Jarrik Van Der Biest

From the Lecture Hall to the Confessional Frontier: Student Notebook Production and the Transmission of Biblical Knowledge from Leuven

Abstract: How did early modern theology students apply their university education? Traditional scholarship has often portrayed Catholic theology faculties during the Reformation as stagnant ivory towers, focused on rigid scholastic knowledge. This study challenges that view by examining the career of a student, rather than a professor. Manuscript 434, held at the University Library of Utrecht, contains notes from royal lectures on Sacred Scripture at the University of Leuven in the 1560s and 1570s. The manuscript, authored by Dominican friar Johannes Loemelensis, reveals the stages of knowledge dissemination, production, and application. Through a book-archaeological approach, this research uncovers the learning process of Loemelensis, his later application of biblical knowledge in preaching, and the manuscript's intellectual legacy. This case study broadens our understanding of 16th-century Catholic intellectual history, highlighting the dynamic circulation of ideas beyond the classroom.

1 Introduction: Catholic Student Notes on the Bible?

Manuscript 434 of the Utrecht University Library was found in one of 11 book chests tucked away in a dark corner of the *Gouvernementsgebouw* of Maastricht.[1] Dutch clerks must have stumbled upon them in 1839, when they were organizing local government in the border town that rather unwillingly passed into Dutch hands following Belgium officially gaining independence. The collection consisted of incunabula and manuscripts confiscated during the sequestration of the monasteries after the conquest of the region by the French Republic in 1794. After being brought to the building, the seat of the new departmental government, they had been stored in the chests and subsequently forgotten (Hermans 1987). Today,

1 Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht MS 434 (HS 5 E 16). The manuscript has been digitized through: https://utrechtuniversity.on.worldcat.org/oclc/1107040398, last accessed July 30, 2024.

 https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111452975-003

codex 434 is safely kept in a climate-controlled environment by Utrecht University's Special Collections (Van der Horst 1994, 303–304).[2] However, its water stains, fragile sewing structure, and holes remain, as material witnesses to its many travels.

A provenance note on the flyleaf (fol. 1r) reveals that the manuscript once belonged to Dominicus Nullens, a 17th-century Dominican friar from the convent of Maastricht. At the time, the city already found itself in the borderlands between the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg-held Southern Low Countries, and thus on the confessional frontier between Calvinists and Catholics. Nullens did not produce the codex or its contents, however. In a series of small jottings scattered throughout the manuscript, the actual scribe identifies himself as Johannes Loemelensis, a *frater Dominicanus.* A final colophon (fol. 537v) reveals that he finished writing in 1575 in Lille, another city on the early modern frontier, this one between the Habsburg Low Countries and France.[3] The manuscript contains Loemelensis' notes on biblical commentaries taught by a number of professors from Leuven's Faculty of Theology, covering all of the epistles of the New Testament and the Apocalypse (Table 1). Moreover, it is interleaved with half-leaves containing a wealth of references to the Church Fathers, with Augustine taking pride of place (Figure 1). As such, it is a rare witness of the transmission of theological knowledge in 16th-century Leuven's lecture hall, and more importantly, beyond it.

How *did* early modern theology students from Leuven apply the biblical knowledge taught to them during their university studies to the multi-confessional field of the Low Countries? The importance of such a query for the intellectual history of the Reformation cannot be understated. However, due to the ephemeral nature of learning, it is one that is rarely asked. If we are to believe older historiography, the existence of a biblical notebook, holding references to Augustine, made by a Dominican university student is an anomaly in itself. The inability of early modern Catholic intellectual culture to shake off its medieval scholastic heritage has been identified as one of the root causes of the rapid spread of Protestantism. According to David Bagchi, Catholic controversialists were unable to "think biblically" or "pastorally" and clung to the model of the university disputation in their rebuttals of Luther and Calvin's attacks (Bagchi 1991, 9).

In contrast, Protestant theologians supposedly held a monopoly on the study of the Bible, applying humanistic principles to their scholarship and weaponizing scriptural knowledge in their preaching. Indeed, especially for the Low Countries, the so-called hedge-sermons have been credited with the first waves of Calvinist

2 I would like to thank the Special Collections Department of Utrecht University, and especially Drs. Frans Sellies, for their digitization support during the COVID-19 pandemic, making this research possible.

3 "Haec scripsi Insulis a[nn]o 1575"; fol. 537.

Table 1: Codicological structure of Johannes Loemelensis' student manuscript (Utrecht, University Library MS 434). Different colors mark the separate codicological blocks. See also Van Der Biest Forthcoming.

Folio nos	Book	Professor	Amount of bifolia per gathering	Date in colophon	Date lecture (reconstructed)
2r – 5r	**Romans 1.9 – 3.26**	Gozaeus	[added after binding]		?
6r – 60v	**Romans**	Baius	9 – 10 – 9	1571 (on half-folio)	1568
61r – 141r	**Corinthians I, II**	Baius	8 – 9-8-9 – 6	1571 (on half-folio)	1569
142r – 161	**Galatians**	Baius	11	1569 (title)	1569
165r – 183r	**Ephesians**	Baius	10		1569
183v – 199r	**Philippians**	Baius	9	1571 (colophon)	1570
201r – 217r	**Colossians**	Baius	8		1570
218r – 232r	**Thessalonians I, II**	Baius	9 – 8-9-8		1570
241r – 270r	**Timothy I, II**	Baius			1570
270v – 279r	**Titus**	Baius			1570
282r – 284v	**Philemon**	Baius			1570
285v – 330r	**Hebrews**	Baius	11 – 8-9-8-9-8 – 9	1570 (colophon)	1570
330v – 347v	**James [A]**	Baius		1573 (colophon)	?
350r – 377r	**Peter I, II**	Baius		1571 (colophon)	1571
377v – 394v	**John I, II, III**	Baius		1571 (colophon)	1571
396r – 401	**Jude**	Baius		1571 (colophon)	1571
409r – 418v	**James [B]**	Baius	8 – 9 – 6		?
420r – 452r	**James [C]**	Petri			?
455r – 534v	**Revelation**	Baius	9 – 8-9-8 – 7	1571 (colophon)	1571
535r – 537v	**Romans 3.26 – …**	Gozaeus	[added after binding]	"Scripsi Insulis 1575"	?

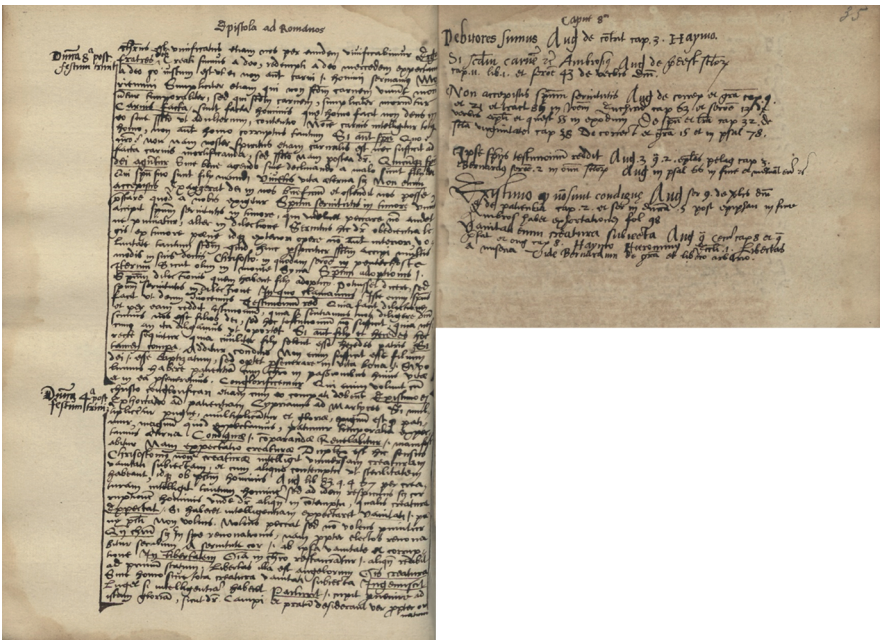

Figure 1: Utrecht, University Library MS 434, fols 34v and 35r. Notice the references to Augustine on the half-leave (right side), and the marginal bracketing of commentary sections with the dates of the liturgical calendar (left side).

conversions and were the spark for the Iconoclast Fury in 1566 (Bosma 2001). Judith Pollman (2006) has posited that before 1585, the Catholic clergy was reluctant to speak about heresy in their sermons to lay people. Clerics did little to "supply their flocks with detailed arguments against the heretics," and it was the ordinary believers who developed a militant Catholic identity after a rather passive Catholic response to the violent Calvinist outbursts of the 1560s (Pollmann 2006, 102). So instead of climbing the pulpit, Catholic university-trained clerics are thought to have locked themselves in their ivory towers, perpetuating rigid, scholastic, and systematic theological arguments. This image is beholden to 16th-century humanist criticism and carries the enduring bias of 19th-century Protestant polemics painting the "Catholic intellectual world as intellectually barren" (Levitin 2019, 7). The humanists' negative view of Catholic theologians' "highly dubious allegorical and anagogical" biblical study led them to pretend, "quite erroneously, that the Bible was neglected altogether" (Brockliss 1996, 594).

Up until the previous decade, scholarship has perpetuated this notion of scriptural teaching as having withered in favor of an outmoded systematic theology at early modern Catholic faculties of theology. The preferred example is Paris, where

out of 12 chairs only one was assigned to Scripture until the 17th century (Brockliss 1996, 595). However, recent work by Stefania Tutino (2014; 2017), Bruno Boute (Badea et al. 2021), and Dmitri Levitin (2019) has stressed the dynamism of Catholic intellectuals in dealing with post-Tridentine categories of doubt and censorship. Others, such as Wim Decock (2013; Decock and Birr 2016), have shone new light on the decidedly Thomist re-invigoration of scholasticism in the 16th century, ushered in by the School of Salamanca and spread by the Jesuits throughout Europe. Indeed, at the instigation of the Dominicans, Peter Lombard's outdated *Book of Sentences* was replaced by Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae* as the handbook for systematic theology in university theology programs. Finally, Wim François and Antonio Gerace have uncovered a veritable "Golden Age" of Catholic scriptural study between 1550 and 1650, revolving around the work of Leuven professors (François 2012; Gerace 2019). John Frymire's research on the production and circulation of postils in Germany shows that Catholic theologians too were concerned with providing Bible-based sermon examples to their clerics (Frymire 2010).

These studies have redrawn the landscape of early modern intellectual history. However, they have one thing in common: a focus on scholarship—the printed, published output of knowledge production by professors and intellectuals. As a result, they might give the impression that university theologians performed their intellectual work on a different plane, detached from the needs of ordinary believers in the multi-confessional field. This article contends that student notebooks like that of Johannes Loemelensis bridge that gap by providing insight into the transmission of knowledge in the lecture hall and beyond. Indeed, manuscript 434 bears the marks of its travels from Leuven, the center of theological learning in the Low Countries, to the religious frontier in Lille and Maastricht. However, the difficulty when researching "average" students' learning experiences is often precisely that they left few traces by which the historian can reconstruct their subsequent life and career.

Therefore, this article proposes an archaeological method that centers on the materiality of the codex and its text, rather than the ideas they contain. It departs from the insight that a student notebook does not provide unmediated access to the oral teaching event (Blair 2004; 2008; see also Baldzuhn 2021, 84). It is rather the material condensation of a learning process happening before, during, and long after the university professor uttered his ephemeral words in the lecture hall. During this process, students molded both lecture text and its physical carrier, the codex, to their own intellectual needs. For example, students from the Arts Faculty in Leuven lavishly decorated their manuscripts with diagrams, drawings, and even engravings that often had nothing to do with course content (K. Smeyers 2012; M. Smeyers 1975; see also Geudens and Masolini 2016). Bound in precious leather (Cockx-Indesteghe 2012), the notebooks were taken home by the graduate to serve

as a memory and perhaps unofficial proof of study (D'Haenens 1994, 409). Manuscript 434, with its sober layout and numerous references on half-leaves is a far cry from these collections. By dissecting the stratigraphy of the codex, this article unearths why a Dominican friar was taking lecture notes on the Bible and Augustine during the first years of the Dutch Revolt. An examination of the material imprint left by the learning process and its later life unveils the dissemination of knowledge from Leuven's "ivory tower" to the religious frontier. As such, this method aims to broaden the horizon of intellectual history.

