INEKE CORNET

A Textual Parallel between the Arnhem mystical sermons and the Temple of Our Soul

Comparing their Incorporation of the Liber de Spiritu et Anima and Jordanus of Quedlinburg’s sermons

In the sixteenth-century Low Countries, three Middle Dutch mystical texts that have much in common were written by anonymous authors: the Arnhem mystical sermons, the Great Evangelical Pearl, and the Temple of Our Soul.1 The manuscript containing the Arnhem mystical sermons (Ms. Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, 133 H 13) is a copy produced at the St. Agnes monastery in Arnhem between 1560 and 1580.2 It consists of 162 mystical sermons originally written after the 1525 reform of the liturgical calendar.3 The collection is structured according to the Church’s calendar and includes the complete Cycle of Seasons and the Cycle of Saints from which 1.5 months have not been copied, as the copy ends abruptly. The original manuscript has not been found. The first Dutch printed editions of the Great Evangelical Pearl (hereafter: Pearl), a


2 On the manuscript, see also Maria Sherwood-Smith and Patricia Stoop, Repertorium van Middelnederlandse preken in handschriften tot en met 1550 / Repertorium of Middle Dutch Sermons preserved in manuscripts from before 1550, vol. 2, Miscellanea Neerlandica 29 (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 1079. On dating the manuscript, see Kees Schepers, “De historische verankering van het Sanctorale in de Arnemense Mystieke Preken,” Ons Geestelijk Erf 81, no. 1 (2010): 78-80. The transcription of the manuscript as well as the English translation has been provided to me by Kees Schepers, which I gratefully used. The translation has been quoted with slight adaptations.

3 With the liturgical reform in 1525, the then bishop of Utrecht, Hendrik van Beyeren, abolished several feasts that were no longer to be part of the liturgical calendar, namely Translatio Lebunii (June 25), Translatio Martini (July 4), Lamberti (Sept 17), and Mauricii sociorumque eius (Sept 22). The fact that these feast days are not found in the AMS indicates that the collection has been written after 1525. See Schepers, Historische Verankering, 74-75. Schepers states that the similarities between the Pearl, the Temple, and the Arnhem mystical sermons may imply that the three texts were all written around the same period. (Idem, 84.)

Ons Geestelijk Erf 84(4), 341-370. doi: 10.2143/OGE.84.4.3017247
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book containing many chapters on various aspects of the spiritual life, including numerous exercises, appeared in Antwerp in 1537 and 1539, and the Latin translation was published in 1545. To date, the female author of the Pearl has not been identified. The fact that the St. Agnes library contained a unique handwritten excerpt of the Pearl shows that the work is part of the same literary network as the Arnhem mystical sermons. The Temple of Our Soul (hereafter: Temple), a treatise containing 59 chapters on the celebration of the liturgy in the temple of the soul, was published anonymously in 1543 by the press of Simon Cock in Antwerp. According to its frontispiece, this text was written by the same author as the Evangelical Pearl. But even if this were not to be true, the Temple bears witness to striking similarities, including textual parallels, with the Pearl, and, as will be elaborated on in this article, also with the Arnhem mystical sermons (AMS).

These facts raise many questions regarding the authorship, dating, their (common) sources, and their differences and similarities, intensified by some remarkable parallels. The texts are all either written by women or at least preserved in a female monastery and are part of a mystical network that centres around at least two communities, St. Agnes in Arnhem and the Cologne Charterhouse. The Cologne Carthusians translated and published many mystical texts in the sixteenth century, including the Opera Omnia of Ruusbroec. The first editions of the Pearl had introductions and were prepared for publication by the Carthusians in Cologne. The Arnhem mystical sermons also point to a connection with the Carthusians. The only reference to a contemporaneous author is to the prior of the Cologne Charterhouse Peter Blomevenna or Peter

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6 Ms. Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, 71 H 51.


8 On the parallels between the Temple and the Evangelical Pearl, see Ampe, “Inleiding,” 19-20.


of Leyden (Leiden, 1466 – Cologne, 1536) in sermon 154 (Mary Assumption).\textsuperscript{11}

The most striking parallel between the \textit{Pearl}, the \textit{Temple}, and the \textit{Arnhem mystical sermons} is the theme of the inner celebration of the liturgy. Based on the anthropology that God dwells in the human person, the authors outline how God celebrates the mysteries within the human person.\textsuperscript{12}

Many sources of the \textit{Pearl} and the \textit{Temple} have been identified by Ampe,\textsuperscript{13} but for the \textit{Arnhem mystical sermons} it could only be established that Ruusbroec’s \textit{Spiritual Espousals} is the source for sermon 111.\textsuperscript{14} This article elaborates on another significant textual parallel, which I was able to establish, namely between \textit{Arnhem mystical sermons}, sermon 32 (\textit{Dominica quinta post epiphaniam Domini}), a commentary on Matthew 8, 23-24, and the \textit{Temple} Chapter 28, entitled “On the transformation of the soul,”\textsuperscript{15} which is not found in the \textit{Pearl}. Ampe had established that the \textit{Temple}’s Chapter 28 is to a large extent based on a Dutch translation of the sermons 155-158 from the Augustinian friar Jordanus van Quedlinburg’s (before 1299-1380) \textit{Opus Postillarum et Sermonum de Tempore}, a collection of 460 sermons set according to the Church’s calendar.\textsuperscript{16} In turn, Jordanus’ sermon 158 is largely based on Ps.-Augustine’s \textit{Liber de Spiritu et Anima}, chapter 34,\textsuperscript{17} often attributed to the Cistercian Alcher of Clairvaux.\textsuperscript{18} The textual parallel between the \textit{Arnhem mystical sermons} and the \textit{Temple} testifies to significant thematic correspondences and enables us to establish differences and similarities between the \textit{Arnhem

\begin{enumerate}
\item\textsuperscript{11} AMS, Sermon 154, fol. 353vb: “But on the third day, says the holy Carthusian Peter of Leyden, she was raised into heaven and climbed above all the choirs of angels” (mer inden derden dach, seit die heilige cathuser [sic] Peter van Leyden, is si opgenomen inden hemel ende heeft geclommen baven alle choren der engelen.)
\item\textsuperscript{13} For the sources of the \textit{Temple}, see Ampe’s Introduction to the \textit{Temple}: Ampe, “Inleiding” 73-103. For the sources of the \textit{Pearl}, see the unpublished edition of Ampe: \textit{De Evangelische Peerle, door een anonieme schrijfster}, 1540, \textit{Kritische editie}, edited by Albert Ampe [Miscellanea Neerlandica 10] (Leuven: first proof, copy Ruusbroecgenootschap, undated.)
\item\textsuperscript{14} This parallel has been examined in Ineke Cornet, “The Incorporation of Ruusbroec’s \textit{Spiritual Espousals} into the Sixteenth-Century \textit{Arnhem Mystical Sermons}. A Comparative Textual Analysis.” \textit{Church History and Religious Culture} 90, no. 4 (2010), 547-578.
\item\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Tempel onser sielen}, 420: “Van die overforminghe der sielen.”
\item\textsuperscript{16} Ampe, “Inleiding,” 86. In total, nine chapters of the \textit{Temple} are based on this sermon collection of Jordanus. For the reception of Jordanus in the Low Countries, see Robrecht Lievens, \textit{Jordanus van Quedlinburg in de Nederlanden}, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde Series VI, vol. 82 (Gent: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde, 1958), 5-25.
\item\textsuperscript{17} This parallel had been pointed out by Ampe in \textit{Tempel}, 428, fn. 26. See \textit{Liber de Spiritu et Anima}, in \textit{Sancti Aurelli Augustini Opera Omnia VI}, ed. by J.-P. Migne, Patrologia Latina 40 (Paris: Thibaut, 1865), col. 779-830. For Chapter 34, see col. 803-805.
\end{enumerate}
mystical sermons and the Temple in their theologies and use of sources, even more so because the Middle Dutch of the Temple and the Arnhem mystical sermons is remarkably similar.

This article compares the Arnhem mystical sermons and the Temple regarding the nature of the use of sources and the differences and similarities in theological emphasis between the authors and their sources. The article also examines the question if one of the authors of the Arnhem mystical sermons and the Temple made use of each other’s text, which would have implications for the dating of the Arnhem mystical sermons, or if the authors of the Temple and the Arnhem mystical sermons quote Jordanus’ sermon and/or Ps.-Augustine independently of each other. This article will employ a comparative literary analysis of the texts of Ps.-Augustine, Jordanus, the Temple, and the Arnhem mystical sermons. The first section analyses the structure and genres of the four texts and the positioning of the parallel passages in order to examine the differences and similarities. The second section compares the specific parallel passages in order to examine the ways in which the authors of the Temple and the Arnhem mystical sermons quote Jordanus’ sermon and Ps.-Augustine.

