

Scotism Made in Louvain

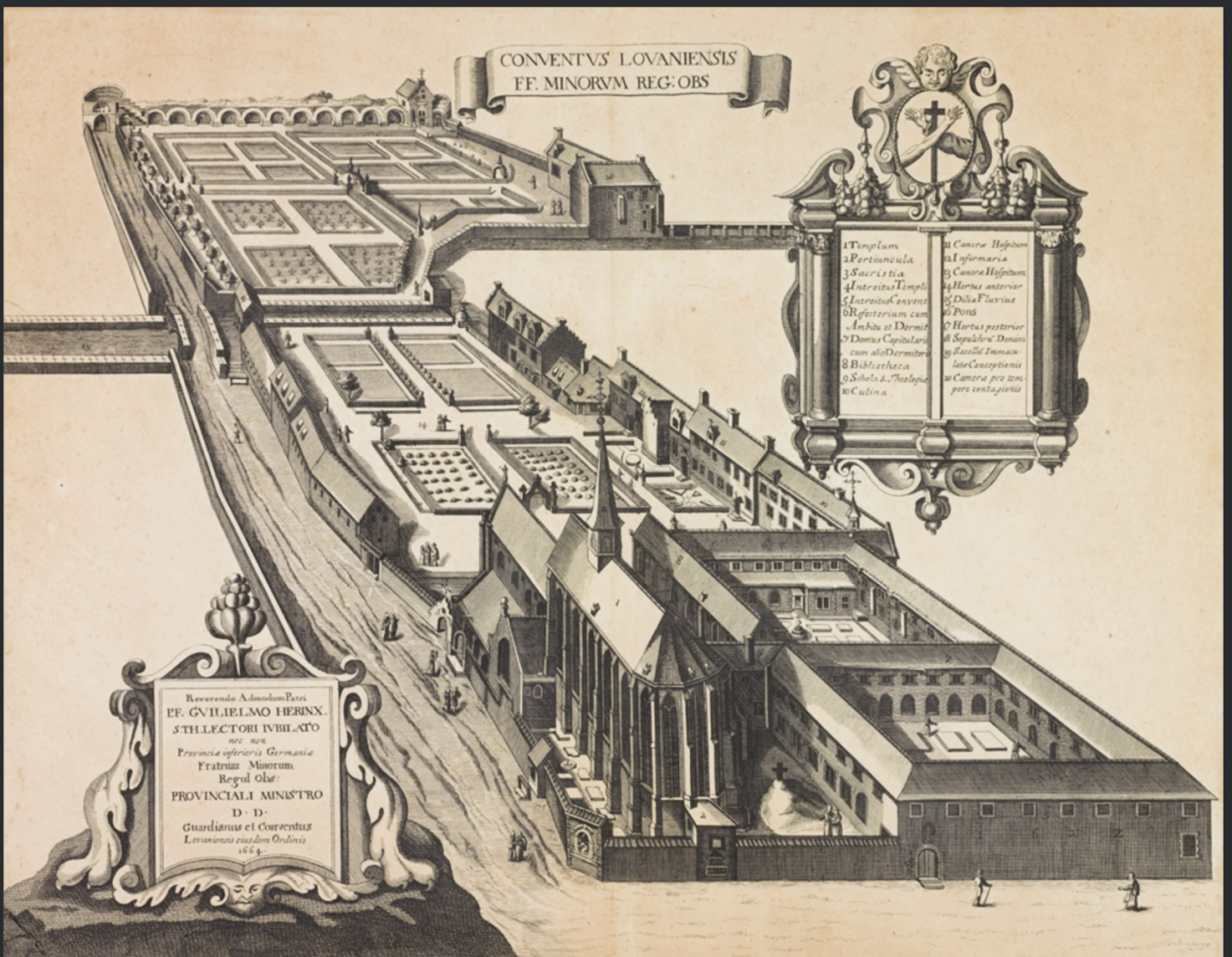
The Scholastic Culture of the Franciscans in Belgium

Exhibition at KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library

June 3 – September 30, 2024

Catalogue

Claus A. Andersen and Jacob Schmutz (eds.)