2 From the Dominican *Studium* to the Faculty's Lecture Hall in Leuven

2.1 A Dominican in the Regius Lectures on Sacred Scripture

Apart from his notebook, the only trace Johannes Loemelensis left is to be found in the general enrolment registers of Leuven's university: he was officially included in the university corporation on September 23, 1568.[4] From his self-identification as a *frater dominicanus*, it is most likely that he lived in the convent of the order, centrally located on an island between two branches of the Dijle river.[5] The back flyleaf of the codex contains a copy of a charter issued to the Leuven Dominican friary (fol. 538v), which suggests Loemelensis started work on his notebook there. The Dominicans had settled in the previous capital of Brabant in 1233, after which the Dukes of Brabant gifted them the buildings of their own court after moving to Brussels (Coomans 2011, 207–209). Like in many other European cities, their existing *studium* was incorporated into the University of Leuven at the latter's foundation in 1425, together with those of the Franciscans and Augustinians. As a result, it became a *studium generale*, which developed strong ties with the Faculty of Theology founded in 1432, even if the university itself was governed by the secular clergy (De Jongh 1911, 49; Gielis 2014, 40–41).

Indeed, the first theology professors were recruited from the mendicant *studia* and the Dominicans had a seat on the Faculty board (Wils 1927, 339–340; De Jongh 1911, 50). Moreover, the university would regularly hold its general meetings at the convent. For example, on November 29, 1567, the decrees of the Council of Trent

4 Fol. 488r of the *Quartus Liber Intitulatorum*, February 19, 1529 to August 31, 1569, no. 24, Inschrijvingsregisters van de studenten aan de Oude Universiteit Leuven, Rijksarchief, Leuven.

5 For example: "Loemelensis ord[inis] p[rae]d[icatorum]" on fol. 537v; "Finis ep[isto]le Pauli ad Romanos p[er] me fr[atr]em Jo[ann]em Loemelen[sis]: a[nn]o 1571" on fol. 60r (half-leaf).

were officially adopted during a ceremony held in the *aula* of the convent—less than a year before Johannes enrolled (Andreas 1650, 364). In any case, the incorporation of the *studium* meant that its friars enjoyed all the privileges attached to university membership, in exchange for the presence (and fees) of at least two Dominican students at the theology lectures (Vernulaeus 1667, 129). Dominican students thus followed lectures and obtained degrees at the Faculty of Theology, while simultaneously, the convent school provided a separate educational program to its friars as well. Johannes Loemelensis clearly made good use of this opportunity, attending the lectures of at least three Faculty professors. In his manuscript, our friar included a full commentary on the Letter of James by Cunerus Petri (c. 1530–1580), who became the first fully installed bishop of Leeuwarden in 1569. On the empty leaves at the beginning and end of the codex, he jotted down a partial commentary on Romans taught by Thomas Gozaeus (d. 1571) at the Savoy College (as signaled in the table of contents).[6] The majority of his notes, however, were "*excerptae ex ore Michaelis Baii*" (1513–1589) (e. g., fol. 6r) and cover all of the apostolic letters as well as the Apocalypse.

Clearly, scriptural expounding was very much part of the educational program of the Faculty in Leuven. Indeed, a report made on January 31, 1568, to the Duke of Alva (edited in Van der Linden 1908) reveals that no less than four out of the five so-called ordinary professors were lecturing on the Bible. These professors, including Thomas Gozaeus and Cunerus Petri, each gave a mandatory morning lecture on the book of their choice for six weeks in a rotating system (Andreas 1650, 52). Michael Baius, however, taught every day of the academic year and even extended his lectures to the summer holidays (Van Eijl 1977, 197). He was one of two royal professors tasked with teaching Sacred Scripture to all theology students; the other royal professor, Augustinus Hunnaeus (1522–1578), lectured on Peter Lombard's *Book of Sentences* at that time. The two chairs had been established and endowed by Emperor Charles V in 1546, and appointments were a princely prerogative usually effected by the government in Brussels. Although the documents surrounding their foundation have been lost, the professorships were likely a joint initiative by the Faculty and the worldly government in response to the worsening religious situation in the Low Countries (Van Eijl 1968, 75). It accorded equal weight

6 Loemelensis attempted to fit the notes on the flyleaves at the beginning of the manuscript but had to continue in the margins of the first commentary of Romans: "[…] in margine vel in parva pagella ex opposite expositionis Michaelis du Bay" on fol. 5r. In order not to clutter the margins of the notebook, however, he decided to continue on the flyleaves at the end. The note in the table of contents reads: "Haec ex ore m[agistri] nostril Thomae quondam professoris lovaniensis in collegio Sabaudiae" on fol. 1v.

to the two medieval "handbooks" for theology, the Bible and the *Sentences*, promptly answering Trent's call for biblical lectureships in its Fifth Session (June 17, 1546).

When Michael Baius took over the Chair for Sacred Scripture in 1552, he made it his own for nearly 40 years, until his death in 1589. He moved his lectures to the more prestigious morning slot, relegating the classes on the *Sentences* to the afternoon (Van Eijl 1977, 96). Another student notebook, produced by his nephew Jacobus Baius (1545–1614), unveils how the royal professor treated the entire New Testament according to the order of the Vulgate, in cycles of around four and a half years (see Table 2).[7] Jacobus attended the lectures from 1563 until obtaining his licentiate in 1572, and wrote down the dates on which his uncle started reading a new biblical book. After wrapping up the Apocalypse in September 1567, Michael Baius started anew with the gospel of Matthew on January 8, 1567. Jacobus did not start with a clean sheet of unused paper for this second cycle, instead he crammed his new notes in the margins of the commentaries of the first cycle. Sporadically, he included the date on which the professor lectured on a book for the second time, which allows for an approximate reconstruction of lecture dates (see Table 2). The duration of these two cycles is no coincidence: four and a half years was roughly the time required to obtain a *baccalaureus* degree, after which a minority of students spent an equal period on their *licentiatus* (Van Eijl 1977, 105). During his second cycle (1567–1571), Jacobus Baius and Johannes Loemelensis were in the auditorium together, although the latter was not present for the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles. In this period, the expounding of Sacred Scripture dominated teaching at the Faculty, with Michael Baius at its helm.

Biblical lecturing in Leuven was the educational expression of the *Lovanienses'* interest in scriptural studies (Fischer et al. 2020; François 2007; 2012; François and Gerace 2018; Gerace 2019). In 1546, the same year as the establishment of the regius chair of Sacred Scripture, the Faculty set out to publish a revised edition of the Vulgate. Inspired by the wish of the council fathers at Trent for a critical emendation of the biblical text (Fourth Session, April 8, 1546), John Henten published the Leuven or Hentenian Vulgate with Bartholomeus Gravius in 1547.[8] One year later, Henten entered the Dominican convent in Leuven (Quétif and Échard 1719, 195–196; De Jonghe 1719, 154). His edition almost became the standard Catholic version of the Vulgate text, until its replacement by the Sixto-Clementine version in 1593 (François and Gerace 2018; Gerace 2019, 50–52). That the project started in 1546 was no coincidence: the edition was clearly intended as the founda-

7 Rijksarchief Leuven, Fonds Oude Universiteit Leuven no. 3718.

8 Hentenius, Johannes (Ed.) (1547): *Biblia, Ad vetustissima exemplaria nunc recens castigata.* Leuven: Bartholomaeus Gravius. URL: http://www.lovaniensia.be/lovaniensia/items/show/670, last accessed July 30, 2024.

Table 2: Reconstruction of Michael Baius' lecture cycles on the New Testament, based on Jacobus Baius' student manuscript (Leuven, State Archives, Fonds Oude Universiteit Leuven no. 3718). Dates in italic are approximations based on the dates in Jacobus' manuscript

Book	Cycle 1	Cycle 2
John	Jan. 11, 1563	
Mark	May 3, 1563 (Gozaeus)	
Romans	1563 (Gozaeus)	
I Corinthians	June 1564	Feb. 18, 1569
II Corinthians	Sept. 21, 1564	
Galatians	Dec. 4, 1564	
Ephesians	Aug. 21, 1564	
Philippians	Oct. 25, 1565	Jan. 9, 1570
Colossians	1565	Jan. 30, 1570
I Thessalonians	Dec. 1565	
II Thessalonians	Jan. 15, 1566	
I Timothy	Jan. 22, 1566	
II Timothy	Feb. 8, 1566	May 29, 1570
Titus	Feb. 18, 1566	*June 1570*
Philemon	?	*June 1570*
Hebrews	March 6, 1566	*July 1570*
James	May 14, 1566	*Sept. 1570*
I Peter	June 10, 1566	*Oct. 1570*
II Peter	July 8, 1566	*Nov. 1570*
I, II, III John	July 22, 1566	*Nov. 1570*
Jude	Sept. 10, 1566	*Dec. 1570*
Revelation	Sept. 10, 1566	*Dec. 1570 – 1571*
Matthew	Jan. 8, 1567	
Luke	Aug 4, 1567	
Acts	?	

tional text for the new royal lectures on the Bible. Indeed, a lesser-known emendation of the *Sentences* was published by Gravius in 1546, serving as the authoritative text for the regius lectures on systematic theology.[9] However, contrary to the latter, the Hentenian Vulgate never seems to have developed into an actual handbook taken to the auditorium by students. It was printed in folio—not a very handy format to lug around. Moreover, Gravius only printed the edition once, whereas handbooks for the Arts Faculty were reprinted regularly to satisfy student demand

9 Lombard, Peter (1546): *Sententiarum Libri IIII.* Ed. Joannes Aleaume. Leuven: Bartholomaeus Gravius. URL of a 1568 reprint: http://www.lovaniensia.be/items/show/2112/, last accessed July 30, 2024.

(Cammaerts 2022). Thus, students at the Faculty of Theology kept producing entirely handwritten manuscripts throughout the 16th century. This contrasts with the Arts Faculty, for which Jan Roegiers has identified a temporary shift towards note-taking in the margins or between the lines of printed handbooks (Roegiers and De Ridder-Symoens 2015). Producing one's own manuscript was more difficult: students had to fold sheets of paper into gatherings, lay out the handwritten text on them, and bind the quires into a codex (or have them bound). This process, however, was a flexible one, and allowed students to shape the codex towards their own intended use after the lectures or even graduation. A codicological analysis reveals the strategies Johannes Loemelensis utilized in making the notebook he started working on around his enrolment at the university.

2.2 Crafting the Notebook

From 1568 onwards, Johannes Loemelensis lived in Leuven, attending the biblical lectures in the Faculty's auditorium in the Cloth Hall, and crafting his codex in the *schola theologorum* or perhaps the library of the Dominican convent.[10] He had 537 folios bound together into a codex, interlacing full bifolia with half-folios: each full folio containing exegesis is alternated with a half-leaf containing references to the Church Fathers. Starting each biblical book on a new page, he wrote them down more or less in the order prescribed by the Vulgate, which is not surprising considering that that is the order in which Michael Baius taught them. In the colophons he scattered across the manuscript, our student added a number of dates, ranging between 1569 to 1575. However, firstly, these do not seem to follow the chronological order suggested by the manuscript. Secondly, they do not always correspond to the reconstruction of Baius' lecture dates for biblical books. To understand how and when exactly Loemelensis produced this complex manuscript, an investigation of how the watermarks, gatherings, textual divisions, and dates relate to each other is necessary (see Table 1; for the codicological terms used in this section, see Gnirrep, Gumbert and Szirmai 1992; Gumbert 2010).

There is great diversity between the watermarks found in the 33 gatherings or bundles of bifolia that make up the manuscript, even within one gathering between the full and half- folios (see also Smeyers 1975, 252). This is an indication that our Dominican friar supplied himself with new bundles of paper on several occa-

10 For a plan of the cloister, see De Jonghe, Bernardus (1719): *Belgium Dominicanum sive Historia provinciae Germaniae Inferoris O.P.* Brussels: Franciscus Foppens. URL: https://books.google.be/books?id=Vzw_AAAAcAAJ, last accessed July 30, 2024.

sions, and that his (unbound) notes were produced over a prolonged period of time.[11] It also suggests that he had not yet decided to interleave the gatherings with the half-folios when he started folding his quires from the large sheets of paper.

