave the body and thus man is immediately delivered.<sup>51</sup> And the more difficult the torments are to

50. The MS. is incorrect, should read II Tim. II: 5.

51. While I could not find those exact words, I did find several passages in the Apocryphal Acts of St. Andrew that conveyed the same message. See "The Acts of Andrew" in *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation*, ed. J. K. Elliott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 257, 259, 260, 263. St. Andrew's belief in the merits of suffering a martyr's pain and death is found in *The Golden Legend* as he addresses the cross before his own martyrdom: "O good Cross, ennobled and beautified by the limbs of the Lord, long desired, constantly loved, ceaselessly sought, take me away from men and return me to my Master, in order that He, having redeemed me by thee, may receive me from thee!" Passage from Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. and ed. Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (Salem, NH: Ayer Co, Publishers, Inc., 1989 ), 12. In iconography he is represented by the implement of his death, a saltire (an x-shaped cross). See C. McMahon, "Andrew, Apostle, St." in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Detroit, MI: Gale Publishing, 2003), 1: 402-403, accessed August 4, 2020, <https://link-gale-com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/apps/doc/CX3407700522/GVRL?u=umuser&sid=GVRL&xid=d26ae196>. St. Andrew was Philip the

bear the [34r] greater your glory as St. Augustine says *A big fight brings a big glory; not a mere human or temporal one, but a divine and everlasting glory.*<sup>52</sup> Also, *The fiercer the fight, the greater the glory of the fighters.*<sup>53</sup> And it must be said that the pains of this mortal life are nothing compared to the glory that one will acquire by suffering them as the apostle says. Romans VIII *For I reckon, that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory to come, that shall be revealed in us.*<sup>54</sup> Also II Corinthians III *For our present tribulation, which is momentary and light, worketh for us above measure exceedingly an eternal weight of glory.*<sup>55</sup> Also Wisdom III *Afflicted in few things, in many they shall be will rewarded.*<sup>56</sup>

Oh faithful of Jesus Christ, your torments are transitory and your glory is eternal. So great is the glory of paradise that you must seek to suffer death to enter it. Many people have desired

Bold's patron saint. The emblem was used by the Dukes of Burgundy as their saltire and became known as "The Burgundian Cross."

52. "Magnum certamen magnam comparat gloriam; nonhumanam, nec temporalem, sed divinam et sempiternam." Augustinus Hipponensis, 354-430, *Sermones de sanctis*, serm. CCLXXIV in PL 38: 1252.
53. "Quantum (quantum missing in CCSL and PL) crevit pugna tantum (tantum missing in CCSL and PL) crevit et pugnantium gloria." Cyprianus Carthaginensis, c. 200-258, *Epistulae*, epis. 10, cap. 1, par. 1, lin. 10, ed. Gerardus Frederick Diericks (1994), CCSL 3B: 46. St. Cyprian was bishop of Carthage from 249-258, and died a martyr's death in 258. See also, Cyprianus Carthaginensis, *Epistolae*, epis. VIII in PL 4: 245. Cyprianus is quoted and acknowledged as author by Lucifer Calaritanus, died c. 370, *Moriendum esse pro Dei Filio* in PL 13: 1007. The Latin phrase also appears but is not attributed to Cyprianus by Beda (Bede the Venerable), 672/673-735, *Homiliae*, hom. LXX in PL 94: 450.
54. Rom. VIII: 18.
55. II Cor. IV: 17.
56. Ws. III: 5.

what is offered to you, that is to say, to die for Jesus Christ and have not obtained it. No one is worthy to suffer for Jesus Christ unless one desires it. You must have joy in suffering death, for the glory is prepared for you, and for this Jesus Christ urges you to rejoice. He states this in the Gospel. Matthew V *Blessed are ye when they shall revile you, and persecute you, and speak all that is evil against you untruly, for my sake; Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for your reward is very great in heaven.*<sup>57</sup>

Oh faithful of Jesus Christ, you are at paradise's door and soon you will be inside if you want to be. Rise up in spirit, take good courage in yourself and take example from the martyrs who have preceded you. Expose surely your body to martyrdom and enter into glory. However do not believe that you can do anything by yourself, but put yourself in the hand of God and pray to him that he help you and give you hope among the torments **[34v]** and strength to suffer all for his name and thus enter surely in the battle without doubting because God is with you, and by his help you will overcome the task, and he will deliver you from your enemies. Psalm *I am with him in tribulation, I will deliver him, and I will glorify him.*<sup>58</sup> And whoever you are who chooses to suffer martyrdom for the name of Jesus Christ, when you will be in torments, be careful not to abandon what you started on account of words said to you, or for things done in front of you, because your enemies will reason with you with words saying: "How can you be so blind and so crazy to let yourself be tormented simply by not converting?" They will also work miracles in front of you and will ask you how you can be so obstinate not to believe what you see. And because you will be suffering pain and will be without comfort they will perform miracles in front

57. Mt. V: 11-12.

58. Ps. XC: 15.

of you, and it will be enough to bring you to abandon everything and to convert to them because it will be easy to believe that they are happier than you suffering pain, but what you are suffering is more important to God than what they do. You suffer for the name of God, for truth, for faith, and for life eternal, and they do the works of their master, the devil. They seek to separate you from God, and you must join yourself to God more and more. They seek to make you descend into hell; you must have your heart turned to heaven. For this do not pay attention to their words and miracles. Keep your heart turned upwards, and think of entering into paradise, and leave them to their folly.

## How long will the persecution of the Antichrist last?

The Gospel speaks indeterminately of how long the persecution of the Antichrist will last, without expressing how long it will last. Matthew XXIII *And unless those days had been shortened, no flesh should be saved: but for the sake of the elect, those days shall be shortened.*<sup>59</sup> Our Lord says in the Gospel that if the [35r] days of the persecution of the Antichrist were not abridged men would not be saved, but for the elect they will be abridged. By these words is meant that the tribulation of the Antichrist will not last long, because God will put an end to it and thus it will go away quickly. The days of the tribulation of the Antichrist will be abridged so that he does not reign a long time, because if he reigned a long time there would not remain a man in this world who would not be corrupted and deceived by the words and false miracles (of the Antichrist), or who was not overcome by him when made to suffer pains and torments a long time because human nature cannot bear torments without weaken-

59. Mt. XXIV: 22.

ing. Therefore if the Antichrist reigned a long time he would destroy everything and would bring everything into perdition. But God, who does not allow man to suffer beyond his power, will put an end to that. And although the Gospel does not specify the time, how long this persecution must last, however it must last the space of three and a half years as the preaching of our Lord Jesus Christ lasted three and a half years. About this there are several authorities in the Holy Scripture. Daniel VII *And they shall be delivered into his hand, [\*that is the hand of the Antichrist,] until a time, and times, and half a time.*<sup>60</sup> Also Daniel XII *How long shall it be to the end of these wonders? And I heard the man that was clothed in linen, [\*an angel] ... and had sworn by him that liveth for ever, that it should be unto a time, and times, and half a time. [\*It is understood one year and two years and a half year].*<sup>61</sup> By these authorities it is signified that the tribulation of the Antichrist will last three and a half years. Such a thing is expressed more clearly in the Apocalypse where it is written that power is given the Antichrist for forty-two months, which are three and a half years. Apocalypse XIII *And power was given to him to act forty-two months. [\*It means he was given power to compel people to believe in him or to perish.]*<sup>62</sup> [35v]

## The death of the Antichrist

When the Antichrist will have run his course and his end will have come, he will come to the Mount of Olives and his people with him. He will pretend to be dead so that after his death he will appear to be resurrected, and this is signified in the Holy

60. Dn. VII: 25. [\*] indicate commentary by the writer of MS. Douce 134.

61. Dn. XII: 6-7. [\*] indicate commentary by writer of MS. Douce 134.

62. Ap. XIII: 5. [\*] indicate commentary by writer of MS. Douce 134.

Scripture. Apocalypse XIII *And I saw one of his heads as it were wounded to death: and his deadly wound was healed.*<sup>63</sup> Because after the Antichrist will have pretended to be dead, he will show himself to people and when they will see him, people will believe that he has been resurrected and the Antichrist will say that he is going up to heaven and he then will be elevated upwards in the air by the devil who will carry him upwards. But he will not go very high because soon he will be killed publicly in front of all the people. And the Holy Scripture speaks of this. Daniel VII *And I saw that the beast was slain, and the body thereof was destroyed, and given to the fire to be burnt.*<sup>64</sup> Also II Thessolonians II *And then that wicked one shall be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall kill with the spirit of his mouth.*<sup>65</sup> This authority says that our Lord Jesus Christ will kill the Antichrist by the spirit of his mouth and this agrees with what the prophet says. Isaiah XI *With the breath of his lips he shall slay the wicked.*<sup>66</sup> And Saint Gregory agrees with the Holy Scripture on the words of Daniel VIII: *(he) shall be broken without hand.*<sup>67</sup> The gloss of Gregory: *For he will be broken without hand, because he will be smitten with eternal death, not in battle with the Angels, not in contest with the Saints, but through the coming of the Judge, by the breath of His mouth alone.*<sup>68</sup> That is to say, that the Antichrist will not be killed in bat-

63. Ap. XIII: 3. The staging of the Antichrist's feigned death is mentioned by Hildegard of Bingen, 1098-1179, *Scivias*, bk. III, vision 11, chap. 23, trans. Columba Hart and Jane Bishop (NY and Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1990), 503.

64. Dn. VII: 11.

65. II Th. II: 8.

66. Is. XI: 4.

67. Dn. VIII: 25.

68. "Quia non angelorum bello, nec (*non* replaces *nec* in CCSL and PL) sanctorum certamine, sed per aduentum iudicis solo oris spiritu eterna (aeterna in CCSL and PL) morte ferietur." Gregorius Magnus,

tle with angels or saints. He will be stricken to eternal death only by the spirit of the mouth of Jesus Christ.

Now it must be said how the Antichrist will be killed. For this it must be known that he will be stricken by lightning with burning fire and sulfur sent upon him by God from the sky. It will fall not only on him but also upon his people who will be with him. [36r] [Figure 4] [36v] And the fact that the Antichrist will be stricken by fire and sulphur, the Holy Scripture testifies in several places. Ezekiel XXXVIII *I will rain fire and brimstone upon him, and upon his army, and upon the many nations that are with him.*<sup>69</sup> Also Ezekiel XXXIX *And I will send a fire on Magog [\*that is the army of the Antichrist].*<sup>70</sup> Also Apocalypse XX *And fire came down from God out of heaven, and devoured them: and the devil, who seduced them, was cast into the pool of fire and brimstone, where both the beast and false prophet shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.*<sup>71</sup>

The conclusion of these authorities is that God will send upon the Antichrist and on the people who will be with him fire and sulfur from the sky. And the devil who was deceiving them will

*Moralia in Job* lib. 32, par. 15, lin. 144, ed. Marc Adriaen (1985), CCSL 143B: 1650. Gregorius I, *Moralia*, lib. XXXII, cap. XV in PL 76: 1259. Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job*, bk. 32, par. 27 (xv), trans. Members of the English Church (Oxford: John Henry Parker and London: J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1850), v. 3, pt. 2, 532. Quotation by Gregory appears in Alulfus Tornacensis, died c. 1141 or c. 1144, *Expositio Novi Testamenti* (a compilation of excerpts of Gregory's works) in PL 79: 1368 and 1416. The passage is quoted and attributed to Gregory in Adso Dervensis, died 992, *De Antichristo* in PL 101: 1297; the passage is found but not attributed to Gregory in Hincmarus Rhemensis, c. 806-882, *De praedestinatione* in PL 125: 279, 461.

69. Ez. XXXVIII: 22

70. Ez. XXXIX: 6. [\*] explanation of writer of MS. Douce 134.

71. Ap. XX: 9-10.

be thrown into a pond of fire and sulfur in which the Antichrist and the false prophets will be tormented day and night, that is to say continuously forever and eternally.

So the death of the Antichrist will be horrible because he will be punished in this world by God's fire and then afterwards he will be sent into the fire of hell. Here it must be said that as several things were mentioned to urge people to convert to him, more should be told considering his death and damnation. That is to say, he will be accompanied by Lucifer because he is similar to him in all ills. Lucifer has been the worst of all the devils and the Antichrist was the worst of all men. Lucifer has pretended to be similar to God in heaven, and the Antichrist usurped the name of God on the earth. Lucifer was the cause of the perdition of the devils. The Antichrist was the cause of the damnation of people. However they will be put together in hell to keep each other company forever and ever without end.

## The time of peace that will come after the death of the Antichrist

After the death of the Antichrist will be 45 days of peace and quietness. And this is founded on the Holy Scripture. Daniel XI And from the time when the continual sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination unto desolation shall be set up, there shall be mclxxxx (1,290) days. [37r] Blessed is he that waited, and cometh unto mcccxxv (1,335) days.<sup>72</sup> That is to say that the persecution of the Antichrist will last mclxxxx (1,290) days which equal to a little less than three years and a half years, and the mcccxxv (1,235) days are those which will exceed the mclxxxx (1,290) by 45 days. In the Holy Scripture we do not find

72. MS. is in error, passage quoted is Dn. XII: 11-12.

that after the death of the Antichrist the world must last only 45 days. In these 45 days there will be great peace and no tribulation from any adversary. However the Holy Scripture says that blessed will be those who will reach these days, because according to the Doctors these days will be given for the comfort and rest of those who have suffered tribulation during the persecution of the Antichrist and for those who were subverted and deceived by the Antichrist so that they have the time to repent and to make penance and to return to God. But for this (the hope of the 45 days of grace)<sup>73</sup> no one must convert to the Antichrist because the great multitude of those who will have converted to him will perish with him as it has been said above. And this (time of salvation) is not guaranteed by the authority who says that the blessed will be the ones who will reach these days, for there are those who will not reach them.

### **Soon after the tribulation of the Antichrist the sun and the moon will lose their light and the stars will fall from the sky**

Matthew XXIII *And immediately after the tribulation of those days, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be moved.*<sup>74</sup> Our Lord says in the Gospel that the tribulation of these days, that is to say, after the days of the persecution of the Antichrist, the sun will be obscured and the moon will not shine its light and the stars will fall from the sky. In other places of the Holy Scripture we find similar things. Joel II *The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood:*

73. The words in parentheses are added to make the passages clear.

74. Mt. XXIV: 29.

before the great and dreadful day of the Lord doth come.<sup>75</sup> Also Apocalypse VI *The sun became black as sackcloth of hair: and the whole moon became as blood. [37v] And the stars from heaven fell upon the earth.*<sup>76</sup> The substance of these authorities is that the sun will turn dark and become black, and the moon will be like blood before the day of our Lord comes. It will be great and horrible, that is to say, the great Day of Judgment, because the sun will lose its light and will be black and obscure. It follows that all the sky will be obscure and dark. According to Isaiah L *I will clothe the heavens with darkness.*<sup>77</sup> And everybody will be plunged in darkness and will not be able to see anything any more than at night. The people will be very astonished and frightened. [\[Figure 5\]](#)

**[38r]** And as the Holy Scripture says, the stars will fall from the sky down to the earth. Here it must be said that as each star is larger than the whole earth, it must not be believed that the stars will fall on earth, because the whole world could not contain them. When the Scripture says that they will fall on the earth, this must be understood as a simile, because it will seem so. They will project from them flaming light, by which it will seem that they are falling from the sky, but they will not really fall any more than the sun or the moon because they are of celestial nature, without weight. And therefore what is said, that they will fall, must be understood to mean that they will appear to be falling on account of the vapors of light which they will send forth, because then they will remain obscure so much that they will not be seen. With this the prophet agrees. Joel II *The sun and moon are darkened, and the stars have withdrawn their*

75. Jl. II: 31.

76. Ap. VI: 12-13.

77. Is. L: 3. Here the anon. author quotes the scripture in French, departing from his practice of quoting the scripture in Latin.

*shining.*<sup>78</sup> That is to say that the sun and the moon will be dark and the stars will remove their brightness. Further the Gospel says that the skies will be hidden. By the virtues of the skies are meant the angels of the skies who will move at God's command to execute the command of God all powerful, to make marvelous signs in the sky and on earth.

By the virtues of the skies can also be understood the powers that the skies have in their movements, of which the Holy Scripture speaks. Psalm *By the word of the Lord the heavens were established; and all the power of them, by the spirit of his mouth.*<sup>79</sup> Then the skies and all their powers and virtues will be moved and agitated as if they were to fall. And the Holy Scripture speaks of this. Joel II *At their presence the earth hath trembled, the heavens are moved.*<sup>80</sup> Also Joel III **[38v]** *And the heavens and the earth shall be moved.*<sup>81</sup> Also Haggai II *Yet one little while, and I will move the heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land.*<sup>82</sup> And it must be known that the skies will be so upset that it will seem that they are all dissipated, separated, divided, and that everything must perish. Isaiah XXXIII *The mountains shall be melted with their blood. And all the hosts of the heavens shall pine away, and the heavens shall be folded together as a book: and all their host shall fall down.*<sup>83</sup> Also Apocalypse VI *And the heaven withdrew as a book rolled up.*<sup>84</sup> Also II Peter III *But the day of the Lord*

78. Jl. II: 10.

79. Ps. XXXII: 6.

80. Jl. II: 10.

81. Jl. III: 16.

82. Hg. II: 7.

83. Is. XXXIV: 3-4.

84. Ap. VI: 14.

*shall come as a thief, in which the heavens shall pass away with great violence.*<sup>85</sup>

## **The tribulation that people will have because of the great signs that will be shown in the sky**

When people will see the marvelous signs in the sun, in the moon and in the stars, and that the skies will move, and that the earth will quake, they will all be at a loss and frightened and troubled by the fear they will have. Psalm *The Gentiles shall be troubled, and they that dwell in the uttermost borders shall be afraid at thy signs.*<sup>86</sup> Scared to death, they will hide in holes and caves as the Holy Scripture says. Isaiah II *And they shall go into the holes of rocks, and into the caves of the earth, from fear of the face of the Lord, and from the glory of his majesty, when he shall rise up to strike the earth.*<sup>87</sup> Also Isaiah II *And he shall go into the clefts of rocks, and into the holes of stones, from the face of the fear of the Lord.*<sup>88</sup> These authorities hold that people will enter in the holes of the earth, in the crevices of stones, and in the caves of rocks for fear they will have of God when He will rise to strike the earth. “God rising to strike the earth” means that there will be great movement of the earth because the earth will quake in such a way that it will seem that everything is about to fall into an abyss. Then the people will be faint to the point that they will want the mountains to fall upon them to cover them and harm them because they will want more [\[Figure 6\]\[39r\]](#) to be dead than alive and of this the Holy Scripture speaks. Hosea

85. II Pt. III: 10.

86. Ps. LXIV: 8-9.

87. Is. II: 19.

88. Is. II: 21.

X And they shall say to the mountains: Cover us; and to the hills: Fall upon us.<sup>89</sup> Also Luke XXIII Then shall they begin to say to the mountains: Fall upon us; and to the hills: Cover us.<sup>90</sup> Also Apocalypse VI And every mountain, and the islands were moved out of their places. And the kings of the earth, and the princes, and the tribunes, and the rich men; and the strong men, and every bond-man, and every free-man hid themselves in the dens, and in the rocks of the mountains: And they say to the mountains and to the rocks: Fall upon us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth upon the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb: For the great day of their wrath is come.<sup>91</sup>

People will be so frightened and faint that they will lose their color and will fade and will become all pale and will cry with fear of the great signs that will be shown to them in the sky and earth. And the Gospel speaks of this. Luke XXI *Men withering away for fear, and expectation of what shall come upon the whole world.*<sup>92</sup>

## The arc of the sky will not be seen for XL years before the Day of Judgment

According to the Doctors of the Holy Church, the arc of the sky will not be seen for XL years before the Day of Judgment. And the cause may be because all the times that this arc is shown it is a sign of clemency, that God will not have the water of deluge come over the earth. Genesis IX *I will set my bow in the clouds, and it shall be the sign of a covenant between me and between the*

89. Ho. X: 8.

90. Lk. XXIII: 30.

91. Ap. VI: 14-17.

92. Lk. XXI: 26.

earth. And when I shall cover the sky with clouds, my bow shall appear in the clouds:... and there shall no more be waters of a flood to destroy all flesh.<sup>93</sup>

And therefore this arc that is a sign of clemency will not be shown for XL years before the Day of Judgment, but other signs will be shown in the sun, the moon and in the stars that will not be signs of clemency but signs of revenge, according to the Gospel. Luke XXI *These are the days of vengeance, that all things may be fulfilled that are written.*<sup>94</sup> The great signs that will be shown in the sky and on the earth will be ugly and awful, as the Gospel says. Luke XXI *And there shall be terrors from heaven, and there shall be great signs.*<sup>95</sup> And by the horror of these signs will be signified [39v] the great revenge that God will take on the world.

This revenge without comparison will be greater than the one after the beginning of the world because then the world ended with the waters of the flood and people were all dead throughout the world except those who were in the ark that Noah made, but at the end the world will end by fire. And these two judgments of revenge of God are symbolized by the two colors that are in the arc of the sky, one being green and the other red. The green color means the judgment which was by the water of the flood and the red means the judgment that will be by fire in the end of the world. [Figure 7] [40r]

93. Gn. IX: 13-15.

94. Lk. XXI: 22.

95. Lk. XXI: 11.

## The sign of our Lord Jesus Christ will be a great image

After the signs described above, another sign will be seen in the sky, which will be of great appearance, about which our Lord speaks in the Gospel. Matthew XXIII *And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven.*<sup>96</sup> It is this sign of which the prophet speaks. Isaiah V *And he will lift up a sign to the nations afar off.*<sup>97</sup> This sign will be great and marvelous to see. This sign will be in the shape of a great, marvelous cross, all flaming with light, clear like the sun and will be in the sky as if the sky were open in the shape of a cross. This sign will be marvelous and one which no one has ever seen since the beginning of the world. It will be great and visible in that it will be seen by everybody from the East to the West as the Holy Scripture says. Isaiah XVIII *All ye inhabitants of the world, who dwell on the earth, when the sign shall be lifted up on the mountains, you shall see, and you shall hear the sound of the trumpet.*<sup>98</sup> This sign will signify that the advent of our Lord Jesus Christ on the Day of Judgment will be near. [\[Figure 8\]](#) [\[40v\]](#)

## The difference of those who will be received in glory and of those who will be rejected

Luke XVII *Two men shall be in the field; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left. Two women shall be grinding together; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left. In that night there shall be two men in one bed: the one shall be taken, and the other*

96. Mt. XXIV: 30.

97. Is. V: 26.

98. Is. XVIII: 3.

shall be left.<sup>99</sup> Our Lord says in the Gospel that then, i.e. at the end of the world, two will be in the field, one will be received and the other abandoned. Two will be in the mill, one will be received and one will be rejected. Two will be in bed, one will be received and the other rejected. The two who will be in the field are the prelates of Holy Church who are in the field of God, that is to say, in the Holy Church to work and make the house of God grow. So some work there for the salvation of souls in holy preaching, in teaching people to fear God and to keep his commandments, by praying for them and in turning them to their salvation and with this they lead a holy life. They will be received in glory. Matthew XXV *Well done, thou good and faithful servant: because thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many things: Enter into the joy of thy Lord.*<sup>100</sup> Others do nothing, but they have honor of dignity and revenues and profits of the church to maintain their state and to live nicely. They do not care for the souls, and they let them go to perdition by their neglect. They do not lead a good life. They will be abandoned, that is to say, left in the power of the enemies to be led to hell. Matthew XXV *And the unprofitable servant, cast ye out into the exterior darkness.*<sup>101</sup> And what is said of prelates is also understood of all those who will take care of the souls, either archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, vicars, curates of parishes or others.

By the two who will be in the mill we mean the people of this world who are occupied in the affairs of this world in which there is no end or rest because it is like a tempest in a mill. Some of them live in moderation, give alms, **[41r]** and accomplish the works of pity, and have enough of what God gives them either

99. Lk. XVII: 35-34. (\* This is as it appears in the MS., note verses are reversed in MS.)

100. Mt. XXV: 21, 23.

101. Mt. XXV: 30.

little or big, and do not want to have from others what was not honestly acquired, and are of good conscience and of good life. They will be received in the glory of paradise. Others are not like them, but are eager to acquire goods of this world rightfully or wrongfully and they do not care how they have acquired them, only to have them, and they have enough of everything. In addition they are so possessed with their goods that they cannot give anything to God for it is against their heart, and their heart is set to their goods more than to God, and they make ill use of them in leading a carnal life. They will be rejected and left in the power of the enemies who will lead them to the torments of hell.

By the two who are in bed are meant those who are at rest because they are separated from the tumults and noises of the world and the affairs of the world like the religious who have given up the world to work for God by contemplation, and to serve him with a perfect heart, and to lead an angelic life. Those who do that and keep order will be received in celestial glory and the others who have their heart turned away from God and do not bother to serve God and who are lazy or occupied in useless works in which they spend their time fruitlessly and bring profit neither to themselves nor to others, those who find it difficult to remain in a cloister and prefer to enjoy moving about the world and busy themselves with temporal things and live a secular life, those considered as unworthy of the glory of paradise will be abandoned by God. And what is said of these three types of people can be applied to all in general, because there is no one of whatever state he may be who does not belong to one of these three states. And for this, each one should consider his state and look toward which part he is inclined and take care of himself because these words are heard not only by the people who will be in the end of the world but also by all others who were in the past and are living now.

## The XV signs that will be before the Day of Judgment

[41v] Before the Day of Judgment there will be XV signs, that is to say, to each day a sign. Signs which St. Jerome found in the book of Hebrews, and because they are founded in the Holy Scripture, it is acceptable to talk about them. But it is not certain if they will occur in the order in which they are described here.

On the first day the sea will rise up by XV cubits higher than the mountains of the world and will remain in its place standing like a wall. This can be understood by what the Gospel says. Matthew XXIII...*by reason of the confusion of the roaring of the sea and of the waves.*<sup>102</sup> The sea will resound and make noise, such a thing will be because of its great motion and rising up high. [Figure 9]

[42r] On the second day the sea will go down so much that it will be difficult to see, because just as it will have gone up higher than the mountains toward the sky, it will rise up just as much toward the sky that is below the earth and for this reason it will be hardly seen and of this can be understood by what the Apocalypse says, chapter XXI. *And the sea is now no more, [\*that is, it will not appear in its accustomed way].*<sup>103</sup> [Figure 10]

[42v] On the third day the monsters of the sea will appear and will give voice and moans no one will hear except God. These monsters of the sea are the whales and the sirens and other fantastic fish that will be gathered in places over the sea as the prophet says. Hosea III *Yea, the fishes of the sea also shall be gathered together.*<sup>104</sup> And each one will cry, complain and moan—each one according to his nature. It will be a marvelous thing to hear. [Figure 11]

102. MS. is in error, the passage is from Lk. XXI: 25.

103. Ap. XXI: 1. [\*] indicate the anon. author's commentary.

104. Ho. IV: 3.

[43r] On the fourth day the sea will be ablaze as well as all the waters of the world. This is contained in what St. Peter says. II Peter II *The elements shall be melted with heat.*<sup>105</sup> And as water is one of the elements, the sea and all the waters will be purged by fire. According to the Erythraean Sibyl *Fire will scorch the earth and sea, [\*that is the ocean] and the heavens.*<sup>106</sup> [Figure 12]

105. MS. is in error, passage is II Peter III: 10.

106. “Exuret terras ignis pontumque, [\* id est mare] polumque” attributed to the Erythraean Sibyl, the most ancient Sibyl. [\*] indicate the anon. author’s comment. She is first mentioned around 500 B.C.E. by Heraclitus. She is named after her birthplace, Erythrae, perhaps the city of that name on the coast of Asia Minor opposite Chios. Because of Christian interpolations on the Sibylline oracles, the Sibyls came to be regarded as equal to the Old Testament prophets. The above information is from *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*, ed. Margaret C. Howatson, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 521. The Latin passage is attributed to Sibyl by Augustinus Hipponensis, 354-430, *De civitate Dei*, lib. 18, cap. 23, lin. 24, ed. Bernard Dombart and Alphonse Kalb (1955), CCSL 48: 613. The passage is the ninth line of her Latin hexameter poem. Augustine quotes the entire poem in *The City of God*, bk. 18, ch. 23. See also PL 41: 579. He prefaces the poem by saying that the work was shown to him in the form of a Greek manuscript by Flaccianus who showed him “that in a certain passage the sequence of initial letters for the individual verses was so contrived that they formed an acrostic of these words: Iesus Chris-tos Theou Uios Soter, which translated into Latin, means ‘Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour.’ See Augustine, *The City of God*, bk. 18, ch. 23, LCL 5: 441-443. The text is attributed to the Sibyl by the following: Quodvultdeus (Bishop of Carthage), died c. 453, quotes the passage by Sibyl three times in the following works: *Sermo 4: Contra Iudaeos, Paganos et Arianos*, cap. 16, lin. 19, ed. René Braun (1976), CCSL 60: 248, *Liber promissionum et praedictorum Dei*, pars. 3, cap. 6, lin. 18, CCSL 60: 160 and again in the *Liber promissionum*, pars. 3, cap. 14, lin. 16, CCSL 60: 165; Frechulfus Lexouiensis (Freculphus Lexouiensis), active c. 824-c. 852, *Historiarum libri XII*, pars. 1, lib. 3, cap. 12, lin. 46, ed. Michael I. Allen (2002), CCCM 169A: 177; Rabanus Maurus, c. 780-856,

**43v** On the fifth day the grasses and the trees will give a dew of blood so that the earth will seem to be covered with blood and this can be understood as what God says through the prophet. Joel III *I will shew wonders in heaven; and in earth, blood, and fire, and vapour of smoke.*<sup>107</sup> In that day the beasts also will come to the fields and bray and will not eat nor drink. Similarly, the birds will assemble by groups because they will be so surprised that they will not know what to do except to remain grouped together to have comfort from each other. Sophonias I *Gathering, I will gather together all things from off the face of the land, said the Lord: I will gather man, and beast, I will gather the birds of the air, and the fishes of the sea.*<sup>108</sup> [\[Figure 13\]](#)

**[44r]** On the sixth day the buildings will fall down in piles and there will not remain stone upon stone. Towns, cities, churches, castles, palaces, manors, and houses will fall. Amos III *And the houses of ivory shall perish.*<sup>109</sup> Also Mark XIII *Seest thou all these great buildings? There shall not be left a stone upon a stone, that shall not be thrown down.*<sup>110</sup> Also Apocalypse XVI *The cities of the Gentiles fell.*<sup>111</sup> [\[Figure 14\]](#)

*De universo* in PL 111: 420; Marbodius Redonensis, c. 1035-1123, *Carmina varia* PL 171: 6; Petrus Blesensis, c. 1130-c. 1212, *Contra perfidiam Judaeorum* in PL 207: col. 869; and Auctor incertus, perhaps Beda, *Interpretatio Sibyllinorum verborum* in PL 90: col. 1181. Passage is also attributed to Sibyl in Stephan de Borbone, died 1262, *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus* (prologus et prima pars), pars. 1, tit. 6, cap. 2, lin. 199, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002), CCCM 124: 200.

107. Error in MS. It should read Jl. II: 30.

108. Sph. I: 2-3.

109. Am. III: 15.

110. Mk. XIII: 2.

111. Ap. XVI: 19.

[44v] On the seventh day the stones will move and will fight against each other and will bump and split in pieces. And the stones will move and break, one against the other. Nahum I *The rocks are melted by him.*<sup>112</sup> Oh what a tempest will be there and what tribulation will follow afterwards when the stones without feeling will fight, break and split. [Figure 15]

[45r] On the eighth day there will be a general motion of earth and so great that no one will be able to remain standing on his feet. Neither will the beasts be able to stand on their legs any more than men because the earth will shake so much that it will seem that everything is about to fall and crash into a chasm. Apocalypse XVI *There was a great earthquake, such as never hath been since men were upon the earth.*<sup>113</sup> And the sea will shake like the earth and stronger than the earth. [Figure 16]

[45v] On the ninth day the mountains will be flattened and the earth will be equally flat. Of this the prophet speaks. Isaiah XL *Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low.*<sup>114</sup> Oh what a sight it will be when the mountains will be brought down and flattened level with the earth and valleys will be filled with earth. Oh God, where will people stand then and where will they be when these things occur? [Figure 17]

[46r] On the tenth day men will go out of caves and will go as if they lost their minds, and they will not be able to speak to each other because when they will see that the mountains have fallen down and so many other frightening signs, they will not consider themselves safe in the caves. And they will go out and become faint and like mad men will not know what to do or say. Isaiah XIII *Everyone shall be amazed at his neighbour.*<sup>115</sup> [Figure 18]

112. Nh. I: 6.

113. Ap. XVI: 18.

114. Is. XL: 4.

115. Is. XIII: 8.

[46v] On the eleventh day the bones of the dead will come out of the earth and will be scattered over their sepulchers; the bones will come together and attach at the joint. And of this we have a similar story in the Holy Scripture. Ezekiel XXXVII *And the bones came together, each one to its joint.*<sup>116</sup> When God wanted to show the prophet the resurrection of the dead, the bones attached themselves each one to its joint. And thus will it be done in the general resurrection. [Figure 19]

[47r] On the twelfth day the stars will fall from the sky as the Gospel says. Matthew XXIII *The stars shall fall from heaven.*<sup>117</sup> And how it must be understood that the stars will fall from the sky has been said previously. That is to say, because it will look that way for the vapors of light will project. However what is said in the Gospel and in the Apocalypse is that they will fall to the earth. It must be said that it is not impossible really, since each one is larger than the earth, because they can fall and be on the earth one on top of the other. [Figure 20]

[47v] On the thirteenth day the people who will be alive will die, so that they may be resurrected with the dead. And this Holy Scripture mentions. Hebrews IX *It is appointed of men once to die, and after this the judgment.*<sup>118</sup> [Figure 21]

[48r] On the fourteenth day the sky and the earth will burn and the fact that the sky and earth and sea will burn is contained in the verses of Sibyl. *Fire will scorch the land and sea and the heavens.*<sup>119</sup> Also II Peter III *The earth, and the works that are in it, shall be burnt up.*<sup>120</sup> All the world will be ablaze with fire accord-

116. Ez. XXXVII: 7.

117. Mt. XXIV: 29.

118. Heb. IX: 27.

119. "Exuret terras ignis pontumque polumque." Quoted previously on fol.

43r. See n. 106.

120. II Pt. III: 10.

ing to the doctors of the Holy Church. The fire will be as high as the waters of the flood were, that is to say 15 cubit elbows higher than the mountains which are under the sky, and this will be to purge the air and the earth from the corruption, vices, sins which were done there. [Figure 22]

[48v] On the fifteenth day the sky and the earth will be new and all will be resurrected. Here it must be said that these two things will not occur in the same order as they are put here because first all will be resurrected and will be led to the place of judgment, and the judgment will be held before the sky and earth are new. And it will be for the causes and reasons that will be soon told. But let's first make the conclusion of these fifteen signs. By these fifteen signs is demonstrated that all things of the world, sensible and insensible, will be troubled and everything will be done to destroy the world and to punish sinners, because the world and the things which are in it will be contrary to them, and will fight them as it is written in the book of Wisdom. Wisdom V *The whole world shall fight with him against the unwise.*<sup>121</sup>

Also Wisdom V *He will arm the creature for the revenge of his enemies.*<sup>122</sup> Also Wisdom XVI *For the creature serving thee, the Creator, is made fierce against the unjust for their punishment.*<sup>123</sup>

And although men for their bad behavior will be troubled and tormented thus in so many ways, however it will only be the beginning of harms which will occur to them afterwards which will be greater without comparison and more horrible. According to Gregory: *But are the terrors that we see, but the heralds of the angry things that are to come, as I said?*<sup>124</sup> Also Gregory: *The*

121. Ws. V: 21.

122. Ws. V: 18.

123. Ws. XVI: 24.

124. "Quid [autem in CCSL] terrores quos cernimus, nisi sequentis ire (irae in CCSL and PL) praecones dixerim?" Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in*

*final tribulation is anticipated by many others, and the frequent evils that anticipate it reveal the everlasting ones that are going to follow. And so after wars and uprisings the end will not be at once, because many evils have to come first in order to be effective in proclaiming the evil that will not end.*<sup>125</sup>

## The renovation of the heaven and of the earth

As it was said previously the sky will be new and the earth will be new. And of this the Holy Scripture speaks in several places. Isaiah LXV *For behold I create new heavens, and a new earth.*<sup>126</sup> Also

*evangelia*, lib. 1, hom. 1, par. 6, lin. 147, ed. Raymond Étaix (1999), CCSL 141: 10. See also Gregorius I, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, Liber Primus, Homilia Prima in PL 76: 1081. A similar Latin passage is attributed to Gregory I in Stephanus de Borbone, *Tractatus de diuersis materiis praedicabilibus* (prologus et prima pars), pars. 1, tit. 6, cap. 2, lin. 237, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002), CCCM 124: 201.

125. “Vltima tribulatio multis tribulationibus preuenitur (praeuenitur in CCSL and PL), et per crebra mala que (quae in CCSL and PL) preueniunt (praeueniunt in CCSL and PL) indicantur mala perpetua quae subsequuntur. Et ideo post bella et seditiones non statim est (est not in CCSL and PL) finis, quia multa debent mala precurrere (praecurrere in CCSL and PL), ut malum ualeant sine fine nuntiare.” Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in evangelia*, lib. 2, hom. 35, par. 1, lin. 19, CCSL 141: 321. See also Gregorius I, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, lib. II, hom. XXXV in PL 76: 1259. Translation from *Gregory the Great: Forty Gospel Homilies*, trans. David Hurst (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, Inc., 1990), 302. The first sentence is found but not attributed to Gregory in Frowinus abbas Engelbergensis, d. 1178, *Explanatio dominicae orationis, petitio*: 7, cap. 2, lin. 60, eds. Sigisbert Beck and Rolf De Kegel (1998), CCCM 134: 400. Gregory’s two sentences are found but not attributed to him in Hrabanus Maurus, c. 780–856, *Expositio in Matthaëum*, lib. 7, lin. 74, ed. Bengt Löfstedt (2000), CCCM 174A : 613.

126. Is. LXV: 17.

II Peter III *But we look for new heavens and a new earth according to his promise.*<sup>127</sup> Also Apocalypse XXI *And I saw a new heaven and new earth.*<sup>128</sup> These authorities state that God will create new skies and a new earth. Here it must not be understood that [49r] God must create other skies than those which are created, not another earth, but the skies which exist now will be renewed and changed to a better state. Psalm *And as a vesture thou shalt change them, and they shall be changed.*<sup>129</sup> And this change will not affect their substance, but their clarity and beauty so that in them divine goodness shines more. The earth and also the elements will be purged. And so after the skies are renewed they will be more beautiful than they are now. And the earth after being purged will be more beautiful and clear than it is now, because it will be like crystal. The skies also and the earth will be more resplendent by the clarity of the sun and moon because then the moon will be as bright as the sun is now and the sun will be seven times brighter than it is now, as the prophet says. Isaiah XXX *And the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold as the light of seven days, in the day when the Lord shall bind up the wound of the people, and shall heal the stroke of their wound. [\*This is the Day of Judgment in which God will heal the wounds of our mortality, granting us the glory of the resurrection.]*<sup>130</sup> And this renewal of the sky and earth will not be done except after the judgment because the judgment will be of fire according to the apostle. I Corinthe-

127. II Pt. III: 13.

128. Ap. XXI: 1.

129. Ps. CI: 27.

130. Is. XXX: 26. Gloss by the anon. author of MS. Douce 134 indicated by [\*].

ans III *Every man's work shall be manifest: for the day of the Lord shall declare it, because it shall be revealed in fire.*<sup>131</sup>

As long as the fire will be in the world the earth will not be new. This renewal won't occur until the bad ones have descended into hell and the fire of the world with them. And as the prophet says, the Day of Judgment will be a day of darkness. Sophonias I *a day of darkness and obscurity.*<sup>132</sup> As long as the darkness will be in the world the skies won't be renewed but when all contrary things will be removed, then the earth will be renewed. And the skies will be all resplendent from the brightness of the sun and moon as it has been said. And it will be on the Day of Judgment near vespers and of this the prophet Zachariah, in the last book, speaks. *And there shall be one day, which is known to the Lord, not day nor night: and in the time of the evening there shall be light.*<sup>133</sup> And so by what is said it appears that on the Day of Judgment [49v] things will be done, that is to say, the resurrection of the dead, the judgment and the renewal of the skies and of the earth. [Figure 23]

131. I Cor. III: 13.

132. Sph. I: 15.

133. Zc. XIV: 7.

# Hell III [49v-61v]

## All will be resurrected from death

Matthew XXIII *And he shall send his Angels with a trumpet [\*that all shall be resurrected from death], and a great voice: and they shall gather together his elect, from the four winds, from the farthest parts of the heavens to the utmost bounds of them.*<sup>1</sup> Then God will send his angels with a trumpet and a great voice. The gloss says that this great clamor will be made at midnight, about which the Gospel speaks. Matthew XXV *And at midnight there was a cry made: Behold the bridegroom cometh, go ye forth to meet him.*<sup>2</sup> [50r] But it can be understood, according to the letter, that it will be a trumpet, because our Lord in the Gospel and the apostle speak of a trumpet, and similarly the prophet. Isaiah XVIII *All ye inhabitants of the world, who dwell on the earth, when the sign shall be lifted up on the mountains, you shall see, and you shall hear the sound of the trumpet.*<sup>3</sup> And it will not be a new nor a wrong thing that the sound of the trumpet is made at the occasion of such a fact, because when God came down from Mt. Sinai the sound of a trumpet was heard as we read in the Holy Scripture.<sup>4</sup> The sound of this trumpet will be louder than any thun-

1. Mt. XXIV: 31. [\*] indicate commentary in French by the anon. author of MS. Douce 134.

2. Mt. XXV: 6.

3. Is. XVIII: 3.

4. From the Jerusalem Bible Exodus XIX: 18-20: "The mountain of Sinai was entirely wrapped in smoke, because Yahweh had descended on it in the form of fire. Like smoke from a furnace the smoke went up, and the whole mountain shook violently. Louder and louder grew the

der. This trumpet will be blown so loudly that it will be heard throughout the world all the way to hell. Concerning this voice Crisostomus (Chrysostom) says: *The truly great voice, the terrible voice of the trumpet, which all the elements obey, which splits rocks asunder, opens the underworld, breaks down the iron gates, loosens the chains of the dead and from the pit of the abyss returns the liberated souls to their bodies and compels them to the judgment of wrath.*<sup>5</sup> The trumpet will be sounded to call everybody on the Day of Judgment, and so at the sound of this trumpet all the souls in purgatory and hell will come out. And the souls in the world, either on earth or in the sea, and all those in the sky

sound of the trumpet. Moses spoke, and God answered him with peals of thunder.”

5. “Vere vox magna, vox tube terribilis, cui omnia obediunt elementa, que petras scindit, infernum aperit, portas ereas frangit, vincula mortuorum dissolvit, et de profundo abyssi animas liberatas corporibus suis reddit et ad iudicium ire (irae in CCCM) compellit.” Pseudo-Chrysostomus, *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*, hom. XLIX in PG 56: col 920. This text is available electronically as an auxiliary resource as part of the *Manipulus florum* edition project, accessed April 22, 2020, <http://web.wlu.ca/history/cnighman/page12.html>. For centuries, St. John Chrysostom, c. 347-407, was erroneously considered to be the author of *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*. Erasmus questioned the authorship of Chrysostom in 1530. In recent scholarship the authorship is attributed to an Arian bishop or priest, fl. 425 or 450, by Joop van Banning in his edition of *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*, *Praefatio* (1988), CCSL 87B. The passage is quoted in part and attributed to Crisostomus by Humbertus de Romanis, c. 1200-1277, *Tractatus de dono timoris* (*Tractatus de abundantia exemplorum ad omnem materiam*), cap. 6, lin. 183, ed. Christine Boyer (2008), CCCM 218: 111; and Stephanus de Borbone, died 1261, *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus* (prologus et prima pars), pars: 1, tit. 6, cap. 4, lin. 311-314, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002), CCCM 124: 204. The text is also found in the electronic *Manipulus florum*, follow search directions given, accessed April 22, 2020. [www.manipulusflorum.com](http://www.manipulusflorum.com).

will come to take back their bodies. And their bodies, regardless of what happened to them and how they were consumed, all will return into being because God by his power will make all human bodies return in substance of nature whether rotten in the earth or eaten by beasts or swallowed by fish or burned by fire or otherwise destroyed. Of this the Apocalypse speaks. Apocalypse XX *And the sea gave up the dead that were in it: and death and hell gave up their dead that were in them.*<sup>6</sup> And so all will be resurrected in body and soul. It must be said that this resurrection will happen suddenly as the apostle says. I Corinthians XV *We shall all indeed rise again: but we shall not all be changed. In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall rise again incorruptible...*<sup>7</sup> And suddenly from all the parts of the world all will be transported to the place of judgment. [50v] [Figure 24] [51r]

## The resurrection of the dead is demonstrated in several ways

That the dead must be resurrected is certain and is proven in several ways, first by the Holy Scripture, which in several places testifies of the resurrection of the dead. Job XIX *For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and in the last day I shall rise out of the earth. And I shall be clothed again with my skin, and in my flesh I shall see my God.*<sup>8</sup> Also Isaiah XXVI *Thy dead men shall live, my slain shall rise again.*<sup>9</sup> Also I Corinthians XV *For the trumpet*

6. Ap. XX: 13.

7. I Cor. XV: 51-52.

8. Jb. XIX: 25-26.

9. Is. XXVI: 19.

*shall sound, and the dead shall rise again incorruptible.*<sup>10</sup> These authorities state that the dead will be resurrected.

Secondly, God showed to the prophet Ezekiel that the dead must be resurrected in such a manner. We read about this in the Holy Scripture. Ezekiel XXXVII. God had the prophet go out in a field that was full of bones and said to him: "Do you think that these bones will ever live?" And the prophet said to him: "Sire, God, you know that." And God said to him: "Prophecy about these bones and tell them 'I will put in you spirit and you will live and I will give you nerves and I will make flesh grow on you, and I will spread skin on top and give you spirit and you will live.'" The prophet prophesied, and a sound was made and a commotion and the bones got closer to each other, each one to his joint and the nerves and the flesh came upon the bones and the skin was spread over on top of them. And they didn't have any spirit. So God told the prophet to prophesy to the spirit and he did. And the spirit entered in them and they were alive. And they stood on their feet and there was a large company of people. And although all this was a vision, however it was representing the general resurrection. Ezekiel XXXVII ...*I will bring you out of your sepulchres, O my people:...And you shall know that I am the Lord, when I shall have opened your sepulchres, and shall have brought you out of your graves, O my people: And I shall have put my spirit in you, and you shall live.*<sup>11</sup>

Thirdly, the resurrection of the dead must be believed to happen at the end of the world because it took place previously. About this we read in the Gospel that in the resurrection of our

10. I Cor. XV: 52.

11. Ez. XXXVII: 12-14. The sign of the cross indicates that the passage of scripture appears as a footnote in the MS. This story is referred to earlier in Hell II, n. 116 as an event happening on the eleventh day of the fifteen last signs.

Lord Jesus Christ several bodies of saints who were dead arose and came in the city [51v] and appeared to several people.<sup>12</sup> And by this resurrection must be believed that all will arise in the end. Those who are already risen are examples and certain proof for those who are to be resurrected.

Fourthly the resurrection of the dead is to be believed because it will be made by divine power because God who is all-powerful will give them life as the Holy Scripture says. I Corinthians XV *For by a man came death, and by a man [\*that is to say, Christ,] the resurrection of the dead.*<sup>13</sup> Also Philippians III *We expect the Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ, who will reform the body of our lowliness, to be made like the body of his glory.*<sup>14</sup>

Fifthly, that the dead must be resurrected, the apostle shows that by the simile of the grain, which is sown in the earth and dies and rots in the earth but rises and renews itself. I Corinthians XV *Senseless man, that which thou sowest, is not quickened, except it die first.*<sup>15</sup>

Sixthly, the resurrection of the dead is demonstrated through the example of natural things: from the ashes of the Phoenix, a unique bird in all the world, rises another Phoenix. And God is capable of more than nature. In the same way the little lions are born dead and they are brought back to life by the roar of the

12. For the New Testament reference of the people rising from the dead on the day of Christ's crucifixion see Matthew 27: 50-53: "And Jesus again crying with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost. And behold the veil of the temple was rent in two from the top even to the bottom, and the earth quaked, and the rocks were rent. And the graves were opened: and many bodies of the saints that had slept, arose: And coming out of the tombs after his resurrection, came into the holy city and appeared to many."

13. I Cor. XV: 21. [\*] indicate commentary.

14. Ph. III: 20-21.

15. I Cor. XV: 36.

lion, thus to the roar of the Son of God the dead will be resurrected.<sup>16</sup> John V *The hour cometh, where all that are in the graves shall hear [\*his] voice. And they shall come forth.*<sup>17</sup>

Seventhly, the fact that the dead must be resurrected is based on reason, because as man in his life has deserved good and bad consequently he is worthy to be paid according to the good or bad he has done. He cannot be paid unless he is accepted in body and soul, and therefore certain reason requires that every man be resurrected in body and soul and rewarded in body and soul for the good he has done, or punished in body and soul for the bad he has done, because it is just that the body that worked with the soul to do good be paid with the soul in glory, and the body that has worked with the soul to do evil and had its part in delights deserves to have its share of anguish and pains with the soul.

## The glorification of the bodies in the general

16. The double crosses in red ink in the body of the text correspond to the double crosses in red ink at the bottom of the folio indicating that text in the lower margin should be inserted in the text above marked by two red crosses. The anon. author embellishes upon ideas found in medieval bestiaries. He or she may have read the French bestiary by Pierre de Beauvais, ca. 1218, see *A Medieval Book of Beasts: Pierre de Beauvais' Bestiary*, trans. Guy R. Mermier (Lewiston, NY and Queenston, Ontario: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1992). For a description of a Phoenix see Beauvais 51-53, and for the Lion see 3-7. For other references to medieval bestiaries see Hell I, note 11. Another readily accessible medieval bestiary is the *Bestiary Being an English version of the Bodleian Library, Oxford M.S. Bodley 764*, trans. Richard Barber (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1993). See pages 21-26 for a description of the lion and lioness and pages 141-143 for the phoenix.

17. Jn V: 28. The anon. author was short of space at the end of the folio and substitutes [\*his] for Filii Dei (Son of God).

## resurrection

Now we must examine the transformation to glory that the bodies will experience at the time of general resurrection. The bodies will be transformed to a better state and without comparison [52r] to their previous state. And the apostle speaks of this. I Corinthians XV *It is sown in dishonour, it shall rise in glory: It is sown in weakness, it shall rise in power: It is sown a natural body, it shall rise a spiritual body.*<sup>18</sup> The apostle says that the human body is sown corruptible, that is to say, that it is buried corruptible. He will rise incorrupt because it will be incorruptible. It is sown without nobility, vile and ugly; it will rise in glory because in the resurrection it will be completely glorified. It is sown in infirmity, that is to say impotent to move; it will rise in virtue because it will be agile and strong. It is sown as a bestial and carnal body; it will rise as a spiritual body.

Furthermore in the general resurrection the bodies that are now exposed to suffer pain will be numb to pain and those that are now mortal will then be immortal. Those that are in pain and heavy will be agile and light and those that are obscure and dark will be clear and resplendent. This reformation of the bodies to their state of glory will come from the glory of the soul returning to the body and the bodies buried will be these same bodies and will have that same flesh that they had before, but they will have a different glory than they had. And so the dead will be resurrected from death to life, from corruption to felicity, from misery to glory. All that is said of the glorification of bodies applies only to good ones because only the good will be resurrected in glorified bodies. Bad people will be resurrected differently, that is to say in a worse state, bearing the confusion of the damned.

18. I Cor. XV: 42-44.

And the Holy Scripture speaks of this. Daniel XII *And many of those that sleep in the dust of the earth, shall awake: some unto life everlasting, and others unto reproach, to see it always.*<sup>19</sup> And I Corinthians XV *We shall all indeed rise again: but we shall not [52v] all be changed.*<sup>20</sup>

These authorities hold that all will be resurrected but all will not be changed to a better state. The good will be resurrected to eternal life and the bad to eternal suffering; the latter will be resurrected and will take back their bodies to return into hell, to be tormented there eternally in body and soul.

In the general resurrection, there will be a difference among the just because some will have more clarity than the others. The apostle explains this by a simile. I Corinthians XV *One is the glory of the sun, another the glory of the moon, and another the glory of the stars. For star differeth from star in glory: So also is the resurrection of the dead.*<sup>21</sup> So the apostle says: one has the brightness of the sun, another has the brightness of the moon, and another has the brightness of the stars. And as one star is different from another star in brightness, so will there be a difference among those resurrected from the dead. And all this the apostle says to show that there will be a difference among the good, because one will have a brightness and the other another brightness, each one according to his merit. The good will be resurrected bearing with them the merits of the good deeds they have done, and so they will be bright and resplendent in several ways. The outcasts who have done nothing good for eternal life will be empty of merits and will not be resplendent, but for their vices and sins will be black like coal. [\[Figure 25\]](#) [53r]

19. Dn. XII: 2.

20. I Cor. XV: 51.

21. I Cor. XV: 41-42.

## What must be done for man to be resurrected to glory?

For man to be among the good in the general resurrection and resurrected to eternal glory, it is required that there be a cause for it because it will not be for nothing. And for man to be able to reach this goal three things are necessary, short of which he could very well fail.

The first is that man in his life strives to return from the state of sin to the state of grace and that he ends his life in that (latter) state because it is a spiritual resurrection of the soul. This spiritual resurrection of the soul is the cause of the resurrection into the glorious body and the Holy Scripture states the same. Apocalypse XX *Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection. [\*Because, in addition, he will have part in the second resurrection. And when the spiritual resurrection will have proceeded to grace there will follow the corporeal resurrection to glory.]*<sup>22</sup> Happy is the one who takes part in the first resurrection, that is to say, who is resurrected spiritually in his soul in his life, because he will take part in the second resurrection, which will be from death to eternal life. By the first [resurrection] man accedes to the second and without the first man cannot come to it because when man dies in mortal sin without being resurrected spiritually he falls into eternal death.

The second thing necessary for man to be resurrected in glory to eternal life is that he follows our Lord Jesus Christ in his passions and that he mortifies his desires and concupiscence in this world. By doing this, man will be resurrected to glory because when he will not have in him anything preventing him he will fly into glory without difficulty or hindrance. And the apostle

22. Ap. XX: 6. [\*] indicate gloss.

speaks of this. Romans VI *For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, in like manner we shall be also of his resurrection.*<sup>23</sup> Also Colossians III *For you are dead, and your life is hidden with Christ in God. When Christ shall appear, who is your life: then shall you also appear with him in glory.*<sup>24</sup> And these authorities hold that by imitating the death of Jesus Christ in following him, in mortifying **[53v]** the body, in shedding desires and carnal concupiscence, man will be a participant in his resurrection and will be resurrected in glory.

The third thing necessary for man to be able to be resurrected to eternal life is that in his life he does good works because by good works man deserves to be resurrected into glory and to eternal life. And of this our Lord Jesus Christ speaks in the Gospel. John V *The hour cometh, wherein all that are in the graves shall hear his voice [\*indeed] of the Son of God. And they that have done good, shall come forth unto the resurrection of life.*<sup>25</sup> That is to say, that the hour comes in which all those who are in the sepulchres will hear the voice of the Son of God and those who will have done good works will enter into the resurrection of life, so that it is good to do good works as much as one can in order to come to such an end.

## How to ascertain when the Day of Judgment will take place

When all will be resurrected, then God will hold his judgment, about which several things must be said. First, when this day will occur, and if it will be a long time until then is not sure, because

23. Rm. VI: 5.

24. Col. III: 3-4.

25. Jo. V: 28-29. [\*] indicates addition by anon. author.

only God knows, as our Lord says in the Gospel. Matthew XXIII  
*But of that day and hour no one knoweth, no not the Angels of heaven, [\*and not the Son] but the Father alone.*<sup>26</sup> That is to say, that from now until then no one will know when it will take place, not the angels of the skies nor the Son but only the Father. According to the Doctors, the Gospel says that the Son does not know, it must be understood that he does not know himself, but through the Father. And so no one knows when this day will come except God. However the fact that no one knows when this day will come must not lead one to believe that it will be a long time after the signs of the sky. After the signs we will not know if there must be a brief or long time, or when the Day of Judgment will take place. But it can be reasonably said that the day may be understood by its preceding signs, that is to say, from the **[54r]** day when the signs will begin to be shown. No one knows when the Day of Judgment will be manifested by the preceding signs, because when the signs will be shown it is certain that the Day of Judgment will be near, that is to say, at the end of the signs, the day when the dead will be resurrected which will be the last day of the world. The signs in the sky and earth will precede this to announce the nearing of this day and they will not cease from day to day unto the coming of the Day of Judgment. And this is founded on the Gospel. Matthew XXIII  
*And immediately after the tribulation of those days, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall...And then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn: and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of majesty. [\*And this later.] When you shall see all these things, know that it is near, even at the doors.*<sup>27</sup> Therefore no one knows when the Day of

26. Mt. XXIV: 36. [\*] indicate interpolation by anon. author.

27. Mt. XXIV: 29-30 and 33. [\*] indicate comment by anon. author. Pas-sage quoted earlier in Hell II, n. 74.

Judgment will come or when the preceding signs will be shown. If God had wanted this to be known he would have revealed it to the angels or to the prophets or to apostles, as well as to the most worthy and to his closest friends, but the angels do not know nor the apostles.

When the apostles questioned our Lord Jesus Christ about his advent on the Day of Judgment and of the end of the world, he did not reveal it to them but told them about some signs which are to come as the Gospel says. Of these signs we have spoken of previously, and in another place of the Holy Scripture it is written that our Lord said to them openly that they did not have to know. Acts I *They, therefore, who were come together, asked him, saying; Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom of Israel: But he said to them; It is not for you to know the times or moments, which the Father hath put in his own power.*<sup>28</sup> The reason God does not want people to know when the Day of Judgment will take place is so each person is prepared and in good state all the time. If people knew when the Day of Judgment will occur they might be negligent in [54v] seeking their salvation. If there is a delay in judgment they might abandon themselves to carnality, vices and sins and be caught off guard, as our Lord says in the Gospel. Matthew XXIII *But if that evil servant shall say in his heart: My lord is long a coming: And shall begin to strike his fellow-servants, and shall eat, and drink with drunkards: The lord of that servant shall come, in a day that he expecteth not, and in an hour that he knoweth not: and shall separate him, and appoint his portion with the hypocrites.*<sup>29</sup> That is to say, if the bad servant says in his heart, “My lord is late in coming,” and if he starts to beat others and eat and drink with drunkards, that is

28. Ac. I: 6-7.

29. Mt. XXIV: 48-51.

to say, to be greedy like the others, the lord of this servant will come on a day when he will not be on his guard and at a time he will not know and will cut him in two parts, that is, he will divide the soul from the body and will put him with the hypocrites. These words can be understood by all, that is, whoever abandons himself to do evil, God will come to him at a time when he will not expect it and will send him the illness of death. And at the time of his death God will judge him according to the state in which he will find him, because to all the day of his death is the day of his particular judgment. And as each person will be found and judged on the day of his death, so will he be represented on the great Day of Judgment. And although he may not be sure when the Day of Judgment will come, however it is sure that it comes early and in haste and about this haste it is said to be near as the Holy Scriptures say. Deuteronomy XXXII *The day of destruction is at hand, and the time makes haste to come.*<sup>30</sup>

Also Sophonias I *The great day of the Lord is near, it is near and exceeding swift.*<sup>31</sup> Also Ezekiel VII *The time is come, the day of slaughter is near, and not of the joy of mountains.*<sup>32</sup> Also Apocalypse XXII *Behold, I come quickly: and my reward is with me, to render to everyman according to his works.*<sup>33</sup> The conclusion of these authorities is that the Day of Judgment is near. And this is [55r] said because it draws nearer each day and the time runs quickly to this day without pause. When one runs without stopping toward a certain day chosen and established long ago, one rapidly gets there. Furthermore it must be known that the Day of Judgment will come suddenly and at a time when we will be off guard and when we won't be thinking about it and the Holy

30. Dt. XXXII: 35.

31. Sph. I: 14.

32. Ez. VII: 7.

33. Ap. XXII: 12.

Scripture speaks of this. Isaiah XXX *For the destruction thereof shall come on a sudden, when it is not looked for.*<sup>34</sup> Also Matthew XXIII *And as it was in the day of Noe, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be. For as in the days before the flood, they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noe entered into the ark, And they knew not till the flood came, and took them all away: so also shall the coming of the Son of man be.*<sup>35</sup> Also Matthew XXV *And at midnight there was a cry made: Behold the bridegroom cometh.*<sup>36</sup> Also I Thessalonians V *The day of the Lord shall so come, as a thief in the night. For when they shall say, peace and security, then shall sudden destruction come upon them, as the pains upon her that is with child, and they shall not escape.*<sup>37</sup>

According to these authorities the Day of Judgment will come so secretly that people will not be thinking about it, and at a time when people will think that they are at peace and safe, and at a time when they'll be drinking and eating and celebrating marriages as they did in the time of Noah when the flood came which carried them away. And so several will be taken unawares and will be in great sadness and anguish of heart. All this is said as a warning to all and so that if he desires to be on guard he can be on guard. Because if man is not on guard and in good standing when the Day of Judgment comes, it will be too late to advise what to do and to get ready because he will be taken off guard. But the person who will have made worthy penance and will stay away from all evil and will persevere in good works and will keep himself in the state in which he would like to die, he will not be taken by surprise because he will be ready, prepared and cov-

34. Is. XXX: 13.

35. Mt. XXIV: 37-39.

36. Mt. XXV: 6.

37. I Th. V: 2-3.

ered against the [55v] Day of Judgment in particular and in general.

## The horror of the Day of Judgment

The Day of Judgment will be very horrible because of the indignation, anger and furor of the judge, and the prophets speak of this. Isaiah XIII Behold, the day of the Lord shall come, a cruel day, and full of indignation, and of wrath, and fury, to lay the land desolate, and to destroy the sinners thereof out of it.<sup>38</sup> Also Nahum I Who can stand before the face of his indignation? And who shall resist in the fierceness of his anger.<sup>39</sup> This day will be horrible because it will be held in burning fire. And the bad who will be dead in their sins will be in burning fire when God will judge them, which will be a horrible thing. Also Psalm Thou shalt make them as an oven of fire, in the time of thy anger: the Lord shall trouble them in his wrath, and fire shall devour them.<sup>40</sup> Also Psalm A fire shall go out before him, and shall burn his enemies round about.<sup>41</sup> Also Isaiah LXVI Behold the Lord will come with fire, and his chariots are like a whirlwind, to render his wrath in indignation, and his rebuke with flames of fire. For the Lord shall judge by fire.<sup>42</sup> Also Malachi III Behold the day shall come, kindled as a furnace: and all the proud, and all that do wickedly shall be stubble: and the day that cometh shall set them on fire.<sup>43</sup> Also Hebrews X

38. Is. XIII: 9.

39. Nh. I: 6.

40. Ps. XX: 10.

41. Ps. XCVI: 3.

42. Is. LXVI: 15-16.

43. Note MS. is in error. Passage is from Ml. IV: 1.

*But a certain dreadful expectation of judgment and the rage of a fire, which shall consume the adversaries.*<sup>44</sup>

Thus the horror of the Day of Judgment is revealed and the horrible fire that will burn the evil ones. The prophet further speaks of the horror of this day saying that the Day of Judgment will be a bitter day and a day of anger, a day of tribulation and anguish, a day of poverty and misery, a day of darkness and obscurity, a day of fog and whirlwinds, a day of trumpet and noise. Sophonias I *The voice of the day of the Lord is bitter, the mighty man shall there meet with tribulation. That day is a day of wrath, a day of tribulation and distress, a day of calamity and misery, a day of darkness and obscurity, a day of clouds and whirlwinds, a day of the trumpet and alarm.*<sup>45</sup> So the prophets, seeing in spirit the horror of this day cried about this day and urged people to howl, moan, **[56r]** cry and complain. According to Joel I *Ah, ah, ah, for the day: because the day of the Lord is at hand, and it shall come like destruction from the mighty.*<sup>46</sup> Also Isaiah XIII *Howl ye, for the day of the Lord is near: it shall come as a destruction from the Lord.*<sup>47</sup> Also Ezekiel XXX *Howl ye, woe, woe to the day: For the day is near, yea the day of the Lord is near; a cloudy day, it shall be the time of the nations.*<sup>48</sup> Also Jeremiah XXX *Alas, for that day is great, neither is there the like to it: and it is the time of tribulation to Jacob, but he shall be saved out of it.*<sup>49</sup> Also Joel II *Let all the inhabitants of the land tremble: because the day of the*

44. Heb. X: 27.

45. Sph. I: 14-16.

46. Jl. I: 15.

47. Is. XIII: 6.

48. Ez. XXX: 2-3.

49. Jr. XXX: 7.

Lord cometh, because it is nigh at hand. A day of darkness, and of gloominess, a day of clouds and whirlwinds.<sup>50</sup>

This day will be so horrible that the prophet reproaches those who want to see it. Amos V Woe to them that desire the day of the Lord: to what end is it for you?<sup>51</sup> Also Isaiah X What will you do in the day of visitation, and of the calamity which cometh from afar?<sup>52</sup> The prophet addresses the bad saying: “What will you do on the day of visitation and misery coming from afar?” It is as though he said, “I do not know what you will do nor where you will turn, because up there will be the angered judge, below hell will be visible, on the right the sins accusing, on the left the devils ready to lead to the torments, inside will be conscience burning, outside the world burning.” According to Augustine: O how narrow on every side the ways will be for the reprobate. The wrathful judge will be above the condemned in hell; a horrid chaos of hell on the right hand side, the sins making accusations on the left hand side, infinite demons dragging [the damned] to punishment. Within conscience burning and outside the world on fire, the sinner is thus seized, there he flees. To hide will be impossible. To appear will be intolerable.<sup>53</sup> Also Crisostomus (Chrysos-

50. Jl. II: 1-2.

51. Am. V: 18.

52. Is. X: 3.

53. The sentences do not appear in the authenticated works of Augustine in the LLT. The authorship of the first sentence “O quam anguste erunt undique vie reprobis,” is erroneously attributed to Gregory I by Humbertus de Romanis (1194-1277) and Stephanus of Borbone (d. 1261). See Humbertus, *Tractatus de dono timoris*, cap. 6, lin. 174, ed. Christine Boyer (2008), CCCM 218: 111. See Stephanus de Borbone, *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus* (prologus et prima pars), pars. 2, tit. 6, cap. 9, lin. 919, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002), 124: 226. Stephanus de Borbone states that the remaining lines, as quoted in MS. Douce 134, “Superius erit iudex iratus, inferius hor-

tom): *Nor will there be strength either to resist nor the ability to flee, nor a place for penance nor time to fulfill penance.*<sup>54</sup> This day will be so horrible that the angels will shake as the Holy Scripture says. Job XXVI *The pillars of heaven tremble, and dread at his beck.*<sup>55</sup> Concerning those words, Jerome said: *What will a lit-*

ridum chaos inferni, a dextris peccata accusantia, a sinistris infinita demonia ad supplicium trahentia intus conscientia urens, exterius mundus ardens. Peccator sic deprehensus quo effugiet. Latere erit impossibile, apparere intollerabile,” are from the *Meditations and Orations* of Anselm of Canterbury, 1033-1109. See above citation for Borbone, lin. 927, 933-937, CCCM 124: 226-227. See Anselmus Cantuariensis, *Orationes siue meditationes, Opera omnia*, Meditatio I, lin. 73-76, ed. Franciscus Salesius Schmitt (Stuttgart-Bad Constatt: Friedrich Frommann Verlag Günther Holzboog, 1968), II: 78-9.

Anselm's phrase "latere...intollerabile" is quoted in Alexander Essebiensis, c. 1148-c. 1214, *De artificioso modo praedicandi* (versio longior), serm. 3, lin. 884, ed. Franco Morenzoni (2004), CCCM 188: 55. The passage beginning with "Superius and ending with intolerabile" is repeated as it appears in MS. Douce 134 and attributed to Anselm in Bonventura, c. 1217-1274, *Commentarius in Evangelium S. Lucae*, cap. XIX, para. 68, ed. Collegii S. Bonaventurae in *Opera omnia* (Quaracchi: Ad Claras Aquas, 1895). 7: 497.

54. "Nec resistendi virtus erit nec fugiendi facultas nec penitentiae locus nec satisfactionis tempus," Pseudo-Chrysostomus, *Opus imperfectum in Matthaem*, hom. XLIX, in PG 56: col. 919 is available electronically, accessed April 23, 2020, <http://web.wlu.ca/history/cnighman/page12.html>. See Hell III, n. 5 regarding authorship of *Opus imperfectum in Matthaem*. Passage is attributed falsely to John Chrysostomus in Iacopo da Varazze, (Jacobus de Voragine), 1230-1298, *Legenda Aurea*, I De Adventu Domini, lin. 126, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Florence: Sismel, 1998), I: 19; Humbertus de Romanis, *ibid.*, cap. 6, lin. 1054 in CCCM 218: 148; Stephanus de Borbone, *ibid.*, pars. 1, tit. 6, cap. 12, lin. 1942 in CCCM 124: 263; and Thomas Aquinas, *Aliorum medii aevi auctorum scripta* 61, in CT, 7: 705.

55. Jb XXVI: 11.

tle twig from the desert do when even the cedar of paradise is shaken?<sup>56</sup>

If the angels shake, it will not be because of doubt that they may have but for the horrible justice that will come down upon the bad. And it must be said that although the Day of Judgment is something horrible to think about, however it is useful and profitable to think about it, because if one considers the horror of this day, man has the opportunity to take care of himself. And the man who thinks well about it corrects himself and amends his life and flees from vices and keeps himself innocent and [56v] in this manner he is preserved from this horror and reaches eternal life. According to Crisostomus (Chrysostom) *This fear of God that puts sinners straight, drives away crimes, serves the innocents, grants continual knowledge.*<sup>57</sup> However we ought to

56. “Quid faciet virgula deserti, ubi concutitur (concutietur in Hildebertus Cenomanensis, movebitur in Alanus de Insulis) cedrus paradisi?”

Stephanus de Borbone says the passage is a gloss by Jerome, c. 347-c. 420. See Borbone, *Tractatus de diuersis materiis praedicabilibus*, part I, tit. 6, cap. 9, lin. 1006, CCCM 124: 229. Borbone quotes the passage again in *Tractatus*, part I, tit. 6, cap. 12, lin. 1929, CCCM 124: 262. Passage is attributed to Jerome in Alanus de Insulis (Alain de Lille), c. 1128-c. 1202, *Liber sententiarum* in PL 210: 229. Alanus includes the passage again, but does not attribute authorship to Jerome in his *Distinctiones dictionum theologicarum* in PL 210: 735; nor does Hildebertus Cenomanensis (Hildebert, Archbishop of Tours), c. 1056-c. 1134, in *Sermones de tempore*, in quadragesima sermo 1 in PL 171: 431. Bonaventura attributes the quote to Jerome, *Commentarius in Euangelium S. Lucae*, in *Opera omnia*, ed. P.P. Collegii a S. Bonaventura (Quaracchi: Ad Claras Aqua, 1895), 7: 535. The passage is not found in Jerome's work in the LLT. I cannot verify the authorship of the passage. (

57. “Hic Dei timor est qui nocentes corrigit, fugat crimina, innocentiam servat, perpetem tribuit facultatem.” The author is Petrus Chrysologus, c. 380-c. 450, bishop of Ravenna c. 433-450, *Sermones*, serm. 127, in PL 52: 549. The passage is quoted and attributed falsely to Crisosto-

think often about the horror of this day as St Gregory says in the Homily: *We should live in the present time with pleasure and joy in such a way that the bitterness of the coming judgment never recedes from our memory.*<sup>58</sup> That is to say, that the joy of this pleasant time followed by the bitterness of the following judg-

mus by Stephanus de Borbone, *Tractatus de diuersis materiis praedicabilibus* (prologus et prima pars) *De dono timoris*, pars. 1, tit. 6, cap. 13, lin. 2068, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002), CCCM 124: 268. The note for line 2068 in the previous source, edited by Berlioz and Eichenlaub, verifies the line attributed to Crisostomus is by Petrus Chrysologus. See Petrus Chrysologus, *Collectio sermonum, a felice episcopo parata sermonibus extravagantibus adiectis*/3, serm. CXXVII, lin. 57-59, ed. Alexandri Olivar (1982), CCSL 24B: 785. The text in MS. Douce 134 is identical to the text quoted by Stephanus de Borbone.

58. "Presentis (in CCCM) (Praesentis in PL and CCSL) temporis, ita est agenda letitia (laetitia in PL), ut nunquam amaritudo sequentis iudicii recedat a memoria." Gregorius I, *Homiliae*, hom. XXXIX, lec. S. Evang. Sec. Luc. XIX, 42-47 in PL 76: 1295. See also Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in euangelia*, lib. 2, hom. 39, lin. 94, ed. Raymond Étaix (1999), CCSL 141: 383. Gregory's text appears in the following sources and stars indicate acknowledgement of Gregory's authorship: Hrabanus (Rabanus) Maurus, c. 780-856, *Commentaria in Jeremiam*, lib. XVIII, cap. II in PL 111: 1209; Ratherius Veronensis, c. 887-974, *Praeloquia* in PL 136: 331; Defensor Locogiacensis, fl. 7th-8th centuries, *\*Liber scintillarum*, cap. 23, sent. 10, ed. Henricus M. Rochais (1957) CCSL 117: 102, and cap. 55, sent. 19, CCSL 117: 180; Sedulius Scotus, fl. 848-860, *\*Collectaneum miscellaneum*, div. 13, subdiv. 5, lin. 130, ed. Dean Simpson (1988-1990), CCCM 67: 64; author uncertain, *\*De modo bene vivendi* in PL 184: 1280; Guillelmus Malmesburiensis (Willelmus Meldunensis, William of Malmesbury), ca. 1094-1143, *\*Liber super explanationem Lamentationum Ieremiae prophetae*, lib. 1, cap. 1, lin. 464, eds. Michael Winterbottom, Rodney M. Thomson, and Sigbjorn Olsen Sonnesyn (2011), CCCM 244: 23. The editors point out that William of Malmesbury based his work on the *Expositio in Lamentationes Hieremiae* of Paschasius Radbertus.

ment must never leave our memory. Now there are people who refuse to think about it as the Holy Scripture says. Proverbs XXVIII *Evil men think not on judgment.*<sup>59</sup> And it is a very bad sign because these people run the risk that the horror of the Day of Judgment will descend upon them. Jeremiah XV *They shall be greatly confounded, because they have not understood the everlasting reproach, which shall never be effaced.*<sup>60</sup> Because they fail to think about it, they do not take the precautions that are necessary.

## The place where the Day of Judgment will be held

In the Valley of Jehoshaphat that is between Mt. Syon and the Mount of Olives, God will hold the Day of Judgment as he says through the prophet. Joel III *I will gather together all nations, and will bring them down into the valley of Josaphat: and I will plead with them there for my people, and for my inheritance.*<sup>61</sup> Again *Let them arise, and let the nations come up into the valley of Josaphat: for there I will sit to judge all nations round about.*<sup>62</sup> In that place, that is, in the valley of Jehoshaphat that is situated in the middle of the world, the Day of Judgment will be held so that just as our Lord Jesus Christ has made his salvation in the middle of the earth, likewise in the middle of the earth his judgment will be held. In that place all the creatures of the world will be brought from all parts of the world as the Holy Scripture says. Psalm *All*

59. Pr. XXVIII: 5.

60. Error in MS. It should read Jr. XX: 11.

61. Jl. III: 2. *Josaphat* is an archaic spelling of *Jehoshaphat*.

62. Jl. III: 12.

*flesh shall come to thee.*<sup>63</sup> Also Isaiah LXVI *All flesh shall come to adore before my face.*<sup>64</sup>

[57r] There will be no remedy, no way of hiding in the whole world. There will be no place to hide and it will be impossible to avoid coming to this day as the Holy Scripture says. Job XXXIII *There is no darkness, and there is no shadow of death, where they may be hid who work iniquity.*<sup>65</sup>

## The advent of God to the judgment

When everyone will be assembled in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, then God will come down from the clouds of the heavens and will come in great virtue and majesty and hold his judgment. And the Holy Scripture testifies in several places that God must come down from the clouds of the sky in great virtue and majesty to hold his judgment. Matthew XXIII *And they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with great power and majesty.*<sup>66</sup> Also Daniel VII *Lo, one like the son of man came with the clouds of heaven.*<sup>67</sup> Also Apocalypse I *Behold, he cometh with the clouds.*<sup>68</sup>

These clouds in which God will come to the judgment will be all bright and resplendent with light as a declaration and demonstration of the advent of God. With God all the angels and archangels of paradise will come, and all the virtues, princes, powers and dominions, all the thrones, cherubim and seraphim.

63. Ps. LXIV: 3.

64. Is. LXVI: 23.

65. Error in MS. It should read Job XXXIV: 22.

66. Mt. XXIV: 30.

67. Dn. VII: 13.

68. Ap. I: 7.

The Gospel says the virtues of the heavens will move and they will accompany God. Luke XXI *For the powers of heaven shall be moved.*<sup>69</sup> With God will also come all the saints of paradise, and the prophets speak of this. Isaiah III *The Lord will enter into judgment with the ancients of his people, and its princes.*<sup>70</sup> Also Zechariah XIII *And the Lord, my God, shall come, and all the saints with him.*<sup>71</sup> Also Jude the apostle *Behold, the Lord cometh with thousands of his saints, to execute judgment.*<sup>72</sup> The saints want this day to come in order to receive their bodies and to have full glory, while the bad are afraid for the Judgment Day to arrive because then in body and soul they will receive the sentence of their damnation. And with this their torment will increase with the pain that their bodies will suffer. [57v] [[Figure 26](#)] [58r]

## Our Lord Jesus Christ will sit on the seat of his majesty and all will see him

On the Day of Judgment our Lord Jesus Christ will sit on the seat of his majesty. What will be this seat? There is not a man who knows, however, those who do not know anything else imagine that this seat is in the shape of the arc of the sky and the apostles will sit on the throne, that is to say on the seats which will be prepared for them. And for their merit and dignity God will give them this honor because our Lord Jesus Christ promised them, as it is written the Gospel. Matthew XIX *Amen, I say to you, that you, who have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of*

69. Lk. XXI: 26.

70. Is. III: 14.

71. Zc. XIV: 5.

72. Jd. I: 14-15.

man shall sit on the seat of his majesty, you also shall sit on twelve seats, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.<sup>73</sup> Also Daniel VII I beheld till thrones were placed, and the ancient of days sat.<sup>74</sup> And on this day all creatures will see our Lord Jesus Christ as it is written in Apocalypse I Every eye shall see him, and they that pierced him.<sup>75</sup> Also the Erythraean Sibyl Whence the unbelievers and the faithful will perceive God.<sup>76</sup> All good and bad will see him differently

73. Mt. XIX:28.

74. Dn. VII: 9.

75. Ap. I: 7.

76. "Unde Deum cernent incredulus atque fidelis" is from a poem attributed to the Erythraean Sibyl by Augustine who quotes her poem in its entirety in his *The City of God*, bk. 18, ch. 23. Another line from the poem is quoted in Hell II, n. 106. See Augustine, *The City of God* in LCL, 5: 441-445. The passage is attributed to the Sibyl and quoted by the following writers: Freculphus Lexovensius, active c. 824-c. 852, *Chronica* in PL 106: 980; Christianus Druthmarus, b. early ninth century-c. 850, *Expositio in Matthaum* in PL 106: 1426; Rabanus Maurus, *De universo* in PL 111: 420; Marbodius Redonensis, c. 1035-1123, *Carmina varia* in PL 171: col.1731B; Petrus Blesensis (Peter of Blois), c. 1135-c. 1211, *Contra perfidiam Judaeorum*, cap. XXXVIII in PL 207: col. 870B; Quodvultdeus, died c. 453, *Sermo IV: Contra Iudaeos, paganos Arianos*, cap. 16, lin. 14, ed. René Braun (1976), CCSL 60: 248; Christianus Stabulensis, died post 880, *Expositio super Librum generationis* (*Expositio in euangelium Matthaei*), cap. (s.s.). 20, lin. 272, ed. Robert B. C. Huygens (2008), CCCM 224: 377; Frechulfus Lexouiensis (Frecuphus Lexouiensis), active c. 824-c. 852, *Historiarum libri XII*, pars. 1, lib. 3, cap. 12, lin. 141, ed. Michael I. Allen (2002), CCCM 169A: 177; Anon., *Uita beate Katerine metrica* ('Floruit insignis'), c. 800-840, carm. 4, lin. 473, ed. Arpad P. Orbán (1992), CCCM 119: 24; Rodericus Ximenius de Rada, died 1247, *Dialogus libri vitae*, carm. 4, lin. 80, ed. Juan Fernandez Valverde and Juan Antonio Estévez Sola (1999), CCCM 72C: 407; and Stephanus de Borbone, died 1261, *Tractatus de diuersis materiis praedicabilibus*, pars. 1, tit. 6, cap. 2, lin. 195, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002), CCCM 124: 200.

because the good will see him in his divinity and humanity, and the bad will see him only in his humanity because they are not worthy to see the glory of his divinity. According to Isaiah XXVI *The godless shall be taken away and he shall not see the glory of the Lord.*<sup>77</sup> About this St. Augustine says in the first book of the Trinity that our Lord Jesus Christ will appear to the bad in human form and in clarity, but the vision of God will be shown only to those who will be pure of heart and who will be in grace. The good also will see him in joy and consolation because he will show himself to them gracious, sweet and friendly. And the bad will see him in anguish and sadness because he will show himself to them angry, rigorous and terrible. And this St. Gregory says in his sermon on Easter: *The Lord will appear kind to the just and terrible to the unjust.*<sup>78</sup> Oh what torment the bad will experience

77. Is. XXVI: 10. *Tollatur impius (Misereamus impius) ne videat gloriam dei.* The anon. author edits the passage and substitutes “tollatur impius” for the Biblical “misereamus impio.” The Douay-Rheims version of Is. 26: 10 in its entirety reads: “Let us have pity on the wicked; but he will not learn justice: in the land of the saints he hath done wicked things, and he shall not see the glory of the Lord.”

78. “Christus apparebit blandus iustis et terribilis iniustis” from Gregorius Magnus, 540–604, *Homiliae in evangelia*. lib. 2, hom. 21, par. 3, lin. 61, ed. Raymond Étaix (1999), CCSL 141: 176. The text appears but is not attributed to Gregory in *The Reference Bible, Das Bibelwerk: Pauca problemata de enigmatibus ex tomis canonicis in Praefatio et libri de Pentateucho Moysi (textus longior)*, De Exodus, par. 414, lin. 6, ed. Gerard MacGinty (2000), CCCM 173: 182. This work is part of the Irish biblical tradition and is dated pre-750. The passage appears also and is not attributed to Gregory in Haymo Halberstatensis (Haymo of Halberstadt), 778–853, in his *Expositio in Apocalypsis*, lib. I, cap. 1, in PL 117: 947; Ildefonsus Toletanus, c. 607–667, *De cognitione baptisimi*, cap. 99, lin. 1504, ed. Valeriano Yarza Urquiola (2007), CCSL 114A: 404; and Beda Uenerabilis, c. 672–725, *In proverbial Salomonis libri iii*, lib. 2, cap. 19, lin. 70, ed. David Hurst (1983), CCSL 119B: 100.

to see him in his furor, hardly if they will dare to look at him! Malachi III *And who shall stand to see him?*<sup>79</sup> Then the angels will separate the bad from the just. Matthew XIII *The angels shall go out, and separate the wicked from among the just.*<sup>80</sup> The good will be up high and the bad will be below under the feet of the good, in burning fire. Malachi III *You shall tread down the wicked, when they shall be ashes under the sole of your feet.*<sup>81</sup> [58v] [Figure 27] [59r]

### **In judgment our Lord Jesus Christ will address the good for their good works and will reproach the bad for not having done works of mercy**

After that the angels by arrangement and commandment of God will have separated the bad from the good, as we said before, and when the good will have been placed on the right side of God and the bad on the left, then our Lord Jesus Christ will address the good for their good works and especially for the works of mercy they will have done to the poor of this world and to pilgrims and to the poor religious men, monks, and friars for the love of God and through true charity. He will say to them: “Come you blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom that is being prepared for you since the beginning of the world. I was hungry and you gave me to eat. I was thirsty and you gave me to drink. I was a stranger and you opened your door to me. I was naked and you gave me clothes. I was sick and you came and visited me. I was imprisoned and you came to me.” And the good will say to him: “Sire, we saw that you were hungry, we fed you, we saw you to

79. Ml. III: 2.

80. Mt. XIII: 49.

81. Error in MS. It should be Ml. IV: 3.

be thirsty we gave you to drink, when we saw you chased out we welcomed you, or naked and we gave you clothes, or when we saw that you were sick, or in prison we came to you." And he will reply to them and say, "Surely I told you for a long time, when you have done it to one of my small brothers, you did it to me." By his small brothers, understand the poor of the world and all the others who are in need, to whom when one does good to them, one does it to our Lord Jesus Christ because it is pleasant to him as if it were done to him. All these works of charity our Lord Jesus Christ will enumerate and recite in honor of those who will have made them and to show that for these works they deserved to have the glory of paradise. And so they did not lose the good they did to the poor when for doing that [59v] they will be saved in eternal glory. You who desire to be saved, pay attention to this and work at applying these words and be wise. Urge yourself to do works of charity, go to the poor as much as possible, and you will be fortunate, and blessed, and you will be saved. However do not consider lost the good you will do, but on the contrary, consider lost everything else you have done except the good because only the good you will have done will remain to you. Consequently he will say to those placed on the left, "Go away from me, cursed and go to the eternal fire that is prepared for the devil and his angels. I was hungry and you did not give me to eat. I was thirsty and you did not give me to drink. I was chased out and you did not shelter me. I was naked and you did not give me clothes. I was sick and imprisoned and you did not visit me." And they will say to him: "Sire when we saw you hungry and thirsty or chased out or naked or sick and in prison did we not take care of you?" And he will answer them certainly, "I am telling you that as long as you have not done it to one of my small brothers, you have not done it to me." And those will go to eternal torment. This is what you get for failing to do works of charity. Because they have not done works of charity like the

just, they did not deserve to go to paradise with the just, however they will have to go elsewhere because such is God's judgment. Oh God, the bad will be damned for failing to do good. What a damnation they will have for their bad behavior and sins.