Scotism Made in Louvain – The Scholastic Culture of the Franciscans in Belgium
Exhibition at KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, Charles Deberiotstraat 26, 3000 Leuven

June 3 – September 30, 2024

Curated by Claus A. Andersen and Jacob Schmutz

Catalogue edited by Claus A. Andersen and Jacob Schmutz

Layout by Claus A. Andersen

Both curators / editors are affiliated with UCLouvain, Institut supérieur de philosophie, Centre De Wulf-Mansion, Collège Mercier, Place du Cardinal Mercier 14, bte L3.06.01, B-1348 Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium

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Scotism Made in Louvain

The Scholastic Culture of the Franciscans in Belgium

2024 marks the 400th anniversary of the publication of **Theodor Smising's** giant volume *De Deo Uno* (printed in Antwerp in 1624), which was soon followed by a second volume, *De Deo Trino* (printed in Antwerp in 1626). Smising's work was the first printed output of what developed into a specific tradition within early modern thought, the Louvain tradition of Scotism, itself but one part of the broad Scotist tradition that build upon the thought of **John Duns Scotus** (ca. 1266–1308). This Louvain tradition was primarily based in the Franciscan **Convent of the Holy Trinity** in the famous university town. The convent itself was much older, dating back to around 1230, when the Franciscan Order was in its very beginnings and long before the University of Louvain was founded (in 1425).

In 1607 a second Franciscan Convent was founded in Louvain, **St. Anthony's College**, one of a series of convents established by the Irish Franciscans as a result of their persecution in their homeland by the English Protestant rulers. The Irish Franciscans in Louvain, and in their other convents on the European continent, also cultivated the intellectual heritage of Duns Scotus, editing and commenting on his works and writing new works "*ad mentem Scoti*." Both of the Franciscan convents in Louvain were closed in the turmoil after the French Revolution. The buildings of St. Anthony's College still exist, whereas the older "Minderbroedersklooster" (on our exhibition poster) completely vanished from the cityscape.

In recent decades, the **Maurits Sabbe Library** has acquired a **large fund of Franciscan books**, mostly from various houses of the Franciscan Order in Belgium that have closed their doors. Our exhibition "Scotism Made in Louvain – The Scholastic Culture of the Franciscans in Belgium" explores this material, complemented by material from the KU Leuven Central Library's Special Collections and two **manuscripts** from the archives of **KADOC** (Documentatie- en Onderzoekscentrum voor Religie, Cultuur en Samenleving). The exhibition tells the story of a significant local scholarly tradition which is placed in the context of the broader Scotist tradition of the Early Modern Period. Whereas Scholasticism as such is often seen as an exclusively medieval phenomenon, our exhibition highlights one important aspect of *early modern scholastic culture*.

The three brief **articles included in this catalogue** provide an introduction to John Duns Scotus's thought, investigate the institutional background of Louvain Scotism, and explore some of the most important aspects of the scholastic output of the Franciscans in Louvain. The numbers attached to the images refer to the annotated list of all exhibits. A **virtual exhibition** with additional photo material will accompany, and last beyond, the library exhibition.

Claus A. Andersen and Jacob Schmutz



JOHN DUNS SCOTUS – FRANCISCAN THEOLOGIAN AND PHILOSOPHER

Dom Abbott (KU Leuven and UAntwerpen)

John Duns Scotus (c. 1266–1308), known variously as the ‘Subtle Doctor’ (*Doctor Subtilis*) and ‘Marian Doctor’ (*Doctor Marianus*), was a medieval Franciscan friar and scholastic theologian and philosopher. Precious little is known about Scotus’ life. He was probably born in Duns, Berwickshire, near the Scottish-English border, in 1265/6. His ordination on 17 March 1291 is certain; presuming ordination at the minimum allowable age, 25, his birthdate should follow from this. Since he also defends entry into the Order at a young age, it has been suggested that he himself entered the mendicant life quite early. The other certainties of his life are his studies in Oxford and Paris, and his lecturing at both. He may also have lectured in Cambridge. During a dispute between Pope Boniface VIII and King Philip ‘the Fair’ of France in 1302, Scotus was exiled from Paris, along with a number of other friars, for siding with the Pope over the king. He eventually returned to Paris by the end of 1304, but was sent to Cologne in 1307, quite possibly to teach the friars there; it was there that he died young, on 8 November 1308. His tomb, in the Minoritenkirche in Cologne, bears the Latin inscription: *Scotia me genuit, Anglia me suscepit, Gallia me docuit, Colonia me tenet*: ‘Scotland bore me, England sustained me, France taught me, Cologne holds me.’ He was beatified by Pope John Paul II on 20 March 1993.¹ Despite the scant details of his life, his works show that he was a friar whose life and study, his spirituality and theology, were intrinsically intertwined, though this is something overlooked by many later scholars.