Setting out the quire structure of the codex against the division of the text according to the biblical books reveals an interesting strategy employed by Johannes Loemelensis. He attempted to finish the commentary on each book at the end of a gathering, starting the next book on the first folio of a new gathering. Peter Gumbert (2004) has coined the term "codicological block" for such intentional intersections between quire and textual structure: their presence is the material imprint of a conscious choice made by the student in molding his codex. Indeed, at multiple points in the manuscript, Johannes Loemelensis reduced the amount of bifolia in the final gathering containing the commentary on a specific letter. It is important to note that this was done before writing down the actual text on these gatherings: it required a good estimate of how long the text would be on the student's part (Smeyers 1975, 251–252). Producing these codicologically linked blocks of gatherings and biblical books would have made it easier for our friar to shuffle the order of his notes when having them bound. However, not all biblical books have their separate quire structure: two blocks in the middle of the codex contain multiple biblical books crossing quire boundaries.[12] The most plausible explanation is that in these instances, the books in question are very short apostolic letters, for which the advantages of producing blocks simply did not outweigh their cost (in terms of saving paper, time, and labor).

Johannes Loemelensis irregularly jotted down dates, both next to the title of a commentary and in the scattered colophons at the end of the biblical books—sometimes even on the half-leaves. The question is whether these dates point to the lecture itself, or to the moment on which Johannes Loemelensis wrote down the commentaries. Comparing them to the reconstruction of Michael Baius' lecture cycles affirms it is a combination of the two: when there is a date next to the title of the book, it usually points to the lecture date. Dates elsewhere point to the production of the notes. The latter demonstrate that there could be quite some time between the actual lecture and the redaction of the text. For example, for the

11 I have been able to identify only one of these watermarks as belonging to the workshop of Siméon Nivelle, who was a sworn paper maker (*papetier juré*) of the University of Paris and was based in Troyes, at the Moulin de Pétal. The watermark bears his name ("S NIVELLE") underneath the coat of arms of the University of Paris, composed of three lilies and a hand coming out of a cloud, holding a book; Briquet 1907, vol. 1, 15.

12 See Table 1: fols. 218–284 contain Thessalonians I and II, Timothy I and II, Titus, Philemon; fols. 285–408 contain Hebrews, James [A], Peter I and II, John I, II and III, Jude.

first letter in the codex (Paul to the Romans), taught by Baius in 1568, Loemelensis writes "finished by me in the year 1571" in a note on one of the half-folios (fol. 60r). The year 1571 is also the year in which Baius finished expounding the final book contained in the manuscript, Revelation.[13] As this date is a recurring one in the colophons, it is highly likely that most of the final redaction work on the notes was done then. Loemelensis probably had the manuscript bound in 1571, after adding the half-folios. After this, he started writing the references to the Church Fathers on the half-leaves. This is corroborated by the abrupt end of these references in the middle of the manuscript: the rest of the half-leaves are empty.[14]

Two dates do not seem to conform with the hypothesis that Loemelensis bound his notes around 1571. The first date, 1573, is found in the letter of James, in the second codicological block that is a composite of different biblical books (James [A]).[15] It is especially perplexing as Baius did not teach this letter in 1573, and dates jotted down in the rest of the book from the block point towards lectures and redaction in 1570–1571. To complicate matters further, the codicological block after the one containing this commentary holds two more commentaries on the letter of James: one by Baius (James [B]) and one by another professor, Cunerus Petri (James [C]). The inclusion of the latter block disturbs the arrangement of the notes according to the Vulgate, as they follow the second Letter of John. The most plausible explanation for this is the following: Loemelensis decided to redact his notes on the Letter of James [B] on separate gatherings. He did this to also include his notes on Cunerus Petri's lecture (James [C]). As the Epistle of James was at that time crucial in interconfessional polemics, obtaining an additional commentary on it was vital. For some reason, he left some space in the larger codicological block in which he had originally planned to write down the notes on James. When he had the codex bound in 1571, the space was left blank, but the quire structure did not allow for these separate gatherings (with the completed notes on the two lectures on James ([B] and [C]) to be "squeezed" into the larger codicological block). Thus, he had it bound after that block, which ends with the Second Epistle of John. In 1573 (after the codex had been bound), he decided to fill in the original space left blank with additional notes on James, perhaps from a different lecture.[16]

13 "Finis Dei Gratia anno 1571 […] Loemelensis" on fol. 534v, all translations mine except otherwise stated.

14 Fol. 331 and onwards.

15 "Finis in ipsa 8a anno 1573 Michaelis" on fol. 347v.

16 Baius not only taught in the auditorium in the Cloth Hall, but also at the college founded by Pope Adrian VI, of which the professor was *praeses*. Johannes Loemelensis seems to have had access to these lectures held in the colleges as well, seeing as he wrote down that he had followed

Although we could see this as a "mistake" on the student's part, it also shows how Loemelensis took great care in organizing these notes.

The second colophon to postdate the probable binding of the manuscript is written at the end of the manuscript. It reads: "I wrote this in Lille in 1575."[17] The colophon concludes the notes on a lecture given by Thomas Gozaeus on Paul's Letter to the Romans. These were clearly written down after the codex had been completed: they start on the flyleaf at the beginning of the codex and continue on the final pages at its end (fols. 2r–4r and 535r–537v). Loemelensis thus again added notes taken during a different professor's lecture on a crucial letter in interconfessional polemics. Interestingly, this note also offers a clue about the student's whereabouts in 1575: he was residing in Lille, not in Leuven…

2.3 Studying at the *Studium Generale*

From the codicological analysis it becomes clear that this notebook was not crafted in the lecture hall, but at a desk in the convent of the Dominicans. These are second-order notes, also called *Reinschriften*, a neat reworking of draft notes taken during lectures (Blair 2008, 41). This is corroborated by the differences between the lecture events and redaction dates. Indeed, Johannes Loemelensis worked on his notes in different phases, cobbling together a codex from the different codicological blocks he had produced. This operation of capturing the orally transmitted commentaries onto a physical carrier engendered sound knowledge of the lecture text, for example because Loemelensis had to adjust quire lengths to fit a commentary on a block. His difficulties incorporating the extra commentaries on James into the quire structure illustrate that this was not always easy. Before having his notes bound, in 1571, our friar decided to interleave his gatherings with half-leaves, alternately to the head and tail of the text block, so that the manuscript would have a consistent thickness throughout. Sometime after this date he started jotting down references to the Church Fathers on these leaves during what was at least the second reading of the text, abandoning this project about two-thirds into the manuscript. These two "flaws" of the codex offer a glimpse into how producing one's notebook was part of the learning process itself. They also make apparent the strategies employed by Loemelensis in shaping the lecture text and its carrier towards his own intellectual intentions. The use of codicological blocks and interleav-

Thomas Gozaeus' class in the Savoy College; "Haec ex ore magistri nostri Thomae quondam professor lovaniensis in collegio Sabaudiae" on fol. 1v.

17 "Haec scripsi Insulis anno 1575" on fol. 537v.

ing suggest that Loemelensis already knew how he would apply the biblical knowledge transmitted to him in the lecture hall in his later career.

Other than his notebook and a name in the general immatriculation registers of the university, our friar has left no traces from which we can reconstruct his study career and further exploits. There are only three pivotal dates that offer a glimpse of these: 1568, when Loemelensis started his studies; 1571, when he presumably bound his manuscript; 1575, when he jotted down a colophon in Lille. His absence in one source is telling, however: Johannes Loemelensis does not appear in the exam registers of the Faculty of Theology (edited by Vandermeersch 1985). This means that he likely did not attend the royal lectures with the aim of obtaining a degree at the Faculty, but as a non-mandatory addition to the separate program of the convent's *studium generale.*

In fact, the Dominican *studium generale* of Leuven was the intellectual center of a network of conventual schools hosted by the friaries of the *Provincia Germania Inferior* (see Figure 2 for a map). In 1515, the province had been carved out of the *Congregatio Hollandiae* and the communities of the *Provincia Saxonia*, *Teutonia*, and *Francia* that were located in the Habsburg Netherlands. As such, Charles V, who had initiated the reform together with superior general Thomas de Vio Cajetan, managed to align the provincial jurisdiction of the order with state borders (Wolfs 1964, 31–41; De Meyer 1946, 429–432). Throughout the 16th century, the new province would increasingly find itself on the northernmost border of Catholic Christianity, its convents beleaguered and even destroyed by Calvinists. For example, on August 22, 1566, in the midst of the Iconoclast Fury, all of the books of the library of the Dominicans in Ghent were thrown out of the window into the Leie river (Verdée 2008, 266–267). When Loemelensis moved to Leuven for his studies in 1569, the network of schools in the *Provincia Germania Inferior* was still intact. Education had always been a strong pillar of the apostolic mission of the Order of Preachers, and every convent was required to appoint at least one *lector.* Friars were taught according to a typical scholastic progression: Aristotelian logic and natural philosophy first at the *studium artium et naturalium*, before starting theology at the *studium theologicum.* Most of the friaries in the province possessed a *studium* for propadeutic or theological training, or both (Chantraine 1967, 3–61). However, only the Leuven conventual school held the rank of *studium generale*, one of 27 in the entire order recognized by the general chapter in 1551 (Reichert 1901a, 324–325). It was headed by a *regens* holding a university degree, who was assisted by a *lector sententiarium*, a *lector* for the Bible and a master of students tasked with administration.

Three career trajectories stretched out before Dominican pupils: priesthood, preaching, and teaching. Of those three, only the latter two required passage through the *studium generale* in Leuven: priesthood could be attained by studying at the

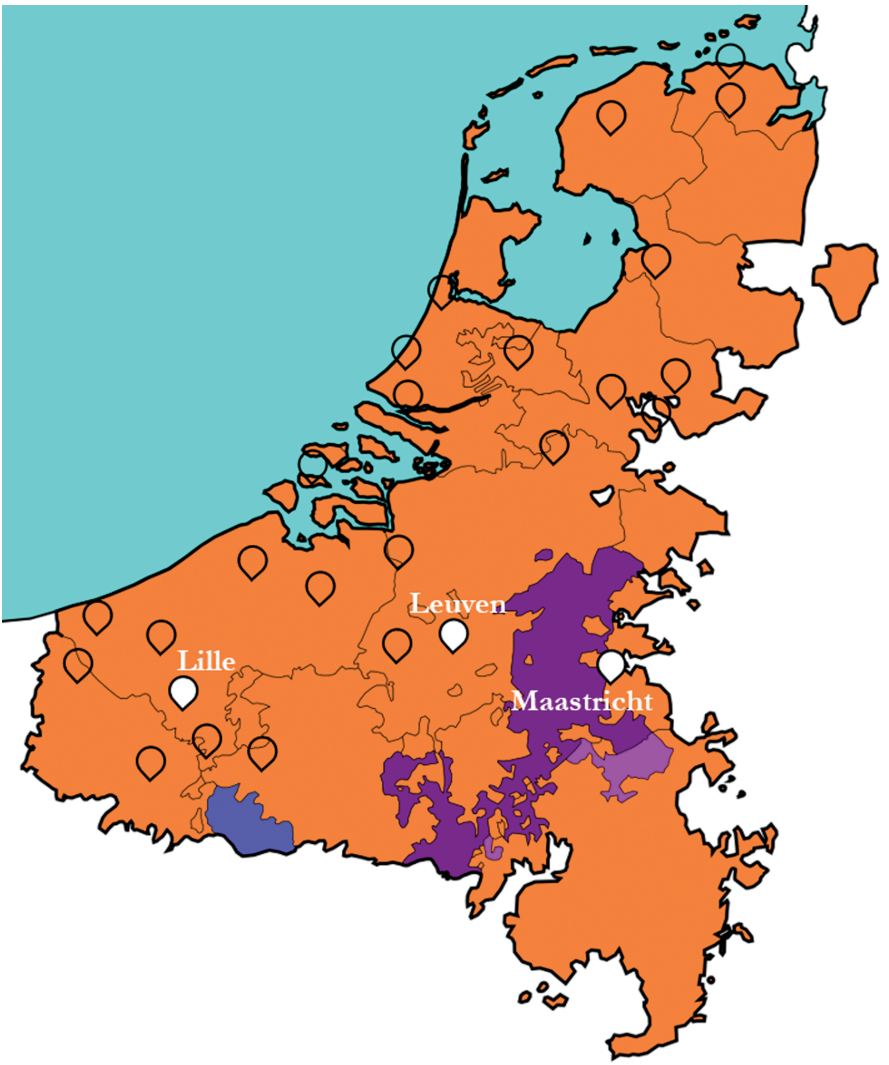

Figure 2: Map of all Dominican *studia* in the Habsburg Netherlands before the Dutch Revolt (16th century). Adjusted from David Descamps, CC BY 3.0: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/legalcode.