## The bad will be accused from all sides

On the Day of Judgment the bad will be accused harshly for their bad behavior. And first the **[60r]** angels will accuse them as the Holy Scripture says. Job XX. *The heavens shall reveal his iniquity [\*his wickedness].*<sup>82</sup> The skies that will reveal the bad must be understood as the angels of the sky who have had people in their care and have warned them to stay away from doing bad. And those who did not follow their admonitions and prompting and did not refrain from doing evil will be accused by the angels to show that the bad of sinners is not the fault of the angels, but their fault. And so all the fault will be placed on them.

Secondly, the saints will accuse the sinners and will stand against them reproaching them for their evil deeds. And this is found in the Holy Scripture. Job XX *And the earth shall rise up against him.*<sup>83</sup> That is to say that the earth will rise against the bad. By the earth that rises against the bad, the saints of the world are understood. According to Wisdom V *Then shall the just stand with great constancy against those that have afflicted them, and taken away their labours.*<sup>84</sup>

Thirdly, the enemies of hell will accuse the bad for their sins because they are watching people and writing down all the bad things they do or say. And on the Day of Judgment they will

82. Jb. XX: 27. [\*] addition of the anon. writer.

83. Jb. XX: 27.

84. Ws. V: 1.

recite all the bad things they have written down against the bad and will accuse them saying that because of these bad things they are worthy to be damned. And the fact that the enemies will accuse the sinners means that the devil is called the accuser as the Holy Scripture says. Apocalypse XII *The accuser of our brethren is cast forth, who accused them before our God day and night.*<sup>85</sup> Also Augustine: *All will stand before the tribunal of Christ and the devil will be present and he will recite in a statement of our profession and he will hurl in our face whatever we have done and how we have sinned and in what place, and our adversary is going to say what we ought to have done. Most just judge, judge that he is mine through sin because he didn't want to be yours through grace. [60v] He is yours through nature, he is mine through misery. He is yours on account of passion, mine on account of persuasion. He is disobedient to you, obedient to me. He has received from you the garment of immortality, from me this ragged tunic with which he is clothed. He sends your garment away. He comes hither with mine. Most equitable judge, judge that he therefore is mine and must be completely condemned. This by Augustine.*<sup>86</sup>

85. Ap. XII: 10.

86. "Astabunt omnes ante tribunal Christi et praesto erit diabolicus et recitabit verba professionis nostrae, et objiciet nobis in faciem quidquid fecerimus, et in quo peccavimus, et in quo loco, et quid facere debebamus dicturus est enim ille, adversarius noster. Aequissime iudex, judica illum esse meum ob culpam quia noluit esse tuus per gratiam. Tuus est per naturam, meus est per miseriam; tuus per passionem, meus ob suasionem; tibi inobediens, mihi autem consentiens. A te recepit immortalitatis stolam, a me autem pannosam, qua inductus est tunicam, tuam vestem dimisit, cum mea huc venit. Aequissime iudex, judica ergo illum esse meum et merum fore condemnandum. Hec Augustinus." I have not found this to be among the authenticated texts by Augustine in the LLT. A similar monologue

Fourthly, the sinners will be accused by their own deeds because their conscience will accuse them of their ills. Daniel VII *The judgment sat, and the books were opened. [\*That is to say, the books are their consciences].*<sup>87</sup> Also Jeremiah II *Thy own wickedness shall reprove thee.*<sup>88</sup> Also Wisdom III *They shall come with fear at the thought of their sins, and their iniquities shall stand against them to convict them.*<sup>89</sup> And Jerome *What you do or say,*

appears in several works, the earliest date from the fifth century. However, while bearing a close resemblance, they are not exactly the same. The opening words, “Astabunt omnes” and “Praesto enim erit et adversarius diabolus, recitabuntur verba professionis nostrae” appear in in Quodvultdeus Carthaginiensis (St. Quodvultdeus, Bishop of Carthage), died c. 453, *Contra Iudaeos, paganos et Arianos*, serm. IV, cap. 4, lin. 10, ed. René Braun (1976), CCSL 60: 231. Likewise, the phrase, “Praesto...nostrae,” appears in Caesarius Arelatensis (Caesarius of Arles), c. 469–542, *Sermones ex integro a Caesario compositi vel ex aliis fontibus hausti*, serm. 178, cap. 3, lin. 18, ed. Germain Morin (1953), CCSL 103: 723. The text, as it is quoted in MS. Douce 134 appears in its entirety in Paulinus Aquileiensis (Paulinus of Aquileia), c. 750–802, *Exhortatio*, cap. LXII Daemon accusatory in iudicio in PL 99: 271. A portion of the text, beginning with “Aequissime iudex” and ending with “venit” appears in Martinus Legionensis (Martin de Leon), 1130–1203, *Sermones*, serm. II, in *Adventu II* in PL 208: 62. The passage is used minus the last two sentences by Stephanus de Borbone, died 1261. See Stephanus de Borbone, *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus*, pars. 1, tit. 6, cap. 10, lin. 1272, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002), CCCM 124: 239. The first two sentences are quoted by Humbertus de Romanis, c. 1194–1277, *Tractatus de dono timoris*, cap. 6, lin. 370, ed. Christine Boyer (2008), CCCM 218: 120. Both Borbone and Humbertus de Romanis attribute the text to Augustine.

87. Dan. 7: 10. [\*] indicates commentary by the anon. author

88. Jr. II: 19.

89. Ws. IV: 20.

O sinner man, speaks against your own conscience.<sup>90</sup> That is to say, what will you do and what will you say, oh sinner man, when your own conscience will speak against you? And each will recognize the evil they have done. And that is true. And nevertheless his conscience will bring him remorse, and he will accuse himself as we see that when a thief is caught and accused of the theft he has done, he himself accuses himself and confesses his bad deed because he knows well that he did it. And it must be known that when these accusations will be made in front of several, that is to say in front of God, and in front of the angels of paradise, and in front of all the saints, and in front of all the people in the world, and in front of all the enemies of hell, sinners will be all the more confused.

## The sins which were committed will be manifested to all

In this much feared day all the sins that were ever committed in this world that will not have been purged and erased by confession, contrition, and penance will be sought and will come to full light and knowledge, because God will seek and visit them as he says through the prophet. Sophonias I *At that time, I will search Jerusalem with lamps, and will visit upon the men that are*

90. "Quid facies aut quid dices o peccator homo, cum contra te loquetur conscientia propria." The passage is attributed to Jerome (Hieronymus) by Stephanus de Borbone, died 1261, *Tractatus de diuersis materiis praedicabilibus* (prologus et prima pars), pars. 1, tit. 6, cap. 10, lin. 1215, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002), CCCM 124: 237. The passage is also attributed to Jerome by Humbertus de Romanis, c. 1194-1277, *Tractatus de dono timoris*, cap. 6, lin. 441, ed. Christine Boyer (2008), CCCM 218: 123. The passage is not among Jerome's authenticated works in the LLT.

settled on their lees.<sup>91</sup> Also Matthew XIII The Son of man shall send his angels, and they shall gather **[61r]** out of his kingdom all scandals.<sup>92</sup> Also Ecclesiastes XII All things that are done, God will bring into judgment for every error, whether it be good or evil.<sup>93</sup> Also Hosea VIII Now he will remember their iniquity, and will visit their sins.<sup>94</sup> Also Isaiah XIII I will visit the evils of the world, and against the wicked for their iniquity.<sup>95</sup> These authorities hold that God, just as the sun makes colors to appear, will remember all the bad actions of the bad, not only the bad actions that will have been made, but also the consciences and the intentions of the hearts will be there manifested as the apostle says. Romans II In the day when God shall judge the secrets of men.<sup>96</sup> Also I Corinthians IIII Judge not before the time: until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts.<sup>97</sup> And there will be nothing so secret that will not be known because everything will be revealed and manifested as the Gospel says. Matthew X There is nothing hid, that shall not be revealed: nor secret that shall not be known.<sup>98</sup>

And it must be known that at the time of God's judgment not only the great sins will appear but also the small faults and omissions that people do not consider will be seen, as beams of the

91. Sph. I: 12. Richard Challoner in his notes on this passage in the Douay-Rheims Bible states that "settled on their lees" refers to the wealthy, those who live an easy life, those who rest "upon their riches, like wine upon the lees."

92. Mt. XIII: 41

93. Ec. XII: 14.

94. Ho. VIII: 13.

95. Is. XIII: 11.

96. Rm. II: 16.

97. I Cor. IV: 5.

98. Mt. X: 26.

sun go through a window rays appear that do not appear elsewhere. All the bad actions that are done here will be seen there as the Holy Scripture says. Ecclesiasticus XXXIX *For all shall be well approved in their time.*<sup>99</sup> And Gregory in the Homily on the Prophet Ezekiel: *Is the sentence of the eternal judge not to be feared? Then and there all our sins will reappear before our eyes; then and there with trembling all lascivious acts will be recalled to our memory.*<sup>100</sup> And the ills that each person will have done will appear on his face. According to Job XVI *My wrinkles bear witness against me.*<sup>101</sup> And so each person will bear on himself the ills that he will have done. Lamentations I *The yoke of my iniquities he hath watched; they are folded together in his hand, and put upon my neck.*<sup>102</sup> Also Ezekiel XVIII *The wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him.*<sup>103</sup> Also Galatians VI *For every one shall bear his own burden.*<sup>104</sup> Then the ills will come to light so that all will be defined, judged, and determined by severe judgment. And this ought to encourage every man to confess, and to be contrite, and to repent, [61v] and make such penance that his sin be for-

99. Ecli. XXXIX: 40.

100. "Que (Quae in PL and CCSL) mens erit hominis eterni (aeterni in PL and CCSL) iudicis sententiam non formidantis? Ibi enim tunc cuncta simul peccata ante oculos redeunt, ibi omnia quae cum delectatione acta sunt ad memoriam cum pauore reuocantur." Gregorius Magnus, c. 540-604, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem prophetam*, lib. 1, hom. 2, lin. 308, ed. Marc Adriaen (1971), CCSL 142: 26. Passage quoted and attributed to Gregory in Alulfus Tornacensis, died c. 1141, *Expositio Novi Testamenti*, pars. I, lib. I, cap. LXXXIV in PL79: 1167, and in Rabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in Ezechielem*, lib. I, cap. I in PL 110: 504.

101. Jb. XVI: 9.

102. Lm. I: XIV.

103. Ez. XVIII: 20.

104. Ga. VI: 5.

given to him and erased so much that they no longer appear on the Day of Judgment to bring about his punishment.

And it must be known that not only the evil actions will pass through the severe judgment of God, but also the good deeds because God will also examine the good deeds, making sure they were done with good intentions and by desire to please God and to acquire eternal life. God will inquire whether these deeds were done for corporeal remuneration, or for human praise, if they were done for charity and in a state of grace, or if they were done in mortal sin. And God will judge all this as he says by the prophet. *When I shall take a time, I will judge justices.*<sup>105</sup> Also Gregory *Although we know what and how many good things we have done, we do not know with what discernment the highest judge examines them.*<sup>106</sup>

105. Ps. LXXIV: 3.

106. "Si scimus que (quae in CCSL, PL, and CCCM) vel quanta bona sunt que agimus (egimus in CCSL, PL, and CCCM), adhuc supernus iudex qua subtilitate hec (haec in CCSL and PL) examinat (examinet in CCSL) ignoramus." Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in euangelia*. lib. 1, hom. 19, par. 4, lin. 118, ed. Raymond Étaix (1999), CCSL 141: 147. See also Gregory I, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, lib. I, hom. XIX in PL 76: 1156. The passage is quoted and attributed to Gregory in Hrabanus Maurus, *Expositio in Matthaëum*, lib. 6, lin. 13, ed. Bengt Löfstedt (2000), CCCM 174A: 529. See also Rabanus Maurus, *Commentarium in Matthaëum*, lib. VI, cap. XX in PL 107: 1029. Passage found but not attributed to Gregory in Sedulius Scotus, fl. 848-860, *Kommentar zum evangelium nach Matthäus*, ed. Bengt Löfstedt (Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1991), 19: 454.

# Hell IV [6IV-73v]

## God in his furor will accuse the bad ones for their evil actions

God will show his anger and his fury at the evil ones. Of his furor the prophet speaks. Isaiah XXX *Behold the name of the Lord cometh from afar, his wrath burneth and is heavy to bear: his lips are filled with indignation, and his tongue as a devouring fire.*<sup>1</sup> That is to say, that the name of God comes from afar, his furor is burning and hard to bear. His lips are full of indignation, and his tongue like devouring fire. And this agrees with what Daniel the prophet says, that a river of burning and violent fire came out of the face of God. Daniel VII *A swift stream of fire issued forth from before him.*<sup>2</sup> His anger will be so great that no man can imagine it, as the Holy Scripture says. Psalm *Who knoweth the power of thy anger, and for thy fear can number thy wrath?*<sup>3</sup>

Oh what harsh torture will be inflicted on the bad ones when they see God so indignant and angered? It will be harder to bear than death, about which St. Augustine says that the damned would prefer to suffer all sorts of torments than to see the angered face of the judge. And Job, considering that the furor of God is a horrible thing to see, desired to be thrown into hell until the ire abated. Job XIII *Who will grant me this, that thou mayst protect me in hell, and hide me till thy wrath pass?*<sup>4</sup>

1. Is. XXX: 27.

2. Dn. VII: 10.

3. Ps. LXXXIX: 11-12.

4. Jb. XIV: 13.

[62r] In this burning furor God will reproach the wicked and show them all the bad deeds they committed. Nahum III *I will discover thy shame to thy face, and will shew thy nakedness to the nations, and thy shame to kingdoms.*<sup>5</sup> In this burning furor God will castigate them severely for their bad actions as the Holy Scripture says. Psalm *I will reprove thee, and set before thy face.*<sup>6</sup> With this castigation that will be horrible to hear, the sinners will be all lost, faint, and thrown into confusion. The words that God will utter in his anger and indignation will be horrible to hear and heavy to bear. God will castigate the bad for their evil thoughts, as the Holy Scripture says. Wisdom I *For inquisition shall be made into the thoughts of the ungodly.*<sup>7</sup> Also Wisdom III *But the wicked shall be punished according to their own devices.*<sup>8</sup> They will also be harshly castigated for their bad words according to the Holy Scripture. Wisdom I *He that speaketh unjust things, cannot be hid, neither shall the chastising judgment pass him by.*<sup>9</sup> And they will be held so tightly that they will have to explain not only their bad words but also all their vain and idle words according to the Gospel. Matthew XII *But I say unto you, that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall render an account for it in the day of judgment.*<sup>10</sup>

They will also be harshly punished for their bad works as the Holy Scripture says. Isaiah LXVI *But I know their works, and their thoughts: I come [\*as judge].*<sup>11</sup> Also Jude I *Behold, the Lord*

5. Nh. III: 5.

6. Ps. XLIX: 21.

7. Ws. I: 9.

8. Ws. III: 10.

9. Ws. I: 8.

10. Mt. XII: 36.

11. Is. LXVI: 18. [\*] indicates anon. author's alteration of the scripture. The scripture reads: "I come that I may gather them."

cometh with thousands of his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to reprove all the impious for all the works of their impiety, whereby they have done impiously, and of all the hard things which impious sinners have spoken against God.<sup>12</sup> Oh how severe and strict this judgment will be when the bad are castigated and harshly treated, not only for their bad works, but for their idle talk. Even though they did not harm people with their wicked thoughts, although they did not act upon them, every evil will be met with justice because God will judge and severely punish all the bad actions, great ones as well as small ones. He will make known how rigorous his justice is. Psalm *The Lord shall be known when he executeth judgments.*<sup>13</sup> **[62v]**

Oh God what will they do here, those who are not satisfied unless they speak ceaselessly? How stunned they will be when they will have to account for their actions, down to the smallest one. For all the idle words they have uttered during their whole life they will have to explain all down to the smallest one. The explanation that they will give will lead them to be roughly treated and they will have to suffer. And if they have to suffer for their idle words, what will they have to suffer for injurious words, for detractions, defamation of others, provoking words of sin? For consideration of such severe judgment, several saints have decided not to utter idle words. And it must be known that God in accusing the bad will be witness and judge of their evil actions, as he says through the prophet. Jeremiah XXIX *I am the judge, and the witness, saith the Lord.*<sup>14</sup>

He will be witness of their bad actions because he has seen everything and consequently he will judge justly. And the bad will not be able to excuse themselves of their evil actions nor deny

12. Jd. I: 14-15.

13. Ps. IX: 17.

14. Jr. XXIX: 23.

them because they know what they did, and will not be able to deny, and will not know what to answer. According to what is said of the godless in Job IX. *If he will contend with him, he cannot answer him one for a thousand.*<sup>15</sup> That is to say, if the sinner wants to argue with God, he will not be able to answer one for a thousand, because for one good deed that he has done, he has 1,000 faults and of 1,000 bad actions which will be presented to him and he will not be able to excuse himself of a single one. However all argument will cease in front of God. And so the wicked will be confused and in such distress that they will wish they had never been born. As for the horror of the judgment that will come down on them, the prophet speaks of this. Jeremiah XXX *Behold the whirlwind of the Lord, his fury going forth, a violent storm, it shall rest upon the head of the wicked.*<sup>16</sup> [*\*When Job considered the harsh judgment of God, he said trembling:*] *For what shall I do when God shall rise to judge? And when he shall examine, what shall I answer him?*<sup>17</sup> [63r] [Figure 28] [63v]

## The things that will have to be explained to God on the Day of Judgment

On the Day of Judgment it will be necessary to face God and explain everything that was received from him. First, how did one use the five senses of nature and the sense and intelligence that God gave to all to know how to govern oneself? Were they used to do good or for one's own pleasure? Of this our Lord speaks in the Gospel. Matthew XXV *For even as a man going into a far country, called his servants, and delivered to them his*

15. Jb. IX: 3.

16. Jr. XXX: 23.

17. Jb. XXXI: 14. [\*] indicate words by the anon. author.

goods; and to one he gave five talents, and to another two, and to another one... [\*After it follows] ...But after a long time, the lord of those servants came, and reckoned with them.<sup>18</sup> Thus Gregory says: The Lord who gave the talents returns to ask for an accounting, because he who now generously gives spiritual gifts demands in strict judgment what they have earned. He considers what each one has received and he weighs what gain each one brings back from what he has received.<sup>19</sup> God who has given the gifts of nature and of grace to be fruitful and enjoy eternal life will want to see that each person has prospered. Those who will have been fruitful will be rewarded and paid in glory. Those who will not have prospered will be sent to eternal torment. Matthew III Every tree that yieldeth not good fruit, shall be cut down, and cast into the fire.<sup>20</sup>

Second, each person will have to explain all of his life: its condition, what he has loved, what works he has done, what kind of life he has led, if he has been of good conscience, or without conscience. Was he more carnal than spiritual? Was he inclined

18. Mt. XXV: 14-15, 19. [\*] comment by anon. author.

19. "Dominus qui talenta contulit, rationem positurus reddit, quia is (his in Defensor) qui nunc pie spiritualia dona tribuit, districte in iudicio merita exquiret (exquirat in PL and CCSL). Quid quisque accepit considerat, et quod lucrum de acceptis reportet pensat." Gregorius I, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, hom. IX, lib. I in PL 76: 1106. See also Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in evangelia*, lib. 1, hom. 9, par. 1, lin. 41, ed. Raymond Étaix (1999), CCSL 141: 60. The text is quoted and attributed to Gregory in Defensor Locogiacensis, fl. 7th-8th centuries, *Liber scintillarum*, cap. 35, sent. 9, ed. Henri M. Rochais (1957), CCSL 117: 138. The text appears but is not attributed to Gregory in Sedulius Scotus, fl. 848-860, *Kommentar zum evangelium nach Matthäus*, lib. 4, cap. 25, vers. 18, lin. 75, ed. Bengt Löfstedt (Freiburg im Breisgau: Verlag Herder, 1991), 19: 551.

20. Mt. III: 10.

more to vices than to virtues? Was he loyal, or a betrayer, or deceiver? Was his heart turned to God, or turned to earthly things? Did he work to acquire eternal life, or did he abandon himself to vanities and pleasures [64r] of this world? All of this will have to be explained, and each one for himself as the apostle says. Romans XIII *Every one of us shall render an account for himself to God.*<sup>21</sup>

Third, each person will be interrogated especially on the commandments of God, how he observed them, and how he applied the words of the Gospel, and especially if he has loved God with all his heart as well as his neighbor as himself. And those who did not pay attention to the commandments of God or disregarded them audaciously will be stricken, because God will spread his furor upon them. In the observance of the commandments lies the salvation of all creatures. The commandments were given to lead people to salvation. By disregarding them you have death, and all the tribulation in this world comes from that as the prophet says. Isaiah XXIII *Because they have transgressed the laws, they have changed the ordinance, they have broken the everlasting covenant. Therefore shall a curse devour the earth, and the inhabitants thereof shall sin: and therefore they that dwell therein shall be mad.*<sup>22</sup>

Furthermore, the whole horror of the judgment will come down on those who will not have taken into account the commandments of God because then God in his furor will take revenge against them as he says through the prophet. Micah V *And I will execute vengeance in wrath, and in indignation, among all the nations that have not given ear, [\*that is, the commandments of God for the purpose of keeping them].*<sup>23</sup> And those who

21. Rm. XIV: 12.

22. Is. XXIV: 5-6.

23. Mic. V: 14. [\*] indicate anon. author's comment.

have not received the words of the Gospel or applied them or disregarded them, and, in general, those who knew the Holy Scriptures but did the contrary will be more horribly condemned than the others. Matthew X *And whosoever shall not receive you, [\* that is preachers of the Gospel,]... it will be more tolerable for those of Sodom and Gomorrah on the day of judgment than for that city.*<sup>24</sup> Also John VII *He that despiseth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him. The word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day.*<sup>25</sup> Also Romans II *Whosoever have sinned in the law, shall be judged by the law.*<sup>26</sup>

Fourthly, it will be for each person to explain how he used the time God gave him to be saved and if he applied his time to learn and know and do the things that belong to his salvation in the time ordained, **[64v]** or if he has spent his time uselessly, fruitlessly, because then God will reproach him as the Holy Scripture says. Lamentations I *He hath called against me the time.*<sup>27</sup> And Bernard: *An account is demanded of you for all the time that has been dealt out to you. How have you expended it?*<sup>28</sup> Man will be

24. Mt. X: 14-15. [\*] indicate anon. author's gloss on scripture.

25. Error in MS. It should be Jo. XII: 48.

26. Rm. II: 12.

27. Lm. I: 15.

28. "Omne tempus vite (vivendi in Anselm, Humbertus de Romanis and Stephenus de Borbone) tibi impensum exigetur a te qualiter fuerit expensum." The author is Anselmus Cantuariensis, c. 1033-1109, *Meditationes et orationes*, Meditatio II in PL 158: 723. The sentence has been modified and extrapolated from this poetic passage: "O lignum aridum, et inutile, aeternis ignibus dignum, quid respondebis in illa die, cum exigetur a te usque ad ictum oculi, omne tempus vivendi tibi impensum, qualiter fuerit a te expensum?" ("Barren and useless wood, deserving eternal burning, what reply will you make in that day when at the twinkling of an eye an account is demanded of you for all the

asked how he used his time. For failing to use his time well man will be denied salvation.

## The prelates and curates will give account of those they had in their care

On that day the prelates of Holy Church will be questioned about their own actions and of everything that they did as prelates. They will be asked if they arrived at their high rank by the right path, and if they entered it by the right door, that is to say, by pure election, or if they were ambitious or covetous of dignity. They will be asked if they were helped to come to high rank, if they behaved simply like ministers of God, or if they held great estates, and have been in great ceremonies like lords, if they

time that has been dealt out to you?" How have you expended it?") The preceding translation is from *The Prayers and Meditations of St. Anselm with the Proslogion*, med. 1, trans. Benedicta Ward (New York, NY: Penguin Books Ltd., 1979), 222. See also Anselmus Cantuariensis, *Orationes siue meditationes*, med. 1, lin. 39, ed. Franciscus Salesius Schmitt, in *Opera omnia*, (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1946), 3: 77. The passage appears and is attributed to Anselm in Humbertus de Romanis, *Tractatus de dono timoris*, cap. 6, lin. 621, ed. Christine Boyer (2008), CCCM 218: 130, and in Stephenus de Borbone, *Tractatus de diuersis materiis praedicabilibus* pars. 1, tit. 6, cap. 11, lin. 1663, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002), CCCM 124: 253. A similar passage is attributed questionably to Bernardus Claraevallensis, 1190-1153, *Opusculum in verba: Ad quid venisti?* in PL 184: 1198. The passage also appears and is attributed to St. Anselm in Pelbartus de Themeswar, c. 1430-1504, in *Pomerium de tempore, pars hyemalis, [pars] estiuallis*, serm. VII, Domenica III Adventus, serm III, ed. Johannes Rynman (Hagenau: Henri Gran, 1509), available in HathiTrust, no page given, and on the web, accessed August 13, 2021, <http://sermones.elte.hu/pelbart/index.php?file=th/th007>.

were simonists by receiving gifts to take orders, or otherwise. They will be asked if they provided care and benefits to unworthy people for any service or friendship, or because they were of their family. They will be asked if they received the revenues of the Church without serving the Church or residing in it, if they held several benefits of the Church only for their personal gain. All these things they will have to account for, and those who will be guilty will have much to do, above all things they will have to account for their subjects: if they had taken good care of their salvation, if they worked in preaching to turn them to the path of salvation, or if they let them go with various vices without correcting them, because then all the evil will fall back upon them, and God will require from their hands the souls that due to their neglect perished, as he says through the prophet. Ezekiel XXXIII *Behold, I myself come upon the shepherds, I will require my flock at their hand.*<sup>29</sup> Also Jeremiah XIII *Where is the flock that is given thee?*<sup>30</sup> These authorities make it understood [65r] what the prelates will have to do for their subjects. According to the severity of the damage to souls, who because of their neglect perished, they will be treated harshly and will have to suffer. It is the harsh judgment that they will receive, of which the Holy Scripture speaks. Wisdom VI *A most severe judgment shall be for them that bear rule.*<sup>31</sup>

Similarly, the curates and all those who were in charge of souls will account to God regarding the souls that they cared for, and if by neglect of their duty a number of their subjects perish they will be confounded for it. So then the subjects will complain against those who had care of them and they will accuse them for not putting them on the path of salvation, for not showing

29. Error in MS. It should be Ez. XXXIV: 10.

30. Jr. XIII: 20.

31. Ws. VI: 6.

them the good that they were supposed to do, for not taking them away from evil, and for being the cause of their damnation. According to St. Bernard: *They will come before the tribunal of Christ: and the severe quarrels of the peoples, and strong accusations will be heard, how luxuriously they lived, not washing away their sins; how they have become blind leaders and fraudulent mediators.*<sup>32</sup>

There the priests will be asked about their state, if they have been devout in saying their Hours and in serving God, if they cared about the salvation of souls, if they were diligent in exhorting the people, and in administering the sacraments, if they were chaste, and if they led a saintly life as their state required, if they have given a good example to others, and if on the contrary they were dissolute, and loved to be in bad com-

32. "Venient ante tribunal Christi et audietur gravis populorum querela, et accusatio dura, quorum vixere stipendiis, nec diluere peccata; quibus facti sunt duces ceci (caeci in PL), et mediatores fraudulententi." This passage does not appear in the works of St. Bernard, 1090-1153, in the LLT however it is quoted and attributed to him in the following sources: Gaufridus Claraevallensis (Geoffrey of Clairvaux), c. 1120-c. 1189, *De colloquio Simonis cum Jesu ex sermonibus Bernardi*, XVI Quomodo de serviat clerici pro iis quae de ecclesiis habent in PL 184: 448; Bonaventura, 1217/1218-1274, *Commentarius in Euangelium sancti Lucae*, commentarius, cap. 10, versus 9, par. 17, lin. 30, col. 1, ed. PP. Collegii a S. Bonventura, in *Opera omnia*, (Florentiam: Ad Claras Aquas, 1895), VII: 258; Salimbene de Adam, 1221-1287/1288, *Cronica*, lin. 23, ed. Giuseppe Scalia (1998-1999), CCCM 125: 202; Stephanus de Borbone, *Tractatus de diuersis materiis praedicabilibus* (prologus et prima pars), pars. 1, tit. 6, cap. 10, lin. 1234, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002), CCCM 124: 238; Humbertus de Romanis c. 1200-1277, *Tractatus de dono timoris*, cap. 6, lin. 403, ed. Christine Boyer (2008), CCCM 218: 121; and Johannes Hus, 1370/71-1415, *Postilla adumbrata*, sermo 54, lin. 122, eds. B. Ryba and G. Silagi (2015), CCCM c. 1194-1277 261: 224.

pany. If they said Masses for the desire of money, or if they led a bad life, they will be punished, and the greater and more extravagant their state was, the more they will be punished for their excesses. According to Job XII *He leadeth away priests without glory, [\*that is] to a foolish end.*<sup>33</sup> And Crisostomus: *The priest who commits sin will be despoiled of the dignity of his priesthood which he had, [and] he will be put among the infidels and hypocrites.*<sup>34</sup> There similarly the religious will be interrogated about their life, how they served God, how they kept their faith and the vows and observances of their religion and if they lived in repentance. If they did the contrary of what they were supposed to do, they will be severely reproached and harshly punished. [65v]

## The kings and princes of this world will be interrogated about their deeds

On that day the kings and princes of this world will be interrogated about their behavior. Did they govern the people well and keep them in peace? Did they love and keep justice and administer justice? Did they keep bad officers who perverted justice

33. Jb. XII: 19 and 17. [\*] indicate anon. author changes verse 19 by inserting a portion of verse 17 at the end of verse 19.

34. "Sacerdos peccator spoliabitur sacerdotii dignitate quam habuit, [et in PL] erit inter infideles et hypocritas." The passage is found in *Opus imperfectum in Matthaëum* attributed to Crisostomus, homilia 40, ad Matthew 21, vers 32, lin. 37 in PG 56: col 852. See Hell III, n. 5 for history and author. The passage is attributed to Chrysostomus' *Opus imperfectum in Matthaëum* by Zacharias Chrysopolitanus, died c. 1155, (born at Chrysopolis now Bescançon), *De Concordia evangelistarum*, lib. III, cap. CXXIII, in PL 186: 385, and John Wycliffe, c. 1330-1384, *De ecclesia* (*Tractus De ecclesia*, cap. 19, sect. E, lin. 16, ed. Johann Loserth (London: the Wyclif Society, 1886), 446.

and extorted from the people? Did they support obviously evil things for the people without remedying them? Were they too daring in making unjust wars? Did they charge the people with unjust fines to take away their belongings? Did they do what was reasonable when people came to them for remedy of justice? They will have to account for all the things for which they will be found guilty and they will be harshly reproached and horribly punished as is written in the book of Wisdom. Chapter VI *Hear, therefore, ye kings, and understand...For power is given you by the Lord, and strength by the Most High, who will examine your works: and search out your thoughts; because being ministers of his kingdom, you have not judged rightly, nor kept the law of justice, nor walked according to the will of God. Horribly and speedily will he appear to you: for a most severe judgment shall be for them that bear rule.*<sup>35</sup>

These authorities hold that to the kings are given power by God who will interrogate their works and thoughts. And for not having been a rightful judge, or for not keeping the law of justice, nor doing the will of God, God will show himself terrible to them and will pronounce a harsh judgment against them. They will be harshly treated and horribly punished. And by doing this God will not fear the greatness of any of them, nor will accept the persons of the princes as the Holy Scripture says. Wisdom VI *Neither will he stand in awe of any man's greatness.*<sup>36</sup> And Job XXXIII *Who accepeth not the persons of princes.*<sup>37</sup> No one should think that because of his worldly greatness he may have had in his life that he will be spared. Then there will be no king or prince who will dare to speak or say anything, but they will have

35. Ws. VI: 2, 4-6.

36. Ws. VI: 8.

37. Jb. XXXIV: 19.

to remain quiet. Isaiah LII [66r] *Kings shall shut their mouth at him.*<sup>38</sup>

## The judges and other people of justice

On that day, the judges of the world and other men of justice such as lawyers, procurators, and others will be interrogated about their actions. As for lawyers and procurators, they will have to answer if they took on or knowingly defended bad causes, if they were lax with the truth, or if they contradicted it. They will also have to tell if by words, clamors, or by allegations they wanted to triumph over others who were in the right. They will also have to tell if they purposely caused the case of those who were in the right to fail, or if they made the trials last longer than necessary in order to earn more. All these things are against God and against reason, and so their cause will be pleaded in front of the great judge on the Day of Judgment because on that day they are set aside as the prophet says. Amos VI *You that are separated unto the evil day: and that approach to the throne of iniquity.*<sup>39</sup>

The judges also will be interrogated on their judgments. They will be asked if they passed a corrupt judgment, and if they judged the cases more according to their desire rather than according to what is right and reasonable. The great judge will show them what justice is because that day will be a day of justice, a day reserved when true judgments will be made, as the prophet says. Amos V *Judgment shall be revealed as water, and justice as a mighty torrent.*<sup>40</sup>

38. Is. LII: 15.

39. Am. VI: 3.

40. Am. V: 24.

There will be such rigor of justice that bad judges will be all frightened. Job XII *He bringeth counsellors to a foolish end, and judges to insensibility.*<sup>41</sup> Also Isaiah I *They judge not for the fatherless: and the widow's cause cometh not in to them. Therefore, saith the Lord, the God of hosts, the mighty one of Israel: Ah! I will comfort myself over my adversaries: and I will be revenged of my enemies.*<sup>42</sup>

## Those who were in charge of administration

On that day those who were in charge of administering any kind of work will be forced to account **[66v]** for all their administration as the Gospel says. Luke XVI *Give an account of thy stewardship.*<sup>43</sup> If they took care of everything justly and loyally, then they will be honored for it and will be repaid in glory. In this can be understood what the Gospel says. Matthew XXV *Well done, good and faithful servant: because thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy lord.*<sup>44</sup> And on the contrary if they are found in fault, that is to say, that they have administered unjustly and falsely, or if they kept something for themselves, or did not give good accounting, they will be made responsible because God will give to each according to his deeds. They will be asked according to their status, especially those who are in the state of marriage, if they lived together in harmony and love, or if they hated each other. They will be asked if they were negligent in teaching their children and in punishing them, because by failing to do this, and

41. Jb. XII: 17.

42. Is. I: 23-24.

43. Lk. XVI: 2.

44. Mt. XXV: 21 and 23.

letting them do whatever they want, several will end badly, and the fault falls back upon the parents, and for this, they, the parents, will be severely punished. St. Augustine says that on the Day of Judgment each lord will be responsible for his servants and maids. And if he did not remove them from evil according to his power and bring them back to good, he will be held responsible in front of God.

## Lucifer and the devils of hell

On that day Lucifer will be led in front of God to receive the sentence of his damnation. Oh what horror it will be for all to see Lucifer in his horrible figure and in the great heat of the fire to which he will be subjected, fire that will be so great that it will burn everything around. So when he will be dragged out of his furnace of hell, the angels will tremble with fear and will be frightened. And Holy Scripture speaks of this. Job XLI *When he shall raise him up, the angels shall fear, and being affrighted, shall purify themselves.*<sup>45</sup> He was the first who by himself and without instigation of anyone committed sin in the sky against the kindness of God. He is the one who by his pride wanted to be equal to God and who raised himself over the angels, and drew behind him a large multitude of angels, and was the cause of their ruin. Apocalypse XII [*\*The dragon*] draws **[67r]** *the third part of the stars.*<sup>46</sup> He is the one who tempted Adam's wife and urged her to break the commandment of God. In doing so he brought ruin and destruction to the first parents and to the human race. He is the one who troubled the kingdoms of this world, and started

45. Jb. XLI: 16.

46. Ap. XII: 4. [\*] the anon. author uses the word *draco* (dragon) while the scripture reads: *cauda eius* (his tail).

wars and divisions among people, and tempted them, and made them fall through several sins and bad actions, and consequently he was the cause of their damnation as the Holy Scripture says. Isaiah XIII *Is this the man that troubled the earth, that shook kingdoms, that made the world a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof? [\*And later]... For thou hast destroyed thy land, thou hast slain thy people.*<sup>47</sup> And for this, according to the magnitude of his sin, and the evil by which he ruined so many creatures in the sky and on the earth, he will be damned horribly as the most damnable of all. So the angels of the sky will grieve, complain, and lament, but not on account of God's justice, for Lucifer was justly damned, but on account of the perpetration of his faults by which creatures are eternally damned. And because of this the angels will mourn, as God says through the prophet. Ezekiel XXXII *I will make all the lights of heaven to mourn over thee.*<sup>48</sup> And in front of all he will be thrown into hell as the Holy Scripture says. Job XLI *In the sight of all he shall be cast down.*<sup>49</sup> And furthermore because by his pride he raised himself above all others wanting to be equal to God, all the lower he will be brought down to the deepest place of hell. According to Isaiah XIII *I will ascend above the height of the clouds, I will be like the Most High. But yet thou shalt be brought down to hell, into the depth of the pit.*<sup>50</sup> There are the devils who tempted people and urged them to commit several sins which led them to perdition. According to the great multitude of bad actions they urged and caused people to commit, they will be horribly punished. And the apostle speaks of this. II Peter II *God spared not the Angels that sinned,*

47. Is. XIV: 16-17, 20. [\*] indicate the anon. author's words.

48. Ez. XXXII: 8.

49. Error in MS. It should be Jb XL: 28.

50. Is. XIV: 14-15.

but delivered them, drawn down with infernal ropes into hell to be tormented, to be reserved unto judgment.<sup>51</sup> [67v] [Figure 29] [68r]

## Pagans and Saracens

On that day the pagans and Saracens who have been without God and without law in this world, and who made idols and adored them as their gods, and all those who urged others to adore them and to sacrifice to them will be confounded, God will reproach them for having had other gods instead of himself. And he will say to them: “Where are now your gods whom you have trusted? Let them get up now and let them defend you.” Deuteronomy XXXII *Where are their gods, in whom they trusted?... Let them arise and help you, and protect you in your distress.*<sup>52</sup>

And precisely for good reason the Saracens and pagans will be mistreated and confounded because there is no such miserable sin under the sky, nor sin which offended God more than to make idols of gold, silver, and bronze, and believe that they are gods, and trust them more than God. So if man trusts another man more than God, he is despised according to the Holy Scripture. Jeremiah XVII *Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the Lord.*<sup>53</sup>

Those who trust idols are cursed by God all the more, and for this sin which is huge and becomes a grave insult and offense to God, they will be confounded for the idols to which they sacrificed as the Holy Scripture says. Isaiah I *For they shall be con-*

51. II Pt. II: 4.

52. Dt. XXXII: 37-38.

53. Jr. XVII: 5.

*founded for the idols, to which they have sacrificed.*<sup>54</sup> And so there will be no remedy for their damnation, and similarly those who will have committed themselves to the Antichrist, and who will have believed in him, and adored his image, will be confounded because the sin is similar to idolatry.

## The Jews and unbelievers

On that day God will condemn the Jews who received the law of God and who saw the marvelous works of God by obvious and manifest signs, who had more knowledge [68v] of God and did not serve, love and honor him, and did not keep his law. And what is worse, several of them adored the idols. Those, too, who saw our Lord Jesus Christ on earth and have seen the glory of the miracles of his divinity and refused to believe in him, or receive his preaching will be even more confounded because the Holy Spirit will accuse them of the sin of incredulity and for lack of faith as the Gospel says. John XVI *When the [\*Holy Spirit] comes, he will convince the world of sin, and of justice, and of judgment. Of sin indeed: because they have not believed in me.*<sup>55</sup> And in general, all other unbelievers who do not believe in our Lord Jesus Christ will be confounded there for their incredulity and are already judged as the Gospel says. John III *But he that doth not believe is already judged.*<sup>56</sup> That is to say, that the one who does not believe is already judged by the secret judgment of God, and he will be manifestly judged, and condemned, and damned by God, and God will spread his anger over him accord-

54. Is. I: 29.

55. John XVI: 8. [\* Holy Spirit] is added by the anon. author for clarification.

56. John III: 18.

ing to the Gospel. John III *But he that believeth not the Son, shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him.*<sup>57</sup>

The Jews also will be confounded for having persecuted and killed our Lord Jesus Christ. They hated and envied him for his miracles, and because he reproached them for their bad deeds and sins. When our Lord Jesus Christ will sit on the seat of his majesty he will show them the wounds of his hands and of his feet and of his side. According to St. Augustine in his Sermon II *De Symbolo: Perhaps the Lord kept the scars in his body in order to show his wounds to his enemies and prove them saying: Behold the man whom you crucified, behold the God and man in whom you did not want to believe. Look at the wounds, which you inflicted and know the side, which you punctured. Because of and through you and on account of you the side is open, nevertheless you desired not to enter.*<sup>58</sup> Also Apocalypse I *They shall see whom*

57. John III: 36.

58. "Fortassis (fortasse in PL) dominus in corpore suo cicatrices servavit ut inimicis suis vulnera sua demonstret et convincens eos dicat: Ecce hominem quem crucifixistis, ecce Deum et hominem in quem credere noluistis. Videtis vulnera quae inflixistis et agnoscitis latus quod pupugistis: quoniam et per vos et propter vos apertum est, nec tamen intrare voluistis." This passage is a reworking of Augustinus Hipponensis, 354-430, *Sermo II de symbolo*, cap. VIII in PL 40: 647. The Latin text is repeated in the old French text, because they are very similar, I am including only the English translation of the Latin. A similar translation is found in Augustine, serm. 145 A, "On the Gospel of John 20: 24-28, wherein Thomas Touched the Lord's Scars, on the Sunday after Easter," trans. Edmund Hill, *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century* (Brooklyn, NY: New City Press, 1992), III/4: 443. While the text is attributed to Augustine in PL, recent scholarship attributes it to Quodvultdeus of Carthage, died c. 453, *Sermo I: De symbolo I*, cap. 8, lin. 17, ed. René Braun (1976), CCSL 60: 325. Braun explains in his introduction that Quodvultdeus was Augustine's friend and correspondent and that some sermons, which included *Sermo II*

they have pierced. And all the tribes of the earth shall bewail themselves because of him.<sup>59</sup> Then the Jews will recognize him and will clearly see that he is the God of glory and the Saviour who had been promised to them in the law and sent from God the Father. And for having thus refused him, despised, hated, and persecuted him to death, they will be all confounded, and made faint, and [69r] they will complain, and lament bitterly for their cruelty. But it will be too late because they will not escape the judgment of God, but will be judged according to their obstinacy, disloyalty, and cruelty.

## Bad Christians

On that day the bad Christians will be tormented and be horribly treated more than all the others. This is because they had

*de symbolo*, were by Quodvultdeus (Introduction, p. v). The passage quoted in MS. Douce 134 resonated with several writers who believed erroneously that Augustine was the author. The passage is attributed to Augustine and quoted by Stephanus de Borbone, *Tractatus de diuersis materiis praedicabilibus* (prologus et prima pars), pars. 1, tit. 6, cap. 8, lin. 876, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002), CCCM 124: 224. Thomas Aquinas quotes the passage in three of his works and attributes them to Augustine's *De symbolo* in CT. See his *Catena aurea in Iohannem*, cap. 20, lec. 4, lin. 44, 5: 439; *Summa theologiae*, tertia pars, quae. 54, art. 4, lin. 25, 2: 854; and *Super Euangelium Iohannis reportatio*, cap. 20, lec. 6, lin. 125, 6: 356.

59. Ap. I: 7. In this passage the anon. author abbreviates the scripture. Ap. 1: 7 reads "Behold, he cometh with the clouds, and every eye shall see him, and they that pierced him. And all the tribes of the earth shall bewail themselves because of him: Even so: Amen." The anon. author uses the verb *transfigere* (to pierce a person through, transfix) while the Vulgate (Biblorum Sacrorum Iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam, Nova Editio, 1951) uses the verb, *pungere* (to prick, puncture, stab).

greater knowledge of God than all the others, because they had knowledge of the Holy Trinity above all others, and had the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the law of the Gospel, and received holy baptism, and the other sacraments, and because several did not recognize the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and did not love him, and did not keep his law, or live it like good Catholics they will have to account to a severe God. As the Gospel says to all men, to whom more is given, the more will be required from them. Luke XII *Unto whomsoever much is given, of him much shall be required.*<sup>60</sup> Because they will be guiltier and less excusable they will be punished more harshly than the others.

## The proud

On that day the proud of this world will be humiliated, because of their pride they have raised themselves above others, and have been so great and so haughty that none knew how to talk to them, if not by saying everything to their pleasure, otherwise the proud would have been moved to displeasure and would punish them. All of these will be brought down and confounded because the horror of the judgment will come down upon them as the prophet says. Isaiah II *The day of the Lord of hosts shall be upon every one that is proud and high-minded, and upon every one that is arrogant, and he shall be humbled.*<sup>61</sup>

60. Lk. XII: 48.

61. Is. II: 12.

## The bad rich

On that day the bad rich will be confounded, those who trust in their heart their wealth more than God, and who did not want to give to the poor of God who were in great need and were in anguish because of hunger and cold. They have let their wealth rot and decay, and for this God will spread his anger and furor over them as the apostle says. James V *Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted and your garments [69v] are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is rusted: and the rust of them shall be a testimony against you, and shall eat your flesh as fire. You have stored up to yourselves wrath against the last days.*<sup>62</sup> And thus for nothing they will have had their heart in their wealth because their gold and silver will not deliver them from the hand of God on the Day of Judgment. Ezekiel VII *Their silver and their gold shall not be able to deliver them in the day of the wrath of the Lord.*<sup>63</sup> Also Sophonias I *Neither shall their silver, and their gold be able to deliver them in the day of the wrath of the Lord.*<sup>64</sup> Also Proverbs XI *Riches shall not profit in the day of revenge.*<sup>65</sup>

## The lascivious and adulterers

On that day the lascivious will be confounded and severely treated, men and women who abandoned themselves to the sin of lasciviousness and to fornication and adultery, who broke their marriage vows and the marriage vows of others against

62. Jm. V: 1-3.

63. Ez. VII: 19.

64. Sph. I: 18.

65. Pro XI: 4.

God's commandment. So according to the importance of the sin and according to other circumstances, God will judge them as the apostle says. Hebrews XIII *For God will judge fornicators and adulterers.*<sup>66</sup>

## Thieves and plunderers

On that day the thieves of this world who worked hard at stealing mysteriously and secretly and did not care if they were seen or caught with their hand in the bag, will be discovered and seen by all because all will have to show up there. And there, their acts will come to light, and God will accuse them of the thefts, which they committed against his commandment, against their conscience, against reason, and against charity. Because they did no penance and did not return the stolen goods, because they have walked away with so many things that they could not return and had no desire to do so when they were in this world, because of this they will be sentenced to be hung on the gallows of hell. Zacharias V *Every thief shall be judged, as it is there written.*<sup>67</sup>

## Murderers

On that day the murderers will be confounded because they did not fear God and did not mind killing and murdering the creatures of God who were created in the image of God. They will be infamous, abominable, and loathsome to God and to the angels and to the saints of paradise. And according to their **[70r]** enormous sins and great cruelty they will be judged guilty and wor-

66. Heb. XIII: 4.

67. Zc. V: 3.

thy of death. Matthew V *Whoever shall kill, shall be liable to the judgment.*<sup>68</sup>

## **The perjurers and of those who keep the salary of their servants**

On that day those who practice sorcery, and those who cheat their servants and workers of their salary, and who oppress widows, orphans, and pilgrims will be punished because God will take revenge against them as it is said by the prophet. Malachi III *I will come to you in judgment, and will be a speedy witness against sorcerers, and adulterers, and false swearers, and them that oppress the hireling in his wages, the widows, and the fatherless: and oppress the stranger, and have not feared me, saith the Lord of hosts.*<sup>69</sup> And thus it must be understood of those who do not want to behave reasonably, nor do what they are obligated to do, but refuse to do so by malice and deception that they will be brought to judgment.<sup>70</sup> Psalm *But such as turn aside into bonds, the Lord shall lead out with the workers of iniquity.*<sup>71</sup>

## **The judgment of God will be severe and rigorous**

The judgment of God will be very severe and rigorous, and one is to be warned in several ways. First the rigor of divine justice will be so great that the just will hardly be saved as the apostle says. I Peter III *And if the just man shall scarcely be saved, where*

68. Mt. V: 21.

69. Ml. III: 5.

70. Words in parentheses have been added to clarify the text.

71. Ps. CXXIV: 5.

shall the wicked and the sinner appear?<sup>72</sup> That is to say, if the just are hardly saved, what will the wicked ones and sinners do? By consideration of this, there is no man as just as he may be who should not fear the judgment of God because in the examination of the severe judge the justice given to the just is not guaranteed. Isidore: *At the trial of the strict judge, even the right of a good man is not secure, were it not for the divine mercy, whereby each right-hearted man is made just by God, who justifies him.*<sup>73</sup> And Augustine: *Woe also to the praiseworthy life of man, if he were to be judged without mercy.*<sup>74</sup> And the reason why the justice of the just is not sure in front of God is because often what seems to be just to man is unjust in God's eyes, about this St. Gregory

72. I Pt. IV: 18.

73. "Ad districti examen iudicis nec iustitia iusti secura est, nisi pietate divina, (ut in PL) et ipsa iustitia, qua quisque iustus est, Deo iustificante, iustificetur." Isidorus Hispalensis, c. 560-636, *Sententiae*, lib. I, cap. XXVII in PL 83: 595. See also Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, lib. I, cap. 27, sent. 3, lin. 11, ed. Pierre Cazier (1998), CCSL 111: 83. The text is included and attributed to Isidore in Martinus Legionensis, 1130-1203, *Sermones*, serm. II in PL 208: 56.

74. "Ve (Vae in PL and LLT) etiam laudabili vite (vitae in PL and LLT) hominum, si remota misericordia iudicetur (iudicetur is replaced with discutias eam in PL and LLT)." Augustinus Hipponensis, 354-430, *Confessiones*, lib. IX, cap. XIII in PL 32: 778. Here the author of MS. Douce 134 manipulates a Latin phrase to support his own text. He uses the verb iudicetur, to judge, instead of Augustine's verb disputer, to shatter. Augustine's sentence reads "Woe even for the laudible life of man, if mercy having been removed you shatter it. A similar passage appears but is not attributed to Augustine in the following: Gregory I, 540-604, *Moralia in Job*, lib. 29, par. 18, lin. 88, ed. Marc Adriaen, CCSL 143B: 1457; Hincmarus Rhemensis (Hincmar), Archbishop of Reims, c. 806-882, *De praedestinatione*, cap. IX in PL 125: 96; and Aelredus Rieuallensis (Aelred of Rievaulx), c. 1110-1167, *De speculo caritatis*, lib. 1, cap. 34, lin. 1949, ed. Charles Hugh Talbot (1971), CCCM 1: 63.

says that our justice confronted with divine justice is injustice [70v] and some times what seems to be clear and shining in the thoughts of man is vile and abominable in front of the judge. Gregory: *For often our very righteousness itself, when brought to the test of God's righteous eye, proves unrighteousness, and that which is bright in the estimate of the doer, is foul in the Judge's searching sight.*<sup>75</sup> Also Isaiah LXIII *All our justices [are become] as the rag of a menstruous woman.*<sup>76</sup> All our justices are like dirty and abominable clothes.

Second, the rigor of divine justice will be so great that nothing will be able to help, neither science, nor prophecy, nor marvelous works, or miracles, if there are no good works. Of this our Lord says in the Gospel that on the Day of Judgment several will tell them: "Sire, did we not prophesy in your name, and did we not chase away the devils, and do various things?" And he will answer saying: "Surely I tell you that I never knew you. Go away from me, you who have done bad deeds." And therefore if those who have done such good deeds, such as prophesying in the name of God, and throwing out the devils, and doing several good deeds in the name of God, will be so reproached; no one

75. "Sepe (Saepe in CCSL and PL) (ipsa in CCSL and PL) iustitia nostra, ad examen diuine (diuinae in CCSL and PL) iustitiae (iustitiae in CCSL and PL) deducta, est iniustitia et plerumque (plerumque not in CCSL and PL) sordet in conspectus (distictione in CCSL and PL) iudicis quod in intentione (aestimatione in CCSL and PL) fulget operantis." Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob* lib. 5, par. 11, lin. 113, ed. Marc Adriaen (1979), CCSL 143: 232. Gregorius I, *Moralia in PL* 75: 690. S. Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job*, bk. V, par. 21 (xi), (1844), v. 1, pt. 1-2, 257. The passage is quoted and attributed to Gregory in Alulfus Tornacensis, died c. 1141 or 1144, *Expositio Novi Testamenti, Expositio super primam epistolam B. Pauli Apostoli ad Corinthios*, cap. XIV in PL 79: 1314.

76. Is. LXIV: 6.

must be sure about himself whatever good action he has done because he does not know if he is among the elect or not. Ecclesiastes IX *There are just men and wise men, and their works are in the hand of God: man knoweth not whether he be worthy of love, or hatred: but all things are kept uncertain for the time to come.*<sup>77</sup>

Gregory: Moreover all we know about our merits is uncertain, to help us keep humility as a certain grace.<sup>78</sup> And to understand better the rigor of the divine justice it must be known that on the Day of Judgment there will be only two kinds of people saved, that is to say, those who will have lived justly and have led a good and holy life, and the sinners who have repented early and have made penance [71r] and have given up their evil ways and amended their life by doing good works. And this is figured in the Holy Scripture in these two men who were carried to earthly paradise, that is to say, Enoch and Elijah. Enoch who was just represents the righteous, and Elijah who lived in great austerity represents repentant sinners.

Thirdly the rigor of divine justice can be considered in that God will not relent and show pity but will be all hardened against the bad. He will have neither pity nor compassion for them, nor for their cries, or for their pains or crying, when they will complain and cry bitterly because of their sadness. And although it will be pitiful to hear them cry and complain, however God will not pay attention, and will not hear their prayers as it is said in the Holy Scripture. Proverbs I *They shall call upon me, and I*

77. Ec. IX: 1-2.

78. "Adhuc (Ad hoc in CCSL and PL) cuncta nobis de meritis nostris incerta sunt, ut [unam in CCSL & PL] certam gratiam teneamus humilitatem." Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelam prophetam*, lib. 1, hom. 12, lin. 286, ed. Marc Adriaen (1971), CCSL 142: 192. See also Gregorius, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, lib. I, hom. XII in PL 76: 925.

will not hear.<sup>79</sup> According to what is said in the Gospel. [*\*Whereas the foolish virgins came saying:*] Lord, Lord, open to us. But he answering, said: Amen, I say to you, I know you not.<sup>80</sup> And Gregory: *The voice in tribulation findeth not Him, Whom the mind in tranquility disregarded.*<sup>81</sup> The reason why God will not have pity on the bad in their tribulation is because in their life they did not pay attention to him or to his words. He had his commandments announced, he gave the remedies so that they could be preserved from damnation if they had heeded those, but they did not pay attention and worse, they did the opposite. And he was patient, he waited and waited, but they did not move toward him, and did not listen to him. And for this reason he will not be moved to pity for all their clamors and crying, but will take consolation in **[71v]** submitting them to rigorous justice, and in taking vengeance against them as he says through the prophet. Isaiah I Ah! I will comfort myself over my adversaries: and I will be revenged of my enemies.<sup>82</sup> And Proverbs I I also will laugh in your destruction, and will mock when that shall come to you which you feared.<sup>83</sup>

Fourthly, the rigor of divine justice can be considered. God will be so rigorous against the bad that he will show them no mercy

79. Pr. I: 28.

80. Mt. XXV: 11-12. [\*] indicates the anon. writer's summary of the story in Latin.

81. "Vox in tribulatione non inuenit, quem mens in tranquillitate contempsit." Gregorius I, *Moralia in Job*, lib. 5, par. 43, lin. 8, ed. Marc Adriaen (1979), CCSL 143: 275. Gregorius I, *Moralia*, lib. V, cap. XLIII in PL 75: 723. S. Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job*, bk. V, par. 76 (xliii) (1844), v.1, pt. 1-2, 303. Passage quoted and attributed to Gregory in Lathcen, died 661, *Ecloga de Moraliibus Iob quas Gregorius fecit*, lib. 5, lin. 300, ed. Marc Adriaen (1969), CCSL 145: 52.

82. Is. I: 24.

83. Pr. I: 26.

and will not forgive a man no matter what prayer he makes to him as the Holy Scripture says. I Kings XV *But the Triumpher in Israel will not spare, and will not be moved to repentance: for he is not a man that he should repent.*<sup>84</sup> Also Proverbs VI *The jealousy and rage of the husband will not spare in the day of revenge. Nor will he yield to any man's prayers.*<sup>85</sup> That is to say the zeal and desire of justice and the furor of God will spare nothing on the day of revenge, and he will not answer the prayers of anyone. About this it must be said that if the Virgin Mary and all the saints of paradise prayed to God for a bad person after the sentence of damnation—these prayers would not be answered. If God at the time of his mercy warned the prophet saying that he should not pray for this people and that he should not resist him because “I will not answer” (surely he will not listen to their prayers now).<sup>86</sup> Jeremiah VII *Do not pray for this people, nor take to thee praise and supplication for them, and do not withstand me: for I will not hear thee.*<sup>87</sup> Furthermore God at the time of his fury will not answer the prayer of any of the saints for any of the damned. And for this there will be no angel or saint daring to speak for a bad person, nor to defend him, whoever he may be. Job IX *If equity of judgment be demanded, no man dare bear witness for me.*<sup>88</sup>

Fifthly, the rigor of divine justice will be so great that in judgment God will accept no one regardless of the state of dignity he may have, and he will not be pacified [72r] by gifts, nor by

84. Error in MS. It should be I Samuel XV: 29.

85. Pr. VI: 34-35.

86. Words in parentheses are added to clarify the text.

87. Jr. VII: 16.

88. Jb. IX: 19. Job clarifies his dilemma in verse 20: “If I would justify myself, my own mouth shall condemn me: if I would shew myself innocent, he shall prove me wicked.”

oblations any more than he is now pacified by such things, and of this the Holy Scripture speaks. Proverbs VI *The jealousy and rage of the husband will not spare in the day of revenge, ...nor will he accept for satisfaction ever so many gifts.*<sup>89</sup> That is to say, on the day of vengeance God will not receive gifts or presents as a ransom for anyone. Bernard in his prose: *He indeed will judge rightly and he will accept no person, and he will not be corrupted by gifts nor will he be bent by prayers.*<sup>90</sup> That is to say, God will judge justly, and will accept no one, and will not be corrupted by gifts, and will not be bent by prayers, and so there will be no remedy.

Sixthly, the rigor of divine justice means that God will not give any man reprieve, nor time of respite, not even for an hour to

89. Pro VI: 34-35.

90. "Juste siquidem iudicabit non personam acceptabit nec pretio corumpetur nec precibus flectetur." Text found, author unknown in *Lateinische hymnen des mittelalters*, ed. Franz Joseph Mone (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1853), 1: 416; *Thesaurus hymnologicus*, ed. Hermann Adalbert Daniel (Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1855), 4: 200; also in Samuel Willoughby Duffield, completed by Robert Ellis Thompson, *Latin Hymn-Writers and Their Hymns* (New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls, 1889), 381. F. J. Mone notes the resemblance of this hymn's meter and theme to *Dies irae* traditionally ascribed to Thomas of Celano, died 1260. A similar passage appears in Bernardus Claraeuallensis, 1090-1153, *Epistulae*, epist. 1, par. 7, lin. 7, ed. Jean Leclercq and Henri Rochais, *Opera omnia* (Romae: Editiones Cistercienses, 1974-1978), 7: 6: "Iudex ille nec fallitur verbis, nec flectetur donis." Bruno Scott James translates the passage: "He will then be judge who can neither deceive nor be deceived by words and who cannot be bribed by gifts." *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. Bruno Scott James (Chicago, IL: Henry Regnery Co., 1953), letter 1, par. 7, 5. The phrase, "he will accept/ receive no person" is quoted again later in the manuscript when Deut. 10: 17 is cited on folio 72 verso, see Hell IV, n. 101.

repent, and to amend his life. He cannot return later before him to have his sentence changed, and to find mercy and grace in front of him as he does now from time to time, because then the time he will have granted will be finished and passed. And so the bad will never have the time to do so. The rigor of divine justice will have to run its course over them without any remedy, because all the remedies they could have will be over and won't take place.

Seventhly, the rigor of divine justice may be considered according to what God says. He speaks of taking vengeance on the bad, as we read in the Holy Scripture. Deuteronomy XXXII *I will render vengeance to my enemies, and repay them that hate me. I will make my arrows drunk with blood, and my sword shall devour flesh.*<sup>91</sup> Also Isaiah LIX *He put on the garments of vengeance, and was clad with zeal as with a cloak. As unto revenge, as it were to repay wrath to his adversaries, and a reward to his enemies.*<sup>92</sup> Also Isaiah LXII *For the day of vengeance is in my heart, the year of my redemption is come.*<sup>93</sup> [72v] Also Hosea X *According to my desire I will chastise them.*<sup>94</sup> Also Nahum I *The Lord is a revenger, and hath wrath.*<sup>95</sup> These authorities state that God will take revenge against the bad. Oh how great will be this revenge considering that the one who will take revenge is all powerful, because his revenge will be according to his power, and will be according to the great desire he will have to take revenge, and no one will be able to resist him as the Holy Scripture says. Job IX *God, whose wrath no man can resist.*<sup>96</sup> Also Isa-

91. Dt. XXXII: 41-42.

92. Is. LIX: 17-18.

93. Error in MS. It should be Is. LXIII: 4.

94. Ho. X: 10.

95. Nh I: 2.

96. Jb. IX: 13.

iah LXVII *I will take revenge, and no man shall resist me.*<sup>97</sup> Also Wisdom XI *Who shall resist the strength of thy arm?*<sup>98</sup> And so, by these things it appears that great will be the rigor of the divine justice.

## The judgment of God will be right and just

The judgment of God will be so right and so just that it could not be more correct. The judgments of men are occasionally perverted by allegations that appear to be right but are wrong, and accomplished by favors to persons, or by gifts, or by fear of incurring the indignation of some. But the judgment of God will not be perverted by such things, or by allegation. Isaiah XI *He shall not judge according to the sight of the eyes, nor reprove according to the hearing of the ears.*<sup>99</sup> His judgments will be beyond human understanding. I Peter I *Who without respect of persons, judgeth according to every one's work.*<sup>100</sup> Nor shall he judge by gifts. Deuteronomy X *A great God, and mighty and terrible, who accepeth no person, nor taketh bribes.*<sup>101</sup> Nor shall he judge by fear. Job XLII *Shall he reprove thee for fear, and come with thee into judgment?*<sup>102</sup> And so in any manner whatsoever the judgment of God will not be perverted and will be just.

To make a just judgment, God will consider what each person has done or thought. He will consider the courage of the heart and the intention of the thought in order to give each one what

97. Error in MS. It should read Is. XLVII: 3.

98. Ws. XI: 22.

99. Is. XI: 3.

100. I Pt. I: 17.

101. Dt. X: 17. See Hell IV, note 90, St. Bernard expresses the same idea.

102. Error in MS. It should be Jb. XXII: 4.

he has deserved. Psalm God hath spoken once, these two things have I heard, that power belongeth to God, and mercy to thee, O Lord; for thou wilt render to every man according to his works.<sup>103</sup>

Also Jeremiah XXXII Your eyes are open upon all the ways of the children of Adam, to render unto every one according to his ways, and according to the fruit of his devices.<sup>104</sup>

Also Matthew XVI The Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father, with his angels: and then will he render to every man according to his works.<sup>105</sup>

Also Romans I On the day...the just judgment of God, who will render to every man according to his works.<sup>106</sup>

Also II Corinthians V For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that everyone may receive the proper things of the body, [73r] according as he hath done, whether it be good or evil.<sup>107</sup>

Also Apocalypse XX And another book was opened, which is the book of life: and the dead were judged by those things which were written in the books, according to their works...and they were judged every one according to their works.<sup>108</sup>

These authorities state that God will judge each person according to his works. And the justice of God will not be able to judge otherwise but according to what each person has deserved by his works. According to Bernard The justice of God is not able to make any other judgment than the one your works deserve.<sup>109</sup> And it could not be done more justly. If God

103. Ps. LXI: 12-13.

104. Jr. XXXII: 19.

105. Mt. XVI: 27.

106. Error in MS. It should be Rm. II: 5-6.

107. II Cor. V: 10.

108. Ap. XX: 12-13.

109. "Justitia Dei aliud judicare non potest, nisi quod merentur opera tua (nostra in PL)." Bernardus Claraevallensis, 1090-1153, (author uncertain), *Meditationes de humana conditione*, cap. III in PL 184: 491. This is not included in Bernard's authenticated works in the LLT. A similar passage is by Caesarius Arelatensis, c. 469-542: "Non tibi poterit

wanted to judge otherwise rather than according to each person's works, he would seem to want to act contrary to what he said in the Holy Scripture. And he will not subvert justice as the Holy Scripture says. Job XXXIII For, in very deed, God will not condemn without cause, neither will the Almighty pervert judgment.<sup>110</sup> Furthermore, to show that the judgment of God will be right and just, it must be said that God considers subtly how many good deeds man has done and how many bad things. It will be as if everything were weighed in a scale, that is to say, the good deeds on one side and the bad deeds on the other. Thus God considers if the good deeds exceed the bad deeds or the bad deeds the good ones. And this judgment must be feared by those who have done bad deeds and few good deeds. And God considers especially in what state man ended his life, if he is in a state of grace or in mortal sin, because according to the state in which he will be God will judge him. *Where I find you, there I will judge you.*<sup>111</sup> [\[Figure 30\]](#) [\[73v\]](#)

## Christ will rebuke the bad and remind them of his

praestare iustitia mea, nisi quod merentur opera tua" (My justice for you will not be executed, if your work does not merit it). See Caesarius Arelatensis, *Sermones ex integro a Caesario compositi uel ex aliis fontibus hausti*, serm. 31, cap. 4, lin. 47, ed. Germain Morin (1953), CCSL 103: 138. A similar passage occurs in Audoenus Rothomagensis, c. 609-c. 683, *Vita S. Eligii*, lib. II, cap. XV in PL 87: 545. I cannot verify the authorship of the passage.

110. Jb. XXXIV: 12.

111. "Ubi te invenio ibi te iudicabo." Author uncertain, *Gesta pontificum Cameracensium*, *Gesta Gerardi II Episcopi* in PL 149: 196B. Appears in Sigismondo Scaccia, fl. 1520, *Tractatus de sentential et re iudicata liber III de iudiciis*, glos. 7, quaest. 4, spec. 2, ed. Wilhelm von Metternich (Cologne: Wilhelm Metternich [et] filli, 1738), 189. Author unknown.

## incarnation and Passion

On that day our Lord Jesus Christ will remind the bad of the benefits of his incarnation and Passion saying: “As I was God I humiliated myself so that I made myself man and took the form of a servant for you. Where is the service that you gave me? I suffered death and the Passion and I spilled my blood to redeem you from the death of hell and to save you, and by your fault you are not saved. You cost me dearly to have you, and you did not pay attention to me. I suffered so much for you, and you did not want to suffer, neither for me nor for yourself in penance. I had freed you from death, and again because of your sins you forced yourself to die.” Jerome: *The cross of Christ will fight against you. Christ through his wounds will testify against you. His scars will speak against you and his nails will complain against you.*<sup>112</sup>

Also our Lord Jesus Christ will address and reason with the bad and he will say to them: “I gave myself to you an example of humility, of patience, obedience and charity, austerity of life, penance and poverty. I had revealed and shown you the road to salvation and you did not want to keep this way, nor take pains in reaching the glory of paradise, but you gave your heart more to the goods of this world than to the good of glory.”

112. “Crux xpi (Christi) contra te pugnabit (perorabit in CCCM). Xps (Christus) per vulnera sua contra te allegabit. Cicatrices contra te loquentur et clavi de te conquerentur.” The passage does not appear in Jerome’s works in the LLT, however he is acknowledged as the author by Stephanus De Borbone, died 1261, *Tractatus de diuersis materiis predicabilibus* (prologus et prima pars), pars. 1, tit. 6, cap. 10, lin. 1218, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002), CCCM 24: 237. The passage is also attributed to Jerome in Humbertus de Romanis, c. 1194-1277, *Tractatus de dono timoris*, cap. 6, lin. 424, ed. Christine Boyer (2008), CCCM 218: 122.



# Hell V [73v-92r]

## Christ will oppose the saints against the sinners

Our Lord Jesus Christ will oppose the saints against the sinners to their confusion. And this is expressed in the Holy Scripture. Job X *Thou renewest thy witnesses against me.*<sup>1</sup> [He will say to them]: “You were not like my saints that you see here. They were sweet and humble, and you were haughty and proud. They obeyed my commandments and fulfilled my wishes, and you always did what I prohibited. They loved, served and honored me, and you did not pay attention to me. They had their heart lifted toward me, and you pushed me back, [74r] and you fled away from me. They did good deeds, and you did nothing but bad deeds. They were elevated in spirit and led spiritual lives, and you led only carnal lives. They labored to obtain the glory of paradise and eternal goods, and you loved and sought more earthly and transitory goods. And because of all this you are not worthy to be in their company, nor do you deserve it, but you deserve to go to hell.”<sup>2</sup> [Figure 31] [74v]

## With God the saints will judge the bad

On the Day of Judgment our Lord Jesus Christ will want the saints to speak their opinion about the sinners. They will have to give their judgment. And the Holy Scripture speaks of this in sev-

1. Jb. X: 17.

2. This paragraph is a reworking of Mt. XXV: 35-46 in which Christ contrasts the deeds of the sinners with those of the saints.

eral places. Wisdom III *They shall judge the nations and rule over the people.*<sup>3</sup> Also Psalm *To execute upon them the judgment that is written: this glory is to all his saints.*<sup>4</sup> Also I Corinthians VI *Know you not that the saints shall judge this world?*<sup>5</sup> These authorities say that among the saints the apostles who are the more worthy will be the main judges, because our Lord Jesus Christ promised them when they were still in this world. Matthew XIX *Amen, I say to you, that you, who have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit on the seat of his majesty, you also shall sit on twelve seats, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.*<sup>6</sup> Also Luke XII *Therefore they shall be your judges.*<sup>7</sup> And not only will they judge the sinners but they will also judge the devils as the apostle says. I Corinthians V *Know you not that we shall judge angels? How much more things of this world!*<sup>8</sup>

And it will be to the great confusion of the enemies of hell that they will see themselves judged by men, that is to say, by the apostles of Jesus Christ. The judgment of the bad that the apostles and saints will make will be in approving the judgment of God and in reproaching the bad by saying: “Sire, God, your judgment is just because they did not apply themselves to keep your commandments, nor are they worthy to deserve eternal life. Because they did bad deeds and persevered in them until their death, they are worthy of death.” The angels also will approve the judgment of God as the Holy Scripture says. Apocalypse XVI *And I heard the Angel of the waters, saying: Thou art just, O Lord, who are, and who wast the holy one, [75r] who hast judged these*

3. Ws. III: 8.

4. Ps. CXLIX: 9.

5. I Cor. VI: 2.

6. Mt. XIX: 28.

7. Error in MS. It should be Lk. XI: 19.

8. Error in MS. It should be I Cor. VI: 3.

things. [\*And later it follows] And I heard another [\*angel] from the altar saying: Yea O Lord God Almighty, true and just are thy judgments.<sup>9</sup> God will want all to pronounce their sentence. The bad will be judged by several and all. Thus the damnation of the bad will appear to be all the more just. [Figure 32] [75v]

Oh what pain and sadness, what anguish and distress, what bitterness of heart, and discomfort, what sighs, and moans, what shame, and confusion will the evil ones have at this hour when there will be no one to speak for them. All will be against them. They will be thus blamed from all sides, judged and reproached by all, and they will see themselves made destitute, and deprived of all help and of all remedy. Oh what sadness they will have when they will see the saints in such brightness and dignity ready and prepared to go and live with God and the angels in the glory of paradise. Those condemned by God have lost this dignity, and they will have to go and live in hell with the devils in pains and torments forever, without end.

## The sentence of damnation against the sinners

When God will have heard the judgment of all, then he will give the sentence of damnation against the sinners. This sentence will be like a violent stream against which no one can resist. Isaiah LIX *He will repay the like to the islands. And they from the west, shall fear the name of the Lord: and they from the rising of the sun, his glory: when he shall come as a violent stream, which the spirit of the Lord driveth on.*<sup>10</sup> Also Daniel VII *A swift stream*

9. Ap. XVI: 5 and 7. [\*] indicate additions by anon. author of MS. Douce 134.

10. Is. LIX: 18-19. Verse 19 quoted also in Hell IV, n. 92.

of fire issued forth from before him,<sup>11</sup> because this sentence will be given in burning anger and like devouring fire. This sentence also will be like thunder striking the bad like lightning. Zechariah IX *And his dart shall go forth as lightning.*<sup>12</sup> Also Job XXVI *Seeing we have heard scarce a little drop of his word; who shall be able to behold the thunder of his greatness?*<sup>13</sup> This sentence is compared to a cutting sword. The sword coming out of the mouth of Jesus Christ is the sentence of the judge. Apocalypse I *From his mouth came out a sharp two-edged sword.*<sup>14</sup> The sentence of the judge will cut the bad to death in body and soul. For this is said that this sword is sharp on one side and sharp on the other to strike the body and soul. Apocalypse XIX *Out of his mouth proceedeth a sharp two-edged sword: that with it he may strike the Gentiles.*<sup>15</sup> With this sentence the damned will be all faint, and driven mad, and will shriek loudly, and will send clamors up [76r] to the sky.

And it must be known that this sentence was raised and provoked in the heart of God against the sins since the time that each one of them began to sin mortally. And as many times as the sins have increased and continued, as many times this sentence has been more and more confirmed in the secret [heart] of God. The form of this sentence is written in the Gospel. Matthew XXV *Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which was prepared for the devil and his angels.*<sup>16</sup> That is to say, go away from me, you cursed ones, and go into the eternal fire that is prepared for the devil and his angels. Oh what shame and confusion will be to the sinners because they will be thus condemned

11. Dn. VII: 10. Passage quoted in Hell IV, n. 2.

12. Zc. IX: 14.

13. Jb. XXVI: 14.

14. Ap. I: 16.

15. Ap. XIX: 15.

16. Mt. XXV: 41.

to eternal death. If a thief is condemned to be hung is infamous, much more infamous will be the sinners for they will be thus damned. Never was such shame or such confusion in this world than to be damned in hell forever. This sentence will proceed from all of the Trinity, but our Lord Jesus Christ will pronounce the words. John V *He hath committed all judgment to the Son.*<sup>17</sup> This sentence of damnation will be irrevocable because it will never be revoked but will remain eternally firm and fixed. Isaiah XXX *And the passage of the rod shall be strongly grounded, which the Lord shall make to rest upon him.*[\*The rod is the sentence of damnation; the passing of this rod is the course or promulgation whose passage will be grounded firm and stable forever because the Lord will make that sentence to stay and remain over such a sinner].<sup>18</sup> [Figure 33] Latin text in picture: *Discedit maledicti in ingem aeternum.* (Mt. 25:41 *Depart bad ones into the eternal fire.*) [76v]

## The separation of the bad from the good

Immediately after the sentence will be passed, the bad will be on their way to the place which is prepared for them, and the good will go up to heaven with God and the angels, and thus they will be separated. Oh the harsh separation, they will never be together as they were in this world. This separation will be forever. In this world the good have been with the bad and the bad with the good, but after the sentence of God they will be so separated the ones from the others that never the good will be with the bad, nor the bad with the good. And the Gospel speaks of this. Luke XVI *And between us and you there is fixed a great*

17. Jn. V: 22.

18. Is. XXX: 32. [\*] indicate commentary by the anon. author.

*chaos: so that they who would pass from hence to you, cannot, nor from thence come hither.*<sup>19</sup>

Oh the painful separation, what complaints, what clamors will be heard from the damned altogether. Oh what howlings, moanings and cryings will come from the damned. Such a thing was never seen or heard before. Oh how upset, troubled, faint they will be to be so separated from the joyous company of God and angels. And they will thus be delivered and taken to the hideous, frightening company of the devils. From this they will be all angered, driven mad, and made desperate. Psalm *The wicked shall see, and shall be angry, he shall gnash with his teeth, and pine away.*<sup>20</sup> Also Wisdom V *These seeing it, shall be troubled with terrible fear...and groaning for anguish of spirit.*<sup>21</sup> Of this separation the angels will regret and will cry bitterly as the prophet says. Isaiah XXXIII *Behold, they that see shall cry without: the angels of peace shall weep bitterly.*<sup>22</sup> The angels will cry not of the justice of God but of the fact that the bad will be so separated from their company because of their bad deeds. And although it will be painful to them to enter into hell, however according to the opinion of some, they will suffer more from being separated from God and from the company of the angels and saints than from the fact that they will have lost the glory of paradise. According to Gregory: *They will suffer not so much from the torment, [77r] as from being separated from union or partnership [with God].*<sup>23</sup>

19. Lk. XVI: 26. "Chaos" is replaced with "chasm" in the New English Bible, and "great gulf" in the Jerusalem Bible.

20. Ps. CXI: 10.

21. Ws. V: 2-3.

22. Is. XXXIII: 7.

23. "Non tantum dolebunt de tormento, quam quod a tali separabuntur consortio." The words in brackets indicate my interpolation. The pas-

## The descent of the bad into hell

So, without further delay the sinners will be forced to go into hell—and to shorten their path the earth will open. About which the prophet speaking of the advent of God on the Day of Judgment said that the Mount of Olives will split. Zechariah XIII *And the mount of Olives shall be divided in the midst thereof to the east, and to the west with a very great opening.*<sup>24</sup> And this agrees with our subject because this mountain is next to the Valley of Jehoshaphat where the Day of Judgment will be held, and the fact that this mountain will be split will not be without cause but to shorten the path of the damned. And thus they will descend suddenly into hell. This thing is signified in the Apocalypse in that the angel took a big stone like a millstone and let it fall into the sea saying: “Thus suddenly Babylon will be thrown,” that is to say, the confused multitude of the damned. Apocalypse XVIII *And a mighty Angel took up a stone, as it were a great mill-stone, and cast it into the sea, saying: With this violence shall Babylon, that great city, be thrown down and shall now be found no more.*<sup>25</sup>

sage is not found in the authenticated works of Gregory in the LLT. A similar passage (not attributed to Gregory) appears in Walafridus Strabo, c. 808–849, *Apocalypsis B. Joannis*, cap. I in PL 114: 711. A similar passage is attributed to Gregory in Stephanus de Borbone, *Tractatus de diuersis materiis praedicabilibus* (prologus et prima pars), pars. 1, tit. 4, cap. 8, lin. 1466, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002), CCCM 124: 121. The passage appears also in Humbertus de Romanis, c. 1194–1277, *Tractatus de dono timoris*, cap. 4, lin. 750, ed. Christine Boyer (2008), CCCM 218: 72. Humbertus does not attribute the passage to Gregory but to a gloss on Apocalypse 1. The verb “separabuntur” is replaced with “repellentur” (driven away, spurned) in Walafridus Strabo, Stephanus de Borbone and Humbertus de Romanis.

24. Zc. XIV: 4.

25. Ap. XVIII: 21.

And in fact God showed it in some time passed that the earth will open. About this we read in the Holy Scripture that when the Hebrew people were in the desert, some of the people rose in pride, and rebelled against Moses. And God said to Moses: “Order all the people to move away from the tabernacles of Chore, Dathon and Abyron.” And Moses said to the people to move away from the tabernacles of the bad men, and not to touch anything that belongs to them so that they would not be enveloped in their sins. Immediately the people moved away from their lands with their wives and children. And Moses said: “In this you will know that God sent me to do the things you see, and that I have not imagined them in my heart. If they die the common death [77v] of men, God did not send me. Otherwise if God does something new, that is to say, the earth opens and swallows them and all the things that belong to them, and they descend into hell, know that they blamed God.”<sup>26</sup> Know that as soon as he [Moses] stopped talking, the earth was broken under their feet, and it opened its throat and devoured them, and swallowed them along with their tabernacles and all their belongings, and they went down alive into hell, and died crushed together. And know that as they were between two earths going down into hell they cried with great clamors. And know that the others who were still on earth, as if all faint from the opening of the earth and from the cries of those descending into hell, fled saying, “Let us leave from here for fear that the earth might swallow us.” And here we have a sign that on that Day of Judgment the earth will open to shorten the way of the damned. [[Figure 34](#)] [78r misnumbered as 77r]

26. The Biblical account of the rebellion and destruction of Core (Chore), Dathan (Dathon), and Abiron (Abyron) is found in Numbers 16: 1-50.

## The remedies necessary for man to be spared from the horror of the Day of Judgment

[Such remedies] are necessary so that no one be discouraged when hearing the things exposed above concerning the Day of Judgment, which are horrible things to hear and more terrible to see. [Such remedies] are necessary so that no one be deceived by ignorance and as a consequence neglect to provide for one's lot, because for failing to find a remedy, man could incur the horribleness of judgment, and consequently go down into hell with the damned. This is something that every man must hold in horror and fear above all things. Some remedies can be offered through which man can be preserved from all this horribleness. He will be without peril if he wants to help himself with the remedies that are to be told. On the contrary, if man does not take them into account and does not want to understand nor take care of himself, in due time he will not be protected from peril, and harm may over come him. And when he will want to take care of himself he will no longer be able to do it, especially if he waits until he reaches the point when he is about to pass from illness to death, or when signs appear that will precede the Day of Judgment. Then it will be too late to save himself when the judge will ring at his door to call him to his judgment, because he will have already been accused and convicted by the judge.

The first remedy necessary for man to be preserved from the anger, and indignation of God, and the rigor of his justice on the Day of Judgment is to convert to God in lamentation, tears, fasting and other works of penance. And to do this God advises us to convert to him in penance as a singular remedy. Joel II *For the day of the Lord is great and very terrible: and who can stand it? [\*And later it follows.] Now, therefore, saith the Lord: Be converted to me with all your heart, in fasting, and in weeping, and mourning. And rend your hearts, and not your garments, [78v]*

and turn to the Lord your God: for he is gracious and merciful, patient and rich in mercy and ready to repent of the evil.<sup>27</sup> Also Sophonias I The voice of the day of the Lord is bitter, the mighty man shall there meet with tribulation. That day is a day of wrath, a day of tribulation and distress...[\*And later it follows.] Assemble yourselves together, be gathered together, O nation not worthy to be loved: Before the decree bring forth the day as dust passing away, before the fierce anger of the Lord come upon you, before the day of the Lord's indignation come upon you.<sup>28</sup>

By these authorities admonition is made to turn around and to convert to God with all one's heart in contrition, in fasting, crying, and moaning before the furor of God overcomes people. All these things are easy to do, however each person must incite himself to do it if he wants to be preserved from the horribleness of the Day of Judgment. The one who does nothing does not take good care of himself, because without penance he will not be able to escape from the rigor of divine justice. According to Gregory: *The wrath to come is [the penalty of the final punishment] [\*the vengeance of God]. The sinner who does not now hasten back to sorrow and repentance will not be able to flee the wrath later.*<sup>29</sup>

27. Jl. II: 11-13. [\*] indicates anon. author's interpolation.

28. Sph. I: 14-15 and II: 1-2. [\*] indicates anon. author's interpolation.

29. "Ventura [enim in CCSL and PL] ira est [animaduversio ultionis ultimate punishment in CCSL and PL] extreme (extremae in PL, CCSL, and CCCM), quam tunc fugere peccator non ualet, qui nunc ad lamenta poenitentiae (poenitentiae in PL, *Vetus Latina*, and CT; paenitentiae in CCCM ) non recurrit." Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in euangelia*, lib. 1, hom. 20, lin. 136, ed. Raymond Étaix (1999), CCSL 141: 159. See also Gregory I, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, lib. I, hom. XX in PL 76: 1163. Translation from *Gregory the Great: Forty Gospel Homilies*, trans. David Hurst (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1990), 40. Note hom. 20 in CCSL and PL corresponds to hom. 6 in Hurst's translation of Gregory's *Forty Gospel Homilies*. [ ] indicate words omitted from Gregory's text

Also Ecclesiasticus II *If we do not do penance, we shall fall into the hands of the Lord.*<sup>30</sup> And to fall into the hands of God is greatly to be feared. Hebrews X *It is a dreadful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.*<sup>31</sup>

And for this reason each person must convert to God in fasting, in crying, and penance whenever it is possible, because God is benign, full of mercy, and ready to forgive one who converts to him without delay and cries for mercy from him with all his heart. In order to convert man must examine his conscience, and confess his sins, and show contrition. By doing so man escapes the judgment of God. I Corinthians XI *If we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged.*<sup>32</sup> Also Ecclesiasticus XVIII *Before sickness take a medicine, and before judgment examine thyself, and thou shalt find mercy in the sight of God.*<sup>33</sup> It is also required that he makes worthy penance, because by doing penance man escapes the horrible Day of Judgment according to the Gospel. Luke III *Ye offspring of vipers, who hath shewed you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth, therefore, fruits worthy*

which were edited by the anon. author. [\*] indicate insertion of anon. author's words. The passage is found but not attributed to Gregory in Beda, 672-735, *In Evangelium S. Lucae*, lib. I, cap. III in PL 92: 352; Hrabanus Maurus, 780-856, *Expositio in Matthaeum*, lib. 1, lin. 32, ed. Bengt Löfstedt (2000), CCCM 174: 78; and in Sedulius Scotus, *In evangelium Matthaei*, lib. 1, cap. 3, vers. 7, lin. 17, ed. Bengt Löfstedt in *Vetus Latina, Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel* (Freiburg: Herder, 1989), 14: 95. Thomas Aquinas, c. 1224-1274, attributes a similar passage to Gregory in his *Catena aurea in Lucam*, cap. 3, lec. 3, lin. 69 in *Commentaria in Scripturas*, in CT, 5: 293. [\*] indicates anon. author's comment.