Scotus authored a variety of theological and philosophical texts, of which the latter are the earliest in his corpus. Scotus commented extensively on various Aristotelian works (the *Metaphysics*, the *Categories*, *Peri hermeneias*, *De sophisticis elenchis*, and *De anima*) and wrote a commentary on Porphyry’s *Isagoge*. There is some debate around a text known as the *Theoremata*, a philosophical tract on epistemology, universals, and our comprehension thereof. It is probably authentic, however, and is accepted as such by the critical editors of his *Opera Philosophica*, the texts of which date to the 1280s-90s.

Scotus’ theological works date from the 1290s to 1307. These are, however, his most important works, both for the development of (especially Franciscan) theology, and in his own opinion – the latter is demonstrated by his more emotive language in his Christological and Mariological texts. Scotus’ primary theological works are his

commentaries on Peter Lombard’s *Sentences*, which exist in three forms. The earliest is the *Lectura*, which represent his early Oxonian lectures. Next is the *Ordinatio*, his revised version of this commentary, which he seemingly continually revised throughout his career, until at least 1304, and which almost always provides his most developed versions of his arguments. Thirdly, there is the *Reportata Parisiensia*, which are the reports of his lectures on the *Sentences* given during his time at Paris. Moreover, Scotus authored some disputed questions known as *Collationes* (some of which are from his time in Oxford, and some from his Parisian days), some *Quaestiones Quodlibetales*, and the *De primo rerum omnium principio*, often known as the *De primo principio*, which is a treatise on natural theology and the nature of God. Notably, this final work also includes the only extant prayers in his entire corpus.

CHRIST, MARY, BEING: KEY DOCTRINES AND DEBATES

Christology – The Absolute Primacy of Christ: Although some later scholastics focused heavily on Scotus’ metaphysics, seeing *being* as his primary concern, it was Christology that was most important to Scotus. Scotus’ central theological doctrine is commonly known as the doctrine of the absolute primacy of Christ. Put most simply, this doctrine claims that Christ is the centre of all things, thus taking primacy in every way. As in Ephesians and Colossians, All things were created in, through, with, and for Christ – Christ is first in the mind of God, firstborn of all creation, and later firstborn of the dead. Christ is thus first intention of creation – and as in the Johannine prologue, the reason that all things exist. Moreover, and therefore, Christ’s incarnation is not dependent upon sin. Ergo, Christ would have become incarnate regardless of humanity’s fall.² This doctrine puts all of Scotus’ theology into a Christocentric context, and thus holds implications for various other doctrines to which he held. The most notable of these is his argument for the Immaculate Conception of Mary.

Mariology – Mary’s Immaculate Conception: Scotus’ most famous doctrine, even if many are unaware that it is his defence used in 1854 in *Ineffabilis Deus*, is the Immaculate Conception of Mary. In essence, this doctrine states that, because of Christ’s perfect mediation, and because it was most fitting, Mary was conceived without original sin. He actually offers three possibilities here: “that God was able to make it so that Mary was never in original sin,” that “He was

¹ For more detail, see James A. Sheppard, “Vita Scoti,” *Franciscan Studies* 60 (2002), 291–323; Séamus Mulholland OFM, *A Gasp of Love: Duns Scotus – Franciscan Theologian and Mystic*, Darlington: The Franciscan Publishing Company Ltd., 2022.