"lesser" *studia.* Indeed, only the brightest and most promising students of the *Provincia Germania Inferior* were sent to Leuven, among whom was our Johannes Loemelensis (Chantraine 1967, 85; Wolfs 1964, 81: *Acta* 1528 and 173: *Acta* 1545). It is now clear to what purpose he was present in Michael Baius' lectures: he knew that he

would become either a preacher or a lector at one of the study houses of the convent. His study career was determined by an educational reform initiated at the general chapter of the order in Salamanca held in 1551, and enforced by provincial chapter in Antwerp held in 1553. One of the main concerns in Salamanca had been to improve the intellectual stature of the *lectorate*, rebuking lectors who did not hold a university degree as working above their proper station in its *acta* (Reichert 1901a, 316). This was an issue at the provincial chapter held in Antwerp: "they could not have everyone promoted at university" (Wolfs 1964, 209), moreover, many of the convents did not have the financial means to send lectors-to-be to Leuven's convent. The friars decided to circumvent the general chapter's exhortation by determining that future *lectores* were required to "have heard theology at university for at least three years" (Wolfs 1964, 209). After that, they were to "lecture, publicly dispute and discuss" for two years before obtaining the *lectorate* (Wolfs 1964, 209). The *acta* deliberately make no mention of whether this had to be done at the *studium generale* or one of the lesser schools. This explains why Johannes Loemelensis would follow the Faculty's lectures without actually taking exams or obtaining a degree. It was the provincial administration's way of catering to the Salamantine *ordinationes* without actually having to provide for long and costly studies at the university.

Another problem the 1553 provincial chapter faced was the high number of students at the Leuven convent school: all *cubicula* of the *studium* were occupied. To solve this, the friars mandated that all non-conventual students were to vacate their room in Leuven after three years of studying and return to their own friary. They could also be sent away earlier when they seemed to "indulge more in drinking and chattering" than in study (Wolfs 1964, 208–209). The 1528 chapter had decided that following these three years, the student was to teach *artes* or theology for at least five years (Wolfs 1964, 82). Only after this could he be permitted to start the Faculty's theology program and obtain a degree at the university—leaving his trace in the Faculty's exam register. This prescription of a Dominican's study career aligns perfectly with the codicological analysis of Loemelensis' manuscript. He started in Leuven in 1568, attending Michael Baius' lectures for three years: as Baius' cycle of the entire New Testament took four and a half years to complete, Loemelensis missed the lectures on the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. After three years, perhaps right before leaving Leuven in 1571, he had his notes bound into a manuscript (a bound codex is of course easier to carry during travels) and started adding references to the half-leaves. When teaching in Lille, he copied the additional commentary on Romans taught by Thomas Gozaeus from his draft notes, to be finished in 1575. If our friar never returned to Leuven to obtain a university degree, then what might his subsequent career have looked like? The paratextual elements he added to the professorial commentaries might provide clues, as they are a prime example of how students appropriated the lecture texts trans-

mitted to them. With these interventions on the text, Loemelensis emancipated his notes from the linear constraints of the orally delivered lecture, reconfiguring the knowledge contained in it to his own needs.

3 Teaching and Preaching at the Frontier in Lille and Tournai

3.1 Augustinian Referencing in a Thomist Milieu?

The name "Loemelensis" likely refers to Lomme, a village next to the city of Lille. Johannes thus indeed was sent back to his home convent around 1571, after having finished his mandatory three years of lecture attendance in Leuven's *studium generale.* He was to study and teach at the convent school there for at least two years before becoming a *lector*, and at least five years before being able to return to Leuven for a university degree. During these years he added paratextual material to the half-leaves of his codex in the form of references to the works of both Latin and Greek Church Fathers (mainly Augustine). These references signal that after his studies in Leuven, our student actually engaged with the contents of his lecture notes rather than merely keeping them as a memory of his study career. Although he did not finish, leaving the small leaves largely blank from the Letter to the Hebrews onwards, it was an elaborate project.

For almost every verse parsed in the commentary, Loemelensis sought one or more explanations offered in the works of Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory of Nanianzus, Origen, Chrysostom, and others. Thomas Aquinas, however, the Dominican *doctor communis*, is largely neglected. A keyword search performed on a transcription of the manuscript generated using a Transkribus HTR+ model yields only 16 instances in which Loemelensis mentions Aquinas.[18] This is a surprisingly low number, seeing as some of the half-leaves contain up to 40 references. Michael Baius was indeed known for his Augustinian profile and his rejection of the scholastics (Van Der Biest 2021), however these paratextual notes are not part of the lecture text but added afterwards. Professorial intellectual influence cannot entirely elucidate our friar's preference for Augustine and relative neglect of the Domi-

18 The HTR+ model "Latin_collegenotes_theology_exegesis_v2" (created February 18, 2021) was trained on a set of 17,859 words manually transcribed from MS 434 (additionally, the public model "NeoLatin_Ravenstein_1634–1772" by Annemieke Romein was used as a base model) and has a character error rate of 3.19 %.

nican *doctor angelicus*. How does Loemelensis' agency relate to the intellectual evolutions at his *studium* and in the *Provincia Germania Inferior* at large?

Thomas Aquinas is generally considered as the Dominican order's intellectual center of gravity, pulling the entire Catholic world into its orbit during the 16th century, aided by the Jesuits. This evolution found its educational expression in the gradual replacement of Peter Lombard's *Sentences* by the *Summa* as the foremost handbook for systematic theology at Catholic faculties of theology (Lanza and Toste 2021, 30–68). According to Jacob Schmutz, the timing of the latter was a "barometer of Dominican or Jesuit influence" at universities (Schmutz 2018, 226). Indeed, several *studia generale* of the Order of Preachers were in the vanguard of the curricular innovation, making the switch already at the end of the 15th century. For example, the *studium* in Cologne had definitively started using the *Summa* as the basis for theological instruction in 1483 (Schmutz 2018, 223). In Paris, it was a friar from Brussels, Pieter Crockaert (1450–1514) who established the new handbook at Saint-Jacques in 1509. One of Crockaert's students, Francisco de Vitoria (1483–1546) would become a founding father of the School of Salamanca and be credited with introducing the *Summa* at the university (Goris 2002, 23; Zahnd 2021, 149–150; Meuthen 1988, 181). Indeed, the particular institutional context at Salamanca in which the Dominicans held a monopoly on teaching led to the breakthrough of the *Summa* as the handbook at European Catholic faculties of theology (Lanza and Toste 2015, 422). The dominance of Aquinas in theological education was sanctioned in 1567, when he was proclaimed Doctor of the Church at the close of the Council of Trent by Pope Pius V, himself a Dominican. It galvanized the Thomist eclipse of the diversity of intellectual schools that had characterized medieval scholasticism (Schmutz 2018).

This historiographical narrative might exacerbate the notion that Catholic theological teaching was excessively systematic and entirely revolved around Aquinas' "medieval" handbook. Moreover, it was the educational practices at the convent schools of the Dominican order that supposedly influenced the curriculum change at university faculties. The 1523 general chapter in Valladolid indeed endorsed the *Summa*-centered program introduced by Crockaert at the *studium generale* in Paris, simultaneously affirming its status as the "living source that irrigates our entire order with the water of wisdom" (Reichert 1901a, 185). The *acta* prescribe that students in Paris were to follow at least "three daily lectures on Saint Thomas," making no mention of any scriptural teaching there (Reichert 1901a, 186). In 1551, when the Salamantine general chapter rolled out its educational reforms, it stressed that the writings of Aquinas were to be the alpha and omega of teaching for all convents of the order. In the preparatory philosophy courses, "the doctrine of Saint Thomas should be read, declared and defended always by all readers." For sacred theology, "the whole article of Saint Thomas is to be de-

clared, and from Saint Thomas himself [theology] is to be elucidated and difficulties are to be answered according to Capreolus or Cajetan, casting aside our own fancies and booklets [*scartafaciis*]" (Reichert 1901a, 316–317). The latter statement in particular casts an almost incriminating light on our friar's notebook. However, the chapter of Salamanca does not explicitly impose the *Summa* specifically as the sole handbook: the Bible remained an important pillar of theological education at all convent schools (also those *praeter studia generalia*). Moreover, the acts of the 1564 general chapter in Bologna confirm that there were still lectures on the *Sentences* rather than the *Summa* in some *studia generalia* of the order (Reichert 1901b, 63). In other words, there seems to have been leeway for regional accents in the intellectual formation of Dominican friars.

At the Faculty of Theology in Leuven, Aquinas' text replaced that of the Lombard relatively late, when a new royal chair was established for the *Summa* in 1596, "in imitation of the Spanish universities and other places."[19] At that occasion, the older chair for scholastic theology also converted to the new handbook, dividing the text between them (Guelluy 1941, 36–37; Brants 1908; Martin 1910). Dominican influence at the university was indeed much more limited than in Salamanca or Cologne: the university was governed by the secular clergy. Furthermore, the so-called ordinary professorships at the Faculty were funded by benefices attached to canonships at the chapter of Saint Peter's, leaving the bulk of teaching in the hands of secular clerics (see Boute 1998). In his history of Leuven and its university, theology professor Johannes Molanus (1533–1585) does mention that Dominican friar Matthaeus Priem (d. 1540), theology professor and *regens* of the Leuven convent school, gave "public lectures" on Aquinas (De Ram 1861, 516). Also, the provincial chapter of 1538 stipulated that all the *studia theologiae* were to have one lecture from the books of Saint Thomas (Wolfs 1964, 159). In neither case, however, is the *Summa* explicitly mentioned as the specific text on which these lectures were (to be) based. The first indication of its use at the *studium generale* is Jean Watier's tenure as *regens* in Leuven starting in 1550, according to Molanus (De Ram 1861, 518). These lectures did not make an impact on the curriculum of the Faculty. Moreover, when in 1558 Philip II fruitlessly asked the professors whether it would be expedient to replace the outdated *Sentences* with another handbook, they did not even consider the *Summa* as a possibility (De Ram 1844, 213–222). If anything, curricular clout seems to have worked in the opposite direction, from the Faculty to the Dominican *studium generale* and even to Lille.

19 From a letter of the Privy Council to the University of Leuven, June 12, 1595, edited in Martin 1910, 238.

At its 1515 incorporation in the new *Provincia Germania Inferiora*, the convent of Lille and its well-established *studium theologicum* was carved out of the ambit of Paris and brought into that of Leuven. Throughout the 16th century, an increasing number of bright friars were sent to the Brabant university to obtain their university degrees (Chantraine 1967, 351). One of them was Jean Watier (dates unknown), who, although having asked for permission to study in Paris, somehow ended up in Leuven and obtained his doctorate there in 1541. Seven years later, he was promoted to *regens* in Lille by the provincial chapter, the same year in which a new educational program emerged at the convent school there in the *Acta* (see Richard 1782, 57v; Andreas 1635, 110; Seguier 1659, 50). From 1548 onwards, the *studium* would have two lectors: one for Sacred Scripture and one for Saint Thomas (the *Summa* is not mentioned explicitly) (Wolfs 1964, 194). Interestingly, the biblical lectures were reserved for the (university-trained) *regens*, whereas systematic theology was the domain of the regular *lector*. It is clear that Watier's new curriculum was based on the one taught by the two royal professors at the Leuven Faculty of Theology, perhaps even giving more weight to biblical expounding than speculative theology (Chantraine 1967, 44–45). In other words, although Aquinas did constitute an important point of reference for teaching in Loemelensis' home convent, the *doctor communis* and his *Summa* were not its sole gravitational center.