1. Comparison of Genre and Structure

The textual parallels between Ps.-Augustine’s chapter 34, Jordanus’ sermon 158, Temple chapter 28 and the Arnhem sermon 32 involve only a part of each of the four texts. In order to discern the exact nature of textual dependencies and the use of sources, this section analyses the structuring of the textual parallels and the passages which surround the parallels will be outlined so as to understand the characteristics of the genre and structure of each text. Table 1 shows the structure of all four texts. The parts of the oldest text, Ps.-Augustine’s chapter 34, that are used in the other texts have been marked with the capital letters A, B, C, D, and E. The capital letters in the other columns reflect the parallel passages with Ps.-Augustine. The sequence of these parts of Ps.-Augustine is based on the order in which they are present in the Arnhem mystical sermons, which is A, C, B, D, E. The Roman numbers correspond with passages in Ps.-Augustine, Jordanus, the Temple, and the Arnhem mystical sermons that are not found in all the other texts. The numbers of the columns, lines, or folio of the original text are placed behind the capitals of roman numbers that indicate the parallels and nonparallels between the texts.

In chapter 34 of the Liber de Spiritu et Anima, Ps.-Augustine expands on the differences between the senses, memory, spirit, soul, intellect, reason, and the mind as the image of God. Part I is a systematic outline of all these concepts. Part A expands on the mind (mens) as the faculty that, together with the intellect, may pass over into the rapture of the contemplation of God, which has been taken over in AMS 32. Parts B, C, and D are also found in Jordanus, the Temple, and the Arnhem mystical sermons. Part B starts with quoting Hebrews 4, 12 on the division between soul and spirit. Part C explains this
Table 1. Structure of the Arnhem Mystical Sermons and Corresponding Passages in the Liber de Spiritu et Anima, the Temple of our Soul, and Jordanus’ sermon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ps.-Augustine, De Spiritu et Anima, Ch. 34&lt;sup&gt;19&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Dutch version Jordanus’ sermons 155-158&lt;sup&gt;20&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Temple, Ch. 28&lt;sup&gt;21&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>AMS, Sermon 32</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beginning, different from Ps.-Augustine</td>
<td>II (ll. 1-53, s. 155-157)</td>
<td>II (ll. 1-53)</td>
<td>III (Fol. 70va-71va)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A (c. 804, ll. 7-37)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>A (Fol. 71va-72rb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parallels with Ps.-Augustine</td>
<td>C (c. 804, ll. 50-55)</td>
<td>C (ll. 75-85, s.158)</td>
<td>C (Fol. 72rb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B (c. 804, ll. 37-50)</td>
<td>B (ll. 53-74, s.158)</td>
<td>B (ll. 53-74)</td>
<td>B (Fol. 72rb-va)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D (c. 804, ll. 55-62)</td>
<td>D (ll. 85-91, s. 158)</td>
<td>D (ll. 85-91)</td>
<td>D (Fol. 72va-72vb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E (c. 804, ll. 62-73 - c. 805, 1-7)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>E (Fol. 72vb-73rb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ending, different from Ps.-Augustine</td>
<td>IV (ll. 91-161, s. 158)</td>
<td>IV (ll. 91-161)</td>
<td>V (Fol. 73ra-74vb)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

division as leading to the spirit being able to be lifted up to the highest and become one spirit with God. Part D calls this a blessed separation and states that the highest part is transformed in God whereas the lower parts of the person are filled with God’s peace. Part E describes the mind as the image of God, and has been copied almost literally into the Arnhem mystical sermons.

Jordanus’ sermon 158 is part of a coherent grouping of the four sermons (155-158), all written as commentary on the Gospel reading of Jesus’ transfiguration in Matthew 17, 1-2:<sup>22</sup> “Jesus took with him Peter and James and his brother John and led them up a high mountain, by themselves. And he was transfigured before them […].”<sup>23</sup> Jordanus interprets this ascension to the top of the mountain where Christ is transfigured as the ascent towards the “height of divine contemplation.”<sup>24</sup> Sermon 158 expands in the first instance

<sup>19</sup> Liber de Spiritu et Anima, Colon 803-805. Although Migne’s text does not provide the line numbers, I have inserted the line numbers so that it is clearer which parts have been taken over by which other author.

<sup>20</sup> The line numbers refer to a Dutch version of Jordanus’ sermons as put next to the text of the Temple by Ampe, Tempel, pp. 420-429. The Middle Dutch translation of Jordanus’ sermons is based on the manuscript Gent, UB, 1268. This manuscript stems from the monastery of the Alexians in Antwerp and is to be dated in 1513. An overview of this manuscript is available in Lievens, Jordanus van Quedlinburg, 228-240. This text is very similar to the text that the Temple author used, but it is possible that she used a different manuscript.

<sup>21</sup> The line numbers refer to the edition of the Temple by by Ampe, Tempel, pp. 420-429.

<sup>22</sup> See for an overview of the contents of this sermon manuscript in Robrecht Lievens, Jordanus van Quedlinburg in de Nederlanden, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde Series VI, vol. 82 (Gent: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde, 1958), 231.

<sup>23</sup> Quoted from the New Revised Standard Version.

<sup>24</sup> Tempel, 422: “hoecheit des godliken schouwens.”
on the requirements for those who wish to ascend, and by whom one needs to be guided (Jesus). Whoever wants to come to the top of the mountain needs to rid himself of three burdens: first, the burden of temporary things; second, one’s own body; and third, one’s own soul, which happens in the separation of soul and spirit. Then, the spirit is capable of being lifted up into contemplation.25 This section on the third burden one needs to leave behind, one’s soul, is based on Ps.-Augustine’s text (parts B, C, and D).

In chapter 28, the author of the Temple incorporates quotations of Jordanus’ translated sermons.26 Jordanus’ sermons were widely translated in the Low Countries, particularly in the years 1450-1460 and thereafter, especially in women’s communities. The first Dutch versions of Jordanus’ sermons, found in the 1423 translation from the convent of Diepenveen, and the incorporation of his sermons into Alijt Bake’s own work in 1446, are not so much literal translations but rather redactions.27 The author of the Temple remains faithful to the original order of the four sermons, albeit leaving out several passages. The Temple author cites only small passages from sermon 155-157, but quotes almost everything from sermon 158.28 The author of the Temple follows Jordanus in interpreting the mountain as the “height of the divine contemplation.”29 The part of Jordanus’ sermon 158 describing the separation of soul and spirit, leading to contemplation by the spirit (the third condition for contemplation), is found in both the AMS 32 and the final part of the Temple chapter 28. After this parallel passage with the Arnhem mystical sermons, the Temple author continues to quote the whole remaining part of sermon 158, with the exception of the closing formula of Jordanus’ sermon, thus leaving out a sentence typical for the sermon genre.

AMS 32 is a commentary on Matthew 8, 23-24, about Jesus calming the storm: “Jesus climbed into a boat and his disciples followed Him. And a big storm arose on the sea, so that the boat nearly perished.”30 The sermon interprets this boat as the “rational mind” in which Christ ascends: “Thus Christ climbs into us when the boat of our rational mind has been rid of all physical images and all temporal things, and has been united in itself above itself and above the soul, so that it might know and contemplate itself and the nature of

25 Tempel, 422-424.
26 The Middle Dutch translation of Jordanus’ sermons in the manuscript Gent, UB, 1268, as it has been rendered by Ampe.
28 The transcription of the parts of these sermons that the author of the Temple used are, after Ampe’s edition, derived from a Middle Dutch translation of Jordanus’ sermons in the manuscript Gent, UB, 1268. An overview of this manuscript is available in Lievens, Jordanus van Quedlinburg, 228-240.
29 Tempel, 422: “hoocheyt des godliken schouwens.”
30 AMS, Sermon 32, fol. 70va: “Jhesus clam op in een schepken ende sijn jongheren volchden hem. Ende een groet storm stont op in die zee, dattet scheepken bij nae onder was.”
the invisible, almighty God without all physical images.”31 The author of the *Arnhem mystical sermons* notes that when Christ ascends into the innermost being of the person, s/he experiences the “rapture of the mind.”32 This part on the rapture of the mind is based on Ps.-Augustine’s Chapter 34 (part A), a part not found in Jordanus and the *Temple*. The explanation of the mind and spirit being lifted up to God that follows is based on Ps.-Augustine’s text (parts B, C, D), the same part also quoted in Jordanus’ sermon 158 and chapter 28 of the *Temple*. The author of the *Arnhem mystical sermons* also integrates part E within the comment on the Gospel passage and explains how Jesus has ascended into the ship of the inner person, which is the mind. The sermon concludes with a short comment on the storm on the sea, which is interpreted as the human person’s fight against all “temporality”33 in order to “become more and more alike to the image of God,”34 while the highest part, the mind, remains at rest in God because Jesus is within her.