30. Ecli. II: 22.

31. Heb. X: 31.

32. I Cor. XI: 31.

33. Ecli. XVIII: 20.

of penance.<sup>34</sup> Otherwise for failing to do penance man incurs the horribleness of the Day of Judgment as the apostle says. Romans II *But according to thy hardness, and impenitent heart, thou treasurest up to thyself wrath, against the day of wrath, and revelation of the just judgment of God.*<sup>35</sup>

Secondly, it is necessary for man to prepare for the advent of Christ by confession, prayers, gifts, and by having Masses said so that God will be appeased, and man will be reconciled with God before his coming. And this is said in the Gospel. Luke XIII *Or else whilst the other is yet afar off, sending an embassy, he desireth conditions of peace.*<sup>36</sup> Also II Corinthians V *We are, therefore ambassadors for Christ, God as it were exhorting by us. For Christ, we beseech you, be ye reconciled to God.*<sup>37</sup>

**[79r]** The third thing necessary is that man must be careful not to offend God. And of this the prophet warns. Isaiah II *The day of the Lord of hosts shall be upon every one that is proud and high-minded, and upon every one that is arrogant, and he shall be humbled. [\* And later it follows.] Cease ye, therefore, from the man, whose breath is in his nostrils, for he is reputed high.*<sup>38</sup>

After the prophet has spoken of the Day of Judgment he continues admonishing to be careful not to offend God so that we are preserved from incurring his anger, indignation, and his horrible revenge on the Day of Judgment. Otherwise if he does not

34. Lk. III: 7-8.

35. Rm. II: 5. The Jerusalem Bible Rm. II: 4-5 reads: "are you abusing his abundant goodness, patience and toleration, not realizing that this goodness of God is meant to lead you to repentance? Your stubborn refusal to repent is only adding to the anger God will have toward you on that day of anger when his just judgments will be made known."

36. Lk. XIV: 32.

37. II Cor. V: 20.

38. Is. II: 12 and 22. [\*] indicate an interjection by anon. author. Is. II: 12 was quoted in Hell IV, n. 61.

avoid offending him, man will not be able to escape this horrible punishment, even if he makes penance of the offenses he committed. And among the evil actions from which we must flee, our Lord Jesus Christ especially warns to withdraw from living carnally. Luke XXI *And take heed to yourselves, lest perhaps your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and the cares of this life: and that day come upon you suddenly.*<sup>39</sup>

The fourth thing necessary if man wants to escape the horrible judgment of God is to do good works such as works of mercy. For such works he will be freed, protected, and preserved from harm on the Day of Judgment. And the Holy Scripture speaks of this. Psalm *Blessed is he that understandeth concerning the needy and the poor: the Lord will deliver him in the evil day.*<sup>40</sup> That is to say, that the fortunate and blessed are those who attend to the poor to help them, because on the bad day, that is to say, on the Day of Judgment, God will free him from harm, and this agrees with what was said above. To those who will have done works of mercy Jesus Christ will say: “Come you blessed ones of my Father, receive the kingdom that has been prepared for you since the beginning of the world. I was hungry and you fed me, and did other works of mercy. And when you did this to one of my poor ones you did it for me.”<sup>41</sup>

The fifth thing necessary for man who wants to escape the horribleness of the judgment is to be on the look out, meaning [79v] that he should keep himself in a righteous state, be ready at all hours to receive our Lord when he will come. Be awake, as our Lord admonishes us. Luke XII *And you yourselves like to men who wait for their lord, when he shall return from the wedding:*

39. Lk. XXI: 34.

40. Ps. XL: 2.

41. Mt. XXV: 34-35, 40, passage quoted earlier in Hell IV, n. 61 and alluded to in Hell V, n. 2.

that when he cometh, and knocketh, they may open to him immediately.<sup>42</sup> By waking and being ready and in a righteous state at all times we will be preserved from the horrible judgment as our Lord says in the Gospel. Luke XXI *Watch ye, therefore, praying at all times, that you may be accounted worthy to escape all these things that are to come, and to stand before the Son of man.*<sup>43</sup> Failing to be awake and to keep in a righteous state, man will be unprepared for God; it cannot be otherwise. Because at the time when he will not expect it and will be occupied with other things, God will come to him, that is to say, by sending him the illness of death at the time when he will be presented to God. And so he will be taken unawares, and this is what our Lord says in the Apocalypse. Apocalypse III *If then thou shalt not watch, I will come to thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know at what hour I will come to thee.*<sup>44</sup> Man who is thus unprepared and taken unawares is not ready to receive God or to be received by God. Man does not know when God will come to him nor if the time is long or short, and the day far or near, as the Gospel says. Mark XIII *Watch ye, therefore, for you know not when the lord of the house cometh: at even, or at midnight, or at the cock-crowing, or in the morning.*<sup>45</sup> Also Luke XII *Be you also ready: for at what hour you think not, the Son of man will come.*<sup>46</sup>

Man must watch at all times and keep in the state in which he would like to die, well confessed, and repentant, and persevere in penance, in prayers, and good works waiting for God's advent. Those who will do that not only will be preserved from the horrible judgment but also from the pains of hell which are quite

42. Lk. XII: 36.

43. Lk. XXI: 36.

44. Ap. III: 3.

45. Mk. XIII: 35.

46. Lk. XII: 40.

different from those that occur on the Day of Judgment. And this should be enough said about the Day of Judgment.

## The salary of the bad workers of the vineyard

**[80r]** After what is said of the Day of Judgment, consequently something must be said about the dowry and salary of the workers of the vineyard of our Lord. In this vineyard there are several bad workers, some of them are negligent, tardy, and lazy, others are inactive, doing nothing, and others do more bad than good. Because of this, we shall speak first of the salary which the bad workers will receive so that those who are still in this mortal life, by considering the reward of the bad workers, can strive to do their duty differently in the vineyard while they are there. And to do so, the Holy Scripture advises each worker. Ecclesiastes IX *Whatsoever thy hand is able to do, do it earnestly: for neither work, nor reason, nor wisdom, nor knowledge, shall be in hell, whither thou art hastening.*<sup>47</sup> That is to say, all the good that you can do, do it immediately and without stop because no work, no reason, no science, no wisdom will be in hell where you are heading, particularly if you do not take care of yourself. Everything is said to the workers of the vineyard so that they strive in their life so that they can be rewarded differently from the bad workers, because the salary will depend on the work.

So to this end we shall speak first of the salary of the bad workers rather than the salary of the good workers, because man should not expect to receive a dowry and salary in paradise if he does not do his best in his life to escape the torments of hell. Therefore it is expedient and reasonable to speak of hell and of the torments which are in it so that, even though they are

47. Ec. IX: 10.

terrible things to hear and horrible to suffer, each one will care for himself [80v] and will not deserve to descend there, and that without any obstacle he can reach the kingdom of paradise and receive there the full salary which is due to the good workers of the vineyard.

## Hell and its qualities and properties

Hell is in the middle of the earth in the lowest place possible. Hell is large and deep. The prophet speaks of its depth and width. Isaiah XXX *For Topheth is prepared from yesterday, prepared by the king, deep and wide.*<sup>48</sup> Hell is big and wide enough to receive all those who will deserve to go there. And whatever the number of those who enter it, it will never be full as the Holy Scripture says. Proverbs XXVII *Hell and destruction are never*

48. Is. XXX: 33. The following information regarding the geographical location of Topheth as well as the description of ritual sacrifice offered to Molech is taken from Philip C. Schmitz, "Topheth," *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1992), 6: 600-601. "The *Onomasticon* of Eusebius, under the entry *Thapheth*, regards it as a place in the suburbs of Jerusalem lying along the fullers' pool and the field of Akeldama. This would place it south of the city near the juncture of the valley of the son of Hinnom and the brook Kidron in the vicinity of En-rogel." This location is consistent with the location of the Topheth described by Jeremiah. The Topheth was a site of rites that involved the burning of children as sacrifices to a deity called Molech (2 Kgs. 23: 10). Inferences of the physical description of Topheth can be taken from Jer. 7:31, and the rites can be deduced from 2 Kgs. 23: 9. The fire mentioned in Is. 30: 33 is created to destroy the Assyrian king. The anon. writer of MS. Douce 134 equates this fire with the fire of hell. The remainder of Is. 30: 33 reads: "The nourishment thereof is fire and much wood: the breath of the Lord as a torrent of brimstone kindling it."

filled.<sup>49</sup> Also Proverbs XXX *There are three things that never are satisfied:...Hell and the mouth of the womb, and the earth which is not satisfied with water.*<sup>50</sup>

Hell is justly instituted and organized by God. As part of the royal magnificence a king possesses palaces, rooms, bedrooms, and other beautiful, agreeable, and suitable places for himself, princes, and other noble knights who serve him loyally. For the same reason the king has prisons and other places to punish thieves, traitors, and criminals. Like the king, the king of glory deserves to have his palace, that is to say, heaven for himself and his good servants. He likewise deserves to have a prison, hell, for the bad, since he knew before the beginning of the world everything that was to happen, and that some would abandon themselves to evil. As he is supremely just, his justice cannot tolerate evil things to exist without bringing them to justice. So from the beginning of the world he instituted and established hell in order to bring the bad to justice, those who do not want to be his subjects, who do not want to obey his commandments, who do not pay attention to him, and who do not fear to offend him with their evil actions. Hell is dark, smoky, [81r] burning, and ill smelling, full of horror, and of all horrible things. The dishonesty, ugliness, obscurity, dirt, and stench of the place intensify the sadness of those who are in it.

Hell is all noisy because of lightning, and storms, noises, and clamors which are there. In hell there is no moderation, no quietness, but everything is exaggerated, all things confused, and without order. There is no order, no rhyme, nor reason as the Holy Scripture says. Job X *A land of misery and darkness, where there is the shadow of death and no order.*<sup>51</sup>

49. Pro. XXVII: 20.

50. Pro. XXX: 15-16.

51. Jb. X: 22.

Hell is full of torments. There are various torments, common, proper, and singular, to torment the damned, each one according to the life he has led, and according to the sins he has committed. And those who will have committed more sins and greater sins will be more horribly tormented than those who will have sinned less. The pains of all will be great and excessive, so much that the one who will suffer the least pain will think that he is inflicted with the greatest pain; if all the pains of the others were put together, they would not seem to equal to his own pain.

Hell is the house of the damned, there they will enter to remain. And of this the Holy Scripture speaks. Psalm *They shall go into the lower parts of the earth.*<sup>52</sup> Also Isaiah XXIII *They shall be gathered together as in the gathering of one bundle into the pit, and they shall be shut up there in prison.*<sup>53</sup> There they can ask all they want from God, the world, the lands, the joys, and pleasure of the world, the enjoyments, and games. Never will they see the heaven, or the sun, or the moon. It will be impossible to go any more to towns or markets. They will have to find something else. They must remain there without being able to go here or there. In hell are the damned, devils, snakes, beasts, and dragons—all together in great number. And of this the prophet speaks. Isaiah XIII *Wild beasts shall rest there, and their houses shall be filled with serpents, and ostriches shall dwell here, and the hairy ones shall dance there: And owls shall answer one another there, [81v] in the houses thereof, and sirens in the temples of pleasure.*<sup>54</sup> Also Isaiah XXXIII *And it shall be the habitation of dragons, and the*

52. Ps. LXII: 10.

53. Is. XXIV: 22.

54. Is. XIII: 21-22.

*pasture of ostriches. And demons and monsters shall meet, and the hairy ones shall cry out to one another.*<sup>55</sup> [\[Figure 35\]](#) [82r]

## In hell there are several places of torment

In hell there are several places of torments to torment the damned, because all have not sinned in the same manner, but in various ways, so they will not be punished in a similar manner, but in several different ways. To this end there are in hell many houses and places full of various torments to punish the damned according to the diversity of their sins and according to what they deserved. The Gospel speaks of this. Matthew VII *With what measure you mete, it shall be measured to you again.*<sup>56</sup>

The enemies of hell who are the executors of divine justice will put the damned in the places that are prepared for them. They will know the damned and what life they have led, what bad acts they did, and according to those bad acts they will torment them as horribly as they can. They will be so occupied at doing this that they will never do anything else. It must be known that those who have committed similar faults will be put together, usurers with usurers, armed men with armed men, gourmands with gourmands, the lewd with the lewd—since they were of one mind to sin together they will be tormented together. Then they will hate each other because they were each other's cause of damnation. It will be as if a lustful woman would say to those who came to sin with her: "Curse on you, and cursed be the hour you came with me. The devil made you come to it, and it was unfortunate for me, because of this I am damned." And on the contrary, lustful men say to her, "Cursed be you, and cursed the

55. Is. XXXIV: 13-14.

56. Mt. VII: 2.

hour you were born, because if you had not been abandoned to lust we would not have sinned with you. Therefore you are the cause of our damnation, and justly you are damned. Because of you so many people are damned.”

Those who hate each other will also be put together, and those who have grudges against each other, and those who were in agreement to do bad acts. And this is expressed in the Gospel. Matthew XIII *Gather up first the cockle, and bind it into bundles to burn.*<sup>57</sup>

## The different torments of hell

Now we must examine the different torments according to the diversity of sins. It is to be known that [82v] in hell those who trespassed the commandments of God are punished. For this offense they are in a burning furnace, and with the force of the fire they appear dead and melted without any respite. Ezekiel XXII *All these are brass, and tin, and iron, and lead, in the midst of the furnace.*<sup>58</sup> “Because we have trespassed the holy commandments of God we are piled together in this furnace in horrible torments.” (The latter sentence in quotation marks accompanies picture.) [Figure 36]

The proud who were taken by vain glory and by presumptuousness, who have claimed to be superior, and of great valor, and who wanted to have honors and prestige above others, and have enjoyed pleasant times in high and dignified circles, and have

57. Mt. XIII: 3. The cockle is a weed prevalent in the Mediterranean and Levantine regions. The preceding information is from *The Compact Oxford English Dictionary* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1971), 1: 573.

58. Ez. XXII: 18.

claimed to be more worthy than others, and who despised others, and who always did what they wanted, and were presumptuous, proud, and scornful, will be attached by the feet to the wheel of hell that is big and marvelously high. This wheel will be turned and turned by the devils so rapidly that it will always seem to be in one place without moving, and the people who will be on it will not be able to be distinguished one from the other. This torment by the judgment of God is imposed on them and given, because any man who raises himself high must be thrown down low. The proud who wanted to go up too high will be put on this wheel so that from the highest point of the wheel they will be put down low. And so they will always be [83r] elevated from low to high and thrown down again. And so by this wheel they will be tossed about, broken, and torn. And this will be such a great torment that no man can comprehend it or imagine it.

**(Octosyllabic poem above picture.)**

The very marvelous motion  
of the impetuous wheel  
will cause the proud to howl  
and shriek most horribly.

Isaiah XVI *We have heard of the pride of Moab, he is exceedingly proud...* Therefore shall Moab howl to Moab, every one shall howl.<sup>59</sup> [Figure 37] [83v]

The envious who were sad over the good lot of others, and rejoiced at their harm, and who prevented the good fortune of others, and sought or desired their harm and injury, will be put in a place of ice and cold, and there by force of coldness, they all will be frozen and appear dead. And from this coldness they will be put in a burning fire, and from this burning fire they will be placed again in ice, and from ice into devouring fire. This tor-

59. Is. XVI: 6-7.

ment is prepared for those who rejoiced in others' harms and resented their happiness and honor. For this they will be put in the cold that will freeze them and lead them to death. Then later they will be put in a horrible fire, which will warm them and burn them.

**(Octosyllabic poem above picture)**

Because we are envious,  
and because we are cold to charity  
we have ice up to our eyes  
and then we are thrown into fire again.

Job XXIII Let him pass from the snow waters to excessive heat.<sup>60</sup> [\[Figure 38\]](#) [\[84r\]](#)

The angry who get angry too easily and for little when one does and says something they do not like, those who are impatient and moved to fury, and are mad, puffed up, and prompt to curse, menace, or beat others, and who name the devil will be severely tormented. They will be oppressed, and broken with stones, and their bodies pierced with swords. These torments will be given to them as in agreement with their guilt, because they were mad with anger, and because by their anger they troubled others. The devils will unleash their fury on them, and will wound them with stones, and cruelly pierce them with swords like dogs without sparing them in any way.

(Octosyllabic poem above picture.)

The word of Ezekiel  
against the angry is accomplished.  
With stones you will be stoned  
and pierced with swords.

60. Jb. XXIV: 19.

Ezekiel XVI *They shall stone thee with stones, and slay thee with their swords.*<sup>61</sup> **[Figure 39] [84v]**

The lazy and idle ones, who in order to spare their bodies preferred to rest rather than work and sleep rather than to be remain awake, those who were late and negligent in doing the works of their salvation, will be punished in hell. They will be eaten and devoured by beasts and birds of various forms. This torment is suitable by right because as we see in this world where there is a dead, decaying carcass, dogs, beasts, and birds run to it to eat and devour it, it will be the same in hell. Beasts and birds eat and devour the lazy who were without vigor of mind to perform good works, they were like the dead, deprived of a life of grace.

**(Octosyllabic poem above picture.)**

It is true what is prophesied  
by the holy Moses about the lazy.  
The beasts and birds will devour them.

Deuteronomy XXXII *Birds shall devour them with a most bitter bite: I will send the teeth of beasts upon them, with the fury of creatures that trail upon the ground, and of serpents.*<sup>62</sup> **[Figure 40] [85r]**

The misers of this world who were so covetous and enflamed to earn, acquire, and pile up wealth more than they were interested in God will be horribly punished in hell. They will be put in large cauldrons full of boiling, molten metal that will burn them severely. This torment is granted to them by God, because when they were in the world they were all burning and ablaze with the fire of miserliness. If they had lived forever they would have been

61. Ez. XVI: 40.

62. Dt. XXXII: 24.

inflamed forever with miserliness. And for this they will boil in hell forever, without remedy.

**(Octosyllabic poem above picture.)**

Ugly death we have found  
in these big cauldrons where we are put  
for miserliness reproved,  
boiled thus forever.

Amos IIII *They shall lift you up on pikes, and what shall remain of you in boiling pots.*<sup>63</sup> [\[Figure 41\]](#) [85v]

The greedy who were totally abandoned to the vice of gluttony, and who made a god of their stomach, and were prompt to quarrel, drink, and eat excessively at all hours without rule, and to accomplish the desires of their mouth have broken the commandments of fasting of the Holy Church. They will be punished according to the life they led. They will be served food other than the meat that they were used to, that is to say, venomous and abominable meats, and will be forced to eat them and to drink lethal drinks that will drive them mad. This torment is owed to them so that they who enjoyed drinking and eating outrageously and tasting with delight, will be filled with the bitterness of bile, and with awful foods, and mortal venom in order to make their hearts burst.

**(Octosyllabic poem above picture.)**

In front of the gluttons a table is set  
with toads, snakes of various kinds,  
bile of dragons in their drink  
and venom of asp in their soup.

Deuteronomy XXXII *Their wine is the gall of dragons, and the venom of asps, which is incurable.*<sup>64</sup> [\[Figure 42\]](#) [86r]

63. Am. IV: 2.

64. Dt. XXXII: 33.

The lustful of the world who corrupted nature without fearing the commandments of God, and did not pay attention not to break the sacrament of marriage, and who ended their life in such garbage will have horrible torment. They will be thrown into the well of hell, which is big and deep. There they will be tormented with burning fire and stinking sulfur that is the torment of torments. This pain is owed to them because they were ardent in carnal concupiscence and stinking in ardor of lust. As the air was stinking and corrupted with their ill smell, they will have double torment corresponding to their guilt, that is to say, burning fire and stinking sulfur combined.

**(Octosyllabic poem above picture.)**

The ill smell and great smoke  
of the well of abyss where I am placed  
rises as from a furnace  
because I never was ashamed of lust.

Apocalypse IX *The smoke of the pit ascended as the smoke of a great furnace.*<sup>65</sup> **[Figure 43]** [86v]

## The pond of fire that is hell

Aside from the above mentioned torments that the damned will suffer for their sins, there are in hell other places full of various torments which are prepared and appropriate to other sinners, because aside from the seven mortal sins committed, there are several other sins committed in the world. So it must be known that there is in hell a large pond, deep and full of burning fire and stinking sulfur, which is mentioned in the Apocalypse. In this pond the Antichrist will be placed and the false prophet who made false signs in front of him by which he deceived those

65. Ap. IX: 2.

who took the sign of the Antichrist and adored his image. And of this the Apocalypse speaks. Apocalypse XIX *And the beast was taken, [\*that is the Antichrist,] and with him the false prophet: who wrought signs before him, wherewith he seduced them, who received the mark of the beast, and who adored his image. These two were cast alive into the pool of fire burning with brimstone.*<sup>66</sup>

In this pond the devil will be put, he who deceived the people at the time of the Antichrist and all the false prophets of the Antichrist, as the Holy Scripture says. Apocalypse XX *And the devil, who seduced them, was cast into the pool of fire and brimstone, where both the beast and the false prophet shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.*<sup>67</sup>

In this pond will be put those who denied their faith and who converted to the Antichrist and adored him or his image and took his sign on their forehead or in their hands. And there they will be tormented forever and without end and without rest. The Apocalypse speaks. Apocalypse XIII [87r] *If any man shall adore the beast, and his image, and receive his mark on his forehead, or in his hand: he also shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is mingled with pure wine, in the cup of his wrath, and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the sight of the holy Angels, and in the sight of the Lamb: and the smoke of their torments shall ascend up for ever and ever: neither have they rest day or night, who have adored the beast, and his image, and whosoever received the mark of his name.*<sup>68</sup>

In this pond the unbelievers will be put, those who did not want to believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, nor receive the Catholic faith, nor holy baptism, such as Jews, Saracens, pagans, and idolaters who adored idols, false Christians, renegades who do not

66. Ap. XIX: 20. [\*] indicate interjection by anon. author.

67. Ap. XX: 9-10.

68. Ap. XIV: 9-11.

believe firmly in Jesus Christ, the Son of God. Heretics, forgers, cheats, frauds, conjurors, enchanter, diviners, divineresses, thieves necromancers, and magicians, those who use evil art and perform evil, and murderers, and liars will also be put in the pond. All such people who are despicable to God will be placed in the pond of burning fire and stinking sulfur as the Holy Scripture says. Apocalypse XXI *But for the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and fornicators, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, their portion shall be in the pool burning with fire and brimstone: which is the second death.*<sup>69</sup> Similarly robbers, looters such as armed men, and others who steal the belongings of others by force, and beat up and wound people, (all these) will also be put in it (the fire). Isaiah IX *Every violent taking of spoils, with tumult, and garment mingled with blood, shall be burnt, and be fuel for the fire.*<sup>70</sup> (Scripture below picture) Habakkuk II. *For the people shall* [\[Figure 44\]](#) *labour in a great fire.*<sup>71</sup> **[87v]**

## The four rivers of Hell

In hell there are four rivers big and deep, horrible, and violent of which the Holy Scripture speaks in the Book of Wisdom, chapter V. *The rivers shall run together in a terrible manner.*<sup>72</sup> Also Isaiah XXXIII *The streams thereof shall be turned into pitch, and the ground thereof into brimstone: and the land thereof shall become burning pitch. Night and day it shall not be quenched forever.*<sup>73</sup>

69. Ap. XXI: 8.

70. Is. IX: 5.

71. Hab. II: 13.

72. Ws. V: 23.

73. Is. XXXIV: 9-10.

These four rivers have proper and singular names, that is, Styx, Flegeton (Phlegethon), Lethe, and Cocytus.

Styx is a river of cold water that is colder than any river on earth. In it everything breaks from the cold. The cold cuts and kills everything. Those who are in the river are all frozen, yet they feel the horrible cold of the ice that covers them. They shake and their teeth chatter from the cold that holds them in perpetual languor and death. [\[Figure 45\]](#)

Flegeton (Phlegethon) is an infernal river, full of devouring fire. Those who are there are all driven mad from the great fire they suffer. They cry aloud and utter horrible clamors. [\[88r\]](#)

Lethe is a river of black boiling pitch that is so penetrating that it enters the bodies of those who are in it and burns them inside and out. Those in the river are driven mad. [\[Figure 46\]](#)

Cocytus is an infernal river of which the Holy Scripture speaks. Job XXI *He hath been acceptable to the gravel of Cocytus.*<sup>74</sup> The river is full of boiling metal that burns terribly those who are in it and makes them shriek as if they were mad. In these four rivers there is a great multitude of people, men and women alike who are terribly tormented. And when some of them stick out their heads there are devils ready with big sticks to strike them and make them go back under. And they are often transported from one place to another, and everywhere they find such great torments that they do not know what place is better for them.

Those who are in the fire want to be in a cold place, and when they are in a cold place they want to be warm. Thus it is with the other torments. They all cry at death because everywhere they found death who causes their death and keeps them in perpetual death. [\[88v\]](#)

74. Jb. XXI: 33.

## The horror of the pains of hell

In hell there are several and various pains that are all horrible and painful to bear, suffer, and endure. Of these we must speak in order, not that I want to put order in hell, nor to the pains of hell—where there is no order, but because we must put in order what we have to say of the pains of hell, with the help of God.

## The intensity of the fire of hell

The damned will be in a horrible fire and the Holy Scripture speaks of this. Psalm *Thou wilt cast them down into the fire.*<sup>75</sup>

Also Jeremiah XV *A fire is kindled in my rage; it shall burn upon you.*<sup>76</sup> The fire of hell is great in order to contain a great mul-

titude of people. The Holy Scripture speaks of this fire. Ezekiel XXXIII *Wo to the bloody city, of which I will make a great bonfire.*<sup>77</sup>

Also Habakkuk II *The people shall labor in a great fire.*<sup>78</sup>

The damned who will be thrown into this fire will have the fire above and below them and on all sides in great abundance. As a man who is in a great and deep pond, there is a large quantity of water upon and below him and everywhere about him. Similarly the damned will be in this fire and more. Between the fire of this world and the fire of hell there is a difference. The fire of this world needs to be fed and maintained by putting wood in it; if the wood is lacking the fire dies by itself. The fire of hell is different because it does not need to have anything put in it to make it

75. Ps. CXXXIX: 11

76. Jr. XV: 14.

77. Ez. XXIV: 9. “Wo” is the archaic spelling of “woe” in the 1609 Douay-Rheims Bible.

78. Hab. II: 13.

burn. Job XX A fire that is not kindled shall devour him.<sup>79</sup> Because according to Gregory, *Once inflamed, it will abide through eternity.*<sup>80</sup> According to Augustine in the book, *The City of God: The justice of the Almighty, foreseeing future events, did from the very beginning of the world create the fire of hell, which having been set on fire once by God, will never be extinguished. It is neither kindled by human effort, nor kept alive by wood. It needs no kindling and lacks not heat. It does not get used up. And though it is cor-*

79. Jb. XX: 26.

80. “Semel succensus permanet in eternum omnia.” (“Once inflamed, it will abide through eternity”) closely resembles a passage by Gregory in his *Moralia* as he describes the fire of hell: “sed creatus semel durat inextinguibilis” (“but being once made to be, it lasts unextinguishable”). See Gregory, *Moralia in Job*, lib. 15, par. 29, lin. 8, ed. Marc Adriaen (1979), CCSL 143A: 770. See also Gregorius I, *Moralia*, lib. XV, cap. XXIX in PL 75: 1098. Translation from Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job*, bk. XV, par. 35 (xxix), trans. Members of the English Church (Oxford: John Henry Parker and London: J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1845), v. 2, pts. 3-4, 194. Gregory’s words, “sed...inextinguibilis,” appear and are attributed to Gregory in Prudentius Trecensis, died 861, *Epistola ad Hincmarum et Pardulum*, cap. IX in PL 115: 997 and Florus Lugdunensis (Florus of Lyon), c. 810–c. 860, *Liber adversus Joannem Scotum*, cap. XVII in PL 119: 225. The passage appears but is not acknowledged as Gregory’s in Hincmarus Rhemensis, c. 806–882, *De praedestinatione*, cap. XVI in PL 125: 140 and *De cavendis vitiis*, cap. II in PL 125: 868; Wernerus S. Blasii, died 1174, *Libri deflorationum*, *De gehenna* in PL 157: 1059; and Hugo de S. Victore, c. 1096–1141 *De sacramentis*, lib. II, pars. XVI, cap. V in PL 176: 590. The passage is attributed to Gregory in the remaining sources: Ivo Carnotensis, *Decretum*, *Decreti Pars XVII*, cap. 92 in PL 161: 1004; ; Garnerius S. Victoris Parisiensis (Walter of St. Victor) c. died c. 1180, *Gregorianum*, lib. XI, cap. I in PL 193: 358 and Thomas Aquinas, c. 1224–1274, *IV Sententiarum*, dist. 44, quaes. 3, art. 2, quaes. 2, arg. 2, in CT, 1: 647; and again in his *Questiones disputatae quaestiones quodlibetales opuscula*, quaes. 26, art. 1, sed contra 2, in *Opera omnia* 3: 157.

poreal it tortures both those things with bodies and those without bodies.<sup>81</sup> Similarly, the fire of this world is clear and bright, but

81. "Omnipotens iustitia, futuorum prescia a prima mundi origine gehenne (gehennae in CCSL 143A and PL) ignem creauit qui a Deo semel succensus nunquam extinguitur. Nec studio humano succenditur nec lignis nutritur, succensione non indiget, adore non caret, consumptionem non habet. Et licet sit corporeus corporalia quidam et incorporalia torquet." The anon. author of MS. Douce 134 as well as Stephanus de Borbone, and Humbertus de Romanis erroneously claim the text is from Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei*. See Stephanus de Borbone, *Tractatus de diuersis materiis praedicabilibus* (prologus et prima pars), pars. 1, tit. 4, cap. 3, lin. 558, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002), CCCM 124: 87; and Humbertus de Romanis, *Tractatus de dono timoris*, cap. 4, lin. 369, ed. Christine Boyer (2008), CCCM 218. The text, with the exception of "consumptionem non habet. Et licet sit corporeus corporalia quidam et incorporalia torquet" is from Gregory's *Moralia in Job*, lib. 15, par. 29, lin. 10-13 and 6-8, ed. Marc Adriaen (1979), CCSL 143A: 770. See also Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia*, lib. XV, cap. XXIX in PL 75: 1098. The anon. author of MS. Douce 134 rearranges the lines of Gregory quoting them in a different sequence, and adds the sentence mentioned above. The text is presented here as it appears in the manuscript and is almost identical to the text found in Borbone and Humbertus. A portion of the translation is from Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job*, bk. 15, par. 35 (xxix), trans. by members of the English Church (Oxford: Henry Parker and London: J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1845), v. 2, pts. 3-4, 194. Gregory's description of the fire of hell, "nec studio humano succenditur nec lignis nutritur," is used by the following writers: Lathcen, died 661, *Ecloga de Moralibus Iob quas Gregorius fecit*, lib. 15, par. 29, lin 6, ed. Marcus Adriaen (1969), CCSL 145: 175; Prudentius Trecensis (Prudentius of Troy), died 861, *De praedestinatione* in PL 115: 1227; Florus Lugdunensis (Florus of Lyon), c. 810-c. 860, *Liber aduersus Joannem Scotum* in PL 119: 225; Hincmarcus Rhemensis, c. 806-882, *De praedestinatione* in PL 125: 140; Odo Cluniacensis (Odo of Cluny), c. 878-942, *Moralia in Job* in PL 133: 278; Burcharodus Wormaciensis, 965-1025, *Libri decretorum* in PL 140: 1047; Garnerius de Rupeforti (Garnerius Cisterciensis), 1140-1225, *Contra*

the fire of hell is obscure and without light as the Holy Scripture says. Job XVIII *Shall not the flame of his [89r] fire not shine?*<sup>82</sup> According to Gregory *The fire that is the avenger of past sins has a consuming property but no light.*<sup>83</sup> Also Isidore from Book One of *Sumo Bono*: (The Latin is translated in the following French

*Amaurianos*, cap. 3, lin. 23, ed. Paolo Lucentini (2010), CCCM 232: 17; Wernerus S. Blasii, died 1174, *Libri deflorationum* in PL 157: 1059; Ivo Carnotensis, c. 1040-1116, *Decretum* in PL 161: 1004; Albertus Magnus, c. 1193-1280, *Commentarii in quartum librum Sententiarum*, ed. Auguste Borgnet (Paris: Vivès, 1894), 29: 834; Hugo de Victore, c. 1096-1141, *De sacramentis* in PL 176: 590; Garnerius S. Victoris Parisiensis, d. 1170, *Gregorianum* in PL 193: 358; Thomas Aquinas quotes the passage two times in the same sources as mentioned in note 80; and Matthaëus de Aquasparta, c. 1237-1302, *Quaestiones disputatae de anima separata*, ed. Gedeon Gál (Quaracchi: Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1959), 101 and 167.

82. Jb. XVIII: 5.

83. "Transactorum illa ultrix flamma uitiorum concremationem habet et lumen non habet." Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 9, par. 65, lin. 5, ed. Marc Adriaen (1979), CCSL 143: 525. See also Gregorius I, *Moralia*, lib. IX, cap. LXV in PL 75: 912. Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job*, bk. IX, par. 97 (lxv), trans. Members of the English Church (Oxford: John Henry Parker and London: J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1844), v. 1, pt. 1-2, 566. Gregory's sentence describing the fire of hell is found in the following: Agobardus Lugdunensis, c. 769-840, *Serm. de fidei veritate* in PL 104: 281; Prudentius Trecensis, d. 861, *De praedestinatione* in PL 115: 1228; Haymo Halberstatensis, 778-853, *De varietate liborum* in PL 118: 952; Hincmarus Rhemensis, c. 806-882, *De cavendis vitiis* in PL 125: 893; Beatus Liebanensis (Beatus of the monastery of San Martin at Liébana), died 798, *Tractatus in Apocalipsin*, lib. 2, cap. 5, par. 49, lin. 198, ed. Roger Gryson and Marie-Claire de Bièvre (2012), CCSL 107B: 316; and Petrus Damiani (Peter Damian), c. 1007-1072, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, epis. CLXXX, nr. 66, ed. Kurt Reindel, teil. 2, nr. 41-90 (Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1988), v. 4, pt. 2: 271. Writers citing Gregory as author include: Prudentius Trecensis, Haymo Halberstatensis, and Hincmarus Rhemensis.

sentences.) *That is to say that the fire of hell will be bright to the wretched damned to increase their pain, so that they can see the thing for which they will be sorry. It will not shine for their consolation. They can't see anything for which they may rejoice.*<sup>84</sup> And even if this fire would shine for their consolation, it would be a very small comfort.

As the fire of his world is put out by water, the fire of hell cannot be extinguished by water or by anything else. So if all the sea flowed into the fire of hell, it would not die, nor would it be made cold, but it would burn the sea. We read about this in the life of St. Nicholas. As some pilgrims were going by sea to visit the church of St. Nicholas, the devil appeared to them on the shore of the sea in the form of a woman saying: "I would like to go with you because I have a wish to make, but I am prevented and I cannot go. However, I beg you to carry this box of oil with you and anoint the walls of the church with it." They said that they would do so willingly. And as they took the oil St. Nicholas

84. "Ignis gehenne (gehennae in CCSL and PL) lucebit miseris ad augmentum pene (poenarum in CCSL and PL), ut videant unde doleant, et non lucebit ad consolationem, ne videant unde gaudeant." Isidorus Hispalensis, c. 560-636, *Sententiae*, lib. 1, cap. 28, sent. 3, ed. Pierre Cazier (1998), CCSL 111: 86. See also Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, lib. I, cap. XXVIII De gehenna in PL 83: 597. This passage is found in the following works: Smaragdus S. Michaelis, c. 750-c. 825, *Commentaria in regulam Sancti Benedicti* in PL 102: 721; Prudentius Trecensis, d. 861, *De praedestinatione* in PL 115: 1339; Burchardus Wormaciensis (Burchard, Bishop of Worms), ca. 965-1025, *Libri Decretorum* in PL 140: 1051; Ivo Carnotensis (Ivo of Chartres), c. 1040-1116, *Decretum*, *Decreti pars XVII*, cap. 102, *De duplici poena damnatorum. Ex dictis Isidori* (lib. I Summo bono, cap. XXVIII) in PL 161: 1008; and Martinus Legionensis, 1130-1203, *Sermones*, serm. II in PL 208: 58. Haymo Halberstatensis, d. 853, *De varietate liborum*, lib. III, cap. XXVI in PL 118: 946. Although the passage appears in the previously cited works, it is not attributed to Isidore.

appeared to them saying that this woman was the devil and this oil was oil from hell. And to show them the truth he told them to open the box and to pour the oil in the sea. And so they did. As soon as the oil touched the waters of the sea, a great fire was lit in the sea that burned the waters of the sea over a large area.<sup>85</sup> This example shows that the fire of hell cannot be extinguished by anything whatsoever, because it is inextinguishable. And the Holy Scripture testifies of this in the last chapter of Isaiah. *Their fire shall not be quenched.*<sup>86</sup> Also Matthew VI *The chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire.*<sup>87</sup> The reason why it is inextinguishable and cannot be extinguished [89v] is because God created it so. Isaiah XXX *The breath of the Lord as a torrent of brimstone kindling it.*<sup>88</sup> The fire of this world burns and reduces wood and stone and everything we put in it into ashes. It melts metal and iron and such things, but the fire of hell, although it has a much greater force, will never be able to consume the bodies of the damned. The bodies of the damned will always exist, because they are resurrected in such a manner that they will always remain in being and will never be able to be reduced to nothingness, even though they will burn forever. And about this there is authority in the Holy Scripture. Job XX *He shall be punished for all that he did, and yet shall not be consumed.*<sup>89</sup>

85. This event in the life of St. Nicholas is found in Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (Salem, NH: Ayer Co., 1969; repr. in New York, London, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1941), 19. For the account in Latin see Iacopo da Varazze, Chapter III De Sancto Nicholao, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Florence: Sismel, 1998), I: 41.

86. Is. LXVI: 24.

87. Error in MS. It should be Mt. III: 12.

88. Is. XXX: 33. The first part of this verse was quoted in n. 48.

89. Jb. XX: 18.

The fire of hell is burning and devouring beyond measure so much that there is no mortal man who can imagine, describe or envision the heat, the force of this fire, because it is so horrible. It is so hot that the fire of this world is said to be like a fire painted on the wall in comparison with the fire of hell. The fire of hell is most violent and it penetrates deeply, so it will enter into the bodies of the damned and will burn them within as well as without. It will invade all the parts of the body, it will go inside the bones, and like a piece of iron when it is in a furnace, it is all aflame, red hot, and all boiling inside and outside. And so the fire of hell will burn the damned in body and in soul and about this there are several authorities in the Holy Scripture. Ecclesiasticus XXI *The congregation of sinners is like tow heaped together, and the end of them is a flame of fire.*<sup>90</sup> Also Isaiah IX *And the people shall be as fuel for the fire.*<sup>91</sup> Also Isaiah XXXIII *And the people shall be as ashes after a fire; as a bundle of thorns, they shall be burnt with fire.*<sup>92</sup> By the fact that the damned will be on fire one must understand that they will burn in all their limbs and all their parts. They will have their face totally burned as the prophet says. Isaiah XIII [90r] *Their countenance shall be as faces burnt.*<sup>93</sup>

And you must know that the damned will not be able to extinguish this fire. Nor will they be able to resist it any more than the straw can resist fire, because the fire will have power over them and will burn them like straw. Isaiah XLVII *They are as stubble,*

90. Ecli. XXI: 10. "Tow" the shorter fibers of flax or hemp. Information from *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1971), II: 3364.

91. Is. IX: 19.

92. Is. XXXIII: 12.

93. Is. XIII: 8.

fire hath burned them.<sup>94</sup> And Matthew III *The chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire.*<sup>95</sup>

From the heat of this fire all the damned will be annihilated, driven mad, enraged—so much so that there was never such rage. And this is not surprising for if man feels shocked and scared, full of anguish when fire burns his little finger, imagine what it will be when he will suffer the fire of hell forever. This fire will be ablaze within the bodies of the damned, never will it be put out nor separated from their bodies, but it will remain there to burn them forever without end. Saint Augustine demonstrates this by an example, saying that in the country of Arcadia there is a kind of stone that is called abeston,<sup>96</sup> and this stone has such a property that when it is once set on fire it will never be extinguished and burns forever. And such will be the case of the damned, because once they will be set on fire with the fire of hell they will burn forever without end. Alas, the damned can cry and howl as much as they wish but they will not find any help in this tribulation. They can moan and complain all they wish but it will be in vain because the fire will not cease to burn them. And never will their anguish be less, no matter what clamors or complaints they will utter. And although the fire is very ardent, it does not purify anything of the damned for purgation [90v] or remission of their sins, but it punishes venial sins forever as well as mortal sins. And the damned must suffer and endure and do not deserve to receive any respite from God nor to be cooled

94. Is. XLVII: 14.

95. Mt. III: 12.

96. “Abeston,” is the obsolete form of asbestos. It was called “the unquenchable stone,” a fabulous stone, the heat of which, when once kindled, was alleged to be unquenchable. *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1971), I: 121.

from the heat of the flames. [Figure 47] Isaiah L *Walk in the light of your fire, and in the flames which you have kindled.*<sup>97</sup> [91r]

## The damned will be subjected to the stench of sulfur

The damned will be subjected to burning fire and the stench of sulfur. Of this sulfur the Holy Scripture speaks. Job XVIII *Let brimstone be sprinkled in his tent.*<sup>98</sup> Also Isaiah XXX *The breath of the Lord as a torrent of brimstone.*<sup>99</sup> And because sulfur alone without fire does not smell bad, it must be said that with burning fire it will be different and horrible to smell. As a sign of this, these two things, fire and sulfur, are mentioned together in the Holy Scripture. Psalm *Fire and brimstone, and storms and winds, shall be the portion of their cup.*<sup>100</sup> Also Apocalypse XIII *He shall be tormented with fire and brimstone.*<sup>101</sup> Also Apocalypse XXI *Their portion shall be in the pool burning with fire and brimstone.*<sup>102</sup> This sulfur will be so horrible to smell that if the damned did not feel any other harm they would be very tormented by it. This sulfur will be added to the fire in order to torment the damned more. Oh, how great is the rigor of divine justice when the damned not only will be tormented with burning fire that will be a torment which they will hardly be able to stand, but they will also be tormented with horribly smelling sulfur that will increase their pain more and more.

97. Is. L: 11.

98. Jb. XVIII: 15.

99. Is. XXX: 33. Previously quoted in Hell V, n. 88.

100. Ps. X: 7.

101. Error in MS. It should be Ap. XIV: 10.

102. Ap. XXI: 8.

## The damned will be eaten by worms

Another torment will afflict the damned, that is to say, they will have worms in their bodies that will bite at them and eat them from inside and outside as worms usually eat a carcass. And of this the Holy Scripture speaks in several places. Job XXI *They shall sleep in dust, and worms shall cover them.*<sup>103</sup> Also Judith XVI *He shall give fire, and worms into their flesh, that they may burn, and may feel forever.*<sup>104</sup> Also Ecclesiasticus VII *The vengeance on the flesh of the ungodly is fire and worms.*<sup>105</sup> Also Isaiah XIII *Under thee shall the moth be strewed, and worms shall be thy covering.*<sup>106</sup> These worms have such a nature that they live in fire like fish live in water, and they never die as the Holy Scripture says. The last chapter of Isaiah *Their worm shall not die.*<sup>107</sup> [91v] Therefore the worms will never die but will live forever and ever so that they bite at and eat forever the bodies of the damned. They are created to do that, and in doing this they never rest and never stop. Job XXX *They that feed upon me do not sleep.*<sup>108</sup> Oh torment upon torment! As if fire and sulfur were not enough to torment them, they must have also worms biting them. [[Figure 48](#)]

## The damned will be bitten by beasts and snakes

The damned will be tormented in other ways because they will have with them ugly beasts and snakes. And the Holy Scripture

103. Jb. XXI: 26.

104. Jdt. XVI: 21.

105. Ecli. VII: 19.

106. Error in MS. It should be Is. XIV: 11.

107. Is. LXVI: 24.

108. Jb. XXX: 17.

speaks of this. Jeremiah VIII *Behold I will send among you serpents, basilisks, against which there is no charm: and they shall bite you, saith the Lord.*<sup>109</sup> Also Ecclesiasticus XXXIX *The teeth of beasts, and scorpions, and serpents, and the sword taking vengeance upon the ungodly unto destruction.*<sup>110</sup> These authorities hold that the beasts and snakes will bite the damned. The worms will eat them from inside and the beasts and snakes will bite them outside. Their bites will be deadly because they will be venomous. Not only will they bite them, [92r] but they will force their heads into the mouths of the damned and will vomit their venom inside their bodies. Job XX *He shall suck the head of asps, and the viper's tongue shall kill him.*<sup>111</sup> These snakes are ardent and live in fire without feeling any harm as we read about the salamander that has such a nature that it lives in fire.<sup>112</sup> These snakes lie on their faces and entwine themselves around their necks, arms, legs, and torso. They enter inside their bodies through their mouth and through other secret places of nature,

109. Jr. VIII: 17. For an image and description of the basilisk see David Badke, ed., *The Medieval Bestiary*, accessed April 30, 2020, <http://bestiary.ca/beasts/beast265.htm>. Also see *Bestiary*, trans. Richard Barber (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 1993), 184: "The basilisk's name in Greek (regulus) means little king, because he is the king of creeping things. Those who see him flee, because his scent will kill them. And he will kill a man simply by looking at him..."

110. Ecli. XXXIX: 36.

111. Jb. XX: 16.

112. The salamander is a beast that appears often in medieval bestiaries. It was believed to be impervious to fire and is compared to the God-fearing Christian who can walk through flames because God will protect him. See *The Bestiary of Pierre de Beauvais*, trans. Guy Mermier (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 175.

and bite their hearts, the throat, and entrails. Hosea XIII I will rend the inner parts of their liver.<sup>113</sup>

The damned will be tormented beyond measure by these snakes, as much from their venom as from the bad and stinking smell. The snakes will gnaw at them and eat them until only bones remain. Then the bodies will be reconstructed as before, their flesh will return so that they can be eaten and devoured again. This is contained in the Passion of Saint Sebastian. Wherein this is written: *They are restored so that the limbs that have been devoured are attacked over and over again by repeated and renewed bites.*<sup>114</sup> [\[Figure 49\]](#). **\*Note the folio numbering is incorrect in the manuscript. The numbers 92 verso and 93 recto are omitted. What should be numbered 93 recto is numbered 94 recto. The folio numbers quoted here are as they appear in the manuscript.**

113. Ho. 13: 8.

114. "Ubi hic scribitur. Ad hoc redintegrantur, ut exesa a serpentium morsibus membra iteratis subinde et iterum repetitis morsibus attrahantur." Auctor incertus, *Acta S. Sebastiani*, cap. V in PL 17: 1029. Stephanus de Borbone quotes the Latin text and says it from the leg-end of St. Sebastian in his *Tractatus de diuersis materiis praedicabilibus*, pars. 1, tit. 4, cap. 4, lin. 979, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002), CCCM 124: 102.

# Hell VI [93v-106v]

## The stench of the damned

[93v] The damned will be subjected to another torment. They will be in perpetual stench. This stench will exude from their bodies because their bodies will stink like a rotten carcass as the Holy Scripture says. Isaiah XXXVIII *Out of their carcasses shall rise a stink.*<sup>1</sup> This bad smell will also come from the snakes and other venomous beasts that with their bad smell will fill everything with a bad stench.

This bad stench will also come in part from the putrid place where they will be. It will be foul, because there all the corruption and bad smells of the world will come down, and thus each of the damned will have the bad smell of himself, the dragons of hell, and the place where he will be. With him will also be the bad smell of the other damned who will be around him, because they will all stink. This bad smell will be horrible and abominable as all of the damned will be infected and corrupted with it. This bad stench will be intolerable to smell and unbearable, it will be bad enough to make their hearts burst. And to understand fully the magnitude of this bad smell Papias<sup>2</sup> says that “Avernus” is in

1. Error in MS. It should be Is. XXXIV: 3.

2. Papias refers to Papias the Lombard, a lexicographer who flourished in northern Italy ca. 1050. He is considered the author of an alphabetic glossary, the *Elementarium doctrinae rudimentum*, which was used for centuries as an encyclopedic book of reference. The above information is from O. J. Blum, “Papias the Lombard,” *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967), X: 980. The details of Avernus recounted in MS. Douce 134 are related in part to Papias’ *Elementarium: Littera/A*, ed. Violetta Deangelis (Milan:

a field beyond Rome. In a certain place there is a hole through which one descends into hell, and from this hole comes out a great stench to the point that the birds cannot fly about it. There must be a great stench in hell therefore because no bird can approach the place from whence the stench arises. The damned will be in this stench because they smelled good smells while enjoying evil pleasure. Isaiah III *And instead of a sweet smell there shall be stench.*<sup>3</sup> They will also have this bad odor for their pride. The sin of pride is so displeasing to God that the proud are condemned to be in eternal stench so that whoever thought more of himself than he should have will be forced by the emission of stench from himself to recognize himself as vile and stinking. Joel II *His stench shall ascend, and his rottenness shall go up, because he hath done proudly.*<sup>4</sup> [94r]<sup>5</sup>

Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1980), 3: 419. *Elementarium: Littera/A* reads: “Avernus lacus, sicut et Lucrinus, infernus dicitur: locus est enim in Campania super quem est spelunca per quam ad inferos descenditur, dictus aornos quia aves volare desuper non possunt prae fetore. (“Lake Avernus, as also Lucrinus, is said to be infernal: the place is indeed in Campania beside which is a cave through which one descends to the lower world, it is called the ‘birdless place’ in Greek because birds are not able to fly above it on account of the stench.”) The description of the stench of hell, and especially the reference to Avernus recalls Virgil’s *Aeneid*, bk. 6, lin. 242: “unde locum Grai dixerunt nomine Aornum” (“whence the Greeks spoke of Avernus, the Birdless Place”).

3. Is. III: 24.

4. Jl. II: 20.

5. \*Note incorrect numbering of folios in the manuscript. This should be folio 93r. The folio numbers will mirror those written in the MS.

## The horrible cold that is in hell

There is another torment in hell, the horrible cold with which the damned are tormented. This cold comes from the cold waters of snows and hail about which the Holy Scripture speaks. Job XXXVIII *Hast thou entered into the storehouses of the snow, or hast thou beheld the treasures of the hail: which I have prepared for the time of the enemy, against the day of battle and war?*<sup>6</sup>

This cold is so bitter that it turns the waters into hard ice like stone. Job XXXVIII *The waters are hardened like a stone, and the surface of the deep is congealed.*<sup>7</sup> Therefore all those who are there are stiff with cold and hard like stones. Psalm *Who shall stand before the face of his cold?*<sup>8</sup> This cold is so severe and intolerable that if a mountain of fire would fall in it, it would not be any hotter, and the ice would not ever melt because of it. And this is explained in the book of Wisdom XVI. *But snow and ice endured the force of fire, and melted not.*<sup>9</sup> This cold is not together with the fire, as these two things are contrary to each other, but in another part of hell. After the damned have been in burning fire, they are thrown down in the abysses of cold so that by sudden mutation of contrary things their torment will be greater. In this cold they are frozen stiff as if dead. And from the great horrible cold that tightens them they clench their teeth and weep torrents of tears as the Gospel says. Matthew XIII *There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.*<sup>10</sup> **[Figure 50] [94v]**

6. Jb. XXXVIII: 22-23.

7. Jb. XXXVIII: 30.

8. Ps. CXLVII: 17.

9. Ws. XVI: 22.

10. Error in MS. It should be Mt. VIII: 12, Mt. XIII: 42, Mt. XIII: 50, Mt. XXII: 13, or Lk. XIII: 28. All of these verses reiterate the apocalyptic statement that in hell there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

## The famine and thirst of the damned

The damned will be tormented in another manner. They will have famine so great that they will all be brought to death with starvation. The cause of such a great famine is that in hell there is nothing to eat. There is nothing good to eat as the Holy Scripture says. Ecclesiasticus XIII *In hell there is no finding food.*<sup>11</sup> In this world we have seen great famines especially in places under siege, to the point that they were eating the horses, the dogs, the cats, the rats, but in hell you will find no such things. Such great famines were in this world that people ate each other. Ezekiel V *The fathers shall eat the sons in the midst of thee, and the sons shall eat their fathers.*<sup>12</sup> There was such great famine in this world that women ate their children. As soon as the child was born they ate the child. In hell there will be a terrible famine that will be quite different than the one on earth. The famine will be so great in hell that each person will bite his very arm as it is said in the Holy Scripture. Isaiah IX *Everyone shall eat the flesh of his own arm.*<sup>13</sup>

The damned will have such great hunger that they will all be enraged with hunger. In this world when a man does not eat for three or four days he becomes pale and exhausted because he has no strength whatsoever, and the longer he remains without eating the more his hunger increases. The damned are more tormented because their hunger constantly increases because they never eat. It will be a cruel and a hard pain to bear. From this famine they will all be ruined, almost dead and consumed as the Holy Scripture says. Deuteronomy XXXII *They shall be con-*

11. Ecli. XIV: 17.

12. Ez. V: 10.

13. Is. IX: 20.

*sumed with famine.*<sup>14</sup> Because of this famine they will become so weak that they will have no strength, because the famine will take away their strength as the Holy Scripture says. Job XVIII *Let his strength be wasted with famine, and let hunger invade his ribs.*<sup>15</sup>

This continuous hunger will be a great torment to suffer forever and ever. [95r] If there were no other torment to suffer in hell than this hunger it would be enough to keep the damned in continual death, just as famine in this world puts man to death. With this famine the damned will all be vexed and enraged and they will blame God, and it is what the Holy Scripture says. Isaiah VIII *And when they shall be hungry, they will be angry, and curse their king, and their God.*<sup>16</sup> The damned will suffer this torment of famine on account of their excesses of eating and of eating always until they are filled, as our Lord says in the Gospel. Luke VI *Wo to you that are filled: for you shall hunger.*<sup>17</sup> Also Isaiah LXV *Behold my servants shall eat and you shall be hungry.*<sup>18</sup>

In addition to the famine they will have death devour them and feed upon them. Psalm *They are laid in hell like sheep: death shall feed upon them.*<sup>19</sup> Also Job XX *The riches which he hath swallowed, he shall vomit up, and God shall draw them out of his belly.*<sup>20</sup>

And the fact that the damned will be as thirsty as they are hungry is mentioned in Isaiah LXV. *Behold my servants shall*

14. Dt. XXXII: 24.

15. Jb. XVIII: 12.

16. Is. VIII: 21.

17. Lk. VI: 25. "Wo" is the archaic spelling of "woe" in the 1582 Douay-Rheims Bible.

18. Is. LXV: 13.

19. Ps. XLVIII: 15.

20. Jb. XX: 15.

*drink and you shall be thirsty.*<sup>21</sup> So God says to the damned: “My servants will drink and you will be thirsty.” This thirst will be because those who are very hot have great thirst. In such intensity of thirst they will seek grace, asking if they could have a little water to refresh themselves as the bad rich man who asked for some water to refresh his tongue. They did not give him any, although there was great abundance of it in this world. And worse yet, to some the devils will give molten, boiling metal to drink in order to give them greater thirst. This metal they will pour down their throats by force and it will enter inside their bodies and burn their bellies, and then what the Holy Scripture says will be accomplished. Job XVIII *Thirst shall burn against him.*<sup>22</sup> To the others they will give to drink a very bitter drink unlike any bitter drink in this world. Jeremiah IX *Behold I will feed this people with wormwood, and give them water of gall to drink.*<sup>23</sup> [*\*Then the damned will be able to say that*] Lamentations III [95v] *He hath filled me with bitterness, he hath inebriated me with wormwood.*<sup>24</sup> *That which is said in Isaiah XXIII. The drink shall be bitter to them that drink it.*<sup>25</sup> These drinks will drive all of them mad; and losing their minds they will be enraged as the Holy Scripture says. Hosea VII *The princes begin to be mad with wine.*<sup>26</sup> Also Jeremiah XXV *They shall drink, and be troubled, and be mad.*<sup>27</sup> [Figure 51] [96r]

21. Is. LXV: 13.

22. Jb. XVIII: 9.

23. Jr. IX: 15.

24. Lm. III: 15. [\*] indicate the writer's own preface to the quote from Lm.

25. Is. XXIV: 9.

26. Ho. VII: 5.

27. Jr. XXV: 16.

## The darkness of hell

The damned will have another pain in hell. They will be plunged in horrible darkness, and because of this Job calls hell a world of darkness. Job X *Before I go and return no more, to a land that is dark and covered with the mist of death: a land of misery and darkness.*<sup>28</sup>

Hell is said to be dark because there is no brightness or light. Darkness fills this whole place and occupies it. Hell is called dark because it is a very obscure place in which you see nothing. One reads in the Holy Scripture that among the wounds that God sent to the land of Egypt was darkness for three days. It was so obscure and so thick that you could feel and touch it. For three days no one moved from his place. Of this darkness the Holy Scripture says in the Book of Wisdom that neither the sun, nor the moon, nor the stars could illuminate this darkness. Wisdom XVII *And no power of fire could give them light, neither could the bright flames of the stars enlighten that horrible night.*<sup>29</sup> And if this darkness was so dense and thick, the darkness of hell will be even more dense and greater because it will be more horrible than the darkness that ever existed in this world. Of this infernal darkness the Holy Scripture speaks in several places. Ecclesiasticus XXI *The way of sinners is made plain with stones, and in their end is hell, and darkness, and pains.*<sup>30</sup> Also Job XX *All darkness is hid in his secret places.*<sup>31</sup> Also Psalm *They have laid me in the lower pit: in the dark places, and in the shadow of death.*<sup>32</sup> Also Lamentations III *He hath set me in dark places, as those that are*

28. Jb. X: 21-22.

29. Ws. XVII: 5.

30. Ecli. XXI: 11.

31. Jb. XX: 26.

32. Psalm LXXXVII: 7.

dead for ever.<sup>33</sup> Also Matthew XXII Bind him hand and foot, and cast him into the exterior darkness.<sup>34</sup> Also The unprofitable servant, cast ye out into the exterior darkness.<sup>35</sup> In such darkness the damned will never see brightness or light as the Holy Scripture says. Psalm He shall go in to the generations of his fathers: and he shall never see light.<sup>36</sup> Also Job XVIII The light shall be dark in his tabernacle.<sup>37</sup> Also Apocalypse XVIII And the light [96v] of the lamp shall shine no more in thee.<sup>38</sup>

In this darkness the damned will remain forever without ever coming out of it, about which the Holy Scripture speaks. Job XV He shall not depart out of darkness.<sup>39</sup> This darkness removes sight from the damned and holds them like blind people. Darkness frightens them and keeps them in continual sadness, which is a great pain and a heavy burden to bear. Surely if man in this world had all the goods of the world and if he were in darkness, he would not have joy in his heart. Tobit V What manner of joy shall be to me, who sit in darkness, and see not the light of heaven?<sup>40</sup>

The damned will be sad and depressed to be in such darkness without ever expecting brightness and so they will have cause to be sad and depressed because to be in such a place so obscure and so dark is horrible and awful. And the damned complain a lot to be in such darkness. About this one reads that once a man was taken into hell and among the things he heard or saw,

33. Lm. III: 6.

34. Mt. XXII: 13.

35. Mt. XXV: 30. No scripture reference is given in the manuscript.

36. Ps. XLVIII: 20.

37. Jb. XVIII: 6.

38. Ap. XVIII: 23.

39. Jb. XV: 30.

40. Tb. V: 12.

he heard certain voices of the damned complaining about such great darkness and they were saying: “Alas, alas what great darkness. Oh, oh, oh, so much darkness.” And so in hell you must not ask what time it is, nor when daylight will come because it will always be obscure and dark as night. And they will not be able to have even light from the fire that will burn them because the flame of this fire will not shine at all, as the Holy Scripture says. Job XVIII *Shall not the light of the wicked be extinguished, and the flame of his fire not shine?*<sup>41</sup>

The damned will be brought in this darkness because during their life they kept on the road of darkness, of vices, and sins, which obscure and blind people's thought. From the darkness of guilt one reaches the darkness of hell. Proverbs III *The way of the wicked is darksome: they know not where they fall.*<sup>42</sup> And although the damned are in this darkness in continual sadness [97r] however it is nothing in comparison with the other pains that they will suffer.

## The smoke of hell

The damned will suffer another torment: they will have smoke in their eyes that will enter in their nostrils. Of this smoke the Holy Scripture speaks in several places. Isaiah LXV *These shall be smoke in my anger, a fire burning all the day.*<sup>43</sup> Also Baruch VI *Their faces are black with the smoke.*<sup>44</sup> Also Apocalypse XIII *And the smoke of their torments shall ascend up for ever and ever.*<sup>45</sup>

41. Jb. XVIII: 5.

42. Pr. IV: 19.

43. Is. LXV: 5.

44. Bar. VI: 20.

45. Ap. XIV: 11.

This smoke will come out of the damned because of the force of the fire burning them. As fire burns, it makes smoke and because there are many damned in hell there will consequently be a lot of smoke that will remain in all of hell because hell will be so closed that no smoke or breath will ever escape from it. Oh what a thing this smoke will be with the thick darkness and with the smell of sulfur that the damned will endure. This smoke that will enter their eyes, noses, and inside their bodies, will torment them because it is a painful thing to bear the smell.

With this smoke they will be suffocated and swollen and like the dead, because it is a fatal wound. If the smoke of the world when it enters in excess in the body of man makes him die, then all the more, and without comparison will the smoke of hell extinguish the damned and will keep them in perpetual death.

## The fear of the damned

The damned will have another torment. They will be in continual fear and of this the Holy Scripture speaks. Job XV *Tribulation shall terrify him and distress shall surround him.*<sup>46</sup> Also Job XVIII *Fears shall terrify him on every side.*<sup>47</sup> The fear that they will have will come from everywhere, inasmuch as it will not be only one fear but several. And the more this fear will come from everywhere the greater it will be. It will be much greater than most fears of this world and so they will be much more troubled and tormented to death. And to be more clear, if a man in this world had similar fear he would die from it.

The fear that the damned will have will be from the hideous faces of the devils that they will see and of which they will be

46. Jb. XV: 24.

47. Jb. XVIII: 11.

frightened and scared. Wisdom XVII *Sad visions appearing to them, affrighted them.*<sup>48</sup>

Also the fear that the damned will have will be because of the torments they will have to suffer. Because they are always in anguish and pain they will be afraid of the torments in which they are in and of those to come. [*\*Whence Gregory speaks on the word of Job and the eternal horror that inhabits (hell):*] But in hell both ‘the shadow of death’ darkens and ‘everlasting horror’ inhabits; in that they all, that are given over to its fires, both in their punishments undergo pain, and, in the pressure of pain coming upon them, they are ever stricken with fear, so that they both suffer what they dread, and increasingly dread what they are suffering.<sup>49</sup> They will also be afraid [97v] of what the others will

48. Ws. XVII: 4.

49. “Infernum uero et umbra mortis obscurat, et sempiternus horror inhabitat quia eius ignibus traditi, et in suppliciis dolorem sentiunt, et in doloris angustia pulsante se semper pauore feriuntur; ut et quod timent tolerant, et rursus quod tolerant sine cessatione pertimescant.” Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Job*, lib. 9, par. 66, lin. 4, ed. Marc Adriaen (1979), CCSL 143: 527. See also Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia*, lib. IX, cap. LXVI in PL 75: 914. Translation from Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job*, bk. IX, par. 100 (lxvi), trans. Members of the English Church (Oxford: John Henry Parker and London: J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1844), v. 1, pt. 1-2, 569. [\*] indicate the anonymous author’s words. The passage is attributed to Gregory in Prudentius Trecensis, died 861, *De praedestinatione*, in PL 115: 1229; Haymo Halberstatensis, d. 853, *De varietate liborum*, lib. III, cap. XLVI in PL 118: 952; Odo Cluniacensis, c. 878-942, *Moralia in Job*, lib. IX, cap. X in PL 133: 208; Peter of Waltham, Archdeacon of London, fl. 1190-1196, *Remediarius Conversorum* (A Synthesis in Latin of Gregory’s *Moralia in Job*), par. I, lib. VI, cap. VI, ed. Joseph Gildea (Villanova, PA: Villanova University Press, 1984), 266. The passage, “ignibus ...pertimescant,” appears but is not attributed to Gregory in Hincmar, Archbishop of Reims, c. 806-882, *De*

suffer because when they will hear them shout and howl they will be afraid that they will suffer the same torments that the others suffer. St. Gregory says that in this world the fear stops when one begins to suffer that which he feared, but in hell the fear increases when one suffers the pain. Gregory: *In these times when pain is inflicted fear grows quiet; among those in the under world the infliction of pain is the augmentation of fear.*<sup>50</sup> Also: *Here fear is gone so soon as the thing that was feared has begun to be suffered; There pain rends at the same time that fear pinches.*<sup>51</sup>

*cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis*, bk. 2, ch. 3, ed. Doris Nachtmann, (Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1998), 16: 190.

50. "In temporalibus cum pena infligitur timor quiescit; apud inferos pene inflictio timoris est augmentatio." This passage is not found among the authenticated works of Gregory I in the *LLT*. Stephanus de Borbone quotes and attributes it to Gregory's *Commentary on Job* in his *Tractatus de diuersis materiis praedicabilibus* (prologus et prima pars), pars. 1, tit. 4, cap. 5 lin. 1097, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002), CCCM 124: 107. The same passage is attributed to Gregory and quoted by Humbertus de Romanis c. 1194-1277, *Tractatus de dono timoris*, cap. 4, lin. 523, ed. Christine Boyer (2008), CCCM 218: 62.
51. "Hic metus amittitur cum tolerari iam ceperit (coeperit in PL and CCSL) quod timebatur, illic et dolor dilaniat, et pauor angustat." Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Job*, lib. 9, par. 66, lin. 12, ed. Marc Adriaen (1979), CCSL 143: 528. See also Gregory I, *Moralia*, lib. IX, cap. LXVI in PL 75: 914. Gregory the Great, *Morals on The Book of Job*, bk. IX, par. 100 (lxvi), trans. Members of the English Church (Oxford: John Henry Parker and London: J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1844), v. 1, pt. 1-2, 569. The passage also appears in Waltham's *Remediarium conversorum*, (see Hell VI, note 49). The passage is attributed to Gregory and quoted in the following: Stephanus de Borbone, died 1261, *Tractatus de diuersis materiis praedicabilibus*, De dono timoris prima, pars. 1, tit. 4, cap. 2, lin. 238, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002), CCCM 124: 74; Humbertus de Romanis, c. 1194-1277, *Tractatus de dono timoris*, cap. 4, lin. 363, ed. Christine Boyer (2008), CCCM 218: 55; and Thomas de Chobham, died c. 1233/1236, *Summa de arte praedicandi*, cap. 2, lin.

And for whatever torment they will suffer, their fear will not stop but will remain in them forever without end. Because like the torments and other things of which they will be afraid, their fear will never cease but will persevere in them forever to torment them continually from within just as they will be tormented from the outside. In this fear they will be forever because they were not afraid of God and were bold to break his commandments and to commit evil deeds.

## Lucifer, the prince of hell

The Holy Scripture says that his body is like a shield and with scales joined to each other. His teeth are horrible. His sneezing is resplendent with fire. A burning flame comes out of his mouth. Smoke like boiling oil comes out of his nostrils. Job XLI *His teeth are terrible round about. His body is like molten shields, shut close up with scales pressing upon one another. One is joined to another...They stick one to another, and they hold one another fast, and shall not be separated. His sneezing is like the shining of fire, and his eyes like the eyelids of the morning. Out of his mouth go forth lamps, like torches of lighted fire. Out of his nostrils goeth smoke, like that of a pot heated and boiling. His breath kindleth coals, and a flame cometh forth out of his mouth.*<sup>52</sup>

In another place the Holy Scripture says that Lucifer has seven heads and ten horns, which is a monstrous and awful thing to see. Apocalypse XII *And behold a great red dragon, having seven*

519, ed. Franco Morenzoni (1990), CCCM 82: 34. Passage appears but is not attributed to Gregory in Rabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in Ecclesiasticum*, lib. IX, cap. I in PL 109: 1048; and Haymo Halberstatensis, *De varietate librorum*, lib. III, cap. XLVI in PL 118: 952.

52. Jb. XLI: 5-12.

heads and ten horns.<sup>53</sup> He is so horrible to look at that it is a real hell to see him. [98r] [Figure 52] [98v]

## The nature and condition of the devils of hell

Devils are ugly, horrible, and awful to see. Of all the things that God ever created there is nothing as horrible or as awful to look at than the devils of hell. From their faces come bubbles of fire and ardent lightning. Nahum II *Their looks are like torches, like lightning running to and fro.*<sup>54</sup> From their eyes come forth arrows of fire. Their teeth are like tusks of elephants, big to torment. Their arms like heads of dragons, and their roars are like the roars of lions. Their looks frighten, give pain and the torment of death. These things are written in the Passion of Saint Sebastian. It is said: *In perpetual death the horrible angels remain, whose arms are the heads of snakes, whose eyes shoot forth fiery arrows; whose teeth are prominent like those of elephants; they goad and torment just as tails of scorpions; whose voices sound as roaring lions; whose appearance strikes trembling and at the same time anguish and death.*<sup>55</sup>

53. Ap. XII: 3.

54. Nh. II: 4.

55. "In morte perpetua atroces angeli commorantur, quorum brachia capita draconum sunt, quorum oculi ex se igneas sagittas jaculantur; quorum dentes sicut elephantis prominent, et stimulant ad tormentum veluti caudae scorpionum, quorum voces veluti leonum fremitus sonant, quorum aspectus tremorem incutit pariter et dolorem et mortem." Auctor incertus, *Acta S. Sebastiani*, cap. V, Opum deliciarumque usus in PL 17: 1029. Text is also found and attributed to the legend of blessed Sebastian in Stephanus de Borbone, *Tractatus de diuersis materiis praedicabilibus* (prologus et prima pars), pars. 1, tit. 4, cap. 4, lin. 974, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002),

They are so horrible to look at that to see them surmounts all other torment that may exist in this world. About this one reads that a religious man was in bed with others and began to shriek horribly and as the other brothers came to him he kept his eyes toward the wall, looking without saying anything. He was filled with fright and fear. In the morning the prior interrogated him about what happened to him during the night. He answered that he had seen the devil. The prior asked him what form and shape he had. He answered that he could not express it easily, but said that if he had seen a burning oven on one side and the figure of the devil on the other he would choose to enter into the burning oven rather than see the horrible figure of the devil.<sup>56</sup> And so, if the figure of a devil is so horrible that it is death to see it, what torment it will be to see such a multitude of devils in their ugly and horrible figures with their awful looks. To see them, the damned have horror and are all afraid and lost, all frightened and faint. The devils also are all full of furor and they are all mad and enraged. And this is on account of the horrible fire they feel because they burn inside and outside without any cure. In addition they are strong and powerful. They are

CCCM 124: 102. The tortures of hell were described in *Passion of St. Sebastian* and quoted earlier in *Hell V*, note 114.

56. The story is found in Humbertus de Romanis (Romans de Humbert), c. 1194-1277, *Tractatus de dono timoris* (*Tractatus de habundantia exemplorum ad omnem materiam*), cap. 4, lin. 471, ed. Christine Boyers (2008), CCCM 218: 60. Peter Reginaldette, fl. 1423-1434, recounts this story in his *The Mirror of the Final Retribution* and says that it is from the book, *De dono timoris* (*The Gift of Fear*). See Frater Petrus Reginaldetus, *Speculum finalis retributionis*, lib. I, pars. II, cap. V (Paris: Stephan Jehanot for Claudio Jaumar, 1495), 47. *The Mirror of the Final Retribution* is also available electronically in Latin and English, bk. I, par. II, ch. VI, 47, accessed May 1, 2020, <http://www.franciscan-archive.org/reginald/opera/sfr-07.html>.

stronger and more powerful than the damned. The damned have no strength or power against them. The devils do as they wish to the damned. [99r] [[Figure 53](#)] [99v]

## How the devils torment the damned

The damned will be delivered to the devils to be tormented by them who are like the executioners of divine justice. This is expressed in the Gospel. Matthew XVIII *He delivered him to the torturers.*<sup>57</sup> Also Luke XII *And the judge [will] deliver thee to the exactor, and the exactor cast thee into prison.*<sup>58</sup>

In many and various ways the devils torment the damned. They run back and forth on them and tread upon them with their feet. Job XX *The terrible ones shall go and come upon him.*<sup>59</sup> At times the devils take the damned and embrace them as their prey and scratch them so hard that they cannot breathe. Isaiah V *And they shall take hold of the prey, and they shall keep fast hold of it, and there shall be none to deliver it.*<sup>60</sup> [[Figure 54](#)]. [100r]

The devils will also bite the damned with all their teeth and will tear at them with all their nails and will devour them. This is expressed in the Holy Scripture. Habakkuk II *Shall they not rise up suddenly that shall bite thee: and they be stirred up that shall tear thee?*<sup>61</sup> [\*Accordingly, it is said of a condemned person] Jeremiah LI *He hath eaten me up, he hath devoured me. He hath swal-*

57. Mt. XVIII: 34.

58. Lk. XII: 58.

59. Jb. XX: 25.

60. Is. V: 29.

61. Hab. II: 7.

lowed me up like a dragon, he that filled his belly with my delicate meats.<sup>62</sup> [Figure 55] [100v]

The devils will torment the damned in other ways. They will pierce them with lances, swords and will wound them and tear at them on all parts of their bodies and will wound them with mortal blows. And this is expressed in the Holy Scripture. Job XVI *He hath compassed me round about, [\* that is the devil,] with his lances, he hath wounded my loins, he hath not spared, and hath poured out my bowels on the earth. He hath torn me with wound upon wound, he hath rushed in upon me like a giant.*<sup>63</sup> There were never similar murders or killings in this world because there were never executioners similar to the devils of hell. [Figure 56] [101r]

The devils also torment the damned in other ways, that is to say, they beat them with straps and big iron sticks so much that they cause their eyes to come out of their heads. And worse, they bruise and break them because they strike their heads with a big iron sledgehammer and knock them down like dogs and break their heads so that all their brains come out. And of this the Holy Scripture speaks. Proverbs XIX *Judgments are prepared for scorners: and striking hammers for the bodies of fools.*<sup>64</sup> Also Isaiah LIIII *Behold, I have created the smith that bloweth the coals in the fire, [\*that is the devil,] and bringeth forth an instrument for his work; [\* that is the devil torturing with a hammer a sinner to death]. [\*Whence it follows]: And I have created the killer to destroy.*<sup>65</sup> [Figure 57]. [101v]

In addition the devils will torment the damned in several other ways. They prepare for them several torments in several places

62. Jr. LI: 34. [\*] indicate anon. author's interpolation.

63. Jb. XVI: 14-15. [\*] indicate anon. author's comment.

64. Pr. XIX: 29.

65. Is. LIV: 16. [\*] indicate anon. author's clarification.

in which to cast them. And according to the several sins the damned have committed, the devils torture them with several torments. And it must be known that while tormenting the damned the devils shriek one to the other as it is expressed in the Holy Scripture. Isaiah XXXIII *Monsters and hairy ones shall cry out to one another.*<sup>66</sup> The devils shout one to the other because when a devil has tormented some damned in one fashion, he shouts to the other to come and get the damned in order to torment them in some other way, and he brings him others in order to torment them. And so, the damned according to the diversity of their sins will be tormented by the power of one devil and then by another devil. When they will have been tormented in one place by one devil and one torment they will be tormented in some other place by another devil and with another torment. And so from one torment they pass to another so that they are never without torment because they were never without sin. And this is expressed in the Holy Scripture. Job XX *He shall flee from weapons of iron, and shall fall upon a bow of brass.*<sup>67</sup> Also Ezekiel XV *They shall go out from fire, and fire shall consume them...because they have been transgressors.*<sup>68</sup> That is to say, that the damned will come out of the fire but it will not be to rest but to be subjected to other torments like cold water or pebbles or other painful tortures because there are so many types of sins in this world. Augustine, Book I from *The City of God*: *There is as great a diversity of punishments as there are sinners.*<sup>69</sup> And the devils are most eager and diligent to torment the

66. Is. XXXIV: 14. Passage quoted earlier in Hell V, n. 55.

67. Jb. XX: 24.

68. Ez. XV: 7-8.

69. "Tanta est autem suppliciorum, quanta est diversitas peccatorum."

The passage is erroneously attributed to Augustine's *City of God*. It is from his *Tractates on the Gospel of John*. See Augustinus Hipponensis,

damned. And they are so busy at it that they take no rest. To this they are deputized as executors of the divine justice in order to avenge God of their sins. And the Holy Scripture expresses this. Ecclesiasticus XXXIX *There are spirits that are created for vengeance, and in their fury they lay on grievous torments: In the time of destruction [102r] they shall pour out their force: and they shall appease the wrath of him that made them.*<sup>70</sup>

The will of God is that the devils torment the damned in this way, and each one of them according to what each has deserved, and God orders them so as the Holy Scripture says. Jeremiah L *Pay her according to her work: according to all that she hath done, do ye to her.*<sup>71</sup> Also Apocalypse XVIII *As much as she hath glorified herself, and hath been in delicacies, so much torment and sorrow give unto her.*<sup>72</sup> That is, give back to the sinner according to what he deserves and torment him according to what he has deserved. To the extent that he has glorified himself and has been in pleasures, give him an equal amount of torments. For all the pleasures he has had, he must have as many torments, as tit for tat. For his temporal vices and delights he must have eternal torment, and for all the pleasures he has had, the more harshly he must be tormented. It must be known that whatever the torments the damned suffer the devils never have pity or mercy

*Iohannis evangelium tractatus*, tract. 89, par. 4, lin. 23, ed. Radbod Wil-  
lens (1954), CCSL 36: 550. Aquinas quotes and attributes the text to  
Augustine's *Tractates* in his *Catena aurea in Iohannem*, cap. 15, lec. 6,  
lin. 55, *Commentaria in Scripturas*, in CT, 5: 425.

70. Ecli. XXXIX: 33-34. Anon. author inadvertently omits the last word of  
the verse "placabunt."

71. Jr. L: 29.

72. Ap. XVIII: 7.

on them, because they are cruel and without mercy as the Holy Scripture says. Jeremiah L *They are cruel and unmerciful.*<sup>73</sup>

About this one reads that once a man questioned a devil who was in a devil's den saying: "Tell me, devil, how much work would you be willing to suffer if you could return to the glory in which you were." He answered: "If it were my will I would prefer to go down into hell with a soul deceived by me rather than return to heaven." And as all wondered why he was saying that, he continued saying: "So great is my malice and I am so obstinate in it that I cannot want anything good." And it must be known that whatever torment the devils give the damned they are never satisfied and want to torment them always and never stop doing so and are never tired of doing it. And this is why the damned never have rest from them as the Holy Scripture says. Jeremiah XVI *There you shall serve strange gods day and night, which shall not give you any rest.*<sup>74</sup>

Oh how horrible it will be to the damned to be always in torments and to always suffer their torments ceaselessly. In this world the tyrants stop tormenting people at least when they are tired or when they must eat or sleep, but devils never stop neither day or night tormenting the damned. As they are all enraged and mad, [102v] so they must always expend their rage and fury upon the damned. And although they are thus enraged and mad, they take no pleasure in having the damned in their power and subjection to exercise on them their tyranny and to expend on them their fury and their tyranny. In doing this, they take no pleasure. All the more the damned were friendly to the devils in their life, all the more the devils torment them harshly and hurt them with their pains and torments. Gregory: *Whom we*

73. Jr. L: 42.

74. Jr. XVI: 13.

have had as promoters in our faults we will have as our deriders in punishments and torments.<sup>75</sup> Here it must be said that although the devils are so cruel and horrible to the damned, to the people of this world they do not show their cruelty but hide it from them and present themselves sweet and pleasant in order to better deceive them. And the Holy Scripture speaks of this. Job XXI *He hath been acceptable to the gravel of Cocytus.*<sup>76</sup> By the gravels of the infernal river it must be understood the damned were given sweets, delights and enjoyable things, honors and dignities that make their heart swell, embolden them to seek their desires, riches, abundance of goods, to make them live carnally. The damned were given all these things in order to tie them with ties of guilt, to attract them into hell, so that when he (the devil) holds them there, he shows them his whole cruelty and all his fury and madness.

75. "Quos habuimus intentores in culpis habebimus irrisores (derisores in CCCM) in penis (in MS. and Humbertus) (poenis in Reginaldetus) et tormentis." This does not to appear in the authenticated works by Gregory in the LLT, however it is quoted and attributed to Gregory in Stephanus de Borbone, died 1261, *Tractatus de diuersis materiis praedicabilibus* (prologus et prima pars), pars. 1, tit. 4, cap. 4, lin. 1008, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002), CCCM 124: 103, and in Humbertus de Romanis, c. 1194-1277, *Tractatus de dono timoris* (*Tractatus de abundantia exemplorum ad omnem materiam*), cap. 4, lin. 501, ed. Christine Boyer (2008), CCCM 218: 61. It appears in Petrus Reginaldetus, fl. 1423-1434, *Speculum finalis retributionis*, bk. 1, par. 2, ch. 6 (Paris: Etienne Jehannot for Claude Jaumar, 1495), 48 and author is not given. *Speculum finalis* is available in Latin and English on the web, see note 56.

76. Jb. XXI: 33. Reference to Cocytus was made earlier in Hell V, n. 76. It was described as as river of boiling metal in Hell. In Greek mythology a is one of the rivers of Hades. It means "river of lamentation." See Paul Harvey, *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 112.

## The cries of devils

The damned are troubled by the cries of the devils of hell who shout all together with great clamors as if all enraged, and hell is totally resounding with their clamors. Jeremiah LI *They shall roar like lions.*<sup>77</sup> Also Wisdom XVIII *But on the other side there sounded an ill-according cry of the enemies.*<sup>78</sup> And the damned are all frightened by these clamors so that they would prefer **[103r]** other harsh torment than to hear those clamors because it is a horror to hear them and a confusion of death.

## The damned in hell will be struck by lightning, hail and storms

The damned will have another torment in hell: they will be struck by lightning, hail and storms. And of this the Holy Scripture speaks. Wisdom V *Then shafts of lightning shall go directly from the clouds... And thick hail shall be cast upon them from the stone-casting wrath.*<sup>79</sup> Also Ecclesiasticus XXXIX *Fire, hail, famine, and death: all these were created for vengeance.*<sup>80</sup> Also Psalm *He shall rain snares upon sinners: fire and brimstone, and storms of winds...*<sup>81</sup>

These authorities say that lightning, hail and storms will be sent upon the damned. The hail, lightning, and storms will be the devils upon the damned and will be so horrible that the damned will be broken and torn and horribly tormented. Then

77. Jr. LI: 38.

78. Ws. XVIII: 10.

79. Ws. V: 22-23.

80. Ecl. XXXIX: 35.

81. Ps. X: 7.

the damned will be able to say: “Here is death. Ha, what death is this? Whoever sees such torment? We are dead.” This will not only be to torment them but also to make them despair –when from all sides they will be so broken and tormented from bottom to top. Wisdom IIII *For he shall burst them puffed up and speechless, and shall shake them from the foundations, and they shall be utterly laid waste: they shall be in sorrow, and their memory shall perish.*<sup>82</sup> So if toward the end of the world men will blame God for the hail that God sends upon them, as it is written in the Apocalypse XVI *And great hail like a talent came down from heaven upon men: and men blasphemed God, because of the plague of the hail: for it was exceeding great*<sup>83</sup> –all the more the damned will be desperate and provoked, blaming God for the horrible hail, lightning, and burning storm that will fall on them. [103v] [Figure 58] **Texts beneath figure:** Jeremiah XV *Such are for death to death.*<sup>84</sup> Zachariah XI *That which dieth, let it die.*<sup>85</sup> [104r]

82. Ws. IV: 19.

83. Ap. XVI: 21. According to the O.E.D. (Oxford English Dictionary) a “talent is a denomination of weight used by the Assyrians, Babylonians, Greeks, Romans, and the ancient nations; varying greatly with time, people and locality. The Royal Babylonian silver talent averaged about 29.87 kilograms or 65 lb. 13 oz.” See *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 2: 3227. Marvin A. Powell points out that “No precise weight is intended by the talent-sized hailstones poured out of the bowl of the seventh angel in Rev. 16: 21, but they would have been formidable, weighing, even by the late Jewish definition of the talent at least 20.4 kg.” Marvin A. Powell, “Weights and Measures,” *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1992), 6: 907.

84. Jr. XV: 2.

85. Zc. XI: 9.

## The damned will not be able to sleep

In hell the damned will be greatly troubled by one thing, this is to say, they will not sleep. Hell is not a quiet place where one can sleep, but is full of noises and clamors so the damned will never be able to sleep between their hurts and pains. In this world if a man is without sleep for three or four nights he is ill, in a bad mood, all disorganized, and very annoyed. What will it be for the damned who will never sleep but will have to stay awake continuously without sleeping? Job XXI *He shall be brought to the graves, and shall watch in the heap of the dead.*<sup>86</sup> The damned will be so perturbed by this that if they had no other torment it would be already a great pain and misery.

## The quality of the bodies of the damned

The bodies of the damned will not have the beauty they used to have when alive, because all this beauty will go away and will be lost as the devils have lost the beauty they used to have and have become ugly, awful, and all disfigured. And the Holy Scripture speaks of the fact that the damned will lose their beauty. Job XVIII *Let it (hunger) devour the beauty of his skin.*<sup>87</sup> In the place of this beauty they will be ugly, disfigured, and hideous to see, so much that it will be awful to look at them. *Augustine in the book, City of God: If that temporal fire makes ugly and blackens bodies of light and beauty how much more will that infernal fire which is base and dark?*<sup>88</sup> So St. Augustine says, “If the temporal

86. Jb. XXI: 32.

87. Jb. XVIII: 13.

88. “Si ignis iste temporalis omnia corpora lucida et decora deturpat et denigrat quanto magis ille ignis infernalis turpis et obscurus.” This

fire turns ugly and blackens the shining and beautiful bodies, all the more the ugly and dark fire of hell will turn ugly the bodies of the damned.” And to better understand the ugliness of the bodies of the damned it must be known that they will be black like victims of the plague, and like coals. Lamentations III *Their face is now made blacker than coals.*<sup>89</sup> Also Nahum II *The faces of them all are as the blackness of a kettle.*<sup>90</sup> Also Baruch VI *Their faces are black with the smoke.*<sup>91</sup> These authorities state that the faces of the damned and consequently their bodies [104v] will be black. And this is proper to the people of hell to be black like the devils so that their blackness agrees with hell that is a black place, very obscure, and dark, and with the devils who are extremely black. This is because the damned are not worthy to have any beauty more than the devils of hell. They will also have their faces all burnt and burning, and that will be a terrible thing to see and horrible to bear.