Indeed, Georges Chantraine has posited that biblical teaching already flourished in the *Provincia Germania Inferior* before its official renewal by the Council of Trent (Chantraine 1967, 127–181). In 1564, the general chapter applied the Tridentine decrees by requiring the establishment of scriptural lectures in all convent schools of the Dominican order (Reichert 1901b, 63). The provincial chapter of *Germania Inferior*, however, had already called for a revival of biblical studies in 1522, exhorting all lecturers not to "neglect the text of Sacred Scriptures [...] but to instruct our brothers and exercise themselves in the Bible, and especially in the New Testament" (Wolfs 1964; 49–50). This admonition was repeated during subsequent meetings and cannot be found in the *Acta* of the general chapter or, say, those of the *Provincia Saxoniae*—which would perish at the hands of the Protestants (Chantraine 1967, 135). Teaching of Sacred Scripture in the province culminated with the appointment of Johannes Hentenius as *regens* of the Leuven convent school in 1553, entwining the biblical interests of the Faculty of Theology with those of the Dominicans (Reichert 1901a, 358: *acta* of general chapter in Rome, 1553).

The emphasis on scriptural studies was concomitant to two other shifts in the intellectual fabric of the Dominican region of *Germania Inferior*. Firstly, the threat of the Reformation had reoriented the goals of intellectual activity from a mere means against the sin of idleness, *otium*, towards a defense against the spread of Protestantism (Chantraine 1967, 61–75). Whereas the *acta* of the provincial chap-

ters before 1550 promoted study "*ad otium tollendum*," the formula was replaced by an appeal "*ad studia scripturarum*," to bring about a "*reformatio huius pessimi saeculi*" (Wolfs 1964, 187, 197). The second was a change in orientation from training novices for the priesthood towards preparing them for preaching. Of course, the latter had always been the core of the order's apostolic mission. However, during the 16th century the province increasingly geared itself towards preaching against the new heresies finding their way towards the Low Countries (Chantraine 1967, 28). The policy of sending promising friars to the *studium generale* aimed at improving the intellectual formation of future *praedicatores.*

In summary, zooming in from the general chapter of the order to that of the *Provincia Germania Inferior*, and further down to the local level in Leuven and Lille, gradually decenters the notion of Aquinas and his *Summa* as omnipotent in the curriculum. The geographical position of Loemelensis' province at the frontier of the Reformation engendered a distinct intellectual culture in which biblical knowledge was increasingly weaponized against the spread of Protestantism. Our friar's labor and the resulting manuscript are products of these shifts, and yet push this biblical interest even further out of the *doctor communis*' sphere of influence (even though Jean Watier enshrined teaching on Sacred Scripture at the *studium* in Lille, he still had a Thomist profile that informed his commentaries (Chantraine 1967, 308 – 333)). Thus, the Augustinian references on the half-leaves in Loemelensis' notebook are an indication that on an individual level too, Dominican friars enjoyed a certain degree of intellectual freedom.

Johannes Loemelensis' addition of these notes after compiling the lecture texts not only show that he studied the commentaries for at least a second time, but also that he intended to further engage with them. These paratextual references add a layer of scriptural interpretation to that given by the professor in the linear text: they allow the reader to immediately find further explanations offered by Church Fathers when going through the verses in the commentary. For example, Loemelensis ensured that when he or one of the other friars read through Baius' commentary on chapter 8 of Paul's Letter to the Romans (Figure 1), they could find additional exegesis on almost all verses with notes on that page (12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 20 and 21) in the works of Augustine, Ambrose, Haymo (of Halberstadt, d. 853), Jerome and Bernard of Clairvaux. These references bear a resemblance to commonplace notebooks that collected quotations on certain subjects for easy retrieval. However, in this case, rather than removing verses from their biblical context, the Dominican friar added further interpretation by the Church Fathers. Loemelensis engaged extensively with the writings of Augustine, sporadically referring to specific page numbers, folio numbers or volumes. It is unclear, however, how he orchestrated this remarkable operation of linking biblical passages to the *doctor gratiae's* works. A comparison between the references to Augustine in the

manuscript and the three main 16th-century editions of his *Opera omnia* by Amerbach (1505–1506), Erasmus (Froben, 1528–1529) and the Leuven theologians (Plantin, 1576–1577) does not yield any matches. Loemelensis thus probably used a range of different editions and manuscripts, available at the library of his convent.[20] The question as to what use Loemelensis was preparing these notes for cannot be answered conclusively. It is clear that he was a bright student, sent from his home convent in Lille to Leuven in the pursuit of a biblical education. When producing his notebook, he already knew he would apply the knowledge transmitted to him to his order's fight against the heretics, either as a *lector* in the convent school network or as a preacher.

He never returned to Leuven to obtain a university degree, and his absence in the sources signal that he probably never became *regens* of a school. This might not have been because of personal shortcomings, however. Around the time he would have been able to apply to officially enroll at the Faculty of Theology, the university went through its darkest hour. Leuven had first been besieged by William of Orange in 1572, after which an imposing Spanish garrison was stationed in the city in 1578. As a result, student and even teaching staff numbers dwindled, and the university almost dissolved completely, its finances and buildings ruined by the occupation. It would only bounce back in the later 1580s with help of the central authorities, never quite reaching its former glory again (Lanoye and Vandermeersch 2005). Johannes thus might very well have been studying for a future at university, his ambitions cut short by the Dutch Revolt. Instead, he might have become a lower-ranking second *lector*, introducing novices to the scriptural text, or a preacher trying to keep the flock of faithful out of Protestant hands. Another set of paratextual notes points to the latter...

3.2 Preaching at the Frontier?

In the margins of his notes on Michael Baius' commentary on Paul's Letter to the Romans, Johannes Loemelensis bracketed certain passages using vertical lines. Next to these sections, he noted down a number of specific (Sun)days of the liturgical calendar: "*dominica 2a adventus*" (fol. 55v) or "*festo Symonis et Judae*" (fol. 36r), for

20 Aurelius Augustinus Hipponensis (1505–1506): *[Opera omnia] Prima [-undecima] pars librorum.* 9 vols. [Basel: Johann Petri, Johann Amerbach, Johann Froben]; Aurelius Augustinus Hipponensis (1528–1529): *Omnium operum primus [-decimus] tomus, summa vigilantia repurgatorum a mendis innumeris.* 10 vols. Desiderius Erasmus (Ed.). Basel: Froben; Aurelius Augustinus Hipponensis (1576–1577): *Opera tomis decem comprehensa: per theologos Lovanienses ex manuscriptis codicibus multo labore emendata.* 8 vols. Antwerp: Christophe Plantin.

example. They are references to the days on which these passages would have been read during mass, reconfiguring the biblical commentaries to follow the liturgy, but to what rite do they refer? As our student was a Dominican friar, prime suspect would be that of the Order of Preachers, a liturgical tradition that had developed in the 13th century and would remain in use until the 20th (see Bonniwell 1945). Although most of the references in the notebook agree with the reading for that day in the Dominican missal, a difficulty arises for the Sundays after Pentecost.

Contrary to the rest of the Catholic world, the Dominican Order counted the Sundays after the Feast of the Trinity, which was held on the Sunday after Pentecost (Bonniwell 1945, 175). For example, Johannes Loemelensis marked Romans 8.12–17 (fol. 34v) for "*Dominica 8ª post festum trinitatis*" (or: the ninth Sunday after Pentecost). In 1551, the general chapter in Salamanca had complicated the Dominican calendar further in its reform of the liturgy: subsequent missals would count the Sundays from the *octave* of the Trinity (Bonniwell 1945, 284). However, a missal from after this reform, printed in 1604, prescribes Romans 8.12–17 for the *seventh* Sunday after Trinity ("*Dominica VI post octava Trinitatis*") rather than the eighth.[21] The same goes for the note below, Romans 8.18–23 (fol. 34v), which Loemelensis dates "*Dominica 4ª post festum Trinitatis*," but is read on the fifth Sunday after Trinity (which is the sixth after Pentecost).[22] Interestingly, Dominican missals from before 1551 do agree with Loemelensis' dating.[23] The Salamantine liturgical reform might have gone further than a mere change in date computation, but it is unlikely that the convent in Lille would have used the old calendar as late as the 1570s. Perhaps our Loemelensis was as confused by these different counting systems as the current reader of this article (and its author) and made an error in marking his notes. However, it is also possible that Loemelensis simply used a different missal to collate his notes with the liturgical readings. This would imply that he applied his biblical knowledge to a task that lay outside of his convent in Lille.

A second suspect is the *Missale Romanum*, the instrument promulgated in 1570 by Pope Pius V to standardize the liturgy of the entire Catholic world after the close of the Council of Trent.[24] Although for the vast majority of dioceses the recep-

21 Page 238 of: *Missale iuxta ritum sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum* (1604): Rome: Alfonsus Ciacconius. URL: https://books.google.be/books?id=lefoIUlq2sgC, last accessed July 30, 2024.

22 Pages 235–236 of the *Missale iuxta ritum sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum* (1604).

23 One example: *Missale Dominicanum seu Ordinis Praedicatorum* (1484): Venice: Nicolaus de Frankfordia. URL: https://books.google.be/books?id=rtlNAAAAcAAJ, last accessed July 30, 2024.

24 *Missale Romanum, Ex Decreto Sarosancti Concilii Tridentiti restitutum, Pii V. Pont. Max. iussu editum* (1574): Antwerp: Christophe Plantin. URL: https://books.google.be/books?id=PbaAYZT1F_AC, last accessed July 30, 2024.

tion of the Roman Missal has not yet been studied, it is likely that it would have been introduced in Loemelensis' lifetime, after he had his manuscript bound in 1571 (Geldhof 2012, 189–190). However, the marginal notes do not align with the calendar of the missal in all cases. For example, Loemelensis marked Romans 8.22–30 (fol. 36r) to be read on the feast day of Simon and Jude (end of October), whereas the Roman Missal prescribes Ephesians 4.7–13.[25] At the promulgation of the *Missale Romanum* (*Quo Primum*, 1570), Pius V did allow dioceses able to prove a distinct liturgical tradition of more than two centuries to retain their own rite (Geldhof 2012, 185). Now, Loemelensis' home convent of Lille was located in the bishopric of Tournai. The diocesan reform of the Habsburg Low Countries in 1559 (promulgated by Paul IV with the bull *Super Universas*) had greatly reduced the medieval bishopric in size, carving the new dioceses of Ghent and Bruges out of its territory. However, the area around the cities of Lille and Tournai remained under the bishop of Tournai, now made suffragan of the Cambrai diocese (Dierickx 1950, 62–63). In other words, this core territory could probably appeal to the vaguely expressed rule about a 200-year liturgical tradition and keep its *Missale Tornacense*. The 1574 Synod of Tournai did call for the use of the *Roman Missal*, however, it was only officially adopted at the provincial council of Cambrai in 1586 (Lottin 2013, 317–318). Thus, Loemelensis could still have been using the Tournai missal for at least three years after his return to Lille.

Indeed, Loemelensis' markings entirely agree with the readings established in the Tournaisian calendar. Like the Dominican missal, a 1527 edition printed in Antwerp counts the Sundays after the Feast of the Trinity. Moreover, on the eighth Sunday Romans 8.12–17 is read and on the fourth Sunday Romans 8.18–23.[26] In other words, Loemelensis could well have been matching the biblical commentaries in his notebooks with the readings during mass performed outside of the walls of his convent, around Lille and Tournai. This indicates that he might have been applying his biblical knowledge to a preaching assignment, the core of his order's apostolic mission. Indeed, our friar had been sent to Leuven to prepare for one of two careers: that of a *lector* or a *praedicator*. Preaching was the most important weapon Dominicans wielded in the dynamic religious landscape of the Low Countries during the first decades of the Reformation. There are several well-known cases of friars risking life and limb to deliver sermons to ordinary believers: sometimes to great popular acclaim, other times provoking attacks by angry crowds (Verdée 2008, 261–270). Moreover, Dominicans often preached in parish

25 Page 158 of the *Missale Romanum* 1574.

26 Fol. cx and fol. cvii of the *Missale insignis ecclesie Tornacensis* (1527): Antwerp: Christophorus Ruremundensis. Maurits Sabbe Library, Leuven: P264.12/Fo MISS.

churches. However, scholarship has as of yet been unable to shed a light on preaching during church services, leading to the assumption that its "role must have been limited" (Bosma 2001, 332).