The general structure, as outlined in the table above, shows that the authors of the *Arnhem mystical sermons* and the *Temple* differ significantly in their usage of sources. The *Arnhem mystical sermons* have incorporated two large sections from Ps.-Augustine that are not found in the same way in Jordanus and the *Temple* (A and E); part A is completely absent in them, and part E is only summarised, and not fully quoted as in the *Arnhem mystical sermons*. The fact that the *Arnhem mystical sermons* have integrated much longer sections from Ps.-Augustine than Jordanus and the *Temple* makes it likely that even in the case of the parts B, C, and D, that are found in all four texts, the author of the *Arnhem mystical sermons* quoted these passages directly from Ps.-Augustine, and not through the mediation of the *Temple* and/or Jordanus. The *Temple* author is much closer to Jordanus’ sermon than to Ps.-Augustine or the *Arnhem mystical sermons*. She has integrated four sermons of Jordanus, namely 155-158, while being faithful to the original sequence of arguments. The almost identical beginning and ending of the texts of Jordanus and the *Temple* (parts II and IV) suggest that the *Temple* has copied the translated sermon of Jordanus rather than the original text of Ps.-Augustine, as will also be seen in the comparison of the texts.

The textual parallels that are found in all four texts (B, C, and D) show a remarkable difference between the *Arnhem mystical sermons* on the one hand, and the *Temple* and the two sources on the other hand. Whereas the *Temple* has kept the original sequence of the thought patterns of Jordanus’ sermon 158, which follows the sequence of Ps.-Augustine, the author of the *Arnhem mystical sermons* has reversed the structure of the arguments into C, B, and then D.

31 AMS, Sermon 32, fol. 71va: “Alsoe clymt Christus op in ons wanneer dat schippen onses redelicken gedancks van alle lichamlicke beelden ende alre tijtlicher dingen ontbeelt is ende baven sich selven ende baven der zielen in sich selven vergadert is, op dattet sonder alle lichamlicke beelden zich selven ende die natuer des onsienlicken, almechtigen gods bekennen ende schouwen mach.”
32 AMS, Sermon 32, fol. 71vb: “oprick des gemoets.”
33 AMS, Sermon 32, fol. 73rb: “tijtlicheit.”
34 AMS, Sermon 32, fol. 73ra-rb: “om meer ende meer gelick te werden dat beelde gods.”
The author of the *Arnhem mystical sermons* may have shuffled these two parts so that the sequence of arguments fits better into his/her commentary on the Gospel of Matthew 8, 23-24. This testifies to the creativity of the *Arnhem mystical sermons*’ author. Sermon 111, in which the author incorporated one coherent part of Ruusbroec’s *Spiritual Espousals*, namely on the seven gifts of the Spirit, as a commentary on the Gospel reading of that day, Mark 8,2, bears witness to the same creative method. Also the content of sermon 32 reveals the originality of the author of the *Arnhem mystical sermons*. Whereas Jordanus and the author of the *Temple*’s interpretations of the narrative of Jesus’ transfiguration on the mountain, itself symbolic of the ascent towards contemplation, has a long history in medieval exegesis, the *Arnhem mystical sermons* author’s interpretation of Jesus calming the storm as the transforming presence of Jesus leading to the rapture of the mind is original with no known parallels.35

Furthermore, it is clear that the *Temple* and the *Arnhem mystical sermons* both apply in a unique way the principle of the celebration of the inner liturgy, which is a remarkable parallel between the *Temple*, the *Arnhem mystical sermons*, and also the *Pearl*. The *Temple*, Chapter 8 (“How the Exterior Liturgy in the Holy Church is carried out for the sake of the Interior Liturgy,”)36 opens the Cycle of Seasons by depicting how the liturgy for the Church dedication rite is fulfilled within the human person. Chapter 10, for example, explains the principle of the inner celebration: “In the outer temple, one celebrates Advent by looking forward to the coming of the Lord with eager desire. But in the inner temple, the Lord is always present, ever to announce to the soul the divine birth with a new promise.”37 These statements correspond with several passages in the *Pearl*. There, explicit connections between the liturgical and the inner celebration are made in Book III, Chapter 3, on “How God wants to fulfil all the great feasts in the soul, and wants to renew them in her always”38 where the author states that “All the other great feasts that were outwardly celebrated by me [= Jesus Christ] should also be fulfilled spiritually within you […]”,39 and in Part I, chapter 46, entitled “How the memories of all high feasts will remain

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35 I am grateful to Rob Faesen for pointing out this remarkable feature.
37 *Temple transl.*, 330. See *Temple*, 282-283: “Inden uutwendigen tempel begaetmen den advent, daerse in verbeyden met quellende verlangen die toecomst des Heeren; mer in desen is hi altijd tegenwoordich, om altijd met nieuwer beloenen der sielen te vercondigen die godlike geboerte.”
39 *Peerle transl.*, 222-223. See *Peerle* III, ch. 3: “Ende so voort dat alle andere hoochtijden, dye uutwendelic van my begaen werden, ooc gheestelic in u volbracht mogen worden; daer si al om geviert werden, om dat ghi al mijn leven […] stadelic in uwer herten sult hebben ende dragen.”
in the soul if she rightly imitates God inwardly and outwardly.”

The author of the *Arnhem mystical sermons* refers in sermon 85 (Easter) to the same inner celebration of the feasts of the Church mentioned in the *Temple* and the *Pearl*: “[...] they [the senses] bring into a person the feasts and solemnities of the church, and the soul turns herself with them or through them purely to God in the spirit, where all solemnities are truly renewed and celebrated by God [...]”

This *leitmotiv* of the spiritual celebration penetrates the whole sermon collection, where each sermon is structured as a mystical commentary on the particular liturgical occasion. Yet, the three texts apply this principle differently. The *Pearl* refers to this in a few chapters, and the *Temple* is structured as a mystical commentary on the major feasts of the *Temporale*, but includes many chapters that are not specifically bound to a day from the calendar. The *Arnhem mystical sermons* elaborate on the mystical dimension of all days of the Cycle of Seasons and Cycle of Saints, thus applying this principle even more systematically, as can also be seen in this case-study. *AMS*, Sermon 32 is a sermon for the fifth Sunday after Epiphany, and comments on the Gospel reading for that day from the Missal. The *Temple* chapter 28 is positioned before Easter (chapter 42) but does not correspond with one particular day of the liturgical calendar, as it is a thematic treatise on the transformation of the soul, and is not structured as a commentary on the Missal. This is related to the difference in genre between the *Arnhem mystical sermons* and the *Temple*, as the author of the sermon collection aims to provide a mystical commentary on every day from the Church’s calendar, which the *Temple* author does not.

2. Textual Comparison

The corresponding parts in Ps.-Augustine, Jordanus’ sermon 158, the *Temple* and the *Arnhem mystical sermons* which will be expanded upon in the explanatory section are marked with numbers in between brackets, e.g. (1).

2.1. The Rapture of the Mind in Ps.-Augustine and AMS 32

Ps.-Augustine’s chapter 34, part A, in which the author explains the mind’s rapture, is quoted only in the *Arnhem mystical sermons*. Sermon 32 is one of the few examples where the author of the *Arnhem mystical sermons* explicitly

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40 *Peerle* I, ch 46: “Hoe die gehoochnissen van allen hoochtijden inder sielen bliven sal als si God van binnen ende buyten te recht navolcht.”

41 *AMS*, Sermon 85, fol. 177rb-va: “Mer wanneer se den mensche inbrengen die festen ende hoochtijden der kercken, ende die ziel hoer daer mede of daer doer bloet tot god inden geest keert daer alle hoochtijden van god waerlick in vernyet ende begaen worden, soe sijn die synnen ende verbeeldingen tot dier stont toe noetdorffich ende guet, soe veer si die ziel leyden ende wijsen tot die waerheit der hoochtijden inden geest. Daer om en salmen die innemingen der synnen ende hoer verbeeldingen vander festen nyet meer gebrucken dan totter inleydinge of aenwijsinge der waerheit.”
indicates s/he quotes another author, and refers to St. Augustine (and subsequently: he) in this sermon a few times. For this comparison, I use the Latin version of Ps.-Augustine’s text. The author of the Arnheim mystical sermons shows that s/he is capable of reading Latin by quoting various times from the Latin Divine Office, and it is not clear if s/he used a Dutch translation of the Liber de spiritu et anima, and if so, which one. And even if s/he used a Dutch translation, the comparison between the Arnheim mystical sermons and the original text still provides insights into theological similarities and differences. For this section A, numbers have been inserted in front of fragments or sentences of AMS 32 that are not found in Ps.-Augustine’s text.