They will have their eyes all burning and their heads full of fire as we see when a man of iron is taken out of the furnace. They will be all red with fire and all burning outside and inside, so much that one must step back because of the sparks they throw. The damned will be weak and impotent and will have no strength or vigor to move, or scratch off the worms from their faces and

passage does not appear in Augustine's *City of God*, however, both Humbertus de Romanis and Stephanus de Borbone erroneously claim the passage is from Augustine's *City of God*. Humbertus, *Tractatus de dono timoris*, cap. 4, lin. 608, ed. Christine Boyer (2008), CCCM 218: 66. Stephanus de Borbone, *Tractatus de diuersis materiis praedicationibus*(prologus et prima pars), pars. 1, tit. 4, cap. 6, lin. 1220, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002), CCCM 124: 112. I have not been able to ascertain the author of the passage.

89. Lm. IV: 8.

90. Nh. II: 10.

91. Bar. VI: 20.

their bodies. This will not be surprising, because if a corporeal illness in this world weakens and makes the body of man so weak that he can hardly turn from one side to the other, the pains of hell will weaken all the more the bodies of the damned. They will have no strength or power. Isaiah I *And your strength shall be as the ashes of tow.*<sup>92</sup> Also Job XVIII *Let the first born, death, consume his arms.*<sup>93</sup>

The bodies of the damned between their torments will be totally naked and the Holy Scripture expresses this. Job XXVI *Hell is naked before him, and there is no covering for destruction.*<sup>94</sup> That is to say, hell is naked in front of God because God sees all that people do in hell. St. Gregory says the phrase, “Hell is naked and perdition has no protection,” which means the enemies and the damned are all naked without clothes and without cover. And also for no reason the damned would have clothes because they [105r] would not last in the fire, and no clothes could protect them from the fire of hell from entering inside their bodies. The damned will have pains and torments throughout their bodies, and all their limbs will have more pain than if they were cut or torn each from its place and separated from the body.

In addition, the limbs which will have been more applied to evil will have more torment. Each limb will suffer a proper torment for each sin so that it will be punished according to how it sinned, according to the Holy Scripture. Wisdom XI *By what things a man sinneth, by the same also he is tormented.*<sup>95</sup> And to understand better, the one who will have sinned with his eyes will be punished by visions of devils. Who will have sinned with his ears in listening willingly to slander and speaking ill of others

92. Is. I: 31.

93. Jb. XVIII: 13.

94. Jb. XXVI: 6.

95. Ws. XI: 17.

or in taking pleasure in songs of flutes or other sounds of vanity will be punished by hearing terrible clamors and thunders.

He who will have sinned with the nose in smelling things of good fragrance for a bad reason, will be punished with their nose, smelling a horrible stench. He who will have sinned with his mouth by not enjoying properly good wines and delicate foods will be punished with his mouth by bitterness of famine. He who will have sinned with his tongue in speaking badly will be punished through his tongue by a horrible fire that will burn his tongue. He who will have sinned by his hands and feet will be punished through his hands and feet with chains with which he will be tied. Matthew XXII *Bind him hand and foot and cast him into exterior darkness.*<sup>96</sup> He who has always had his own way will be punished by having to do things contrary to his will. Who will have abandoned himself to vanities and dissolution will be closely restrained. Job XX *He shall be straitened; and he shall burn.*<sup>97</sup> Who will have had pleasure in curious things, in disguises, in new things will be severely punished. Job XX *According to the multitude of his devices so also shall he suffer.*<sup>98</sup> He will suffer for vain joys, sadness, anguish of heart. He will suffer cries and laments for the pleasures and consolations of the world. [105v]

And so the damned will have diverse pains throughout the limbs of their bodies. They will have darkness in their eyes and vision of devils; in their ears clamor and terrors; in their noses smoke and stench; the taste in their mouths will be of famine and bitterness; on their hands and feet binding chains and ties. They will utter moans with their voices and have fear in their hearts. And inside their bodies there will be so many torments

96. Mt. XXII: 13.

97. Jb. XX: 22.

98. Jb. XX: 18.

that each part of the body of the damned will be considered to be a hell. And so the damned will be more tormented to have their bodies than if they did not have them. Because of the soul the bodies will be sensitive to suffer torments. They would not be sensitive without the souls. And the bodies will suffer so much for their excesses as for the demerits of the souls. And the soul will suffer for the bad actions and for the vices of the flesh because it is involved as much as it did not castigate the body, or take it away from carnality but followed the pleasures of the body. The silent beasts are lucky compared to the damned because they were killed and skinned only once and it is over. But what the damned suffer is forever and ever. And it is by the just judgment of God, because as they were reasonable creatures they did not use their reason and for this they are compared to irrational beasts, and because they acted worse than the beasts they deserved to get worse than the brutal beasts. [\[Figure 59\]](#) (Latin text beneath picture) <sup>99</sup>Isaiah III *Woe to their soul, for evils are rendered to them.* **[106r]**

## The pains of hell are without measure and without moderation

The pains of hell are not in proportion to the damned according to their capacity to bear them. They are also not ordered so that each would get them according to what he can suffer, but they are beyond measure and above all their capacity and more than they can bear. They are forced to bear them, suffer and endure, and there is no escape. There is no remedy. We read in the Holy Scripture that the pains were imposed according to the faults

99. Is. III: 9.

of man and it is written in the laws of God. Deuteronomy XXV *According to the measure of the sin shall the measure also of the stripes be.*<sup>100</sup> But this law will not be kept in hell with the damned because without law, without order, without measure, all sorts of torments will be given to them and several torments they will have all together. And being in torments they will complain of those torments. Other torments they will receive, torment upon torment. Job XVI *He hath torn me with wound upon wound, he hath rushed in upon me like a giant.*<sup>101</sup>

And it must be known that the horribleness of the torments will surmount the sins beyond measure. And this is expressed in the Holy Scripture. Job VI *O that my sins, whereby I have deserved wrath, and the calamity that I suffer, were weighed in a balance. As the sand of the sea, this would appear heavier.*<sup>102</sup> Job, lamenting his corporal tribulations, desired that his sins and the misery he suffered were put on a scale to be weighed. Thus his tribulation, just like the stones of the sea, would appear to be greater than his sins. And therefore if the temporal tribulation is considered greater than the sins just like the stones of the sea are great and without number, all the more without comparison the pain of hell will be considered greater than the sins. And if the corporeal illnesses are so painful, when for a single illness man is all dejected and in great pain and misery, what will it be of the torments of hell? **[106v]** If the people are full of anguish for the little hurt they suffer, human nature is so weak that it cannot bear nor suffer harm without being totally troubled, what will it be for the damned among the torments of hell? So great will be the tor-

100. Dt. XXV: 2.

101. Jb. XVI: 15. Passage quoted earlier in Hell VI, n. 63.

102. Jb. VI: 2-3. A contemporary translation of the same scripture reads: "If only my misery could be weighed and all my ills be put on the scales! But they outweigh the sands of the seas..." from the Jerusalem Bible.

ments with which they will be subjected from all sides that they will not know where to turn. St. Jerome says that the intensity of pain will be so great in hell that the mind will not be able to think of anything else except the intensity of the torments that it will suffer. Jerome: *The power of grief in hell is so great that the mind will not be able to be directed to another thing, except to what the power of pain impels it.*<sup>103</sup>

One reads that a disciple appeared to his master after his death and as the master knew that he was damned he asked him if there were some questions in hell. He answered him that in hell there are no questions, only pains. And it must be known that the pains are continuous, without cease. The end of the Lamentations of Jeremiah. *...we were weary, and no rest was given us.*<sup>104</sup> That means that the damned are in continual sadness. If they were relieved of pain sometimes to have some rest it would be a great relief and consolation, but because they need to be in perpetual pain always and continually feel anguish and sorrows they suffer the worst death of all possible deaths.

103. "Tanta in inferno est vis doloris quod mens ad aliud dirigi non poterit nisi ad quod vis doloris impellit." I have not been able to discover a verifiable author. The passage is attributed to Gregorius in *Regula S. Benedicti*, cap. IIII, tract. XXXV, ed. Juan de Torquemada (Cologne: Geruinum Calenium and haeredes Quentelios, 1575), 114. This passage is attributed also to Jerome (Hieronymus) and quoted in Ludolphus de Saxonia, 1300-1377/8, *Vita Jesu Christi: ex Evangelio et approbatis ab ecclesia catholica doctoribus sidule collecta*, pt. 2, cap. LXXXVIII, ed. Louis Marie Rigollot (Paris: Victorem Palmé, 1870), 4: 813. The passage attributed to Jerome is not found among his work in the LLT.

104. Lm. V: 5.

# Hell VII [106v-121v]

## The damned will have neither comfort nor remedy

The damned are deprived of all goods, of all comfort and of all remedy. First they are deprived of all goods that they had in this world because they will not be able to get any of them. About this there are authorities in the Holy Scripture. Psalm *Be thou not afraid, when a man shall be made rich, and when the glory of his house shall be increased. For when he shall die, he shall take nothing away; nor shall his glory descend with him.*<sup>1</sup> Also Job XXVII *The rich man when he shall sleep shall take away nothing with him.*<sup>2</sup> Also Apocalypse XVIII *And the fruits of the desire of thy soul are departed from thee and all fat, and [107r] goodly things are perished from thee.*<sup>3</sup>

The damned will not only be deprived of all goods, they will also be filled with want, misery, and poverty. Job XXVII *Poverty, like water shall take hold on him.*<sup>4</sup> Oh in what misery the damned will be who during their lives have had goods without suffering, when the opposite will happen to them! That means that they will be deprived of all goods and filled with all sorts of ills. Also they will have no consolation nor comfort from God because they are condemned by God forever and ever—for God will not ever give them any comfort. Lamentations IIII *The face of the Lord hath divided them, he will no more regard them.*<sup>5</sup> Also Job

1. Ps. XLVIII: 17-18.

2. Jb. XXVII: 19.

3. Ap. XVIII: 14.

4. Jb. XXVII: 20.

5. Lm. IV: 16.

XXIII Let mercy forget him.<sup>6</sup> Also Ecclesiastes IX *The memory of them is forgotten.*<sup>7</sup> Also Psalm *Like the slain sleeping in the sepulchres, whom thou rememberest no more: and they are cast off from thy hand.*<sup>8</sup>

The damned are so alienated from God that God will never have pity on them even though they are harshly tormented and in distress. Also they will have no consolation from the world granted by the Holy Church. And this is expressed by what the Holy Scripture says. Ecclesiastes IX *Neither have they any part in this world, and in the work that is done under the sun.*<sup>9</sup>

Some say that when one prays for the damned, they are tormented all the more. Others think on the contrary and say that when one prays for them they receive less pain, but it is better to believe that no matter what good gesture or prayer you make, no matter what you do for them, they receive nothing better because they are not in a state in which a good gesture can be of any benefit to them. For any prayer said for them, they get nothing worse because the torments that they suffer are assigned and imposed on them according to their demerits—so much that they cannot bear any more. To say that when one prays for them they receive worse torments is not founded in reason. The damned will have no comfort from each other. The father will not be able to give comfort to his son, nor the son to the father, nor the brother to the brother because each will be totally confused in himself and toward others as [107v] the Holy Scripture says. Isaiah XIII *Everyone shall be amazed at his neighbor.*<sup>10</sup>

6. Jb. XXIV: 20.

7. Ec. IX: 5.

8. Ps LXXXVII: 6.

9. Ec. IX: 6.

10. Is. XIII: 8.

Also none of them will have comfort from the fact that several will be with him because he will not have less pain. On the contrary, the larger the multitude of the damned, the pain and misery will be multiplied equally to each of them and will be greater. For this the bad rich man does not want his brothers to come to hell, not because he loved them but because he would have more misery. So the damned will have no remedy, no assistance, and no comfort because they are condemned by God. All remedy stops and they will not find anybody to help or assist them in any way. Psalm *Their help shall decay in hell from their glory.*<sup>11</sup> Also Job XI *The eyes of the wicked shall decay, and the way to escape shall fail them, and their hope the abomination of the soul.*<sup>12</sup> So the damned will not have anyone to whom they can ask for help or comfort except the devil. Nahum III *Therefore thou shalt be made drunk, and shalt be despised: and thou shalt seek help from the enemy.*<sup>13</sup> By this authority it is signified that the damned will ask help from the devil. Oh very sweet God, to what necessity they will come when they will ask help from the devil? Never would they have anything from him but torment, because he could not change, he could not have a change of heart, as he is only motivated to torment them. Oh in what great sadness and in what distress the damned will be when they will see themselves thus condemned by God and when they will have lost the blessed vision of God and the joys of eternal paradise? St. Augustine speaks of this saying that there is no greater pain than to have lost the vision of God and of the joys of paradise. Augustine: *There is nothing greater and more ruinous than to be deprived*

11. Ps. XLVIII: 15.

12. Jb. XI: 20.

13. Nh. III: 11.

from the vision of God and lose all the glory of paradise.<sup>14</sup> And not only have they lost everything, and God and the company of the angels and saints, but also they are taken to the company of the devils and condemned to the torments of hell forever and ever. They are in great distress and have a heavy heart with sadness so much that it could not be worse. And it is not surprising because it is an irreparable situation. [108r]

## The complaints, cries and screams of the damned

For the pains and torments in which the damned will be and for the anguish and pains that they will suffer in hell, several things will happen to them and several inconveniences about which we must present in order. It must be known that when they will have gone down into hell and will see how they will be treated, they will complain loudly and will groan. And of this the prophet speaks. Zachariah XII *The land shall mourn*, [*\*that is the land of the damned*], *families and families apart*.<sup>15</sup>

The families from one part and another will complain in hell. The proud will complain on one side and the misers on the other. The envious will complain in one place and the angry in another place; the gluttons on one side and the lustful on the other;

14. "Nulla pena maior, id est, quam carentia visionis Dei, et privatio omnium gaudiorum paradisi." I have not found a verifiable author. Stephanus de Borbone cites Augustine as author of the phrase, "Nulla pena...Dei," in his *Tractatus de diuersis materiis praedicabilibus* (prologue et prima pars), pars. 1, tit. 4, cap. 8, lin. 1442-1444, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002), CCCM 124: 120. The passage is abbreviated and attributed to Augustine again in the same work, tit. 5, cap. 5, lin. 689, CCCM 124: 163. The passage does not appear in Augustine's *Opera omnia* in the LLT.

15. Zc. XII: 12. [\*] indicate anon. author's interjection.

usurers in one place and thieves in another; robbers on one side and murderers on the other. And according to the nature of torments, they will shriek aloud with great clamors and they will scream horribly. And of this God speaks through the prophet. Isaiah LXV *Behold my servants shall praise for joyfulness of heart, and you shall cry for sorrow of heart, and shall howl for grief of spirit.*<sup>16</sup> Also Isaiah XV *In their streets all shall howl.*<sup>17</sup> A scream is a confused voice coming from great anguish and horrible pain. The Holy Scripture says that the pains of the damned will be like the pains of a woman giving birth. Isaiah XIII *They shall be in pain as a woman in labour.*<sup>18</sup> However, the anguish and torments of the damned will be greater without comparison than the pains of a woman in travail giving birth. And consequently then clamors will be greater and more horrible than the clamors of a woman giving birth. Oh how terrible it will be to hear such a great multitude of the damned shriek and scream and complain all together! It is a horror and a confusion of death so much so that if a man at the door of hell had once heard them shriek never would he have joy in his heart again. And therefore in hell one hears nothing [108v] but screaming, crying, lamenting, and complaining. Their clamors and cries are to no avail to them because they will have no mercy, no pardon as St. Augustine says: *In vain the sinners will weep. They will not gain forgiveness from their shepherds.*<sup>19</sup>

16. Is. LXV: 14.

17. Is. XV: 3.

18. Is. XIII: 8.

19. "Frustra flebunt peccatores. Veniam pastorum suorum non consequuntur." The passage is not in the authenticated works of Augustine in the LLT. The sentences are quoted with minor changes and attributed to Augustine by Stephanus de Borbone, *Tractatus de diuersis materiis praedicabilibus* (prologus et prima pars), pars. 1, tit. 4, cap. 2, lin. 423,

Their clamors are to no avail to them because their clamors, their torments, and pains do not cease as Job says in the person of a damned. Job XVI *If I speak, my pain will not rest: and if I hold my peace, it will not depart from me.*<sup>20</sup> That is to say, “If I speak my pain does not cease and if I keep quiet it does not leave me.” And so no matter what clamors they utter they receive no help and do not find remedy, and their pain does not decrease at all. In addition the damned curse the day and the hour when they were born, and the fathers who engendered them, and the mothers who carried them. And it is not surprising because for lesser pain many have cursed the day when they were born, as Job who says: *Let the day perish wherein I was born, and the night in which it was said: A man-child is conceived.*<sup>21</sup> Also Jeremiah XX *Cursed be the day, wherein I was born.*<sup>22</sup> And it is not surprising if the damned curse the day when they were born or when they were aborted out of the belly of their mother. In the Gospel our Lord says that Judas who was damned wished he had never been born.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore the damned will be in a worse position because they will eat their tongues from the pain and rage

ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002), CCCM 124: 81.  
Borbone cites the passage again in the same work, tit. 4, cap. 3, lin.  
875, CCCM 124: 98.

20. Jb. XVI: 7.

21. Jb. III: 3.

22. Jr. XX: 14.

23. In Matthew 26: 24 and Mark 14: 21, Jesus speaks of the fate of his betrayer: “It would be better for that man if he had never been born.” Scripture is from the New English Bible. For the account of Judas Iscariot as adversary of Christ in the Gospels and Acts see John 6:70; 12: 4-6. For Judas betrayer of Christ see Mt. 26: 14-16, 47-50; Mk. 14: 10-11, 43-45; Lk. 22: 3-6, 47-49; Jn. 13: 2; 18: 2-5; Acts 1: 16-25. For prophecies concerning Judas see Mt. 26: 21-25; Mk. 14: 18-21; Lk. 22: 21-23; Jn. 13: 18-26; 17: 12; Acts 1: 16, 20.

they will have, and they will blame the God of heaven. And in this the Holy Scripture will be accomplished. Apocalypse XVI *They gnawed their tongues for pain. And they blasphemed the God of heaven, because of their pains, and wounds.*<sup>24</sup> But from their blasphemies they will have worse because the dragons of hell will bite their lips for their outrages as we read in the passion of Saint Sebastian.

## The hatred that the damned will have for each other

[109r] Among the damned there will be eternal hatred. First among the devils because, although they are now of one agreement to tempt and deceive people, they will have greater hatred among them, because the nature and condition of the devils is not to love anything but to hate everything. And it must be known that the devils will rise against Lucifer and attack him. And of this the prophet speaks. Isaiah XIII *Hell below was in an uproar to meet thee at thy coming, it stirred up the giants for thee. [\*It moved the demons against you.]*<sup>25</sup> And of this the prophet speaks. Ezekiel XXXII *The most mighty among the strong ones shall speak to him from the midst of hell.*<sup>26</sup>

The devils will speak to Lucifer and they will reproach him for his actions and they will curse him saying: "Cursed be the hour when you were ever born and when we ever saw you. Because of you we lost our dignity and our place in paradise. Because of you we died and are damned forever and ever. Because of your pride you urged us to follow you. You opened to us the door of death. Cursed be you!" And just the same Lucifer will attack

24. Ap. XVI: 10-11.

25. Is. XIV: 9. [\*] indicate commentary by anon. author.

26. Ez. XXXII: 21.

them saying: “Cursed be you. Because you followed me and have fallen in ruin because of me, I am in more horrible torment.” The devils also hold the damned in eternal hatred. And it is for their damnation and horrible torments that they suffer and it is why they are all moved to hatred and surely against the damned. The hatred they have against them appears clearly in the fact that they torment them in every possible way and without ceasing. And similarly the damned hate the devils as their cruel enemies and adversaries who make them suffer so many torments. And where there is eternal hatred, there will be eternal fighting, quarrels and kicking. The damned also have hatred among themselves for the misery in which they are and for the stench that they smell from each other. [109v] And they always have quarrels and tensions among each other, and reproach each other over their ills, and curse each other, and eat each other like dogs. Fathers curse their sons when they are damned for unjustly winning over their sons. The sons curse their fathers for not having raised them well and for being damned because of it. Job XXI *God shall lay up the sorrow of the father for his children: and when he shall repay, then shall he know.*<sup>27</sup> Also Ecclesiasticus XLI *The children will complain of an ungodly father, because for his sake they are a reproach.*<sup>28</sup>

## The damned would like to get out of hell but will not be able

Because of the torments that the damned suffer they would like to get out of hell and to be out of their miseries. But the conclusion is such that they will never come out of hell in any case

27. Jb. XXI: 19.

28. Ecli. XLI: 10.

whatsoever because what hell receives once, it keeps it forever and ever and never lets it escape. About this there are several authorities in the Holy Scripture. Job XVII *He that shall go down to hell shall not come up. Nor shall he return any more into his house.*<sup>29</sup> Also Wisdom II *No man hath been known to return from hell.*<sup>30</sup> Also Isaiah VIII *They cannot fly away from their distress.*<sup>31</sup> Also Lamentations III *He hath built against me round about, that I may not get out: he hath made my fetters heavy.*<sup>32</sup> These authorities say that the damned will remain in hell forever without end, without ever coming out of it because they will not be put in hell to be ever freed from it, but to remain there without end. From the prison of this world one can well escape sometimes by serving the man who guards the prison or by giving him some gift and by breaking out of prison. In hell, however, all these things will not happen because services or prayers will be in vain. These things will be in vain: gifts, industry, subtlety, advice, and force. One must always remain in prison and stay there forever because in hell there is no ransom, no remedy, nothing at all. **[110r]**

And after the Day of Judgment when all the damned will be in hell, hell will be closed and it will never be opened again. What God closes nobody can open. Job XII *If he shut up a man, there is none that can open.*<sup>33</sup> Also Apocalypse III *He shutteth, and no man openeth.*<sup>34</sup> Also Isaiah XIII [Is this the man] that opened not

29. Error in MS. It should be Jb. VII: 9-10.

30. Ws. II: 1.

31. Is. VIII: 22.

32. Lm. III: 7.

33. Jb. XII: 14.

34. Ap. III: 7.

the prison to his prisoners?<sup>35</sup> Also Matthew V Amen, I say to thee, thou shalt not go out from thence, till thou pay the last farthing.<sup>36</sup> Also Matthew XVIII [And his lord] delivered him to the torturers until he should pay all the debt.<sup>37</sup> In these writings it is said that the damned will never come out of hell.

Because in hell there is no satisfaction, it follows that the damned will remain there forever. Such is the law of hell that any man who goes down into it never returns from it, and will never find remedy. However those who are still in this world, who are condemned to the death of hell because of their mortal sins, they can remedy their condition by repenting of their sins and by doing penance, praying, fasting, and giving alms, and by doing works of mercy. So, whoever wants to be spared from the death of hell and delivered from eternal pains must not wait to go down into hell, but must deliver himself in his life while he can because if he waits for the time when he goes down into hell he will have waited too long.

### **The damned will want to die and will not be able, there will be no remedy.**

The damned will want to die. In this world everything that has a life naturally wants to escape from death, but in hell it will be the opposite because the damned will want to die. And this is not surprising because for the least affliction we suffer in this world we want to die as we read of the prophet Jonah who because of a

35. Is. XIV: 17. [ ] indicate inclusion of part of Is. XIV: 16 to make the passage clear.

36. Mt. V:26.

37. Mt. XVIII: 34. [ ] indicate inclusion of part of Mt. XVIII: 34 to make passage clear.

little heat from the sun wanted to die, saying “Better to die than to live.” Jonah III *And he desired for his soul that he might die, and said: [110v] It is better for me to die than to live...I am angry with reason even unto death.*<sup>38</sup>

Also we read of Job that because of his corporeal affliction he desired death. Job VII *My soul chooseth hanging, and my bones death.*<sup>39</sup> And so, if for any corporeal tribulation people desire death in this world, it is not surprising if the damned desire death in hell and that they seek it. The Holy Scripture says this to be true. Jeremiah VIII *Death shall be chosen rather than life.*<sup>40</sup> However, although they desire to die completely in order to put an end to their life and torments, that will not be possible. If they could die they would have it easy. If it could happen by force of fire or by being in hell a long time; if they could be exterminated and reduced to nothing they would be very happy. But they will not be able to die whether by force of fire, nor through any torment, nor by staying a long time in hell, nor for any other reason. The reason is that the soul is immortal and so man cannot be exterminated as the book of Wisdom says, chapter II. *God created man incorruptible.*<sup>41</sup> Also Job XX *He shall be punished for all that he did, and yet shall not be consumed.*<sup>42</sup>

These authorities say that man cannot be consumed, terminated or exterminated. And for this reason the damned will

38. Error in MS. It should be Jn. IV: 8-9.

39. Jb. VII: 15.

40. Jr. VIII: 3.

41. Ws. II: 23. The Vulgate reads: “Deus creavit hominem inextermibilem.” It is interesting to compare the translation found in the Douay-Rheims Bible (above) with two other versions. The Jerusalem Bible reads: “Yet God did make man imperishable.” The New English Bible reads: “But God created man for immortality.”

42. Jb. XX: 18.

desire death in vain, because they will not find it as the Holy Scripture says. Job III *They look for death, and it cometh not.*<sup>43</sup> Also Apocalypse IX *Men shall seek death, and shall not find it: and they shall desire to die, and death shall fly from them.*<sup>44</sup> These authorities say that the damned will never die, and consequently they will have to live forever in torments, anguish and pains, sadness, and bitterness. And of this Job is surprised and complains saying: “Why is life given to those who are in bitterness of soul?” Job III *Why is light given to him that is in misery, and life to them that are in bitterness of soul?*<sup>45</sup> Because their life is a death in which [111r] there is no end, it seems to them that it would have been better if they had had no life at all. Oh in what tribulation the damned will be who will want to die and still they will not be able to, but will have life without life, because the life they will have would be better called death than life. They will have death without death because although they are in continual death, they will be always living so that they will always be in death. Psalm *He shall labor for ever, [\*that is in torment,] and shall live until the end.*<sup>46</sup> And therefore they will always die and will always live. They will always live so that they always remain in the torments of death. They will not be able to die when they want nor as they wish because they did not want to live in grace when they could have. Gregory in Dialogo XLVII: *The sinners have in hell death without dying, decay without decaying, an end without ending because death is immortal.*<sup>47</sup>

43. Jb. III: 21.

44. Ap. IX: 6.

45. Jb. III: 20.

46. Ps XLVIII: 9-10. [\*] indicate anon. author's commentary on the scripture.

47. “Habent reprobi in inferno mortem sine morte, defectum sine defectu, finem sine fine, quia mors est immortalis, defectus indeficiens, finis

Bernard: O death how sweet you would be for those for whom you have been so bitter, should they possess you as one for whom they longed. They will desire you alone, those who violently hated you.<sup>48</sup> So St. Bernard says of the death of the damned: “Oh death

ininitus.” Gregorius I, *Dialogi*, lib. IV, cap. XLV in PL 77: 405. See also Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogorum*, lib. IV, cap. 47, lin. 14, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé (1979), in SC 265: 166. The closest rendering is found in Stephanus de Borbone who attributes the passage to Gregory, saying it is from his *Dyalogis*, IIII, XLVIII in his *Tractatus de diuersis materiis praedicabilibus* (prologus et prima pars), pars. 1, tit. 4, cap. 3, lin. 512, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002), CCCM 124: 85. The passage appears and is attributed to Gregory in the following sources: Haymo Halberstatensis, b. late eighth century–853, *De varietate librorum*, lib. III, cap. XXXIV in PL 118: 948. Burchardus Wormaciensis, 965–1025, *Libri decretorum*, Argumentum libri, cap. 72 in PL 140: 1044; Ivo Carnotensis, c. 1040–1116, *Decretum*, pars 17, cap. 89 in PL 161: 1003; passage appears but is not attributed to Gregory in Hugo de S. Victore, c. 1096–1141, *De sacramentis*, lib. II, pars. 18, cap. 4 in PL 176: 610.

48. “O mors, quam dulcis esses, quibus tam amara fuisti si te desideratam obtinerent. Te solam desiderant, qui te solam vehementer oderunt.” This is a commentary on Apocalypse 9: 6 quoted in Hell VII, n. 44. Stephanus de Borbone attributes the passage to Bernard, 1090–1153, in his *Tractatus de diuersis materiis praedicabilibus* (prologus et prima pars), pars. 1, tit. 4, cap. 3, lin. 539, CCCM 124: 86. Innocentius III (Lotario dei Conti di Segni), 1160/1161–1216 includes the passage in his *Sermones de sanctis*, serm. X, PL 217: 496 and in his *De miseria humane conditionis*, lib. 3, cap. 12, ed. M. Maccarrone (Lucani: The-saurus Mundi, 1955), 88. Pope Innocent III claims authorship. The passage appears in two works of Bonaventure, 1217–1274, *Soliloquium*, cap. 3, ed. PP. Collegii a S. Bonaventurae in his *Opera omnia* (Florence: Ad Claras Aquas, 1898), 7: 54 and his *Commentaria in quattuor libros Sententiarum Magistri Petri Lombard* in lib. IV, ed. PP. Collegii a S. Bonaventura (Florence: Ad Claras Aquas, 1889), 4: 1037. In both works a footnote comments that while Bonaventure attributes the passage to Augustine's *De miseria huius mundi* (On the Misery of this World) it is

how sweet you would be to those to whom you were so bitter if they could obtain it. But because they will not be able to obtain death, there will be the death of all death—always to die and not be able to die. Oh immortal death, always to live in continual death. Oh mortifying death to whom immortal souls are given in order to mortify them eternally and without cease.” The Doctors of the Holy Church speak of this death that holds the damned in continual death without dying. According to Bernard in *Quibusdam sententiis* (*Certain Sentences*): *In hell the condition of sin and flesh seems similar because the fault there will always be able to be punished there and never will be able to be expiated. Thus the torments will not be able to be finished in the body, nor the body itself be exterminated by torments.*<sup>49</sup> Also Bernard’s Book V [111v] *De Consideratione ad eugenium* (*On Consideration to Eugene*). *I shudder at the biting worm, and living death. I shud-*

from Pope Innocent III’s, *Contemptu mundi* (*On Contempt for the world*). The passage, “O mors, quam dulcis esses, quibus tam amara fuisti,” appears in *Le Chant D’Amour* by Richard Rolle, c. 1290–1349. Rolle does not attribute the passage to anyone other than himself. See Richard Rolle, *Le Chant D’Amour* (*Melos Amoris*), vol. 2, ed. Émile Jules François Arnould (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1971) in SC 169: 272.

49. “In inferno peccati et carnis similiter videtur esse conditio quia culpa semper ibi poterit puniri et nunquam poterit expiari, sicut nec in corpore poterunt tormenta finire, nec corpus ipsum tormentis exterminari.” Bernard of Clairvaux, 1090–1153, *Sermones, Sermo ad clericos de conversione*, ed. Jean Leclercq and Henri Rochais (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1966) in *Sancti Bernardi Opera omnia*, 4: 77. The passage quoted in MS. Douce 134 more closely resembles the passage quoted and attributed to Bernard by Stephanus de Borbone. Stephanus states it is from Bernard’s *Quibusdam sententiis*. See Stephanus de Borbone’s *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus* (prologus et prima pars), pars. 1, tit. 4, cap. 3, lin. 493, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002), CCCM 124: 84.

der at falling into the hands of living death, and of dying life.<sup>50</sup> Also Gregory: Then death will be immortal, because the dead will live who are the dead of life. They will seek death, and will not come upon death, because they had life and lost it.<sup>51</sup> Also Gregory: He whose life here was dead in sin, may have his death there living in punishment.<sup>52</sup> Through these authorities it appears that the

50. “De consideratione ad eugenium. Horreo vermem mordacem, et mortem vivacem. Horreo incidere in manus mortis viventis, et vite (vitae in Bernard, ed. Leclercq and Rochais and PL) morientis.” Bernardus Clareuallensis, c. 1090-1153, *De consideratione*, lib. v, par. 25, lin. 18, ed. Jean Leclercq and Henri Rochais (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1963) in *Sancti Bernardi Opera omnia* 3: 488. See also Bernardus Claraevallensis, *De consideratione*, lib. V, cap. XII in PL 182: 802. Stephanus de Borbone quotes the passage and erroneously attributes it to Jerome in his *Tractatus de diversis materiis*, pars. 1, tit. 4, cap. 2, CCCM 124: 74. Bernard’s *On Consideration* was written to guide Pope Eugenius III, the first Cistercian to become a pope. The work consists of five books and is considered one of Bernard’s masterpieces. The English translation is available on the web. See St. Bernard, *On Consideration*, trans. George Lewis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), accessed May 4, 2020, [http://www.archive.org/stream/bernarddeclirvau00bernuoft/bernarddeclirvau00bernuoft\\_djvu.txt](http://www.archive.org/stream/bernarddeclirvau00bernuoft/bernarddeclirvau00bernuoft_djvu.txt).

51. “Tunc erit mors immortalis, tunc vivent mortui, quia vite (vitae in PL) sunt mortui. Quaerent mortem, et non invenient, quia vitam habuerunt et perdiderunt.” The passage is ascribed erroneously to Gregory the Great, 540-604. The author is Innocentius III, 1160/61-1216, *De contemptu mundi*, lib. III, cap. IX in PL 217: 740. The passage is a paraphrase of Apocalypse IX: 6, which Innocentius then quotes: “In diebus illis quaerent homines mortem, et non invenient eam: desiderabunt mori et fugiet mors ab illis. (‘And in those days men shall seek death, and shall not find it: and they shall desire to die, and death shall fly from them.’) Innocentius’ work is now entitled *De miseria humane conditionis*, lib. 3, cap. 12, ed. Michele Maccarrone (Lucern, Switzerland: Thesauri Mundi, 1955), 87.

52. “Cuius uita [hic in CCSL and PL] mortua fuit in culpa, necesse est ut [illic eius in CCSL and PL] mors uiuat in pena (poena in CCSL and PL).”

damned will always be in the torments of death and that they will never be able to die. Their death will always last and their life will always die. They will live always so that they always die. So they will live while dying and will die while living. In them death and life will be gathered together not to win one over the other, nor to put an end to one or the other, but to fight one against the other because between death and life there will always be a battle, quarrel, tension and conflict. Death will fight against life in biting, eating, and devouring, and tormenting. Life will fight death in murmuring, shrieking, screaming, crying, and complaining. Life will be able to do nothing else against death.

## All the damned will be desperate

When the damned will realize that they cannot die, they will be desperate and especially because any hope of remedy will be taken away from them as the Holy Scripture says. Job XVIII *Let his confidence be rooted out of his tabernacle.*<sup>53</sup> Any hope will leave them because they will not expect or hope to be delivered or to receive remedy. Job XV *He believeth not that he may return from darkness to light, looking round about for the sword on every*

Gregorius I, *Moralia in Job*, lib. 15, par. 17, lin. 6, ed. Marc Adriaen (1979), CCSL 143A: 762. See also Gregorius I, *Moralia*, lib. XV, cap. XVII in PL 75: 1092. Translation from Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job*, bk. XV, par. 21 (xvii), trans. Members of the English Church (Oxford: John Henry Parker and London: J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1845), v. 2, pt. 3-4, 186. Passage appears in and is attributed to Gregory in Walafridus Strabo, c. 808-849, *Liber Job*, cap. XX in PL 113: 812; Odo Cluniacensis, c. 878-942, *Moralia in Job*, lib. XVIII, cap. XX in PL 133: 276; and Rupertus Tuitiensis (dubium), c. 1075-1129, *Commentarius in Job* in PL 168: 1049.

53. Jb. XVIII: 14.

side.<sup>54</sup> Also Job XV *He shall not believe, being vainly deceived by error, that he may be redeemed with any price.*<sup>55</sup> Also Lamentations III *My end and my hope is perished from the Lord.*<sup>56</sup> *Why is my sorrow become perpetual, and my wound desperate?*<sup>57</sup> Also Isaiah XXXVIII *Nor shall they that go down into the pit, look for truth.*<sup>58</sup> According to these authorities the [112r] damned will no longer have confidence in God, nor hope to ever be delivered, and consequently they will all be desperate. This despair will increase their tribulation more and more because as hope relieves man in his tribulation, to the extent that he bears it more easily, in the same way despair depresses man and renders him more furious in his tribulation. And it must be known that the damned being in such despair will not be able to say anything good of God. And the Holy Scripture speaks of this. Isaiah XXXVIII *For hell shall not confess thee, neither shall death praise thee.*<sup>59</sup> Also Psalm: *Who shall confess to thee in hell?*<sup>60</sup> Also Baruch II *The dead that are in hell, whose spirit is taken away from their bowels, shall not give glory and justice to the Lord.*<sup>61</sup> That is to say that the damned will give God no praise, no confession, no honor nor justification. And God will not care. The damned will be so desperate that they will never want goods or things profitable to them. According to Augustine, *De fide ad Petrum* (To Peter on the Faith): *In hell although there will be moti-*

54. Jb. XV: 22.

55. Jb. XV: 31.

56. Lm. III: 18.

57. The scripture source, Jeremiah XV: 18, was omitted from the manuscript.

58. Is. XXXVIII: 18.

59. Is. XXXVIII: 18.

60. Ps. VI: 6.

61. Bar. II: 17.

vation for regret there, there will be no correction of the will there. His wickedness will be blamed in such a way that justice can never be loved or desired by them.<sup>62</sup> Not only will the damned not desire any good, but, on the contrary, they will be so mad that they will desire only evil, because this is proper for people in serious tribulation and desperate to desire everything evil. In fact the damned would like all the people in the world to be damned with them just as they are themselves damned like the devils, because they are damned they want everyone to be damned too. This appears so in that they procure the damnation of men with all their power.

62. "In inferno et si erit stimulus penitudinis (poenitudinis in *Manipulus florum*, PL, and *Spicilegium*; paenitudinis in CCSL), nulla erit ibi correctio voluntatis, a quibus ita culpatur iniquitas (iniquitatis in *Manipulus florum*, and PL ) sua, ut nullatenus possit ab eis vel diligi vel desiderari iusticia." The identical text also is attributed erroneously to Augustine's *De fide ad Petrum* in the *Electronic Manipulus florum* which suggests that the anon. author of MS. Douce 134 may have had access to it, accessed May 4, 2020, <https://cs.uwaterloo.ca/~arkane/cgi-bin/janus.html>. Passage also found in Augustinus (pseudo) Belgicus, fl. 12th century, *Sermones ad fratres in eremo commorantes*, serm. XXXVI in PL 40: 1277. The author of the text is Fulgentius Ruspensis, 467-533, *De fide ad Petrum seu de regula fidei*, cap. 38, lin. 755, ed. Jean Fraipont (1968), CCSL 91A: 737. Translation from *Fulgentius: Selected Works*, trans. Robert B. Eno (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1997), 84. The fragments, "nulla ibi erit correctio uoluntatis" and "ab eis vel diligi vel desiderari iusticia" also appear and are attributed erroneously to Augustine's *De fide ad Petrum* by Petrus Lombardus, c. 1095-1160, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, lib. 4, dist. 50, cap. 1, par. 3, third edition in *Spicilegium Bonaventurianum V* (Grottaferata: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae, Ad Claras Aquas, 1981), 2: 554.

## The eternity of the torments of the damned in hell

The torments of the damned will be eternal and without end. [112v] And of this the Holy Scripture speaks in several places. Wisdom IIII *And they shall fall after this without honour, and be a reproach among the dead for ever.*<sup>63</sup> Also Judith XVI *For he will give fire, and worms into their flesh, that they may burn, and may feel for ever.*<sup>64</sup> Also Isaiah XXXIII *Which of you shall dwell with everlasting burnings?*<sup>65</sup> Also Matthew XXV *These shall go into everlasting punishment.*<sup>66</sup> These authorities say that the torments of the damned will be eternal, without end. Here we must say that eternity does not have any end and cannot be imagined by mortal man, not even if he thinks of it for a long time or stretched his thought counting years to hundreds, thousands or millions. In doing so, however, he would never come to the end since he would not do anything else except count and count because there is no comparison between a finite and an infinite thing. In addition, to better understand eternity that is without end, something must be said. If a damned one threw a single drop of water in a hole once in a hundred years and another drop in another one hundred years, and so on, he would throw more water than there is in the large sea which surrounds the world and all the seas that God created. For this the contrition of a damned one cannot be compared to the sea. Lamentations II *For great as the sea is thy destruction.*<sup>67</sup> If a damned one would throw one drop of water into a hole once in one hundred years and another one in another one hundred years ad infinitum as

63. Ws. IV: 19.

64. Jdt. XVI: 21.

65. Is. XXXIII: 14.

66. Mt. XXV: 46.

67. Lm. II: 13.

it was said, he would throw more water than there is in all the seas of the world and in all the fountains, brooks, rivers, lakes, ponds, great and small rivers that are throughout the world, as much inside the earth as above, which is not a small amount. And when he will have been in hell for so many millions of years he will believe that he has come to the end of all the waters in the world and in the sky, however this will hardly amount to a glass [113r] of water.

How then could we count, number, and understand in so many millions of years, counting always one drop for one hundred years, so that one could come to the end of all the sea that is so large and big and so deep that it can't be measured? Ecclesiasticus I *Who hath measured the depth of the abyss*<sup>68</sup> and all the waters that are in the world? It would be impossible to measure because this exceeds and goes beyond all systems of counting and numbering. If, however, there would be sometimes an end, even if late, and if in the end of this the damned were to be freed, although because of the difficulty of ever coming to an end they should not be too confident, however it would give them some comfort. But when they will come to the end of all this, it must be known that they will have been in hell as much time that it would take to come to the end of all the waters that are in the world. They count always one hundred years per one drop. And during all that time, so great and so long, numbered in a great sum of years, they will have to remain in hell for another equal period of time. After the end of that space they again will have to remain in hell another similar length of time, and not only one, nor two, nor three, but by as many lengths of time that there are drops of water in the world. Here years and years are multiplied to millions and millions without number and just as many times

68. Ecli. I: 2.

as the damned will have come to the end, they will have to start again just as many times. This is because in the eternity of their damnation there is never an end. It is a great horror to think this, and if after such a great space of time they wanted to say: "Is it not enough for the sins we have committed during our life? We have been in these torments such a long time that it cannot be estimated or counted." To this it is answered: **[113v]** "One must not count the time passed, nor the time to come, nor anything else, only suffer torments in hell forever without end." And it must be said that the force of torments makes the time and years last and lengthen for the damned so that one year seems to them to last one hundred years. There are several authorities among the Doctors of Holy Church who speak on the eternity of the torments of the damned. *Thus Job on that word: He shall be punished for all that he did, and yet shall not be consumed.*<sup>69</sup> Gregory says *He is tormented, and not put out, he dies and lives, he is falling away, and holding on, always finishing, without being finished.*<sup>70</sup> Also Gregory in the *Moralia of Job*: *There will then be to the damned pain along with terror, a flame together with dimness...Death without death, and end without ending, failing without failing; in that both death lives, [and the end is ever beginning,]*

69. Job XX: 18.

70. "Cruciat et non exstinguitur; moritur et uiuit; deficit et subsistit; finitur semper, et sine fine est." Gregorius Magnus, 540-604, *Moralia in Job*, lib. 15, par. 17, lin. 8, ed. Marc Adriaen (1979), CCSL 143A: 762. See also Gregorius I, *Moralia*, lib. XV, cap. XVII in PL 75: 1092. Translation from Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job*, bk. XV, par. 21 (xvii), trans. Members of the English Church (Oxford: Henry Parker; and London: J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1845), v. 2, pt. 3-4, 186. Passage is quoted and attributed to Gregory by Walafridus Strabo, 808-849, *Liber Job*, cap. XX in PL 113: 812. Line 6 of this work was quoted earlier in Hell VII, n. 52.

and the failing is unable to fail.<sup>71</sup> Augustine also comments in

71. “Tunc erit in inferis [reprobis in CCSL] dolor cum formidine, flamma cum obscuritate... Mors sine morte, finis sine fine, defectus sine defectu, quia et mors semper vivit [et finis incipit in CCSL and PL], et defectus deficere nescit.” Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Job*, lib. 9, par. 66, lin. 13 and 24, ed. Marc Adriaen (1979), CCSL 143: 528. Gregorius I, *Moralia*, lib. IX, cap. LXVI in PL 75: 914D. Translation from Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job*, bk. IX, par. 100 (lxvi), trans. Members of the English Church (Oxford: Henry Parker and London: J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1844), v. 1, pt. 1-2, 569. The phrase, “Tunc erit ...obscuritate” is quoted and attributed to Gregory by Stephanus de Borbone, died 1261, *Tractatus de diuersis materiis praedicabilibus* (prologus et prima pars), pars. 1, tit. 4, cap. 2, lin. 240, CCSL 124: 74; and Thomas de Chobham, died c. 1233/1236, *Summa de arte praedicandi*, cap. 2, lin. 521, ed. Franco Morenzoni (1990), CCCM 82: 34. Gregory’s phrase, “Mors sine morte,...nescit” is quoted and attributed to Gregory by: Smaragdus S. Michaelis, c. 750-c. 825, *Commentaria in regulam Sancti Benedicti*, cap. VII in PL 102: 809; Haymo Halberstatensis, b. late 8th c.-853, *De varietate librorum*, lib. III, cap. XXXIII and cap. XLVI in PL 118: 948, 955; Agobardus Lugdunensis, c. 769-840, *De fidei ueritate et totius boni institutione*, cap. 18, lin. 9, ed. Lieven van Acker (1981), *Opera omnia*, CCCM 52: 272; Burchardus Wormaciensis, 965-1025, *Libri decretorum*, lib. XX, cap. 78 in PL 140: 1046; Ivo Carnotensis, 1040-1116, *Decretum*, decreti pars XVII, cap. 83 in PL 161: 1003; Hugo de Miromari (Hugo de Miramars), died c. 1250, *Liber de hominis miseria, mundi et inferni contemptu* (uersio breuis), part. 7, cap. 11, lin. 418, ed. Fabrice Wendling (2010), CCCM 234: 208; Stephanus de Borbone, *Tractatus de diuersis materiis praedicabilibus* (prologus et prima pars), pars. 1, tit. 4, cap. 2, lin. 220, CCSL 124: 73; and Geoffrey Chaucer, c. 1343-1400, *The Canterbury Tales*, the Parson’s Tale, lin. 214. See Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. Fred Norris Robinson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961), 233. The following authors include the passage, “Mors sine mortis...nescit” but do not attribute it to Gregory: Rabanus Maurus, c. 776-856, *Commentaria in Ecclesiasticum*, lib. X, cap. I in PL 109: 1050; Hincmarus Rhemensis, c. 806-882, *De cavendis vitiis*, cap. IV in PL 125: 895; Prudentius Trecensis, died 861, *De praedestinatione* in PL

Book XIX of *The City of God*. But in the life beyond, pain remains, on the one hand, to torment, and nature lasts, on the other, to feel it; neither ceases to be, lest the punishment also should cease.<sup>72</sup>

Also Peter Blesensis in this letter: Nor will there be a measure for punishments, or interruption, or end, for there the end will always begin. Death will not die nor will the one who has failed fail so that the condition of the damned person will miserably fall back always into the material of pain and the food of eternal death.<sup>73</sup>

Also the poem: Nor does wretched age come to the goals of death, it is unable to be finished and always seems to spring up, always in torment, always renewing its groans.<sup>74</sup>

115: 1231; Petrus Damiani, c. 1007-1072, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, epist. 66, lin. 17, ed. Kurt Reindel (1988), MGH 4 (part 2): 272; and Anselmus Cantuariensis (Anselm of Canterbury), c. 1033-1109, *Meditatio super Miserere* in PL 158: 828.

72. "Ibi (autem in PL, LCL, and CCSL) dolor permanet, ut affligat, et natura perdurat, ut sentiat; quia utrumque [ideo in PL and CCSL] non deficit, nec pena (poena in PL, LCL, and CCSL) deficiet (deficiat in PL, LCL, and CCSL)." Augustinus Hipponensis, 354-430, *De civitate Dei*, lib. XIX, cap. XXVIII in PL 41: 658. Translation from Saint Augustine, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, trans. William Chase Greene, LCL 6: 245. See also Augustinus, *De ciuitate Dei*, lib. 19, cap. 28, lin. 19, ed. Bernard Dombart and Alphonsus Kalb (1955), CCSL 48: 698-699. The passage appears but is not attributed to Augustine in Rufinus episcopus (Rufinus Assisias), Archbishop of Sorrento, fl. 12th c., *De bono pacis* in PL 150: 1606D.

73. "Ibi non erit suppliciorum modus, nec (vel in PL) intermissio, finis semper incipiet, mors non morietur, nec defectus deficiet. Sed damnata (ut damnati in PL) hominis conditio semper in doloris materiam, et mortis aeternae (aeternae in PL) pabulum miserabiliter recidiveth." Petrus Blesensis (Peter of Blois), c. 1130-c. 1212, *Epistolae*, epist. CXXXI Ad E. Priorem de Monasteriolo in PL 207: 386.

74. "Non (Nec in PL) venit ad metas mortis miserabilis (venerabilis in PL) etas (aetas in PL). Nescit (Nescia in PL) finire, semperque videtur oriri.

These authorities say that the damned will be forever punished and tormented and these torments will have no end. And it must be said that for whatever torment that the damned will have suffered for 100,000 million of years even the additional pain they will have to suffer forever in hell will not be less because the torments will always be of the same degree and as horrible in the future as in the past. Here one could say: If God punished the wicked ones less than forever it would be horrible to contemplate. [114r] If God punished them temporally during their life, one could answer that God would like this only if they wanted to repent and do penance during their life. This would suffice to God, but because they do not want to do any of this they must be punished in the other world. And because the other world has no end, the punishment will last forever. St. Gregory also gives another reason why they will be punished forever. Gregory in Dialogue XLVI: *If they could have lived forever they would have always wanted to sin and for this reason they will be punished without end, for eternity. For they would have wanted in any case if they had been able—to live forever so that they could sin forever. Therefore it is a quality of the great justice of the one judging that they never lack punishment who in this life never wanted to be without sin.*<sup>75</sup>

Semper vexando, semper gemitus renovando.” Auctor incertus, *Carmen paraenticum* (Advisory poem) in PL 184: col. 1310B.

75. “Vouissent utique, si potuissent, sine fine vivere, ut potuissent sine fine peccare. Ad magnam ergo justitiam iudicantis pertinet ut nunquam careant supplicio, qui in hac uita nunquam voluerunt carere peccatis (peccato in SC and PL).” Grégoire Le Grand, *Dialogues*, lib. 4, cap. 46, lin. 22, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé (1980), SC 265: 162. See also Gregory I, *Dialogi*, lib. IV, cap. XLIV in PL 77: 401. This passage is attributed to Gregory by the following writers with the exception of Innocent III: Jonas Aurelianus, c. 780–843, *De institutione laicali* in PL 106: 274; Prudentius Trecensis, died 861, *De praedestinatione* in PL 115:

Oh how badly advised the damned have been and have badly managed their life when in order to enjoy the pleasure of sins they have come to the torments of hell. The pleasures are gone and the torments will last forever without end. Who is then the person so much out of his mind who for transitory pleasures dares to put himself in peril of suffering eternal pains? No wise person would want to endure pain for hundreds of years for the pleasures of one hour. However the miserable sinners do not think of this, they abandon themselves for transitory pleasures to suffer torments not for one hundred years, nor one thousand, but for eternity. Since one should be in pain only as long as the time one was in pleasure, hardly could one find such a foolish and crazy person who would prefer to be one day in pain for one day in pleasure, as pain would torment him more than pleasure gives him delight.

1320; Haymo Halberstatensis, b. late 8th century-853, *De varietate librorum* in PL 118: 947; Burchardus Wormaciensis, c. 965-1025, *Libri decretorum* in PL 140: 1040; Ivo Carnotensis, c. 1040-1116, *Decretum* in PL 161: 996; Hugo de S. Victore, 1096-1141, *De sacramentis* in PL 176: 611; Gratianus (Johannes Gratian), fl. mid twelfth century, *Concordia discordantium canonum* in PL 187: 1541; see also *Decretum magistri Gratianus* (*Concordia discordantium canonum*), ed. Emil Friedberg (Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz, 1879), 1174; Innocentius III, 1160/ 1161-1216, *De miseria humanae conditionis*, lib. III, cap. 13, ed. M. Maccarrone (Zurich, Switzerland: Thesaurus Mundi, 1955), 89; Johannes Pecham, 1225/1230-1292, *Questiones de peccato*, quaes. 2, par. 26, lin. 6, ed. Girard J. Etzkorn (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2002), 28: 188; and Lucas Tudensis, died c. 1249, *De altera vita*, lib. 1, cap. 6, lin. 21, ed. Emma Falque Rey (2009), CCCM 74A: 19; and Matthaeus de Aquasparta, c. 1237-1302, *Quaestiones disputatae de anima separata*, quaestio 9, ed. G. Gàl (Rome: Ad Claras Aquas, 1959), 165.

## The damned are the cause of their damnation

The damned are the cause of their damnation because they were always contrary to God, to themselves, and their salvation. They did not apply themselves to be subjects of God nor to keep his holy commandments, as they should have. They did not heed God nor his commandments, and what is worse– they always wanted to act according to their own will, **[114v]** live in sin, and do works of death as the Holy Scripture says. Wisdom I [*\*Injustice, however, is the acquisition of death*]. But the wicked, with works and [*\*feet*] have called it to them.<sup>76</sup> That is to say, injustice is an acquisition of death and the bad have sought it with feet and hands, that is to say, in all manners of heart and thought, of will, of words and acts. And to this the words written in another place of the Holy Scripture agree. Wisdom II *But let our strength be the law of justice.*<sup>77</sup>

The law of justice must be our strength. Because they abandoned themselves to do works of death, it is not surprising if they are given to death. Here someone could say: God could not have given remedy to their acts in one way or another, either by demonstrating to them the peril in which they were, or by reproaching and correcting them of their evil acts, or by praying for them, and giving them good doctrine, and a good example to do good so that they would have been preserved from damnation because of every situation that happens in the world nothing is as great or as bad and damaging as to come to this

76. Ws. I: 15-16. [\*] indicate commentary of vs. 15. The Vulgate reads: "Justice is perpetual and immortal." Verse 16 reads: "But the wicked, with works and words have made a covenant with it." In Verse 16 the anon. author mistakenly replaces "verbis" (with words) with "pedibus" [*\*with feet*].

77. Ws. II:11.

end. To this it is answered that there would have been a remedy to their situation if they had been ready to help themselves, but they were not inclined to do that, and several of them never would have believed that they would come to such an end, and also few thought of it. Even if one would have wanted to correct them, reproach or castigate them for their evil acts, one would have made them worse, and only bad would have come of it because they have rebelled and would have been moved to confound those who reproached them, and they would have hated them as the Holy Scripture says of some. Amos V *They have hated him that rebuked in the gate.*<sup>78</sup> If one had wanted to help them by prayers, orisons, by doctrine, and exhortations, and by good example, one must not doubt that the good would have been eager to do so, nevertheless the same would have happened. [115r] Everything was to no avail because they were not inclined to apply themselves to do good. Also they did not use the remedy of penance, because that seemed to them something wild, and because of this they did not seek remedy and did not pay attention so there was no remedy for their situation.

## The damned will confess their faults and will accuse themselves for their ills

When the damned see that because of their sins they are thus damned, and that they are the cause of their damnation, they will be greatly distressed and have bitterness of soul and pain of heart. They will have sadness and hatred against themselves, and they will express their *mea culpa*, and they will accuse themselves, and reproach themselves for their sins. The Holy Scrip-

78. Am. V: 10.

ture speaks of this. Wisdom V *We have erred from the way of truth, and the light of justice hath not shined unto us, and the sun of understanding hath not risen upon us. We wearied ourselves in the way of iniquity and destruction, and have walked through hard ways, but the way of the Lord we have not known. What hath pride profited us? Or what advantage hath the boasting of riches brought us? All those things are passed away like a shadow.* [*\*Also later it follows:*] *Such things as these the sinners said in hell.*<sup>79</sup> These words are the words of the damned who complain and accuse themselves in hell for their sins saying: “We have erred, and we have walked away from the path of truth, and we have wandered in the path of iniquity and badness and perdition, and we have followed difficult paths—without fruit and in vain we have wasted our strength. What did pride profit us, what was it worth to us to boast of our wealth? All these things are passed like the shadow.” One reads that in hell a voice was heard saying: “Alas, alas why did I sin? Why did I follow my concupiscence, or at least after the fact, why did I not express my sin in confession nor erase it by crying and penance? Why did I not seek the easy remedy of penance and contrition in order to avoid this anguish?”

Also the damned will answer themselves saying: “Oh how were we so blinded to the things for which we are damned in hell? How were we so foolish not to have worked in our life to be saved? Now we cannot ever recover what we have lost. The time of grace, which had been given to us to do the works of our salvation is passed. And because we have not worked for our salvation, we are not saved.” Jeremiah VIII *The harvest is past, the summer is ended, [115v] and we are not saved.*<sup>80</sup> And so the

79. Ws. V: 6–9, 14. [\*] indicate anon. author’s comments.

80. Jr. VIII: 20.

damned will regret the time lost, and the lost celestial glory, and the acquired damnation. About this we read that a holy man who while was in prayer in spirit heard a voice lamenting and crying, and he asked him who he was. He answered that he was the soul of a damned who was moaning about his damnation, and said that among all the things that moved him most to cry, he and all the damned, was to have misspent the time that God had given them in this world to do worthy works, at which time they could have done penance which would have preserved them from the pains of hell. And if they could have any brief space of time to make penance they would hold this dearer than the whole world because they would make penance and deserve mercy, but the path of penance and mercy is closed to them. However no matter how much they accuse themselves and repent of their sins it will be in vain because this accusation will not come from a contrite heart nor from displeasure to have offended God but from their pains and because of their misfortune. That agrees with the words of St. Bernard who says that in hell there can be confession of sin but it will not profit at all. Bernard: *In hell there can be confession but it cannot be beneficial.*<sup>81</sup>

Also the penance that they will do will be in vain because it will not come from their own free will, but it is imposed upon them by justice. And also hell is not the place to make salutary penance, but a place in which to suffer pain by rigor of justice.

81. "In inferno potest confessio esse sed non prodesse." The passage is quoted and attributed to Bernard by Stephanus de Borbone, *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus*, pars. 1, tit. 4, cap. 3, lin. 872, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub (2002), CCCM 124: 98. The passage does not appear in the authenticated works of Bernard in the LLT.

## The devils are more horribly tormented than others

After what was said of the pains of the damned in general, something must be said about the torment of some specific people, because according to their position and dignities, they will be more harshly tormented than others. It must be known that the devils more than all others will be horribly punished by the devils, because they were created such noble creatures and in such a holy place like paradise. For this reason they were more obliged to God, to honor and glorify him, but on the contrary they have sinned against the goodness of God. Because of this they deserved [116r] to have more horrible pain than the rest of the damned. The Holy Scripture speaks of their horrible pain. II Peter II *For if God spared not the Angels that sinned, but delivered them, drawn down with infernal ropes into hell to be tormented, to be reserved unto judgment.*<sup>82</sup> Also Jude I: *And the angels, who kept not their principality, but forsook their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day.*<sup>83</sup> Aside from the horrible pain that they deserved for their sin their pain will increase for having tempted people and urged them to do bad. And the more they will be damned, the more the devils will be tormented since they were the cause of their damnation. So after the devil had tempted Adam's wife and had urged her to break the law of God and had her fall into sin, God said to him: "Because you did this you will be cursed." And this God said to the devil to make him understand that his pain would increase on account of the damnation of people. So Lucifer who has sinned more than the others and

82. II Pt. II: 4. Passage quoted earlier in Hell IV, n. 51.

83. Jd. I: 6.

was the cause of the damnation of the other devils will have a more horrible torment than others.

## The Jews will be more horribly tormented than the Saracens and the bad Christians more than the Jews

In hell the Jews will be more horribly punished than the pagans and Saracens because although they had more knowledge of God and His law they did not keep his commandments and several of them adored idols. Because of this they have deserved to have greater pain than the pagans and Saracens who did not have such knowledge of God and of his law. That the Jews must be punished more than the pagans and Saracens is found in the Holy Scripture. The Jews were more harshly punished than the Egyptians because the Jews were punished by fire, by burning snakes, by pestilence and by sword, while the Egyptians were punished by several wounds that God sent over the land of Egypt, the [116v] destruction of their land, of their belongings and in the end they were drowned in the Red Sea.<sup>84</sup> The Jews will be more harshly punished than the pagans and Saracens, not only because they had greater knowledge of God and of his law and did not keep it, but also because they saw our Lord Jesus Christ and the signs of his divinity and did not receive him or his preaching, nor did they believe in him. And our Lord speaks of this in the Gospel. Matthew XI *Then he began to upbraid the cities, wherein were done the most of his mighty works, because they had not done penance. Wo to thee, Corozain, wo to thee Bethsaida: for if in Tyre and Sidon the mighty works had been done that have been done in you, they would long ago have done*

84. Here the anon. writer takes considerable liberties in summarizing the plagues of Egypt in Exodus chapters 2-15.

penance in sack-cloth and ashes. But I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgment, than for you.<sup>85</sup> Also II Thessalonians I: In a flame of fire, inflicting vengeance to them, who know not God, and who obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. Who shall suffer eternal pains in destruction...<sup>86</sup>

According to these authorities the Jews, who did not want to believe in our Lord Jesus Christ nor receive his faith, will be more harshly tormented than the pagans and Saracens. About this there is an example to tell. One reads in the Life of the Fathers that as the Abbot Machaire was going through the desert, he found the head of a dead man and ordered in the name of God that the person to whom this head belonged return to life. And as he returned to life he asked him who he was. He answered that he had been a pagan and had been a priest of the pagans and had lived here in this place and that he was in hell. Among other things he said to him was that above his head there was so much fire as there is earth up to the sky and below them were the Jews and below the Jews were the bad Christians.<sup>87</sup> Therefore if the Jews are to be more horribly punished than the pagans and Saracens, the bad Christians will have above all others more horrible torments. For more than the others they had knowledge of the Holy Trinity **[117r]** and received holy baptism

85. Mt. XI: 20-22.

86. II Th. I: 8-9. Verse 9 concludes with these words: "from the face of the Lord, and from the glory of his power."

87. The story of Abbot Machaire (sic) Saint Macarius (feast day January 15) is found in *The Golden Legend of Jacobus Voragine*, trans. Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (Salem, NH: Ayer Co., 1969; repr. in New York, London, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1941), 94-96. For the Latin version see Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, 2nd edition (Florence: Sismel-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998), 1: 150-151.

and the holy sacraments and the law of the Gospel, and consequently had great opportunity to accept their salvation more than all others and did nothing of the sort. They, on the contrary of what they were supposed to do, did not pay attention to the grace that God offered them. One reads of a dead man who appeared to a man and said to him that there is a great difference between the pains of bad Christians and those of the pagans. The pains of the pagans, although they cannot be described nor imagined by living man because they are so great, they are nothing in comparison with the torments of the Christians. Why? Because they received in vain the grace of God and have not stopped sinning in spite of the preaching that they heard. This is expressed by the apostle. Hebrews X *A man making void the law of Moses, dieth without any mercy under two or three witnesses: How much more, do you think he deserveth worse punishments, who hath trodden underfoot the Son of God, and hath esteemed the blood of the testament unclean, with which he was sanctified, and hath offered an outrage to the Spirit of grace?*<sup>88</sup>

## The pains of the bad prelates

Bad prelates of the holy church who received the care and charge of souls upon them and who did not care for the salvation of their subjects, failed to correct them, or directed them in the path of salvation but let them go to perdition, will be more hor-

88. Heb. X: 28-29. The meaning of Heb. X: 28-29 is more apparent in the Jerusalem Bible: "Anyone who disregards the Law of Moses is ruthlessly put to death on the word of two witnesses or three; and you may be sure that anyone who tramples on the Son of God...will be condemned to a far severer punishment."

ribly tormented than all the others because for their neglect of doing their duty in acquiring souls for God, they are the cause of the damnation of their subjects. So one reads that as a cleric was forced to preach to a synod of bishops he was sad, feeling inadequate to preach in front of so many prelates of the holy church, and on the day when he had to preach the devil came to him while he was in prayer and said to him: "Why are you sad to preach to these prelates? Tell them these words and not anything else: 'The princes of hell greet the princes of the church. We all give grace to them because with those prelates their subjects [117v] are offered to us and because of their neglect almost everyone comes down to us in hell. I am sad to tell you this but I am obliged by the command of God.' " The cleric answered him: "If I tell them this I will not be believed." And the devil touched his cheek saying: "Here is a sign of blackness on your face. Do not touch it before you have preached because you would waste your time. After the sermon you will erase it totally with blessed water." So the cleric went and preached to the synod. All were astonished by the sign on his face and he recited only the words and all had great horror in their heart from them: "Because of the neglect of prelates their subjects go with them into hell." It is founded in the Holy Scripture. *Isaiah V Therefore are my people led away captive, because they had not knowledge, and their nobles have perished with famine, and their multitude were dried up with thirst.*<sup>89</sup> God spoke through the prophet in this manner. For this my people are led into exile and captivity because they have not had knowledge by the fault of the prelates who have not taught the people. And the nobles died of hunger when in their soul they did not have the word of God, which is the food of the soul, and the multitude of the people died of thirst because

89. Is. V: 13.

of the fault of the prelates who did not administer the word of God. The people are all thirsty and they have no temperament or savor for devotion. For such a fault the prelates and their subjects go down into hell. [*\*Whence it follows*] *Therefore hath hell enlarged her soul, and opened her mouth without any bounds.*<sup>90</sup>

That is to say, because of this hell has opened its throat wide to receive them all, prelates and subjects. [*\*Whence it follows.*] *And their strong ones, and their people, [\*that is, those of high rank and their subjects] and their high and glorious ones shall go down into it, [\*that is hell].*<sup>91</sup> According to Ezekiel XXXIII *O son of man, I have made thee a watchman to the house of Israel... when I say to the wicked: O wicked man, thou shalt surely die: if thou dost not speak to warn the wicked man from his way, that wicked man shall die in his iniquity, but I will require his blood at thy hand.*<sup>92</sup>

If the subjects [**118r**] are damned and tormented by the fault of prelates, all the more the prelates will be tormented without comparison, they who have let them go to perdition. And the Holy Scripture speaks of this. Jeremiah XXV *Howl, ye shepherds, and cry: and sprinkle yourselves with ashes, ye leaders of the flock: for the days of your slaughter...are accomplished, and you shall fall like precious vessels.*<sup>93</sup> And those who knew the Holy Scriptures and did not use them but who did the contrary will be horribly tormented with several and various torments, according to the Gospel. Luke XII *That servant who knew the will of his lord, and hath not prepared, and did not according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes.*<sup>94</sup> About this one reads that St. Paul saw in a place in hell an ancient between our devils cry-

90. Is. V: 14. [\*] indicate anon. author's comment.

91. Is. V: 14. [\*] indicate anon. author's comment.

92. Ez. XXXIII: 7-8.

93. Jr. XXV: 34.

94. Lk. XII: 47.

ing and screaming and asked the angel who he was. The angel told him that he was a bishop negligent of heart, of work, and thought, who was a malicious and a proud miser, and because of this he suffers innumerable pains.<sup>95</sup> Also we read in the Holy Scripture of two prelates who were damned, one because he knew that his sons were doing bad things and he did not correct them and was called Hely (Heli). And about this, I Kings III.<sup>96</sup> The other was called Soinnas (Sobna) prevost of the temple who was damned because he was not doing his duty. *Of this one Isaiah XXII speaks.*<sup>97</sup> Because several prelates are negligent in preach-

95. The legend grew from the *raptus* of Paul, see II Cor. 12: 1-5. Paul experienced a mystical rapture. Verse 4 reads: "he was caught into paradise: and heard secret words, which it is not allowed man to utter."

The legend is from the *Apocalypse of St. Paul*, which is also referred to as *The Vision of St. Paul*. The earliest *Vision*, according to D.D.R. Owen, was written in Greek and dates possibly to the third century A.D. Owen relates that later versions appear also in Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Slavonic, and Latin. The oldest Latin version dates from the eighth century and the earliest French vernacular version dates to the twelfth century. See D.D.R. Owen, "The Vision of St Paul: The French and Provençal Versions and Their Sources" *Romance Philology* 12 (1958): 33-51. Eileen Gardiner gives a summary of the *Apocalypse of St. Paul* and lists primary sources in *Visions of Heaven and Hell before Dante*, ed. Eileen Gardiner (New York, NY: Italica Press, 1989), 238-240. She includes a version similar to the one above. In chapter X, an angel leads St. Paul to hell where he sees the damned tortured according to their sins, among them is the miserly bishop who is thrown into a river of fire and stoned by four evil angels.

96. I Kings III: 13. The Lord spoke to Samuel telling him that He will "Judge (Heli's) house for ever, for iniquity, because he knew that his sons did wickedly, and did not chastise them. 14. Therefore have I sworn to the house of Heli, that the iniquity of his house shall not be expiated with victims nor offerings for ever."

97. Is. XXII: 15-25. The prophet describes the fate of Sobna who abused his office in the temple: 18. "He shall crown you with a crown of tribu-

ing for the salvation of souls, and it seems they do not care about souls whether they are saved or damned, these souls are in great peril. Thus, moreover are the words of Amos III. As if a shepherd should get out of the lion's mouth two legs, or the tip of the ear.<sup>98</sup>

*The gloss says: The sense of this phrase is that the great part of those sent down will be damned and the smaller part will evade the punishment of hell, which he shows through a simile. In this he tells how if a pastor shall seize from the mouth of a lion, because it is proper for a good shepherd to exhibit diligence, and does violence for the purpose of snatching forth souls from the mouth of the infernal lion he will free both himself and those subject to him from death and they avoid eternal damnation. And because there are many who neglect to do this many are damned who might have been [118v] saved. And this agrees with the sentences that are spoken by Ezekiel XXXIII. Wo to the shepherds of Israel, that fed themselves...and fed not my flocks... Therefore...thus saith the Lord God: Behold, I myself come upon the shepherds, I will require my flock at their hand, and I will cause them to cease from feeding the flock any more; neither shall the shepherds feed themselves any more.*<sup>99</sup>

And it must be known that the subjects will curse their prelates and the parishioners their curates. About which we read that in hell there was a priest who had been negligent of the salvation of the souls he had under his care. And the parishioners who had died in his time cursed him in hell saying: "Cursed be you and cursed be the hour when you ever assumed the care of

lation; he will toss thee like a ball into a large and spacious country: there shalt thou die, and there shall the chariot of thy glory be, the shame of thy house of thy Lord."

98. Am. III: 12.

99. Ez. XXXIV: 2, 9, and 10. Verse 10 was quoted previously on fol. 64 verso, in Hell IV, n. 29.

us, because when we were sinning you did not take us away from evil. Nor did you put us in the faith of salvation neither by word nor by example. For this you are the cause of our damnation.” As he was tormented he was thrown into a deep well that is in hell.

## The pains of the false religious persons

In hell the false religious persons are badly treated, that is to say, those who abandoned their order or the vows of religion, and rejected them, and went back in their heart to the world. And their hearts became too worldly and too inclined to wander aimlessly in the world following the wealth of the world. Also in hell were landlords, obsessed with precious clothes and who have lived in pleasures. All the more these things were not meant for them, all the more harshly they will be punished. For each excess they will have pain and torment. About this one reads that there is a beast in hell and from its mouth comes out an inextinguishable flame and an intolerable stench. He sat on a pond of ice and devoured all the souls he could find. And when by torment they were reduced to naught in his belly he gave birth to them and pushed them out in the pond [119r] of ice and there they were renewed to other torments. And all the souls, of men and women who came down to the pond were made fat and big, and while waiting for the appropriate time to give birth their entrails were bitten by the lineage they conceived in the icy water. And as they gave birth they cried in pain and howled so much that they filled hell with their shrieks. Men as well as women gave birth to snakes not only through the secret places of nature but also through their ears and eyes, noses, mouth, arms and back, thighs, legs, knees, feet, chests—all in great sadness. And the beasts and snakes to which they gave birth had heads of burning iron and very sharp beaks with which they tore the bodies

from which they were coming. And in their tails they had several sharp thorns like curved fishhooks, which they harshly used to tear out the souls from the bodies from which they emerged. With these crooked thorns they tore and scratched them and thus they shrieked cruelly. There was the sound of ice cracking and the howling of suffering souls, and the violent cry of beasts. And they shrieked and their cries reached heaven so much that the devils, if there were in them any spark of mercy, must have been moved to mercy and compassion.

In all the limbs and fingers of these beasts were several heads that were biting the nerves and bones. And they had tongues in the manner of snakes that gnawed at and damaged the palate of the mouth, the veins of the body and the chests. These creatures resembling snakes stretched in order to enter the secret places of nature of men as well as women and entered the lower parts of the [119v] belly, and from there pulled out all the intestines. When the soul of one man called Tundalus (Tondal/Tundale) asked what evil actions the sad souls had committed to whom such cruel pain was inflicted—pain that was without comparison, worse than all the pains he had witnessed, — the angel answered him that it is the pain of monks and canons, regulars and seculars, of nuns, priests and all other men of the church of whatever order, who by tonsure or clothing have lied to God.<sup>100</sup> And

100. Tondal was a legendary medieval Irish knight whose soul leaves his body and is taken by his guardian angel on a tour of hell, purgatory, and heaven. When his soul was returned to his body he vowed to live a better life. *The Vision of Tondal* was written by a monk in the city of Regensburg around 1144–1160. There are 243 manuscripts of *The Vision of Tondal*, ranging from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. Among the vernacular translations are 10 French translations in 14 manuscripts. Margaret of York (Duchess of Burgundy, the third wife of Charles the Bold) commissioned a French version of *The Vision of Tondal*, which is held by the Getty Museum, catalogued as MS. 30.

for this their limbs are damaged and tormented by various pains because they did not castigate their members nor prevent them from doing unsuitable or prohibited things. Because they sharpened their tongues like snakes, they will burn. Because they did not withdraw from lust, they are made cruel beasts and have in the shameful parts of nature cruel beasts to increase their pain. Men and women who were considered saints, due to their clothing of religion and holy profession, because of gluttony and lust are in greater pain and torments.

## The bad kings and lords will be tormented by force

The lords, kings, princes, and lords who had power over others to govern the people and to keep peace, and governed badly and weighed down the people by extortions will be more tormented than others. And of this the Holy Scripture speaks. Wisdom VI *The mighty shall be mightily tormented.*<sup>101</sup> Also Wisdom VI *A greater punishment is ready for the more mighty.*<sup>102</sup> About this one reads that when a man who had entered the order of Cîteaux<sup>103</sup> in England considered leaving the order, the devil

Excerpts and facsimiles of the miniatures from this manuscript dated 1474 are available in *The Visions of Tondal from the Library of Margaret of York*, ed. Thomas Kren and Roger S. Wieck (Malibu, CA: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1990), 37-61. For a bibliography of manuscript sources of *The Vision of Tundale* see Eileen Gardiner, *Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell: A Sourcebook* (New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 1993), 210-222.

101. Ws. VI: 7.

102. Ws. VI: 9.

103. The order of Cîteaux refers to the Cistercian order. The monastery at Cîteaux was established in A.D. 1092 by Abbot Robert of Molesme and other monks from the abbey of Molesme who believed the abbey at

appeared in the shape of an angel and beat him to death. As he was close to death Saint Benedict put him out of his body and showed him several mansions of the elect and the torments of the bad [120r] and he saw a prince in flames carried and put in a chair of fire, and in front of him were beautiful women whose faces were burning, and they tormented him by the mouth and other places and never stopped tormenting him who had been a powerful and lustful prince. After this one, he saw another whom the devils were skinning and were throwing salt on him and rubbing it in. They roasted him on a burning grill. This one had been a cruel lord and oppressor of his subjects and had oppressed them with many exactions and extortions. After that one, he saw another astride a horse afire. The horseman had a shield afire and carried a goat all afire, and behind the tail of the horse the clothes of a monk were dragged. He had been a thief and had taken the goat of a widow, and at the end of his life, as he was sick, he had taken the monk's habit not to persevere as a monk

Molesme was too wealthy and the monks were not strictly following the rules of St. Benedict. Choosing to live an austere life, they founded the Cistercian Order. The first Cistercian abbey was the Cîteaux Abbey, located in Saint-Nicolas-lès-Cîteaux, south of Dijon, France. In 1112 Bernard of Clairvaux and 30 of his companions joined the Cîteaux Abbey. From Cîteaux the Cistercians spread across France and in 1128 moved across the Channel to create its first abbey in Britain at Waverley in Surrey. The above information is from M. A. Dimier, "Abbey of Cîteaux," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed. (Detroit, MI: Gale and Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 5: 265; and Mark Needham, "The Cistercians" on TimeRef-Medieval Time-lines, accessed May 6, 2020, <http://www.timeref.com>. Some of the most beautiful Cistercian monastic buildings in England include Tintern Abbey, Rievaulx Abbey, Byland and Fountains Abbey. For a description of the monastic buildings in England connected with the order of Cîteaux see Francis Aidan Gasquet, *English Monastic Life* (London: Methuen and Co., 1910), 218-221.

but to gain human favor. In addition he saw several others bearing pains according to the sins of the mouth, of lust and other vices they had committed in the world, and the devils beating them with sticks full of knots so hard that they made their eyes bulge from their heads.

## The misers and those coveting dignity

In hell the ambitious of this world are badly treated. That is to say, those who sought honors, prestige, and high offices, and who wanted to have lordship and power over others. They wanted not to do good, but to act according to their own desire, and to be honored by all, and to be rich whether by acting rightfully or wrongfully. Because they desired and procured such dignity, and obtained it wrongfully, and have used wrongfully the power they had, they are horribly tormented. Those who have risen unfairly to high places are lowered against their will, and because they trampled upon others they will be trodden upon. **[120v]** And the prophet speaks of this. Isaiah XXVIII *The crown of pride shall be trodden under feet.*<sup>104</sup> In the lowest place of hell they will be pressed with such great weight of pains like someone pressed by a great tower upon him.

## The pain of false judges

In hell the false judges are horribly tormented; those who received gifts or presents secretly, and perverted justice, and have falsely judged in giving fault to those who were in the right, and the right to those who were in fault, and those who without

104. Is. XXVIII: 3.

receiving gifts, have judged according to the inclination of their will and not according to the merit of the works and causes or according to what is right and true. With them are false lawyers, procurators, and such types of people who by covetousness to gain have taken all the causes offered to them, good and bad, whether wrong or right, and the bad ones they have pleaded and defended against God and against reason, against right and justice, and those who made the righteous lose their case, and those who caused the lawsuit to last longer than necessary in order to increase the expenses. For these reasons, as enemies of justice, they are harshly tormented in hell, as they know by experience what justice is. So (in hell) they have fire on their tongues that burns them horribly and beyond measure, which is the torment of torments. And in addition they are plunged in boiling metal. About this one reads that a philosopher says that the emperor of Rome, Nero, who loved gold and silver too much, was seen in hell where he was plunged in boiling gold. And as he saw a group of lawyers he said to them: “Come here venal men who can be bought, and bathe with me for I shall share my bath with you.”<sup>105</sup>

## The bad rich

In hell the bad rich are severely punished, they who have made a god of their wealth by loving it too much and for putting too much of their heart in it rather than in God, and have done ill [121r] in living carnally and in pleasures and, without doing good

105. Story found in *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. Thomas Frederick Crane (London: D. Nutt for the Folk-lore Society, 1890), 148. Both the synopsis of the story and manuscript sources are given on 148.

to others in need. And the Holy Scripture speaks of the fact that the bad rich will have a hard time in hell. Luke VI *Wo to you that are rich: for you have your consolation.*<sup>106</sup> Also James V *Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. You have feasted upon earth, and in luxuries you have nourished your hearts.*<sup>107</sup> According to these authorities the bad rich will be in great miseries and torments, and the cause is expressed here: because they have been greedy and lustful. In the midst of abundance and wealth, vices and sins usually abound and consequently the pains and torment will abound.

## The usurers

Usurers eager to gain gold and silver, and to lend with usury, and not give back what they acquired wrongly are horribly tormented, and they are all in hell. So in hell there is a large and smoky place with the ground full of round pits full of various metals all boiling. In these pits the usurers are put, some are totally immersed so that only their eyes appear, others are in up to their chests, some up to their navel and so with others according to whether they have sinned more or less. All are in horrible torment. And because of the anguish they feel, they cry, and utter great clamors, and with rage they eat their tongue. “Because we sought to gain money through usury we are all in burning pits tormented beyond measure.” [\[Figure 60\]](#) [121v]

106. Lk. VI: 24.

107. Jm. V: 1 and 5.

# Hell VIII [121v-129v]

## Robbers

In hell robbers suffer terrible torments. They are suspended from the gallows of hell with chains of burning iron, some by the neck, others by the hands, others by the feet, their heads hanging down. And beside this torment they are enflamed below by flames that burn them while they hang.

“The thefts that we did  
are now costing us a lot  
because for such misdeeds  
we are hung from the gallows of hell.” (Octosyllabic poem)<sup>1</sup>

1. This octosyllabic poem and the one below it are reminiscent of the octosyllabic poems of François Villon (1431-1463), and especially his *Ballade des Pendus* (L'Épithaphe Villon) and *Ballade de bon conseil* in Villon's *Poésies complètes*, ed. Pierre Michel (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1972), 269-271, 223-225. The octosyllabic poems in the manuscript are related in theme and meter to *Danse Macabré* or *Danse des Morts* in French and *Totentanze* in German. The text dealt with the inevitability of death, death the leveler and often incorporated moral teachings. These poems, often anonymous, were popular in the fifteenth century and found their way into sermons. See John Lydgate, Florence Warren, and Beatrice White, eds., *The Dance of Death* (London: Early English Text Society, 1931; Kraus Reprint Co., 1971), ix-x. The earliest Dance of Death poem is attributed to Jean Gerson, chancellor of the Sorbonne. He composed the poem to accompany the large painting on the outside walls of the Cimetière des Innocents near Paris in 1424. See Ann Tukey Harrison, ed., *The Danse Macabre of Women: Ms. fr. 995 of the Bibliothèque Nationale* (London: Kent State University Press, 1994), 7-8.

Amos V *They shall lift you up on pikes.*<sup>2</sup> [*\*That is, the demons shall suspend you on the gallows*]. [Figure 61] [122r]

## The pain of tyrants and murderers

In hell are the murderers and cruel tyrants who have tortured and tormented others in different ways and by their cruelty have killed several. Because they have spilled human blood they are forced to drink blood in pain and anguish. Apocalypse XVI *They have shed the blood of the saints [and prophets], and thou hast given them blood to drink; for they deserve it.*<sup>3</sup> In addition they are wounded, bruised, and struck with swords. Text above picture:

“We are given painful martyrdom.

We are bruised and wounded with swords

because we have cruelly and wrongfully

put several people to death.” (Octosyllabic poem)

Psalms: *They shall be delivered into the hands of the sword.*<sup>4</sup> Also Deuteronomy XXXII *Without, the sword shall lay them waste.*<sup>5</sup>

[Figure 62] (Scripture below picture) Jeremiah XV *Such as are for the sword, to the sword.*<sup>6</sup> Matthew XXVI *For all that take the sword, shall perish by the sword.*<sup>7</sup> [122v]

## The pains of those who have shortened the life of

2. Error in MS. It should be Am. IV: 2. [\*] indicate anon. author's comment. Am. IV: 2 was quoted earlier in Hell V, n. 63.

3. Ap. XVI: 6. [ ] indicate word included in the scripture but omitted in MS. Douce 134.

4. Ps. LXII: 11.

5. Dt. XXXII: 25.

6. Jr. XV: 2. Scripture quoted earlier in Hell VI, n. 84.

7. Mt. XXVI: 52.

## others and the pains of women who killed their children

Those who have shortened the life of others, who made them die of venom or poison or by another means, and the women who have killed their children are horribly tormented in hell. So one reads that Saint Paul saw a place in hell in which there were all sorts of pains.<sup>8</sup> And in these pains were black women who were in fire, sulfur, and in melted pitch. They had around their neck dragons, snakes, vipers, and devils that tormented them. St. Paul asked who they were and the angel answered him: "They are those who have not been faithful in marriage but have broken their marriage vows, and aborted and killed their children, and have not made penance." Then St. Paul saw in an icy place men and women who had half of their body in ice and intolerable cold and the other half in fire. The angel said to him: "They are those who have harmed widows and orphans." In another place he saw men and women and several fruits in front of them and they were prevented from taking these fruits. And the angel said: "They are those who have broken the fast of the Church." And St. Paul cried, and the angel said to him: "Paul why do you cry? You have not yet seen the greater pains of hell." So the angel showed him a covered well and as he wanted to uncover it, he said to him: "Stay far away so that you can better stand the stench." Then the angel uncovered the opening of the well and a horrible stench beyond all endurance came out of it. And St. Paul asked the angel who were those who are put in it, and the angel answered him: "They are those who do not believe that Jesus

8. See Hell VII, n. 95 for the origin and history of the *Apocalypse of St. Paul* or the *Vision of St. Paul*. The tortures of the damned and the well of hell are found in chapters X and XI quoted in *Visions of Heaven and Hell before Dante*, ed. Eileen Gardiner, 40-43.

Christ the Son of God came in flesh born from the Virgin Mary and those who are not baptized and have not made communion with the body and blood of Jesus Christ.”