The liturgical references in Johannes Loemelensis' notebook challenge this notion, suggesting that Loemelensis prepared for church sermons based on the scriptural lectures he edited in his notebook. By adding the days on which the specific passages were read, he rearranged the knowledge contained in the commentaries for liturgical use. A similar operation was performed in so-called postils, printed collections of short sermons on biblical passages, sorted according to the liturgical calendar. These were to provide inspiration and examples to less eloquent priests for their preaching. An interesting example is the postil based on the exegetical works of Cornelius Jansenius the Elder (1515–1576), first bishop of Ghent. The former Leuven professor became famous for his biblical commentaries, especially his *Commentaria in suam Concordiam Evangelicam* (1571). Although the latter was published during his episcopacy, it was possibly based on the lectures he gave during his tenure as ordinary professor at the Faculty of Theology. After his death in 1576, the commentary was reworked by a canon from Cologne, Georg Braun (1541–1622), into a collection of sermons (Jansenius 1577) arranged according to the biblical passages to be read during mass (Frymire 2010, 261; Gerace 2019, 215–221). Thomas Stapleton (1535–1598), another Leuven professor who became Michael Baius' successor to the royal chair of Sacred Scripture (1590), would publish a number of *Promptuaria Catholica* in the 1590s (Gerace 2019, 221–247). These would become the most successful postils in the entire Holy Roman Empire around the turn of the century (Frymire 2010, 417).[27] The reorganization of biblical commentaries according to the liturgical calendar in order to compose sermons was thus an existing need for Catholic providers of pastoral care. Loemelensis performed this intervention the best way he could on his already bound codex, by bracketing off sections in the lecture text.

If not within the confines of his friary in Lille, where could our friar have been carrying out his preaching assignment? To avoid competition between different convents, the Dominican order divided its geographical territory in *termini*, districts in which each convent exercised a monopoly on preaching (Simons 1987, 187–193). So-called *fratres terminarii* would visit the different parishes in these districts, whereas higher-ranking *praedicatores generales* could cross the boundaries of a terminus and often simultaneously held the office of *lector* (Verdée 2008, 265).

27 One example: Stapleton, Thomas (1589): *Promptuarium Catholicum ad instructionem concionatorum contra haereticos nostri temporis.* Paris: Michel Sonnius. URL: https://books.google.be/books?id=Wjq936LkLO0C, last accessed July 30, 2024.

Loemelensis could have become either of these two types of Dominican preacher, traveling around and giving sermons. Overlaying the medieval *terminus* of the Lille convent with the boundaries of the diocese of Tournai (and its *Missale Tornacense*) reveals a radius of action around the cities of Lille and Tournai (Simons 1987, 191). Due to their location near the border with France, both cities found themselves at the frontier of the Reformation from the 1560s onwards. Indeed, the possibility of fleeing across the border "emboldened Lutheran and Calvinist clergymen to preach Reformed beliefs more publicly than anywhere else in the Low Countries" (Deschryver 2020, 38; Junot and Soen 2018, 207). As a result, Calvinist communities flourished, headed by Reformed ministers such as Pierre Brully (d. 1545), himself a former Dominican, and Guy de Brès (1522–1567) (Deschryver, 38; Moreau 1962, 92–118, 144–167). However, the path of the two cities diverged with the first wave of iconoclasm in 1566. Maximilian Vilain (1530–1583), the governor of Lille who also hailed from Lomme, was able to raise a civic militia and defend the city's churches from being defaced by Reformed inhabitants (Suykerbuyk 2016). Tournai, however, would bear the full brunt of the Iconoclast Fury. In the aftermath, Lille would become a "citadel of the Counter-Reformation" (Lottin 2013), whereas in Tournai a short-lived Calvinist regime would only be repressed by the Duke of Parma in 1581 (Deschryver 2020, 49).

The paratext referring to the liturgical calendar possibly is an indication that Johannes Loemelensis was assigned to give sermons to ordinary believers, as a Dominican counter-offensive to Calvinist preaching. He had been sent to Leuven's *studium generale* by his superiors only three years after the Iconoclast Fury to follow an educational program increasingly geared towards the weaponization of scriptural study. Taking into account the specific context in Lille and Tournai, our friar's home convent might have served as a bulwark of Catholic preaching in the area, preparing their brightest students for that express purpose. This coalescence of intellectual shifts within the Faculty, the Dominican province, and the Lille convent facilitated the transmission of biblical knowledge from the university to the religious frontier. Marking the dates on which certain passages were read during mass was an operation that converted this university knowledge into "applied" knowledge. As such, it suggests that our Catholic cleric indeed prepared for sermons that expounded epistle reading during mass to the faithful. Moreover, he did so based on careful study of the commentaries taught to him at university and additional research on the writings of the Church Fathers. In other words, he performed his intellectual labor to battle Protestants on their own terrain: sound biblical preaching.

4 *Nachleben* in the Confessional Borderlands: Maastricht

As the previous sections have shown, Johannes Loemelensis approached the production of his codex with great care and intent. An example of this is his attempts to create separate codicological blocks for the different epistles, allowing him to reshuffle the order of his notes if he wished to do so. These material clues indicate that the manuscript was not merely a tool of study but was made in order to serve a purpose after Loemelensis finished the educational program of the *studium generale.* The additional notes discussed in the second section offer hypotheses as to what this purpose might have been, namely teaching, preaching, or perhaps both. Accordingly, our friar's main concern was legibility: he attempted not to overcrowd the pages with marginal notes, instead interleaving his codex to write down additional references. This manuscript stands in sharp contrast with that of Jacobus Baius, for example, in which marginal and interlinear notes litter the pages, rendering the original commentary almost illegible at times. Moreover, Loemelensis jotted down header titles in the upper margin of each page: the name of the book for the verso side, and the chapter for the recto side. He also added a table of contents, which contains some additional information on Paul and even signals the three commentaries on James and their location within the manuscript (fol. 1v, see Figure 3). It seems that these paratextual elements were included by our Dominican student to allow other readers to browse through the commentaries as well.

Dominican friars were allowed personal use of books and manuscripts for study purposes; however, book ownership was communal and the return of books to the convent libraries was strictly monitored (Thomas 1974). Thus, when crafting his codex, Johannes Loemelensis knew that he was not just toiling for himself, but for his larger religious community. Therefore, he had to work with premeditation, as the manuscript would have to be as clear and legible as possible to other friars. Avoiding messy margins, producing sections that could be taken out for singular use or re-shuffled, and the addition of paratext facilitated this. Indeed, Dominicans were admonished to write legibly so that others from the community could use their work. Moreover, when a friar died, his books were to be given (back) to the library of the religious community or put at the disposal of the provincial, who could hand them out to students. Teachers were allowed to take their writings, Bible, and other books of educational interest when traveling, and if they died during the trip, these would go to the convent at their destination (Thomas 1974, 421–422, 424 and 429–430). One of the above must have happened with Loemelensis' death: we lose all trace of the manuscript's whereabouts after

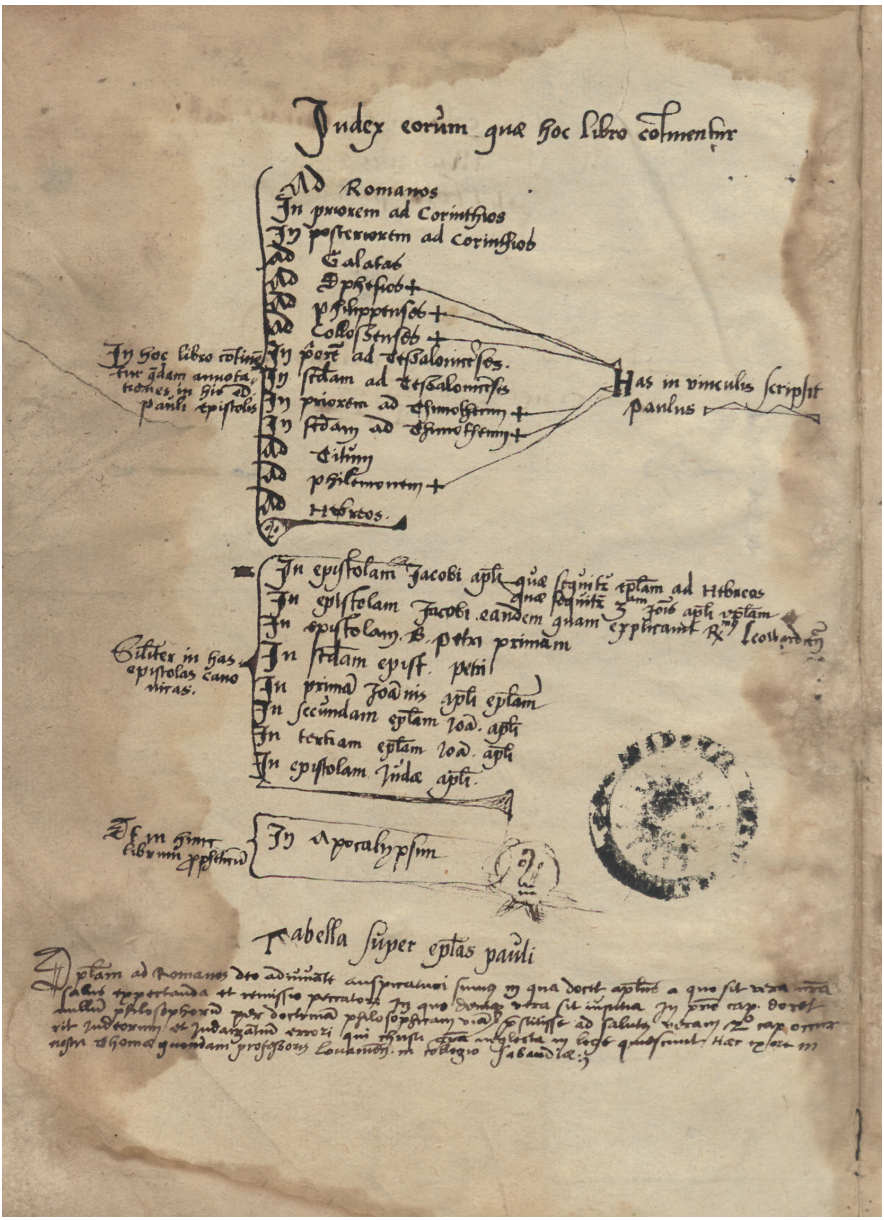

Figure 3: Utrecht, University Library MS 434, fol. 1v. Table of contents.

our friar's last colophon in 1575, in Lille. Around the beginning of the 17th century, the notebook resurfaces again in the hands of Dominicus Nullens.

According to the exam registers, Dominicus Nullens (d. 1633), a Dominican friar born in Maaseik (Limburg), did follow the program of Leuven's Faculty of Theology and obtained his baccalaureate degree in 1604 (Vandermeersch 1986, 42 no. 348).[28] After that, his order awarded him a magisteriate and appointed him *regens* at the conventual school in Douai (Meijer 1910, 58). Either during his study career in Leuven or his Douai lectureship, Nullens must have stumbled upon Johannes Loemelensis' notebook (or was it given to him?), writing his name on the front flyleaf. In 1613, he was sent to Maastricht, a convent located on a different, newer border in the Low Countries: that between the Catholic Southern Low Countries and the new Dutch Republic (Meijer 1910, 116). The city and its Dominican convent had suffered greatly during the first phases of the Dutch Revolt. Indeed, Calvinist and Catholic communities lived in constant tension with each other, and several sieges by Spanish and Dutch troops had ravaged the city (Ubachs 1975, 51–56; Bax 1932, 33–34). Eventually, Maastricht would fall into the hands of the Republic, after its capture by Frederick Henry of Orange in 1632, but in 1613 it was still ruled by the Catholic Archdukes.

Dominicus Nullens found the Dominican convent in a state of disrepair: assaults by the Geuzen in 1566 and Dutch troops in 1579 had forced a large part of the community to flee. Moreover, after the withdrawal of Spanish troops in 1577, the convent and its church were plundered and even partially burned down (Meijer 1910, 12). The chronicle of the community written by Vincentius Huntjens (d. 1807) relates how Dominicus Nullens used his family's wealth to rebuild the convent. Additionally, he was the first *lector* to start teaching theology again, after which he became prior in 1615 (Meijer 1910, 12, 58, 116, 125). In other words, Nullens had been sent to Maastricht to restore not just the convent's physical buildings but also its educational program, as a Catholic intellectual outpost at the confessional frontier. Moreover, he took Johannes Loemelensis' codex with him from Douai, as lecturers were allowed to do with their teaching materials. The manuscript thus not only functioned as a tool to transmit biblical knowledge from Leuven's "ivory tower" geographically, but also temporally. Were the ideas on Paul's Letter to the Romans and the Epistle of James, uttered by Michael Baius in a 1570 university lecture hall, taught to Dominican novices in Maastricht more than 40 years later?