Table 2. De Spiritu et Anima, part A, and Corresponding Passages in AMS 32

De Spiritu et Anima, Ch. 34, part A

Let the rational mind, then, return within itself and become recollected interiorly, so that without corporeal images it may study itself and the invisible nature of God almighty. To this end the mind must block out the apparitions of earthly images and whatever else comes to it which pertains to this earth. Then the mind may seek itself and see itself as it is, without the aid of corporeal images. Seeing itself thus, the mind realizes that it is God’s creation, located in rank below God but above the body. Following such a realization the mind can rise above itself, and in some hidden manner it comes to forget itself, humbly and devoutly giving itself over to the contemplation of its Maker.

When the mind begins going outside itself through pure understanding and begins

AMS 32, fol. 71va-72rb

(1) Thus Christ climbs into us when the boat of our rational mind has been rid of all corporeal images and all temporal things, and has been recollected in itself above itself and above the soul, so that it might know and contemplate itself and the nature of the invisible, almighty God without all corporeal images.

(2) In accordance with Augustine Christ climbs into the boat of our mind, when the


43 On the Spirit and the Soul, 834. Migne, De Spiritu et Anima, Colon 804, II. 7-17: “Redeat ergo ad se mens rationalis, et colligat se in se: ut sine imaginibus corporeis se ipsam, et omnipotentis Dei invisibilem naturam considerare valeat, terrenarum phantasmata imaginum, et quidquid ter-
renum cogitatione ejus occurrerit, respuat: et talem se intus quaerrat et videat, qualis est sine istis; considerat se talem, qualis sub Deo supra corpus creato est. Deinde supra semetipsam surgat et se ipsam deserat, atque quodam modo in oblivionem sui veniat, et se contemplationi sui Creatoris humiliet et devote subjicit.”

44 AMS, Sermon 32, fol. 71va: “Alsoe clymt Christus op in ons wanneer dat schipken onses redelicken gedancks van alle lichamlicke beelden ende alre tijtlicher dingen ontbeelt is ende baven sich selven ende baven der zielen in sich selven vergadert is, op datet sonder alle lichamlicke beelden sich selven ende die natur des onsiellicken, almechtigen gods bekennen ende schouwen mach.”
totally entering into the brightness of God’s incorporeal light, then it also begins to experience a relish of intimate sweetness in the things it sees interiorly, and from that to season its understanding and to turn to wisdom. So great an ecstasy of the mind brings about that peace which surpasses every sensation,

so that there comes to pass a silence in heaven as it were for half an hour. His intellectual soul is never disturbed during such contemplating by the clamor of warring thoughts. Furthermore, it finds nothing which it either seeks through desire, rejects through aversion or condemns out of hatred. The soul, rather, is completely recollected in the quiet of contemplation and it is granted a very rare and precious interior sentiment which consists of an indefinable sweetness, which, were it always felt in this way, would be the source of the greatest bliss.


46 AMS, Sermon 32, fol. 71va-vb: “Nae Augustinum soe clymt Christus op int scheepken ons gedancks, wanneer dat gedanck mit die puer verstandenisse te mael baven sich selven ingaat in die claerheit des onlichamlicken lichts ende treckt van die dingen diet van bynnen siet enen ynrelicken smaeck in hem, welck die godheit is, ende daer uut ontfanget sijn verstandenisse ende wort verwandelt inder smakender wijsheit ende is god in gode. In desen opruck des gemoets gebruckt die ziel inder tegenwoerdicheit des heren den vrede die alle synnen baven gaet ende wort daer van gevonden ende ingeholden ende gebruckt, daer van sijt alre selichste is.”

47 On the Spirit and the Soul, 234. Migne, De Spiritu et Anima, Colon 804, ll. 24-32: “ut fiat silentium in coelo quasi hora dimidia; ita ut contemplantis animus nulla altercantium cogitationum tumultuatuone turbetur, nihil omnino inveniens quod vel per desiderium petat, vel per fastidium arguat, vel per odium accuset: sed intra contemplationis tranquillitatem totus colliigitur, et intromittitur in quemdam affectum multum inuisitatum introrsus ac nescio quam dulcedinem, quae si semper sic sentiretur, profecta magna felicitas est."

48 AMS, Sermon 32, fol. 71vb-72ra: “Siet, dit is waerlick wael dat schipken des heren daer hi nyet alleen in opgeclommen is, mer oecch in slaep endt rust. Want daer is geschat dat swigen
In this state of the soul, neither sensation nor the imagination is active. Every one of the soul’s lower faculties is temporarily deprived of its own function. The purer part of the soul, on the other hand, to its great joy is introduced to the secret of intimate repose and is introduced into the sanctuary of the highest tranquility.49 This is not achieved by the sensuality or the imagination, but the lower faculties are deprived of their own activity and the most noble part of the soul is introduced into the utmost hiddenness of the innermost silence.50

After a short introduction on the Gospel narrative in AMS 32, the author of the Arnhem mystical sermons quotes a significant portion of Ps.-Augustine’s text on the mind of the human person. The mind is an important concept in the sermons, as the author refers to it in later sections as well. S/he weaves this into the explanation of the Gospel narrative by inserting references to what functions as an important metaphor for the inner person in the story, which is Christ’s presence in the boat on the lake during the storm. Three times the author refers to this image “Thus Christ climbs into us when the boat of our rational mind has been rid of all physical images and all temporal things” (1), “In accordance with Augustine Christ climbs into the boat of our mind” (2), and “Look, this truly is the boat of the Lord that he not only climbed into, but in which he also sleeps and rests” (5). The author of the Arnhem mystical sermons has taken over almost everything from the Liber de Spiritu et Anima, except for summarising the first section on the recollection of the mind. It is remarkable that the author of the Arnhem mystical sermons modifies Ps.-Augustine’s “source of the greatest bliss” into “for it is altogether God himself, he says (6).” Though the addition “he says” could imply that s/he quoted from a different version of Ps-Augustine’s text, it does not necessarily need to be the case, as the author regularly paraphrases his sources. Significant insertions that the author has made concern the mutuality of the indwelling of God and the human person, the enjoyment of God’s presence and the deifying effect of the union with God. To the description of the contemplating mind, the author of the Arnhem mystical sermons adds that “Here the soul is altogether resting with pure mind in God and God in her” (7), reflecting the

indem hemel omtrynt eene halver uren, alsoe dat dat schouwende gemoede nyet verstoert en can werden vermelds enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeerten vermuts enich gerucht der quader gedachten, ende en vjint nyets nyet dattet mit begeeren


50 AMS, Sermon 32, fol. 72ra-rb: “Dit en werct nyet die synlighet noch die verbeeldinge, mer die nederste crachten werden hoers eygen wercks beroeft, ende dat edelste deel der zielen wort in dat heyameliche der yrrester stillheit ingeleyt.”
mutual indwelling of God in the human person and the human person in God. In the same way, s/he changes Ps.-Augustine’s description of the soul turning to wisdom after entering into God’s light into a statement that the human person is “transformed into savouring wisdom and becomes God in God” (3). The last insertion in particular has strong theological implications, as the author of the Arnhem mystical sermons asserts even more the immediacy of the union with God and the deification of the human person. As it is mentioned shortly after references to mutual indwelling, it shows that the author adheres to both the full immediacy of the union with God as well as the remaining ontological difference between God and the human person, a theme regularly expanded on in the Arnhem mystical sermons. In sermon 136, for example, the author states that divinisation does not entail that one becomes God Himself. One can “not [become] God, but completely divine, because there cannot be but one God, and all of us full of God.” The remaining ontological difference between God and the human person is also in this section confirmed by a cluster of insertions related to the enjoyment of God’s presence. The author states that one is “enjoyed” (4) and experiences the peace of God “in the presence of the Lord” (4), and thus emphasises that God and the human person remain two distinct identities, as ontological fusion would mean the end of the enjoyment of each other.

2.2. On The Separation of Soul and Spirit

Section C of the Liber de Spiritu et Anima is the first section that is found in all three other texts. After Ps.-Augustine’s section A described the turning inwards of the mind, this section elaborates on the separation between the soul and spirit.