### **For as many bad pleasures the damned have had, they will have as many corresponding torments**

**[123r]** It appears that the damned have fallen into so many ills because they are condemned by God. They are deprived of the company of angels and saints. They have lost their inheritance of paradise and their felicity. They lack all goods, and they have in abundance all ills. They are in horrible fire, stinking sulfur. They are bitten by worms, devoured by beasts, and tormented by devils. They experience intolerable stench, unbearable cold, visions of devils, fear, painful and pestering smoke, horrible darkness, hunger and thirst, deadly venom, and bitterness. Swords, lightning, hail and storms strike them. For the abundance of goods they will have shortage and poverty. For great prosperity they will have great adversity. For superfluous rest they will have work and labor. For living well and in ease they will be in great misery in body and soul. For eating and drinking beyond measure they will be hungry and thirsty. For good tastes they will have great bitterness. For good odors they will have great stench. For sleeping too much they will wake eternally. For evil looks they will have awful visions of devils. For evil touching they will be closely tied. For vain joys they will be in great sadness. For vain songs they will have complaints and clamors. For vain security they will have fear and terror at all hours. For a multitude of sins they will have a multitude of torments. And if each torment ends in death and enough to keep man in continual death, imagine the death he will suffer after suffering all those torments. The pains are great and horrible, numerous and diverse, bitter

and sharp, continual and eternal. All the pains that can be imagined and found are there and there are so many torments that mortal man cannot imagine them. In spite of all the ills that the damned have suffered, in spite of their being weighed with torments, pain and misery [123v], in spite of their feebleness and weakness in suffering such great torments, in spite of their tears and clamors, although all these things might bring people to have pity and compassion for them, the devils will never have pity on them any more than for dogs, and they do not give them rest for a single moment.

## The pains and sufferings of the damned in general

*The Son of Man will send his angels and they will collect all stumbling blocks from his kingdom and those who have committed sin; and they will bind little bundles for burning, and they will send them into the furnace of burning flames and sulfur. At that place there will be weeping [and gnashing of teeth], moaning, wailing and howling, mourning and torture, gasping and loud shouting, fear and trembling, labor and sadness, burning and stench, darkness and anxiety, bitterness and sourness, calamity and poverty, anguish and sadness, forgetfulness and confusion, twisting and stabbing pain, bitterness and terrors, famine and thirst, cold and burning heat, sulfur and burning fire continuously forever and ever.*<sup>9</sup>

9. The anon. author of *The Vineyard* does not acknowledge the author of this passage, Pope Innocent III. \*Mittet Filius hominis angelos suos, et colligent de regno ejus omnia scandala, et eos qui faciunt iniquitatem\*, (Mt. XIII: 41) et alligabunt eos in fasciculos ad comburendum \*et mittent eos in caminum ignis ardentis et sulphuris. Ibi erit fletus, [stridor dentium],\* (Mt. XIII: 42 and 50) et gemitus, eiulatus et ulula-

Alas, what should I say about the wretched ones who are punished by innumerable kinds of torments? They are beaten with clubs, and their throats are cut with swords. They are burned in flames and oppressed by stones. They are dismembered by rods. They are suspended on pillories. They are tortured by claws, whipped by scorpions. They are constricted by chains. They are bruised by nooses. They are thrust into prisons and are exhausted by fastings. They are thrown headlong and they are drowned. They are flayed, and they are pulled apart. They are cut and suffocated. \*Such as for death to death; such as are for hunger to hunger; such as are for the sword to the sword; and such as are for captivity to captivity.\* (Jr. XV: 2) Cruel judgment, dreadful punishment, sad spectacle. They are given as food to the birds of the sky, to the beasts of the earth [and fish of the sea]. Alas, alas, [alas] wretched mothers, you who have born such [unhappy] children.<sup>10</sup>

tus, luctus et cruciatus, stridor et clamor, timor et tremor, labor et dolor, ardor et fetor (foetor in PL), obscuritas et anxietas, acerbitas et asperitas, calamitas et egestas, angustia et tristitia, oblivio et confusio, torsiones et punctiones, amaritudines et terrores, fames et sitis, frigus et cauma, sulphur et ignis ardens usque in sempiternum.” The text is by Pope Innocentius III, c. 1160-1216, who includes verses from the Bible which I have identified and indicated with an asterisk \*. The paragraph is from Pope Innocent III's *De contemptu mundi*, lib. III, cap. XVII, in PL 217: 746. See also a more recent edition: Innocentius III, *De miseria humane conditionis*, lib. III, cap. XX, ed. M. Maccarrone, 97-98. Source quoted in Hell VII, n. 48.

10. “Heu quid dicam de miseris, qui per innumera (innumerabilia in PL) tormentorum genera puniuntur? Ceduntur (Caeduntur in PL) fustibus, et gladiis jugulantur, cremantur flammis, et lapidibus obruuntur, discerpuntur virgis (ungulis), et patibulis suspenduntur, torquentur vngulis (unguibus), et scorpionibus flagellantur, arctantur vinculis, et laqueis suggillantur (strangulantur), detruduntur in carceribus, et jejuniis macerantur, pracipitantur (praecipitantur) et submerguntur, excoriantur et distrahuntur, secantur, et suffocantur [suffodiuntur].

In hell there will be tears and moaning, cries and shrieks, complaints and torments, constraints and clamor, fear and trembling, work and pain, ardor and stench, darkness and tribulation, bitterness and harshness, misery and lack of goodness, anguish and sadness, forgetfulness [124r] and confusion, twisting and stabbing pains, bitterness and terrors, hunger and thirst, cold and heat, sulfur and burning fire forever and ever. What would I say of the miserable damned who are punished by innumerable torments, beaten with sticks and swords, stifled and burnt with flames, and hurt with stones, torn with rods, and hung from gallows, who are tormented with nails and struck with belts, tied with straps, and strangled with rope, drowned, skinned, and cut? Those who are to be put to death are put to death. Those who must starve will starve. Those who are to be put to the sword are put to the sword. Those who must be enslaved are enslaved. Alas, alas poor mothers who have carried such children. Alas, alas poor creatures for whom fathers and mothers have watched and worked so in order to keep, feed and provide them with what they needed, in the hope that they would bear fruit, but

\*Qui ad mortem, ad mortem; qui ad famem, ad famem: qui ad gladium ad gladium: qui ad captivitatem, ad captivitatem.\* (Jr. XV: 2) Crudele iudicium, immane supplicium, triste spectaculum: dantur in escam volatilibus celi (coeli), et bestiis terre (terrae) [et piscibus maris]. Heu, heu, [heu], misere (miseræ) matres, que (quæ) tales [tam infelices] filios genuistis!” Here again the anon. author of *The Vineyard* does not identify Innocent III as the author of this paragraph describing the torments of hell. See Innocentius III, *De contemptu mundi*, lib. I, cap. XXIX in PL 217: 715D-716A. The words in parentheses are in PL and indicate a variation in vocabulary or spelling in MS. Douce 134. The bracketed words appear in PL and not in MS. The paragraph from Innocent III’s Latin *De contemptu mundi* is followed by one in French which embellishes and elaborates upon the Latin and reveals the unique tone of speech of the anon. author.

all that was in vain. Alas, alas poor creatures for whom our Lord Jesus Christ suffered death and the passion and shed his blood to buy them back from death, but all that was in vain. Alas, poor creatures for whom the priests have stood awake in prayers and were diligent to administer the holy sacraments for the remedy of their souls. All of that was in vain. Alas poor creatures for whom preachers have labored in preaching to prevent them going to hell. All of that was in vain.

## Hearing of the pains of hell, man must have fear for himself and seek a remedy

Everything that is said of the pains of hell is not said for the damned but for those who are still in this world. By considering well the horribleness and eternity of these pains they have the opportunity to understand them and to take better care of themselves than the damned. The situation and the ruin of others must be for each a warning for his own situation. By hearing how the damned are treated in hell, each one must be afraid for himself and fear that the same will happen to him, [124v] because what has happened to one can happen to another if he is not careful. And while we are still in this world, let us work at extinguishing death by mortifying our passions and concupiscence, and by abandoning our desires, and by withdrawing from carnality. Let us cry over our sins, because all sins and pains can be easily erased by tears and alms. According to Bernard: *A single tear from a pure heart that has been crushed purges, oh man, more from your souls than the fire of purgatory applied for the space of ten years.*<sup>11</sup>

11. “Una lacrima de puro corde contrito plus purgat o homo animarum tuarum quam ignis purgatorii insitus spacium decem annorum.” The

Now there are some who do not want to understand this nor pay great attention to hell because according to their thinking they are not among those who will go down into it. And so for such false thinking they spend their time without getting remedy for themselves, because they are sure and certain they will not come to such confusion. And of such people the Holy Scripture speaks. Isaiah XXVIII *Hear the word of the Lord, ye scornful men...For you have said: We have entered into a league with death, and we have made a covenant with hell.*<sup>12</sup> That is to say, we have made an alliance with death and a pact with hell. He is like one who makes an alliance with someone, he fears nothing. Similarly some are so sure of themselves that they do not fear hell at all, as if they had made a pact with hell, but they are sure of themselves

passage is not found in Bernard's work in the LLT, however it appears in a variety of sources citing Bernard as the author. See Cod. 502 Flores Bernhardi, fol. 25v, cited in *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen*, ed. Beat Matthias von Scarpatetti (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), II: 174. Cod. 502 is a fifteenth-century florilegium that also contains a calendar (fol. 2r-13v), verses about monastic life (fol. 16v-20r), prayers for the priest before and after mass (fol. 32r-62r), and blessings for the meals ("ordo ad benedicendam mensam"). A similar passage attributed to Bernard appears in Nicolaus de Siegen c. 1450-1495, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, ed. Franz Xaver Wegele (Jena: F. Frommann, 1855), Studien zu Thüringische Geschichtsquellen, 2: 327. The passage from *Chronicon* reads: "Quare dicit dulcis Bernardus, quod una lacrima contriti cordis hic plus purgat, quam decem anni in futuro, id est in purgatorio." ("Wherefore sweet Bernard says, "Now one tear from a contrite heart here purges more than ten years in the future, that is, in purgatory.") The text is also found in MS. C10, Sermones varii de tempore, 43r in *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala: Katalog über die C-Sammlung*, ed. Margarete Andersson-Schmitt and Monica Hedlund (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1988), vol. 26, pt. 1, 127.

12. Is. XXVIII: 14-15.

in vain. If they do not withdraw from doing evil, or at least if they do not mend themselves by penance, it is in vain they promise themselves they need not fear to go to hell because, as the Holy Scripture says, their alliance with death and their pact with hell will not hold. *And it follows in the same chapter of Isaiah, And your league with death shall be abolished, and your covenant with hell shall not stand.*<sup>13</sup>

Some who are confident in the mercy of God are bold to do evil, saying that God will have mercy on them. But one must not venture or abandon one's self to evil with such a hope because it is not the way to the mercy of God. It is true that God is merciful, but he is to those who are contrite, and repent of their sins, and make penance for them, and give up their sins, and turn with all their heart to God, and amend their life. **[125r]** In such a way God receives people in his mercy, but not those who persevere in sin without penance. Therefore, whomever you are who persevere in your sins with the hope that God will have mercy on you, do not deceive yourself and do not allow yourself to believe in something the Gospel does not promise you.

## The profits that come from thinking of the pains of hell

To consider the pains of hell and think about them is often a very necessary and profitable thing for man because it is the cause of several great benefits. First, by consideration of the pains of hell man is urged to compunction and contrition for his sins. *Gregory*

13. Is. XXVIII: 18.

on Job: Above all things the vision of infernal punishment provokes compunction.<sup>14</sup>

What man, who because of his sins, feels condemned to the pain of hell, must not moan, cry, and complain in great contrition? Otherwise by not reflecting on the pains of hell man does not protect himself from evil as he should, nor provide himself with a remedy for it. And therefore he goes down easily, just as a man not seeing the pits, falls into them easily.

Secondly by consideration of the pains of hell, man is urged to make penance in his life, because there is no man who considers well these pains who must not want to make penance in this world. It is a much easier thing to do than to suffer these horrible pains. And as a sinner, man must suffer in the other world horrible pain or do worthy penance in his life, each person must choose for himself from the least of two evils. The easiest one to suffer is giving oneself affliction in penance so that he is spared from suffering greater torments in hell, just as a man accepts that we cut a limb in order to prevent the whole body from perishing. About this one reads in the life of the Fathers that some came in a deep desert and found there a hermit who was doing harsh penance and they asked him [125v] why he was giving himself so much torment. He answered: "All the labor of my life that I bear here is not enough to be compared to one day of torments which are prepared for sinners in the other world." Also Bede tells in the *Acts of Englishmen* that a man who was dead was brought back to life. This man frightened by the pains he had seen fled into the desert and made his home near a river in which he bathed wearing all his clothes. And when he was out of the river he let his clothes freeze on his flesh, then he bathed

14. "Gregorius super Job: Super omnia compunctionem provocat visio pene infernalis." The sentence is not in Gregory's *Opera omnia* in the LLT.

in a very hot bath. He continued doing this until his death. And as he was criticized by those who saw him he answered: “If you had seen what I have seen you would do similar things with me and even greater ones.”<sup>15</sup> By consideration of these pains St. Augustine wanted to be punished by God in this world so as to be spared in the other world. Whence he said, “*Lord burn this, cut this so that in the future you spare [me]*.”<sup>16</sup> And St. Gregory pre-

15. This account is found in Bede’s *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* completed in 731. For an accessible translation see Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, bk. V, ch. 12 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 253-258. The penitent man in the story was guided in a vision to hell and to paradise and witnessed terrifying scenes in hell and comforting scenes in paradise—events that totally changed his life. His life of continuous prayer, daily fasts and austere life “led many to salvation by his words and life.” Quote from *The Ecclesiastical History*, 258.

16. “Unde dicebat Domine hic ure, hic seca, ut in futuro parcas.” I have not found this in Augustine’s authenticated works in the LLT but have found it attributed to him in several sources. Humbertus de Romanis, c. 1194-1277, cites him as author in two sources: *Tractatus de dono timoris*, cap. 5, lin. 176, ed. Christine Boyer (2008), CCCM 218: 91 and *De praedicatione crucis*, eds. Valentin L. Portnyckh and Christine V. Veire (2018), CCCM 279: 94. Thomas Aquinas, c. 1224-1274, attributes it to Augustine in two works, his commentaries on the Psalms and Hebrews. See his *In Psalmos*, ps 6, section 1 and *Super ad Hebraeos*, cap. 3, lec. 2 in *Reportationes opuscula dubiae authenticitatis*, in CT, 6: 54 and 6: 523. Guillelmus Autissiodorensis magister, died c. 1231, cites Augustine as the author twice in his *Summa aurea*, ed. Jean Ribailier (Gottaferatta: Ad Claras Aquas, 1986), lib. 3: 519 and lib. 4: 535. It is attributed to Augustine in the critical edition of *The Middle English Weye of Paradys and the Middle French Voie de Paradis: A Parallel-Text Edition*, par. 284, lin. 9, ed. Frans N. M. Diekstra (Leiden: Brill, 1991), I: 320; as well as in *The Book of the Craft of Dying*, ed. Carl Horstmann, see “Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole and His Followers” (London: Swan Sonnenschein and New York: Macmillan, 1896), II: 411.

ferred to spend all his life in languishment and pain rather than spend one single day in purgatory.

Thirdly, by consideration of the pains of hell, man withdraws from evil delectations of the world and of the flesh that cause people to go down into hell. According to the Holy Scripture. Job XXI *They spend all their days in wealth, and in a moment they go down to hell.*<sup>17</sup> Because even if the delectations have in themselves some pleasure, when man considers that they lead to the pains of hell, he refuses them as the child does when he tastes the bitterness that comes from his mother's breast. He refuses it and does not want it anymore. And also none must enjoy what leads to death. Job VI *Now who is able to taste that which when tasted, bringeth death?*<sup>18</sup> If man sees well how sins are punished in hell not only would he renounce all delectations, but in addition he would prefer to be skinned alive rather than agree to a mortal sin.

The words "hic ure, hic seca" appear but are not attributed to Augustine in Petrus Lombardus, c. 1195-1160, *Commentaria in Psalmos*, cap. CXLII in PL 191: 104; Anselmus Cantuariensis, c. 1033-1109, *Meditatio super Miserere* in PL 158: 826; Alexander Essebiensis, c. 1148-c. 1214, *De artificioso modo praedicandi* (versio abbreviata), serm. 2, lin. 1230, and in versio longior, serm. 2, lin. 695, ed. Franco Morenzoni (2004), CCCM 188: 104 and 48; Petrus Cantor, c. 1127/1147-1197, *Summa quae dicitur Verbum adbreuiatum* (textus alter), cap. 80, lin. 75, cap. 101, lin. 130, ed. Monique Boutry (2012), CCCM 196B: 419 and 500; Cantor, *Summa quae dicitur Verbum adbreuiatum* (textus conflatus), pars. 2, cap. 24, lin. 142, pars. 2, cap. 24, lin. 304, pars. 2, cap. 50, lin. 126, pars. 2, cap. 55, lin. 16, pars. 2, cap. 58, lin. 104, ed. Monique Boutry (2012) CCCM 196: 689, 694, 793-4, 817 and 841; Cantor, *Summa quae dicitur Verbum adbreuiatum* (textus prior), cap. 103, lin. 172, cap. 129, lin. 60, cap. 136, lin. 58, ed. Monique Boutry (2012), CCCM 196A: 575, 652 and 688; and Radulfus Ardens, died c. 1200, *Homiliae*, hom. XIII in PL 155: 1720.

17. Jb. XXI: 13.

18. Jb. VI: 6.

Fourthly, the consideration of the pains of hell deters sloth and laziness of man. Because when man thinks how those are treated in hell who did not want to do anything for their salvation, he has the opportunity to give up laziness and to start being [126r] diligent in doing good. And so by being diligent he escapes the pains of hell.

Fifthly, the consideration of the pains of hell obtains victory against the devil. About this one reads of Saint Anthony who, as the devil tempted him to sin, opposed him and the pains of hell. And after that the devil appeared to him as a blackened dead man and set himself at his feet and confessed that he was conquered by him.<sup>19</sup>

## What causes people go down into hell?

For various causes people go down to the torments of hell, some for one cause, others for another. And in spite of what was said before, some more causes must be given here so that everyone will be careful to be on guard for each and every one.

Some go down into hell because they do not want to be subjects of God, nor keep his holy commandments, but break them boldly, or do not pay attention to them. So it is not surprising if they go down into hell because they do not belong to God.

19. The legend of St. Anthony is found in Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (Salem, NH: Ayer Co., 1989; repr. in New York, London, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1941), 99: "One day, when by faith he had conquered the demon of impurity, the Devil appeared to him in the form of a black child, and acknowledged his defeat." See also Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, XXI De Sancto Antonio, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Florence: Simel-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998), 1: 155.

Some go down to the pains of hell because they have no charity nor love for God or for others. And this is expressed in the Gospel. Matthew XXII *Friend, how camest thou in hither not having a wedding-garment? [\*that is love]. But he was silent. Then the king said to the waiters: Bind him foot and hand, and cast him into the exterior darkness.*<sup>20</sup>

Some go down to hell for neglecting to work for their salvation. Those who do nothing to get eternal life are not registered in the book of life and consequently their place is hell, according to the Holy Scripture. Apocalypse XX *And whosoever was not found written in the book of life, was cast into the pool of fire.*<sup>21</sup> That is to say, that he who is not found written in the book of life for simply not doing good works will be sent to the pond of fire. And this agrees with what our Lord says in the Gospel. Matthew III *Every tree that yieldeth not good fruit, shall be cut down, and [126v] cast into the fire.*<sup>22</sup> Also Matthew XXV *And the unprofitable servant, cast ye out into the exterior darkness.*<sup>23</sup>

Many go down into hell for committing the seven mortal sins, because each mortal sin leads those who do not redeem themselves through contrition, confession, and penance to eternal

20. Mt. XXII: 12-13. [\*] indicate commentary by the anon. author. The anon. author of MS. Douce 134 explains the meaning wedding garment in Christ's parable of the wedding feast in one word, "love." Perhaps he or she was familiar with the commentaries by St. Augustine, St. Gregory, St. Ambrose, and St. Chrysostom who also believed that the appropriate wedding garment is love, and without it one cannot attend the celestial nuptial feast. The passage is quoted earlier in Hell VI, n. 34, and n. 96.

21. Ap. XX: 15.

22. Mt. III: 10. Quoted previously in Hell IV, n. 20.

23. Mt. XXV: 30.

death. Luke XIII *But unless you do penance, you shall all likewise perish.*<sup>24</sup>

Some go down into hell for having hidden their sins in confession and for excusing themselves of their evil acts, thus their sins are not forgiven but remain on them and make them go down to the pains of hell. And this is expressed in the Holy Scripture. Hosea XIII: *The iniquity of Ephraim is bound up, his sin is hidden. The sorrows of a woman in labour shall come upon him.*<sup>25</sup>

Some go down into hell because of a bad conscience, since one who acts against his conscience or one who is not aware of the evil, leads himself to death. According to what is said: *Whatever thing is done against conscience builds towards hell.*<sup>26</sup>

Some go down to hell because they followed too much their own will, especially those things that are against God's will or their prelate's. And of this St. Bernard speaks: *Truly what does God hate or punish beyond each one's own desire? Stop your own*

24. Lk. XIII: 5.

25. Ho. XIII: 12-13.

26. "Quiquid agitur (fit in PL, facit in Laurentius and CT) contra conscientiam edificat (aedificat in PL, Laurentius, and (CT) ad gehennam." The author of this passage is not given. It appears in Helinandus Frigidi Montis, c.1150-c.1237, *Sermones*, serm. XXVII *In dedicatione* in PL 212: 703. The passage is attributed to "an authority" by Alanus de Insulis, c. 1128-c. 1202, *Contra haereticos*, lib. II, *Contra Waldenses*, cap. XV, *Opinio illorum qui dicunt quod omne mendacium est peccatum mortale* in PL 210: 390. The passage is also found in Laurentius a Brundisio (Guilio Cesare Russo), 1559-1619, *Dominicalia*, *Sermones ad tempus post pentecosten pertinentes* in *Opera omnia* (Padua: Officina Typographica Seminarii, 1943), 8: 179. Thomas Aquinas refers to the passage as a gloss on Romans XIV: 23 in his *Quaestiones quodlibetales* I-XI, quodlibetum: 3, quaes. 12, art. 2, *sed contra* in *Quaestiones disputate quaestiones quodlibetales opuscula* in CT, 3: 456. Aquinas quotes the passage again in the same work in quodi. 6, quaes. 5, art. 3, arg. 3: 472.

*will and hell will not be.*<sup>27</sup> That is to say, what God hates or what God punishes is our own will. Stop your own will and hell will not be. Some go down to the torments of hell because they do not want to be reasonable, or to admonish themselves, pay what they owe, or want to have more than they are owed, or give less than they owe, or also go against right and reason. And those who do that put themselves to death because injustice is the acquisition of death as the book of Wisdom II says. [*\*For injustice is the acquisition of death.*]<sup>28</sup>

Several go down to hell for leading a carnal life, delighting in drinking and eating in excess each day. And of this [127r] we have authority in the Holy Scripture. Job XXI *They spend their days in wealth, and in a moment they go down to hell.* [*\*For example, a rich feaster who feasted everyday in splendor and is buried in hell.*]<sup>29</sup> Also Jeremiah XXV *Drink ye and be drunken,* [*\* that is from delights,*] *vomit and fall,* [*\*that is, in torments.*]<sup>30</sup> Also Job

27. "Quid enim odit aut quid punit Deus preter (praeter in PL) voluntatem propriam? Cesset voluntas propria, et infernus, non erit." Bernardus Claraevallensis, 1090-1153, *In tempore resurrectionis*, serm. III in PL 183: 289.

28. "Iniustitia autem mortis est adquisitia." ("Injustice moreover is the acquisition of death"). [\*] indicate the anon. writer's own words, a summary of Wisdom II, which describes the fate of the wicked. The passage is a rephrasing of Ws. I: 15, "Iustitia enim perpetua est et immortalis," ("For justice is perpetual and immortal") which was quoted in Hell VII, n. 76.

29. Jb. XXI: 13. [\*] indicate the commentary supplied by the anon. author of MS. Douce 134 who connects the passage in Job to the parable of Lazarus and the rich man in Luke XVI: 19-22 in which a rich man feasted sumptuously every day. The beggar Lazarus begged to be fed the crumbs from the rich man's table and was denied. The poor man died and the angels carried him to Abraham's bosom. The rich man died and was buried in hell.

30. Jr. XXV: 27. [\*] indicate commentary.

XX *When he shall be filled, he shall be straitened, [\*in addition, in death his soul shall hunger in punishment] and all sorrow shall fall upon him, [\*that is, after the Day of Judgment because then in soul and body he will be tormented].*<sup>31</sup> In these authorities it is demonstrated that to live too carnally one goes down to the torments of hell. Some go down for evil pleasure, receiving honors, respect, and praises. This is expressed in the Gospel. Luke XI *Wo to you Pharisees, because you love the uppermost seats in the synagogues, and salutations in the market-place.*<sup>32</sup> And it must be known that all the more they will have had pleasure in honors, all the more they will be dishonored and confounded.

Some go down to hell for having their heart too inclined to the vanities of the world such as playing, dancing, singing songs, and for following the vain joys of the world, and for having pleasure, and hearing melodious songs of flutes, organs, harps and drums and such types of instruments. For enjoying such things one goes down to hell, the Holy Scripture says. Job XXI *They take the timbrel and the harp, and rejoice at the sound of the organ. They spend their days in wealth, and in a moment they go down to hell.*<sup>33</sup> And it is not surprising because they take pleasure in such things that show that they are vain and filled with the vanity of the devil with which the grace of God cannot exist. And so for evil pleasure in such vanities one goes down to torments and this agrees with the words of St. Gregory who says that after the present joys follow eternal laments. St. Gregory: *Since [127v] perpetual sorrow follows present joy, flee from fruitless happiness here, dearly beloved, if you fear to weep and mourn there.*<sup>34</sup>

31. Jb. XX: 22. [\*] indicate commentary.

32. Lk. XI: 43.

33. Jb. XXI: 12-13.

34. "Quia, presentia (praesentia in PL and CCSL) gaudia sequuntur perpetua lamenta, hic, fratres carissimi (charissimi in PL), vanam letitiam

Some go down into hell for excesses in curious clothing, disguises, or affected clothing, and for evil pleasures in ornaments, and pompous and precious clothing. And according to how they offended in such passions and novelties they will suffer harsh pains. Job XX *According to the multitude of his devices so also shall he suffer.*<sup>35</sup> About this, one reads that a lady saw in a vision devils talking to a great countess in hell. She was crying and complaining saying: “Oh how miserable I am that I must feel sad. I was rather chaste and abstentious and full of mercy and for no other thing I am damned—only for vain and superfluous ornament about which I was sometimes reproached. But I have not corrected myself, I love such vanities too much. And I took great care to please men. And for such small things I am damned and taken into hell. I am losing so much glory and I lost the good that I would have had if only I had prevented it.” Thus one can see to what end the vanities and passions of the world lead. It is not surprising because for such things people fall into excess and disorder and they displease God too much. This should warn

(laetitia in PL and CCSL) fugite, si illic flere et lugere (lugere is not in PL or CCSL) formidatis.” Gregorius Magnus, 540–604, *Homiliae in euangelia*, lib. 1, hom. 11, par. 5, lin. 124, ed. Raymond Étaix (1999), CCSL 141: 78. See also Gregorius I, *Homiliae in euangelia*, lib. I, hom. XI, *Lectio S. evangelii sec. Matth. XIII*, 44–52 in PL 76: 1117. Translation from *Gregory the Great: Forty Gospel Homilies*, trans. David Hurst (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1990), 66–67. In this book the sermon is numbered homily 9. The fragment, “Praesentia gaudia...lamenta,” appears also in Gregory’s *Expositio in psalmos poenitentiales* in PL 79: 581, and it appears and attributed to Gregory by Defensor Locociensis, fl. eighth century, *Scintillae*, cap. LIV in PL 88: 686; and by Alanus de Insulis, c. 1128–c. 1202, *De arte praedicatoria*, cap. XIII in PL 210: 136. The passage appears in full but is not attributed to Gregory in Rabanus Maurus, c. 776–856, *Homiliae*, hom. XXXVIII *In natali virginum* in PL 110:71.

35. Jb. XX: 18.

those who trouble themselves to adorn themselves and to wear great jewels or curl their hair because if the devil catches them he will tear their hair out. This is expressed in the Holy Scripture. Isaiah III *And there shall be instead of curled hair baldness.*<sup>36</sup> And thus it can be understood about other acts of evil. Many must fear: those who lead an evil life, who do evil works openly or secretly, commit heresies, or hypocrisies; men who bear arms; those who reject and curse God; those who swear **[128r]** and commit perjury deliberately; those who cheat, and those who deceive in words and actions as in selling false merchandise, using false weights and false measures; liars and traitors in whom there is neither truth nor faith nor loyalty; those who are prejudiced against others and overcharge them and make them lose their belongings wrongly; those who habitually insult, make noise and create quarrels; those who curse others and blame and slander them and shout insults and vile words at them; those who hate each other and want to harm each other and want to take revenge on each other; those who go against truth and defend themselves in order to prove themselves innocent of what they are guilty; those who judge others foolishly; those who make fun; those who are jokers, flatterers, seducers; those who drive others crazy by making them believe evil for good and good for evil, lies for truth; those who make scandal and trouble others; and those who want to harm others and persecute them. All such people are not in a state of grace but are in an evil state and because of this they are in great peril if they do not amend themselves and if they do not give up all these falsities and evil things.

36. Is. III: 24.

## How one escapes the pains of hell

In several ways one can escape the pains of hell if one wants to work at it: first, in doing worthy penance for the evil deeds and sins he has committed, because by temporal pain the eternal pain is atoned. There is hardly a man who does not need to make penance because there are very few who remain innocent. And by making worthy penance man redeems himself from the pains of hell. The Holy Scripture speaks. Ezekiel XVIII *Be converted, and do penance for all your iniquities: and iniquity shall not be our ruin, [\*that is ruin of death eternal].*<sup>37</sup>

Because some find it is hard to make penance, it must be said that if they had seen the miseries of hell they would consider it great grace to suffer great torments in this world in order to escape them. Thus there is nothing that a man would not do in order to avoid having his foot held in a burning furnace for a month. And if there is anyone who cannot or does not want to make penance, how will he be able to stand the pains of hell that are so horrible? If he goes down [128v] to hell he will be forced to stand the pains. If men do not punish their sins by penance, God will punish them with horrible pains.

Secondly, man escapes the pains of hell by keeping the commandments of God and the words of our Lord Jesus Christ. And about this there are several authorities in the Holy Scripture. Ecclesiasticus XV *If thou wilt keep the commandments they shall preserve thee, [\*that is you should not perish].*<sup>38</sup> Also Ecclesiastes VIII *He that keepeth the commandment, shall find no evil.*<sup>39</sup> Also

37. Ez. XVIII: 30. [\*] indicate commentary by the anon. author of MS. Douce 134.

38. Ecli. XV: 16. [\*] indicate commentary by the anon. author of MS. Douce 134.

39. Ec. VIII: 5.

Proverbs XXIX *The son that keepeth the word, shall be free from destruction.*<sup>40</sup> Also John VIII *If any man keep my word, he shall not see death forever.*<sup>41</sup> According to these authorities whoever keeps the commandments of God and the words of the Gospel will be preserved from eternal death because God will protect him from it.

Thirdly, man escapes the pains of hell by being just, by loving justice, and by doing what is just and reasonable. About this the Holy Scripture says that justice will free man from death. Proverbs X and XI *Justice shall deliver from death.*<sup>42</sup>

Fourthly, man escapes the pains of hell by giving alms to the poor in true charity. It is written in the book of Tobit that alms free man from all sin and from death, and the soul will not suffer to go into darkness. Tobit IIII *For alms deliver from all sin, and from death, and will not suffer the soul to go into darkness.*<sup>43</sup> About this, there was once upon a time a holy man who being in his place began to hear a noise that he was not used to hearing, and he saw that it must be some spirits, and that it could not be otherwise. And he began to speak saying: "What is this? Who are you?" So a voice said to him: "We are the devils." The holy man said to them: "What are you looking for?" They answered: "We are going to get the soul of the king of France who is on his death bed and is about to die." So the holy man conjured them saying: "I conjure you by the Holy Trinity and by the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ that you come back to me **[129r]** to tell me what you will have done and how it went." And so they went to the king, and when they returned the holy man asked them how the end of the king had been and what happened to his soul. They

40. Pr. XXIX: 28.

41. Jo. VIII: 51.

42. Pr. X: 2 and Pr. XI: 4.

43. Tb. IV: 11.

answered him: “The alms that he gave during his life prevented us to act. And because of this we worked for nothing and we did not do anything. If it had not been for his alms we would now have his soul.”<sup>44</sup>

Fifthly, in order to escape the pains of hell, man must give up works of death because whoever wants to be preserved from suffering harm must watch not to do evil. Other things would not be enough to preserve man from the pains of hell. And so, since there is a remedy to escape the pains of hell, each must be moved to do the things God ordered by which he can be preserved. That is to say, he must do penance, keep God’s commandments, be just, give alms, and refrain from doing evil. And if a man succeeds in escaping the pains of hell, he will be able to say that he did not fail but did good work and accomplished a good deed. If there is one who says to himself that what he does is enough to escape these pains and that he is not in peril,

44. The king mentioned in the legend could well be King Louis IX, b. 1215–1270, also known as Saint Louis, the only canonized king of France. He founded hospitals, supported education, befriended the Cistercian, Franciscan and Dominican orders, and built Sainte Chapelle in Paris to house the crown of thorns. Pope Boniface VIII canonized him in 1297. Miracles of healing took place at his tomb at Saint-Denis. The preceding information is from D. J. A. Matthew, “Louis IX, King of France,” *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed. (Detroit, MI: Gale Publisher and Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 8: 799–801. For a recently translated life of St. Louis see M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Blessed Louis, The Most Glorious of Kings: Texts Relating to the Cult of Saint Louis France* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012). Gaposchkin presents the first editions and English translation of two early vitae of St. Louis, *Gloriosissimi regis* and *Beatus Ludovicus*, as well as the most commonly used liturgical texts composed for Louis’ feast day and two unedited sermons in honor of Louis by the Preacher Jacob of Lausanne, d. 1322.

he is wrong. That is to say, such a man cannot be sure of his fate, and because of this he must strive to do something more than he is doing. It won't be enough for him to live an ordinary life, but he must do something more and that is the safest way because he must know that several people who did some good deeds have nevertheless been damned. About this one reads in the life of Saint Gregory that as St. Gregory was passing in front of the palace of an emperor who was called Trajan, who was dead and damned, he remembered the humanity, [129v] the pity, and clemency of this emperor. And he started to pray in front of the altar of St. Peter and cried so much for the damnation of this emperor that he fell asleep. And then a voice came to him and said that thanks to his prayers the emperor was freed from the pains of hell. And he was careful from then on to pray for any damned. Some say that although he is freed from the pains of hell, he is in hell without suffering pains.<sup>45</sup> Now we can end with the pains of hell.

45. The story is found in Jacobus de Voragine's *The Golden Legend*, trans. Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (Salem, NH: Ayer Co., 1989, repr. in New York, London, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1941), 184-185. See also Iacopo de Varazze, XLVI De Sancto Gregorio, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Florence: Sismel Edizioni del Galuzzo, 1998), 1: 297-298.

# Paradise I [129v-140r]

## The salary of the good workers of the vineyard.

[129v] We have seen the reward that the bad workers of the vineyard will receive. Now we shall consider the salary of the good workers that will be completely different than the one of the bad workers and for a good reason, because the payment must, by reason, correspond to the work. Although the salary will be the last thing that they will receive, it must be the first thing after God that they must seek and for which they must move themselves to work in the vineyard because all good works must be begun to please God and must be addressed to a good end, that is, to obtain the kingdom of paradise. According to St. Augustine *Our good is, therefore, the kingdom of God and his justice; we ought to seek this good, and fix our aim upon it. Let us perform all our actions for the sake of it.*<sup>1</sup> Otherwise, if one does

1. "Regnum ergo et iustitia Dei, bonum nostrum est, et hoc appetendum est, et ibi finis constituendus, propter quod omnia faciamus quaecumque facimus." Augustinus Hipponensis, 354-430, *De sermone Domini in monte*, lib. 2, par. 53, lin. 1139, ed. Almut Mutzenbecher (1967), CCSL 35: 143. Translation from *Saint Augustine: Commentary on the Lord's Sermon on the Mount*, trans. Denis J. Kavanagh (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1951), 60. The passage is quoted and attributed to Augustine in Smaragdus S. Michaelis, c. 750-c. 825, *Commentaria in regulam Sancti Benedicti*, cap. II in PL 102: 742 and Rabanus Maurus, c. 776-856, *Commentarium in Matthaeum*, lib. II, cap. VI in PL 107: 838; Thomas Aquinas c. 1224-1274, quotes the first part of the passage ("Regnum...constituendus") and attributes it to Augustine in his *Catena aurea in Matthaeum*, cap. 6, lec. 20, lin. 142, in CT 5: 160. The passage appears and is attributed to Augustine in Bede

not consider the end, the works are not acceptable to God, and man does not deserve eternal life because these works are not carried out in view of a worthy end. And that is the reason why several have been deprived of a good reward because they have not addressed their works to a good end; and that has caused great damage to them, because not only did they fail to have a good reward, but worse they received another reward, one that they did not seek. According to the Evangelist: *Amen I say to you: they have received their reward.*<sup>2</sup> To speak of the salary of the good workers it is necessary to encourage **[130r]** the workers to do good work because one must first deserve the glory of paradise before one can obtain it. And in order to know what their salary will be, they must by reason be more ardent to work. By not knowing what the reward and glory of saints in paradise will be, several do not desire it as they should, and do not apply themselves to deserve it. Very few people want to undertake the virtuous works which are necessary to obtain eternal life, unless they are encouraged by hearing the proclamation of the great abundance of eternal glory.

## True beatitude cannot be in the possessions of this world

I want to talk about heavenly blessedness,<sup>3</sup> which is the reward of the good workers of the vineyard of our Lord, but before any-

(Venerable Bede), c. 672-735, *In Evangelium*, lib. IV, cap. XII in PL 92: 494.

2. Mt. VI: 2 and 5.

3. The French word *béatitude* means bliss, eternal felicity, perfect happiness. While *béatitude* is translated as “blessedness”, bear in mind that it implies all of the previously mentioned qualities.

thing else I must say that true blessedness cannot exist in this mortal life no matter what good we have done in this mortal life. First of all, blessedness cannot be in corporal salvation or in corporal things such as in strength, beauty or health because all the goods of nature fail with the body when it dies. Beatitude cannot be in having possessions or other temporal goods because they are made to be used in this life only. And such goods are common to good people and bad. Blessedness cannot be in having power and authority over others because it is a transitory thing. And those who have such power are in much greater peril than others. Such power also is not constant nor stable because it can be removed by another power and because in this world there is no one so powerful that there will not be someone as powerful as he. Blessedness cannot be in honors, renown or praises from others because all this is nothing but wind and smoke which soon vanishes and comes to nothingness. Blessedness cannot be in the abundance of delicious food or in pleasures because such carnal things are contrary to the salvation of the soul. Blessedness cannot be in joys and worldly consolations because such things are vain and contrary to true beatitude. As St. Gregory says: *No one can rejoice here with the world, and reign there with the Lord.*<sup>4</sup> That is to say, no one can rejoice here with [130v] the

4. "Nemo (etenim/enim in PL and CCSL) et hic gaudere cum saeculo, et illic regnare cum Deo." Gregorius I, c. 540-604, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, lib. I, hom. XI, Lectio S. Evangelii Sec. Matth. XIII, 44-52 in PL 76: 1117. See also Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in euangelia*, lib. 1, hom. 11, par. 5, lin. 126, ed. Raymond Étaix (1999), CCSL 141: 79. Translation from *Forty Gospel Homilies*, hom. IX (Gregory the Great), Reading Matthew 13: 44-52, trans. David Hurst (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1990), 67. The passage appears in the following works, stars indicate the passage is attributed to Gregory. Bede Uenerabilis (Venerable Bede), c. 672-735, *In epistulas septem catholicas*, lib. 1, cap. 1, line. 89, ed D. Hurst (1983), CCSL 121: 185. Defensor Locogiensis, fl. 7th-8th cen-

world and reign there with God. Also the goods of this world have certain bad qualities. What is good in this world has its opposite. Because if there are consolations, there are tribulations; if there are joys, there is sadness; if there are pleasures, there are displeasures; if there is sweetness, there are pains; if there is sometimes peace, there is often war; if there is security, there is often fear. There is always peril either with belongings or with bodies or with souls and occasionally there is peril in all of them. In fact no one can have truth and blessedness in this world. According to Maximus: *Let nobody believe that he possesses any happiness or true joy in this world.*<sup>5</sup> And St. Augustine says: “Do not seek the good days in this world where or when they cannot be good.” The reason why they cannot be good is because there are in this world some delectations which are pleasant to the heart but they are not profitable to the soul, and on the contrary if one has several adversities since they are profitable to the soul they are painful to bear. And if a man has prosperity of temporal goods it may well be that he is not in the

turies, \**Liber scintillarum*, cap. 55, sent. 18, ed. Henri-Marie Rochais (1957), CCSL 117: 160; Grimlaicus presbyter, died in the early 900s, \**Regula solitariorum*, cap. XXX, in PL 103: 618, Sedulius Scotus, fl. 848-860, *Collectaneum miscellaneum*, diuisio 13, subdiuidio 21, lin. 16, ed. Dean Simpson (1988), CCCM 67: 91; and Radulfus Ardens, died c. 1200, *Homiliae de sanctis*, hom. XXXIII, in PL 155: 1625.

5. “Nemo se credat aliquam felicitatem aut aliquod verum gaudium in hoc saeculo possidere.” This passage is not by St. Maximus the Confessor, c. 580-662, a Byzantine theologian and ascetical writer. The true author perhaps is Carsarius Arelatensis, c. 469-542. The exact passage appears in his *Sermones ex integro a Caesario compositi uel ex aliis fontibus hausti*, serm. 215, cap. 2, lin. 15, ed. Germain Morin, (1953), CCSL 104: 856. Translation is from *Saint Caesarius of Arles, Sermons*, serm. 215, trans. by Mary Magdeleine Mueller (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1973), 3: 114 in *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation* 66: 114.

grace of God as he lacks spiritual goods. All this is said for certain people who work hard to obtain such things in this world, as if there were no other good. They are miserably deceived in judging themselves very happy if they can have what they desire in this world, as if there were no other blessedness, because such things, which they consider their felicity, are often things that prevent them from reaching true blessedness.

## What is the nature of true blessedness?

True blessedness is in not having any evil and in having all good. And as St. Augustine says *Eternal blessedness consists of two things: in the necessary lacking of all evil and the necessary presence of all good.*<sup>6</sup> True blessedness implies the exclusion of all evil because true blessedness cannot be with any evil. The good workers of the vineyard will be carried from this world to the heavenly country where they will no longer have any troubles because they will be delivered from all poverty, misery, and from all injuries **[131r]**, and persecutions, from all adversities, and tribulations, all illnesses, and pains. They will no longer be hun-

6. "Eterna beatitudo consistit in duobus. Scilicet in necessaria carentia omnis mali et necessaria presentia omnis boni." I cannot verify the authorship of this passage, however a similar passage is by Petrus Iohannis Olivi, 1248/1249-1298, *Lecturae super Pauli epistolas* cap. 2, lin. 127 and 135, ed. Alain Boureau (2010), CCCM: 233: 71. Lin. 127 reads: "Et nota quod per hec tria sufficienter exprimit totam gloriam bonorum, que utique consistit in plena carentia omnis mali." ("And note that which through these three things expresses the entire glory of good things which certainly consists in the full absence of all evil.") And lin. 135: "Tertium autem, scilicet carentia omnis mali, significatur per incorruptionem." ("Moreover the third, that is the absence of all evil is signified itself through immortality.")

gry or thirsty, they will no longer be hot or cold, they will no longer have toil or pain, they no longer have annoyances and cares, they will no longer be afraid nor fear anything, they will no longer suffer from anything which would grieve them or displease them. And about this there are several authorities in the Holy Scripture. Apocalypse VII *They shall not hunger not thirst any more, neither shall the sun fall on them, nor any heat.*<sup>7</sup> Apocalypse XXI *God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes: and death shall be no more, nor mourning, nor crying, nor sorrow, shall be any more...*<sup>8</sup> Also Isaiah LI *sorrow and mourning shall flee away.*<sup>9</sup> And thus all evils will cease entirely and will be removed totally and all good, all joys and consolations will be abundant. And for the ills that they have suffered patiently they will be repaid with good things. Instead of tribulation they will have consolation, instead of fear they will have security, instead of poverty they will have abundance of goods, instead of hunger they will be satisfied, instead of injuries and blame they will have praises, instead of sadness they will have joy, instead of misery they will have glory. And about this the Holy Scripture speaks. Jeremiah XXXI *And I will turn their mourning into joy, and will comfort them, and make them joyful after their sorrow.*<sup>10</sup> Also Isaiah LXV *The former distresses are forgotten [\*on account of the greatness of the glory that is coming upon them].*<sup>11</sup> The saints will not be ashamed of the very sins committed during their life because these sins will be forgiven and erased. And about this the Holy Scripture speaks. Jeremiah XXXI *I will forgive their iniquity, and*

7. Ap. VII: 16.

8. Ap. XXI: 4.

9. Is. LI: 11.

10. Jr. XXXI: 13.

11. Is. LXV: 16. [\*] indicate a comment by the anon. author.

I will remember their sin no more.<sup>12</sup> Isaiah LXV *The former things shall not be in remembrance, and they shall not come upon the heart.*<sup>13</sup> And Augustine in the last book of *The City of God*: *The saints will forget past evils, for they will be so unvexed by evils that evils will be completely erased from their senses.*<sup>14</sup> And thus we have the fact that true beatitude is the exclusion of all evils and is the affluence of all that is good.

## Paradise and its properties

Paradise, the kingdom of God promised to the good laborers, [131v] is a place that is beautiful, pleasant and enjoyable. About this kingdom several things must be said. This place is very tall, very big, and large and the Holy Scripture speaks of this. Baruch III *O Israel, how great is the house of God, and how vast is the place of his possession! It is great, and hath no end: it is high and immense.*<sup>15</sup> That is to say “O Israel, how great is the house of God and great is the place of His possession.” It is big and has no limit. It is high and impossible to measure. This place is so big and so large that the whole world is compared to a dot in comparison

12. Jr. XXXI: 34.

13. Is. LXV: 17.

14. “Non erunt memores sancti praeteritorum malorum; carebunt enim omnibus, ita ut penitus deleantur de sensibus eorum.” Augustine, *The City of God*, bk. 22, ch. 30, LCL 7: 378 and 380. The English translation is found in *ibid.*, 379 and 381. See also Augustinus Hipponensis, *De civitate Dei*, lib. XXII, cap. 30 in PL 41: 802. The passage is quoted and attributed to Augustine in Eugypcius Africae, c. 455–c. 535, *Thesaurus* in PL 62: 817, and Julianus Toletanus, c. 652–690, *Prognosticorum futuri saeculi*, lib. 3, cap. 57, lin. 14, ed. Jocelyn Nigel Hillgarth (1976), CCSL 115: 123.

15. Baruch III: 24–25.

to the empire of heaven.<sup>16</sup> The beauty of the edifice of paradise is explained by what the Holy Scripture says. Apocalypse XXI *And the building of the wall thereof was of jasper stone: but the city itself pure gold, like to clear glass. And the foundations of the wall of the city were adorned with all manner of precious stones. [And the twelve gates are twelve pearls, one to each,] and every several gate was of one several pearl: and the street of the city was pure gold, as it were transparent glass.*<sup>17</sup> Also Tobias XIII *The gates of Jerusalem shall be built of sapphire, and of emerald, and all the walls thereof round about of precious stones. And its streets shall be paved with white and clean stones.*<sup>18</sup> Also Isaiah LIII *Behold, I will lay thy stones in order, and will lay thy foundations with sapphires.*<sup>19</sup> These authorities hold that Jerusalem, the celestial city,<sup>20</sup> is built with jasper and sapphires, emeralds and margarites.

16. Blaise Pascal, 1623-1662, expresses a similar view: "...let (man) learn with wonder that this vast circuit itself is but a very minute point when compared with that embraced by the stars which roll in the firmament." *The Thoughts, Letters, and Opuscles of Blaise Pascal*, trans. Orlando Williams Wight (New York, NY: Hurd and Houghton, 1864), 158.

17. Ap. XXI: 18-19, 21. The passage in brackets was not included in MS. Douce 134, but is included here to clarify the passage. Revelation 21: 21 in the Jerusalem Bible reads: "...The twelve gates were twelve pearls, each gate being made of a single pearl, and the main street of the city was pure gold, transparent as glass."

18. Tb. XIII: 21-22.

19. Is. LIV: 11.

20. The margarite is a pearl, see *The Book of Beasts: A Latin Translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century*, trans. Terence Hanbury White (New York, NY: Dover, 1984), an unabridged republication of the edition first published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, N.Y., 1954), 216, n. 2. For a bibliography on medieval lapidaries that includes references to the pearl, see Robert Bossuat, *Manuel Bibliographique de la Littérature*

The foundations are all made with precious stones. The squares and pavements are of pure gold. Note that in paradise there is no gold or precious stones of this world, but the beauty and value of this edifice of paradise is signified by gold, jasper, sapphire, emeralds, margarites—precious stones which are the richest things of this world. And as the precious stones of this world are beautiful and pleasant to view, likewise the edifice of the city of paradise is beautiful and pleasant to see [132r] because it surmounts all things in this world in beauty, clarity and preciousness. Considering the things of this world, even though they are beautiful, rich and shining, they are nothing compared to heaven. And it is not surprising if paradise has a rich foundation and is marvelously built because God built it by himself. Hebrews VIII ... *the true tabernacle, which the Lord hath pitched, and not man.*<sup>21</sup> Also Hebrews XI...*he hath prepared for them a city.*<sup>22</sup> Also Proverbs VII *Wisdom hath built herself a house...*<sup>23</sup> About this it must be said that in as much as the king of glory is magnificent, the magnificence of his kingdom is great, in as much as his kingdom exceeds all of the kingdoms of the world in preciousness, clarity, beauty, dignity, sanctity, wealth, pleasures and glory. Even if this world might be pleasurable and enjoyable to many people it is considered hell in comparison to paradise. And the prophet says as much, that the kingdom of God is the kingdom of all the worlds. Psalm *Thy dominion endureth throughout all generations.*<sup>24</sup>

*Française du Moyen Age, Lapidaires #2886-2902 (Melun: Librairie d'Argences, 1951), 269-270.*

21. Hb. VIII: 2.

22. Hb. XI: 16.

23. Error in MS. It should be Proverbs IX: 1.

24. Ps. CXLIV: 13.

This City of God is resplendent with light. There is such a great abundance of light that everything is in light. Of this light the Holy Scripture speaks. Tobias XIII *Thou shalt shine with a glorious light. Happy shall I be if there shall remain my seed, to see the glory of Jerusalem [\*that is heaven].*<sup>25</sup> And it is not surprising that there is such a great light because God who is infinite light illuminates it, as the Holy Scripture says. Isaiah LX *Thou shalt no more have the sun for thy light by day, neither shall the brightness of the moon enlighten thee; but the Lord shall be unto thee for an everlasting light...*<sup>26</sup> Apocalypse XXI *And the city needeth not sun, nor moon to shine in it: for the glory of God hath enlightened it, and the Lamb is the lamp thereof.*<sup>27</sup> From Wisdom VIII *the brightness of eternal light.*<sup>28</sup> It must be said that this light will last forever even without intermission or cease [132v] and that will be a joyous thing because among pleasant things it is a very agreeable thing to see such light and to be continually in light.

The kingdom is incorruptible as the Holy Scripture says. Daniel VII *His power is an everlasting power that shall not be taken away: and his kingdom, that shall not be destroyed.*<sup>29</sup> The statement that the kingdom is incorruptible means that it is firm and stable enough to last forever. And thus it will never have an end. And the Holy Scripture says in Luke I *And of his kingdom there shall be no end.*<sup>30</sup> This kingdom is totally full of goods and wealth and glory as the Holy Scripture says. Psalm *Glory and wealth shall be in his house.*<sup>31</sup> Also Psalm *I believe to see the good*

25. Tb. XIII: 13 and 20 [\*] indicate commentary by anon. author.

26. Is. LX: 19.

27. Ap. XXI: 23.

28. Error in MS. It should be Ws. VII: 26.

29. Dn. VII: 14.

30. Lk. I: 33.

31. Ps. CXI: 3.

things of the Lord in the land of the living.<sup>32</sup> Exodus XXXIII I will shew thee all good.<sup>33</sup> Isaiah XXXIII Thy eyes shall see Jerusalem, a rich habitation.<sup>34</sup> Deuteronomy VIII Enjoy the abundance of all things...<sup>35</sup> And this place is so full of goods that it lacks nothing, and about that the Holy Scripture speaks. Judges XVIII And he will deliver the place to us, in which there is no want of any thing that groweth on the earth.<sup>36</sup> That is to say, God will give us a place where there is no lack of anything. Of all these goods the saints and friends of God will be filled as the Holy Scripture says. Psalm We shall be filled with the good things of thy house.<sup>37</sup> Jeremiah XXXI And my people shall be filled with good things.<sup>38</sup> It is difficult to describe what these goods are as the Holy Scripture says. Wisdom IX Hardly do we guess aright at things that are upon earth: and with labour do we find the things that are before us. But the things that are in heaven, who shall search out?<sup>39</sup> Also Isaiah LXIII The eye hath not seen, O God, besides thee, what things thou hast prepared for them that wait for thee.<sup>40</sup> That is to say, that no one has ever seen what God has prepared for those who believe in him. In fact the people of this world do not know really what the goods are of the celestial country because they have no experience of it. However it can be said that these goods are salvation, life, honor, dignity, rest, peace, [133r] love, joy, spiritual glory, and eternal beatitude about which we will speak more

32. Ps. XXVI: 13.

33. Ex. XXXIII: 19.

34. Is. XXXIII: 20.

35. Dt. VIII: 9.

36. Jd. XVIII: 10.

37. Ps. LXIV: 5.

38. Jr. XXXI: 14.

39. Ws. IX: 16.

40. Is. LXIV: 4.

fully later. The saints themselves are all astonished by the place and the goods that are there because no similar things were ever seen. This kingdom is totally enjoyable holding all the delightful pleasant things as it is given to understand in the Holy Scripture. Psalm *The mountain of God is a fat mountain. A curdled mountain, a fat mountain.*<sup>41</sup> And for this the saints will be in eternal delights. Isaiah LXVI *Rejoice with Jerusalem,... rejoice for joy with her, all you that mourn for her. That you may suck, and be filled with the breasts of her consolations: that you may milk out, and flow with delights from the abundance of her glory.*<sup>42</sup> And there the saints will have all that they want and desire, not only in sufficient amount, but also in super abundance, and they will have so much that they will not desire anything else. All their desires will be accomplished as the Holy Scripture says. Proverbs X *To the just their desire shall be given.*<sup>43</sup> According to Augustine from *The City of God: There whatever is lovable will be there, and one will not desire what is not there. Whatever is good and whatever leads to highest happiness will most certainly be there.*<sup>44</sup> *There we shall be still and see, shall see and love, shall love and praise.*<sup>45</sup>

41. Ps. LXVII: 16.

42. Is. LXVI: 10-11.

43. Pr. X: 24.

44. "Ibi quidquid amabitur, aderit, nec desiderabitur quod non aderit.

Omne quod ibi est bonum erit, et quod est omnino beatissimum, ibi semper fore certum erit." Augustine, *De Trinitate*, lib. XIII, cap. VII in PL 42: 1020. This passage appears and is attributed to Augustine in Petrus Lombardus, c. 1095-1160, *Sententiae*, lib. IV, Distinctio XLIX in PL 192: 958.

45. "Ibi vacabimus et videbimus, videbimus et amabimus, amabimus et laudabimus." Augustine, *The City of God*, bk. 22, ch. 30, LCL 7: 384. Translation from *ibid.*, 7: 385. The passage is found and attributed to Augustine in Joannes Cassianus (John Cassian), c. 360-c. 435, *Collationes*, pars. I, cap. X in PL 49: 494; Eugyppius Africae, died c. 535, *The-*

Also Bernard, *O heavenly city. A dwelling secure, a [large and fertile] country containing all that, which delights: a people without murmur, serene citizens, a people having no needs.*<sup>46</sup> The beauty, honesty, clarity, pleasantness, holiness, and dignity of the place increase greatly the joy and consolation of the saints who are in it. The place is so pleasant and delightful even if one had to stay there in only the space of one day one should despise all joys, delights, and pleasantness, which one could have in this world for several years. Saint Augustine in *De libero arbitrio* (*On Free Will*) *But so great is the beauty of justice, so great the joy of light eternal, that is, of the Immutable Truth and Wisdom, that even though it were permitted to remain in it not more than the space of one day, on account of that alone, innumerable years of this life, filled with delights and surrounded by the support of temporal goods, would rightly and justly be valued less.*<sup>47</sup> And with good

*sauros*, tomus prior, cap. CLXVI in PL 62: 817; Julianus Toletanus, c. 652-690, *Prognosticon*, lib. III, cap. LXII in PL 96:524 and Petrus Lombardus, *Collectanea in epistolas Pauli*, in *Epistolam ad Hebraeos*, cap. IV in PL 192: 431.

46. "O civitas celestis, (caelestis in CCSL, coelestis in PL) mansio segura, patria continens totum [fertilis et ampla], quod delectat; populus sine murmure, incole (incolae in CCSL and PL) quieti, homines nullam indigentiam habentes." The passage is not by Bernard but by Cassiodorus, c. 485-c. 580, *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori variarum libri XII: De anima*, cap. 15, lin. 90, ed. James W. Halporn (1973), CCSL 96: 568. Passage is questionably attributed to Bernardus Claraevallensis (auctor incertus) *Meditationes de humana conditione*, cap. IV in PL 184: 492.

47. "Tanta est [autem in PL] pulchritudo justitiae (justitiae in PL and CCSL), tanta jocunditas lucis eterne (aeternae in PL and CCSL), hoc est incommutabilis veritatis atque sapientiae (sapientiae in PL and CCSL), ut etiam si non liceret amplius in ea manere quam unius diei mora, propter hoc solum innumerales anni hujus vite (vitae in PL) pleni deliciis et confluentia (circumfluentia in PL and CCSL) temporalium bonorum recte meritoque contempnerentur (contemnerentur in PL

cause one should despise all joys, delights and [133v] consolation of the world, for the joy and consolation of a single day in paradise is worth more than all the joys in the world by a thousand years. And the Holy Scripture testifies to it. Psalm For better is one day in thy courts above thousands.<sup>48</sup> Also I Judges XIII Is not one bunch of grapes of Ephraim better than the vintages of Abiezer? [\*Ephraim means fertility without increase and is a symbol of the abundance of heavenly glory. The vintage of Abiezer is interpreted as the help of my father and signifies the consolation of present life. Therefore the bunch of grapes of Ephraim, that is the moment of heavenly glory, is better than all the consolation of the world which are nothing except inferior to heavenly glory].<sup>49</sup> By consideration of those things St. Gregory admonishes to reach for the celestial goods saying, “If you want to be rich love the true riches.” St. Gregory: If you, [dearest brothers], desire to be truly wealthy, love true wealth. [\*Also again], If you seek the summit of true honor hasten to be enrolled in that heavenly senate.<sup>50</sup>

and CCCM).” Augustinus Hipponensis, *De libero arbitrio*, lib. III, cap. XXV in PL 32: 1308. Augustinus Hipponensis, *De libero arbitrio*, lib. 3, cap. 25, lin. 25, ed. William M. Green (1970), CCSL 29: 320. See Saint Augustine, *De libero arbitrio* (*Treatise on the Freedom of Will*), lib. 3, Latin text with English, trans. Francis E. Tourscher (Philadelphia: The Peter Reilly Co., 1937), 420. English translation is on 421. The same text appears in Augustinus (pseudo) Belgicus, fl. in the 12th c., *Sermones ad fratres in eremo commorantes*, serm. 44, in PL 40: 1319. The passage is attributed to Augustine in Frowinus abbas Montis Angelorum (Frowinus abbas Engelbergensis), died 1178, *Explanatio dominicae orationis* (cui adiunctum est ‘Auctarium’), lib. 3, lin. 1114, eds. Sigisbert Beck and Rolf De Kegel (1998), CCCM 134: 122.

48. Ps. LXXXIII: 11.

49. I Jd. XIII: 2. [\*] indicate a gloss by the anon. author.

50. “Si vere [‘fratres charissimi’ in PL] divites esse cupitis, veras divitias amate. [\*Item idem.] Si veri honoris culmen queritis (quaeritis in *Antiphonale* and PL) in illa celesti (coeleste in PL) curia ascribi festi-

## The saints will be introduced in paradise as heirs of the Kingdom

In the kingdom of paradise the saints will be introduced as heirs of the kingdom in order to remain there forever, but as the Holy Scripture says Daniel VII *But the saints of the most high God shall take the kingdom: and they shall possess the kingdom for ever and ever.*<sup>51</sup> Also Matthew XXV *Come, ye blessed of my Father,*

nate.” These sentences appear in Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, lib. I, hom. XV in PL 76: 1131 as well as in his *Liber responsalis* in PL 78: 749. The first sentence, “Si vere divites...amate” is found in CAO 4915. The music is found in *Antiphonale Monasticum* (Parisiis, Tornaci, Romae: Desclée et Socii, 1934), 323, 324. “Si vere ...amate” is sung on Sexagesima Sunday (the second Sunday before Lent) during the Office Hour of None. The second sentence, “Si veri honoris...festinate” shortens and joins together two sentences of Gregory’s Homily XV and is sung also on Sexagesima Sunday at Vespers. The text from his *Homilia XV* reads: “Si culmen veri honoris quaeritis, ad coeleste regnum tendite. Si gloriam dignitatum diligitis, in illa superna angelorum curia ascribi festinate.” (“If you seek the summit of true honor, strive toward the heavenly kingdom. If you love the glory of honor, then hasten to enroll in the celestial ranks of the angels.”) The two sentences in MS. Douce 134 are quoted but not attributed to Gregory I in Rabanus Maurus, c. 766-856, *Homiliae* hom. LVII in PL 110: 108a. The first of the two Latin sentences is quoted by the following but not attributed to Gregory unless indicated: Eligius Noviomensis, c. 588-660, *Homiliae*, hom. XII in PL 87: 638; Haymo Halberstatensis, c. 778-853, *Homiliae De Tempore*, hom. XXII in PL 118: 169; Hildenbertus Cenomanensis, c. 1056-c. 1133, *Sermones*, sermones de diversis in PL 171: 838; authorship is attributed to Gregory in Halitgarius Cameraensis, 790-831, *De vitiis et virtutibus*, lib. I, cap. XIII in PL 105: 666 and in Gerhohus Reichespurgensis, 1093-1169, *Commentarius aureus in Psalmos et cantica ferialia*, pars. IV, ps. XL in PL 193: 1488 and in Reicherspergenis, *Expositio in Psalmos*, pars. VII, ps. LXXII in PL 194: 348.

51. Dn. VII: 18.

possess the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.<sup>52</sup> And in this kingdom are many mansions according to what our Lord says in the Gospel. St. John XIII In my Father's house there are many mansions.<sup>53</sup> [\*Regarding his mansions it is said] Isaiah XXXII: My people shall sit in the beauty of peace, and in the tabernacles of confidence.<sup>54</sup> These celestial mansions are glorious places prepared for the saints to live there and remain. There are several mansions because as the graces of men are divided thus in paradise, the mansions and rewards are divided in the same manner. And according to each one's merit each one will have a mansion suitable to his estate and dignity. And according to the diversity of their merits they will be put with the orders of the angels as St. Gregory says in his sermon about the angels, and this agrees with the Holy Scriptures. Psalm That he may place him with princes, with the princes of his people.<sup>55</sup>

[134r] [Figure 63] [134v]

## According to the diversity of their merits and virtues the saints will be in the mansions of paradise

Some of them will be there for their justice, others for their goodness, some of them for their obedience, others for their humility, some for their mercy, others for their charity, some for their patience, others for their virginity, some for their martyrdom, others for their holiness, some for their temperance, others for their loyalty, some for their good conscience, others for their purity, some for their benevolence, others for their volun-

52. Mt. XXV: 34.

53. Jn. XIV: 2. [\*] indicate addition by anon. author.

54. Is. XXXII: 18. [\*] indicate comment by anon. author of *The Vineyard*.

55. Ps. CXII: 8.

tary poverty. All these virtues are here expressed so that those who are still in this life know by which things they will be able to reach the kingdom of paradise and so that they may work to follow the saints in these virtues or at least in some of them if they want to be in paradise with them. And several things must be said more fully about the fact that the saints have obtained the kingdom because of these virtues.

In glory are those who have been truly obedient to God in keeping his commandments. Because of this God was moved to give mercy to them as the Holy Scripture says in Exodus XX *I am the Lord thy God, shewing mercy unto thousands to them that love me, and keep my commandments.*<sup>56</sup> By keeping the commandments of God they have acquired his love and his grace for which they were justified and made worthy to enter the kingdom of paradise. [\[Figure 64\]](#) [\[135r\]](#) [\[Figure 65\]](#) In this glory are those who have been just in front of God, who have loved and kept justice and spoken the truth to each person. Because in doing this they have agreed to the will of God and have done something that was pleasing and agreeable to him, they have deserved to enter in the kingdom of glory as the Holy Scripture says. Isaiah XXVI *Open ye the gates, and let the just nation, that keepeth the truth, enter in.*<sup>57</sup> Those who are humble of heart who by great humility have demonstrated themselves to be the smallest of all others and unworthy of whatever honor, and by humility have submitted themselves to others and honored them as they have honored their lords– all these people are elevated in glory. And the more they have despised themselves and claimed themselves lowly and of no value, the more they are honored by God

56. Ex. XX: 2, 6.

57. Is. XXVI: 2.

and by angels and elevated high by dignity. Job V *Who setteth up the humble on high...*<sup>58</sup> [135v] [Figure 66]

Those who by true charity have loved God and other men, that is to say, their friends in God and their enemies for God, have deserved to be loved by God. And according to the great love of God towards them, they have sovereign dignity and are sons of God. Matthew V *Love your enemies...that you may be the children of your Father.*<sup>59</sup> Those who have given hospitality and have received religious people and the poor and the pilgrims and have given some of their belongings for the love of God, have done something agreeable to God. The good, which they have done to the poor, God considers that it has been done to him. For such good deeds they have deserved to be received by God. Because we have received the poor and sheltered them in our houses, we are blessed now in these celestial mansions. Matthew XXV *Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was hungry, and you gave me to eat;...I was a stranger, and you took me in.*<sup>60</sup> [136r] [Figure 67]

58. Jb. V: 11. I include for clarification Job V: 11-12 from the Jerusalem Bible: "If his will is to rescue the downcast, or raise the afflicted to the heights of joy, he wrecks the plans of the artful, and brings to naught their intrigues."

59. Mt. V: 44-45.

60. Mt. XXV: 34-35. This scripture was quoted earlier in Hell V, n. 2 and is reminiscent of the dramatic lines of Everyman and Good Deeds in the medieval morality play, *Everyman*, that enjoyed great popularity in the fifteenth century. The anon. author of MS. Douce 134 may well have been acquainted with the play. Everyman: "Methink, alas, that I must be gone/To make my reckoning and my debts pay,/ For I see my time is nigh spent away./ Take example, all ye that this do hear or see, How they that I loved best do forsake me, Except my Good Deeds that bideth truly." Good Deeds: "All earthly things is but vanity:/ Beauty, Strength, and Discretion do man forsake,/ Foolish friends, and kinsmen, that fair spake—/All fleeth save Good Deeds, and that I am." Dia-

The virgins who have fled all corruption and have loved purity of body and soul and have followed our Lord Jesus Christ in virginity have deserved to have Jesus for their spouse, to whom they are espoused and joined and united so much that they are never without their spouse, nor their spouse without them. According to the Apocalypse XIII *For they are virgins. These follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth.*<sup>61</sup> And our Lord Jesus Christ, their spouse, takes marvelous pleasure in being with them. Canticle of Canticles VI *Who feedeth among the lilies.*<sup>62</sup> Those who have kept chastity after the state of marriage or without being in the state of marriage are as the ministers of the Holy Church and several others who have mortified their passions of the flesh and who have led an honest life, of these the Evangelist Matthew speaks. Matthew XIX *There are eunuchs, who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven.*<sup>63</sup> For the merit of chastity they have sovereign beauty and marvelous clarity. Wisdom III *O how beautiful is the chaste generation with glory.*<sup>64</sup> Even if the virginity of the body is lost, they can receive full reward, because through chastity the virginity of the soul is found again. By chastity they are compared to the angels in beauty, clarity, in dignity. Bernard: *What is more beautiful than chastity? What makes an angel out of a man?*<sup>65</sup> [136v] [Figure 68]

logue taken from *Everyman and Medieval Miracle Plays*, ed. Arthur Clare Cawley (London: J. M. Dent, 1993), lin. 864-873, 232.

61. Ap. XIV: 4.

62. Cn. VI: 2.

63. Mt. XIX: 12.

64. Ws. IV: 1.

65. "Quid decorius castitate, quae de homine angelum facit?" Bernardus Claraeuallensis, c. 1090-1153, *Epistula de moribus et officio episcoporum* (esp. 42), par. 8, lin. 10, ed. Jean Leclercq and Henri Rochais (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1974), 7: 107. The passage quoted in MS. Douce 134 is extracted from this longer passage which I quote to

Those who have had pity and compassion for others and have comforted those who are sad and have visited the sick and the prisoners and have provided for their necessities have done something agreeable to God, above all things which can be done in this world, and for that they are blessed by God and put in the glory of paradise. Matthew XXV Come, ye *blessed of my Father, I was sick and in prison and you came to me.*<sup>66</sup>

Those who have renounced the world and left their goods and possessions, or who have distributed them to the poor for the love of God and have chosen voluntary poverty in this world to be rich in Jesus Christ, they receive one hundred times more

clarify the meaning of the excerpt: “Quid castitate decorius, quae mundum de immundo conceptum semine, de hoste domesticum, angelum denique de homine facit?” (“What is found to be more beautiful than chastity, which makes him clean who is conceived of unclean seed, a friend of him who is an enemy, an angel of a man?”) The passage is attributed to St. Bernard in *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century Paris*, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Ital. 115, trans. Isa Ragusa (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 112. Bernard quotes Job 14:4 in the italicized text. The passage is attributed to Bernard in Iohannes de Caulibus, fl. 14th c., a Tuscan Franciscan of San Gimignano, *Meditaciones vite Christi olim S. Bonaventuro attributae*, cap. 16, lin. 225, ed. Mary Stallings-Taney (1997), CCCM 153: 81. Stallings-Taney in her note on lines 223/246 states the passage in question is by Bernard and is from his *Epistula* 42, see 80. See John of Caulibus’ *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, trans. Francis X. Taney, Sr. Anne Miller, and Mary Stallings-Taney (Asheville, NC: Pegasus Press, 2000). The passage is quoted and attributed to Bernard by Pelbartus de Themeswar, c. 1435-1504, *Pomerium de sanctis*, Pars aestivalis, Sermo XCIX, *De Sancta Catherina, serm. primus cum legenda*, accessed May 14, 2016, <http://sermones.elte.hu/pelbart/pa/pa099.php>.

66. Mt. XXV: 34 and 36. This passage has been edited. Vs. 36 reads: “Naked, and you clothed me: sick, and you visited me: I was in prison, and you came to me.”

than they left, and they have eternal life as our Lord Jesus Christ has promised in the Gospel. Matthew XIX *And every one that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my sake, shall receive a hundred-fold, and shall possess life everlasting.*<sup>67</sup> [137r] [Figure 69]

Those who have worked for the acquisition of souls by their exhortation and preaching and who have been the cause of their salvation, they are in great estate and dignity in the kingdom of paradise as our Lord Jesus Christ says in the Gospel. Matthew V *Whoever shall do and teach, he shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.*<sup>68</sup> And as they have illuminated others and directed them on the road of glory they are illuminated with the light of glory according to the Holy Scripture says. Daniel XII *They that are learned, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament: and they that instruct many to justice, as stars for all eternity.*<sup>69</sup> Because we have shown the road of salvation to the ignorant we are in eternal joy, all resplendent with clarity.

Those who have suffered tribulation and have been ill-treated and have not taken revenge nor desired to do evil to their adversary, but who have suffered extremely all the adversity and tribulation for the name of God, are paid back with glory because by suffering temporal adversity they have acquired eternal glory. II Corinthians IIII *For our present tribulation, which is momentary and light, worketh for us above measure exceedingly an eternal weight of glory.*<sup>70</sup> For the great tribulations that we have suffered patiently we have joys and consolations forever without end. Matthew V *Blessed are they that suffer persecution*

67. Mt. XIX: 29.

68. Mt. V: 19.

69. Dn. XII: 3.

70. II Cor. IV: 17.

for justice sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.<sup>71</sup> [137v] [Figure 70]

Those who have resisted much temptation from enemies and have not let themselves be led by their will and who have not given in to evil, but who by strong resistance have surmounted them, are sitting on the throne in paradise as the Holy Scripture says. Apocalypse III *To him that shall overcome, I will give to sit with me on my throne.*<sup>72</sup> Apocalypse VII *These are clothed with white robes, and have palms in their hands.*<sup>73</sup> Because we resisted the temptations and suggestions of the enemies we are sitting on the thrones of glory holding the palms of victory.

Those who have made worthy repentance of their sins and who have amended their life through good works, they have saved themselves from death to life. Their sins did not prevent them from obtaining the kingdom of glory because their sins were erased and forgiven through penitence. Through penance they have made violence to the kingdom of heaven, and because of this they have deserved to enter it according to the Gospel. Matthew XI *The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent bear it away.*<sup>74</sup>

Also the saints will be rewarded for all their good deeds, for their fasting, vigils and prayers, for their pilgrimages and devotions, for all their works of virtue and contemplations, for all their good will and thoughts, for all the alms made in charity,

71. Mt. V: 10.

72. Ap. III: 21.

73. Ap. VII: 9.

74. Mt. XI: 12. This scripture was quoted in the title of Flannery O'Connor's last novel, *The Violent Bear It Away*. Clearly, the passage continues to resonate in contemporary thought. See Flannery O'Connor, 1925-1964, *The Violent Bear It Away* (New York, NY: The New American Library, 1960).

and for all their compassion. And no good, however small, will pass without reward, about which our Lord says in the Gospel that whoever will give to a poor person a glass of cold water to drink, he will not lose his reward as stated in Luke X *Whosoever shall give to drink to one of these little ones, a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple: Amen, I say to you, he shall not lose his reward.*<sup>75</sup> It is to be known that each one will receive his reward according to his labor, according to what he will have deserved as the apostle says. I Corinthians III *Every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labour.*<sup>76</sup> This is not to be understood only as the labor of each one, that is to say, that the reward will be in proportion to the importance of the labor, and not more, because if it were so it would follow that according to the labor of man—[138r] which is very little—he would receive little reward. But it must be understood that each one will receive great reward for his labor and for the good works he will have done, even though his labor and good works were very small. In fact the reward will be so great that it will exceed beyond measure the labors and merits, in as much as the labors are small in comparison with the reward that he will receive. The evangelist says: Luke VI *Give, and it shall be given to you: good measure, and pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall they give into your bosom. [For with the same measure that you shall mete, it shall be measured to you again.]*<sup>77</sup> And thus the salary of saints will not be according to the smallness of the works but according to the generosity of God who is liberal to reward beyond measure infinitely and more than man could deserve.

75. Error in MS. It should be Mt. X: 42.

76. I Cor. III: 8.

77. Lk. VI: 38. The bracketed scripture does not appear in the manuscript, but is included to add clarity to the passage.

## The good things, which the saints will have in paradise

The saints will have several good things in paradise that will be to their great joy and consolation and to the increase of their glory. First they will always be in the flower of youth, that is to say, at the age of thirty-two. At that age they will be resurrected according to the letter to the Ephesians IIII *Till we all meet in the... perfect man, unto the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ.*<sup>78</sup> Also I Thessalonians IIII *We shall be taken up together with them in the clouds, to meet Christ in the air, and so shall we be always with the Lord.*<sup>79</sup> In this age they will continue to live forever but without getting old. They will be in paradise millions of years and they will appear to be young as if they were only thirty-two years old. Psalm *Thy youth shall be renewed like the*

78. Eph. IV: 13. The anon. author's statement that the blessed in paradise will all have bodies of a youth of thirty two years resonates with St. Augustine's description of the condition of the resurrected body in *The City of God*, bk. XXII, ch. XV, LCL 7: 277-278. "...we should understand that the dead do not rise with bodies either older or younger than the state of youth, but have bodies of the age and strength that we know Christ reached here. For even the learned of this world have defined youth as reaching to thirty years, stating that when that limit is reached, then man begins to decline into worse conditions of a burdensome and senile age. Hence it was said, 'into the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ.'" Augustine's passage appears but is not attributed to him in Hugh of St. Victor, 1096-1141, *De sacramentis*, bk. 2, pt. 17, par. 18, trans. Roy J. Deferrari (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1951), 461. Deferrari, in the Introduction to his translation points out that Hugh of St. Victor's *De Sacramentis* is his masterpiece and most extensive work, and "because of his great familiarity with the works of St. Augustine, he is sometimes called *Alter Augustinus*." Ibid., ix.

79. I Th. IV: 16.

eagle's.<sup>80</sup> And it will be for them an incomparable consolation to be in such a flower of youth forever without end.

Second, they will be marvelously beautiful, so much so that it will be a pleasure to see them. Of all the things in the world that are beautiful and pleasant to see, there is nothing that can be compared to the beauty of the saints because they surpass in beauty all things created. They are clearer than crystal, whiter than snow and more beautiful than sapphires, more brilliant than the sun. Lamentations III *Her Nazarites were whiter than snow, purer than milk, more ruddy than the old ivory, fairer than the sapphire.*<sup>81</sup> [138v] To understand more fully the beauty of the saints it must be said that among all created things there are none which are as beautiful as those which have beauty and clarity altogether. These are the saints: as gold shines when it is polished and when the rays of the sun fall upon gold it shines even more, and similarly the snow which is white when the sun falls upon it, it is even more white and brilliant. The saints of paradise with their sovereign beauty will have clarity and their

80. Ps. CII: 5.

81. Lm. IV: 7. Nazarites/ Nazirites are described as “persons consecrated to God through a special vow. The basic text concerning the Nazirites is Numbers 6: 1-21, according to which they have a three fold obligation to abstain from wine and all fermented drink, to leave their hair uncut, and to avoid all contact with dead bodies...The earliest texts, Judges 13: 4-5, 7, 13-14; 16: 17, I Samuel 1: 11, and Amos 2: 11-12 present the consecration of the Nazirites as lifelong, and as resulting from a divine call.” The preceding information is from A. L. Barbieri, “Nazirites,” in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Detroit, MI: Gale Publishers; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 10: 217-218. It is stated in *The Harper Collins Bible Dictionary* that “Samson is the most famous, explicitly named Nazarite.” Cited from *The Harper Collins Bible Dictionary*, ed. Paul J. Achtemeier (San Francisco, CA: Harper Collins Publishers Inc., 1996), 742.

beauty will be more apparent and more marvelous, stronger because of the merit of their holiness. God will increase their beauty so that they will be equal in all their beauty to the angels of heaven.

Thirdly they will be strong and powerful in all things and of this the Holy Scripture speaks. Zacharias X *They shall be as the valiant men of Ephraim, and their heart shall rejoice as through wine.*<sup>82</sup> Also Isaiah XL *But they that hope in the Lord, shall renew their strength.*<sup>83</sup> The strength of saints is small as long as they are in this world, but in paradise their strength will be changed to greater strength and virtue so that they will be able to do everything that they want. They will have such strength and power because it is compatible with their youth and beauty. And also they must be perfect in all things without having any fault.

Fourthly they will be in eternal rest without ever having any labor or work because the place where they are is not a place where it is necessary to labor, but a place of rest in which they will rest in God after the labors which they have had in this mortal life.<sup>84</sup> And of this Holy Scripture speaks. Apocalypse XIII

82. Zc. X: 7.

83. Is. XL: 31.

84. The belief that the saints would enjoy a life free from physical labor in paradise is expressed in *Tundale's Vision*. See Hell VII, n. 100 for historical background. Reflecting this view is a description of the musicians Tundale witnessed in the pavilions of paradise: "he heard strings and organs, drums and cither with organs and cymbals playing...All the instruments produced sounds with no one laboring, but the voices of these souls exceeded all other sweetness; and they spent no labor in spreading their voices. For their lips did not seem to move nor their hands bother to rise to the musical instrument, and yet each resounded a tune at will." The passage is from *Tundale's Vision in Visions of Heaven and Hell before Dante*, ed. Eileen Gardiner (New York, NY: Italica Press, 1989), 188-189. A readily accessible illumination

From henceforth now, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours.<sup>85</sup> Also Isaiah XXXII My people shall sit in the beauty of peace, and in the tabernacles of confidence, and in wealthy rest.<sup>86</sup> And to have such pleasant and agreeable rest will be to the saints a very pleasant past time.

Fifthly they will enjoy full freedom by which it is understood that they will be freed from all corruptible servitude as the apostle says, Romans VIII *The creature shall be delivered from the servitude of corruption, into the liberty of the glory of the children of God.*<sup>87</sup> And by being in freedom it is understood that they will act at their will and [139r] their desires will be fulfilled totally. Such a thing will be great pleasantness and delectation because in all things their will will agree with God's will and God's will with theirs.

Sixthly, they will be in perpetual health without ever suffering pain nor illness and they will not be tired, bothered, burdened by anything, but by the great abundance of salvation they will always be healthy and happy and joyous. Psalm *But the salvation of the just is from the Lord.*<sup>88</sup> Also Isaiah LX *Salvation shall possess thy walls.*<sup>89</sup>

Seventhly they will be immortal. That is to say that they will never die. The damned also are called immortal because they

of this scene appears in *The Visions of Tondal from the Library of Margaret of York*, ed. Thomas Kren and Roger S. Wieck (Malibu, CA: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1990), 58. The text and illuminations of Tondal begin in the chapter entitled "The Visions of Tondal: Text and Miniatures Excerpted from a Translation by Madeleine McDermott and Roger S. Wieck," 37.

85. Ap. XIV: 13.

86. Is. XXXII: 18.

87. Rm. VIII: 21.

88. Ps. XXXVI: 39.

89. Is. LX: 18.

can't die but it is another thing to live in continual death and to have a life without any death. The immortality of the saints is described in The Book of Wisdom, chapter III. *But the souls of the just are in the hand of God, and the torment of death shall not touch them.*<sup>90</sup> Also Luke XX *Neither can they die anymore.*<sup>91</sup> Also I Corinthians XV *This mortal must put on immortality.*<sup>92</sup>

Eighthly, they will be in great peace and tranquility without any bother or persecution from enemies or adversaries. Of this peace the prophet speaks. Isaiah XXXII *My people shall sit in the beauty of peace.*<sup>93</sup> This peace is so great that it surpasses all sense, all understanding according to the apostle writing to the Philippians. Philippians IIII *And the peace of God, which surpasseth all understanding.*<sup>94</sup> And St. Augustine's Book of Soliloquies: *You Lord are the supreme good and the prize of the blessed and the sparkling crown filling them with everlasting joy and peace within and out, exceeding all feeling.*<sup>95</sup> And from the great abundance of

90. Ws. III: 1.

91. Lc. XX: 36.

92. I Cor. XV: 53.

93. Is. XXXII: 18.

94. Ph. IV: 7.

95. "Tu Domine summum bonum eris premium (praemium in PL) beatorum, et diadema decoris ipsorum (eorum in PL), et letitia (laetitia in PL) sempiterna super capita eorum, pacificans eos intus et extra in pace (tua in PL) que (quae in PL) exsuperat omnem sensum." Auctor incertus, *Soliloquia animae ad Deum*, cap. XXXVI De gloriae lumine in PL 40: 895. Saint Augustine (Bishop of Hippo), *Liber Soliloquiorum animae ad Deum*, lib. I, cap. XXXVI, in *Opera omnia* (Paris: Apud Gaume Fratres, Bibliopolas, 1837), 6: 1305. The work, *Soliloquiorum animae ad Deum*, is now considered an anonymous work. Robert S. Sturges states: "It was compiled, probably in the thirteenth century, from extracts from a number of earlier works, including Augustine's own *Confessions*, and Hugh of St. Victor's *De arrha animae*; it also shows the influence of Jean de Fécamp, d. 1078,...It was a very widely dissemi-

peace which they will have outside and inside they will rejoice and delight as the Holy Scripture says. Psalm *But the meek shall inherit the land, and shall delight in abundance of peace.*<sup>96</sup> And it must be known that this peace will be continual and eternal and will never have an end. Isaiah IX *His empire shall be multiplied, and there shall be no end of peace.*<sup>97</sup>

Ninthly they will feel [139v] secure without fearing anything and without being afraid of any adversary or harm because all fear of being harmed will be removed, so that they may be able to delight more fully in all good. Proverbs I *But he that shall hear me, shall rest without terror, and shall enjoy abundance, without fear of evils.*<sup>98</sup> Jeremiah XXIII *They shall fear no more, and they shall not be dismayed.*<sup>99</sup> Jeremiah XXXII *And I will cause them to dwell securely.*<sup>100</sup> And it must be known that this security will be eternal as well as the other things according to what the prophet says. Isaiah XXXII *Security will be for ever.*<sup>101</sup>

Tenthly, they will have knowledge of one another because each one will know all the others and of what country each one is from, what his experience has been, what kind of life he led, and what good deeds he has done, and likewise he will be known by all. And it will be through illumination of divine clarity as when our Lord Jesus Christ transfigured himself in front of his apostles and his face shone like the sun. Then St. Peter

nated work in the later Middle Ages." See Robert S. Sturges, "A Middle English Version of the Pseudo-Augustinian Soliloquies," *Manuscripta Studies* 29, no. 2 (1985): 73-74.