28 The original: *Registrum Contionum, Responsionum, Disputationum et Actuum Facultatis Sacrae Theologia, per Andream Sassenum, descriptum anno 1579*, no. 504, Fonds Oude Universiteit Leuven, Rijksarchief, Leuven.

5 Conclusion: From the Lecture Hall to the Confessional Frontier

Manuscript 434 is the material deposit of a process of both a geographical and temporal dissemination of biblical knowledge from the University of Leuven to the confessional frontier in Lille and Maastricht. Codicological, textual, and historical insights demonstrate that this codex is more than just the physical remains of an oral-auditive process of knowledge transfer happening in the lecture hall. Johannes Loemelensis was sent to the Leuven *studium* with the goal of applying his intellectual formation to his order's battle against the spread of Protestantism in the *Provincia Germania Inferior.* Bearing in mind that he was preparing himself to become a *lector* or preacher, he decided to take notes on the lectures on Sacred Scripture he attended from 1568 onwards. Loemelensis attempted to transcode the oral lecture onto a physical carrier with a deliberate and intentional approach—to enable its use in his own lectures or sermons. In this process, both the text and the material codex were manipulated by the student towards his own intellectual intentions, namely the weaponization of biblical knowledge by the Dominican order. For example, our friar took care to create separate codicological blocks by matching quire structure with course content. This way, at the end of his studies in 1571, Loemelensis could have his carefully created notes bound in the order he preferred. The codex was produced with a utilitarian goal, namely the further dissemination of biblical knowledge through the school network of the Dominican order and through preaching to the flock of ordinary faithful. Adding paratext in the form of references to the Church Fathers and the liturgical paratext reconfigured the biblical knowledge it contained to these ends. Moreover, navigational paratext and a neat layout ensured the interoperability of the manuscript, making the knowledge accessible to later generations of Dominican friars. Indeed, Dominicus Nullens' use of the manuscript in the confessional borderlands of Maastricht demonstrates that the ideas it contained had a *Nachleben* long after the oral lecture-event.

Although Loemelensis employed conscious strategies to create his codex, he also clearly struggled against the constraints of the handwritten medium. By trying to add extra lectures on the crucial Letter of James and Letter to the Romans, he had to make changes to his carefully arranged gathering structure and squeeze notes onto the flyleaves of his manuscript. However, it is precisely the material imprint left by these struggles that unveils the student's attempts to shape the transmitted knowledge towards his own goals. This decenters the lecture-event as the sole moment of knowledge transmission. Taking an archaeological approach to the student manuscript reveals a stratigraphy of learning processes, informed

by a layering of personal choices and intellectual shifts within the university and the Dominican order. These converged in the production of the student notebook: molding the codex was an operation converting academic knowledge into applied knowledge, from the "ivory tower" to the religious frontier. To summarize, the material analysis of student manuscripts has the potential to broaden the horizon of intellectual history. In this case, a sole notebook unravels the historiographical narrative that a complete lack of biblical study and its dissemination was the Catholic university's great weakness against the spread of Protestantism.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Manuscripts

Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht, Utrecht

MS 434 (Hs 5 E 16). URL: https://utrechtuniversity.on.worldcat.org/oclc/1107040398, last accessed July 30, 2024.

Rijksarchief Leuven, Leuven

Inschrijvingsregisters van de studenten aan de Oude Universiteit Leuven no 24: *Quartus Liber Intitulatorum*, February 19, 1529 to August 31, 1569.

Fonds Oude Universiteit Leuven no. 504: *Registrum Contionum, Responsionum, Disputationum et Actuum Facultatis Sacrae Theologia, per Andream Sassenum, descriptum anno 1579.*

Fonds Oude Universiteit Leuven no. 3718.

Printed Sources

Andreas, Valerius (1650): *Fasti academici studii generalis Lovaniensis.* Leuven: Hieronymus Nempaeus. URL: https://books.google.be/books?id=7hsUAAAAQAAJ, last accessed July 30, 2024.

Augustinus, Aurelius Hipponensis (1505–1506): *[Opera omnia] Prima [-undecima] pars librorum.* 9 vols. [Basel: Johann Petri, Johann Amerbach, Johann Froben].

Augustinus, Aurelius Hipponensis (1528–1529): *Omnium operum primus [-decimus] tomus, summa vigilantia repurgatorum a mendis innumeris.* 10 vols. Desiderius Erasmus (Ed.). Basel: Froben.

Augustinus, Aurelius Hipponensis (1576–1577): *Opera tomis decem comprehensa: per theologos Lovanienses ex manuscriptis codicibus multo labore emendata.* 8 vols. Antwerp: Christophe Plantin.

De Jonghe, Bernardus (1719): *Belgium Dominicanum sive Historia provinciae Germaniae Inferoris O.P.* Brussels: Franciscus Foppens. URL: https://books.google.be/books?id=Vzw_AAAAcAAJ, last accessed July 30, 2024.

Hentenius, Johannes (Ed.) (1547): *Biblia, Ad vetustissima exemplaria nunc recens castigata.* Leuven: Bartholomaeus Gravius. URL: http://www.lovaniensia.be/lovaniensia/items/show/670, last accessed July 30, 2024.

Huntjens, Vincentius (1910): "Chronicon abbreviatum conventus Mosae Trajectensis ordinis praedicatorum." In: Meijer, G. A. (Ed.): *Publications de la société historique et archéologique dans le Limbourg à Maestricht* 46, 1–142.

Jansenius, Cornelius the Elder (1571): *Commentariorum in suam Concordiam, ac totam historiam evangelicam, partes IIII.* Leuven: Petrus Zangrius Tiletanus. Maurits Sabbe Library, Leuven: P225.07/Fo JANS Comm.

Jansenius Cornelius the Elder (1577): *Homiliae in Evangelia, Quae Dominicis Diebus in Ecclesia Populo Proponi Solent, ex Quatuor Commentariorum in Concordiam Evangelicam.* Georg Braun (Ed.). Cologne: Johann III Gymnich. Maurits Sabbe Library, Leuven: CaaA1148.

Lombard, Peter (1546): *Sententiarum Libri IIII.* Ed. Joannes Aleaume. Leuven: Bartholomaeus Gravius. URL of a 1568 reprint: http://www.lovaniensia.be/items/show/2112/, last accessed July 30, 2024.

Missale Dominicanum seu Ordinis Praedicatorum (1484): Venice: Nicolaus de Frankfordia. URL: https://books.google.be/books?id=rtlNAAAAcAAJ, last accessed July 30, 2024.

Missale insignis ecclesie Tornacensis (1527): Antwerp: Christophorus Ruremundensis. Maurits Sabbe Library, Leuven: P264.12/Fo MISS.

Missale iuxta ritum sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum (1604): Rome: Alfonsus Ciacconius. URL: https://books.google.be/books?id=lefoIUlq2sgC, last accessed July 30, 2024.

Missale Romanum, Ex Decreto Sarosancti Concilii Tridentiti restitutum, Pii V. Pont. Max. iussu editum (1574): Antwerp: Christophe Plantin. URL: https://books.google.be/books?id=PbaAYZT1F_AC, last accessed July 30, 2024.

Molanus, Johannes (1861): "Historiae Lovaniensium Libri XIV." In: De Ram, P. F. X. (Ed.): *Les quatorze livres sur l'Histoire de la ville de Louvain du docteur et professeur en théologie Jean Molanus.* Brussels: Hayez.

Quétif, Jacobus and Échard, Jacobus (1719–1721): *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum.* 2 vols. Paris: Christophe Ballard and Nicolaus Simart. URL: https://books.google.be/books?id=_MpbAAAAcAAJ (vol. 1) and https://archive.org/details/ScriptoresOpVol2 (vol. 2), last accessed July 30, 2024.

Reichert, Benedikt M. (Ed.) (1901a): *Acta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum, 1501–1553.* Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum historica IX. Rome: Typographia Polyglotta S. C. de Propaganda Fide. URL: https://archive.org/details/actacapitulorumg04domi, last accessed July 30, 2024.

Reichert, Benedikt M. (Ed.) (1901b): *Acta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum, 1558–1600.* Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum historica X. Rome: Typographia Polyglotta S. C. de Propaganda Fide. URL: https://archive.org/details/actacapitulorumg05domi, last accessed July 30, 2024.

Richard, L. [1782]: *Histoire du couvent des dominicains de Lille en Flandre et de celui des Dames dominicaines de la Même ville, dites de Sainte-marie de l'Abiette.* Liège: s.n. URL: https://books.google.be/books?id=frgWAAAAQAAJ, last accessed July 30, 2024.

Seguier, Guilelmus (1997): *Laurea Belgica F. F. Ordinis Praedicatorum in celeberrimis Belgii universitatibus Lovaniensi et Duacensi comparata, adiunctis observationibus.* Brussels: Vicariat général des dominicains.

Stapleton, Thomas (1589): *Promptuarium Catholicum ad instructionem concionatorum contra haereticos nostri temporis.* Paris: Michel Sonnius. URL: https://books.google.be/books?id=Wjq936LkLO0C, last accessed July 30, 2024.

Vandermeersch, Peter (Ed.) (1985): "The Reconstruction of the 'Liber quintus intitulatorum universitatis Lovaniensis' (1562 – 1578): An Application: The Theologians, 1562 – 1578." In: *Lias* 12, 1 – 85.

Vandermeersch, Peter (Ed.) (1986): "The Reconstruction of the 'Liber quintus intitulatorum universitatis Lovaniensis': Part Two; The Theologians, 1579 – 1605." In: *Lias* 13, 1 – 67.

Vernulaeus, Nicolaus (1667): *Academia Lovaniensis. Ejus origo, incrementum, forma, magistratus, facultates, privilegia, scholae, collegia, viri illustres, res gestae.* Leuven: Petrus Sassenus. URL: https://books.google.be/books?id=ehZbAAAAQAAJ, last accessed July 30, 2024.

Wolfs, S. P. (Ed.) (1964): *Acta Capitulorum Provinciae Germaniae Inferioris Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Secondary Sources

Badea, Andreea et al. (Eds.) (2021): *Making Truth in Early Modern Catholicism.* Amsterdam: University Press.

Bagchi, David V. N. (1991): *Luther's Earliest Opponents: Catholic Controversialists, 1518 – 1525.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Baldzuhn, Michael (2021): "Producing, Distributing and Using Manuscripts for Teaching Purposes at French, English and German Universities in the Late Middle Ages." In: Brinkmann, Stefanie et al. (Eds.): *Education Materialised: Reconstructing Teaching and Learning Contexts through Manuscripts.* Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 71 – 96.

Bax, W. (1932): *Gedenkboek der Nederlandsche Hervormde Gemeente van Maastricht 1632 – 1932.* Maastricht: Boosten en Stols.

Blair, Ann (2004): "Note Taking as an Art of Transmission." In: *Critical Inquiry* 31, 85 – 107.

Blair, Ann (2008): "Student Manuscripts and the Textbook." In: Campi, Emidio et al. (Eds.): *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe.* Geneva: Droz, 39 – 73.

Bonniwell, William R. (1945): *A History of the Dominican Liturgy 1215 – 1945.* New York: Joseph F. Wagner.

Bosma, Jelle (2001): "Preaching in the Low Countries, 1450 – 1650." In: Taylor, Larissa (Ed.): *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period.* Leiden: Brill, 327 – 355.

Boute, Bruno (1998): "Regnum, sacerdotium en studium in de vroegmoderne periode: het voorbeeld van de Leuvense benoemingsprivileges 1483 – 1573." In: *Trajecta* 7(2), 154 – 179.

Brants, Victor (1908): "La creation de la chaire de théologie scolastique et la nomination de Malderus." In: *Analectes pour server à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique* 1908, 46 – 54.

Briquet, Charles M. (1907): *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600.* Geneva: A. Julien.

Brockliss, Laurence (1996): "Curricula." In: De Ridder-Symoens, Hilde (Ed.): *A History of the University in Europe.* Vol. 2: *Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500 – 1800).* Cambridge: University Press, 565 – 620.