**Table 3. De Spiritu et Anima, part C, and Corresponding Passages in Jordanus’ sermon, the Temple, and AMS 32**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>De Spiritu et Anima, Ch. 34, part C</th>
<th>Jordanus, sermon 158, ll. 75-85</th>
<th>Temple, Ch. 28, ll. 75-85</th>
<th>AMS 32, fol. 72rb-72vb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In this division the soul and what is (8) animal-like remain below; the spirit, however, and whatever is spiritual, soars to the highest heights. It is divided from the lower things in order that it may be raised</td>
<td>In this separation the soul and all that is (8) animal-like stays below, and the spirit and all that belongs to the spirit climbs upwards and is separated from what is below, so that it may be drawn upwards to</td>
<td>In this separation the soul and all that is (8) animal-like stays below, and the spirit and all that belongs to the spirit climbs upwards and is separated from what is below, so that it may be drawn upwards by</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AMS, Sermon 136, fol. 303rb: “niet god, mer te mael godlick, want daer en can nyet wesen dan één got, mer wij altemael wael vol gods.”
In this section, all four texts identify the highest part of the person as the “spirit and all that belongs to the spirit.” The part of the human person that, in contrast to the spirit, cannot ascend to God directly, is in the Temple and Jordanus’ sermon, in accordance with Ps.-Augustine’s text, equated with the soul and all that is “animal-like”, but in the Arnhem mystical sermons with “the soul and all that is soul-like.” It is not that the author of the Arnhem mystical sermons does not use the expression “animal-like” at all. However, in the Arnhem mystical sermons, the animal-like dimension is always related to the senses. The tripartite division of senses, soul, and spirit is also denoted as the division between the animal-like, rational, and deiform dimension of the human person, thereby making a clear separation between the soul and the senses with their animal-like aspect. Even though it is possible that Ps.-Augustine,

97042.indb   354
97042.indb   354
10/03/14   14:58
10/03/14   14:58
Jordanus, and the author of the Temple refer to the soul and the animal-like aspect of the person as two categories, the fact that their expression “soul and all that is animal-like” runs parallel with their formula “spirit and everything that belongs to the spirit” seems to point to a not so strong separation. The author of the Arnhem mystical sermons avoids the identification of soul and the animal-like aspect of the senses and thus refers to the soul and all that is soul-like. The fact that the expression zielachtig has so far not been found in any other Dutch manuscript confirms that the author deliberately used this concept, or perhaps even invented it.55

(9) The author of the Arnhem mystical sermons refers to the human mind [gedanck] as that part of the spirit that is united with God, in contrast to Ps.-Augustine, the Temple author, and Jordanus. Also in the following passages that are parallel to the Temple and Jordanus’ sermon, the author of the Arnhem mystical sermons inserts references to the mind. The concept of the mind is clearly based on Ps.-Augustine’s mens. His earlier section on the mind (part A) has been almost literally copied in an earlier part of sermon 32. In section I of the Liber de spiritu et anima, which is neither quoted in the Arnhem mystical sermons nor in the Temple or Jordanus’ sermon 158, the mind is identical to the memory: “memoria etiam mens est.”56 He explains the specificity of the mens as follows: “When the soul acts within itself, through itself and of its own motivation, then it is only called ‘mind.’”57 The author also equates the mind with the image of God in section E.

Also in the Arnhem mystical sermons, the mind is similar if not identical with memory, one of the three higher faculties, together with intelligence and will.58 Memory is in the sermons referred to as gehoechnisse (memory), gemoede (mind), and gedanck (mind/the origin of thoughts).59 Whereas intelligence is associated with the Son and love with the Spirit, the first faculty, traditionally memory, is associated with the Father, an old tradition that goes back to Augustine. As the Father is also considered as the origin in the Godhead, memory, or gemoede and gedanck, is sometimes used to describe the highest dimension of the person, which lies at the origin of both the intelligence

55 See Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek (MNW), “sielachtich.” The concept is also not found in the Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal (WNT).
56 Migne, De Spiritu et Anima, Chapter 34, Colon 803.
57 On the Spirit and the Soul, 233; Migne, De Spiritu et Anima, col. 803: “Cum autem anima in se agit se, et ex se et per se, sola mens dici solet.”
58 For example Sermon 88, fol. 186rb-vb, uses the triad of gedanck and gemoede, intellect (verstand), and love (mynne).
59 On the various concepts used to denote the higher faculties, see also Kees Schepers, The Foundations of Mystical Consciousness in the Arnhem mystical sermons, in Mystical Anthropology: Cross-Religious Perspectives. Interdisciplinary Reflections on the Arnhem mystical sermons and Sri Aurobindo, ed. by Ineke Cornet, Rob Faesen, and Martin Sebastian Kallungal (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 129-157, in particular 140-148. The term gedanck is not clearly defined. The MNW refers to gedanck as thoughts, but in the AMS it seems to have a deeper meaning, possibly the faculty of memory.
and the will. In this sermon, mind has an intellectual connotation as well: it is called “the rational mind,” which is a literal translation of Ps.-Augustine’s \textit{mens rationalis}. Because the mind is placed on the level of the origin of the faculties and is thus the highest part of the person, the author of the sermons refers to the mind as the part that is lifted up to God. While paraphrasing Ps.-Augustine’s section E, s/he states that the mind is that part of the person in which God has impressed his own image and likeness: “So, through his power, wisdom, and love He has created that pure mind of the person [...], and has impressed in it His own image and likeness [...].” And in this same sermon 32, the author praises the human mind again as the bearer of God’s image: “O dignity above all dignities of the human mind, the nature and image of which is God, and that may itself be called an image of God.” These quotations show that the mind belongs to the highest realm in the human person.

The \textit{Temple} author does not insert a reference to the mind in this section, but sticks to Jordanus’ text. Though the concept of \textit{gedacht} is also used in the \textit{Temple}, the \textit{Temple} author generally focuses less on different anthropological distinctions than the \textit{Arnhem mystical sermons}, perhaps pointing to a greater attention for various facets of the inner ascent to God by the author of the \textit{Arnhem mystical sermons}.

(10-11) The ultimate outcome of the ascent towards God is referred to in slightly different terms. The author of the \textit{Temple} and Jordanus mention the “living unto the Lord” (10), likely a quote from Romans 14, 8: “or whether we live, we live unto the Lord [...].” The author of the \textit{Arnhem mystical sermons} does not follow this change by Jordanus and the Temple author, but, like Ps.-Augustine, refers to being one with God (10). That insisting on the possibility of the human person already being one with God in this life is important in the \textit{Arnhem mystical sermons}, is confirmed in the next sentence (11), which shows a similar distinction between the \textit{Arnhem mystical sermons} and Ps.-Augustine on the one hand and the \textit{Temple} and Jordanus’ sermon on the other hand. Whereas the author of the \textit{Temple} and Jordanus state that one who adheres to God “becomes” one spirit with Him, the author of the \textit{Arnhem mystical sermons} describes that one “is” one spirit with God, using the Vulgate version that also Ps.-Augustine used. The expression “to become one with

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61 \textit{AMS}, Sermon 32, fol. 71va: “redelicken gedancks”.


63 \textit{AMS}, Sermon 32, fol. 73vb-74ra: “Alsoe heeft hi doer sijn moegentheit, wijsheit ende mynne geschapen dat lutter gedanck des menschen [...] heeft daer in gedrukt sijn eygen beelt ende gelickenisse [...]”.

64 \textit{AMS}, Sermon 32, fol. 73ra-rb: “O, weerdicheit baven alle weerdicheit des menschelicken gedancks, welcks natuur ende beelde god is ende selve genoemt mach werden een beelde gods.”

65 See for example Chapter I, which identifies the golden throne within the person as the pure mind (\textit{puer geadacht}), in \textit{Temple}, p. 235.

66 Quoted from the King James Version.
God” probably reflects a different position in mystical literature and may be related to the conviction that the complete union with God takes place only in heaven, particularly popular after the fifteenth century. In contrast to the *Temple* and the Dutch version of Jordanus’ sermon, the author of the *Arnhem mystical sermons* highlights the uncompromising mystical tradition by stating that one is united with God and that one is one spirit with God. The *Temple* author also states the possibility of this mystical union on earth (for example in chapter 52 on the highest union of the spirit with the Holy Trinity), but might not have changed Jordanus’ text for that reason, as also becoming one with God could be interpreted as becoming one with Him on earth, and as she generally remains closer to the sources.

2.3. On The Nature of Soul and Spirit

Section B of the *Liber de Spiritu et Anima* describes the exact nature of the soul and the spirit so as to explain how the division between them may take place. The table below shows the corresponding passages in the four texts.