96. Ps. XXXVI: 11.

97. Is. IX: 7.

98. Pro. I: 33.

99. Jr. XXIII: 4.

100. Jr. XXXII: 37.

101. Is. XXXII: 17. The whole verse reads: "And the work of justice shall be peace, and the service of justice quietness, and security for ever."

knew Moses and Elijah who were present there—whom he had never seen. And the fact that each one will know all the others and will be known by all is expressed by what the apostle says in I Corinthians XIII. *Then shall I know [\*that is, God and all the saints] just as I am known [\*completely by all].*<sup>102</sup>

Eleventh, they will all be united one with the others because in them there will be unity and concord and all will have the same will without any diversity of intention because they will have no other will than the will of God that will be in all of them. They will agree one with the others like the limbs of the body agree together. Acts IIII [*\*For if] the multitude of the believers had but one heart and one soul [\*the heart and soul of the multitude of rulers in great numbers will be one by a much greater degree].*<sup>103</sup> Job XXV *Who maketh peace in his high places.*<sup>104</sup> According to St. Chrysostom's *De reparatione lapsi* (On Reconciling a Lapsed Brother): *In the future there will be no dissension, they will be*

102. I Cor. XIII: 12. [\*] indicate gloss. The entire verse reads: "We see now through a glass in an obscure manner; but then face to face. Now I know in part: but then I shall know even as I am known."

103. Ac. IV: 32. [\*] indicate comment on scripture by anon. author.

104. Jb. XXV: 2.

joined together, because all of the saints will be in harmony.<sup>105</sup>

[140r]

Twelfth, they will be in eternal love and charity together because the law of the kingdom is that each one loves all the others and is loved by all the others. There each one loves the others like oneself. There all are one body in God because they are united and linked together by the link of love. And this love spreads throughout the body, that is to say, by all because one charity will be in all and all will be filled with the fire of love which will make them burn gently and softly toward the others.<sup>106</sup> In this world the flame of love and charity is small, but in

105. "Nulla erit in futuro discordia; sed cuncta consona, cuncta convenientia (convenientia in PL); omnium enim Sanctorum una concordia erit." Johannes Crisostomus (John Chrysostom), c. 354-407, *De reparatione lapsi*, ch. 11, lin. 44-42, in *Johannes Chrysostomus: A Théodore*, ed. Jean Dumortier (Paris: Cerf, 1966), SC 117: 285. It is attributed to Chrysostom's *De reparatione lapsi* under the heading "Gloria eterna ao" in the electronic version of *Manipulus florum*, accessed March 20, 2020, <http://web.wlu.ca/history/cnighman/MFuaria/GloriaEternaAO.pdf>. It is attributed to Johannes Crisostomus in Herrad von Landsberg, Abbess of Hohenburg, c. 1130-1195, *Hortus deliciarum*, ed. Rosalie Green, Michael Evans, Christine Bishoff, and Michael Curschmann (London: Warburg Institute; Leiden: Brill, 1979), 36, pt. 2: 418. Passage is found but not attributed to Chrysostom in Bede, *Homiliae*, lib. III, hom. LXX in PL 94: 450. "Nulla...consona" is quoted but Chrysostom is not acknowledged as author in Girolamo Savonarola, 1452-1498, *Expositio orationis dominicae*, lin. 15-17, in *Operette spirituali*, ed. Mario Ferrara (Rome: Angelo Belardetti Editore, 1976), 1: 242. The passage is not among Chrysostomus' work in the LLT.

106. Richard Rolle, c. 1300-1349, expressed the same belief as the anon. writer of MS. Douce 134 in his book, *The Fire of Love*, "Our love for him (Christ), rooted in our hearts and steadfast, changes us into his own likeness, and with its fiery love feeds into our minds a glory of another sort, one which is divine. For his love is a fire which sets our hearts aflame so that they glow and burn; and it purges them from all the

paradise it will be so great that it will be compared to a burning furnace. Isaiah XXXI *The Lord hath said it, whose fire is in Sion, and his furnace in Jerusalem.*<sup>107</sup> Their love will be so great that it will extend to all others who will in turn love them ardently. What joy and consolation will be in all. There is nothing more joyous than to love God and all the saints and to be loved by God and all. It is demonstrated by the things said above that the saints will have youth without age, beauty without ugliness, strength without weakness, rest without work, liberty without servitude, health without sickness, life without death, security without fear, peace without trouble, knowledge without ignorance, concord without dissension, love without envy, joy without sadness, glory without misery. And if each one of these things is pleasant and agreeable in itself then all these things will be even more delightful. It will be a sovereign joy to the saints to have all these things together because by this they will be blessed and in continual felicity and covered with flowers. Therefore it will happen to them as it is written. Psalm *They that are planted in the house of the Lord, shall flourish in the courts of the house of our God.*<sup>108</sup>

foulness of sin...In a truly loving mind there is always a song of glory and an inner flame of love." See Richard Rolle, *The Fire of Love*, chaps. 4 and 17, trans. Clifton Wolters (London, England and New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1972), 56, 97.

107. Is. XXXI: 9.

108. Ps. XCI: 14.

# Paradise II [140v-151r]

## The height, the honor and great dignity of the saints

[140v] The saints who in this world are small will be big and of great excellence in the kingdom of paradise, and the smallest one will be bigger than a thousand in this world. Concerning this God speaks through the prophet Isaiah LX. *The least shall become a thousand, and a little one a most strong nation.*<sup>1</sup> And this agrees with what our Lord says in the Gospel. Matthew XI *He that is the lesser in the kingdom of Heaven is greater than he, [\*that is John the Baptist].*<sup>2</sup> That is to say the smallest saint of the kingdom of heaven is bigger than St. John the Baptist for the time that he was still in this world, because each saint will be expanded and enlarged, multiplied and elevated in dignity. Psalm *The just shall flourish like the palm-tree: he shall grow up like the cedar of Libanus.*<sup>3</sup> That is to say, the just will flourish like the palm and will be multiplied like the cedar of Lebanon and raised in height and dignity to the point that they will be equal and similar to the angels of paradise not by nature but by height, excellence, and dignity because they will be in similar glory and felicity. Luke XX *But they that shall be accounted worthy of that world, and of the*

1. Is. LX: 22.

2. Mt. XI: 11. [\*] indicate commentary by the anon. author. The whole verse reads: "Amen I say to you, there hath not risen among them that are born of women a greater than John the Baptist: yet he that is the lesser in the kingdom of Heaven is greater than he."

3. Ps. XCI: 13.

*resurrection from the dead, shall not marry, nor shall they [\*be married]. [\*They are as angels of God in heaven].*<sup>4</sup>

Secondly they will all be just. In this world it is a great thing when among one hundred persons there is one just person and a saint. In paradise it is not like it is on earth and frequently there is no one as Micah the prophet says. Micah VII *The holy man is perished out of the earth, and there is none upright among men.*<sup>5</sup> But in paradise all will be just and saints as the Holy Scripture says. Isaiah LX *And thy people shall be all just, they shall inherit the land forever.*<sup>6</sup> And because all will be just and saints their company will be most glorious and holy.

Thirdly, they all will be sons of God through the grace of adoption because God will hold them dear as his own sons and about that there are several authorities in the Holy Scripture. Psalm I *have said: You are gods, and all of you the sons of the most High.*<sup>7</sup> Also John I *He gave to them [141r] power to be made the sons of God.*<sup>8</sup> Also I John III *Now we are sons of God.*<sup>9</sup> O what great honor and great dignity it is that the sons of man have reached such honor and dignity that they are all sons of God, sons of the King of glory, O incomparable honor.

4. Lc. XX: 35-36. [\*] indicate departure from the Vulgate. The MS. reads: "neque nubent neque nubentur (they will not marry nor will they be married)". In contrast, the Vulgate reads: "neque nubent neque ducent uxores" ("they shall neither be married, nor take wives"). The second [\*] indicates a shortening and reworking of vs. 36 of the Vulgate. The Douay-Rheims passage reads: "Neither can they die any more: for they are equal to the Angels, and are the children of God, being the children of resurrection."

5. Mic. VII: 2.

6. Is. LX: 21.

7. Ps. LXXXI: 6.

8. Jo. I: 12.

9. I Jo. III: 2.

Fourthly, they all will be kings and queens crowned with precious crowns about whom the Holy Scripture speaks. Apocalypse III *Golden crowns on their heads.*<sup>10</sup> Also Wisdom V *They shall receive a kingdom of glory, and a crown of beauty at the hand of the Lord.*<sup>11</sup> Also St. Augustine in the *Book of Soliloquies*: *You Lord, are the highest good, the prize of the blessed and their beautiful crown.*<sup>12</sup> And it will be a reasonable thing that the saints who are kings and sons of God be crowned with precious crowns befitting their honor and dignity. And it must be said that aside from the crowns, which they will have, some of them will have another crown called a halo, and those with the halo are the virgins and martyrs and preachers. The virgins because they will have overcome the passions of the flesh and kept their virginity; the martyrs because they vanquished the world and disdained the tyrants and torments; the preachers because they will have fought the devil by their preaching.

Fifthly they will have some similarity with God as the Holy Scripture says in several places. I John III *We know, that when he shall appear, we shall be like to him.*<sup>13</sup> Also I Corinthians XV *Such as is the heavenly, such also are they that are heavenly.*<sup>14</sup> Also

10. Ap. IV: 4.

11. Ws. V: 17.

12. "Tu, Domine summum bonum, eris premium (praemium in PL) beatorum, et diadema decoris ipsorum (eorum in PL)." Auctor incertus, *Soliloquia animae ad Deum*, cap. XXXVI De gloriae lumine in PL 40: 895. Quoted previously in Paradise I, n. 95 with explanation of authorship.

13. I Jn. III: 2.

14. I Cor. XV: 48. The meaning of the passage is clearer when read in context of the verses immediately preceding and following verse 48. I Cor. XV: 47: "The first man was of the earth, earthly: the second man from heaven heavenly. 48 Such as is the earthly, such also *are* the earthly: and such as is the heavenly, such also *are* they that are heavenly. 49

Romans VIII *He predestinated those to be made conformable to the image of his Son.*<sup>15</sup> Also II Corinthians III *We are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord.*<sup>16</sup> These authorities hold that the saints will have some similarity with God because God who allowed them to be sons of God will give them some conformity to his semblance.

Sixthly, the saints will be adorned and filled with divine knowledge because God will reveal to them **[141v]** his secrets because they contain all science and perfect knowledge of all things. They will know all the things which ever were and that God ever created. They will know the divine works, divine judgments and will understand the causes and reasons of the judgments of God and for which reasons all things will have thus happened and will have been determined. They will know the past and present things, and those to come. Everything that will be made in this world, everything that will be made in hell, and everything which God has created, done and arranged—nothing will be hidden from them. And of this the Holy Scripture speaks. Numbers XXIII *In these times it shall be told to Jacob and to Israel, what God hath wrought.*<sup>17</sup> Also John XVI *In that day you shall not ask me any thing... If you ask the Father any thing in my name, he will give it you. [\*Without asking you are made full.]*<sup>18</sup> Anselm: *They will know everything—the past, present and future and nothing will be withheld from their knowing what the Lord created to be*

Therefore as we have borne the image of the earthly, let us bear also the image of the heavenly.”

15. Rm. VIII: 29.

16. II Cor. III: 18.

17. Nm. XXIII: 23.

18. Jo. XVI: 23. [\*] indicate gloss that appears in the margin next to the passage of scripture.

known.<sup>19</sup> What is here obscure to us and covered by symbols will be revealed to us and clearly manifested, and in order to understand this further one must know that God is the book of life, the book of knowledge in which are consigned all the treasures of knowledge and science. In it are the deep mysteries. He is the clear mirror in which and through which all things are seen and known and nothing is done by the creatures that the saints do not see in God. Chrysostom: *What is there that he does not*

19. "Omnia quippe preterita (praeterita in PL), praesentia et futura scient, nec aliquid eorum noticie (noticiae in PL) subtrahetur quae creator scienda creavit." Anselmo d'Aosta (Anselm of Canterbury), c. 1033-1109, *Nel ricordo dei discepoli. Parabole, detti, miracoli*, ed. Inos Biffi, Aldo Granata, Costante Marabelli, and David Riserbato, Biblioteca di Cultura Medievale (Milan: Jaca, 2008), 216. The authorship of this passage is questionable because it is not found in Anselm's *Opera omnia*, ed. Franciscus Salesius Schmitt (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Friedrich Frommann Verlag [Gunther Holzboog], 1968-1984) in the LLT. It appears in part and reworked in Honorius Augustodunensis (Honorius of Autun), 1080-1154, *Elucidarium*, lib. III, cap. XX in PL 172: 1172. It is also found in Guigo V Prior Carthusiae, *Epistola*, lib. III, cap. III in PL 184: 358. Guigo I (Guigues du Chastel, Guigo de Castro and of Saint-Romain), 1083-1136, the fifth prior of the Carthusians at the Grande Chartreuse and a friend of Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter the Venerable. He wrote *Customs of the Carthusians* from 1121-1128 while he was prior. See Marek Derwich, "Guigo I 1083-1136" in *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, ed. William M. Johnston (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2000), I: 560-1. John B. Wickstrom points out in his article, "Carthusians," in *ibid.*, I: 244-7 that book production was an important activity in the 1120s at the Grande Chartreuse, and that between 1300 and 1500 "the traditional copying of manuscripts expanded to include composing many original works of theology and spirituality." (246). The passage is not attributed to Anselm by Honorius or Guigo I. While it's improbable that MS. Douce 134 was written at the Grand Chartreuse, the many references to Carthusian writers indicates access to a rich library or florilegium of Carthusian texts.

know, he who knowingly sees everything?<sup>20</sup> Also Augustine: When

20. "Quid est quod nesciat qui scientem omnia videt?" I have not found the work attributed to Chrysostom, however I have found a similar passage in Gregorius I, c. 540-604, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 2, par. 3, lin. 31, ed. Marc Adriaen (1979), CCSL 143: 61. See also *Moralia*, lib. II, cap. III in PL 75: 556: "Quid enim de his quae scienda sunt nesciunt, qui scientem omnia sciunt?" Here, Gregory is describing the knowledge of the angels and asks "What is there that they know not, who know Him, to Whom all things are known." Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job*, bk. II, par. 3 (iii), trans. Members of the English Church (Oxford: John Henry Parker and London: J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1845), v. 1, ( pts. 1-2); 70. The following writers include Gregory's sentences and attribute them to him. Alulfus Tornacensis, died c. 1141 or 1144, *Expositio Novi Testamenti* in PL 79: 1158; Hilbertus Cenomanensis, c. 1055-1133, *Epistolae* in PL 171: 239 and Petrus Abaelardus, 1079-1142, *Sic et non* in PL 178: 1417. A similiar passage appears in Gregory's *Dialogi*, lib. IV, cap. XXXIII in PL 77: 373: "Quia enim illic omnes communi claritate Deum conspiciunt, quid est quod ibi nescient, ubi scientem omnia sciunt." ("For seeing they do in that place with unspeakable brightness (common to all) behold God, what is there that they know not, that know him who knoweth all things?"). See also *The Dialogues of S. Gregorie*, 1608, *St. Gregory: English Recusant Literature 1558-1640*, trans. Philip Woodward, ed. D. M. Rogers (Yorkshire and London: The Scholar Press, 1975), 240: 436. Gregory's passage from his *Dialogues* appears and is attributed to him in these sources: Julianus Toletanus, c. 652-690, *Prognosticon* in PL 96: 486 ; Haymo Halberstatensis, 778-853, *De varietate liborum* in PL 118: 882 Burchardus Wormaciensis (Burchardus of Worms), 965-1125, *Libri decretorum* in PL 140: 1041; Ivo Carnotensis (Yves de Chartes), c. 1040-1116, *Decretum* in PL 161: 998; Hildeburtus Cenomanensis, c. 1056-1133, *Tractatus theologicus* in PL 171: 1115; Petrus Abaelardus, *Sic et non* in PL 178: 1417; Petrus Lombardus, c. 1095-1160, *Sententiae* in PL 192: 675; Hugo de S. Victore, c. 1096-1141, *Summa sententiarum* in PL 176: 88; Hugo de Folieto, 1100-1174, *De clauistro animae* in PL 176: 1180; Alulfus Tornacensis, died c. 1144, *Expositio* in PL 79: 1226; Lucas Tudensis (Lucas de Tuy), bishop of Tuy from 1239-1249. Tuy is a city in the northwest of Spain on the

we shall arrive at the supernal light of the Father of all lights, we shall understand all that can be in the creatures. Then the Just shall know all that God has made and must be made.<sup>21</sup> Saint Bernard He panted for [heaven] above saying: O blessed region of delights to which I aspire from the valley of tears where there will be wisdom without hindrance and memory without forgetfulness and intelligence without error, where light will shine forth without darkness.<sup>22</sup> And in addition to all of this, their minds will be

Portuguese border. *De altera uita*, lib.1, cap.11, ed. E. Falque Rey (2009), CCCM 74A: 28; Thomas Aquinas, c. 1224-1274, In *Quattuor libros Sententiarum*, distinct. 49, quaest. 2, art. 5, CT, 1: 686; and Guillelmus de Ockham, c. 1290/1300-c. 1349/50, *Questiones in librum quartum Sententiarum*, quest. 15. eds. G. Gál and G.R. Green in series *Opera Theologica* (St. Bonaventure, NY: Institutum Franciscanum, 1984), 7: 318.

21. "Dum ad illam supernam lucem patris luminum venerimus, totum quod in creaturis esse potest intelligemus. Tunc iusti scient cuncta quae (quae in Bonaventure's *Soliloquium*) Deus fecit et facienda." This passage appears to be a spurious work of Augustine, it is not in the LLT, however the first sentence is attributed to Augustine and the second to Anselm, c. 1033-1109 by Bonaventure, 1217-1274, *Soliloquium*, cap. IV in *Opera omnia*, (Rome: Ad Claras Aquas, Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1898), 8: 65. The second sentence in Bonaventure's *Soliloquium* differs slightly from MS. Douce 134, it reads: "Tunc iusti scient omnia, quae Deus fecit scienda." ("Then the just will know all things which God has made to be known.") Translation from *The Soliloquies of St. Bonaventure, Containing his Four Mental Exercises and also his Treatise called A Bundle of Myrrh, Concerning the Passion of the Saviour* (London: H. Twyford and R. Wingate, 1655), 276.
22. "Anhelabat sursum dicens. O beata regio deliciarum ad quam suspiro de valle lacrimarum, ubi sapientia sine ignorancia, ubi memoria sine oblivione, ubi intellectus sine errore, ubi ratio sine obscuritate fulgebit." Minus the opening sentence, the passage is found verbatim in *Manipulus florum*, described as from a sermon by Bernardus, 1190 or 1101-1153, and under the heading "Gloria eternal an," accessed April 10, 2020, <http://web.wlu.ca/history/cnighman/MFfontes/GloriaEter->

illuminated and widened in God to hear, know and understand all things. And in this they will take delight marvelously, [142r] and it will be for them a joy and consolation. And if man has honor in this world for having any part of knowledge a greater honor will be to the saints for having all knowledge, and science, and to know the secrets of God, and the divine mysteries and all things.

## The dowry of glory, which the saints will have in their bodies

Aside from the above-mentioned goods, the saints will be rewarded in several manners, and that is to say, they will have dowries of glory in their bodies and other dowries in their souls. In their bodies will be four dowries of glory, that is to say, clarity, agility, subtlety, and invulnerability. They will be clear, agile, subtle, and invulnerable. And firstly, they will be clear and resplendent with light and their clarity will be so great that it will be compared to the clarity of the sun. And thus they will shine like the sun. And of this the Holy Scripture speaks. Judges V *Let*

naAN.pdf. This exact repetition of the text in *Manipulus florum* strongly suggests the anon. author had access to it. The text also resembles closely the text in Bernard of Clairvaux *Sermons divers*, serm. 42, par. 7, lin. 18, *Oeuvres Complètes*, ed. Jean Leclercq and Henri M. Rochais, revised by Laurence Mellerin (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2007), 2: 292: “O regio sublimis, plena divitiarum! De valle lacrimarum suspiramus ad te, ubi sapientia sine ignorantia, memoria sine oblivione, intellectus sine errore, ratio sine obscuritate splendeat.” (“O region of sublimity, full of riches! We sigh from the valley of tears to you, where [all this] will shine, where there is wisdom without ignorance, where there is memory without forgetfulness, intelligence without error, reason without obscurity.”)

them that love thee shine, as the sun shineth in his rising.<sup>23</sup> And Matthew XIII *The just shall shine as the sun, in the kingdom of their Father.*<sup>24</sup> That is to say, the just will shine like the sun in the kingdom of God their father, and that is to be understood not only as much as the sun shines now but as much as it will shine after the Day of Judgment, that is to say, seven times more than now. According to the prophet Isaiah XXX *And the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, as the light of seven days.*<sup>25</sup> And if the clarity of the bodies of saints will be so great that it will be compared to the sun, the clarity of the souls will be greater without comparison. St. Bernard: *What [do you think then,] will be the splendor of the souls, when the light of the body of the sun will have splendor?*<sup>26</sup> The clarity that the bodies of each saint will have will come from the clarity of the soul because the soul will be so resplendent and so clear that its clarity will be transmitted to the bodies and the clarity of the soul will come from the clarity of God because the saints will participate in the divine clarity as our Lord says

23. Jd. V: 31.

24. Mt. XIII: 43.

25. Is. XXX: 26.

26. "Qualis, (putas, tunc in PL and CCSL) erit splendor animarum, quando solis splendorem (claritatem in PL and CCSL) habebit lux corporum." Auctor incertus (Augustinus Hipponensis?) *Sermones suppositii de Scripturis*, serm. CX in PL 39: 1963. The passage appears in the following, but is not attributed to Bernard: Faustus Rhegiensis, early 5th century-c. 454, *Sermones*, serm. VIII (Ex Henrico Canisio) in PL 58: 887; Caesarius Arelatensis, c. 469-542, *Sermones Caesarii uel ex aliis fontibus hausti*, serm. 58, cap. 4, lin. 1, ed. Germani Morin (1953), CCSL 103: 257. Bernardus Claraevallensis, 1090-1153, is referred to as "auctor incertus" of *Meditationes de humana conditione*, cap. XIV in PL 184: 505. In this latter source "splendorem" is not replaced by "claritatem." I cannot verify the authorship of the passage.

in the Gospel. John XVII *And the glory which thou hast given me, I have given to them.*<sup>27</sup> God gives his clarity to the saints so that they have some similarity in clarity with God who is eternal light. **[142v]** Therefore it is a reasonable thing that those who are in God and with God will be like him in clarity. Philippians III *We expect the Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ, Who will reform the body of our lowliness, made like to the body of his glory.*<sup>28</sup> It is also a reasonable thing that the bodies of the saints who will be in a very clear region be resplendent with light so that they have agreement with the place where they will be which is totally full of light and that the luminous place be in agreement with the glorified bodies. If a luminous body were to be placed in a dark place, or if an obscure, dark body were put in a luminous place, it would not be a suitable thing because one wouldn't agree with the other. And one must know there will be a difference in the light of the saints, between one saint and another, just like the stars differ one from the other in clarity, because some will have more clarity than the others. Therefore those who will have been of greater merit and who will have been more ardent in loving God and their neighbor by charity will shine above all others. Just as each one who had greater merit in this world and great glory and dignity and sweetness of divinity within himself, his clarity will appear outside and will make him recognized, and the clarity that each one will have will be to him a glory and honor, and to others a cause of joy and consolation. O what a great clarity will be in paradise when each saint will shine like the sun, when from everywhere such a great clarity will come out and appear in each one of the saints resplendent with glory.

27. Jo. XVII: 22.

28. Ph. III: 20-21.

Secondly, the bodies of the saints will be agile, that is to say, they won't be heavy and ponderous, or heavy to carry as they are now, but they will be light, agile and quick. They will be so agile that wherever their mind wants to be there the body will be. As St. Augustine says: [\*Such will be **[143r]** their agility] that wherever the spirit has wished to be, the body will be there at once.<sup>29</sup> The nature of the body will be totally subjected to the mind and consequently the body will move according to the will of the spirit. The saints will have such great agility that they will be able to descend from heaven to the earth, and suddenly from the earth to heaven just like the angels. And this is in agreement with what the prophet Isaiah XL says. *They shall take wings as eagles; they shall run and not be weary; they shall walk and*

29. [\*“Tanta erit agilitas quod”] ubi voluit spiritus ibi protinus erit et corpus.” [\*] indicates addition by anon. author. The remainder of the quote is by Augustine, *The City of God*, bk. 22, ch. 30, LCL 7: 374. English translation *ibid.*, 375. See also Augustinus Hipponensis, *De civitate Dei*, lib. XXII, cap. XXX in PL 41: 801. The passage appears and is attributed to Augustine in the following: Eugyppius Africae, died c. 535, *Thesaurus*, tomus prior, cap. CLXVI in PL62: 817; Julianus Tolentanus, c. 652-690, *Prognosticorum futuri saeculi libri tres*, lib. 3, cap. 53, lin. 7, ed. Jocelyn Nigel Hillgarth (1976), CCSL 115: 119; Johannes Pecham, 1225/1230-1292, *Questiones de beatitudine animae et corporis*, ed. Hieronymus Spettmann and Girard J. Etzkorn in *Bibliotheca Franciscana Scholastica Medii Aevi* (Rome: Ad Claras Aquas, 2002), 28: 483, 495, 504; Thomas Aquinas, c. 1227 -1274, *Summa theologiae*, III, q. 57, a. 3, in CT, 2: 858; and Bernardinus Senensis, 1380-1444, in two separate vols. in his *Opera omnia*: *Quadragesimale de christiana religione*, ed. PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae (Florence: Ad Claras Aquas, 1950), 2: 415, and *Quadragesimale de Euangelio aeterno*, ed. PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae (Florence: Ad Claras Aqua, 1956), 5: 338. Text appears but is not attributed to Augustine in Hugo de S. Victore, c. 1096-1141, *De sacramentis*, lib. II, cap. XX in PL 176: 616.

not faint.<sup>30</sup> This authority states that the saints will run and fly at will. Of these dowries of glory, that is to say clarity, subtlety and agility the Holy Scripture speaks. Wisdom III *The just shall shine, [\*behold their clarity] and shall run to and fro [\*behold their agility], like sparks among the reeds [\*behold their swiftness].*<sup>31</sup>

Thirdly, the bodies of the saints will be subtle and so subtle that it is hardly a credible thing, even though it is true. The subtlety they will have will be that they will be able to pass and enter everywhere, even in closed and locked places without being prevented.<sup>32</sup> Such a thing our Lord Jesus Christ demonstrated after his resurrection when he entered the doors that were closed to his disciples who were assembled and enclosed in a house as the evangelist says. John XX *Jesus cometh, the doors being shut, and stood in the midst.*<sup>33</sup> Similarly the glorified bodies will be so subtle that they will enter and go through every place they want without being prevented in any way.

Fourthly, the bodies of the saints will be invulnerable, that is to say, they will never feel pain or suffering. Therefore if a glori-

30. Is. XL: 31.

31. Ws. III: 7. [\*] indicate the anon. author's own commentary.

32. Margaret of Oingt, c. 1240-1310, a Carthusian prioress and mystic expressed the same belief saying: "Jesus Christ is totally free, and because of that He has made His friends so free, subtle and immaterial that they can enter and leave, through closed doors, without hindrance, as Jesus Christ did after the resurrection." Passage from Margaret of Oingt's *Mirror* in *The Writings of Margaret of Oingt*, trans. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski (Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer Inc., 1997), 46. The incorporeal body of the saints is expressed in Olivier Messiaen's organ work, *Les Corps Glorieux: Sept Visions Brèves de la Vie des Ressuscités pour Organ*, Vol. I., *Subtilité des Corps Glorieux*, based on the text I Cor. XV: 44 and Mt. XXII: 30 (Paris: Alphonse Leduc, 1942).

33. Jo. XX: 26.

fied body were pierced with a sword or thrown in fire he would not feel any pain. What is more, if he were in hell among the torments of hell he would not feel any pain. Augustine: *To such a degree will our bodies be glorified and rendered invulnerable, that were they put into hell they would not suffer pain.*<sup>34</sup> And that was represented by the three children who were put in the fiery furnace at the order of the King of Babylon and the fire didn't harm them in any way but [143v] they were going among the flames praising and blessing God as we read in the book of Daniel the prophet, chapter III. Of the impassivity of the bodies of saints

34. "In tantum corpora nostra glorificata erunt et impassibilia ut si ponerentur in inferno nullatenus paterentur." I have not found this passage in the works of Augustine in the LLT, however I did find a similar passage: "Secus est de corporibus glorificatis, quae etiam si ponerentur in inferno, non sentirent aliquam laesionem" ("Accordingly, even if the glorified bodies were put in hell, they would not feel any pain") by Hugo Ripelinus Argentinensis (Hugh Ripelin of Strasbourg), c. 1205-c. 1270, in *Compendium theologiae veritatis*. The *Compendium* was printed among the works of Albertus Magnus and Bonaventure in the nineteenth century. See Albertus Magnus, c. 1206-1280, *Compendium theologiae veritatis*, lib. VII, cap. XXVIII, in B. Alberti Magni, *Ratisbonensis episcopi, ordinis Praedicatorum*, in *Opera omnia*, ed. Augusti Borgnet (Paris: Ludovicum Vivès, 1895), 34: 257. See also Bonaventure, 1217-1274, *Compendium theologiae veritatis*, lib. VII, cap. XXVIII, in *Opera omnia*, ed. Adolpho Carolo Peltier (Paris: Ludovicus Vivès, 1866), 8: 243. Hugo Ripelinus Argentinensis is identified as the author of *Compendium theologiae veritatis*, by Pascale Bourgain and Laura Light, "Survival and Success: Medieval Bestsellers," ed. Sandra Hindman in the series *Primer Les Enluminures* 4 (New York, Chicago, Paris: Les Enluminures, 2014), 22. Bourgain and Light state that *Compendium* was one of the most widely read theological works of the Middle Ages, and survives in eight hundred manuscripts in Latin, as well as in French and German translation. They comment that there is no modern critical edition, but it was printed among the works of Albertus Magnus and Bonaventure in the nineteenth century.

the Holy Scripture speaks saying that they will not feel any pain. Apocalypse XXI, *Death shall be no more, nor mourning, nor crying, nor sorrow, shall be any more.*<sup>35</sup>

The four dowries of glory which the saints will have in their bodies are represented in the properties of the sun, because the sun is all shining and that suggests the clarity of the saints. Likewise, the sun rising in the east suddenly sending its rays and its light towards the west suggests the agility of the saints. Similarly the sun passing through a glass window suggests the subtlety of the bodies of the saints. Likewise the sun that cannot be wounded nor corrupted if struck by a sword, or if it were plunged in fire or water, suggests the impassivity of the bodies of the saints. By these dowries of glory all contrary things, all ugliness, weight, illness, pain, corruption will be excluded from the bodies of the saints. Augustine in Book XII of *The City of God*: *Absent from our bodies will be all deformities, all dullness, all sickness, all decay.*<sup>36</sup> And the bodies which were heavy and

35. Ap. XXI: 4.

36. “[Tantum in LCL and PL] aberit (absit in LCL and PL) a corporibus nostris, omnis deformitas, omnis infirmitas, omnis tarditas, omnis corruptio.” Augustine, *The City of God*, bk. 22, ch. 20, LCL 7: 300. See also Augustinus Hipponensis, *De civitate Dei*, lib. XXII, cap. XX in PL 41: 783. The passage is not from Book XII but from Book XXII. The anon. author alters the verb mood of the verb *absum*, *abesse* (to be absent). The anon. writer uses, *aberit*, the future indicative of *absum*, while the standard text uses, *absit*, the present subjunctive. By changing the verb mood the statement becomes one of fact rather than possibility. The standard text reads: “Tantum absit omnis deformitas, omnis infirmitas, omnis tarditas, omnisque corruptio.” (“Only let every deformity, be excluded, every weakness, impediment or decay.”) The following writers attribute the passage to Augustine: Eugypsius Africae, died c. 535, *Thesaurus*, tomus prior, cap. CLX in PL 62: 807; St. Bonaventure, 1217/1218-1274, *Sermones dominicales*, serm. 1, par. 14, lin. 253 and serm. 27, par. 14, lin. 210, ed. Jacques Guy Bougerol, *Bibliotheca Fran-*

a hindrance to the saints will become for them an honor and ornament. And one must know that those who have done the most good and will have been of the greatest merit will have more glory. And of this no one will be envious. Augustine *Tractates on the Gospel of John*: And so there will not be any envy of unequal brightness, because the unity of love will reign in all.<sup>37</sup> Augustine in the last book of *The City of God*: That blessed city will see this great good in herself also, that no one who is lower will envy one who is higher, even as now the other angels do not envy archangels. And no one will wish for the place he has not received, though he be bound by the closest tie of friendship to one who has received it—no more than in our body the finger wishes to be an eye, since the peaceable structure of the whole body holds both members together. Therefore, if there is one who has a gift less than another's, he will have the further gift of not desiring more.<sup>38</sup>

*ciscana Scholastica Medii Aevi* (Rome: Ad Claras Aquas, 1977), 27: 147 and 327; and Cornelius a Lapide, 1567-1637, *Commentarii in Sacram Scripturam*, *Librum Sapientiae*, cap. III (Melitae: Apud Tonna, Banchii and Society, 1846), vol. 4, part 2: 797.

37. "Non erit (itaque in PL), aliqua invidia imparis claritatis, quoniam regnabit in omnibus unitas caritatis (charitatis in PL)." Augustinus Hippo-  
nensis, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, tract. 67, par. 2, lin. 29, ed. Radbodus Willems (1990), CCSL 36: 496. See also St. Augustine, *Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXI*, tract. LXVII in PL 35: 1812. English translation from St. Augustine, *Tractates on the Gospel of John*, trans. John W. Rettig (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1994), 90: 59. The text is found and attributed to Augustine in Smaragdus S. Michaelis, c. 760-c. 840, *Collectiones in epistolas et evangelia*, Dominica in Palmis, Divi Augustini Dicta de Coena Domini in PL 102: 206. The text is found but not attributed to Augustine in Herveus Burgidolensis, 1080-1149, *Commentaria in epistolas Pauli*, In Epistolam I ad Corinthios, cap. XV in PL 181: 987.
38. "Id etiam beata illa civitas magnum in se bonum videbit, quod nulli superiori ullus inferior invidet, sicut nunc non invidet archangelis

St. Gregory at the end of *Moralia*: *He feels not the losses of this disparity, because that which he has received is quite sufficient for him.*<sup>39</sup> According to these authorities each one will have so much glory that his glory will be sufficient for him and he wouldn't want to have more than he deserved. And what he will not have in himself by his own possession he will have it in others because each one will consider his own belongings the belongings of others, and he will derive from it joy as if it were his own belonging and as much as if he had this belonging for himself, and it will be through the charity and love which will be among them. Accord-

angeli ceteri; tamque nolet esse unusquisque quod non accepit, quamvis sit pacatissimo concordie (concordiae in LCL and PL) vinculo ei qui accepit obstrictus, quam nec in corpore vult oculus esse qui est digitus, cum membrum utrumque contineat totius corporis pacata compago. Sic itaque habebit donum alius alio minus, ut hoc quoque donum habeat, ne velit amplius." Augustine, *The City of God*, bk. 22, ch. 30, LCL 7: 374, 376. English translation from *ibid.*, 7: 375, 377. See also Augustinus Hipponensis, *De civitate Dei*, lib. 22, cap. XXX in PL 41: 801. Augustine's text appears and is attributed to Augustine in Eugyppius Africae, died c. 535, *Thesaurus*, tomus prior, cap. CLXVI in PL 62:817; Julianus Toletanus, c. 652-690, *Prognosticon*, lib. III, cap. LVIII in PL 96: 523; and Petrus Abaelardus, 1079-1142, *Sic et non*, XXXIV in PL 178: 1394. Text appears but is not attributed to Augustine in Hugo de S. Victore, *De sacramentis*, lib. II, pars XVIII, cap. XX in PL 176: 617.

39. "Eiusdem disparilitatis damna non sentit, quia tantum sibi quantum sufficit perceperit." Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, lib. 35, par. 19, lin. 14, ed. Marc Adriaen (1985), CCSL 143B: 1807. See also Gregorius I, *Moralia*, lib. XXXV, cap. XIX in PL 76: 777. Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job*, bk. XXXV, par. 46 (xix), trans. Members of the English Church (Oxford: John Henry Parker and London: J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1850), v. 3, pt. 2, 697. Passage appears and is attributed to Gregory I in Alulfus Tornacensis, died c. 1141 or 1144, *Expositio Novi Testamenti*, lib. IV, cap. XXXIII in PL 79: 1255. The passage appears but is not attributed to Gregory in Hincmarus Rhemensis, 806-882, *Encomium S. Remigii* in PL 125: 1187.

ing to St. Gregory, *The great power of love binds all [people] there [i.e. in itself] so that each rejoices to have received in another that good which he has not received in himself.*<sup>40</sup> [144r] And St. Augustine in the book of *The City: There will be equal joy (among those) with unequal light, for what they will have as individuals is shared by all.*<sup>41</sup>

40. “Tanta vis caritatis omnes faciat ut bonum quod quisque in se non suscipit alio se gaudeat accepisse.” A similar Latin passage appears in Spanish and French translations of excerpts from the works of Cornelius Lapide, 1567-1637, entitled *The Treasures of Cornelius Lapide*. Lapide attributes the Latin passage to Gregory saying it is from Gregory’s *Moralia*, bk. IV, ch. XXXI: “Tanta vis caritatis ibi omnes associat, ut bonum quod quisque in non accepit, in alio se gaudeat accepisse.” (See above for translation.) For the Spanish edition see *Tesoros de Cornelio a Lápid: Extracto de los Comentarios de este Célebre Autor sobre la Sagrada Escritura* (Madrid: Librerías de Miguel Olamendi, 1866), I: 225. For the French edition, see *Les Trésors de Cornelius à Lapide: Extraits de ses Commentaries sur l’Ecriture* (Paris: Librairie de Mme Ve Poussielgue-Rusand, 1859), 2nd ed., I: 290. The text quoted in MS. Douce 134 and Lapide appears to be spurious, as it is not found in the authenticated works of Gregory I in the LLT.
41. “Erit in dispari claritate par gaudium, ut quod habebunt singuli, omnibus sit commune.” I cannot verify the authorship of the first part of the sentence, however the latter part of the sentence, “quod habebunt singuli, omnibus sit commune” appears in Augustine, In *Joannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, tract. LXVII in PL 35: 1812. The entire sentence is attributed to Augustine by Prosper Aquitanus, died after 455, *Liber sententiarum*, cap. 364, lin. 4, ed. M. Gastaldo (1972), CCSL 68A: 352. Petrus Lombardus, c. 1095-1160, states the passage is from Augustine’s *The City of God* in his *Sententiae*, lib. IV, distinctio XLIX De paritate gaudi in PL 192: 959. The passage appears but is not attributed to Augustine in Lombard’s *Collectanea in epistolas Pauli*, *Epistolam I, Ad Corinthios*, cap. XV in PL 191: 1681. The passage is attributed to Augustine in Martinus Legionensis, 1130-1203, *Sermones*, serm. XXX in PL 208: 1187. Thomas Aquinas, c. 1227-1274, attributes a similar passage to Augustine, “...fiat ut quod habent singuli, commune

## The dowries of glory which the saints will have in their souls

In addition to these dowries of glory that the saints will have in their bodies they will have other dowries of glory in their souls for the increase and accomplishment of their eternal beatitude. The first dowry is a clear vision of God, and about this blest vision several things must be said. And firstly, they will see the God of glory not by imagination or by a sign as one sees him in this world, but they will see him clearly face to face as he is, without any obstacle or hindrance whatsoever, and about this there are several authorities in the Holy Scripture. Job XXXIII *He shall see his face with joy.*<sup>42</sup> Also I Corinthians XIII *We see now through a glass in an obscure manner: but then face to face.*<sup>43</sup> Also I John III *Dearly beloved, we are now the sons of God: and it hath not yet appeared what we shall be. We know that when he shall appear, we shall be like to him: because we shall see him as he is.*<sup>44</sup> Also Apocalypse XXII *And they shall see his face: and his name shall be [\*written] on their foreheads.*<sup>45</sup> And of this vision several say that we will not see God with corporal eyes, but through the mind and illumination of thought. They claim that God is not visible with corporal eyes. But although it is true that God is

sit omnibus...,” in *Catena aurea in Iohannem*, cap. 14, lec. 1, lin. 45, *Commentaria in Scripturas*, in CT, 5: 420. Aquinas quotes this fragment, “in dispari claritate erit par gaudium,” twice in his *Sententiarum* (his commentary on the Sentences of Peter of Lombard). He refers to it as a Glossa on I Cor. 15:41. See *In Quattuor libros sententiarum*, sent. IV, dist. 49, q. 3, art. 5, quaest. 4, arg. 1, lin. 2, in CT, 1: 694 and in *ibid.*, dist. 49, q. 3, art. 5, quaest. 4, lin. 9, 1: 695.

42. Jb. XXXIII: 26.

43. I Cor. XIII: 12.

44. I Jo. III: 2.

45. Ap. XXII: 4. [\*] indicate addition by anon. author.

not visible and cannot be seen with corporal eyes, however this happens only in this world. But when we will be in the celestial place we will be in another state than we are now and we will see God plainly with our corporal eyes which will be then illuminated, clear, shining, and glorified. And about this St. Augustine speaks in the last book of *The City of God*: [However,] those bodily eyes also will have their function and will be in their place, and the spirit will use them as part of the spiritual body.<sup>46</sup> Also in last book of *The City of God*: In the same way, wherever we turn those spiritual eyes of our new bodies, we shall by means of bodies too behold the incorporeal God ruling all things.<sup>47</sup> And this agrees with the Holy Scripture. Isaiah XXIII His eyes shall see the king in his beauty.<sup>48</sup> And nothing will prevent the eyes of the material

46. "Habebunt (tamen in LCL) etiam illi oculi corporei officium suum et in loco suo erunt, uteturque illis spiritus per spiritale corpus." Augustine, *The City of God*, bk. 22, ch. 29, LCL 7: 362. English translation found in *ibid.*, 363. Augustinus Hipponensis, *De civitate Dei*, lib. XXII, cap. XXIX in PL 41: 797. The passage is found in the following: Auctor incertus, *Commentarii in libros Regum* in PL 50: 1186; the passage is attributed to Augustine in Eugypsius Africae, died c. 535, *Thesaurus*, tomus prior, cap. CLXV in PL 62: 813; Claudius Taurinensis (Claude of Turin), c. 810-c. 817, *Quaestiones super libros Regnum*, lib. IV, incipit textus lib. IV in PL 104: 777; and Hincmarus Rhemensis (Hincmar, Archbishop of Reims), c. 806-882, *De diversa animae ratione*, cap. VIII in PL 125: 943. Both Claude of Turin and Hincmar quote the passage and state that the passage is from Augustine's *The City of God*, bk. XXII.

47. "(Ita in LCL) quaecumque spiritalia illa lumina corporum nostrorum circumferemus, incorporeum Deum omnia regentem etiam per corpora contuebimur." *Ibid.*, 370, English translation found in *ibid.*, 371. PL 41: 800. Passage quoted and attributed to Augustine in Julianus Tolentanus, c. 652-690, *Prognosticon*, lib. III, cap. LIV in PL 96: 520 and Hincmarus Rhemensis, c. 806-c. 882, *De diversa animae ratione*, cap. VIII in PL 125: 943.

48. Error in MS. It should be Is. XXXIII: 17.

body to see God because then they will be spiritual as the apostle says. [144v] [Figure 71] [145r] [Figure 72]

[145v] About this vision something further must be said more explicitly, that is to say, that we will see God as he is: a God in three persons and three persons in one divine essence. We will see how the Father is to the Son and the Son to the Father and how the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. We will see our Lord Jesus Christ as God and man. Then faith and hope will have no longer a place in us when we will see what we have believed by faith and when we will have what we have hoped to get. We will see God in himself. We will see him in each one of us and we will see him in the other. Augustine, *The last book of The City of God: God will be so known by us and so present to our eyes that by means of the spirit he will be seen by each of us in each of us, seen by each in his neighbor and in himself.*<sup>49</sup> Of this blest vision of God it must be said that even if all will see him it will be differently because some will see him more clearly than others. Those who in this mortal life will have lived more saintly and will have had a clearer conscience, and will have conformed themselves more to the will of God and will have deserved more grace, will see him more clearly in the celestial glory because God gives himself to be seen to each person according to his

49. "Ita Deus nobis erit notus atque conspicuus, ut videatur spiritu a singulis nobis in singulis nobis, videatur ad altero in altero, videatur in se ipso." Augustine, *The City of God*, bk. 22, ch. 29, LCL 7: 370. English translation found in *ibid.*, 371. Augustinus Hipponensis, *De civitate Dei*, lib. XXII, cap. XXIX in PL 41: 800. Passage is quoted and attributed to Augustine in Florus Lugdunensis (Florus of Lyon), c. 810-c. 860, *Expositio in epistolas B. Pauli*, In Epistolam I Ad Corinthios, cap. IV in PL 119: 325; Hincmarus Rhemensis, c. 806-c. 882, *De diversa animae ratione*, cap. VIII in PL 125: 943; and Wernerus S. Blasii (Werner, Abbot of Sankt Blasien), d. 1174?, *Libri deflorationum*, Dominica XIII, De verbis Augustini in PL 157: 1125.

merit and to his worth; to one more and to another less. In God they will see light of glory, incomprehensible light because he is the fountain of light and the father of lights. James I *Every best gift, and every perfect gift, is from above, coming down from the Father of lights.*<sup>50</sup> And I Timothy VI *Who only hath immortality, and inhabiteth light inaccessible.*<sup>51</sup> And similarly the son is light coming from light. Wisdom VIII *Wisdom is the brightness of eternal light.*<sup>52</sup> Hebrews I *Who being the splendour of his glory, and the figure of his substance.*<sup>53</sup> The light of God is clear, resplendent, great and abundant; it surpasses all other lights that are and can be. It is incomprehensible and infinite to the extent that a thousand suns all together couldn't be compared to the light of God because there is no comparison possible between a finite thing and an infinite thing. In God they will see sovereign beauty that surmounts infinitely all other beauties, the beauty of angels and of saints and of all things created. [146r] And if the things, which God has created, are beautiful, God is more beautiful without comparison. Augustine: *Who makes large things is larger, who makes beauty is more beautiful, who makes good is the best.*<sup>54</sup> That is to say he who makes great things, he is greater; he

50. Ja. I: 17.

51. I Tm. VI: 16.

52. Error in MS. It should be Ws. VII: 26.

53. Heb. I: 3.

54. "Qui facit magna maior est qui facit pulchra pulchrior est qui facit bona optimus est." Here the anon. author joins two passages from sermons by St. Augustine. One is found in Augustine's *Sermones dubii*, sermo CCCLXXXIV, cap. I in PL 39: 1689: "Qui fecit fortia, fortior est; et qui fecit pulchra, pulchrior illis est." ("Whoever makes strength is stronger; and whoever makes beauty is the most beautiful.") The passage in PL attributed to St. Augustine is a reworking of Wisdom XIII: 3-4: "With whose beauty, if they, being delighted, took them to be gods: let them know how much the Lord of them is more beautiful

who makes beautiful things, he is more beautiful; he who makes good things is very good. And that agrees with what the Holy Scripture says. Wisdom XIII *Let them know how much the Lord of them is more beautiful than they.*<sup>55</sup> Similarly in our Lord Jesus Christ we will see sovereign beauty that surmounts the beauty not only of man but also of angels. Of this beauty the Holy Scripture speaks. Psalm *Thou art beautiful above the sons of men.*<sup>56</sup> Also Cantic of Canticles I *Behold thou art fair, my beloved, and comely.*<sup>57</sup> And so great is the beauty of God that no language can describe it. All those who see him marvel at such great beauty. And this can be understood by what the Holy Scripture says.

than they: for the first author of beauty made all those things. Or if they admired their power, and their effects, let them understand by them, that he that made them, is mightier than they." Translation from Douay-Rheims Bible. The theme of the passage quoted in MS. Douce 134, that the nature God reflected in his creation, appears also in Augustinus, *Sermones de Scripturis*, serm. XV, cap. V in PL 38: 118: "Sed bonus ille qui facit bona, Deus est." ("But he who makes goodness is good, God is good.") The theme of God being more beautiful than that which he has created is addressed also in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Ps. CXLVIII Enarratio, sermo ad plebem in PL 37: 1946: "Si pulchra sunt quae fecit, quanto pulchrior est qui fecit." ("If he made things to be beautiful, how more beautiful is he who made them?") The phrase "qui facit pulchra pulchrior est" is attributed to Augustine by Meister Eckhart, d. 1327, see Erich Seeberg, *Meister Eckhart*, V. Anmerkungen (Notes) Zu. III, paragraph 17 (Tübingen: Verlag von J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1934), 57. Eckhart attributes the phrase "qui facit pulchra, pulchrior est, qui fortia, fortior et qui bona, melior est" to "Augustinus X Confessionum" in Meister Eckhart, *Deutsche Werke II, Lateinische Werke*, ed. Niklaus Largier (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1993), 2: 560.

55. Ws. XIII: 3.

56. Ps. XLIV: 3.

57. Cn. I: 15.

Ecclesiasticus XLIII *The eye admireth at the beauty.*<sup>58</sup> The face of God is full of all graces, of all delights, of all glory. The vision of God is the life, the joy and the glory of the angels and of all the saints. The blest vision of God is the gift of all saints and the gift of the vision of God is so great that it surmounts all the goods that have been described before. Without this vision the saints would not have full reward, because whatever goods they might have they would not be enough without seeing God. St. Jerome: *Hence it is, oh dear friends, all things which the saints have merited they have counted as of little worth if they did not see the Lord whom they loved.*<sup>59</sup> Our Lord Jesus Christ says in the

58. Ecli. XLIII: 20. Ms omits the word “candoris” (“of whiteness”). The Vulgate reads: “pulchritudinem candoris eius admirabitur oculus” (“The eye admireth at the beauty of the whiteness.”) The whole chapter deals with theme of the appearance of God in the beauty of creation, and is summarized in verse 1: “The firmament on high is his beauty, the beauty of the heaven with its glorious shew.”

59. “Hinc est charissimae quod omnes sancti omnia quae (quae in CCCM) meruerant pro paruis duxere si Deum quem amaverant non viderent” is from Paschasius Radbertus, c. 790–860, *De assumptione sanctae Mariae virginis (uel Epistola beati Hieronymi ad Paulam et Eustochium de assumptione)*, lin. 722, ed. Alberti Ripberger (1985), CCCM 56C: 148. Paschasius Radbertus entered the Benedictine monastery at Corbie c. 820. The most popular work of Radbertus was his letter that begins “Cogitis me o Paula et Eustochium, immo caritas Christi me compellit.” (“You compel me, o Paula and Eustochium, indeed the love of Christ compels me.”) Radbertus, using the pseudonym of St. Jerome, addressed the letter to St. Jerome’s devout disciples St. Paula, 347–404 and her daughter St. Eustochium, c. 368–c. 420, on the topic of the assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Throughout the Middle Ages, the letter was believed to be by St. Jerome, 347–420. Albert Ripberger in his article “Der Pseudo-Hieronymus-Brief IX ‘Cogitis Me’, Ein Erster Marianischer Traktat des Mittelalters von Paschasius Radbertus,” *Spicilegium Friburgense* 9 (1962): 7–14, discusses the works of Radbertus

Gospel that the angels always see the face of God the Father. Matthew XVIII *Their angels in heaven always see the face of my Father.*<sup>60</sup> And although they always see him, always they desire to see him, as the apostle says. I Peter I *On whom the Angels desire to look.*<sup>61</sup> And the reason for which they always desire to see him [146v] is because in seeing him they are all filled with joy and consolation and delight themselves marvelously. They take such great delight in seeing him that their desire always increases in them to see him ceaselessly. And it is the case of the saints because they always see him and always desire to see him. They see such things in God that they are all filled with wonder and look beyond themselves and strive to look at him. They are recreated by his blest vision and all filled with sovereign joy in as much as they have their hearts totally moved by contemplating God and seeing him incessantly. It is such a glorious thing to see the God of glory that if it were possible the bad people in hell would prefer to see God and to suffer rather than to be without suffering and not see God. Augustine: *If the evil ones were able they would choose to see God in hell and [to be] in punishment rather than [be] without punishment and not to see God.*<sup>62</sup>

and his famous letter, “Cogitis me” and describes how they provide insight into Marian devotion and spirituality.

60. Mt. XVIII: 10. The entire verse reads: “Take heed that you despise not one of these little ones: for I say to you, that their angels in heaven always see the face of my Father who is in heaven.”

61. I Pt. I: 12.

62. “Si mali possent mallent deum in inferno videre et [esse] in penis (poenis in Thomas Aquinas, *Opera omni*) quam [esse] extra penas (poenas in Aquinas) deum non videre.” St. Augustine is considered the author in Thomas Aquinas, *De beatitudine* (*Commentary on the Beatitudes*). See Thomas Aquinas, c. 1227 -1274, *De beatitudine*, cap. 3 in *Aliorum medii aevi auctorum Scripta* 61, in CT, 7: 712. Note slight variation in passage from *De Beatitudine*: “si possent mali mallent esse in poenis et

And as to see God is the joy of all joys, likewise to be deprived of this glorious vision is the torment of torments. According to Chrysostom: *I say that much stronger than hell are these punishments, namely to be removed and thrust away from that glory. Nor do I think that the punishments of hell are so bitter as are those by which he is tormented who is kept from the sight of God.*<sup>63</sup>

deum videre, quam esse extra poenas et deum non videre.” (If they were able the evil ones would choose to be in punishment and see God rather than to be without punishment and not see God). The quote is also attributed to Augustine in the commentary on Dante’s *Divine Comedy*, in ch. 3 on the *Inferno* written by his son Pietro Alighieri, c. 1300-1364. See *Petri Allegherii, super Dantis ipsius genitoris Comoediam Commentarium: nunc primum lucem editum*, ed. George John Warren Vernon, curante Vincenzo Nannucci (Florentiae: Apud Guilielmum Piatti, 1845), 68. The passage is almost identical to the passage in MS. Douce 134: “si mali possent, mallent in Inferno Deum videre, quam extra non videre.” Here, the words “in poenis” (in punishment) and “extra poenas” (without punishment) are inadvertently missing. The exact passage in MS. Douce 134 appears and is attributed to Augustine in Ulrich von Pottenstein, c. 1360-c. 1417, *Dekalog-Auslegung Das erste Gebot: Text und Quellen*, ed. Gabriele Baptist-Hlawatsch (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1995), 1: 477; and Iacobus de Marchia, 1391-1476, *Sermones Dominicales*, sermo 78, ed. Renato Lioi (Ancona: Biblioteca Francescana, 1978), 3: 105. The passage is not found among Augustine’s authenticated works in the LLT.

63. “Ego multo graviores quam gehenna (gehennae in PL) est dico cruciatus removeri et abjici ab illa gloria, nec puto ita acerba esse gehenne (gehennae in PL) intendia, ut sunt illa quibus torquetur is qui arcetur a conspectu Dei.” The passage is quoted and attributed to Chrysostom’s *De reparatione lapsi* by Petrus Abaelardus (Peter Abelard), 1079-1142, in his *Sic et non*, cap. CLVII Quod poena parvulorum non baptizatorum...in PL 178: 1609. Passage appears but not attributed to Chrysostom in Rabanus Maurus, c. 776-856, *De videndo Deum, de puritate cordis...*, lib. III *De Modo Poenitentiae*, cap. XIII *De splendore gloriae Christi* in PL 112: 1319. The passage is not included in Chrysostom’s work in the LLT.

A sovereign joy is conceived in the hearts of saints from the blest vision of God about which the Holy Scripture speaks. Psalm *Thou shalt fill me with joy with thy countenance.*<sup>64</sup> Such and so great is the joy which comes from the vision of God that it cannot be estimated nor understood by mortal man, and it is not surprising because this joy is all divine coming from God who fills the saints with his joy and the Gospel speaks of this. John XV *These things I have spoken to you: that my joy may be in you, and your joy may be filled.*<sup>65</sup> Also John XVII *These things I speak in the world, that they may have my joy filled in themselves.*<sup>66</sup> Also Psalm *The high praises of God shall be in their mouth.*<sup>67</sup> So great is the joy that comes from the vision of God there is no language which can express or describe it because it is a joy totally glorified and totally divine, coming from the divine Trinity. [147r] And for this reason it would be better to call it “glory” rather than “joy.” And because it comes from God it cannot be told as the apostle says. I Peter I *Whom having not seen you love: in whom also now, though you see him not, you believe: and believing, shall rejoice with an unspeakable and glorified joy.*<sup>68</sup> This joy is so great that it surmounts all other joys that can be, and all other joys are small in comparison with this joy. And about this St. Bernard speaks saying these words: *The only true joy is derived not from creatures but from the Creator, no man can take it from you, and compared to it all earthly joy is no better than sorrow; all pleasantness, grief; every sweet thing, bitter; every seemly thing, mean; and [finally everything] what ever might give pleasure, wear-*

64. Ps. XV: 11.

65. Jo. XV: 11.

66. Jo. XVII: 13.

67. Ps. CXLIX: 6.

68. I Pt. I: 8.

some.<sup>69</sup> That is to say, that this joy is the only true joy, joy that is conceived not by a creature but by the creator. When compared to this joy all other joy is sadness, all sweetness is pain, all sweetness is bitter, all beauty is ugliness and all other things which can give pleasure is torment. This joy is a sovereign joy, a complete joy, and perfect joy, a continual joy, persevering and everlasting, because whoever has this joy will never be without it, will never lose it, and it will never be removed from him. As our Lord Jesus Christ says in the Gospel. John XVI *I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice: and your joy no man shall take from you.*<sup>70</sup> In this world the joy of saints is small, but in the celestial land it will be great; so great that it will not be able to enter completely in the saints. But the saints will enter totally in it, as St. Augustine says: *Complete joy will not enter the rejoicers, but all*

69. "Illud verum et solum gaudium quod non de creatura sed de Creatore concipitur; quod cum possederis, non tolletur a te: cui comparata omnis aliunde jucunditas, meror (moeror in PL) est; omnis suavitas dolor est; omne dulce, amarum; omne decorum, fedum (foedum in PL); [omne postremo in PL] et quodcunque aliud delectare potest (possit in PL), molestum est." Bernardus Claraevallensis, 1090-1153, *Epistolae*, Epistola CXIV Ad alternam sanctimoniam in PL 182: 259. It is from a letter of encouragement written to a nun. English translation from St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Letter 117, *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. Bruno Scott James (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1953, 1998), 178. The standard text by Bernard is shown in parentheses and the translation by James is based upon it. It is interesting to note that the anon. author of MS. Douce 134 changes the verb mood of possum, posse, "to be able," from the present subjunctive, possit, to the present indicative, potest which alters the meaning from being one of possibility to one of fact. The last phrase based on the verb mood used in the manuscript should read: "what ever else can delight, wearisome." This change makes the anon. author's argument more emphatic.

70. Jo. XVI: 22.

those rejoicing will enter in joy.<sup>71</sup> Not all joy will enter the joyous but all the joyous will enter the joy. Matthew XXV Enter into the joy of our Lord.<sup>72</sup> The saints will have another joy to see our Lord Jesus Christ in his divinity and humanity, about which St. Bernard says that it is a joy full of all delight to see man, Creator of men. Bernard: *For man to see the Creator of man is to be filled [utterly] with complete sweetness of pleasure.*<sup>73</sup> **[147v]** In the vision of our Lord Jesus Christ is full recreation and restoration of body and soul because the soul is satiated in contemplation of his divinity and the senses of the body in contemplation of his humanity as St. Augustine says: *There the interior sense of man is refashioned in contemplation of the most high and the exterior*

71. “Non totum gaudium intrabit in gaudentes sed tota gaudentes intrabunt in gaudium.” This text does not appear in the authenticated works of Augustine in the LLT. However the passage is attributed to Augustine in Thomas Aquinas, c. 1227 -1274, *In Symbolum apostolorum*, art. 12, Reportationes opuscula dubiae authenticitatis, in CT, 6: 22. Sentence appears but is not attributed to Augustine in Anselmus Cantuariensis, c. 1033-1109, *Proslogion*, cap. XXVI in PL 158: 241 and *Meditationes et orationes*, Meditatio XXI in PL 158: 819. See also Anselmus Cantuariensis, *Proslogion*, cap. XXVI, in *Opera omnia*, ed. Franciscus Salesius Schmitt (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Friedrich Frommann Verlag [Günther Holzboog], 1968-1984), I: 121.

72. Mt. XXV: 21.

73. “Plenum (prorsus in PL) omnis suavitatis gaudium (dulcedine replaces gaudium in PL), videre hominem hominis Conditorum.” St. Bernard, c. 1090-1153), *Sermones in Cantica canticorum*, serm. XX. De triplici modo dilectionis, que Deum diligimus in PL 183: 868. An alternate translation is available by Ailbe John Luddy: “It is assuredly a privilege full of divine sweetness, of inexpressible delight, that man should be permitted to see his Maker in the flesh,” from St. Bernard’s *Sermons on the Canticle of Canticles*, Sermon XX (Dublin: Brown and Nolan, 1920), 197.

sense is refashioned in contemplation of humanity.<sup>74</sup> It must be known that the joy of saints will be all the greater in seeing that the beauty of our Lord Jesus Christ infinitely exceeds the beauty of angels and of all things created.

## The glorious vision of God

Aside from the joy which the saints will have there will be something else: from the great joy that the saints will have they will all be moved to praise and glorify God with all their hearts, with all their souls, with all their power. Each one will praise and all will praise together. Isaiah LII *They shall all praise together: for they shall see eye to eye.*<sup>75</sup> In praising, blessing and glorifying God the saints will all be moved and incited because they will see in God delightful things, sovereign beauty, incomprehensible light, abyss of knowledge, infinite power, and fountain of all goodness.<sup>76</sup> This praise will be marvelous, excellent and glorious

74. "Ibi sensus hominis interior reficitur in contemplatione divinitatis et sensus exterior in contemplatione humanitatis." The passage is not in Augustine's authenticated works in the *LLT*, however it is ascribed to Augustinus (pseudo), *De spiritu et anima*, cap. IX in PL 40: 784. See Paradise II, n. 74 for previous reference to Augustinus (pseudo). Passage appears but is not attributed to Augustine in St. Bonaventure, c. 1217-1274, *Sermones de diversis*, sermo 33 (dom. XXII post pentecosten), par. 14, lin. 205, ed. Jacques Guy Bougerol (Paris: Les Éditions Franciscaines, 1993), 1: 411.

75. Is. LII: 8.

76. The phrase, "an abyss of knowledge" is an expression widely used among scholars and theological moralists, and is quoted by François Rabelais, c. 1494-1553, in his *Gargantua et Pantagruel*, in bk. 2, ch. VIII. Pantagruel is instructed in a letter by his father, Gargantua: "Somme, que je voie un abime de science." ("In short let me see an abyss of knowledge.") François Rabelais, *Gargantua, Pantagruel*: tiers livre,

because the great multitude and glorious company of the saints all inflamed with desires will praise and bless their creator ardently and ceaselessly. Isaiah LXII *All the day, and all the night they shall never hold their peace.*<sup>77</sup> And it is to be known that they will never be tired, annoyed or bored to praise God. They will find great marvelous pleasure in it because it will be their life, their joy, and their glory to praise him. St. Augustine: *We shall see and we shall love, we shall love and we shall praise.*<sup>78</sup> Also St. Augustine in the book, *The City of God: He will be the end of our desires. He will be seen without end, will be loved without*

*quart livre, cinquième livre: extraits*, ed. Henri Baudin (Paris: Bordas, 1987), 60.

77. Isaiah LXII: 6.

78. "Videbimus et amabimus, amabimus et laudabimus." Augustine, *The City of God*, bk. 22, ch. 30, LCL 7: 384. English translation from *ibid.*, 385. See also Augustinus Hipponensis, *De civitate Dei*, lib. XXII, cap. XXX in PL 41: 804. Text is cited and attributed to Augustine in the following: Joannes Cassianus, c. 360-435, *Collationes*, pars I, cap. X in PL 49: 494; Eugyppius Africae, died c. 535, *Thesaurus*, tomus prior, cap. CLXVI in PL 62: 817; Julianus Toletanus (Julian of Toledo), c. 652-690, *Prognosticon*, lib. III, cap. LXII in PL 96: 524 and Petrus Lombardus, c. 1100-c. 1160, *Collectanea in epistolas Pauli*, in *Epistolam ad Hebraeos*, cap. IV in PL 192: 431. The passage appears but is not attributed to Augustine in Walafridus Strabo, c. 809-849, *Epistola ad Hebraeos*, cap. IV in PL 114: 650 and Walafridus Strabo, c. 809-849, *De sacramentis*, lib. II, par. XVIII, cap. XXII in PL 176: 618.

repletion and praised without weariness.<sup>79</sup> Thus the first dowry of glory to the soul is a clear vision of God.

The second reward of glory that [148r] the saints will have is to know God perfectly as he is. They will know clearly that God is the life of the living, fountain of knowledge and of all sanctity, fountain of light, virtues and all goodness, fountain of love, of sweetness and of glory. That is to say, he is saintly, sweet, kind and gracious, good and glorious. He is totally good in as much as nothing better can be said, thought or wished. The saints will have, in addition to all of this, this true knowledge and this knowledge comes from the vision of God because whoever sees him well, knows him well and that is what St. Augustine says: *What is it to see Him face to face if not as the apostle says 'then I shall know even as I am known.'*<sup>80</sup> Those who see God are illu-

79. "Ipse finis (erit in LCL) desideriorum nostrorum, qui sine fine videbitur, sine fastidio amabitur, sine fatigatione laudabitur" in *ibid.*, p. 374. English translation from *ibid.*, 375. See also Augustinus, *De civitate Dei*, lib. XXII, cap. XXX in PL 41: 801. Passage is attributed to Augustine in Joannes Cassianus, *Collationes*, pars I, cap. X in PL 49: 494; Eugyppius Africae, died. c. 535, *Thesaurus*, tomus prior, cap. CLXVI in PL 62: 817; Julianus Toletanus, lib. III, cap. LX in PL 96: 524. It is not attributed to Augustine in Alcuinus (Alcuin of York), c. 735-804, *De fide S. Trinitatis*, lib. III, cap. XXII in PL 101: 54; nor in Smaragdus S. Michaelis, c. 760-c. 840, *Collectiones in epistolas et evangelia*, Dominica in Octava Paschae, *Evangelium Joannis* in PL 102: 284; attributed to Augustine in Rabanus Maurus, c. 780-856, *Enarrationes in epistolas B. Pauli*, lib. XI, cap. XV in PL 112: 147; not attributed to Augustine in Godefridus Admontensis, d. 1165, *Homiliae festivales*, hom. XXX in PL 174: 767; nor in Hugo de S. Victore, *De sacramentis*, lib. II, par. XVIII, cap. XX in PL 176: 616.

80. "Quid est videre facie ad faciem nisi sicut dicit apostolus tunc cognoscam sicut et cognitus sum." Augustine, *Liber Soliloquiorum animae ad Deum*, lib. I, cap. XXXVI in *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Opera omnia* (Paris: Apud Gaume Fratres Bibliopolas, 1837), 6: 1306. See explanation regarding *Soliloquia animae* in Paradise I, n. 95. Here

minated to know him perfectly. Of this knowledge God speaks in the Holy Scripture. Jeremiah XXXI *And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying: Know the Lord; for all shall know me from the least of them even to the greatest, saith the Lord.*<sup>81</sup> Thus knowledge of God is called the dowry of glory because in the knowledge of God is eternal life according to what our Lord says in the Gospel. John XVII *Now this is life everlasting, that they may know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent.*<sup>82</sup> By giving himself to be known to the saints, God attracts them to him. He expands himself to them and fills them with his love and glory so that they know plainly not only by vision and mind but also by effect and experience of his sweetness and kindness.

The third dowry of glory is union with God, that is to say, that the saints are united with God so much so that they are in God and God is in them. About that it is to be known that God lives in them like in his temple because each one of them is the temple of God. About the fact that God lives in the saints there are several authorities in the Holy Scripture. Psalm *They shall rejoice for*

Augustine quotes I Corinthians XIII: 12, a passage recurring throughout his works: *Retractiones*, lib. I, cap. XIV in PL 32: 606; *Confessiones*, lib. X, cap. I in PL 32: 779; *Epistolae*, classis tertia, epis. CXLVII, cap. XXII in PL 33: 620; *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, lib. V, cap. IX and lib. VI, cap. XXIX in PL 34: 751 and 790; *In Joannis evangelium tractatus* CXXIV, tract. LXXXVI, tract. XCVI and tract. CI in PL 35: 1850, 1875 and 1894; *De diversis quaestionibus*, cap. LXV in PL 40: 59; *De civitate Dei*, lib. XXII, cap. XXIX in PL 41: 797; *De Trinitate*, lib. XII, cap. XIV in PL 42: 1009; *De spiritu et littera*, cap. XXIII and cap. XXXVI in PL 44: 223 and 242; *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali*, lib. I, cap. XLIX in PL 44: 384; and *Contra duas epistolas Pelagianorum*, lib. III, cap. VII and lib. IV, cap. XI in PL 44: 600, 603, 604, and 634.

81. Jr. XXXI: 34.

82. Jo. XVII: 3.

ever, and thou shalt dwell in them.<sup>83</sup> Also Psalm *The Lord is among them in Sinai, in the holy place.*<sup>84</sup> Also John XVII [That they all may be one.] As thou, Father, in [148v] me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us. I in them, and thou in me: that they may be made perfect in one.<sup>85</sup> And God living in them will communicate to them his divinity in as much as they will all be filled with his divinity and participate in his divine goodness. II Peter I *You may be made partakers of the divine nature.*<sup>86</sup> What a glorious thing it will be to the saints to be in God, to have God in them and to be filled with his divinity. With this they will all be enraptured in God because they will be one spirit with God as the apostle says. I Corinthians VI *He who adheres to the Lord becomes one spirit with him.*<sup>87</sup>

The fourth dowry of glory which the saints will have is full enjoyment of God, that is they will be satiated, fully satisfied with God and his glory. They will be recreated and they will be satiated with God and his glory, and of this the Holy Scripture speaks. Psalm *I shall be satisfied when thy glory shall appear.*<sup>88</sup> The profit that they will receive from God will be a marvelous and incomprehensible refectio because it will be totally divine.

83. Ps. V: 12.

84. Ps. LXVII: 18.

85. Jo. XVII: 21 and 23.

86. II Pt. I: 4.

87. I Cor. VI: 17. The anon. author edits and revises I Cor. VI: 16-17 to read:

“Qui adhaeret Domino unus spiritus efficitur cum eo.” The Vulgate reads: 16. “An nescitis quoniam qui adhaeret meretrici unum corpus efficitur? ‘Erunt enim, inquit duo in carne una.’ 17. Qui autem adhaeret Domino unus spiritus est.” The Douay-Rheims translation reads: “Or know you not, that he who adheres to a harlot, is made one body? For they shall be (saith he) two in one flesh. But he who adheres to the Lord is one spirit.”

88. Ps. XVI: 15.

However, even if they will be totally filled and satiated with the glory of his divinity, they will always desire it and never be satiated from desiring it. Ecclesiasticus XLII *And who shall be filled with beholding his glory?*<sup>89</sup> And therefore for the great pleasure they will have in the divine fruition they will always desire what they will have and so that their desire be always accomplished they will always have what they desire. St. Gregory: *For that there be not anxiety in desire, in desiring they are satisfied, and that there be not disgust in their satisfying, whilst being satisfied they desire. [\*He [wrote] these things.] And therefore they desire without suffering, because desire is accompanied by satisfying. And they are satisfied without disgust, because the very satisfying itself is ever being inflamed by desire.*<sup>90</sup>

89. Ecli. XLII: 26.

90. "Ne (enim in PL, CCCM and CCSL) sit in desiderio anxietas, desiderantes satiantur; ne autem in satietate sit fastidium satiati desiderant. [\*hic ille.] Desiderant ergo sine labore, quia desiderium satietas comitatur; et satiantur sine fastidio, quia (ipsa in PL and CCSL) satietas ex desiderio semper accenditur." Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia*, lib. 18, par. 54, lin. 125, ed. Marc Adriaen (1979), CCSL 143A: 954. Gregorius I, *Moralia*, lib. XVIII, cap. LIV, PL 76: 94. Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job*, bk. XVIII, par. 91 (liv), trans. Members of the English Church (Oxford: John Henry Parker and London: J.G.F. and J. Rivington, 1845), v.2, pts. 3-4, 391. The passage is attributed to Gregory in Alulfus Tornacensis, died c. 1141 or 1144. *Expositio Novi Testamenti*, lib. V, cap. II in PL 79: 1385; Julianus Toletanus, c. 652-690, *Antikeimenon*, lib. II, Responsio (Ex Gregor. Magn., lib. XVIII Mor., n. 91) in PL 96: 702; Rabanus Maurus, 780-856, *De videndo Deum, de puritate cordis et modo poenitentiae*, lib. I in PL 112: 1281; and Martinus Legionensis, c. 1130-1203, *Sermones*, serm. IV in Natale Domini II, sec. VI in PL 208: 170. The passage appears but is not attributed to Gregory in Ambrosius Autpertus, d. 784, *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, lib. 10, cap. 22, vers. 4a, lin. 43, ed. Robert Weber (1975), CCCM 27A: 841. The first part of the passage appears but is not identified as Gregory's in Isidorus His-

This divine encouragement is so great and so pleasurable that it surmounts everything that one can say or think or desire. And there is no man who may know what it is except those who enjoy it. And however we shall not speak about it at present because it cannot be described or expressed by words. However we will say something about it later on more fully if it pleases God. [149r] The saints will have these dowries of glory not only for their benefit and for their eternal happiness but also and mostly for the glory of God so that the Holy Trinity be glorified in the saints because God takes glory and pleasure in living in them and in filling them with his divinity and his glory. And he will give them so much glory that it will reflect to his glory. Whoever has been their judge by grace will be their glorifier. Psalm *The Lord will give grace and glory.*<sup>91</sup> These dowries of glory generate and conceive in the hearts of the saints a sovereign love towards God and such love that they all burn in the love of God. Augustine: *In that heavenly country there will be manifest vision, certain knowledge, true delight, and true union.*<sup>92</sup> This love, which the saints have toward God, comes from the love of God, because God loves them so much that with the dowries of glory he fills them with his love according to this authority. John XVII *That the love wherewith thou hast loved me, may be in them.*<sup>93</sup> According to this authority God loves the saints with the same love that he loves his Son, and consequently the love of God toward the saints is infinite. So great is the love of God in the saints that

palensis, c. 560-636, *Sententiae*, lib. 1, cap. 10, sent. 22-24, lin. 158, ed. Pierre Cazier (1998), CCSL 111: 37.

91. Ps. LXXXIII: 12.

92. "In Patria erit manifesta visio, cognitio certa vera dilectio et conjunctio." Augustinus Hipponensis (pseudo), *De spiritu et anima*, cap. XXXVI in PL 40: 807.

93. Jo. XVII: 26.

it returns to God because the fire of divine love that is in them inflames them all and makes them all ablaze and makes them all ardent in loving God. The reason why God fills them with his love is because the love of the saints would not suffice to love God as he must be loved, they must be filled with the love of God. So great is the love of God in the saints and of the saints in God that it transforms those who love God. And thus because of the great abundance of love they are all transformed and all moved in God. This love is so great that it causes God to enter the saints and the saints in God so much that they are incorporated in God because divine love unites them and makes them to be one together. [149v]

## The glory that the saints will have in seeing the Virgin Mary

Besides the glory which the saints will have of the blest vision of the King of Glory they will have glory to see the Queen of the kingdom in her glory, that is to say, the Blessed Virgin Mary who above all the saints is worthy to be in glory because being in this world she has been full of grace and perfect in all virtues. According to Ecclesiasticus XXIII *In me is all grace of the way, and of the truth: in me is all hope of life and of virtue.*<sup>94</sup> And Jerome: *For others grace is bestowed by degrees, but for Mary the fullness of grace poured itself out completely at once.*<sup>95</sup> She had

94. Ecli. XXIV: 25.

95. "Ceteris per partes (praestatur in PL and CCCM): Marie vero simul se tota infudit plenitudo gratie (gratie in PL and CCCM)." Paschasius Radbertus, c. 790-860 *De assumptione sanctae Mariae virginis (uel Epistula beati Hieronymi ad Paulam et Eustochium de assumptione)*, lin. 227, ed. Alberti Ripberger (1985), CCCM 56C: 121. See Paradise II, note

grace of virginity in flesh, grace of humility in thought, grace of charity in her heart, grace of sweetness in words, grace of pity in works, grace of honesty in conversation. And because she has surpassed all the saints in gifts of grace, in merits and in virtues, she has incomparable dignity and glory above all the saints. And because she has surpassed the angels in dignity in being the mother of God, she is elevated above all the orders of angels. According to what is said in the prose: *There the Queen of virgins transcending the height of the orders.*<sup>96</sup> In the most worthy

59 that describes Radbertus' adoption of "Jerome" as a pen name in his creation of *Epistolae*. The passage is erroneously attributed to St. Jerome in the following works: Author uncertain, Hieronymus Stridonensis? (Jerome), *Epistolae*, Epistola IX Ad Paulam et Eustochium. De assumptione beatae Mariae Virginis in PL 30: 126; Anonymus Bonnenensis, s. XIII, *Commentarius super sequentiam 'Ave, praeclara maris stella,'* lin. 292, ed. Robert Burkhardt Constantyn Huygens (2000), CCCM 171: 452; Thomas Aquinas, c. 1227-1274, *Cantena aurea in Lucam*, cap. 1, lec. 9, in CT, 5: 283; and Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, tertia pars, q. 27, art. 5, in CT, 2: 811.

96. "Illic regina virginum transcendens culmen ordinum." Passage is by Adamus S. Victoris, (Adam of Saint-Victor), c. 1110-c. 1180, *Sequentiae*, XXXIV De omnibus sanctis in PL 196: note Ver. 41: col. 1529A. The text with music is found in *Musicologie medievale*, ed. Pierre Aubry (Paris: H. Welter, 1900), 2: 319-320. The passage is a fragment from the sequence beginning with the text: *Superne matris gaudia representet Ecclesia. Illic regina virginum transcendens culmen ordinum.* It is sung on the Feast of All Saints. This verse plus a gloss appears in *The Life of the Servant* by Henry Suso, c. 1295-1366. The gloss reads: "the sense of the song is that the pure Queen soars above the whole heavenly host in honor and dignity." Henry Suso, *The Exemplar, with Two German Sermons*, trans. Frank Tobin (New York, NY: Paulist Press, 1989), 143. All of the verses of the sequence, *Supernae matris gaudia*, plus critical notes are found in *Lateinische hymnen des mittelalters*, ed. Franz Joseph Mone (Darmstadt: Scientia Verlag Aalen, 1964; reprint of Neudruck der Ausgabe Freiburg im Breisgau, 1855), 3: 10-11. A more

place, which is in paradise, after God, she is elevated as the most holy and the most worthy of all, in as much as of all the saints and of all the angels there is not one similar to her in stature, honor, dignity, and glory. Here the queen of paradise is sitting on a throne, which is a marvelous and glorious seat, and such as it befits the Queen of the kingdom. She is so close to God that between God and her there is no other pure creature. According to Psalm *The queen stood on thy right hand, in gilded clothing: surrounded with variety.*<sup>97</sup> That is to say, that the queen is at your right in golden clothes in glorified body surrounded with various things, with several kinds of glory. Because she was perfect and full of all virtues, she is full of all glory, and although her glory cannot be told by mortal man, [150r] however with the help of God we say something in the honor of God and of her because some things must be said about her, and about her glory in particular, things which do not belong to any other except to her. And first she is adorned with incomparable beauty. Because of the merit of her holiness and dignity and of her virtues God has increased her beauty incomparably since she triumphs and surpasses the saints and angels in beauty. Of her beauty the Holy Scripture speaks. Canticle of Canticles IIII *How beautiful art thou, my love, how beautiful art thou!*<sup>98</sup> Also *Thou art all fair, O my*

recent publication of his *Sequences* in Latin and English is available in Adam of Saint-Victor, *Sequences*, intro., text, and notes by Juliet Mousseau; foreword by Hugh Feiss (Paris: Peeters, 2013). The quoted passage, “Illic regina virginum,...ordinum” is from *Supernae matris*, line 23.

97. Ps. XLIV: 10.

98. Cn. IV: 1. Marcel Dupré, 1886-1971, reflects on this canticle in his *Fifteen Pieces for Organ Founded on Antiphons (Vêpres de Commun)*, Opus 18, Book I, Antiphon 5, published by H.W. Gray, 1920. It was originally heard as an improvisation at the Feast of the Assumption at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Paris, August 15, 1919. The liturgical

love, and there is not a spot in thee.<sup>99</sup> Also Canticle of Canticles V What manner of one is thy beloved of the beloved, O thou most beautiful among women?<sup>100</sup> Here is an example of her beauty. Saint Denis was sent by the apostles in France to preach the name of Jesus Christ. He begged St. John the Evangelist to show him the Virgin Mary and as he saw her in very great splendor of beauty he began to cry bitterly, saying that during all the time of his life he could hardly have believed such great beauty existed. If he had not known Jesus Christ by faith, he would not have believed that there existed another divinity than what he saw in the Virgin Mary. Her beauty is such and so glorious that she is the mirror of the angels and of the saints of paradise who all look at themselves in her because it is a glory to see her and to contemplate her beauty.

Secondly, she is all-resplendent with the light of glory and it is no marvel because she is totally covered with the sun of glory who is God. And about that the Holy Scripture speaks. Apocalypse XII *And there appeared a great wonder in heaven: a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet.*<sup>101</sup> Such and

medieval practice of sung antiphons and psalms performed in *alternatim* with the organ was mirrored in Dupré's initial performance. For more information regarding Dupré's subsequent performances of his Opus 18 with choral and organ in *alternatim* see Michael Murray, *Marcel Dupré: The Work of a Master Organist* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1985), 68, and Marijim Thoene, "Marcel Dupré: Fifteen Pieces, Op. 18 Stylistic Features and Liturgical Role," *The Diapason* (January, 1988): 7-9.

99. Cn. IV: 7.

100. Cn. V: 9.

101. Ap. XII: 1. This passage as well as the entire 12th chapter is interpreted by Jiří Teml, b. 1935, imminent composer in Prague, Czech Republic who composed a tone-poem for organ entitled, *Woman of the Apoca-*

so great is her light that it surpasses the clarity of the saints. St. Jerome: *The brightness of the saints is in submission to her so that her [splendor and] glory may be commended the more fully.*<sup>102</sup> Such and so bright is her light that it illuminates [150v] all the court of paradise. About which she said to Saint Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury: “Like the sun illuminates the day and the world, likewise my clarity illuminates all the heavenly court.”<sup>103</sup>

*lypse Crowned with Stars*, commissioned by Marijim Thoene in 2018 and published by H.T. FitzSimons Co. in 2021.

102. “Submittitur (illi in PL) sanctorum claritas, ut amplius eius [splendor et] gloria commendetur.” The passage was written by Paschasius Radbertus, *De assumptione sanctae Marie virginis (uel Epistula beati Hieronymi ad Paulam et Eustochium de assumptione)*, lin. 789, ed. Alberti Ripberger (1985), CCCM 56C: 152. See Paradise II, note 59 regarding authorship. The passage is erroneously attributed to Auctor incertus (Hieronymus Stridonensis?), *Epistolae*, Epistola IX Ad Paulam et Eustochium De assumptione beatae Mariae Virginis in PL30: 138.
103. St. Thomas à Becket, c. 1119-1170, was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1162 until his assassination in 1170. Mary Clayton sets the stage for the growth of the devotion to Mary during St. Thomas à Becket's time in her book, *The Cult of the Virgin in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). Clayton states that Winchester and Canterbury were innovative centers of spiritual life at the end of the tenth century. She describes the introduction of the four principal Marian feasts, extra-liturgical practices, the inclusion of Marian prayer in psalters and prayer books, Marian dedications and pilgrimage as well as the Virgin portrayed in art and poetry of Anglo-Saxon England. Clayton's study of Marian devotion in Anglo-Saxon England, ending in the eleventh-century, describes a phenomenon that would grow in intensity and scope in Thomas à Becket's lifetime. An example of his devotion to the Virgin is his prayer to the Theotokos, Manuscript No. 725 in the Hilandar Monastery, Mount Athos, Greece. A microfilm reproduction of the manuscript can be obtained from The Ohio State University, see the Hilandar Research Project, entry: 19880323. The OCLC accession number is: 122469900. The mention of

Thirdly, she is filled with incredible odor, sweet smelling above all other odors. Of this odor the Holy Scripture speaks. Canticle of Canticles I *While the king was at his repose, my spikenard sent forth the odour thereof.*<sup>104</sup> Also Canticle of Canticles III *The smell of thy ointments is beautiful above all aromatical spices.*<sup>105</sup> Also Ecclesiasticus XXIII *I gave a sweet smell like cinnamon, and aromatical balm: I yielded a sweet odour like the best myrrh.*<sup>106</sup> This odor is pleasurable in as much as the saints are all pleased and enjoy themselves in it. According to The Tractate of St. John: To

St. Thomas' encounter with the Blessed Virgin perhaps alludes to a legend telling of how one day when St. Thomas was repeating the Seven Temporal Joys of the Blessed Virgin Mary she appeared to him and said, "Why are you glad for my joys which were temporal and do not rather rejoice over the present joys which I now enjoy in heaven which are eternal? Rejoice, therefore, and exult with me the future. First because my glory surpasses the happiness of all the saints. Secondly, because as the sun gives light to the day, so my brightness gives light to the whole court of Heaven," etc. The Seven Heavenly Joys of the Blessed Virgin are mentioned in the hymn *Gaude flore virginali*. The legend and hymn reference appear in John Morris, *The Life of Saint Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 2nd edition (London: Burns and Oates, and New York, 1885) pt. 2: 501-502. For a listing of polyphonic musical settings of *Gaude flore virginali* see the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (DIAMM), *Gaude flore virginali*, accessed April 12, 2020, <https://www.diamm.ac.uk/compositions/8392/>.

104. Cn. I: 11. Antiphon sung at the Feast of the Assumption. For an organ setting of this text See Marcel Dupré's *Fifteen Pieces for Organ Founded on Antiphons (Vêpres du Commun de la Sainte Vierge)*, Opus 18, Antiphon I entitled "While the King sitteth at his table, My Spikenard sendeth out the Perfume thereof." See n. 98.