Cammaerts, Dieter (2021): "Lombardus, Petrus. Sententiarum libri IIII (Leuven, 1552) (monograph)." ODIS. Last modified date July 22, 2021. http://www.odis.be/lnk/en/PB_46849, last accessed July 30, 2024.

Chantraine, Georges (1967): *Formation sacerdotale et théologie: Contribution à l'histoire des Pays-Bas Durant la première moitié du XVIe siècle (1515 – 1559).* MA dissertation. Leuven: Université Catholique de Louvain.

Cockx-Indesteghe, Elly (2012): “Een beschermend omhulsel voor de collegedictaten.” In: Vanpaemel, Geert et al. (Eds.): *Ex Cathedra: Leuvense collegedictaten van de 16de tot de 18de eeuw.* Leuven: Universiteitsbibliotheek, 91 – 106.

Coomans, Thomas (2011): “Architectural Competition in a University Town: The Mendicant Friaries in Late Medieval Louvain.” In: Opacic, Zoe and Timmermann, Achim (Eds.): *Architecture, Liturgy and Identity: Liber Amicorum Paul Crossley.* Turnhout: Brepols, 207 – 220.

D’Haenens, Albert (1994): “Que faisaient les étudiants, à partir du XVe siècles, des textes qu’on leur imposait à l’université? Le non-textuel dans les manuels des étudiants de l’Université de Louvain.” In: Hamesse, Jacqueline (Ed.): *Manuels, programmes de cours et techniques d’enseignement dans les universités médiévales.* Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d’études médiévales, 401 – 441.

De Jongh, Henri (1911): *L’ancienne Faculté de Théologie de Louvain au premier siècle de son existence (1432 – 1540).* Leuven: Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique.

De Meyer, Albert (1946): *La Congrégation De Hollande Ou La Réforme Dominicaine En Territoire Bourguignon: 1465 – 1515.* Liège: Solédi.

Decock, Wim (2013): *Theologians and Contract Law: The Moral Transformation of the Ius commune (ca. 1500 – 1650).* Leiden: Brill.

Decock, Wim and Birr, Christiane (2016): *Recht und Moral in der Scholastik der Frühen Neuzeit 1500 – 1750.* Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter.

Deschryver, Louise (2020): “You Only Die Once: Calvinist Dying and the Senses in Lille and Tournai During the Dutch Revolt.” In: *Early Modern Low Countries* 4, 35 – 57.

Dierickx, M. (1950): *De oprichting der nieuwe bisdommen in de Nederlanden onder Filips II (1559 – 1570).* Antwerp: Standaard.

Fischer, Benedict D. et al. (Eds.) (2020): “The ‘Golden Age’ of Catholic Biblical Scholarship (1550 – 1650) and Its Relation to Biblical Humanism.” In: Lange van Ravenswaay, Jan Marius Jacob and Selderhuis, Herman (Eds.): *Renaissance und Bibelhumanismus.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 217 – 274.

François, Wim (2007): “Augustinian Bible Exegesis in Louvain. The Case of John Hessels’ Commentary on 1 John 2,15 – 18a.” In: *Augustiniana* 57, 399 – 424.

François, Wim and Gerace, Antonio (2018): “Trent and the Latin Vulgate: A Louvain Project?” In: François, W. and Soen V. (Eds.): *The Council of Trent: Reform and Controversy in Europe and Beyond (1545 – 1700).* Vol. 1: *Between Trent, Rome and Wittenberg.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 131 – 174.

François, Wim (2012): “Augustine and the Golden Age of Biblical Scholarship in Louvain (1550 – 1650).” In: Gordon, Bruce and McLean, Matthew (Eds.): *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation: Books, Scholars and Their Readers in the Sixteenth Century.* Leiden: Brill, 235 – 289.

Frymire, John M. (2010): *The Primacy of the Postils: Catholics, Protestants, and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany.* Leiden: Brill.

Geldhof, Joris (2012): “Did the Council of Trent Produce a Liturgical Reform? The Case of the Roman Missal.” In: *Questions Liturgiques: Studies on Liturgy* 93(3 – 4), 171 – 192.

Gerace, Antonio (2019): *Biblical Scholarship in Louvain in the ‘Golden’ Sixteenth Century.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Geudens, Christophe and Masolini, Serena (2016): “Teaching Aristotle at the Louvain Faculty of Arts, 1425 – 1500: General Regulations and Handwritten Testimonies.” In: *Rivista di Filosofia Neoscolastica* 108, 813 – 844.

Gielis, Gert (2014): *Hemelbestormers: Leuvense theologen en hun streven naar geloofseenheid en kerkvernieuwing (1519 – 1578).* PhD dissertation. Leuven: KU Leuven.

Gnirrep, Kees, Gumbert, Johan Peter and Szirmai, János A. (1992): *Kneep en binding: een terminologie voor de beschrijving van de constructies van oude boekbanden.* The Hague: Koninklijke Bibliotheek.

Goris, Harm J. (2002): "Thomism in Fifteenth-Century Germany." In: Bose, Mishtooni and van Geest, Paul J. J. (Eds.): *Aquinas as Authority: A Collection of Studies.* Leuven: Peeters, 1 – 24.

Guelluy, Robert (1941): "L'Évolution des méthodes théologiques à Louvain d'Erasme à Jansenius." In: *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 37, 31 – 144.

Gumbert, Johan Peter (2004): "Codicological Units: Towards a Terminology for the Stratigraphy of the Non-Homogeneous Codex." In: *Segno e testo* 2, 17 – 42.

Gumbert, Johan Peter (2010): *Words for Codices: A Codicological Terminology in English.* Self-published, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, URL: https://www.cei.lmu.de/extern/VocCod/WOR10-1.pdf; https://www.cei.lmu.de/extern/VocCod/WOR10-2.pdf and https://www.cei.lmu.de/extern/VocCod/WOR10-3.pdf, last accessed July 30, 2024.

Hermans, Jos M.M. (1987): "Elf kisten boeken uit het Gouvernementsgebouw te Maastricht: lotgevallen van de Limburgse Handschriften en oude drukken, gevonden in 1839." In: Cockx-Indestege, Elly and Hendrickx, Frans (Eds.): *Miscellanea Neerlandica. Opstellen voor Dr. Jan Deschamps ter gelegenheid van zijn zeventigste verjaardag.* Leuven: Peeters, vol. 1, 105 – 143.

Junot, Yves and Soen, Violet (2018): "La révolte des Pays-Bas habsbourgeois: reconsidérations à partir du cas des provinces francophones (Hainaut, Artois, Flandre wallonne, 1566 – 1579)." In: Salinero, Gregorio et al. (Eds.): *Paradigmes rebelles: pratiques et cultures de la désobéissance à l'époque moderne.* Bern: Peter Lang, 203 – 224.

Lanoye, Diederik and Vandermeersch, Peter (2005): "The University of Louvain at the End of the Sixteenth Century: Coping with Crisis?" In: *History of Universities* 20, 818 – 107.

Lanza, Lidia and Toste, Marco (2021): "The Commentary Tradition on the 'Summa Theologiae'." In: Lanza, Lidia and Toste, Marco (Eds.): *Summistae: The Commentary Tradition on Thomas Aquinas' Summa Theologiae from the 15th to the 17th Centuries.* Leuven: University Press, 3 – 93.

Levitin, Dmitri (2019): "Introduction: Confessionalisation and Erudition in Early Modern Europe: A Comparative Overview of a Neglected Episode in the History of the Humanities." In: Hardy, Nicolas and Levitin, Dmitri (Eds.): *Confessionalisation and Erudition in Early Modern Europe: An Episode in the History of the Humanities.* Oxford: University Press, 1 – 94.

Lottin, Alain (2013): *Lille 1589 – 1668: Citadelle de la Contre-Réforme?.* Villeneuve d'Ascq: Septentrion.

Martin, Raymond M. (1910): "L'Introduction officielle de la 'Somme' de Saint-Thomas à l'ancienne Université de Louvain." In: *Revue Thomiste* 18, 230 – 239.

Martin, Raymond M. (1910): "L'introduction officielle de la somme de saint Thomas a l'ancienne Université de Louvain." In: *Revue Thomiste* 18, 230 – 239.

Moreau, Gérard (1962): *Histoire du Protestantisme à Tournai jusqu'à la veille de la Révolution des Pays-Bas.* Paris: Belles Lettres.

Pollmann, Judith (2006): "Countering the Reformation in France and the Netherlands: Clerical Leadership and Catholic Violence 1560 – 1585." In: *Past & Present* 190, 83 – 120.

Roegiers, Jan and De Ridder-Symoens, Hilde (2015): "Lecture Tools at Leuven Faculty of Arts from Its Origin (1425) until the End of the Seventeenth Century." In: *Annali di storia delle universitá italiane* 1, 25 – 43.

Schmutz, Jacob (2018): “From Theology to Philosophy: The Changing Status of the Summa Theologiae, 1500 – 2000.” In: Hause, Jeffrey (Ed.): *Aquinas’s Summa Theologiae: A Critical Guide.* Cambridge: University Press, 221 – 241.

Simons, Walter (1987): *Stad en apostolaat: De vestiging van de bedelorden in het graafschap Vlaanderen (ca. 1225 – ca. 1350).* Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België.

Smeyers, Katharina (2012): “De student aan het werk: hoe collegedictaten tot stand kwamen.” In: Vanpaemel, Geert et al. (Eds.): *Ex Cathedra: Leuvense collegedictaten van de 16de tot de 18de eeuw.* Leuven: Universiteitsbibliotheek, 73 – 89.

Smeyers, Maurits (1975): “Een collegeschrift van de oude Leuvense Universiteit (1481 – 1482): Een codicologisch en iconografisch onderzoek.” In: *Arca Lovaniensis* 4, 243 – 303.

Suykerbuyk, Ruben (2016): “De sacra militia contra iconomachos: Civic Strategies to Counter Iconoclasm in the Low Countries (1566).” In: *BMGN* 131(1), 15 – 35.

Thomas, A. H. (1974): “Boekenbezit en boekengebruik bij de Dominikanen in de Nederlanden vóór ca. 1550.” In: *Contribution à l’histoire des bibliothèques et de la lecture aux Pays-Bas avant 1600.* Brussels: Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique, 417 – 476.

Tutino, Stefania (2014): *Shadows of Doubt: Language and Truth in Post-Reformation Catholic Culture.* Oxford: University Press.

Tutino, Stefania (2017): *Uncertainty in Post-Reformation Catholicism: A History of Probabilism.* Oxford: University Press.

Ubachs, Pierre J. H. (1975): *Twee heren, twee confessies: de verhouding van Staat en Kerk te Maastricht, 163 – 673.* Assen: Van Gorcum.

Van Der Biest, Jarrik (2021): “Teaching Romans 7 after Trent: Michael Baius and His Lecture Hall on Concupiscence and Original Sin in Early Modern Louvain (1552 – 1589).” In: *Journal of Early Modern Christianity* 8(2), 193 – 221.

Van Der Biest, Jarrik [Forthcoming]: “The Materiality of the Student Notebook.” In: Van Rooy, Raf et al. (Eds.): *Student Notes from Latin Europe (1400 – 1750): A Short Research Guide*. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

Van der Horst, Koert (1994): *Catalogus van de collectie collegedictaten van de Utrechtse Universiteitsbibliotheek.* Utrecht: Universiteitsbibliotheek.

Van der Linden, Herman (1908): “L’Université de Louvain en 1568.” In: *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d’Histoire 77*, 9 – 36.

Van Eijl, Edmond J. M. (1968): *Michael Baius 1513 – 1589: Studie over zijn leven tot aan de veroordeling door Rome in 1567.* PhD dissertation. Leuven: KU Leuven.

Van Eijl, Edmond J. M. (1977): “De Theologische Faculteit te Leuven in de XVe en XVIe eeuw: organisatie en opleiding.” In: Van Eijl, Edmond J. M. et al. (Eds.): *Facultas S. Theologiae Lovaniensis 1432 – 1797: Bijdragen tot haar geschiedenis.* Leuven: University Press, 69 – 153.

Verdée, Jan (2008): “De betekenis en de rol van de Gentse dominicanen in de bestrijding van de reformatie.” In: *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent* 62(1), 259 – 289.

Wils, Joseph (1927): “Les professeurs de l’ancienne faculté de théologie de l’université de Louvain (1432 – 1729).” In: *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 4, 338 – 358.