**Table 4. *De Spiritu et Anima*, part B, and Corresponding Passages in Jordanus’ sermon, the *Temple*, and *AMS 32***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>De Spiritu et Anima, Ch. 34, part B</th>
<th>Jordanus, sermon 158, ll. 53-74</th>
<th>Temple, Ch. 28, ll. 53-74</th>
<th>AMS 32, fol. 72rb-72va</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(12) St Paul said of this separation: “The Word of God is alive and powerful, and it can penetrate deeper than any two-edged sword, (13) reaching the very division between soul and spirit. (14) There is nothing in creation which is more marvellous than this division. What is essentially one and indivisible becomes separated; (15) and what is simple and lacks parts is divided by a certain parti-</td>
<td>(12) St Paul said of this separation: “The Word of God is alive and powerful and sharper than any two-edged sword, (13) which pierces to the division where soul and spirit are divided.” About this, (14) St. Augustine said: Among all that God has created, there is nothing more marvellous than this separation, in which one thing, which in itself is essentially</td>
<td>(12) St Paul said of this separation: “The Word of God is alive and powerful and sharper than any two-edged sword, (13) piercing even to the dividing of soul and spirit.” About this, (14) St. Augustine said: Among all that God has created, there is nothing more marvellous than that this happens, that one thing, which in itself is essentially</td>
<td>(12) Truly, this separation is made by the living and powerful word of God, that is more piercing than any two-edged sword, (13) piercing even to the dividing of soul and spirit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(12) St Paul said of this separation: “The Word of God is alive and powerful, and it can penetrate deeper than any two-edged sword, (13) reaching the very division between soul and spirit. (14) There is nothing in creation which is more marvellous than this division. What is essentially one and indivisible becomes separated; (15) and what is simple and lacks parts is divided by a certain parti-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(14) Therefore there is nothing more marvellous in a creature than this separation where what is essentially one and undivided is in a hidden manner separated in himself, (15) and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

69 Cf Hebr. 4, 12.

(13) Neque enim in homine uno alia essentia est ejus spiritus, atque alia est ejus anima: sed prorsus una eademque naturae simplicis substantia. Non enim in hoc gemino vocabulo gemina substantia.

(14) Daer sinte Augustinus alius of seynt: “Onder al dat God ghescappen heeft, en is niet wonderliker dan dat ghesceit, dat een dinc, dat in hem selven welseyt een is ende ongescheijden, van hem selven ghescheijden wort. (16) Want in den mensche en is die ziele niet een wesen ende die geest een ander. Mer het is beijde van eenen univedid, is separated. (16) For it is not so that in the human person the soul is one being, and the spirit another being, but both are part of one nature and one being, and that these two names should not be understood as two beings, but there are two powers and activities in one being, in which the soul climbs downwards and the spirit upwards.

(12) Van welcken ghesceyde S. Pauwels seyt: “Dat woert Gods is levendig ende crachtich ende doorniden der dan eenich swaert, dat aan beijden.setIden snydet, ende (13) coemt totter sceijdinghe, daer ziel ende gheest ghescheidena worden.” (14) Daer sinte Augustinus alius of seynt: “Onder alle dat God ghescappen heeft, en is niet wonderliker dan dat ghesceit, dat een dinc, dat in hem selven welseyt een is ende ongescheijden, van hem selven ghescheijden wort. (16) Want inden mensche en is die siele niet een wesen, ende die geest een ander wesen, * also dat in desen twee namen what in itself is simple and without part, is divided regarding one part.
(12-14) Several passages show that the author of the Temple followed Jordanus, whereas the author of the Arnhem mystical sermons has likely used Ps.-Augustine’s text. Jordanus, and consequently the Temple author, refers explicitly to Paul and (Ps.-)Augustine (12 and 14), which are not found in Ps.-Augustine. It is obvious that the Dominican Jordanus, steeped in scholasticism, cites his sources when using quotes. The author of the Arnhem mystical sermons often does not refer to the sources explicitly, and has not inserted those references. Next, Jordanus and the Temple author refer to “among all that God has created,” instead of Ps.-Augustine’s “in creaturis,” which is taken over by the Arnhem mystical sermons. Also, the author of the Arnhem mystical sermons quotes the passage from Hebrews in a way that is different from the Temple author and Jordanus (13). The author of the Arnhem mystical sermons could have used another existing translation of the Bible while translating or using a translation of Ps.-Augustine’s text, or may have made his/her own translation based on Ps.-Augustine’s text. It was a common practice in the Medieval and Early Modern period to update the language of quotations based on the linguistic evolution,72 and this passage does not indicate a difference in interpretation between the Arnhem mystical sermons and the Temple.

(15-16) The quotations 15 and 16 clearly show that in general the author of the Temple remains close to Jordanus’ sermon, whereas the author of the Arnhem mystical sermons uses Ps.-Augustine’s text and does not follow their modifications. Jordanus and the Temple author quote sentence 16 and not 15 from Ps.-Augustine’s text, while the author of the Arnhem mystical sermons makes the opposite move and quotes sentence 15 and not 16. Jordanus and the Temple author remove Ps.-Augustine’s “and what is simple and lacks parts is divided by a certain partitioning (15),” but quote the following passages on the soul and the spirit being of one nature and one being (16), whereas the author

72 One example is the fourteenth century Middle English sermon to be dated in 1387 or 1388. The sixteenth century editor of the 1540’s and 1550’s printed versions mentions in his prologue that the sermon is published here in the original version “save tholde and rude English theyr of mended here and there.” See Alexandra Walsham, “Inventing the Lollard Past: The Afterlife of a Medieval Sermon in Early Modern England,” Journal of Ecclesiastical History 58, no. 4 (2007): 628-629, at 642, f.n. 53.
of the *Arnhem mystical sermons* leaves out passage 16. S/he does not consider it necessary to correct the misunderstanding that the spirit and the soul are two different beings. Could it be that s/he knows that the audience will understand this separation correctly? Given the often speculative content of the sermons, it may well be the case that the author has a high opinion of the intellectual capacities of his/her audience.

Some smaller differences in sentence 16 also show that the author of the *Temple* quotes Jordanus’s sermon quite literally. Although she omits a part of sentence 16*: “but both are part of one nature and one being,” this seems to be accidental, as both the preceding and following part of this sentence end with “being,” which might have led the *Temple* author to overlook this particular sentence while copying. Also, the author of the *Temple* follows Jordanus’ modification of the final part of sentence 16, where he repeats the theme of the spirit ascending upwards, thereby modifying Ps.-Augustine’s text, which solely refers to the spirit as the superior part. The fact that the *Temple* author does not follow Jordanus’ more complicated formula of “the division where soul and spirit are divided,” into “the dividing of soul and spirit” (13), could be based on a slightly different version of Jordanus’ translated sermon. This more simple version is also found in the *Arnhem mystical sermons*, but their author is likely to have used Ps.-Augustine’s text.

2.4. The Lower and Higher Part in the Human Person

Section D of the *Liber de Spiritu et Anima* elaborates on the division between soul and spirit and the subsequent contemplation of the spirit. The table below shows the corresponding passages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5. <em>De Spiritu et Anima</em>, part D, and Corresponding Passages in Jordanus’ sermon, the <em>Temple</em>, and AMS 32</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>De Spiritu et Anima, Ch. 34, part D</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This is a blessed division and a marvellous separation: the (17) body-like and impure parts of man’s soul remain below, while its (18) spiritual and more subtle parts are raised (19) to the contemplation of divine glory and (20) are transformed into that glory’s image.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jordanus, sermon 158, ll. 85-91</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a blessed division and a marvellous separation, in which all that is (17) rough and unsubtle remains in the lowest part, and all that is (18) spiritual and subtle is raised to (19) the contemplation of divine glory. Richard said this as well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Temple, Ch. 28, ll. 85-91</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a blessed division and a marvellous separation, in which all that is (17) rough and unsubtle remains in the lowest part, and all that is (18) spiritual and subtle is raised to (19) divine contemplation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AMS 32, fol. 72va-72vb</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| O blessed division and marvellous separation, in which what is (17) physical and impure, remains down, and what is (18) spiritual and intellectual, is raised to the (19) contemplation of divine glory. (21) The lower part is in intense peace and rest, but the higher part is in...
(21) The lower part is recollected in the greatest peace and tranquillity, while the higher part is raised to glory and rejoicing.\textsuperscript{73} The comparison of this section shows again that the author of the Temple\textsuperscript{74} has clearly followed Jordanus, whereas the Arnhem\textsuperscript{74} mystical sermons\textsuperscript{74} remains closer to Ps.-Augustine’s text. Whereas Jordanus and the Temple author contrast “rough and unsubtle” (17) with “spiritual and subtle,” (18) the author of the Arnhem\textsuperscript{74} mystical sermons\textsuperscript{74} refers to “physical and impure” (17) and “spiritual and intellectual” (18). This shows clearly that the author of the Arnhem\textsuperscript{74} mystical sermons\textsuperscript{74} does not follow the translation of Jordanus and the Temple author. In sentence (19), the Temple is the only author that has a different version than the three other authors, which could either be based on a different version of Jordanus’ sermon, or on her own summarising of the reference to contemplation, and the author of the Arnhem\textsuperscript{74} mystical sermons\textsuperscript{74} has clearly not followed the Temple in this regard. Sentence (21) in particular illustrates that the author of the Arnhem\textsuperscript{74} mystical sermons\textsuperscript{74} incorporates this passage from Ps.-Augustine, which is not found in Jordanus’s sermon and the Temple. The fact that the author of the Arnhem\textsuperscript{74} mystical sermons\textsuperscript{74} does not remove this sentence, “The lower part is in intense peace and rest, but the higher part is in the highest glory and joyfulness,” highlights the importance of the transformation of the whole human person, even though the author does not take over the explicit reference to transformation mentioned by Ps.-Augustine in part (20). The author