105. Cn. IV: 10.

106. Ecli. XXIV: 20.

the fragrance of that odor, all of that heavenly, joyful Jerusalem ran quickly.<sup>107</sup>

Fourthly, she is crowned with a crown of glory that is marvelous and incomparable, precious, luminous, because it is adorned with twelve shining and resplendent stars. Of this crown the Holy Scripture speaks. Apocalypse XII *And on her head a crown of twelve stars.*<sup>108</sup>

Fifthly, she is adorned and dressed with clothes of glory all resplendent with clarity and smelling with fine odor. Also Canticle of Canticles IIII *The smell, of thy garments, as the smell of frankincense.*<sup>109</sup> Also *Her priceless scent will be very much in her clothing.*<sup>110</sup>

Sixthly, she is surrounded with a great multitude of angels and archangels and other orders of angels as the Holy Scripture says. Canticle of Canticles VII *What shalt thou see in the Sulamitess but the companies of camps? \*[that is a choir of angels].*<sup>111</sup> These

107. "Ad cuius profecto fragrantiam odoris, omnis illa celestis (caelestis in CCCM) Hierusalem leta (laeta in CCCM) decurrit" is not from Augustine's *Tractates of St. John*. The text is by Paschasius Radbertus, c. 790-860, *De assumptione sanctae Mariae virginis (uel Epistula beati Hieronymi ad Paulam et Eustochium de assumptione)* lin. 755, eds. Alberti Ripberger and E. Ann Matter (1985), CCCM 56C: 149.

108. Ap. XII: 1. See n. 101.

109. Cn. IV: 11.

110. "Cujus inaestimabilis odor erat nimis in vestimentis eius." Gregorius I, c. 540-604, *Liber responsalis, Responsoria sive Antiphonae de Assumptione sanctae Mariae* in PL 78: 817. Music and text of the responsoria are found in *Antiphonale monasticum* (Tournai: Desclée, 1934), 1200. Text begins with *Vidi speciosam sicut columbam ascendentem* (I saw something beautiful like a dove ascending). Passage appears and is described as belonging to the Office of the Church, i.e. the Divine Hours in Thomas Cisterciensis, c. 1175-1200 and Joannes Algrinus, c. 1180-1237, *Commentaria in Cantica canticorum*, lib. XI in PL 206: 761

111. Cn. VII: 1 [\*] indicates gloss by anon. author.

angels never cease to bless her, honor her, praise her, and glorify her with angelic voices and with all melodies of sounding instruments. So great is her glory that it rebounds to the glory of God and the angels and of all the saints. All paradise is honored by her because she is an ornament of paradise. According to Ecclesiasticus XXVI *As the sun, when it riseth to the world in the high places of God, so is the beauty of a good wife for the ornament of her house.*<sup>112</sup> [151r] [\[Figure 73\]](#) [151v]

112. Ecli. XXVI: 21.



# Paradise III [15IV-16IV]

## The joy which the saints will have in seeing the angels of paradise

Aside from the things said above about the angels of paradise the saints will have consolation and sovereign joy to see the angels and their order, offices and ministrations. According to their order and legions, some will have offices to minister in front of God, others are assistants to God, as the Holy Scripture says. Daniel VII...*thousands of thousands ministered to him, and ten thousand times a hundred thousand stood before him.*<sup>1</sup> And Apocalypse VII *And all the Angels stood round about the throne, and the ancients, and the four living creatures: and they fell down before the throne, upon their faces, and adored God, Saying: Amen. Benediction and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, honour, and power, and strength to our God for ever and ever. Amen.*<sup>2</sup> According to these authorities the offices of the angels are distinguished because some of them stand with God and the others minister in front of God. All praise him. Oh what a marvelous thing to see the angels adoring God, the others ministering in front of God, the others standing in front of God, and all praising God because it is their office to praise and glorify God. Job XXXVIII *When the morning stars praised me together, and all the sons of God made a joyful melody?*<sup>3</sup> Also Isaiah VI *Upon it*

1. Dn. VII: 10.

2. Ap. VII: 11-12.

3. Jb. XXXVIII: 7. This verse is preceded with this question: Jb. XXXVIII: 1 *Then the Lord answered Job out of a whirlwind, and said...I will ask thee, and you will answer thou me.* Jb. XXXVIII: 4 *Where wast thou*

stood the Seraphims: the one had six wings, and the other had six wings...And they cried one to another, and said: Holy, holy, holy, the Lord God of Hosts.<sup>4</sup> That is to say, that the seraphim were on the throne. Six wings to one and six wings to the other and they were shouting from one to the other and praised God. Oh what a glorious thing it will be to see such great multitudes of angels and such beautiful companies of hundreds, thousands, millions so beautiful, so resplendent, so pleasant, so agreeable, so friendly. They are also very gracious to the saints and have joy in their felicity because the angels have rescued them from their ruin and the saints have joy to be in the company of the angels. And because the angels have protected them and turned them towards good their glory is all the greater. So they feast and show gratitude to the saints for having followed their inspirations and thus are saved. *For this the angels praise the saints for their imitation.*<sup>5</sup> [152r] [Figure 74] [152v]

## About the weddings of paradise

The celestial blessedness, which is eternal life, is described as a delicious dinner. Isaiah XXV *And the Lord of hosts shall make*

when I laid the foundations of the earth?... Jb. XXXVIII: 6 or laid the corner-stone thereof?

4. Is. VI: 2-3.

5. "De hoc congratulantur angeli sanctis imitabiliter." No author is cited. Throughout most of MS. Douce 134 the anonymous author cites the source for Latin passages but here perhaps he or she assumes the reader knows the source of the Latin phrase. Only the words "Congratulantur angeli" are found in Beda, c. 672-735, *Explanatio Apocalypsis*, lib. II, cap. XII in PL 93: 167 and in Beda Venerabilis, *Explanatio Apocalypse*, lib. 2, cap. 20, cap. (s.s.) 12, lin. 31, ed. Roger Gryson (2001), CCSL 121A: 395.

unto all people in this mountain, a feast of fat things, a feast of wine, of fat things full of marrow, of wine purified from the lees.<sup>6</sup> Also Matthew XXII Behold, I have prepared my dinner.<sup>7</sup> In another place of Holy Scripture this beatitude is called a great supper. Luke XIII A certain man made a great supper, and invited many.<sup>8</sup> In another place this blessedness is described as a marriage. Matthew XXII The kingdom of heaven is like to a man being a king, who made a marriage for his son.<sup>9</sup> And although this blessedness is described in many different ways, that is to say, as a dinner, a supper, a wedding, and in the Holy Scripture a supper as well as a wedding, however it is one single thing. Apocalypse XIX Blessed are they who are called to the marriage supper of the Lamb.<sup>10</sup> It is described in so many ways as a dinner, as a supper, and as a wedding to make us understand that just as in the great dinners, suppers, and weddings in this world one is very happy, eats very well, and has great joy as much for the great ceremonies as for the great company of people who are there. Similarly in the weddings of paradise great goods are presented so that one is in great delight, makes great feast, and finds great joy in it. This has been said to prepare all to go to these weddings that will be very different than those of this world. One reads in the Holy Scripture that some kings have made great dinners like King Solomon who made a great feast for his people which lasted fourteen days, and the King of Persia who made a dinner which lasted one hundred and eighty days. But there has never been any dinner nor wedding comparable to the weddings of paradise, and none

6. Is. XXV: 6.

7. Mt. XXII: 4.

8. Lc. XIV: 16.

9. Mt. XXII: 2.

10. Ap. XIX: 9.

will last as long, for they will be continual and will last forever without end.

## The weddings of paradise will be glorious

**[153r]** The weddings of paradise will be great, rich and noble due to the participation of the celestial king, the husband, the ministers, those who will be called to those weddings, and thanks to the things prepared and the place. Firstly, these weddings will be great and noble thanks to the king, that is to say, God the Father, who through his nobility and goodness has instituted and ordered such noble weddings and has provided all things necessary in great abundance according to his magnificence. And he has sent his messengers in this world to invite the people to come to his wedding: Luke XIII *A certain man made a great supper... And he sent his servant, at supper-time, to say to them that were invited, that they should come, for now all things are ready.*<sup>11</sup> Also Proverbs IX *Wisdom hath built herself a house, she hath hewn her out seven pillars. She hath slain her victims, mingled her wine, and set forth her table. She hath sent her maids to invite to the tower, and to the walls of the city.*<sup>12</sup> The king has sent his ministers, that is to say, the preachers of the kingdom to exhort the people to prepare themselves and to lead such a life that they can come to his wedding because he is so liberal that he receives all those who prepare themselves in dignity to go there, and to all those of the wedding he will show himself to be sweet and friendly and will feast them greatly and give them great pleasures because it is his pleasure and his glory to have them with him in his glory in high state and in great honor and

11. Lc. XIV: 16-17.

12. Pro. IX: 1-3.

dignity. In this he will take pleasure and rejoice with them as he says through the prophet. Isaiah LXV *I will rejoice in Jerusalem, and joy in my people.*<sup>13</sup> And all that belongs to their state and to their glory he will administer to them abundantly and will extend to them his goodness, his sweetness, and his glory.

Secondly, these weddings will be noble and dignified thanks to the husband who is our Lord Jesus Christ who is the husband of each saved soul. Hosea II *I will espouse thee to me in faith.*<sup>14</sup> And thus all the saved souls will be wedded by Jesus Christ. II Corinthians XI *I have espoused you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ.*<sup>15</sup> And to the extent that the husband is worthy and glorious his weddings are noble, rich, and glorious because all the souls will be wedded by such a husband so worthy and so glorious. [153v] This will be for them great nobility, great honor, and dignity.

Thirdly, these weddings will be pleasant on account of the ministers and servants who are the angels of heaven in beautiful array who will serve in these weddings as the apostle says. Hebrews I *Are they not all ministering spirits?*<sup>16</sup> And what is even more marvelous in these weddings is that the husband will be minister and servant as he says in the Gospel. Luke XII *Amen, I say to you, that he will gird himself, and make them sit down to meat, and passing, will, minister to them.*<sup>17</sup> How marvelous it is that our Lord Jesus Christ who is God all-powerful submit himself to the saints as if he were the servant of all. And although he presides over all by dignity and by divine majesty, nevertheless he submits to all by humility.

13. Is. LXV: 19.

14. Ho. II: 20.

15. II Cor. XI: 2.

16. Heb. I: 14.

17. Lc. XII: 37.

Fourthly, these weddings will be agreeable on account of the beautiful company of those who will attend, the latter will be in great multitude and such great multitude that no one could number them as the Holy Scripture says. Apocalypse VII I saw a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and tribes, and peoples, and tongues: standing before the throne, and in sight of the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands.<sup>18</sup> Saint John the Evangelist says these words in the Apocalypse: “I have seen a great company that no man could number made up of all people and lineage and peoples and tongues being in front of the throne of the Lamb which is Jesus Christ and they were covered with white clothes and they have palms in their hands.” The fact that they were covered with white clothes means that the saints who will be at these weddings will be dressed in precious clothes and adorned with very beautiful ornaments as it befits those who will be in such a wedding. The Holy Scripture speaks about them being dressed and adorned with glorious and rich ornaments in several places. The last book of Proverbs All her domestics are clothed with double garments.<sup>19</sup> [154r] Also Isaiah LXI They shall receive double in their land, everlasting joy shall be unto them.<sup>20</sup> Also Isaiah LXI I will greatly rejoice in the Lord, and my soul shall be joyful in my God: for he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation: and with a robe of justice he hath covered me.<sup>21</sup> Also Apocalypse VI And white robes

18. Ap. VII: 9. Quoted earlier in Paradise I, n. 73.

19. Pro. XXXI: 21. This section of Proverbs describes “a capable wife.” Pro. XXXI: 21 reads: “She has no fear for her household when it snows, for they are wrapped in two cloaks.” See *New English Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

20. Is. LXI: 7.

21. Is. LXI: 10.

were given, to each one of them .<sup>22</sup> Also Apocalypse XIX And to her it is granted, that she should clothe herself with fine linen, glittering and white.<sup>23</sup> Their clothes will be marvelously beautiful. In this world there are many beautiful and pleasant things to see such as precious stones and flowers of the trees, herbs white, red, yellow, and purple, and blue. But of all these colors and others however beautiful they may be, there is nothing so beautiful nor so pleasant to see which can be compared to the beauty of the clothes of those who will be in the wedding of paradise, because the beauty of their clothes and ornaments surpasses the beauty of all the things which are on the earth. And this is what our Lord says in the Gospel. Matthew VI Now if God so clothe the grass of the field, which is to-day, and tomorrow is cast in the oven: how much more you, O ye of little faith?<sup>24</sup> That is to say, if God clothes the herbs with such beauty of colors, all the more will he clothe you with greater beauty. Oh what a glorious and pleasant thing to see the people of the weddings of paradise adorned and dressed with such beautiful adornments and resplendent clothes.

Fifthly, these weddings will be rich with the marvelous goods, which will be prepared in great abundance because to serve a great multitude of people a great abundance of goods is needed. And if in the weddings of this world all things are in abundance much more and without comparison are the weddings of paradise. All goods will be in abundance. In that all will be filled, satiated and entertained with these goods as the Holy Scripture says. Jeremiah XXXI My people shall be filled with my good things.<sup>25</sup> And so those who will be [154v] in these weddings will

22. Ap. VI: 11.

23. Ap. XIX: 8.

24. Mt. VI: 30.

25. Jr. XXXI: 14.

be feasted marvelously and in many ways consoled with the great affluence of goods, which will be in these weddings.

Sixthly, these weddings will be noble on account of the place, which is high and luminous, holy and dignified, pleasant, enjoyable, adorned and decorated with all beauty, with all wealth, and with all glory as it has been said previously. By what is said it appears that these weddings, which will be the weddings of the king of glory and his friends, will be of great excellence and great dignity and all glorious because all glory will abound there, and there will be nothing which will not be all glorious. According to Hilary in prose: *How happy is that city in which there is unending solemnity, neither is there weariness here for old people, not danger nor terror of the enemy, but one voice of people praising and one passion of their hearts.*<sup>26</sup> Also Augustine concerning St. John: *There are those choirs of angels [singing hymns], there is that congregation of heavenly citizens, there is the sweet solemnity of them.*<sup>27</sup> *Here festivities without end, immortality without*

26. "Quam felix illa civitas. In qua iugis solemnitas. Nec languor hic nec senium. Nec fraus, nec terror hostium. Sed una vox letantium (laetantium in PL). Et unus ardor cordium." The text is not by Hilary, c. 315-c. 368, it is attributed to Adamus St.-Victoris (Adam of Saint-Victor), c. 1110-c. 1180, *Sequentiae* in PL: 196: 1528A. See also Adam of Saint-Victor, *Sequences*, ed. by Juliet Mousseau, in *Paradise II*, n. 96. The passage quoted: "Quam felix illa civitas/ in qua iugis sollempnitas," is from the sequence *Supernae matris*, line 11.

27. "Ibi [hymnidici in PL and CCSL] angelorum chori, ibi societas supernorum ciuium, ibi dulcis sollempnitas" is attributed questionably to Augustinus Hipponensis (Auctor incertus), *Meditationes* in PL 40:919. Translation is from Saint Augustine, *The Meditations, Soliloquia, and Manuall* (Menston, Yorkshire: The Scholar Press, 1972), facsimile reprint of the first edition of this translation issued by Nicolas de la Coste, (Paris, 1631), 83: 90. The translator's name is not given. The text is falsely attributed to Augustine, it is by Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in evangelia*, lib. 1, hom. 14, par. 5, lin. 116, ed. Raymond Étaix (1999),

blemish, clear days without clouds.”<sup>28</sup> Also Gregory: How great will be the happiness of the elect, those who will be found worthy to rejoice when they see him!...they are to enter marriage together with him. They rejoice at the bridegroom’s marriage; and yet they themselves are the bride.<sup>29</sup>

CCSL 141: 101. Passage is found and attributed to Gregory in Alulfus Tornacensis, died c. 1141 or c. 1144, *Expositio Novi Testamenti*, pars I, lib. IV, cap. LVII in PL 79: 1264 and in Haymo Halberstatensis, 778–853, *De varietate liborum*, lib. I, cap. I in PL 118: 875. Passage is found but not attributed to Gregory in Anselmus Cantuariensis, c. 1033–1109, *Homiliae et exhortations*, hom. XI in PL 159: 655.

28. “Ibi festivitas sine fine, eternitas (aeternitas in CCSL and PL) sine labe, serenitas sine nube.” Augustinus Hipponensis, 354–430, *Sancti Aurelii Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, tract. 28, par. 8, lin. 12, ed. Radbodus Willems (1954), CCSL 36: 281. See also Augustine’s *In Joannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, tract. XXVIII in PL 35: 1625. The same passage is found but not attributed to Augustine in Beda, *In Evangelii S. Joannis*, cap. VII in PL 92: 724; text is attributed to Augustine in Alcuinus, c. 735–804, *In Evangelium Joannis*, lib. IV, cap. XVII in PL 100: 839, and in Haymo Halberstatensis, 778–853, *Homiliae*, *Homiliae de tempore*, hom. LVIII in PL 118: 340. Passage is paraphrased but not attributed to Augustine in Gillebertus de Hoilandia, 1115–1180, *Tractatus ascetici*, tract. VI in PL 184: 275. Passage is attributed to Augustine in Thomas Aquinas, c. 1224–1274, *Catena aurea in Joannem*, cap. 7, lec. 1, lin. 195, *Commentaria in Scripturas*, in CT, 5: 397.

29. “Quanta tunc erit electorum letitia (laetitia in CCSL and PL), qui de eius merentur visione gaudere..., cum eo simul ad nuptias intrare! Qui et in sponsi nuptiis gaudent, et tamen ipsi sunt sponsa. Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in evangelia*, lib. 1, hom. 12, par. 4, lin. 123, ed. Raymond Étaix (1999), CCSL 141: 85. See also Gregorius I, *Homiliae*, hom. XII in PL 76: 1120. Translation is from Gregory the Great, “Homily X,” Reading Matthew 25: 1–13, in *Forty Gospel Homilies*, trans. David Hurst (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1990), 72. Note new numbering of homily in 1990 publication. Text also appears but is not attributed to Gregory in Smaragdus S. Michaelis, c. 760–c. 840, *Collectiones in epistolas et evangelia*, In Natali Virginum, *Evangelium Matthaei*, cap.

## The refectio of the saints in the weddings of paradise

In these weddings the people of the wedding will be seated at the table of the husband because the husband will give them this honor and this is what he says in the Gospel. Luke XXII *And I assign to you...a kingdom. That you may eat and drink at my table, in my kingdom.*<sup>30</sup> Also Psalm *Thy children [will be] as olive plants round thy table.*<sup>31</sup> In these weddings they will be gloriously served and they will eat and drink and will be fully fed. And of this the Holy Scripture speaks. Psalm *Let the just feast, and rejoice before God: and be delighted with gladness.*<sup>32</sup> Also Isaiah LXV *Behold my servants shall eat, and you shall be hungry; behold my servants shall drink, and you shall be thirsty.*<sup>33</sup>

Now is to be seen [155r] which food they will eat and which wine they will drink because people are anxious to know something about that. For this it must be known that they will not eat such food such as we are accustomed to eat in this world, in spite of what the Gospel seems to say. Matthew XXII *Behold, I have prepared my dinner: my beeves and fatlings are killed.*<sup>34</sup> They will not drink also of such wine that grows in this world in spite of what our Lord seems to say in the Gospel. Matthew XXVI *And I say to you: I will not drink from henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day, when I shall drink it new with you in the king-*

XXV in PL 102: 551 and in Hincmarus Rhemensis, 806-882, *De cavendis vitiis*, cap. IV in PL 125: 892.

30. Lc. XXII: 29-30.

31. Ps. CXXVII: 3.

32. Ps. LXVII: 4.

33. Is. LXV: 13. Previously quoted in Hell VI, n. 21.

34. Mt. XXII: 4.

dom of my Father.<sup>35</sup> One must say they will eat this bread of the angels, the bread of life that is our Lord Jesus Christ as he says in the Gospel. John VI *I am the living bread.*<sup>36</sup> This bread is very tasty and enjoyable as it is described in the Holy Scripture. Genesis XLIX *Aser, his bread shall be fat, and he shall yield dainties to kings.*<sup>37</sup> These words are spoken of our Lord Jesus Christ who is the delicious bread, giving delights to kings, that is to say, to the saints of paradise who will all be kings; and to understand how they will eat the bread of life one must know that our Lord Jesus Christ will fill them with his divinity so much and so abundantly that they will all be satiated with it and filled with delight in their hearts, souls and bodies.

And thus their feeding will be not only spiritual but also totally divine. In these weddings God the Father will show his joyous face full of graces, of delights, and of glory so much so that there is nothing more beautiful, more glorious, or more delightful. He will give to all his belongings, his riches, his love and glory abundantly because to true friends all things are distributed generously and liberally. Of these riches the Holy Scripture speaks. Proverbs III *In her left hand riches and glory.*<sup>38</sup> Also Ephesians I *What are the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints?*<sup>39</sup> Also I Corinthians II *Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither [155v] hath it entered into the heart of man, what things God hath prepared for them that love him.*<sup>40</sup> They will delight themselves marvelously in God because of the great affluence of divine delights about which the Holy Scripture speaks. Job XXII

35. Mt. XXVI: 29.

36. Jn. VI: 41.

37. Gn. XLIX: 20.

38. Pro. III: 16.

39. Eph. I: 18.

40. I Cor. II: 9.

Then shalt thou abound in delights in the Almighty.<sup>41</sup> Aside from this divine meal, which they will have and with which they will be filled, pleased, and satiated they will be quenched because, as it has been said previously, they will drink as if the eating was not sufficient without drinking. Now is to be seen what they will drink. For this is to be known that the wine that they will drink is the balm about which the Holy Spirit speaks. Ecclesiasticus XXIII My odor is as the purest balm.<sup>42</sup> This balm is sweet, fragrant, delightful, mild above all sweetnesses which ever were in the world, because the Holy Spirit is a fountain of divine sweetness which is superior to all other sweetnesses as the Holy Scripture says. Ecclesiasticus XXIII For my spirit is sweet above honey.<sup>43</sup> Also Wisdom XII O how good and sweet is thy Spirit, O Lord, in all things!<sup>44</sup> Of this sweetness and delightful pleasure with which the saints will be quenched as Holy Scripture says. Psalm Thou shalt make them drink of the torrent of thy pleasure.<sup>45</sup> With this sweetness they will be in continual delight. Psalm The stream of the river maketh the city of God joyful.<sup>46</sup> By the river is understood the great abundance of sweetness of the Holy Spirit of which a drop is more precious and more delicious than all these sweetnesses, delights, and fragrances of the world. And according to St. Augustine a drop of this river tasted and savored makes unsavory all the sweetnesses and fragrances of this world. Augustine: *He who shall have drunk from the river of paradise in which a single drop is greater than the ocean remains so that in*

41. Jb. XXII: 26.

42. Ecli. XXIV: 21.

43. Ecli. XXIV: 27.

44. Wisdom XII: 1.

45. Ps. XXXV: 9.

46. Ps. XLV: 5.

him the thirst for this world has been extinguished.<sup>47</sup> And thus all will be plunged into and embalmed with the fragrant balm of the Holy Spirit so much so that all will be drunk with it, that is to say, all extremely moved into fervor and all burning with eternal desires on account of the great delight of fragrance which they will feel and have in them. And of the fact [156r] that they will all be drunk with it, the Holy Scripture speaks. Psalm *They shall be inebriated with the plenty of thy house.*<sup>48</sup>

Again in the Canticle of Canticles V *Eat, O friends, and drink, and be inebriated, my dearly beloved.*<sup>49</sup> And thus we have that those who will be at these weddings will be fully fed because God will feed them and fill them with himself and his divinity, with his

47. “Qui biberit de fluvio paradisi cujus gutta una maior est oceano restat ut in eo situs hujus mundi extincta sit” may well be spuriously assigned to Augustine for it does not appear in the collected works of Augustine in the LLT. However it is attributed to Augustine in Ludolphus de Saxonia (also known as Ludolph the Carthusian), c. 1295-1378, *Vita Jesu Christi*, primae partis, cap. LXII, ed. Louis Marie Rigollot (Paris: Apud Victorem Palmé, 1878), 2: 127; Pietro Alighieri, 1295-1364, *Petri Allegherii super Dantis ipsius genitoris Comoediam commentarium*, ch. XXI (Florence: Apud Guilielmum Piatti, 1845), 444; and Jacobi a Voragine, c. 1228/1230-1298, *Legenda Aurea*, ch. LXXVIII De emissionem sancto spirito, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Florence: Sismel-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998), 1: 501; Pelbartus de Themeswar, c. 1435-1504, *Pomerium de sanctis*, serm. III, accessed April 13, 2020, <http://mek.oszk.hu/03200/03283/html/pa034.html>. Passage appears but is not attributed to Augustine in Johann Gerhard, 1582-1637, *Loci theologici cum pro adstruenda veritate*, cap. VIII, tract. VI De vite aeterna, ed. Johann Friderich Cotta (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1875), 9: 425.

48. Ps. XXXV: 9. The line drawn in the MS. indicates a continuation of Ps. XXXV: 9 cited previously on fol. 155v, see note 45. Together they read: “They shall be inebriated with the plenty of thy house: and thou shalt make them drink of the torrent of thy pleasure.”

49. Cn. V: 1.

sweetness and fragrance. For this God will fill them with himself because no other thing can fill their souls if not God. Augustine: *For no end is enough for us except the one that has no end.*<sup>50</sup> Because they will thus be filled with God and of all his wealth, all their desires will be accomplished, because God will be the end and the fulfillment of all their desires. Augustine: *He will be the end of our desires.*<sup>51</sup> And Psalm *Who satisfieth thy desire with*

50. "Neque enim sufficit nobis nisi cuius nullus est finis." Augustinus Hipponensis, *Sancti Aurelii Iohannis evangelium tractatus*, tract. 101, par. 5, lin. 28, ed. Radbodus Willems (1954), CCSL 36: 593. See also St. Augustine, *In Joannis evangelium tractatus* CXXIV, tract. CI in PL 35: 1894. English translation from St. Augustine, *Tractates on the Gospel of John*, tract. 101, trans. John Rettig (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1994), 4: 238. The passage appears but is not attributed to Augustine in Frowinus abbas Montis Engelbergensis, died 1178, *Tractatus de veritate*, lin. 1380, eds. Sigisbert Beck and Rolf De Kegel (1998), CCCM 134: 520. Passage appears and is attributed to Augustine in Johannes Hus (dubium), c. 1370-1414, *Dicta de tempore magistro Iohanni Hus* (dubium an perperam) attributa, serm. 31 (dominica III post pascha), ed. Jana Zachová (2011), CCCM 239: 674 and in Thomas Aquinas, *Catena aurea in Iohannem*, cap. 16, lec. 4, *Commentaria in Scripturas*, in CT, 5: 427.

51. "Ipse erit finis desideriorum nostrorum." Augustine, *The City of God*, bk. 22, ch. 30, LCL 7: 374. Translated from *ibid.*, 375. See also Augustinus Hipponensis, *De civitate Dei*, lib. XXII, cap. XXX in PL 41: 801. The passage is quoted and attributed to Augustine in Eugyppius Africae, died c. 535, *Thesaurus*, tomus prior, cap. CLXVI in PL 62: 817; passage appears but is not attributed to Augustine in Smaragdus S. Michaelis, c. 760-c. 840 *Collectiones in epistolas et evangelia*, Dominica in octava paschae, *Evangelium Joannis*, cap. ultimo in PL 102: 284; Rabanus Maurus, 780-856, *Homiliae*, hom. XVIII in PL 110: 180, however R. Maurus does attribute the passage to Augustine in his *Enarrationes in epistolas B. Pauli*, lib. XI, cap. XV in PL 112: 147. Passage appears but is not attributed to Augustine in Herveus Burgidolensis, c. 1080-1150, *Com-*

good things.<sup>52</sup> Their desire will be so much fulfilled that they will not desire anything else, and also what could they desire more when they will have all that they will desire? However, it is to be said that they will desire always to have in themselves the divine sweetness which they will feel because the more they will taste it and savor it the more anxious and ardent they will be in desiring it and having it continually because of the great delight which they will find in it. Therefore if these spiritual delights increase the desire of those who have them, as St. Gregory says, *Spiritual pleasures are held together in longing. And again....Spiritual pleasures increase our inner longing even while they satisfy.*<sup>53</sup> It is even more true that the divine delights increase the desire of those who taste them. Therefore the fact that the saints will be filled and satiated with divine delights will not be because they will not want them anymore, but it will be to stimulate their appetite to desire to have them always. And thus they will always desire that which they will have and will always have what they

*mentaria in epistolas Pauli, in Epistolam I ad Corinthios, cap. XV in PL 181: 981.*

52. Ps. CII: 5.

53. "Spiritaes deliciae cum habentur in desiderio. Et iterum. Augent spiritaes delicie (deliciae in CCSL and PL) desiderium dum mentem satiant." Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in evangelia*, lib. 2, hom. 36, par. 1, lin. 4, ed. Raymond Étaix (1999), CCSL 141: 332. See also Gregorius I, *Homiliae in evangelia*, hom. XXXVI, Lectio S. Evang. Sec. Luc XIV, 16-24 in PL 76: 1265. Translated from Gregory the Great, hom. 36, Luke 14: 16-24, in *Forty Gospel Homilies*, trans. David Hurst (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1990), 312-313. Passage is quoted and attributed to Gregory by Beda Uenerabilis, 672/673-735, *In epistulas septem catholicas*, lib. 2 (in pt. 1) cap. 1, lin. 182 and 190, ed. David Hurst (1983), CCSL 121: 230. The first sentence is quoted and attributed to Gregory in Thomas Aquinas, *Catena aurea in Lucam*, cap. 14, lec. 4, *Commentaria in Scripturas*, in CT, 5: 336.

will desire. By tasting they will be satiated and quenched marvelously and by being quenched they will always desire and with their desire they will always be fully fed. [156v] And about the fact that the divine refectio satiates the saints the Scripture speaks. Psalm *I shall be satisfied when thy glory shall appear.*<sup>54</sup> Also John VI *I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me, shall not hunger.*<sup>55</sup> Our Lord says in the Gospel “I am the bread of life. Who comes to me will not be hungry.” This he says on account of the full meal which he gives and similarly that the divine meal urges the saints to desire to have always the meal is demonstrated in the Holy Scriptures. Ecclesiasticus XXIII *They that eat me shall yet hunger.*<sup>56</sup>

## The great joy the saints will experience in the weddings of paradise

In noble weddings one usually has great joy and great pleasure, similarly in the weddings of paradise the saints will have great joy and pleasure. Of their joy and pleasure the Holy Scripture speaks in several places. Psalm *Be glad in the Lord, and rejoice, ye just, and glory, all ye right of heart.*<sup>57</sup> Psalm *The chariot of God is attended by ten thousands; thousands of them that rejoice: the Lord is among them in Sinai, in the holy place.*<sup>58</sup> Also Psalm *The dwelling in thee is as it were of all rejoicing.*<sup>59</sup> They will have so much joy that everything will be filled with joy. There is not a

54. Ps. XVI: 15.

55. Jo. VI: 35. Passage similar to n. 36, Jo. VI: 41.

56. Ecli. XXIV: 29.

57. Ps. XXXI: 11.

58. Ps. LXVII: 18. Quoted previously in Paradise II, n. 84.

59. Ps. LXXXVI: 7.

thing as pleasurable as sovereign joy as the Holy Scripture says. Proverbs XXX *There is no pleasure above the joy of the heart.*<sup>60</sup> The joy which the saints will have will be great and sovereign because it will be caused by several things.

Firstly they will have joy because they will have escaped eternal damnation and the pains of hell. Then they will see the damned in the torments of hell. St. Augustine comments in the last book of the City of God: *By the faculty of knowledge, which will be strong in them, they will know not only their own past, but also the eternal misery of the damned.*<sup>61</sup> By considering divine justice toward the damned, they will enjoy the fact that they have escaped these torments. Psalm *The just shall rejoice when he shall see the revenge.*<sup>62</sup> And of this they will rejoice in God and will be grateful and thank him for having protected them from this peril.

Secondly, they will have joy and pleasure from the beauty and clarity of the place where they will be because it is so holy, so pleasant, so enjoyable and luminous, rich, glorious, and agreeable. Isaiah LXVI *Rejoice with Jerusalem, and be glad with her.*<sup>63</sup>

60. Error in MS. It should read Ecclesiasticus XXX: 16.

61. "...potentia scientie (scientiae in LCL and PL), quae magna in eis erit, non solum sua praeterita, sed etiam damnatorum eos sempiterna miseria non latebit." Augustine, *The City of God*, bk. 22, ch. 30, LCL 7: 380. Translated from *ibid.*, 381. See also Augustinus Hipponensis, *De civitate Dei*, lib. XXII, cap. XXX in PL 41: 802. Passage is quoted and attributed to Augustine in Euyppius Africae, died c. 535, *Thesaurus*, tomus prior, cap. CLXIV in PL 62:817; and Julianus Toletanus, 652-690, *Prognosticon*, lib. III, cap. LVII in PL 96: 522. Passage appears but is not attributed to Augustine in Hugo de S. Victore, c. 1096-1141, *De sacramentis*, lib. II, pars XVIII, cap. XXII in PL 176: 618.

62. Ps. LVII: 11.

63. Is. LXVI: 10. Quoted previously in Paradise I, n. 42.

Thirdly, they will have joy from the great abundance [157r] of goods that they will have, which will be to the great consolation of the heart, of the body, and of the soul. Isaiah LXV *You shall be glad, and rejoice for ever in these things, which I create.*<sup>64</sup>

Fourthly, they will have joy from their high estate of honor and dignity because they will be seated on the holy seats of paradise and on the thrones of glory. Psalm *The saints shall rejoice in glory: they shall be joyful in their beds.*<sup>65</sup>

Fifthly, they will rejoice from the glorification of their body and their souls from the dowries of glory that they will have. Isaiah LI *Joy everlasting shall be upon their heads, they shall obtain joy.*<sup>66</sup>

Sixthly, they will have inexpressible joy from the blest vision of God and from what they will see in God, and they will rejoice more from God and his glory than from theirs. Apocalypse XIX *The Lord our God, the omnipotent, hath reigned. Let us be glad and rejoice: and give glory to him: for the marriage of the Lamb is come.*<sup>67</sup>

Seventhly, they will have joys from the glorious company of the angels who are in such great multitude, so well ordered, so pleasant to behold. St. Gregory: *What tongue can describe, what mind can grasp the greatness of the joys of the heavenly city— taking part in the choirs of angels, sharing with the blessed spirits in our Creator's glory...*<sup>68</sup>

64. Is. LXV: 18.

65. Ps. CXLIX: 5.

66. Is. LI: 11. Previously quoted in Paradise I, n. 9.

67. Ap. XIX: 6-7.

68. "Quae autem lingua dicere, vel quis intellectus capere sufficit illa superne (supernae in CCSL and PL) civitatis quanta sint gaudia, angelorum choris interesse, cum beatissimis spiritibus glorie (gloriae in CCSL and PL) conditoris adsistere (assistere in CCSL and PL). Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, lib. 2, hom. 37, par. 1, lin. 7, ed. Raymond Étaix (1999), CCSL 141: 348. See also Gregorius I, *Homiliae in*

Eighthly, they will have joy from the glorious company in being with each other, and seeing each other in such glory. Zaccharias X *Their heart shall rejoice as through wine; and their children shall see, and shall rejoice, and their heart shall be joyful in the Lord.*<sup>69</sup> Oh what a joy it will be to each to see the saints so beautiful, so pleasant and agreeable, so gracious, so friendly, and to be in such glorious company, and to be in their company. And it must be known that each one will have as many joys as there are angels and saints in paradise because he will rejoice in all and in each one of them. And thus the greater the multitude of the angels and the saints will be, the greater will be the joy of each one toward himself because the glory of all increases the joy of each one. And the glory [157v] of each one gives joy to all. I Corinthians XII *If one member glory, all the members rejoice with it.*<sup>70</sup> Also St. Augustine: *In the joy of all in common, greater becomes the joy of the individuals.*<sup>71</sup> If man has so much difficulty

*Evangelia*, lib. II, hom. XXXVII, lec. S. Evang. Sec. Luc. XIV, 25-33, in PL 76: 1275. Translated from Gregory the Great, hom. 37, Luke 14: 16-33, in *Forty Gospel Homilies*, trans. David Hurst (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1990), 327. Passage appears and is attributed to Gregory in Haymo Halberstatensis, 778-853, *De varietate librorum*, lib. I, cap. I in PL 118: 875.

69. Zc. X: 7. Previously quoted in Paradise I, n. 82.

70. I Cor. XII: 26.

71. "In communi gaudio omnium maius fit (fiat, fieret in the following citations) gaudium singulorum" is not found in the collected works of Augustine in the LLT. It is worth noting that the anon. author uses the indicative form of the verb facio, facere (to do or make) as opposed to the subjunctive used in other sources, indicating that it is a statement of fact rather than probability. The passage circulated in the works of five other writers and is often identified as a glossa. See Lanfrancus Cantuariensis (Lanfranc of Canterbury), 1005-1089, *Commentarius in omnes epistolas Pauli*, cap. XI in PL 150: 399, 402; Herveus Burgi-dolensis, c. 1080-1149, *Commentaria in epistolas Pauli*, Argumentum,

receiving such great goodness, blessedness and joy, how will he be able to receive so much joy from so many other saints when he seems to be too small to feel so many joys?<sup>72</sup> He will have so many joys, but in order to be able to receive so many he will have to be expanded in God. And thus we see that the saints, each one of them, will have excessive joy and full joy from several parts for several causes and in many ways. They will be glorified in so many ways within and without so that their glory will be sovereign.

cap. XI in PL 182: 1665; Petrus Lombardus, c. 1096-1164, *Collectanea in epistolas Pauli*, In *Epistolam ad Hebraeos*, cap. XI in PL 192: 499. The passage is quoted three times by Thomas Aquinas, c. 1224-1274. See Thomas Aquinas, In *Quattuor libros sententiarum*, IV sententiarum, dist. 43, q. 1, art. 3, quaest. 1, sed contra: 2, in CT, I: 631. Aquinas quotes the passage again in IV sententiarum, dist. 45, quaest. 1, art. 1, quaest. 2, arg. 3, in CT, I: 651. Aquinas repeats the passage in *Super epistolam ad Hebraeos*, cap. 11, lec. 8, *Reportationes opuscula dubiae authenticitatis*, in CT, 6: 550. The passage also appears and is called a glossa in William of Ockham, c. 1288-c. 1348, *Dialogus*, par. 2, tract. 2, cap. VI, ed. Melchior Goldast (Torino: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1959).

72. Blaise Pascal, 1623-1662, expresses a similar idea: "What is man in the midst of nature? A nothing in comparison with the infinite, an all in comparison with nothingness: a mean between nothing and all. Infinitely far from comprehending the extremes, the end of things and their principle are for him inevitably concealed in an impenetrable secret; equally incapable of seeing the nothingness whence he is derived, and the infinity in which he is swallowed up." Passage from Blaise Pascal, *The Thoughts, Letters, and Opuscles*, trans. Orlando Williams Wight (New York, NY: Hurd and Houghton, 1864), 160.

## The saints will sing from the great joys that they will have

In noble weddings one is moved to sing from the great joy that one has, and so it will be in the weddings of paradise because from the great joys that they will have they will sing joyously, because to sing is a proper thing for those who are joyful. The songs that they will sing will be praises to God and confessions, thanks and benedictions of which the Holy Spirit speaks. Psalm *Blessed are they that dwell in thy house, O Lord: they shall praise thee for ever and ever.*<sup>73</sup> Also Psalm *The voice of rejoicing and of salvation is in the tabernacles of the just.*<sup>74</sup> Also Psalm *In his temple all shall speak his glory.*<sup>75</sup> Also Psalm *They shall speak of the magnificence of the glory of thy holiness: and shall tell thy wondrous works. They shall publish the memory of the abundance of thy sweetness.*<sup>76</sup> Also Isaiah *LI Joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving and the voice of praise.*<sup>77</sup> Also Isaiah *LXV Behold my servants, shall praise for joyfulness of heart.*<sup>78</sup> These authorities hold that the saints will sing from the great joy that they will have and will praise and glorify God, and will express their gratitude and thanks to him for his great kindness, his graces, and his goodness. And one has to know that in singing and praising God each one will know what he will have to say and when and how [158r] because everything will be done in order as if some sing and the others respond, some in one manner and the others in another. And they will all sing gloriously and it will

73. Ps. LXXXIII: 5.

74. Ps. CXVII: 15.

75. Ps. XXVIII: 9.

76. Ps. CXLIV: 5 and 7.

77. Is. LI: 3.

78. Is. LXV: 14. Previously quoted in Hell VII, n. 16.

be glorious to hear them sing and praise God because they will praise and glorify him with all their heart and with all their soul, and with all their power, and never will they be bored or too tired to praise and bless him because it is their life, their desire, and their consolation to praise and glorify him continually and incessantly in songs of joy.

## The saints make melodies with all resounding instruments

To increase the joy of those who will be in the weddings of paradise, one has to know that aside from the songs of joy which the saints will have, they will have several instruments: harps, psalteries, organs and manicordions,<sup>79</sup> and all sorts of instruments of music resounding with which they will play and will make incredible melodies and of this the Holy Scripture speaks: Apocalypse XIII *And the voice which I heard, was as of harpers, harping on their harps.*<sup>80</sup> Also Apocalypse XV *And I saw as it were*

79. *Manichord* is a corruption of the word, *monochord*, an instrument first described by Euclid c. 300 BC, and dates from the time of Pythagoras three hundred years earlier. It consisted of a simple oblong sound box equipped with two bridges and a string stretched over them. It was used as a teaching device to demonstrate the basic laws of harmonics. In spite of its name, the monochord seems to have had more than one string. While the Greeks restricted its use to a piece of scientific equipment, at some time in the Middle Ages the monochord became a musical instrument in its own right, the *monochord* eventually inspired the creation of the fretted clavichord. It is depicted in miniatures from the time of the troubadours. The preceding information is from David Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 17-18.

80. Ap. XIV: 2.

*a sea of glass mingled with fire, and them that had overcome the beast, and his image, and the number of his name, standing on the sea of glass, having the harps of God: And singing the canticle of Moses, the servant of God, and the canticle of the Lamb.*<sup>81</sup> These authorities demonstrate that the saints of paradise with all these sounding instruments will play and make joyous melodies that will give joy and pleasure to all. The angels also from other parts will sing gloriously and will make melodies with instruments of music. And thus all the court of paradise will be in joy on account of the songs of joy and the glorious melodies which will be made there which will be heard clearly all over paradise and which will be an enjoyable thing to hear; and [158v] the angels will sing in front of God and in front of those who will be at the weddings as the Holy Scripture says. Isaiah LV *The mountains and hills, [\*that is the greater and lesser angels], shall sing praise before you, and all the trees of the country, [\* that is, all of the saints] shall clap with their hands, [\*namely they will clap with their hands beyond memory, exaltations and with joyfulness of heart].*<sup>82</sup> [Figure 75] [159r]

## The saints will have delectation in all their bodily senses

More must be added to what was mentioned above about the perfection of the glory and felicity of the saints. They will enjoy through their natural senses pleasurable things that will give them much joy and pleasure. And firstly with their eyes they will see pleasant and delightful things, which will give them joy in their heart. Isaiah LXVI *You shall see, and your heart shall*

81. Ap. XV: 2-3. Previously quoted in Hell II, n. 49.

82. Is. LV: 12. [\*] indicate gloss by the anon. author.

rejoice.<sup>83</sup> And as much as the things they will see will be more marvelous, all the more they will have delight in looking at them. And it must be known that the saints will see several things at the same time because their eyes will be subtle and sharp and illuminated and all glorified allowing them to see everywhere—both far away and near. They will see everything which is in paradise and thus the more the things they will see in great number and multitude, the greater their pleasure and delectation and delight because normally there is greater pleasure in seeing many things at the same time than in seeing few things. Also the things that they will see will be of great beauty and because beautiful things are always pleasant to see, it follows that the saints will have great delight from the beautiful things they will see. And from all the things they will see from outside they will have sovereign joy within in their hearts and in their souls.

Secondly the saints will hear songs of joy from the voices of angels and saints. These voices will be clear and sweet to hear and consequently they (the saints) will have more joy in hearing them sung, because clear and sweet voices embellish the song, make it more clear, more pleasant and more joyous. If the saints take pleasure in the beauty of the song because of the sweetness and clarity of the voices and because of the beautiful harmony, they will take delight in what they will hear sung, that is to say, hymns, canticles and confessions, graces, praises and benedictions which will be glorious things to hear because in songs of joy they will glorify God. *Whence this is sung in church. In the city of God musical instruments, organa, of the saints sound clearly together, [\* that is, where certainly the vocal praise of them will be worthy to be joined] to the spiritual hymns of the angels where*

83. Is. LXVI: 14.

angels and archangels sing before the throne of God.<sup>84</sup> [159v] In addition they will hear a melody of several instruments of music in marvelous harmony and resonance in as much as no other similar things were heard in this world. And of all the things they will hear they will have joy and delectation and unfathomable glory.

And thirdly about the sense of smell. The saints will have a fragrance smelling marvelously sweet. *According to what is sung*

84. "Unde de his cantat eccl'a. In civitate domini clare sonant jugiter organa sanctorum. [\*Ubi scilicet vocalis eorum laus jungi digna erit] spiritualibus hymnus angelorum ubi angeli et archangeli hymnum decantant ante thronum Dei." This passage combines several texts by different writers and includes a gloss by the anon. author of MS. Douce 134, the gloss is indicated by [\*]. The first sentence, "In civitate...sanctorum," is by Honorius Augustodunensis, known as Honorius of Autun, 1080-1154, from his *Speculum ecclesiae* in PL 172: 1019. The remainder Latin text, with slight variation is attributed to Auctor incertus, *Soliloquium* in PL 184: 1160: "Ibi sonant jugiter organa sanctorum...Ibi angeli et archangeli hymnum Deo decantant ante thronum Dei" ("There instruments, organa, of the saints will sound together...there angels and archangels will sing repeatedly before the throne of God"). In the preceding Latin passages the anon. author of MS. Douce 134 is quoting from an antiphon sung at the Feast of All Saints. The antiphon in its entirety reads: "In civitate Domini ibi sonant jugiter organa sanctorum, ibi cinnamomum et balsamum odor savissimus carimina eorum; ibi angeli et archangeli hymnum Deo decantant ante thronum Dei, alleluia," see CAO 3210. The antiphon as well as its manuscript sources are available electronically, accessed on September 25, 2020, <https://gregorien.info/chant/id/4132/0/en> and <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/chant/674724>. For an example of the Latin liturgical text of the "Consecratio Coemeterii" surrounding the antiphon see *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, ed. Henry Austin Wilson (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1903), 104, accessed on September 25, 2020, [https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt/search?q1=ibi sonant &id=ucbk.ark:/28722/h2586q&view=image&seq=1](https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt/search?q1=ibi+sonant+&id=ucbk.ark:/28722/h2586q&view=image&seq=1).

in the church: The bodies of the saints will have a most sweet odor.<sup>85</sup> It is not surprising, because if in the body of the saints who are not yet glorified one finds at times such a great fragrance that transcends all other fragrant things of the earth which have odors like those found in the discovery of the body of St. Stephen and in the translation of the body of St. Dominic, Of which is sung: The holy body which was the storehouse of universal charismas surpasses the fragrance of aromas.<sup>86</sup> The glorified

85. "Unde cantat eccl'a. Quo odor suavissimus erunt corpora sanctorum." Words from the antiphon, CAO 3210, see note 84, "odor suavissimus" are repeated to describe the bodies of the saints.

86. "De quo cantatur. Corpus sacrum quod fuerat apoteca (apotheca in *Analecta hymnica*) carismatum (charismatum in AH) universam superat fragrantiam aromatum." This late medieval antiphon is sung on the Feast of St. Dominic. It is the second antiphon sung at lauds. For all of the antiphons sung on his feast see "In translatione S. Dominic" in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, ed. Clemens Blume and Guido M. Dreves (Leipzig: Altenburg, 1897; repr. New York and London: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1961), 25: 242-243. The antiphon is listed in the Cantus Database, Cantus ID a01830, accessed on February 9, 2022, <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/chant/674343>. It is in an antiphoner now in the Chicago Art Institute. Detail about the manuscript is found at this address, accessed February 9, 2022, <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/669030>. The antiphon refers to the miraculous fragrance of St. Dominic's exhumed body as described in *The Golden Legend*: "...at last the sepulchre was opened, and an odour of such sweetness came forth that it might have come from a store-room of perfumes rather than from a tomb. This odor was more powerful than any aromatic, and unlike the odour of any natural thing; and it penetrated not only the bones and dust of the sacred body, and the coffin in which it was buried, but also the earth which was heaped about it, so that when later this earth was carried to distant regions, it still retained the odour. And the fragrance likewise clung to the hands of the brothers who had touched the relics, so that however often they were washed or rubbed together, the odour still was present."

bodies of the saints will have a fragrance without comparison, their fragrance will surpass all the fragrance which can be in this world. Each glorified saint will have a fragrance in himself and each one will give out a fragrance of himself. And so in addition to the fragrance each one will have in himself, he will receive the fragrance of the others. There will be such great fragrance everywhere that all of paradise will be full of sweet smelling perfume. And the fragrance will be all the greater as the fragrances will come from several parts, as the fragrance coming from several spices mixed together is greater and smells more strongly than the fragrance coming from a single thing. These fragrances the saints will have because of the merits of their virtues and thus the fragrances will be fragrances of virtues. They will be delighted by such fragrance and in great pleasure because among other things nature delights itself in lovely fragrances just as the Holy Scripture says. Proverbs XXVII Ointment and perfumes rejoice the heart.<sup>87</sup>

And fourthly, in taste the saints will enjoy a delicious flavor and marvelous above all flavors in the world. This flavor will seem to be composed of several things and greater will be its pungency and delight. This flavor will be all divine because it will come from God who will fill their tongues with this flavor. [160r] And they will feel and will have it in their mouth continually and eternally and then will be accomplished in them what the Holy Scripture says. Psalm O taste, and see that the Lord is sweet.<sup>88</sup>

From *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine*, trans. Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (Salem, NH: Ayer Publishers, 1989), 427. The account in Latin is found in Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Florence: Sismel Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998), 2: 737-738.

87. Pro. XXVII: 9.

88. Ps. XXXIII: 9.

Taste and see how sweet God is. And in tasting and savoring the great sweetness of God, they will delight themselves in God.

Fifthly, the saints will have in their hands delicious touch, because they will touch each other as if touching hands, and their touches will be very pleasurable. Thomas Aquinas says: *The touching of the glorious bodies will be the most delightful.*<sup>89</sup> Certain people say that the saints will embrace each other and will kiss each other. And to confirm their saying they refer to the authority of several Doctors, and this may be true, that is, that they will embrace and kiss through love and charity and as a sign of eternal fraternity and union between them as sons blessed by God. If this is true, the saints will have marvelous delectations through all their corporal senses because all their senses will be recompensed. *Thomas Aquinas says all the senses will be rewarded in the blessed.*<sup>90</sup> They will be recompensed with things suitable to each one of the senses because everything which can be to the delectation of each one of the senses will be given to them as it is said. And thus so great will be the pleasure they will have in one of their corporal senses that greater will be the pleasure they will have in all their senses because their plea-

89. "Quo tactus corporum gloriorum erit delectabilissimus" is a reworking of "Et ideo tactus illorum corporum erit delectabilissimus," by Thomas Aquinas, c. 1224-1274, In *Quattuor libros Sententiarum*, IV Sententiarum, dist. 44, q. 2, art. 2, quest. 6, resp. ad arg. 3, lin. 1, in CT, I: 643.

90. "Omnes sensus praemiabuntur in beatis." This quotation by Aquinas is extracted from the following passage: "Sed corpus praemiabitur vel punietur propter merita et demerita animae. Ergo et omnes sensus praemiabuntur in beatis et punientur in malis..." ("Indeed the body is rewarded or punished because of the merit or faults of the soul. Therefore all the senses of the blessed are rewarded and those in the evil are punished...") Thomas Aquinas, In *Quattuor libros Sententiarum*, IV Sententiarum, dist. 44, q. 2, art. 1, quest. 4, sed contra: 2, lin. 4, in CT, I: 640.

sure will surge from every part and they will lack nothing, but all things will be theirs in sovereign perfection. This is given to be understood by what the apostle says. I Corinthians XIII *When that which is perfect shall come, that which is in part shall be done away.*<sup>91</sup> Thus the saints will be rewarded in all their corporal senses, because it is just that the bodies be recompensed for the travails they have had in fasting, vigils, in working, and in suffering pain and sorrow; because they also have had to do worthy works. In regard to this, those who are still in this world should expose their bodies to labor and penance and do good works and renounce their corporal senses [160v] from bad pleasures as St. Augustine says: *The appetite of the soul must be constrained from pleasure of the eyes, from pleasure of the ears, from pleasure of smelling, tasting and touching.*<sup>92</sup> And those who refuse corporal pleasures in this life deserve to have spiritual and corporal pleasures in paradise. And if the saints have great pleasures in their corporal senses from the things said above much

91. I Cor. XIII: 10.

92. "Continendus est enim animi appetitus a voluptate oculorum, a voluptate aurium, a voluptate olfaciendi, gustandi, tangendi." Augustinus Hipponensis, *De diversis quaestionibus*, LIX De decem virginibus in PL 40: 44. Text appears and is attributed to Augustine in Eugypsius Africae, died c. 535, *Thesaurus* (of Augustine) in PL 62: 976. Text appears but not attributed to Augustine in Beda, c. 672-735, *In Evangelium S. Matthaei*, lib. IV, cap. XXV in PL 92: 106; Smaragdus S. Michaelis, c. 760-c. 840, *Collectiones in epistolas et evangelia*, *Evangelium Matthaei*, cap. XXV in PL 102: 549; Symphosius Amalarius, c. 775-c. 850), *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*, cap. VI, in PL 105: 1255; Rabanus Maurus, 780-856, *Commentarium in Matthaum*, lib. VII, cap. XXV in PL 107: 1084; and Otfridus Wizanburgensis (Otfridus Wizenburgensis, Otfridus Weissenburgensis), c. 800-c. 870, *Glossae in Matthaum*, cap. 25, par. 1, lin. 12, ed. Cinzia Grifoni (2003), CCCM 200: 310.

more and without comparison they will have pleasures from our Lord Jesus Christ because in him are all things which can give pleasure. He will fill the corporal senses with all the pleasures, that is to say, seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, and touching, each one of them as needed. According to St. Bernard: *God is for the just the most beautiful form for the eye, the most delicate harmony for the hearing, the most pleasant odor for the sense of smell, the sweetest savor for the taste, the most delightful embrace for the sense of touch...those things he says.*<sup>93</sup> So to the sight he will show incomparable beauty of which was described earlier. To the hearing he will say words of love and of sweetness that will fill the soul of each one with joy. Cantic of Canticles V My

93. "Deus est iustis forma speciosissima ad oculum, armonia delicatissima ad auditum, odor suavissimus ad olfactum, sapor dulcissimus ad gustum, amplexus delectabilissimus ad tactum, hec ille." The passage is not among Bernard's works in the LLT, however it is attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) in Hendricus Herpius, c. 1400-1478, *Theologiae mysticae: libri tres*, lib. I, cap. XLVII (Rome: Apud Bibliopolas Socios, 1586), 249-250. Henri de Herp's *Theologia mystica* was published posthumously first in Cologne in 1538 by Dietrich Loher of the Carthusian order. In his preface Loher claims that one will find in Hendrik Herp's *De mystica theologia* a more pleasant version of Dionysius the Areopagite, John Ruusbroec and Tauler. The preface is reprinted in Bernard McGinn's *The Varieties of Vernacular Mysticism 1350-1550* (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Co., 2012), 5: 131. For Loher's preface as quoted in "Herp (Harphius, Henri de)," see DS 7: 351. Herp's *De mystica* was a popular work and was translated into French, German, Italian and Spanish and continued to be published through the seventeenth century. It is considered to be in the tradition of the Carmelite mystics, namely St. John of the Cross. See P. T. McMahon, "Carmelite Spirituality," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed. (Detroit, MI: Gale Publishers; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), III: 134.

soul melted when he spoke.<sup>94</sup> To the sense of smell he will give fragrant odor, fragrant above all odors. According to the Canticle of Canticles V *Thy breasts are better than wine. Smelling sweet of the best ointments.*<sup>95</sup> The fragrance of his odor is so great that it attracts to it the saints' desires. The Canticle of Canticles II *We will run after thee to the odour of thy ointments.*<sup>96</sup> To the taste he will give enjoyable sweetness containing all savors. Wisdom XVI *Thou gavest them bread from heaven,... having in it all that is delicious, and the sweetness of every taste, [\*which is to be understood pertains to Christ].*<sup>97</sup> To the touch he will give enjoyable gentleness of which touch the Holy Scripture speaks. Canticle of Canticles II *His left hand is under my head, and his right hand shall embrace me.*<sup>98</sup> And thus they will be filled with all pleasures by our Lord Jesus Christ, because he will be all things in all people as the apostle says. I Corinthians XV *That God may be all in all.*<sup>99</sup> Also Ephesians I *Who is filled all in all.*<sup>100</sup> And this agrees with what Augustine says in the last book of *The City of God: The prize of virtue will be God himself, who gave the virtue and promised himself as its reward—and there can be no better or greater reward. For what else did he mean, when he says in the*

94. Cn. V: 6.

95. Error in MS. It should be Cn. I: 1-2.

96. Error in MS. It should be Cn. I: 3.

97. Ws. XVI: 20. [\*] indicate a gloss by the anon. author. The verse is shortened in MS. Douce 134. The Vulgate reads: "Thou gavest them bread from heaven, prepared without labour; having in it all that is delicious, and the sweetness of every taste."

98. Cn. II: 6. This text is part of the antiphon in the liturgy of the Feast of the Assumption. A musical setting is found in Marcel Dupré, Opus 18, Antiphon II. The organ score containing Assumption antiphons is mentioned earlier in Paradise II, n. 104.

99. I Cor. XV: 28.

100. Eph. I: 23.

prophet's words: "I shall be their God and they shall be my people," except: "I shall be that by which they are satisfied; I shall be whatever is properly desired by men—life and health and food and abundance and glory and honour and peace and all good things."<sup>101</sup>

**[161r]**

According to what has been said above, it becomes clear that the saints of paradise will have joy, pleasure and glory when they will have so many pleasures and delights in their souls, in their hearts, and in all their corporal senses, because in their souls they will receive the reward of eternal life and glory. With their eyes they will see beautiful, pleasant and agreeable things. With their ears they will hear incomparable songs and melodies. With their noses they will smell incredible odors of balm. In their mouths they will have delightful saviors and sweetness. In their heart they will have indescribable joy and glory.

101. "Premium (Praemium in LCL and PL) virtutis erit ipse qui virtutem dedit eique se ipsum, quo melius et maius nihil potest (possit in LCL and PL) esse, promisit. Quid est enim aliud quod per prophetam dixit: *Ero illorum Deus, et ipsi erunt mihi plebs*, nisi: 'Ego ero unde satientur, ego ero quaecumque (quaecumque in LCL and PL) ab hominibus honeste desiderantur, et vita et salus et victus et copia et gloria et honor et pax et omnia bona?'" Augustine, *The City of God*, bk. 22, ch. 30, LCL 7: 374. Translation from *ibid.*, 375. The italicized Latin quotes Leviticus 26: 12; as quoted in II Corinthians 6: 16. See also Augustinus Hipponensis, *De civitate Dei*, lib. XXII, cap. XXX in PL 41: 801. Note the anon. author of MS. Douce 134 changes the verb *possum*, *posse*, *potui* ("be able, can") from the present subjunctive, "*possit*," in the PL, and LCL to the present indicative, "*potest*." By changing the verb from present subjunctive to present indicative the anon. author alters the meaning, giving it a sense of immediacy and indicating that it is a statement of fact rather than that of supposition.

## The glory of saints is eternal

If the glory of the saints is great in some ways, it can be great also in other ways. That is to say, [the glory] will be eternal, because the saints will be united in God who is eternal, and remain in their state with him eternally, forever without end, which is beyond comprehension. Just as the sadness of the damned will increase because their torments will persevere ceaselessly, so the joy of the saints will increase from seeing that their joy will be continual and persevere for years and for millions and millions of years. Of the eternity of the saints in glory the Holy Scripture speaks. Isaiah LXV *The days of my people will be in accordance with the days of the tree, [\*that is of Christ, namely just as Christ remains in eternity so also the saints themselves are conformed to the same Christ in eternity] and the works of their hands shall be of long continuance, for my chosen ones [\*that is, the merits of the saints will be preserved with them in eternity].*<sup>102</sup> Also Psalm *The just shall be in everlasting remembrance.*<sup>103</sup> Also Wisdom V *The just shall live for evermore: and their reward is with the Lord.*<sup>104</sup> Also John XVII *That he may give life everlasting to all whom thou hast given him.*<sup>105</sup> Also Apoca-

102. Is. LXV: 22-23. [\*] indicate gloss by the anon. author. The entire verses of Is. LXV: 22-23 read: "They shall not build, and another inhabit: they shall not plant, and another eat: for as the days of a tree, so shall be the days of my people, and the works of their hands shall be of long continuance. My elect shall not labour in vain, nor bring forth in trouble: for they are the seed of the blessed of the Lord, and their posterity with them."

103. Ps. CXI: 7.

104. Ws. V: 16.

105. Jo. XVII: 2.

lypse XXII *The Lord God shall enlighten them, and they shall reign forever and ever.*<sup>106</sup> [161v]

It is to be known that the life of the saints is so joyous and so pleasurable that one hundred years do not seem to last one day. And to demonstrate that it is true here is a story of a monk who wondered how there will be joy without trouble in heaven. He prayed to God for a long time that he would show him a little of the sweetness of paradise, and one day after Matins, as he was praying to God, he heard in the woods, which were near the abbey, a very sweet bird song, and because of the sweetness of the song he came out of the abbey and followed the song of the bird who flew a little further and he remained in this woods the space of twenty six years without getting old, and without being hungry, and always listening to the song of the bird. The bird was singing these words: "May man do good as long as he is alive because great is the joy of paradise." And after twenty-six years about the hour of Tierce the bird left, and the monk, who thought that he had remained outside only since Matins until this hour, returned right away, because he had gone out without permission. And as he found the door through which he had come out all changed and the whole edifice of the abbey totally changed, he was completely surprised. And he didn't recognize the doorman, and the doorman didn't recognize him. However, he let him in and he had the abbot and the members of the convent called and he didn't know them and they didn't know who he was. When he named the abbot who was of his time they looked in books and found that this abbot was alive twenty-six years ago. And he told them of his vision.<sup>107</sup>

106. Ap. XXII: 5.

107. The word *exemplois* in the margin next to the story of the monk and the bird, alerting the reader to a version of an exemplum that enjoyed great popularity in the Middle Ages. J. A. Herbert in his article "The

Monk and the Bird," *Romania* 38, no. 151 (1909): 427-29 cites many versions of the exemplum, some of which include: an early German metrical version, a setting in English octosyllabic verse included in a collection of metrical homilies on the Gospel-lessons composed at the beginning of the fourteenth-century, and its appearance in Longfellow's *Golden Legend*. Herbert quotes a version from a collection of Miracles of Our Lady and other pious tales in Latin prose, ca. thirteenth century in which the bird sings a song in French. The exemplum concludes with II Peter 3:8, "Be not ignorant, my beloved, of this one thing, that one day with the Lord, is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." Herbert quotes M. Paul Meyer who suggests that Maurice de Sully, c. 1100-1196, Bishop of Paris from 1160-1196 and initiator of the plans for the construction of the Cathedral of Notre Dame, was perhaps the first preacher to introduce it in a sermon. In Maurice de Sully's version the bird is said to be an angel in the guise of a bird. See Paul M. Meyer, "Les Manuscrits des sermons français de Maurice de Sully," *Romania* 5 (1876): 473-485. His sermons were shaped by a variety of sources examined by Charles Alan Robson in his book, *Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily: with the Text of Maurice's French homilies from a Sens Cathedral Chapter MS*. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952). The Latin exemplum of the monk and the bird appears in Jacques de Vitry, *Die Exempla*, ed. Joseph Greven (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1914), 18 (No. 10). Jacques de Vitry, 1170-1240, bishop of Acre (1216-28) and cardinal bishop of Tusculum 1228, wrote *Historia orientalis et occidentalis*, the biography of Margarete of Oingt, a mystic, writer and prioress of the Carthusian convent, the charterhouse of Poiteins. His sermon collections include: *Sermones vulgares*, *Sermones feriales et communes* and *Sermones in epistolas et evangelia dominicalia*. The Latin text of the monk and bird exemplum is also available in Carolyn Anne Muessig's published dissertation, 'Sermons Ferials' of Jacques de Vitry: A Critical Edition, serm. 7, lin. 422-439 (University of Montreal, 1993, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 1993), 124-125. Jacques de Vitry concludes his version of the monk and the bird with Ps. 89: 4, "For a thousand years in thy sight are as yesterday..." The Latin version of Jacques de Vitry's exemplum is also given in Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars: Fairy Beliefs and the Medieval Church* (Philadelphia: University of

Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 248. Green argues that elements of the exemplum, namely the super natural lapse of time, the bird as messenger, and the “return of the central character to a world unrecognizably changed (as with Herla, Guingamor, or Ogier the Dane, makes its [secular] origins self-evident...Indeed the tale survived as an actual fairy story in Wales down to the nineteenth century.” (p. 192). He documents his statement with references to fables and folklore collected by John Arnott MacCulloch, W. Howells, and T. Gwynn Jones (p. 248). While details vary in the retelling of the exemplum the main message is to be with God in paradise is to be in a timeless dimension in which quotidian time does not exist.

# Paradise IV [161v-165v]

## The saints will always be in glory

The saints will have felicity because of the confirmation of their glory. Not only will they have joy each hour and each moment, but also they will have inestimable joy from the fact that they will be sure and certain that their goods, glory and felicity will never have an end. Eternal joy [162r] is increased because the saints will know this glory and felicity will last forever. And for the continuation of this glory and for the certainty and surety to be always in glory, their glory will seem to increase always and it will seem to them to have new glory always, and that is what the Holy Scripture says. Job XXIX *My glory shall always be renewed.*<sup>1</sup> And to the accomplishment and confirmation of their glory it is fitting that they be sure and certain to remain always in glory, because if they were not sure and certain of it their glory would not be complete, particularly if they were not sure of being able to persevere in glory, and this is what St. Augustine says: *The eternal security makes possible the enjoyment of the heavenly good things; (they) however sweet, would vanish and become vile by the simple fear of losing them.*<sup>2</sup>

1. Jb XXIX: 20.

2. "Beatitudinem omnium bonorum celestium (coelestium in Mauberne 1603) perficit securitas eterna (aeterna in Mauberne) que si sola deeset omnia bona celestia quicumque dulcia vanescerent et vilescerent ex timore amittendi." Augustine is not identified as the author in the LLT, but the passage is attributed to Augustine in Gerardus de Vliederve (Gerard van der Vlyderhoven), d. 1402, *Cordiale quattuor novissimorum*, printed anonymously under the title *Quattuor nouissima cum multis exemplis pulcherrimis* (Cologne: Henricus Quentell, 1506). This

## The glory of the saints cannot be estimated

Now we know what height, honor and dignity the saints will have in paradise, what clarity they will have, what rewards they will receive, what joys they will have, in what glory they will be, because from everywhere in every possible way they will

work dealing with the “Four Last Things” (death, judgement, hell, and paradise) circulated widely throughout Europe and England and was translated into German, Dutch, French, and English. The *Cordiale* has also been dubiously attributed to Denis le Chartreux (Denys the Carthusian, Dionysius Carthusiensis), 1402-1471. Gerardus de Vliederveen’s *Cordiale* was translated into French, *Les quatre choses dernières*, by Jean Miélot, secretary to Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, 1396-1467. It was printed by Wm. Caxton at Bruges in c. 1475-1476. Miélot’s translation was in turn translated into English and titled *Cord’yal, or Four last thinges* by Anthony Woodville (2nd Earl Rivers) and printed by William Caxton in 1479 in Westminster. The following text is from *Cord’yal* of 1479, ch. 4, no page numbers given, entitled “How the Royame of heuven is prayseed and lauded for the loye and blis that is therein euerlestingly: “Seint Austyn saith. That the eternale surete enourneth and fulfilleth the beatitudes of all the celestiale goodnesses where if that sempiternite shulde faille / all the other celes’tiale goodnesses be they neuer so swete / shulde be the lesse to be prayseed.” The Latin passage quoted above is almost identical to the one attributed to Augustine in Jean Mauberne (Johannus Mauburnus, Joanne Mauburno), 1460-1501, *Rosetum exercitorum spiritualium* (*Rose-garden of spiritual exercises and sacred meditations*), Titulus XXXVIII, Alphabet LXXXVI, (Milan, 1603), 721b [misnumbered 725]-722. Ulrike Hascher-Burger points out the *Rosetum* is held to be the largest and most influential treatise on meditation in the circles of the late *Devotio Moderna*. It was printed in five editions from the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth century. See Ulrike Hascher-Burger, “Music and Meditation: Songs in Johannes Mauburnus’ *Rosetum exercitorum spiritualium*,” *Church History and Religious Culture* 88, no. 3 (2008): 347.

be rewarded, honored, and glorified. Oh how blest they will be when for despising earthly things they will have heavenly goods; instead of transitory goods they will have eternal goods; instead of vile and corruptible things they will have precious things; instead of little things they will receive great and incomparable things. One must know that everything, which has been said about the glory and felicity of the saints is very little in comparison to the glory that they have in the heavenly country. So great is this glory that it cannot be numbered or measured and so precious that it cannot be estimated, so abundant that it cannot be depleted. According to Bernard: *The reward of the saints will be so great [162v] that it cannot be measured, it will be so immense that it cannot be enumerated, so copious that it cannot be given boundaries, so priceless that it cannot be estimated.*<sup>3</sup> The glory of

3. "Merces sanctorum tam magna est quod non potest mensurari tam multa est quod non potest numerari, tam copiosa quod non potest finiri, tam pretiosa quod non potest estimari (aestimari in sources below)." The passage is not in the authenticated works of Bernard of Clairvaux, 1090-1153, in the LLT, but is attributed to him by several writers: Saint Bonaventure, 1221-1274, lib. VII *Compendium theologiae veritatis*, cap. XXXI "Enumeratio coelestium gaudiorum," ed. Adolphe-Charles Peltier in *Opera omnia*, (Paris: Ludovicus Vivès, 1866), 8: 246; and St. Bernardini Senesis (St. Bernard of Siena), 1380-1444, *Sermones de tempore*, serm. 14, ed. Augustinus Sèpinski in *Opera omnia* (Quaracchi: Ad Claras Aquas, 1959), 7: 227 and *Quadragesimale de christiana religione*, serm. 51, ed. Pacificus M. Perantoni in *Opera omnia* (Florence: Ad Claras Aquas, Coll. S. Bonaventurae, 1950), 2: 152. A portion of the passage, "Merces...mensurari," appears, although not attributed to Bernard in Heinrich von Neustadt, 13-14th c., *Apollonius: Von Gotes Zuokunft: im Auszuge mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Glossar*, ed. Joseph Strobl (Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1857), 199. The entire quote appears and is attributed to Bernard in Pelbartus de Themeswar, c. 1430-1504, *Pomerium sermonu[m] de sanctis: pars aestivalis*, serm. LXXXIII, ed. Johannes Rynman (Hagenau: Henricus Gran, 1509), no

the saints is such that in considering this glory the sense and the thought of man are lacking. No tongue can describe it, it cannot be acquired and cannot be told. Augustine in the book, *The City of God: What God has in store for those who love him, cannot be understood by faith, cannot be attained by hope, cannot be grasped by charity; it exceeds all desires and wishes: it can be acquired and cannot be estimated.*<sup>4</sup> Also Chrysostom: *That fairness, beauty and glory transcends all the sense of the human mind.*<sup>5</sup> Also Gregory I:

page given, available in HathiTrust. De omnibus sanctis, serm. tertius, scilicet de huius festi celebritate et copiosa sanctorum mercede accessed April 14, 2020, <http://sermone.elte.hu/pelbart/pa/pa084.html>.

4. "Quod Deus preparavit (parat in CCSL) omnibus diligentibus se, spe non attingitur, caritate non comprehenditur (capitur in CCSL), desideria et vota transgreditur, acquiri potest, estimari (aestimari in CCSL) non potest." The almost exact passage appears in the *Manipulus florum* and is attributed to Augustine in his *De civitate Dei*, lib. XXII, accessed April 15, 2020, <https://cs.uwaterloo.ca/~arkane/cgi-bin/janus.html>. The passage is not from Augustine's *The City of God*, nor is it in his authenticated works in the *LLT*. However it appears and is attributed to Augustine in the Eusebius 'Gallicanus'-*Collectio homiliarum*, hom. 47, lin. 118, ed. Franciscus Glorie (1971), CCSL 101A: 562. Lisa Kaaren Bailey in her book, *Christianity's Quiet Success: The Eusebius Gallicanus Sermon Collection and the Power of the Church in Late Antique Gaul* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010) points out that these sermons from fifth and sixth century Gaul offered "a preaching handbook" to the clergy and devotional reading to pious lay people. The anon. author of *The Vineyard* may have had access to this collection. The passage appears in Auctor incertus, *Commentarii in libros regum*, lib. III in PL 50: 1160 and *Quaestiones super libros regum*, lib. III (Claudius Taurinensis, 780-827/828, is the author of lib. III) in PL 104: 737.
5. "Omnem sensum humane (humanae in PL) mentis excedit decus illud, illa pulchritudo illa gloria." I could not find this passage in the authenticated works of Chrysostom in the *LLT*. The passage appears but is

What language can describe, or what human mind can grasp the immense joys of the heavenly city: to be in the midst of the heavenly choir, to share with the blessed spirits the glory of the creator, to behold God face to face, to see infinite light, to not feel any fear of death and to enjoy the gift of imperishableness forever?<sup>6</sup> These authorities hold that the glory of the saints is so great that it cannot be understood by any living man, not told by any tongue because it is beyond description and it surmounts all the sense and understanding of mortal man of this world. About this the Holy Scripture describes well glorious things about the city of God. Psalm *Glorious things are said of thee, O city of God.*<sup>7</sup> Also Psalm *As we have heard, so have we seen, in the city of the Lord of hosts, in the city of our God: God hath founded it for ever.*<sup>8</sup> May the Father, Son and Holy Spirit be willing to make us participants in this glory. Amen. And for the present may this be enough about the celestial glory and about the felicity of the saints of paradise.

not attributed to Chrysostom in Beda, c. 672/673-735, *Homiliae*, lib. III, hom. LXX in PL 94: 450. Passage is attributed to Chrysostom in Haymo Halberstatensis, 778-853, *De varietate liborum*, lib. I, cap. II in PL 18: 879.

6. "Que (Quae in PL) autem lingua dicere, vel quis intellectus capere sufficit illa superne (supernae in PL) civitatis quanta sint gaudia, angelorum choris interesse, cum beatissimis spiritibus glorie (gloriae in PL) conditoris assistere, presentem (praesentem in PL) Dei vultum cernere, incircumscriptionem lumen videre, nullo mortis metu affici, incorruptionis perpetue (perpetuae in PL) munere letari (laetari in PL)?" Gregorius I, *Homiliae*, lib. II, hom. XXXVII, lec. S. Evang. Sec. Luc. XVI, 25-33 in PL 76: 1275. *Gregory the Great: Forty Gospel Homilies*, hom. 37, reading Luke 14: 16-33, trans. David Hurst (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1990), 327. Passage appears and is attributed to Gregory in Haymo Halberstatensis, *De varietate librorum*, lib. I, cap. I in PL 118: 875.

7. Ps. LXXXVI: 3.

8. Ps. XLVII: 9.

## To obtain the glory of paradise one must first deserve it

After what has been said of the heavenly glory simply to hear of the glory and felicity of the saints in the heavenly kingdom would be meaningless to the laborers of the vineyard of our Lord unless they take part in obtaining it. Consequently we must shout what is necessary to obtain this glory so [163r] that those who desire to be in this glory might do what they must do in order to reach it, because no one can obtain it without deserving it and without working for it. We see that in this world we cannot have anything without labor and without deserving it. The greater the work and preciousness of the thing which we desire, the greater its cost because a precious thing cannot be acquired at a small price. Similarly, the kingdom of heaven is so rich, precious and glorious that no one can obtain it without great labor, and without great sacrifice as Chrysostom says: *Precious things cannot be acquired at a cheap price. Great work is necessary from us if we want to reach the celestial kingdom.*<sup>9</sup> The saints have not

9. "Res preciosa vili pretio non comparatur. Magnum laborem necesse est nobis impendere, si volumus ad celestia regna pervenire." John Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*, Homily XXXV, in PG, 9: 827. The work is among the Pseudo-Chrysostomica. For historical background and authorship see Hell III, n. 5. Thomas Aquinas revised the passage, "res enim pretiosa non nisi pretioso pretio comparatur," ("for that which is precious is only purchased at a costly price") and attributed it to Chrysostom in his Commentary on Matthew, *Catena aurea in Matthaeum*, cap. 20, lec. 3 in *Commentaria in scripturas*, in CT, 5: 210. The translation of Chrysostom is by John Henry Newman in Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Catena Aurea: Commentary on the Four Gospels*, repr. of 1841 edition with new introduction by Aidan Nichols (Southampton: Saint Austin Press, 1997), I: 693. A similar passage, "Ad magna praemia perveniri non potest, nisi per magnos labores" ("One

obtained the kingdom of heaven for nothing, but they have taken great pains to have it, some by leading a very hard life, others by suffering martyrdom, while others experienced terrible tribulations –so much that it cost them dearly. If the saints have not obtained the kingdom without effort, no one can obtain it without deserving it, because God will not grant such glory to those who do not deserve it. St. Augustine, from the last book of *The City of God*: ...true honour will be denied to no one who is worthy, and conferred on no one who is unworthy. Neither will any-

cannot arrive at a great prize except through great labor”) is by Gregorius I, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, lib. II, hom. XXXVII in PL 76: 1275. See also Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, lib. 2, hom. 37, par. 1, lin. 13, ed. Raymond Étaix (1999), CCSL 141: 348. The price of salvation was uppermost in the minds of medieval theologians evidenced by the number of times Gregory's sentence recurs in fifteen works by eleven authors which I list in abbreviated form, stars indicate attribution to Gregory: Alufus Tornacensis, \**Expositio Novi Testamenti* in PL 79: 1334; Ratherius Veronensis (Rather of Verona), 890-974), \**De translatione S. Metronis* in PL 136: 460, \**De contemptu canonum* in PL 136: 150, \**Conjectura qualitatis* in PL 136: 523; Petrus Damianus, c. 1007-1072, *Sermones*, serm. XVII in PL 144: 592; Herveus Burgidolensis (Hervé de Bourg-Dieu), 1080-1150, *Commentaria in epistolas Pauli* in PL 181: 1455; Arnulfus de Boeriis, died 1149, *Octo puncta perfectionis assequendae* in PL 184: 1184; Petrus Cellensis (Peter of Celles), c. 1115-1183, \**Tractatus de disciplina claustrali* in PL 202: col. 1143C; Martinus Legionensis, 1130-1203, *Sermones*, \*serm. XII in Quadragesima in PL 208: 735, and *Sermones de diversis*, \*serm. VII in PL 209: 119; David Augustensis (David de Augusta), 1200/1210-1272, \**De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione*, lib. 2, pars. 1, cap. 3, par. 1, ed. PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae (Rome: Ad Claras Aquas, 1899), 78; Johannes Gerson, 1363-1429, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Palémon Glorieux (Paris: Tournai, 1963), \*V: 167; Thomas Aquinas, c. 1224-1274, *Commentaria in Scripturas*, \**Catena aurea in Lucam*, cap. 14, lec. 5, in CT 5: 337; and Nicholas de Aquauilla (Nicolas de Hacqueville), fl. c. 1300, *Sermones moralissimi*, \*serm. 35, ed. E. Odelman, 2018, CCCM 283: 340.

one who is unworthy aspire to it, for no one except the worthy will be allowed to dwell there.<sup>10</sup> All this is said to advise all because there are some people who would like to obtain the kingdom of glory without paying for it. They would have it without deserving it and without doing anything. This cannot be done and one must abandon such dreams, because to obtain this kingdom it is not enough to have good intentions [163v] or good will, or good words. One must do works of virtue as the Apostle says. I Corinthians III For the kingdom of God is not in speech, but in power.<sup>11</sup> And for this it must be known that the kingdom of glory is within the power of man with the assistance of God, man can acquire it if he is willing to apply himself and to work at it, and this is what our Lord expresses in the Gospel. Matthew XI *The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent shall bear it away.*<sup>12</sup> That is to say, that the kingdom of heaven is to be acquired by force and those who use violence earn it. In other words, whoever wants to have the kingdom must work for it and take pains to deserve it. And this is just and reasonable and it is for this that sense, intelligence, time, and space are given to man: sense and intelligence to learn things that are necessary for this, and time to put them into effect.

10. "Verus honor, qui nulli negabitur digno, nulli deferetur indigno; sed nec ad eum ambiat ullus indignus, ubi nullus permittetur esse nisi dignus." Augustine, *The City of God*, bk. 22, ch. 30, LCL 7: 374. Translation found in *ibid.*, 375. See also Augustinus Hipponensis, *De civitate Dei*, lib. XXII, cap. XXX in PL 41: 801. Passage is quoted and attributed to Augustine in Eugyppius Africae, died c. 535, *Thesaurus*, tomus prior, cap. CLXVI in PL 62: 817. Passage is quoted but not attributed to Augustine in Alcuinus (Alcuin of York), c. 735-804, *De fide S. Trinitatis*, lib. III, cap. XXII in PL 101: 54 and in Hugo de S. Victore, c. 1096-1141, *De sacramentis*, par. XVIII, cap. XX in PL 176: 616.

11. I Cor. IV: 20.

12. Mt. XI: 12. Quoted previously in *Paradise I*, n. 74.

The greater the glory of paradise is, all the more each one must be moved to work by contemplation of this glory and by desire to reach it as St. Augustine says: Well, clearly you couldn't find anyone who doesn't [want to] be happy, or blessed. But oh, if only people were as willing to do the work as they are eager to get the reward! They all run up eagerly when they are told, "You will be happy"; let them listen willingly when they are also told, "if you do this." Don't decline the contest if you have set your heart on the prize; let the advertisement of the reward kindle your spirit to get to work with a will.<sup>13</sup> Also Augustine *The kingdom of heaven*, O man doth exact no price at thy hands but only thyself. So much is it worth, as thou art able to pay. Give thyself, and thou shalt have it. Why art thou troubled about the price?<sup>14</sup> Therefore whoever desires to reach this glory must first show by good works that he desires to be written in the book of life, because those

13. "Nemo quippe inveniri potest, qui beatus esse nolit. Sed o si homines quomodo [desiderant in PL] mercedem, sic opus mercedis non recusarent! Quis alacriter non currat, cum ei dicitur, beatus eris? Libenter audiat et cum dicitur. Si hoc feceris. Non recusetur certamen, si diligitur praemium; et accendatur animus ad alacritatem operis commendatione mercedis." Augustinus Hipponensis, *Sermones de Scripturis*, serm. LIII, cap. I, in PL 38: 364. *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century*, serm. 53, ch. 1, trans. Edmund Hill (New Rochelle, NY: New City Press, 1990), pt. 3, vol. 3: 66.
14. "Regum celorum (coelorum in PL), o homo aliud non querit (quaerit in PL) pretium nisi te ipsum: tantum valet quantum es tu; te da, et habebis illud. Quid turbaris de pretio?" Augustinus Hipponensis, auctor incertus, *Manuale* in PL 40: 958. Translation in Saint Augustine, *The Meditations, Soliloquia, and Manuall* (Menston, Yorkshire: The Scholar Press, 1972), facsimile reprint of the first edition of this translation issued by Nicolas de la Coste (Paris, 1631), 424. Translator is not given. The passage is found but not attributed to Augustine in Bede, 672/673-735, *Homiliae*, lib. III, hom. LXX in PL 94: 450. This appears to be a spurious passage, it is not among Augustine's work in the LLT.

who will be written in the book of life will be saved as [164r] the Holy Scripture says. Daniel XII *And at that time shall thy people be saved, every one that shall be found written in the book.*<sup>15</sup> And to the contrary, all those who will not be found in the book of life will not enter paradise, as the Holy Scripture says. Apocalypse XX *And whosoever was not found written in the book of life, was cast into the pool of fire.*<sup>16</sup> Also Apocalypse XXI *There shall not enter it any thing defiled, or any one that worketh abomination, or a lie, but they who are written in the book of life of the Lamb.*<sup>17</sup> And because no one can enter the kingdom of paradise if he is not written in the book of life, St. Gregory urges to do much in order to be written in it: *If you seek the summit of true honor, hasten to be enrolled in that heavenly senate.*<sup>18</sup> And the Holy Scripture urges to do as much as possible in order to be saved. Ecclesiasticus III *Children, hear the judgment of your father, [\*beloved ones] and so do that you may be saved.*<sup>19</sup> And I Corinthians IX *So run that you may obtain it.*<sup>20</sup> Also Philippians II *Work out your salvation with fear and trembling.*<sup>21</sup> Also II Peter I *Wherefore, brethren, labour the more, that by good works you may make sure your vocation and election...For so an entrance shall be ministered to*

15. Dn. XII: 1.

16. Ap. XX: 15. Quoted previously in Hell VIII, n. 21.

17. Ap. XXI: 27.

18. "Si veri honoris culmen queritis (quaeritis in PL) in illa celesti (coeleste in PL) curia ascribi festinate." Gregorius I, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, lib. I, hom. XV in PL 76: 1131. This sentence shortens and combines two sentences of Gregory's homily, which were quoted earlier in Paradise I, n. 50.