\textsuperscript{73} On the Spirit and the Soul, 235. Quoted with slight adaptations.

\textsuperscript{74} Migne, De Spiritu et Anima, Col. 804, ll. 55-61.
of the Arnhem mystical sermons does not just describe the separation of mind and body, leading to the contemplation of God by the human mind, but includes the human body in this transformative process. The lower parts of the human person whose spirit is contemplating God are filled with God as well, as God’s peace and rest radiates through from the mind to the lower parts. This is explained in the section of sermon 32 that follows the parallel passages with Jordanus’ sermon and the Temple. There, the author returns to the image from the Gospel reading on Jesus stilling the storm on the sea. S/he describes how Jesus sleeps in the ship amidst the storm, which is interpreted as Jesus resting in “the ship of your pure mind.”75 Though the mind may now be at rest, the faculties of the soul are called to labour against the storm and to call to the Lord, the “fountain of goodness,” “till it shall come forth from the stillness of herself and flow through every faculty [of the soul] with power, wisdom, and strong divine love […].”76 Thus, the author of the Arnhem mystical sermons puts more emphasis on the transformation of the whole person through the contemplative union with God than can be found in Jordanus’ sermon and the Temple, chapter 28.

2.5. Ps.-Augustine and AMS 32 on the Mind as Image of God

In this section, the author of the Arnhem mystical sermons clearly quotes Ps.-Augustine’s part E, whereas Jordanus and, after him, the Temple author only summarises a sentence on the image of God in the person. The table below shows the textual parallel between Ps.-Augustine’s Liber de Spiritu et Anima and AMS 32.

Table 6. De Spiritu et Anima, part E, and Corresponding Passages in AMS 32

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>De Spiritu et Anima, Ch. 34, part E</th>
<th>AMS 32, fol. 72vb-73rb</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(22) Even though the human mind is not of the same nature as God, nevertheless it is the image of that nature and there is no nature better than it. The image must be sought and found in us, because there is nothing better in our nature. In order to do this the mind must first be studied in itself; only then will God’s image be discovered in it. When the mind looks at itself through thought, it comes to understand and know itself. When, on the other hand, the mind by contemplation ascends to God in order to understand and love him, it is called the image of God.</td>
<td>(22) For although the human mind is not his own nature, but his nature is God alone, and since our nature does not have anything that goes beyond it, still the image of that nature cannot better be sought and found than in us. And for it to be found, the mind must first observe itself in itself, and then it finds in there that image. Again, when it considers itself in its thinking, then it understands and recognizes itself, but when it climbs with contemplation to God in order to understand and to love God, then it is called the image of God.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

75 AMS, Sermon 32, fol. 73rb: “scheepken uws lutteren gedancks.”
76 AMS, Sermon 32, fol. 73 va: “tot dat se uutter stilheit hoers selves ontsprynget ende elcke cracht mit moegentheit, mit wijsheid ende mit stercker godlicker mynnen doervloeyt.”
(23) The apostle says that the mind is a man when it thinks of eternal things: “A man should not cover up his head, for he is God’s image and glory.” (24) The more the mind goes out to the eternal, the more does it become an image of God. It should not be hindered from going out to the eternal so that it may then contain itself and be moderate. (25) But when the mind is engaged in thinking about temporal things, then it is called a woman. (26) In this case it should not be called an image of God, and it should cover up its head lest is excessively descend to lower things; (27) lest, while engaged in lawful activities, it may come to lust after the unlawful.77

(22) Want hoe wael dat menschelick gedanck nyet en is sijns selves natuer, mer sijn natuer is god alleen, ende onse natuer oek nyet beters en heeft, nochtans en is dat beelde dier natureren nyet beter te sucken ende te vijnden dan in ons. Ende salt gevonden werden, soe moet dat gedanck yerst sich selven in sich selven mercken, dan vijndet daer in dat beelde. Wanneer sich selven mit gedachten schouwet, soe verstandet ende bekent sich selven weder, mer alst mit beschouwinge tot god opclymt om god te verstaen ende te mynnen, soe wordet genoemt dat beelde gods.

(23) Thinking eternal things, it is a man. A man shall not cover his head, says Paul, for he is the image and glory of God. (25) But thinking of what is temporal, it is called a woman and not an image of God. (26) A woman shall cover her head, so that her propensities are not too much toward the lower things.

(28) O dignity above all dignities of the human mind, the nature and image of which is God, and that may itself be called an image of God. Therefore, o noble soul, (24) exalt yourself ceaselessly with all faculties to what is eternal to become more and more alike to the image of God.

77 On the Spirit and the Soul, 235-236.
78 De Spiritu et Anima, col. 804 l. 62 – col. 805 l. 7.
In contrast to Jordanus and the Temple author, the author of the Arnhem mystical sermons not only quotes section A of the Liber de Spiritu et Anima, but also this longer section E, with only small adaptations. These changes include the changing of the order of the passages 23-26 into 23, 25, 26, and 24, with leaving out the final part of the sentence (27). Also, the author of the Arnhem mystical sermons uses a more hortatory style in quoting passage 24, where s/he exhorts the reader to exalt oneself to become more and more like to the image of God rather than Ps.-Augustine’s observation about the mind becoming more like to the image of God. A significant change occurs in the translation of “mens humana non sit ejus naturae, cujus est Deus” (22). The author of the sermons renders this as “the human mind is not his own nature, but his nature is God alone,” which is different from Ps.-Augustine’s statement that the human mind is not of God’s nature, but rather, is the image of God’s nature. The author repeats the importance of the human mind in sentence 28, where s/he states that God is the nature and image of the human mind. The author of the Arnhem mystical sermons clearly states that God is in the human mind, in the same way as s/he emphasised the indwelling of God in the human person by inserting changes into section A of Ps.-Augustine’s text.

Jordanus and the Temple author only summarise briefly one sentence (22) of this section of the Liber de spiritu et anima: “When, on the other hand, the mind by contemplation ascends to God in order to understand and love him, it is called the image of God.” Their summary is given in the table below.

Table 7. Jordanus’ and the Temple’s author’s summary of Liber de Spiritu et Anima, part E

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jordanus, ll. 95-100</th>
<th>Temple, ll. 95-100</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From this one may note what is in the human person that may climb up to the mountain of divine contemplation. For this is the spirit alone, which is the highest and best part of the human person, which is created in His image and likeness and with which we may be receptive to Him.</td>
<td>From this one may note what is in the human person that may climb up to the mountain of contemplating God. For this is the spirit alone, which is the highest and best part of the human person, which is created in the image and likeness of God and with which we may be receptive to Him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uut welken datmen merken mach, wat dattet is, dat inden menschen is ende tot desen berche de godliker scouwinghe opclimmen mach. Want dat is alleen die geest, die dat overste ende dat beste inden mensche is, na welken wij tot siene beelde ende gelijkenisse ghescepen zijn, ende moghen sijns ontfanckelic wesen.</td>
<td>Uut welken datmen merken mach, wat tet is dat inden menschen is ende tot desen berge[n] der godschouwinge opclimmen mach. Want dat is alleen die gheest, die dat overste ende dat beste is inden mensche, na welken wi na Gods beelde ende ghelijckensisse gescapen zijn ende mogen sijns ontfanckelic wesen.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jordanus, and after him, the Temple author, does not refer to the human mind, but uses the category of the human spirit as opposed to the soul and body,
which was mentioned in the earlier quotations on the separation between spirit in soul in the parts B, C, and D. Also in the other sections, the author of the Arnhem mystical sermons regularly inserted references to the human mind, not found in the Temple and Jordanus’ sermons. It points to the fact that Ps.-Augustine and the Arnhem mystical sermons, in this case, make use of more anthropological concepts so as to allow for a more complex description of the inner ascent. The author of the Arnhem mystical sermons uses both the concepts of spirit and mind. The spirit is that highest part in the human person that is the god-loving dimension of the human person, which is evident in many references to “loving spirit,” god-loving spirit,” and “being one spirit united in love in my blessed divinity.” The mind is capable both of loving and knowing God: “Again, when it [the mind] considers itself in its thinking, then it understands and recognizes itself, but when it climbs with contemplation to God in order to understand and to love God, then it is called the image of God.” The author of the Arnhem mystical sermons, after Ps.-Augustine, thus puts more emphasis on the combination of loving and knowing God, while the author of the Temple and Jordanus solely refer to the ascent of the spirit to the contemplation of God.