19. Ecli. III: 2. [\*] indicates addition to the scripture by the anon. author.

20. I Cor. IX: 24.

21. Ph. II: 12.

*you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.*<sup>22</sup>

## The kingdom of glory is not for everyone

The kingdom of heaven is not for everyone, and this is too bad, all things considered. The cause of this is that all do not work at deserving it and do not prepare themselves to go there because they don't have their heart in it. As we see, there are several people in the world who apply themselves at various superficial things. Others apply themselves in various sciences and put so much of their heart and their intelligence in it that they care little about other things and they forget eternal life. They don't work hard at it because they don't have the will, however it is the main thing to which everyone must aim. This is the science of all sciences. All other sciences are nothing in comparison to this science. All other occupations are fruitless and useless, [164v] particularly if man fails to be saved, because then whatever he knows and whatever he does is to no avail to him, all things considered. Many people in the world today are considered wise but because they do not have the science to aim for eternal life and to work to acquire it they are not considered wise in front of God. And that is what the Holy Scripture says. Wisdom IX *For if one be perfect among the children of men, yet if thy wisdom be not with him, he shall be nothing regarded.*<sup>23</sup> Also Wisdom XIII *All men are vain, in whom there is not the knowledge of God.*<sup>24</sup> According to these authorities all those who do not have the science of God which is to labor to obtain eternal life are fools and vain,

22. II Pt. I: 10-11.

23. Ws. IX: 6.

24. Ws. XIII: 1.

and if they are wise according to the world they are not wise according to God. There are also many people who have abilities that are satisfactory in this life, but that are not sufficient to be received in glory because they do not have the knowledge to seek this glory. Therefore since no one can get this glory through nobility of nature, nor through earthly power, nor from worldly science, nor through high rank or dignity—no one should have confidence in one's nobility, power or dignity, nor in one's ability, science or instruction if he does not have the science which according to God is to seek eternal life and to do whatever is necessary to deserve it and obtain it. This wisdom is the wisdom of the saints and of all those who desire to be saved. This wisdom allows people to reach the kingdom of glory as the Book of Wisdom says. Wisdom VI *The desire of wisdom bringeth to the everlasting kingdom.*<sup>25</sup> And the fact that the kingdom of glory is not for all is to be demonstrated by other examples. We see that great are the piles of straw in comparison with the grain. The bad ones are compared to the straw and the good ones to the grain. And just as one puts the grain in the granary we burn the straw and thus the good ones will be received in glory and the bad ones will be sent into the eternal fire according to the Gospel. Matthew III [165r] *He will gather his wheat into the barn, but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire.*<sup>26</sup> That the number of saved people is small in comparison with the damned is to be demonstrated through other examples. We see that there are more trees that do not bear fruit like the fir trees, elms, ash trees, aspens, birches, plane trees, maples, trembling poplars, and holly trees than there are trees bearing good fruit. There are more common stones than precious stones and similarly there

25. Ws. VI: 21.

26. Mt. III: 12. Quoted previously in Hell V, n. 87 and n. 95.

are more common people than saints, more bad ones than good ones, more sinners than righteous and more carnal people than spiritual. [Figure 76] [165v] The number of those who will enter in the glory of paradise is small in relation to those who will not enter, is said by our Lord in the Gospel. Matthew XX *For many are called but few chosen.*<sup>27</sup> That is to say, that several are called but there are very few elect and the cause for this is expressed in the Gospel. Matthew VII *For wide is the gate, and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there are who enter by it. How narrow is the gate, and strait is the way, which leadeth to life: and few there are who find it!*<sup>28</sup> That is to say, that wide is the door and the path, which lead to perdition, and there are many who enter through this door. Narrow is the door and the path which lead to life and few are those who find it, because several want to act according to their will, follow their temptations and have their pleasures in this world and lead a carnal life, and few people want to give up such things to live a narrow life. Few people also want to apply themselves to do what is necessary to obtain eternal life. Or if they do something, they are doing other things contrary, which waste everything, and these are the causes why there are very few saved in comparison to those who will not be saved. Any man who considers this well and the end of this necessity must leave everything and must aim at the main goal of his actions, otherwise if man does not strive in his life to be saved, in the end he can say that he is born with little fortune. All his actions come to nothing. He will have worked in this world to be rich to no avail. He will have received honors and prestige to no avail. He will have lived in pleasures and ease to no avail. He will have delighted himself in pleasures, joys and consolations

27. Mt. XX: 16.

28. Mt. VII: 13-14.

to no avail, because all these possessions, honors and prestige, comforts, joys and consolations will vanish like a shadow. All of these will totally disappear from his memory and he will remain there waiting in vain for the payment of his work.<sup>29</sup>

29. The last word in the manuscript is missing, “work” has been added to complete the sentence. Within the context of the text, it seems to be an appropriate choice.

# List of Figures

All the statements in quotations are by the anonymous writer of MS. Douce 134, or Biblical passages quoted by the anonymous author. They are included to show the close intertwining of images with text. The mood and intent of the text are at times captured by images of remarkable creativity, whimsy, and sometimes irrepressible wit. The permalinks provided by the Bodleian Library offer the remarkable opportunity to enlarge details, which are barely visible to the naked eye, for example the tiny banners on pikes, as in [Figure 2](#). Also available are the miniscule, gruesome, but imaginative body parts of the devils as in [Figure 34](#). I've described many details in hopes of sharing the drama of *The Vineyard* with those who are visually challenged.

## [Figure 1, f. 4r](#) ([view in Digital Bodleian](#))

In keeping with the text the devil possesses the young man who has given himself over to evil. The devil enters the “ruined man” by resting his head on top of the head of the towering youth, thus fulfilling the prophecy: “Because he will be totally inclined and abandoned to evil the devil will enter his body and will live in him and will possess him totally as his own vessel.” The Antichrist, now both human and devil, is shoeless, pink tights cover his legs and feet, he wears a knee-length gold tunic, and carries a scepter tipped with a gold fleur-de-lis. He gazes down at a lady who points to him as she chats with two men wearing two distinctive hats. The blue turban over a blue cloth suggests he is a Moslem and the round brimmed black hat implies the wearer is Jewish. They stand next to a walled city indicated by three tall pink towers, two of which reveal arrow slits, and

between them a tower with a pointed roof and a door below. The lady is a commanding presence as she points to the looming figure of the Antichrist. Her head is covered with a red veil, and her long blue gown that touches the ground is adorned with a gold belt. Behind her is a beige stucco house with a red tiled roof. The countryside is serene, boats are rowed on a lake, and churches and castles nestle in the hills. Dream-like blue and white mountains are dotted with castles and a fortress rises in the far distance.

[Figure 2, f. 6r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

Many tiny but significant details dramatize the Antichrist's entry into Jerusalem. In the foreground his arrival is announced on the city's draw bridge by two men, one ringing a bell and the other bearing a banner resembling Hebrew script. They are eagerly greeted by the gatekeepers. Behind the messengers is the larger than life Antichrist, riding a large white horse. He wears a red three tiered hat signifying a papal tiara, and a long flowing coat and carries a scepter topped with a gold fleur-de-lis. His companion rides behind him on a gray dappled horse. In the distance the Antichrist's armies of knights on horseback enter the road. On the left, a knight riding a white horse leads Caucasian knights clad in blue armor. He holds a pike bearing the image of a bloodied head of a lamb. On the right two knights of dark skin in gray armor exit a walled city and enter the road. Six knights in blue armor ride on horseback toward the city; one knight carries a pike with a banner displaying the image of a wolf's head. The meaning of head of the lamb on one banner and the head of the wolf on the other is perplexing. Although the text places the scene near Jerusalem, the city and countryside contain images that hint of the land possessed by the Burgundian dukes: the

stork on the chimney, the lush fields, trees and shrubs, the windmill, and the roads crisscrossing the fields that resemble St. Andrew's Cross (an x-shaped cross), the saltire of the Burgundian dukes.

**[Figure 3, f. 30r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

The Antichrist is seated on a throne in a grassy field in the upper left. He holds a scepter as he oversees the tortures of the faithful Christians who will not convert to him. One is having his left forearm severed as well as his right hand, one is being disemboweled, one is devoured by a lion, two men are hung, another is suspended by his feet over a well, men are shot with arrows, one is bludgeoned to death, and another is dragged behind a horse. Three medieval towers and a walled city are in the far distance. Two angels rescue the souls of the dying as they leave the body. The souls are represented as the babies issuing from the mouths of the dead.

**[Figure 4, f. 36r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

God spews fire and sulfur onto the Antichrist whose body shows symptoms of opisthotonus, severe arching of the back due to muscle spasms. A winged, horned devil snatches the Antichrist's soul as it leaves his mouth. Beneath the Antichrist are some of his followers, well-dressed gentry plus a bishop. They, too, are struck with flames of fire and brimstone. The death of the Antichrist reflects the quoted scripture, Ezekiel XXXVIII: 22 "I will rain fire and brimstone upon him, and upon his army, and upon the many nations that are with him."

### [Figure 5, f. 37v](#) ([view in Digital Bodleian](#))

Four young men raise their arms in alarm and point to the sky where the moon has turned red and stars fall to the earth. A banner bearing the insignia of St. Andrew's Cross and the coat of arms of the Burgundian dukes flies from the watch tower on the left. The text explains that signs following the persecution of the Antichrist and preceding the arrival of the Judgment Day will be seen in the heavens-the stars will fall from the sky and the moon will be turned to blood.

### [Figure 6, f. 38v](#) ([view in Digital Bodleian](#))

The text exclaims that people will be terrified at the signs in the heavens and the earth that precede the Day of Judgment. Depicted are three solitary men trying to find protection in caves. One peers into a cave as though looking for refuge, a white haired man lies down in a cave, another with tonsured hair and wearing a brown habit prays inside a cave. "Scared to death, they will hide in holes and caves as the Holy Scripture says..."

### [Figure 7, f. 39v](#) ([view in Digital Bodleian](#))

A rainbow of red, yellow and green appears in the sky. The colors green and red are explained in the text. They both represent the vengeance of God. The green represents the flood in which all of the people of the world were drowned, except those in Noah's ark; the red represents God's judgment at the end of time when fire shall consume the earth. Two groups of buildings resembling the towers in [Figure 1](#) and [Figure 2](#) are nestled in the countryside.

### [Figure 8](#), f. 40r ([view in Digital Bodleian](#))

A single gold cross and many gold stars appear against a blue sky. “This sign will signify that the advent of our Lord Jesus Christ on the Day of Judgment will be near.”

### [Figure 9](#), f. 41v ([view in Digital Bodleian](#))

Portrayed is the event that is to happen on first day of the Fifteen Last Signs, “the seas will rise above the earth and will remain standing in place like a wall.” The event is dramatized by a huge body of water filled with white caps dwarfing the two turreted buildings and men seen in [[Figure 1](#)]. On the left a man stands on a craggy cliff looking at the rising sea.

### [Figure 10](#), f. 42r ([view in Digital Bodleian](#))

“On the second day of the Fifteen Last Signs the seas will sink down and be hard to see.” The sea is depicted as being below and between two towering mountains. A man on one mountain points to the tiny remnant of the sea below while a woman on the opposite mountain also looks down and points to sea below. A tower is above her and a walled city in the distance is below her.

### [Figure 11](#), f. 42v ([view in Digital Bodleian](#))

“On the third day the monsters of the sea, whales, sirens and other fantastic fish are to appear.” Two mermaids swim above two immense fish. Below the sea is a landscape dotted clumps of trees, three towers, and a walled city.

[Figure 12, f. 43r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

“On the fourth day the earth and sea will blaze with fire.” Stylized flames in bouquet-like gatherings burn in the sea and also in the rivers crisscrossing the land. The crisscrossing pattern of the rivers is reminiscent of St. Andrew’s cross. Here the cross has been broken.

[Figure 13, f. 43v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

“On the fifth day, the grasses and plants appear to be covered with blood. The animals and birds refuse to eat and drink and huddle together in fear.” Red stylized leaves of plants and red clumps of feathery grasses suggest they are bleeding. Animals gaze at the sky and birds spread their wings as they gather together. The large four-footed beasts, a wolf, buck, lion, and a spotted blue unicorn, open their mouths and some stick out their tongues in thirst. Winged creatures, a crane, a sparrow, a mallard duck, a white goose and a hawk also open their parched mouths.

[Figure 14, f. 44r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

The buildings are in ruins, giant fissures are in the walls. They reflect fulfillment of the devastation predicted on the sixth day. Towers, steeples and turrets have been toppled; the roads and countryside are abandoned.

[Figure 15, f. 44v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

Stones are fighting against each other as prophesied on the seventh day. In the distance are two mountains topped with imposing buildings. A steeple suggests the one on the left is a cathedral and the towers on the building on the right indicate a castle. Many stones lie on the flat land beneath the mountains.

[Figure 16, f. 45r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

On distant grassy hills a man, woman and an ox are collapsed on the ground, while in the foreground a man, trying to regain his balance, grasps a tree branch, and a deer and horse lie on the ground—portraying the event of the eighth day, the earthquake that will cause man and beast to fall to the earth.

[Figure 17, f. 45v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

Trees turned upside down attached to large, gray stone boulders depict the events of the ninth day when “mountains will be flattened and the earth will be equally flat.”

[Figure 18, f. 46r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

Men and women peer out of crevices in rocks depicting the event of the tenth day “when men will go out of caves and will go as if they have lost their minds. And they will go out and become faint and like mad men will not know what to do or say.”

[Figure 19](#), f. 46v ([view in Digital Bodleian](#))

Skeletons rising from their caskets and skulls and bones lying on the ground depict the event of the eleventh day.

[Figure 20](#), f. 47r ([view in Digital Bodleian](#))

Many large and small gold stars appear to fall from the sky to the ground, depicting the event of the twelfth day, when “the stars shall fall from the heavens.”

[Figure 21](#), f. 47v ([view in Digital Bodleian](#))

The event of the thirteenth day, “when the men and women who are alive on the day of judgment will die, so they may be resurrected,” is depicted by two men and two women fully dressed, who lie collapsed on the ground. Their souls depart from their mouths in the form of babies who hold their hands together in prayer, or crossed on their chests.

[Figure 22](#), f. 48r ([view in Digital Bodleian](#))

The stylized bouquets of flames, seen in [Figure 10](#), f.43r, appear on horizontal bands of cobalt blue, turquoise, beige, aqua marine, and beige signifying the event of the fourteenth day when the prophecy of the Sibyl is fulfilled: “Fire will scorch the land and sea and the heavens.” The fires destroying the natural world happen on the fourteenth day.

**[Figure 23, f. 49v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

Against a cobalt blue sky a stylized sun with a face and rays like arms of an octopus shines next to a sliver of a moon holding a full moon with a face. Below them are skies of turquoise blue, and white and a brown earth. They depict the renewal of the earth, which is to occur on the fifteenth day, the Day of Judgment. The variety of colors in the sky represent the words of the anonymous writer of *The Vineyard*, “the skies will be all resplendent from the brightness of the sun and moon.”

**[Figure 24, f. 50v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

Two angels with green and red wings appear in the sky and sound their trumpets signaling the Day of Judgment. Below them is a field of five resurrected nude bodies, some emerging from coffins and others from the ground. Below them on the left two angels greet the saved and on the right two devils stand beside two of the damned in the jaws of the mouth of hell.

**[Figure 25, f. 52v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

Standing on the left are four nude light skinned resurrected bodies with their hands held in prayer while on the right some of the five nude dark skinned resurrected bodies raise their arms in alarm. The accompanying text reads: “The good will be resurrected bearing with them the merits of the good deeds they have done, and so they will be bright and resplendent in several ways. The outcasts who have done nothing good for eternal life will be empty of merits and will not be resplendent, but for their vices and sins will be black like coal.”

[Figure 26, f. 57v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

Three tiers of activity accompany the central figure of the upper body Christ encircled by clouds. His raised hands reveal bleeding wounds, and his golden nimbus bears red three fleurs-de-lis. Above him on the left saints cluster, and on the right angels bear instruments of the passion. In the middle tier on the left smaller nimbed saints gather, the one closest to Christ holds a communion chalice, on the right saints pray and the last one holds a large silver key. Below Christ in the foreground stand nine nude resurrected bodies, some white, others in varying shades of brown. The illumination captures the text that states that on the Day of Judgment God will arrive in the sky with his orders of angels as well as his saints while resurrected bodies await their judgment.

[Figure 27, f. 58v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

Christ sits on a rainbow, the lower part of his body is draped in purple cloth. His pierced hands, side and feet are bleeding. Four angels hover above him. The Virgin Mary kneels near his right hand, and John the Baptist kneels at his left. Below them are rows of saints, one of whom is St. Peter holding a large silver key. In the foreground one angel greets the damned while another angel grabs the arm of a black man who stands amidst the redeemed and points to the group of the damned. Reflected in the illumination is the text, “Then the angels will separate the bad from the just.”

**[Figure 28, f. 63r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

Christ sits in the middle of the rainbow. He raises his right hand revealing his bleeding wound. Blood flows from wounds on his hands, side and feet. Above him hover eight angels with wings of red, blue, burnt orange, white and gold. Below the angels three nimbed female saints pray and on the right five nimbed male saints pray. Below Christ are eight nude dark skinned resurrected individuals, among them are a bishop, a prince or king, and a tonsured monk.

**[Figure 29, f. 67v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

Christ sits in the center of the rainbow and raises his wounded hands. Above him on the left are three angels and on the right are four angels. Some angels pray or cross their arms over their chests in reverence. They glance in different directions. Below the angels on the left are five nimbed male saints (two are visible only by their nimbs), on the right are four nimbed male saints. In the center foreground is Lucifer with the head of another devil in his crotch with horns and a large tongue hanging out of his mouth. Lucifer stares with fiery eyes at the reader, two boney fangs project up ward from his mouth and his grimace shows pointed white teeth. All of his joints are covered with heads with open mouths. Two smaller devils stand by him. One holds his claw-like hands together as he grins with a large clown's mouth and looks adoringly at Lucifer. Below his two pointed horns are large orange ears that resemble bat wings. He has legs and feet of a chicken. The other devil is green with pointed tusks and holds a spear. One large, curved horn sprouts from the center of his head and his feet are hooves of a horse. The text explains that Lucifer and his devils will be judged and cast back into hell,

and the angels will weep not because of the devils' punishment but because of all the souls the devils corrupted.

**[Figure 30, f. 73r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

A young, barefooted angel with magenta and green wings wears a white alb. The angel gravely considers operating the scales. The picture appears in the lower quarter of the folio. The text says each soul will be judged fairly by God: "It will be as if everything were weighed in a scale, that is to say, the good deeds on one side and the bad deeds on the other. Thus God considers if the good deeds exceed the bad deeds or the bad deeds the good ones."

**[Figure 31, f. 74r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

Christ raises both wounded hands in pronouncing his judgment. Four angels hover above Christ seated on the rainbow, and the three praying saints on the left and right are all male. On the ground beneath Christ are six nude resurrected individuals, five brown skinned men and one female, each showing signs of distress. One clasps his hands in prayer, one covers his ears, another covers his genitals with one hand and raises his other hand over his head, another places her hand on her heart, and another looks at Christ and raises his arms in supplication. Christ explains his judgment: "They [the saints] labored to obtain the glory of paradise and eternal goods, and you loved and sought more earthly and transitory goods. And because of all this you are not worthy to be in their company, nor do you deserve it, but you deserve to go to hell."

[Figure 32, f. 75r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

Christ is seated on an invisible chair and raises his pierced right hand as an orator as he pronounces his judgment on the damned in front of him; he rests his pierced left hand on the nearest saint to his left. He is draped in a blue gown revealing his bleeding wounds on his side and feet. His gold nimbus is decorated with three red fleur-de-lis. Standing behind him are the Virgin Mary and four angels. In bright multi-colored gowns six solemn nimbed saints sit on his left side and his right. The twelve seated saints are all bearded. Some pray, others touch the sleeve of their neighbor, and some cross their hands on their chests. Some look at their neighbor, others stare at the floor while others turn their faces to the sky or to Christ while judgment is rendered. Below Christ and the saints stand eight, nude, dark skinned resurrected individuals. In the center a tonsured monk gazes at the reader, another wears a bishop's mitre. Two tall horned devils claim the lost souls as their prey. One devil is black and navy blue with a clown's wide grin, lime green talons for hands, red and yellow striped legs and talons for feet. The other devil is light brown with blood shot eyes, and he sticks out his very long red tongue. The accompanying text states that the angels and saints will agree with the judgment pronounced on the lost and the devils.

[Figure 33, f. 76r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

Christ with bleeding wounds sits on a rainbow and nimbed male saints accompany him on his right hand and left. He wears a purple cape trimmed with gold cord and clasped at the neck with a gold brooch, a purple cloth rests over his legs. Three red fleurs-de-lis are in his nimbus. His body is disproportionately small

compared to his head. Fourteen damned stand below him and two larger bodies of the damned lie in front of him. From his mouth issues the script, “*Discedite malediti in ingem aeternum.*” (“Depart bad ones into the eternal fire.”) Mt. 25:41.

[Figure 34, f. 77v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

Christ, wearing a pastel blue cape fastened with a gold brooch and a blue cloth covering his legs, is seated on a small rainbow. Blood flows from his wounded hands, side and feet. On his right and left six angels either clasp their hands in prayer or cross their arms over their chests. Some angels close their eyes, others stare at Christ. He raises his hands and looks down into the pit where the damned have been cast and are tortured by four horned devils. One devil’s horn is like a unicorn’s horn and his ears are like a long-eared sheep. We are gazing at the pit of hell, which according to the text, will open on the Day of Judgment on the Mount of Olives.

[Figure 35, f. 81v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

Within the monster jaws of hell, a centaur with the head of a horned devil tortures one of the damned with his double pronged rod while trampling upon two others with his hooves. Four dragons and six horned devils torment eight of the fallen. These creatures of hell are those described in quoted scriptures. One of them reads: Isaiah XXXIV:13-14 “*And it shall be the habitation of dragons, and the pasture of ostriches. And demons and monsters shall meet, and the hairy ones shall cry out to one another.*”

**[Figure 36, f. 82v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

Two colorful devils thrust long handled forks into the bodies of the damned burning in a double shelved oven. The devil on the right has a brown furry body and blue arms and abdomen, his unicorn horn has green and white stripes, and his feet are bird-like talons. The two-horned devil on the right is covered with green fur except for his lower limbs, which are covered in red fur. His feet are cloven hooves. The damned speak: "Because we have trespassed the holy commandments of God we are piled together in this furnace in horrible torments."

**[Figure 37, f. 83r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

The body of the devil spinning the wheel displays multiple heads. Below his horned head on his chest is the gaunt head of an old bearded man. The devil's crotch is a man's face with sunken eyes. The devil's joints are the mouths of monsters. He grins maniacally as he turns the crank on the wheel and bodies are hurled into the air. Flames lick the bodies of the damned as they desperately cling to the spinning wheel or fly into space. These tortured souls are tortured because they were "arrogant, proud, haughty, and basked in vain glory...The proud who wanted to go up too high will be put on this wheel so that from the highest point of the wheel they will be put down low."

**[Figure 38, f. 83v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

Eleven of the damned are submerged in a tank of freezing water, only their heads, or a hand, or a foot bob above the icy water in the picture on the left. An orange devil with blue wings lifts one of the damned from the tank with his metal two-pronged

fork. On the right is a tank of molten metal from which the same damned struggle to raise their heads above the swirling boiling liquid. A brown skinned devil grins over his shoulder as he prods one of the damned with an identical tool of torture. Those who have been envious are constantly moved from one tank to the other without any respite. The process of torture continues ad infinitum.

**[Figure 39, f. 84r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

The damned with stones on their bodies lie on the ground. In the upper segment four Hieronymus Bosch-like devils continue to hurl more stones on them. Three of the devils are gray like the stones they throw. The gray devil on the upper far left has the face of a lion, the gray devil in center has the face of a gargoyle, his nose is adorned with three pearls, his chest is the head of a bearded old man, and his knee joint is the head of a stoat that bites the shoulder of the damned. The other gray devil has the face of a badger and his left hand resembles an elephant's foot. The yellow-green winged devil on the far right clutches a stone in both hands, breathes fire from his mouth and displays a spinal cord embellished with blue translucent round stones. In the lower part of the picture two winged green devils plunge a spear and sword into the condemned. The three damned are punished in hell for being quick to anger. They are tormented because they were "impatient and moved to fury, and were mad, puffed up, and prompt to curse, menace, or beat others."

**[Figure 40, f. 84v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

Four of the damned are attacked by dragons and ravens. The wounded with blood streaming from their wounds lie collapsed

on the ground. Green winged dragons with red eyes sit on two of the condemned. The dragons' claws serrate their skin as they tear at their flesh with their teeth. Black ravens gnaw the other two doomed individuals. The anonymous author of *The Vineyard* explains, "Beasts and birds eat and devour the lazy who were without vigor of mind to perform good works, and were like the dead, deprived of a life of grace."

**[Figure 41, f. 85r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

Two cauldrons hold those who burned with greed in this life. Distinctive hats and hair styles reveal the identity of some of the avaricious of the church and state: a papal tiara (the hat with three tiers and a cross on top), a bishop's mitre (a shield shaped hat with two stiffened halves), a cardinal's hat (a red round brimmed hat), a gold crown ornamented with a fleurs-de-lis, and tonsured-hair. Flames lick the bodies of the damned while in the red sky the faces of three black devils gloat over their victims. The pervasive color of red in the sky, and in the flames on the outside and inside the cauldrons, helps create one of the most haunting scenes in the manuscript.

**[Figure 42, f. 85v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

A long dining table is spread with inedible food, a toad, and a green decapitated head of a monster, a clump of moldy bread, and some venomous liquid. Seated at the table are four dark skinned men who, according to the text, were gluttons and did not heed the "commandments of fasting of the Holy Church." Two horned devils "force them to eat abominable meats and to drink lethal drinks that will drive them mad."

[Figure 43, f. 86r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

Two devils with horns and blood shot eyes cast sinners into a brick furnace full of burning bodies. Most of the damned open their mouths in agony. The text explains that the smell of burning sulfur will be combined with the flames for those who “were ardent in carnal concupiscence and stinking in ardor of lust.”

[Figure 44, f. 87r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

Five sinners are collapsed among the flames inside the jaws of hell. Three of the damned are cradled in the arms of the devils, one of whom wears a crown decorated with three fleur-de-lis. The anonymous author calls this place of torment a pool of fire, designated for those who did not believe in Christ and accept the Catholic faith, the false prophets of the Antichrist, those who converted to the Antichrist, murderers, liars, fornicators, robbers, idolaters, and looters.

[Figure 45, f. 87v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

In the upper illumination heads of the damned bob above the freezing waters of the river Styx. On the left a winged green devil strikes the head of one with his club while the other two devils with clubs menace the other heads. The devil on the right raises his weapon high enough to extend beyond the frame.

In the lower illumination the damned burn in the river Flegeton “an infernal river, full of devouring fire.” Their heads appear amidst the flames of the fiery river. They roll their eyes toward the two grinning devils poised to strike them with clubs.

**[Figure 46, f. 88r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

In the upper illumination thirteen heads and one foot appear on the surface of the river Lethe, “a river of black boiling pitch that is so penetrating that it enters the bodies of those who are in it and burns them inside and out. Those in the river are driven mad.” Flying above the heads are two devils poised with clubs.

In the lower illumination eleven heads, a pair of knees, arms with praying hands, a foot and two hands rise above the Cocytus river. Four devils with clubs loom over the drowning heads. Here the damned are in “an infernal river of boiling metal and those in it shriek as though mad.” The anonymous writer comments that the condemned are moved from one river to another, but does not mention the particular sin that merits such punishments.

**[Figure 47, f. 90v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

Intact burning bodies writhe amidst flames in six horizontal rows. Dismembered heads, legs and arms are also in the flames. The damned suffer in an everlasting fire. The scripture quoted is Isaiah L: 11 “Walk in the light of your fire, and in the flames which you have kindled.”

**[Figure 48, f. 91v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

Six nude bodies of the damned lie horizontally arranged in three tiers of two in each. The bodies are placed head to foot with their legs touching. Their bodies are tortured with flames of fire and biting worms. This dreadful punishment shows the fulfillment of Ecclesiasticus VII: 19 “The vengeance on the flesh of the ungodly is fire and worms.”

### [Figure 49, f. 92r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

The pallid nude bodies of four of the damned are arranged horizontally in the same manner as in [Figure 48](#). At the top left a brown wolf-like animal with long white fangs and talons bites the throat of one man while in the top right a blue jackal-like creature stares into space and rests its head of the shoulder of another man. Large blue snakes coil about the throats, wrists, arms, heads, legs and knees of the damned while others enter their mouths. The illumination encapsulates the scripture cited: Jeremiah VIII: 17 “Behold I will send among you serpents, basilisks, against which there is no charm: and they shall bite you, saith the Lord.”

### [Figure 50, f. 94r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

Four damned are encased in ice, and lie horizontally in the same manner as in [Figure 48](#). The text states “all those who are there are stiff with cold and hard like stones.”

### [Figure 51, f. 95v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

The four devils are amazing hybrids of humans and animals. These otherworldly creatures grin and smirk as they torture the damned. The devil in the upper left places his green hands on the heads of two of the damned. He has a square head, a green face, floppy ears like a dog, small red horns, yellow staring eyes, an eagle’s beak, black furry shoulders, torso, and legs, and horse’s hooves for feet. The devil in the upper right leans against a sinner as he pours red liquid into his mouth. The devil has two large curved ram’s horns, a short tail, a blue and green body, large pink bat-like wings with yellow polka dots, and talons for

feet. In the lower right a sinner's mouth is pried open by a devil with pointed ears like an African bush pig, blue horns, a curled tail, a human body with green and yellow striped thighs, blue and white striped lower legs and claws for feet. The devil pouring red liquid into the sinner's mouth has a green face, webbed feet like a duck, a blue upper chest, a red lower chest revealing the head of a man with a large nose. The torture is described in the scripture quoted, Jeremiah IX: 15 "*Behold I will feed this people with wormwood, and give them water of gall to drink.*"

**[Figure 52, f. 98r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

Lucifer's immensity and ferocity cannot be contained within the borders of the frame. His tiara of six devil heads poke through the upper frame reflecting the cited passage from Apocalypse XII: 3 that the dragon (Lucifer) has seven heads and ten horns. Lucifer glares wide-eyed at the reader. His lower legs and talons pierce through the bottom frame. His consort of four devils looks at him and pays him homage. All breathe fire from their mouths and brandish two pronged metal rods. The image of Lucifer is a close rendering of his description in Job XLI: 5-12 and Apocalypse XII: 3. Lucifer as well as his consort are aptly described in passages cited from Nahum II: 4 and especially in the Passion of St. Sebastian, d. 287.

**[Figure 53, f. 99r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

Sixteen self-possessed devils in colors of lime green, pastel blue, persimmon orange, beige, and cocoa strut proudly against a black background. They are arranged in grid-like formation of four horizontal tiers and four vertical tiers with four devils in each. Most of them have splotches of red war paint on their

foreheads and several have monster heads in the area of their genitals. They all brandish a metal torture instrument with two prongs on the top end and a hook on the lower. They gaze in many directions, as though searching for their prey. The anonymous author comments upon their ugliness: “To see them, the damned have horror and are all afraid and lost, all frightened and faint.”

**[Figure 54, f. 99v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

Four devils trample on two of the collapsed damned, while beneath them two devils embrace two of the damned and attempt to hold them on their laps. The four standing devils grin broadly and gleefully grasp their torture instrument seen in [Figure 53](#). The red devil with green and blue arms and legs sports a drooping mustache. This torture by the devils is described in the quoted scripture: Isaiah V: 29 “And they shall take hold of the prey, and they shall keep fast hold of it...”

**[Figure 55, f. 100r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

Flying overhead in the upper left is a grinning horned devil with a multi colored human body—his head, torso and lower legs are of a light skinned Caucasian and his arms, and upper thighs are iridescent lime green. He flies overhead and scratches the back of one of the damned. In the center a horned brown skinned devil with the face of a lioness bites the shoulder of one of the doomed. In the upper right a devil sinks his teeth and claws into a sinner. The devil has the head of a horned bear, large bat-like wings and human body covered with long black fur, and eagle's talons emerge from his shin. In the lower left a green horned devil with a pig's snout sinks his claws into the face and chest of

his victim. Next to him a devil with curved horns, ears of a goat, and a human face with tusks, claws the face of his victim. The lower devils stare at the reader while torturing their prey. This punishment is cited in Habakkuk II: 7 “Shall they not rise up suddenly that shall bite thee?”

**Figure 56, f. 100v ([view in Digital Bodleian](#))**

Four standing devils menace and attack the damned with a halberd, sword and pike. Some devils grin broadly, while others stick their tongues out. The devils reflect the cited scripture: Job XVI: 14-15 “He hath compassed me round about with his lances, he hath wounded my loins, he hath not spared, and hath poured out my bowels on the earth.”

**Figure 57, f. 101r ([view in Digital Bodleian](#))**

In the upper left a green devil grasps with his right hand a knout, which protrudes outside of the frame. With his left hand he seizes the arm of a white bearded condemned man. In the upper right a fanged red devil clubs a lost young man whose eyes dangle below their sockets. In the lower left a black devil with a sledgehammer beats another youth whose eyes also hang from their sockets. The purple and turquoise devil in the lower right is poised with a sledgehammer to strike a person with short gray hair and bleeding eye sockets. This punishment is cited in Proverbs XIX: 29: “Judgments are prepared for scorers: and striking hammers for the bodies of fools.”

**[Figure 58, f. 103v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

Three devils in the sky spew down gray, round stones and clumps of fire upon six burning, prostrate bodies of the damned. The red devil with pointed horns grins broadly at the reader. He has just spit out a stone. He puts his arms over the shoulders of his winged green and navy blue devil companions who have claws and talons. The blue devil has his mouth open and is belching out clumps of fire. The damned twist in agony as their bodies are pelted. The scene is closely linked to the text that reads: “The hail, lightning, and storms will be the devils upon the damned and will be so horrible that the damned will be broken and torn and horribly tormented.”

**[Figure 59, f. 105v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

Clumps of fire burn the five bodies of the damned as they lie on the ground with their eyes staring upward. The image reflects the text: “They will be all red with fire and all burning outside and inside, so much that one must step back because of the sparks they throw.”

**[Figure 60, f. 121r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

Seven round pits are filled with swirling pools of fiery liquid engulfing the young and old bodies of the damned. Only the heads of men and women are visible above the molten liquid with the exception of one woman whose head and breasts are visible. The text reads: “...in hell there is a large and smoky place with the ground full of round pits full of various metals all boiling. In these pits the usurers are put...”

**Figure 61, f. 121v ([view in Digital Bodleian](#))**

Two devils with purple and green bat-like wings embellished with polka dots and the letter “v” lie on top of a beam beneath what appears to be a gothic arch. Both devils gleefully look at the reader, one devil sticks out his tongue and the other exposes his derriere. They reach down with their claws and touch two of the damned hanging from ropes below them. Eight bodies of the accursed are suspended, some by their hands, some by their necks, and some by their feet from the upper beam. Below them hang five more of the damned in the same ghoulish manner. All the doomed are tormented by licking flames. The illumination corroborates the text: “[Robbers] are suspended from the gallows of hell with chains of burning iron, some by the neck, others by the hands, others by the feet, their heads hanging down. And beside this torment they are enflamed below by flames that burn them while they hang.”

**Figure 62, f. 122r ([view in Digital Bodleian](#))**

Four of the damned, murderers and tyrants of various ages, lie against a blood red background while devils brutally attack them with halberds and pikes. The brown hairy devil in the upper left has a human face, fangs, horns of a steer, ears of a sheep, webbed feet and long, wavy tail. He stares with glowing red eyes at the reader as he slices the shoulder of one of the damned with his halberd. The navy blue devil in the upper right has the head of a bear with large scalloped horns, a nose sporting a short curved horn, claws for hands, and talons for feet. He wears a blue pendant and cuts his victim with his halberd. The green devil in the lower left sticks out his tongue in concentration as he thrusts his pike into his victim. His eyes are red, his blue

horns resemble those of an antelope, his feet are cloven hooves. He has a square head, Neanderthal-like brows, and a long kinky tail. In the lower right the devil's fur is the color of café au lait. He has the beak of an eagle and blue curly horns of a ram. He gazes at the reader as he punctures the rib cage of the damned with his pike. The punishment given to the murders is due them according to the scripture cited: Matthew XXVI: 52 "For all that take the sword, shall perish by the sword."

### [Figure 63, f. 134r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

Against a cobalt blue heaven dotted with clouds, saints and angels are alternately spaced in a grid of five horizontal boxes and four vertical compartments. The male and female saints are clothed in garments of vibrant colors of red, green, fuchsia, navy blue and orange. The saints carry palm branches. The young angels are dressed in white albs and have brightly colored wings. Some stand with their hands either clasped together in prayer, or with their arms crossed over their chest in acceptance and reverence. One raises his or her hands as though orating, while others point to the adjacent saint. Both image and text illuminate each other. The text quotes Apocalypse VII: 9 and the conversation of the saints explains the meaning of the palms: "Because we resisted the temptations and suggestions of the enemies we are sitting on the thrones of glory and holding the palm of victory."

### [Figure 64, f. 134v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

Four bearded nimbed saints of varying ages are seated on a bench against a cobalt blue wall decorated with stylized gold flowers. They wear long gowns and capes of contrasting colors

of green and gold, fuchsia and blue, scarlet and gold, blue and green. A beardless young saint wears a shimmering orange gown. The neck of the scarlet gown is embellished in gold with what appears to be a backwards “s.” The embellishment suggests a tiraz, a Persian inscription found on luxury textiles. The same ornamentation or tiraz will reappear on gowns of the saints, on the gown of Christ, the wall panels of St. Mary’s throne and on the gowns of angels before the enthroned Christ. The saint at the far left is pointing his finger as the other saints who turn their heads toward him in rapt attention. These are the “saints who have loved God and kept his commandments.”

**Figure 65, f. 135r ([view in Digital Bodleian](#))**

In the upper illumination five nimbed saints sit against a background of cobalt blue tapestry decorated with gold fleurs-de-lis. In the center a male saint, wearing a fuchsia robe trimmed in green, points to the woman saint on his left. The saints to his right and left gaze at him in rapt attention. Magnification reveals that the red gown of the one female saints is trimmed at the neck with the tiraz-like inscription of the backward “s.” These saints are humble of heart.

In the lower illumination five nimbed saints sit against a scarlet background decorated with gold stylized flowers. From left to right two women engage in conversation with a man and on the right a man and woman gaze at each other as they converse. They “have loved and kept justice and spoken the truth to each person.” Four of the five sainted women appear to be teenagers and have waist length blond hair. The older woman saint covers her head with her cloak.

[Figure 66, f. 135v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

As in the previous illuminations, five nimbed saints sit side by side. On the left two nuns wear colorful capes—one green and one blue. Seated in the center is a young female saint with long blonde hair. Her gaze is toward the reader. She wears a green dress and a red velvet cape lined in blue and trimmed with gold cord. Next to her sits a young male saint wearing a purple gown ornamented at the neck with a gold tiraz inscription, and a gold cape lined with green cloth. A gray haired, bearded saint turns to gaze at the young man. All fold their hands in prayer. The nimbed saints appear in front of a sky of deep blue. These saints have practiced charity.

The lower illumination contains five nimbed saints, one wears a crown, another a bishop's mitre, the gold collar of his fuchsia cape is ornamented with the tiraz-like inscription; another saint points to the novice next to him. The saint at the far right is a sad faced young prince or king who places his hand over his heart. As in the upper illumination they sit against a blue sky dotted with clouds. These saints "have given hospitality and have received religious people, the poor, and the pilgrims and have given some of their belongings for the love of God."

[Figure 67, f. 136r \(two illuminations\) \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

In the upper illumination rays of light emanate from the body of Christ and the sky glows behind him. He is seated between two young female saints on his right and two on his left. All of the young women have long, flowing blond hair and innocent, childlike faces. His burgundy cloak with a green lining is open exposing the wound on his side. He raises his right hand in

blessing, revealing the bleeding nail wounds. His nimbus shows three fleurs-de-lis. The saints are seen against a blue sky. These saints have kept chastity after marriage.

In the lower illumination two young nuns in bright red and blue habits converse, while two bearded male saints stare straight ahead and another looks at his neighbor. The latter saint on the far right wears a royal blue gown and green cape trimmed in gold and a gray skullcap. The background is as in the upper illumination. These saintly men and women have practiced chastity.

**[Figure 68, f. 136v \(two illuminations\) \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

The upper and lower illuminations differ only slightly from those preceding. In the upper illumination five nimbed saints, two men and three women are engaged in conversation. These saints have “had compassion for others, visited the sick and prisoners and cared for them.”

The lower illumination is like the one above with minor variations. Three male saints speak together, while two nuns engage in conversation. These saints “have renounced the world and have chosen voluntary poverty to be rich in Christ.”

**[Figure 69, f. 137r \(two illuminations\) \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

The upper and lower illuminations differ only slightly from the preceding ones. The most noticeable differences in the upper panel are head coverings of three of the male saints. In the far left a saint wears a black cap, a *kippah* (in Hebrew) or *yarmulke* (in Yiddish). The two male saints sitting next to him wear simple

white caps coving their ears. They are joined by a young nun and novice. These are saints who were preachers and won souls. In the panel below are five saints, two young beardless males, as well as an aged, gray bearded male, a nun, and young woman who “have suffered adversity and tribulation for the name of God.”

**[Figure 70, f. 137v \(one illumination\) \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

As in the preceding illuminations the saints sit together and are engaged in serious conversation. Five nimbed saints, two men and three women, wear robes and capes of brilliant colors. A sainted monk wears a scarlet gown, a young woman wears a royal blue gown, a nun wears a purple and green habit, a patriarch wears a green gown and magenta cape lined with royal blue, and a young novice wears a blue gown and yellow cape lined in blue. The saints hold palm branches in their hands. As in the previous illuminations they are seen against a blue sky with many tiny clouds. These saints resisted evil and repented of their sins and “amended their lives through good works.”

**[Figure 71, f. 144v \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

**[Figure 72, f. 145r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)**

The scene of Christ enthroned and surrounded by the saints is of major significance, because as Martin Kauffmann points out in The Introduction, it is the only one that occupies two complete folios and acts as a focal point of the manuscript. The saints are seated in four tiers on both sides of the throne. The

upper most tier is occupied by the female saints, who have long blond hair, with the exception of the two nuns in black and white habits. Two cardinals, one pope, and three bishops are among the three tiers of male saints. The saints are young, bearing testimony to the belief of the anonymous author of *The Vineyard* and St. Augustine that the saints of paradise would be no older than Christ when he finished his ministry on earth. They all have blue eyes and nimbs. All of the saints wear gold crowns with the exception of the cardinals, bishops and popes, whose heads are crowned with their clerical hats. All hold their hands together in prayer or cross their chests with their hands in adoration or acceptance. The saints are all dressed in luxurious fabrics ornamented with pearls and gold embroidery with the exception of the nuns wearing their simple black and white habits and the cardinals wearing their red gowns and capes. The carefully aligned pearls on the bodices of the gowns, and capes of Christ, the pope and a bishop are reminiscent of the carefully placed translucent blue stones in [Figure 39](#), f. 84r that ornament the spinal cord of a devil. Christ's gown is purple and enhanced with the gold tiraz inscription that appeared earlier on the gowns of the saints in [Figure 64](#), [Figure 65](#), [Figure 66](#), and [Figure 71](#). Several collars, capes and gowns are also embroidered with the backwards "s," suggesting an inscribed luxury Persian fabric.

Martin Kauffmann also observes in *The Introduction* that among all the saints gathered around the throne of Christ the two deemed most worthy to kneel before his throne are two Carthusian saints indicating the anonymous author's great respect and esteem for the Order. It is tantalizing to imagine what the connection might have been. Perhaps one of the Carthusian saints is St. Bruno, founder of the order in 1084 and who settled in the Grand Chartreuse in the mountains above Grenoble. Images of the Carthusian saints are also reminders of

those who lived at the Chartreuse de Champmol, built by Philip the Bold near Dijon.

Christ the King sits on his throne and raises his right hand in blessing. His red velvet cloak, trimmed with white pearls and gold cord, is lined with blue satin, and fastened with a gold brooch. Christ does not look at the multitude of saints but directly at the reader. Most of the saints in [Figure 71](#) and [Figure 72](#) look in awe at Christ, however a few look downward and one nun, caught up in her own reverie, gazes into space.

### [Figure 73, f. 151r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

The youthful enthroned Blessed Virgin Mary has a kind, innocent face, and waist-length blond hair. She is nimbed and wears a gold crown embellished with fleurs-de-lis. Over her gold gown she wears a blue velvet cape lined with purple silk and trimmed with gold cord. The gold tiraz inscription seen earlier appears on the red flat roof, and side curtains of her throne, as well as on the gown of one of the angel singers. The back panel and base of her throne are embellished with large stylized gold flowers. Two small carved animals adorn the arm rests. The Virgin crosses her delicate hands over her chest in acceptance and reverence. Please see The Excursus for a translation of the sung Latin antiphons and identification of the musical instruments.

### [Figure 74, f. 152r \(view in Digital Bodleian\)](#)

Six red seraphim glow against the blue sky above Christ enthroned. These six winged angels, the highest in the order of angels, are caretakers of God's throne. They are mentioned in Isaiah VI: 2-3 as those who continuously sing, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts ..." Christ wears almost the same regal cloth-

ing as in [Figure 72](#), f. 145r. His cloak is lined with blue, but the gold inscription on the front of his gown is missing, however it is visible on the necks, cuffs, sleeves and hems of some of the gowns of the angels in the lowest tier. He raises his right hand in blessing. Nine winged angels in long robes of scarlet, deep purple, teal, pastel green and light tan stand on Christ's left and right. Directly in front of the enthroned Christ two angel thurifers wearing albs swing thuribles in unison upwards. The accompanying text reads: "Oh what a marvelous thing to see the angels adoring God, the others ministering in front of God, the others standing in front of God, and all praising God because it is their office to praise and glorify God."

#### [Figure 75](#), f. 158v ([view in Digital Bodleian](#))

Please see The Excursus for a description of the musical instruments played and the music sung. The face of Christ differs from the previous illumination. Previously he had light brown hair, here he has black hair. The brilliant red velvet of Christ's cloak is repeated in the garments of three of the angel singers and in the gowns of the organist. The borders of Christ's cloak are adorned with single rows of white round pearls as in [Figure 72](#), f. 145r and [Figure 74](#), 152r. The same tiraz-like gold inscription, seen earlier, appears on the gowns of some of the saints playing musical instruments, namely on the neck of the scarlet gown of the organist, and on the neck of the gray green gown of the harpist.

#### [Figure 76](#), f. 165r ([view in Digital Bodleian](#))

Two contrasting scenes from the natural world represent the anonymous author's final impassioned admonition to be good laborers in the vineyard in order to join the saints in the City

of God. The upper panel represents “trees that do not bear good fruit, fir trees, elms, ash trees, aspens, birches, plane trees, maples, trembling poplars, and holly trees.” The author laments that in this world there are more sinners than righteous just as there are more non-bearing trees than trees bearing good fruit. A wild boar, stag, and winsome squirrel roam among the eleven stylized non-fruit bearing trees with purple and brown trunks. In the lower scene a rabbit rests under one of the few trees that bear fruit. The “fruitful” trees have purple trunks and branches bearing many of what might be unripe oranges or grapefruits. The anonymous preacher’s final exhortation is to be fruitful, “do what is necessary to obtain eternal life,” and know all other pursuits lead to eternal agony.

The presence of the animals alludes to more mini sermons found in several bestiaries. In the upper panel the boar and the stag recall a passage in Pierre de Beauvais’ *Bestiary*. Beauvais quotes Physiologus who compares the stag to Christ who triumphs over evil. Physiologus says “when the stag knows where the serpent (dragon) is he fills his mouth with water and spits it upon the the serpent, draws him out by breathing upon it and stamping him to death.” Likewise Christ triumphed over the devil by casting demons into the swine that drowned themselves in the sea. (Matthew 8: 29, 31-32 Mark 5:7 and 9-13). The passage is from *A Medieval Book of Beasts: Pierre de Beauvais’ Bestiary*, translated from French into English by Guy R. Mermier (The Edwin Mellen Press, 1992). It’s poignant that the last illumination of *The Vineyard* concludes with the image of a hare amidst a grove of fruit bearing trees. I quote the entry on the hare in its entirety from a Latin bestiary written during the last half of the thirteenth century because it illustrates the labyrinthian mode of argument and faith of the author of the bestiary: “The hare (*lepus*) is called light-footed (*lepvipes*) because it runs so swiftly. It is a swift creature, and fairly timid. The hare represents men

who fear God, and put their trust not in themselves but in the Creator. We read Solomon's words: 'The hares are but feeble folk, yet make they their houses in the rocks' [Proverbs 30:6]. Whence the Psalmist says: 'The high hills are a refuge for the hedgehogs; and the rocks for the hares' [104: 18]. For the rock is Christ..." The passage is from *Bestiary Being an English Version of the Bodleian Library, Oxford M.S. Bodley 764*, trans. by Richard Barber, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993).



# Excursus: The Musical Iconography in “Livre de la vigne nostre Seigneur” (“The Book of the Vineyard of Our Saviour”), MS. Douce I34

Of the seventy-six illuminations in *The Vineyard*, four are devoted to music. These four illuminations intertwined with the text deserve close attention because the angels and saints who play musical instruments and sing, bear witness to the divinity they encounter. This musical iconography is part of the religious and cultural milieu of the Carthusians of the Grand Chartreuse located in the mountains above Grenoble, and the Chartreuse de Champmol near Dijon, as well as the chapels and courts of the Burgundian dukes. As Martin Kauffmann explains in the Introduction, *The Vineyard* is particularly connected to the Carthusians of the Grand Chartreuse by way of the images of two Carthusian saints wearing their distinctive white robes and kneeling before the throne of Christ in paradise, in [Figure 71](#) and [Figure 72](#). Additional ties to the Carthusians are apparent in the works of three authors closely connected to the order, Marguerite of Oingt, Jean Gerson, and Thomas à Kempis, who share the anonymous author’s belief that the music of the heavens is a response to the presence of God. I will discuss their corroboration later.

There are several visual clues within the manuscript linking it to the Dukes of Burgundy. Their saltire, the Cross of St. Andrew, appears on the tiny flags flying from towers as well as on the ground as though claiming these territories as their own. See [Figure 2](#), [Figure 5](#), and [Figure 12](#). The trumpets in the sky on the Day of Judgment, and the lavish assortment of musical instruments in the celestial courts of the Virgin Mary and Christ are reminiscent of the Dukes' favorite instruments heard in their courts and chapels.

In *The Vineyard* the music that fills the skies and the celestial courts of the Virgin Mary and Christ falls outside the boundaries of the categories of music as defined by Boethius: *musica mundana*, *musica humana* and *musica instrumentalis*. In the fourteenth century a new category, *musica caelestis*, appears, which is described by Jacobus Leodiensis in his *Speculum musice*. The new category of music is not of the physical world, rather that of the spiritual world, which reveals the presence of God and his angels. The hierarchy of angels was well known in the Middle Ages. They are ranked from the highest to the lowest: seraphim, cherubim, dominions, powers, virtues, principalities, archangels, and angels. In *The Vineyard* the hierarchy is referred to throughout paradise as the "order" or "camps" in the celestial courts of both the Virgin Mary and Christ. Especially important in the depiction of the hierarchy of angels is the inclusion of the saints, because they too, join in the *musica caelestis*.

The musical iconography of *The Vineyard*, while representing music emanating from the heavens, depicts musical instruments cherished in the courts and chapels of the Burgundian dukes who were as Craig Wright comments, "perhaps the most renowned patrons of music in western Europe at the end of

the Middle Ages.”<sup>1</sup> The musical iconography interwoven with the text conveys the belief that music, the most intangible and ephemeral of all human experience, is the response to God’s plan and love. This belief is expressed throughout *The Vineyard*, as well as in several works by writers with ties to the Carthusians: *The Mirror* by Marguerite of Oingt (c. 1240–1310) a prioress of the Carthusian convent of Poletains near Lyons and whose work was approved by the Carthusian General Chapter;<sup>2</sup> *The Mountain of Contemplation*, and *A Commentary on the Song of Songs* by Jean Gerson (1363–1429), Chancellor of the University of Paris and a friend and admirer of the Carthusians, as well as confidant of Philip the Bold, the first Duke of Burgundy; and *The Imitation of Christ*, attributed to Thomas à Kempis (c. 1380–1471)<sup>3</sup> a priest and devotee of the Carthusians.

My purpose is two-fold, to show that the musical iconography intertwined with the text plays a role in delineating the presence of God, not only in the Last Judgment but also in the “dowries” and wedding feasts of his saints, and to indicate how Marguerite, Jean, and Thomas in their works mentioned above, similarly

1. See Craig Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy 1364–1419: A Documentary History* (Henryville, Ottawa, and Binningen: Institute of Medieval Music, Ltd., 1979), v.

2. Bernard McGinn points out that nuns in Marguerite’s charge read the epistle at Mass and gospel in the Divine Office; he also discusses the salient features of her two works in his *The Flowering of Mysticism: Men and Women in the New Mysticism 1200–1350* (NY: The Crossroad Publishing Co., 1998), 288–292.

3. McGinn relates in his book, *The Varieties of Vernacular Mysticism 1350–1550* (NY: The Crossroad Publishing Co., 2012), 96–107, that Thomas joined the Windesheim Augustinian House at Mount St. Agnes in 1399 and was professed in 1406. He describes Thomas’ participation in the *Devotio Moderna* movement, the acclaim of *The Imitation*, and its major themes.

describe the “dowries” of the saints of paradise and their own intimate encounter with God in which they hear *musica caelestis* or become part of it. Secondly, I wish to show the music and musical instruments of paradise reflect the anonymous author’s own belief that the sacred music of the terrestrial liturgy and the musical instruments of the courts and chapels of the Burgundian dukes are related. For the anonymous writer the music and musical instruments of the microcosm bear a great similarity to the music of the macrocosm. The anonymous author’s immersion in the music of the Divine Office and Mass, and knowledge of the musical instruments in the Burgundian courts and chapels make this mirroring possible.

I have listed in the notes recordings of music in the public domain mentioned or alluded to in the musical iconography of *The Vineyard*. The recordings are representative of music heard during the reign of the Burgundian dukes,<sup>4</sup> or sung in the Carthusian chapels<sup>5</sup> of the Grand Chartreuse near Grenoble and

4. A brief list of superb studies relating to the music and instruments in the courts and chapels of Philip the Bold 1342-1404, John the Fearless 1371-1419, Philip the Good 1396-1467, and Charles the Bold 1433-1477 include: Craig Wright’s *Music at the Court of Burgundy 1364-1419: A Documentary History* (Henryville, Ottawa, and Binningen: Institute of Medieval Music, 1979); David Fiala’s article “Music and Musicians at the Burgundian Court in the Fifteenth-Century” in *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*, eds. Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin, (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 427-445; and *Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music*, ed. Stanley Boorman (Cambridge University Press, 1983).
5. Carthusian monks in Evora, Portugal at the monastery Cartux de Santa Maria Scala Coeli sing parts of the liturgy from the *Graduale Romanum* directed by Jerónimo Heitor Coelho, recorded in 2013. The monks sing the Introit: “*Tibi dixit cor meum...*” from Ps. 26:8-9 with the Versicle from Ps. 26:1 “*Dominus illuminatio...*” appointed for the Sunday of the Transformation (2nd Sunday of Lent) and 1st Sunday in August;

the Chartreuse de Champmol. The latter was built near Dijon by Philip the Bold and his wife Margaret of Flanders in 1385 to serve as a place of worship as well as a mausoleum for the Burgundian dynasty.<sup>6</sup>

The first musical illumination in *The Vineyard*, [Figure 24](#), depicts the most terrifying event of all time, the Day of Judgment. God's messengers, two angel trumpeters with pink and green wings, sound their trumpets<sup>7</sup> in the sky as the dead rise from their coffins and blue and red winged angels bearing rods tipped with crosses greet the righteous, while devils usher the damned into the jaws of hell. A mini sermon accompanying the

the second chant is the Alleluia for the 26th Sunday in Ordinary Time, "Paratum cor meum," accessed July 14, 2020, <https://youtu.be/sqF0nsQ9HQc>.

6. Sherry C.M. Lindquist, in *Agency, Visuality and Society at the Chartreuse de Champmol* (Cornwall: Ashgate, 2008) describes Philip the Bold's devotion to the Carthusian order and his motivation in building the monastery.
7. Straight medieval trumpets were among the *hauts* (loud) instruments in the Burgundian court and named *trompettes de guerre* (trumpets of war). It was an imposing instrument of over six feet in length. Early in his reign Philip the Bold purchased brass trumpets for the watchmen of his castles. During his lifetime John the Fearless had six trumpeters in his employ. Philip the Good used trumpets in jousting tournaments, and to announce his processions, attacks and victories, as well as his own wedding to Isabella. See Edmund A. Bowles, "Instruments at the Court of Burgundy (1363-1467," *The Galpin Society Journal* 6 (1953): 41-51. David Munrow comments that the instrument was commonly called the *busine* and the Burgundian composer, Guillaume Dufay, offers a glimpse of what medieval fanfares may have been like in his *Gloria ad modum tubae* written around 1420. See D. Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford University Press, 1986), 19. For the Dufay score see *Guillaume Dufay, Opera omnia*, ed. Heinrich Bessler (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1962), IV: 79-80.

scene of the Day of Judgment explains that this is not the first time God's presence is announced by the blast of a trumpet. The reader is told when God descended on Mt. Sinai in the form of fire, smoke went up, and the whole mountain shook violently: "Louder and louder grew the sound of the trumpet. Moses spoke, and God answered him with peals of thunder," Exodus XIX: 18-20. The anonymous author quotes numerous scriptures telling of the sound of the trumpet that will announce the end: Matthew XXIII: 31, Matthew XXV: 6, Isaiah XVIII: 3, Apocalypse XX:13, and I Corinthians XV: 51-52. Immediately following this mini sermon is the vast enumeration of sins and their punishments in hell. The great similarity between the sermon of *The Vineyard* and a meditation in *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis suggests an acquaintance with the work. Both writers beseech the reader to consider the judgment and to live not for the joys of this world but those of the next. In keeping with *The Vineyard*, Thomas exclaims: "...all things are vanity, but to love God and to serve Him. He that loveth God with all his heart dreadeth neither death, nor torment, nor judgment nor hell; for perfect love maketh a sure passage to God..."<sup>8</sup>

Acting as God's messengers, angels blast their trumpets to announce the final judgment, marking the end of quotidian time and the beginning of unmeasured time.<sup>9</sup> This marks the day of final reckoning for the human race.

8. Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, bk.1, ch. 24, trans. Richard Whitford (Mt. Vernon, NY: Peter Pauper Press, 1965), 49. In the following citations, the last number refers to page number.

9. Angels play trumpets similar to these in Rogier van der Weyden's *Last Judgment* (1446-1448) in the Hôtel Dieu, in Beaune. The Hôtel Dieu, a former almshouse and hospital for the poor, founded in 1443 by Nicholas Rolin chancellor of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, is now a museum.

The three remaining musical illuminations, **Figures 73-75**, accompany the anonymous author's description of paradise. The text preceding them is a meditation entitled "The dowries of glory which the saints will have in their souls." Each dowry shows a remarkable feature of God: each of which profoundly moves the angels and saints to make music, and each reflects upon the mysterious changes that are wrought in angels and saints as they encounter God. The first dowry, a clear vision of God, is described in the first person:

We will see God as he is: a God in three persons and three persons in one divine essence. We will see how the Father is to the Son and the Son to the Father and how the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. We will see our Lord Jesus as God and man...We will see God in himself. We will see him in each one of us and we will see him in the other. Augustine says in the last book of *The City of God*: 'God will be so known by us and so present to our eyes that by means of the spirit he will be seen by each of us in each of us, seen by each in his neighbor and in himself.'<sup>10</sup> (*The Vineyard* f. 145v, Paradise II.)

When Marguerite in her *Mirror* relates her vision of God in the third person, the encounter is similarly expressed. She intimates that she sees heaven in the miraculous mirror given to her by God, and in that mirror "God is marvelous in His saints... He

10. "Ita Deus nobis erit notus atque conspicuus, ut videatur spiritu a singulis nobis in singulis nobis, videatur ad altero in altero, videatur in se ipso." Augustine, *The City of God*, bk. 22, ch. 29, LCL 7: 370. English translation found in *ibid.*, 371.

made them “so beautiful and so glorious that each of them see the Trinity in himself...”<sup>11</sup>

The anonymous author of *The Vineyard* comments that *musica caelestis* is the response of the multitude of saints when they see God’s face. They will sing praises “ardently and ceaselessly.” Isaiah LXII: 6 is quoted “All the day and all the night they shall never hold their peace. Quoted also is St. Augustine who describes the beatific vision of God in similar terms: “He will be the end of our desires. He will be seen without end, will be loved without repletion and praised without weariness.”<sup>12</sup> (*The Vineyard* f. 145v, Paradise II, 408.)

In her *Mirror*, Marguerite also notes that *musica caelestis* is the response of the angels and saints when they see his great beauty:

When the angels and saints contemplate the great beauty of Our Lord and feel his goodness and His great sweetness, they feel such great joy that they cannot keep from singing; but they sing a new song which is all new and of such sweetness that it is a wonderful melody. The sweet song makes its way through all the orders of the angels and the saints, from the first to the last. And this

11. Margaret of Oingt, *Mirror*, chap. 3, par. 35 in *The Writings of Margaret of Oingt Medieval Prioress and Mystic*, trans. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski (Woodbridge, Suffolk and Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer Inc., 1997), 46. In the following citations the last number represents a page number.

12. “Ipse finis (erit in LCL) desideriorum nostrorum, qui sine fine videbitur, sine fastidio amabitur, sine fatigatione laudabitur” in Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, bk. XXII, cap. XXX, trans. from LCL VII: 375. Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, lib. XXII, cap. XXX in PL 41: 801.

song is hardly finished when they start another one, also all new. And this song will last forever.<sup>13</sup>

In the second dowry they will be given knowledge of God as he is. They will see in him all knowledge, power and goodness. Jean Gerson describes how this second dowry is experienced through contemplation or meditation in his work *The Mountain of Contemplation*. He writes that a devout soul in meditating on “the greatness of its Lord,...how he governs everything and sustains by his pure goodness all that he has created from nothingness”<sup>14</sup> may be lifted from this earth, and may experience a moment of hearing *musica caelestis*. They may sense God “as in grasping a sweetness, a fullness, a taste, a melody, and such sensations that we cannot adequately describe by anything similar.”<sup>15</sup> The soul’s response to sensing God’s greatness through contemplation is similar to that of the saints in *The Vineyard*. Gerson relates: “Another time the soul will sense an expansion of the heart or the intelligence and will contain in itself more than all the world...Sometimes the soul will feel something like a spiritual intoxication, which will move it into making, in a sober manner, spiritual praises...”<sup>16</sup>

The third dowry is union with God. In this mystical union “the saints are united with God so much so that they are in God and God is in them.” (*The Vineyard* f. 148r, Paradise II.) God considers each saint as his temple and he will dwell within each. Likewise Thomas sings praises to God when he feels his presence:

13. *Mirror*, ch. 2, par.18, 44.

14. Jean Gerson, *The Mountain of Contemplation*, ch. 44 in Jean Gerson, *Early Works*, trans. and intro. Brian Patrick McGuire (NY: Paulist Press, 1998), 123. Future references to *Early Works* will be listed as E.W.

15. *The Mountain*, ch. 44 in E.W. 123-124.

16. *The Mountain*, ch. 45 in E.W. 125.

“Lord, when Thou art present to me all things are pleasant and liking...Thou makest Thy lover to feel and understand the Truth, and to have a true judgment in all things, and in all things to laud and praise Thee.”<sup>17</sup>

The anonymous author of *The Vineyard* summarizes the dowries of the saints saying these dowries of glory generate a sovereign love towards God in the hearts of the saints. The profundity of the nature of God’s love is described and the reason why the saints must be infused with his love is explained:

...God loves the saints with the same love that he loves his son, and consequently the love of God toward the saints is infinite. So great is the love of God in the saints that it returns to God...and makes them all ablaze in loving God. The reason why God fills them with his love is because the love of the saints would not suffice to love God as he must be loved, they must be filled with the love of God. So great is the love of God in the saints and of the saints in God that it transforms those who love God. And thus because of the great abundance of love they are all transformed and all moved in God. This love is so great that it causes God to enter the saints and the saints in God so much that they are incorporated in God because divine love unites them and makes them to be one together. (*The Vineyard* f. 149v, Paradise II.)

The lining out of these dowries in the text is of prime importance because the saints are transformed by them. In seeing the images the reader is informed that the saints have been changed in the presence of God. Since their vision is changed, they see

17. *The Imitation* bk. 3, ch. 34, 143-144.

God in themselves and in others. They become the temple of God, and because they are infused with God's love they become lovers of God in the wedding feasts and are filled with song.

The second musical illumination, [Figure 73](#), portrays *musica caelestis* in the court of the Blessed Virgin Mary. A young Virgin Mary with an innocent and childlike face looks serenely at her energetic angel musicians who sing the Marian antiphons, *Regina caeli laetare*<sup>18</sup> and *Alma redemptoris mater*.<sup>19</sup> The antiphons announced on banners held by the angels on the upper tiers show the mirroring of terrestrial liturgy in paradise, but here they are sung and played by saints who are infused with the joy of being in the presence of the Blessed Virgin. Both antiphons were sung at the end of the Hours, particularly during Lauds and Compline: *Regina caeli laetare* was sung from Holy Saturday till the week after Pentecost. *Alma redemptoris mater* was sung from Advent to February 1.<sup>20</sup>

The reader may well have been moved to sing these words or meditate upon them. The texts of *Regina caeli laetare*, dating from eleventh century, and *Alma redemptoris mater*, dating from the twelfth century, read:

18. The chant *Regina caeli laetare*, anon, performed by the ensemble Mediae Aetatis and conducted by Nino Albarosa Sodalitium, and provided on YouTube by NAXOS of America from the recording, *Dolore e speranza nel Canto Gregoriano*, released by Tactus in 2014, accessed July 14, 2020, <https://youtu.be/4K5TFcocHr8>.
19. *Alma redemptoris mater*, anon. (a polyphonic setting) by Guillaume Dufay, performed by Lumina Vocal Ensemble, conducted by Peter Deane at Christ Church, North Adelaide, South Australia, accessed on July 14, 2020, <https://youtu.be/tU5eIx9i-h4>.
20. The liturgical history of *Regina caeli* and *Alma redemptoris mater* and their seasonal usage are from Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1970), 404 and 23.

*Regina caeli, laetare, alleluia: Quia quem meruisti portare, alleluia. Resurrexit sicut dixit, alleluia: Ora pro nobis Deum, alleluia.*

Queen of heaven rejoice, alleluia: because you merited to carry him, alleluia. Just as he said, he is arisen, alleluia: Pray for us to God.<sup>21</sup>

The text *Alma redemptoris mater* reads:

*Alma redemptoris mater, quae pervia caeli porta manes, Et stella maris, succure cadenti surgere qui curat populo: Tu quae genuisti, natura mirante, tuum sanctum Genitorem: Virgo prius ac posterius, Gabrielis ab ore sumens illud Ave, peccatorum miserere.*

Gracious Mother of the Redeemer, who stayest at the doors of heaven, Star of the sea: aid the falling, rescue the people who struggle. Thou who, to the astonishment of nature, hast borne thy Creator: Virgin before and after, who heard the Ave from the mouth of Gabriel, be merciful to sinners.<sup>22</sup>

Joining the singers are angels playing on carefully rendered *bas* (soft) instruments: a fiddle, three lutes, a portative organ,<sup>23</sup>

21. The text, music, and liturgical usage of this antiphon are found in the *Antiphonale monasticum pro diurnis horis* (Tournai, Belgium: Desclée and Co., 1934), 176, 178, and 718. See CAO 4598.

22. For music, text and liturgical usage, see the *Antiphonale monasticum*, 173, 178; also CAO 1356. A readily accessible setting by Dufay is found in *The Historical Anthology of Music*, ed. A.T. Davison and Willi Apel (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), I: 70.

23. A performance of *O gloriosa Domina* from the *Buxheimer Organ Book* is performed on a portative organ by Ernst Stolz and embellished by a bass recorder in F, recorded at Sint Nicolaaskerk in Sint Nicolaasge,

Friesland (Netherlands) in 2014, accessed July 14, 2020,  
<https://youtu.be/y5aHa5Bb--A>.

four harps, a positive organ,<sup>24</sup> a gittern,<sup>25</sup> and rebec.<sup>26</sup> All of

24. Philip the Bold (1342-1404) introduced the pipe organ to Burgundy in 1388. See Craig Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy 1364-1419: A Documentary History*, 111. Not only did Philip place several positives and portatives in churches but insisted on carrying a portative organ on a cart along with the books, candles, linens, bread and wine other items necessary for the celebration of the Mass and Hours in his “moveable chapel.” See Wright 119. Philip the Good (1396-1467) shared his grandfather’s love for the organ and invited the famed organist-composer, Conrad Paumann (c. 1410-1473) to play in his court. See John Butt, “Germany and the Netherlands” in *Keyboard Music before 1700*, ed. Alexander Silbiger (NY and London: Routledge, 2004), 147. Fiala documents that Charles the Bold (1433-1476) favored the lute, hiring composer/lutenist Hayne de Ghizeghem to be his personal valet in the 1460s keeping him with him at all times until his death. See Fiala, “Music and Musicians at the Burgundian Court in the Fifteenth-Century,” 439.
25. The gittern, shaped like a modern guitar, was popular in all levels of medieval society; it was enjoyed in royal courts as well in taverns. Even John the Fearless as a one year old was supplied with his own personal gittern-player. See Wright 44. It is mentioned in the *Roman de la Rose*, and the *Mulliner Book* contains pieces for it. See Arthur Birch, “The Guitar and Other Fretted Instruments, ed. Anthony Baines, *Musical Instruments Through the Ages* (Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1966), 167.
26. The rebec, a three stringed pear shaped instrument was also favored by Philip the Bold. The rebec player, Jean de Creseques, a favorite minstrel of Philip, was taken into the royal household. He was described as the most illustrious rebec-player in Paris. See Wright 40. Johannes Tinctoris (1435-1511) describes the power of the rebec and viola (fiddle) to move one from the mundane to the spiritual: “...the viola (fiddle) and the rebec are my two instruments; I repeat, my chosen instruments, those that induce piety and stir my heart most ardently to the contemplation of heavenly joys.” See Johannes Tinctoris, *De Inventione et Usu Musicae*, lib. IV cited by Anthony Baines, “Fifteenth-Century Instruments in Tinctoris’s *De Inventione et Usu*

these instruments were heard in the courts of the Burgundian dukes who filled their courts and chapels with the finest musical instruments and musicians of the era.

The text accompanying the illumination is very specific in explaining exactly why the angels sing and play musical instruments and what transpires in the act of music making. “These angels never cease to bless her, honor her, praise her, and glorify her with angelic voices and with all melodies of sounding instruments. So great is her glory that it rebounds to the glory of God and the angels and of all the saints.” (*The Vineyard* f. 150v, Paradise II.) The qualities of *musica caelestis* in the court of the Virgin are explained: the saints and angels are moved by her glory and respond with music that partakes of her glory which returns to God; it is endless, and cannot be contained, it continuously flows back to its source, and reenters the angels and saints.

While the antiphons celebrate the Virgin Mary as *Theotokos* (God bearer) and *Mediatrix* (*Mediator*), the mini sermon accompanying the illumination mentions additional roles she has played that are celebrated by *musica caelestis*. She represents the bride of Christ featured in the Canticles of Canticles sung at the Feast of the Assumption: Cantic V: 1 “How beautiful art thou, my love...,” and Cantic IV: 7 “Thou art all fair, O my love...” She is also the Sulamitess of the Cantic of Canticles VII:1 who is accompanied by the camps of angels.

In the Feast of All Saints she is praised in the musical sequence of Adam St. Victor: “*Illic regina virginum transcendens culmen ordinum*” (There the pure Queen transcending the highest orders). In the Feast of the Assumption she is also revered as the woman of the Apocalypse crowned with stars, and these words

*Musicae*,” in *Instruments and their Music in the Middle Ages*, ed. Timothy J. McGee (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 58-59.

are intoned: “And there appeared a great wonder in heaven: a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet,” Apocalypse XII: 1.

In alluding to a popular Marian hymn, *Gaude flore virginali*, the author lists additional virtues of the Queen of Heaven celebrated by *musica caelestis*.<sup>27</sup> In this remarkable hymn the Virgin herself is the speaker and she enumerates her Seven Heavenly Joys. In the first verse she says: “Like the sun illuminates the day and the world, likewise my clarity illuminates all the heavenly court.” These words are fitting from the young Queen of Heaven, clad in a long gold dress and royal blue cape, and seated on a throne lined with red velvet embellished with gold tiraz-like embroidery.

The third musical illumination of *musica caelestis*, [Figure 73](#), is prefaced by a short sermon entitled “The joy which the saints will have in seeing the angels of paradise.” The illumination depicts Christ seated on a throne lined with royal blue fabric embellished with gold *fleurs-di-lis*. He wears a purple gown and red cloak trimmed with pearls and fastened with a gold broach. He raises his right hand in blessing. The whole hierarchy of angels minister to him: six red winged seraphim hover over his throne, multi-colored winged angels stand beside him, and two angels wearing albs incense his throne with gold thuribles. The text relates that “All praise him. Oh what a marvelous thing to see the angels adoring God, the others ministering in front of God, the others standing in front of God, and all praising God because it is their office to praise and glorify God.” The text

27. A 15th century polyphonic setting of *Gaude flore virginali* from the Eaton Choir Book is performed by “The Sixteen” and conducted by Harry Christophers. The recording was released in 2003 under the label Cors. The catalogue number is Cor1618. Accessed on January 27, 2022, <https://youtu.be/dQuLmO74BtM>.

provides this commentary on the seraphim quoting Isaiah VI: 2-3 “...the seraphim had six wings, with two they covered his face, and with two covered his feet and with two they flew. And they cried one to another, and said “Holy, holy, holy, the Lord God of Hosts, all the earth is full of his glory.” These words spoken or intoned at the beginning of the Mass immediately inform the reader of the moment of the *sursum corda* when they are invited to lift up their hearts and join their voices with the angels, archangels and all the heavenly host in praising God, and singing the *Sanctus*.<sup>28</sup> The anonymous author makes it clear that it will be a great joy for all the saints in paradise to hear hundreds and thousands and millions of resplendent angels praising God and to be thanked and congratulated by them for following their good example and thereby saving their souls. While [Figure 74](#) f. 152r depicts the hierarchy of angels serving God, it also reminds the reader of the singing of the *Sanctus* in the Mass when the earthly liturgy, the microcosm, is joined to the heavenly liturgy, the macrocosm. Thomas à Kempis in *The Imitation* exclaims that surely the joy and praise David expressed as he danced and sang in front of the ark of the covenant should be felt and expressed even more so when Christ’s body is present upon the altar.<sup>29</sup>

The fourth image of *musica caelestis*, [Figure 75](#) f. 158v, is accompanied by a meditation entitled “The saints make melodies with all resounding instruments.” The anonymous author hastens to explain the musical instruments are there to increase the joy of those who will be in the weddings of paradise.

28. Guillaume de Machaut’s *Messe de Notre-Dame* of 1364 is performed by the Hilliard Ensemble, directed by Paul Hillier, and presented on Hyperion Records Limited, 1989. Part II contains the *Sanctus*, *Benedictus*, *Agnus Dei*, and *Ite, Missa est*, accessed on August 2, 2020, <https://youtu.be/ah60o8gzyYU>.

29. *The Imitation*, bk. 4, ch.1, 199.

This meditation is a continuation and elaboration of the previous three meditations on the weddings of paradise—regal and festive events during which God claims the saints as his own.

Before discussing [Figure 75](#) it is necessary to summarize briefly the preceding meditations because they describe the essence of the wedding feasts as well as the music accompanying them. In the meditation entitled “The weddings of paradise will be glorious” St. Gregory is quoted: “How great will be the happiness of the elect, those who will be found worthy to rejoice when they see him!...they are to enter marriage together with him. They rejoice at the bridegroom’s marriage; and yet they themselves are the bride.”<sup>30</sup> (*The Vineyard* f. 154v, Paradise III.) Jean Gerson who devoted his life to an intellectual and spiritual quest to feel God’s presence speaks of his own mystical encounter with the lover of his soul in his *Commentary on the Song of Songs* written in the last few months of his life. It was written at the urging of his Carthusian friends at the Grand Chartreuse and especially their vicar, Oswald of Corda.<sup>31</sup> In his *Commentary* he disclosed

30. “Quanta tunc erit electorum letitia (laetitia in CCSL and PL), qui de eius merentur visione gaudere..., cum eo simul ad nuptias intrare! Qui et in sponsi nuptiis gaudent, et tamen ipsi sunt sponsa.” Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in evangelia*, lib. 1, hom. 12, par. 4, lin. 123, ed. Raymond Étaix (1999), CCSL 141: 85. See also Gregorius I, *Homiliae*, hom. XII in PL 76: 1120. Translation from Gregory the Great, “Homily X,” Reading Matthew 25: 1-13, in *Forty Gospel Homilies*, trans. David Hurst (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1990), 72. Note new numbering of homily in 1990 publication.

31. See n. 60 of Brian Patrick McGuire, “Jean Gerson, the Carthusians and the Experience of Mysticism,” *Analecta Cartusiana*, ed. James Hogg, 130 in “The Mystical Tradition and the Carthusians,” (Salzburg: Universität, 1995), 3: 77 in which he cites correspondence between Gerson and the Grand Chartreuse and its vicar Oswald of Corda. McGuire’s

his own personal encounter with Christ as he joins in mystical union with the lover of his soul. He concludes his *Commentary* intimating that he himself is singing to the lover of his soul in repeating the text of Canticle III: 4 “I found him whom my soul loves; I held him and will not let him go, until I can bring him into the house of my mother and into the chamber of her that conceived me.”<sup>32</sup> Gerson’s personal love song is in essence described earlier in the anonymous author’s meditation on the dowry of the saints. Thomas à Kempis also sings to the lover of his soul:

Spread Thou my heart into Thy love, that I may taste and feel how sweet it is to serve Thee, and how joyful it is to laud Thee, and to be as I were all molten into Thy love. O I am bounden in love, and go far above myself; for the wonderful great fevour that I feel of Thy unspeakable goodness! I shall sing to Thee the song of love, and I shall follow Thee, my Beloved, by highness of thought, wheresoever Thou go; and my soul shall never be weary to praise Thee with a joyful song of ghostly love that I shall sing to Thee.<sup>33</sup>

The saints’ love for God is infused with God’s love for them and together they become as one. The saints’ joy is expressed in irrepressible and endless song, i.e. *musica caelestis*.

In the meditation entitled “The great joy the saints will experience in the weddings of paradise,” the anon. author describes the import of the wedding feasts citing Apocalypse XIX: 6-7: “The

source is Jean Gerson, *Œuvres Complete*, ed. Palémon Glorieux (Paris and NY: Desclée, 1960-1973).

32. Jean Gerson, *Super Cantica Cantorum*, number 422 in Gerson, *Œuvres Complete*, ed. Palémon Glorieux, 8: 639.

33. *The Imitation*, bk. 3, ch.5, 94, “Of the marvelous effect of the love of God.”

Lord our God, the omnipotent, hath reigned. Let us be glad and rejoice: and give glory to him: for the marriage of the Lamb is come.” (*The Vineyard*, f. 157r, Paradise III.) The saints delight in seeing the splendor of the wedding feasts, the beautiful garments; in having Christ wait upon them; and in knowing this happiness is eternal. The music they sing is described in the meditation entitled: “The saints will sing from the great joy they will have:”

And one has to know that in singing and praising God each one will know what he will have to say and when and how because everything will be done in order as if some sing and the others respond, some in one manner and the others in another.<sup>34</sup> And they will all sing gloriously and it will be glorious to hear them sing and praise God because they will praise and glorify him with all their heart and with all their soul, and with all their power, and never will they be bored or too tired to praise and bless him because it is their life, their desire, and their consolation to praise and glorify him continually and incessantly in songs of joy. (*The Vineyard* f. 158r, Paradise III.)

34. The process of multiple choirs responding to one choir in different ways defines in general terms the late medieval musical performance practice of *alternatim*. David Fallows' study of performance practices of polyphonic music in the chapel and court of Charles the Bold, the best musically educated of the Burgundian dukes, offers invaluable information regarding *alternatim*. See Fallows, “Specific Information on the Ensembles for Composed Polyphony, 1400-1474” in *Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music*, ed. Stanley Boorman (Cambridge University Press, 1983), 109-159.

As mentioned earlier the musical instruments in [Figure 75](#) are present to increase the joy of the saints attending the weddings of paradise. The instruments being played include three harps,<sup>35</sup> a fiddle, a portative organ, a rebec and lute. There is a slight discrepancy between the text and the instruments in the illumination. The text states there will be: “harps, psalteries, organs, and *manicordions*,<sup>36</sup> and all sorts of instruments of music...” however, there are no psalteries or *manicordions* in the picture. The faces of the instrumentalists are intense and serious. Their gold haloes and absence of wings suggest they are the saints. A multi-

35. The preponderance of harps, four in [Figure 73](#) and three in the court of Christ, at once recall their presence in the Burgundian courts. Wright notes that Philip the Bold was not only fond of organ music, but harp as well. Records show that the harpist was “the only musician at Burgundy, excluding the ducal trumpeters, to be supplied with armor in times of war...the harper was meant to accompany the duke everywhere he went, even on the field of battle.” Wright, 124. Wright also relates that five harpists were in the employ of Philip the Bold, and during 1385 and 1394, Baude Cordier harpist/ composer was authorized to purchase at least seven harps. Another harpist, Baude Fresnel, served Philip the Bold for fifteen years not only as his harpist, but also as his chamber valet, and sometimes diplomat. Wright, 166.
36. *Manichord* is a corruption of the word, *monochord*, an instrument first described by Euclid c. 300 BC, and dates from the time of Pythagoras three hundred years earlier. It consisted of a simple oblong sound box equipped with two bridges and a string stretched over them. It was used as a teaching device to demonstrate the basic laws of harmonics. In spite of its name, the monochord seems to have had more than one string. While the Greeks restricted its use to a piece of scientific equipment, at some time in the Middle Ages the monochord became a musical instrument in its own right, the *monochord* eventually inspired the creation of the fretted clavichord. It is depicted in miniatures from the time of the troubadours. The preceding information is from David Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 17-18.

tude of instrumentalists is suggested by the visible tops of heads wearing haloes. The saints wear elegant, simple gowns of velvet ornamented with gold embroidery. As in the court of the Virgin Mary [Figure 73](#) the angels with multicolored wings wear elegant gowns with gold collars, sing, and hold banners with Latin texts identifying the songs being sung. The banner on the left bears the response for the Feast of All Saints and quotes Psalm 31:11:<sup>37</sup>

*Gloriamini, omnes recti corde.*

Give glory, all ye of right heart.

The Latin text on the right banner is from Psalm 83:5:

*Beati qui habitant in domo tuo, Domine: in saecula saeculorum laudabunt te.*

Blessed are they that dwell in thy house, O Lord: they shall praise thee for ever and ever.<sup>38</sup>

This hymn was and is still sung at the end of Matins, and in Masses celebrating the Dedication of a church, All Saints, Common of many martyrs, and Feast of the Holy Family.<sup>39</sup> In all probability it was sung at the dedication of the chapel at the Chartreuse de Champmol.

37. For liturgical usage of Psalm 31 see Carlus Marbach *Carmina scripturarum scilicet antiphonas et responsoria* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1963), 105.

38. The hymn *Te deum laudamus* was also, in all probability, sung at the consecration of the chapel at the Chartreuse de Champmol in 1388. A polyphonic setting by Giles Binchois is performed by the Ensemble Venance Fortunant, directed by Anne-Marie Deschamp, in a recording entitled "Ritual: Sacred Chants from the Early Capetian Era," 2016, provided to Youtube by IDOL, accessed July 14, 2020, <https://youtu.be/MTdgZosWC1c>.

39. CAO 1590.

While many of the distinguishing features of Christ enthroned from [Figure 74](#) are the same in [Figure 75](#), including his gown and robe, his throne lined in cobalt blue and ornamented with gold *fleurs-di-lis*, and his right hand raised in blessing, there are significant differences in his facial features which indicate perhaps the images were realized by two individuals. Regardless of these inconsistencies, the image of the enthroned Christ represents the bridegroom whose love has filled the saints and transformed them, and moved them to sing.

The text of *The Vineyard* is wedded to the iconography of the four musical illuminations depicting *musica caelistis*, all bearing testimony to the presence of God. The author of *The Vineyard*, as well as Marguerite of Oingt, Jean Gerson, and Thomas à Kempis, all with close ties to the Carthusians, believe that the music of the angels and saints of paradise is a response to the profound, transforming, and engulfing love of God. In her vision of heaven Marguerite observed that when the angels and saints contemplated God they could not keep from singing. Responding to God's love Jean and Thomas sang love songs to God. Throughout *The Vineyard* musical instruments played by angels and saints perform significant roles. Trumpets are messengers of God in signaling the Judgment Day and the end of time. In the courts of Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary, harps, organs, lutes, fiddles, gitterns, and rebecs are conduits of sacred texts as they accompany the *Sanctus*, hymns and psalms. *The Vineyard's* author tells us they are present because their voices also glorify and praise and bring added joy to the courts of paradise.

# About the Authors



Marijim Thoene is captivated by the image of the pipe organ in medieval manuscripts and its role at the beginning of time and the end of time, marking quotidian time and endless time, and in the dream-like world of fantasy where fierce beasts and gentle creatures engage in playing the organ. She has published articles on this topic and given lecture/recitals in International Medieval Congresses at Leeds

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Guy René Mermier was born in Grenoble, France in 1931. He earned his Ph.D. in Romance Languages and Literature from the University of Pennsylvania in 1961 and was a teacher and scholar of Medieval French Literature in the Department of Romance Languages and Literature throughout his 35 years at the University of Michigan. Guy was honored as a fellow in the Mediterranean Studies Association and was awarded the “*Chevalier-Officier des Palmes Académiques*” by the French government.