The comparison also shows that the author of the Arnhem mystical sermons has reworked his/her source, the Liber de spiritu et anima, significantly, while the Temple author remained close to her source, which was Jordanus’s sermon. It confirms that the author of the sermons acts much more as an independent master over the sources than the Temple author, a strategy can also be seen in the final part of the texts. After this parallel passage, the Temple quotes the following and final part of Jordanus’ sermon almost literally, except for the concluding formula (that God may grant this to us), which is typical of meditative treatises and sermons. In contrast, the author of the Arnhem mystical sermons writes an original conclusion.

SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUSION

The Arnhem mystical sermons and the Temple of Our Soul not only share many common themes and their literary network, but also testify to a significant textual parallel, which consists in their quotation of Ps.-Augustine’s Liber de spiritu et anima (parts B, C, and D). The author of the Arnhem mystical sermons quotes this text directly from (a translation of) the Liber de Spiritu et Anima and not through the mediation of Jordanus’ sermon or the Temple. This can be observed from the facts that sermon 32 incorporated sections from this text that are not found in Jordanus’ sermon and the Temple (parts A and E), and that in the parts that are found in the Arnhem mystical sermons, Jordanus’

79 In the Arnhem mystical sermons, “mynnende geest” and godmynnende geest” are used twelve times.
80 AMS, Sermon 104, fol. 231rb: “ende een geest in mynnen geenicht in mijn gebenedide godheit.”
sermon, and the *Temple* (B, C, and D), the author of the sermon collection does not incorporate some changes inserted by Jordanus and the *Temple* author. The *Temple* author clearly cited Ps.-Augustine’s text through the mediation of Jordanus’ sermon 158. She incorporates several sections from Jordanus’ sermon (II and IV) that are not found in Ps.-Augustine, and also remains closer to the text of Jordanus than the original text of Ps.-Augustine. Although this textual parallel can neither be used to establish a textual dependency between the *Arnhem mystical sermons* and the *Temple* nor to date the *Arnhem mystical sermons* more precisely, it still underscores the strong thematic parallels between these two texts and highlights important differences amidst their similarities in content and use of sources.

The authors of the *Temple* and the *Arnhem mystical sermons* differ in their genre and in their dealing with the sources. The *Temple* author uses Jordanus’ sermon in a treatise on the transformation of the soul, whereas the author of the *Arnhem mystical sermons* uses the genre of the sermon that is a commentary on the readings from the Missal. The author of the *Arnhem mystical sermons* thus intertwines the vernacular mystical theology even more systematically with the liturgy, a difference that is also visible in the fact that the *Arnhem mystical sermons* are structured as a commentary on the whole liturgical year, as is appropriate for a sermon collection, while the *Temple* author limited herself to writing meditations on the high feasts of Christ’s life, Trinity Sunday, and Church dedication.

The author of the *Temple* remains close to the text of Jordanus’ translated sermon. The *Temple* author has integrated four sermons of Jordanus, namely 155-158, while being faithful to the original sequence of arguments. Though the chapter does not include all of Jordanus’ sermon, the author does not significantly change the sections she does quote from Jordanus. Various small omissions do not witness to different theological positions and are sometimes accidental. In contrast, the author of the *Arnhem mystical sermons* alters various passages of Ps.-Augustine and incorporates quotations from this sermon into a commentary on another Gospel reading on Matthew 8. Together with the original interpretation of Jesus calming the storm as the rapture of the mind, this testifies to the creativity of the author of the *Arnhem mystical sermons*. In contrast to the author of the *Temple*, s/he changed, for example, the order of the passages B, C, and D into C, B, and D, and modifies the quoted parts in such a way that s/he brings out his/her own theological accents. S/he puts more emphasis on the indwelling of God in the human mind and the mutuality of the dwelling of God in the human person and the human person in God. With stark words, s/he highlights the deification and the ontological union with God more than Ps.-Augustine’s text by stating that the person becomes “God in God,” and that the human mind being is of God’s nature. Smaller changes to Ps.-Augustine’s text also testify to the autonomy with which the author reworked the sources, such as the insertion of the concept of “soul-like” (sielachtig) so far only attested to in the *Arnhem mystical sermons*. 
The comparison between the *Arnhem mystical sermons* and the *Temple* also identified differences in the parallel parts, which are related to the fact that the author of the *Arnhem mystical sermons* has either quoted directly from Ps.-Augustine or reworked his text more freely. The author of the *Arnhem mystical sermons* makes a more differentiated use of anthropological concepts in order to describe various facets of the inner ascent towards and union with God. These include references to the mind, which are not incorporated by the *Temple* author, who sticks in this chapter to the concepts of soul and spirit found in Jordanus’ sermon. The author of the *Arnhem mystical sermons* is thus able to hold together explicitly the god-loving dimension of the person, embodied in the spirit, and the god-knowing dimension of the human person, found in the mind. Also, the author of the *Arnhem mystical sermons* makes a more differentiated use of anthropological concepts in order to describe various facets of the inner ascent towards and union with God.

Also, the author of the *Arnhem mystical sermons* omits the explanation which the *Temple* takes over, that the soul and the spirit should not be understood as two separate beings, perhaps assuming that this would be clear to a learned audience. And whereas Jordanus and the *Temple* author describe that one may live unto the Lord and that someone who adheres to God may “become” one with Him, the author of the *Arnhem mystical sermons* states that one may be united with God and that such a person “is” one spirit with God. This indicates that the author of the *Arnhem mystical sermons* emphasises even the possibility of the immediate union with God in this life. The author of the *Arnhem mystical sermons* more strongly emphasises the transformation of the whole human person by describing that not only the highest part of the person ascends to union with God, but that the lower parts are filled with God’s rest and peace as well, because God’s love flows from within the highest part over to the lower parts.

Though I have read both the *Temple* and the *Arnhem mystical sermons* intensively, further research may disclose more textual parallels between the two texts as well as other parallels with Ps.-Augustine’s texts and Jordanus’ sermons. This would enable us to weigh these discoveries within a broader scale of results. The results of this case-study need to be integrated into the ongoing research into the authorship and theology of the *Temple* and the *Arnhem mystical sermons* in order to flesh out the implications for our understanding of sixteenth-century mystical texts, developments, and literary networks in the Low Countries.

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**Summary**

The *Great Evangelical Pearl*, the *Temple of Our Soul*, and the *Arnhem mystical sermons* are three Middle Dutch sixteenth-century texts with many similarities, including the mystical understanding of the liturgy. They appear within a literary network in which the nuns at St. Agnes and the Cologne Carthusians played an important role. This article examines a newly discovered textual parallel between Chapter 34 of Ps.-Augustine’s *Liber de spiritu et anima*, Jordanus of Quedlinburg’s sermon 158, Chapter 28 of the *Temple of Our Soul* and sermon 32 of the *Arnhem mystical sermons* through a comparative literary analysis. It shows that although the *Arnhem mystical sermons* are
directly based on Ps.-Augustine’s text while the Temple author quotes Ps.-Augustine’s text as it is rendered in Jordanus’ sermon, the thematic parallels are still striking and confirm the tight connections between the Arnhem mystical sermons and the Temple. The comparison also demonstrates that although the Temple and the Arnhem mystical sermons have much in common, the author of the Arnhem mystical sermons more freely changes the text of the sources and accentuates different aspects of mystical theology than the Temple.

Adress of the author: 85 Doncaster Street, Ascot Vale 3032, Victoria, Australia (ineke.langhanscornet@gmail.com)