² His argument is contained in *Lectura* III, dist. 7, q. 3; *Ordinatio* III, dist. 7, q. 3; *Reportata Parisiensia* III dist. 7, q. 4. For a fuller exploration, see Dominic Abbott, “The Doctrine of the Absolute Primacy of Christ across the Works of John Duns Scotus,” *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 116 (2023), 35–64.

also able to have made it so that she was in sin for one instant,” and that God could “have made it so that she was in sin for some certain time, and then that she was purged in the last instant of time.”³ He argues, however, that “that which is the most excellent seems probable to attribute to Mary.”⁴ The fittingness is attested by the fact that she was Christ’s mother, and it is more fitting than not that the *Summum opus Dei* had the purest possible vessel for the Incarnation. Moreover, and more explicitly, Christ’s merits pre-emptively justifying and purifying Mary’s soul grants Christ more glory, and perfects His mediation. It thus fits better in view of Christ as perfect Mediator. Space does not permit a fuller explanation of his argumentation, but it is important to note both his theological emphases (Christ, and Mary following on from this), which is something often overlooked in later scholarship. The Christocentricity of this Marian assertion is key here, and is best expressed by Eric Doyle OFM:

For Duns Scotus, this doctrine is seen logically only from the point of view of the Primacy of Christ. Christ was predestined by God to be the Centre of all creation. Because of sin it was decreed that He should come in a human nature capable of suffering in order to redeem mankind. But this in no way affected God’s eternal plan, that even if there had been no fall, Christ would still have come as King and Centre of all creation. It was not fitting, therefore, that Mary should be tainted, even for a single instant of her existence, with original sin, since she was to be so intimately associated with Christ as Redeemer and Restorer of all creation.⁵

Univocity – the Possibility of Theological Language: The final doctrine of importance for this exhibition is the doctrine of Univocity. One major concern of later Scotists is *being*, which is of course central in metaphysics. Scotus’ major contention here is the *univocity of being*, which is a primarily linguistic doctrine, which notes that the language we use of ourselves and of God holds some common meaning. That is, God’s wisdom and my wisdom are different (and analogous), but ‘wisdom’ is a univocal concept. Thus, it is the *mode* of being that differs. God’s mode is infinite, where ours is finite. But in order to do theology at all, which occurs with analogies, there need to be univocal concepts underlying those analogies – concepts on which they are based. It is what allows any theology to occur at all! By affirming this doctrine, Scotus defends the possibility of theology as a subject, since he defends the possibility of being able to

speak meaningfully about God. In his *Ordinatio* I, dist. 3, qq. 1–2, Scotus addresses the question of whether or not one can know God naturally, and if one can do so in humanity’s present state. Herein he claims that *ens* (being) is univocal to God and creatures. His argument here is foundational for being able to do theology.

Scotus’ metaphysical writings are not insignificant at all, but his predominant concern was theology, especially Christology. Despite his revisions of his metaphysical works, greater revisions occur within his theological *opera*, and the emotive language he uses within his Christological and Mariological texts especially betray his spiritual-theological priorities. Indeed, some of his most interesting metaphysical arguments (such as concerning *being*, or the manner in which the Incarnation can occur) appear within his theological commentaries. For Scotus, Metaphysics and Philosophy, whilst certainly very valuable, are tools aimed at assisting theology; it remains the case that Christology, for Scotus, must take centre stage.

THE BELGIAN CONNECTION: HENRY OF GHENT

Scotus himself was never in Louvain, but the school of thought based on his works, Scotism, was alive and thriving in Louvain during the late scholastic era, as this exhibition aptly demonstrates, making at the same time a solid case for a new historiography and history of scholastic thought. There is one special connection between Scotus and Belgium that deserves to be highlighted at this point, namely the fact that Scotus’s ‘opponent,’ both regarding univocal language and many other doctrines, was not Thomas Aquinas (1224/25–1274), but rather the Low Countries theologian Henry of Ghent († 1293), a secular master in the Parisian faculty of theology from ca. 1275 and author of two vast works of scholastic philosophy and theology (his *Quodlibetal Questions* and *Summa of Ordinary Questions*). Scotus regularly challenges Henry’s views, using him as his predominant source for arguments with which he disagrees. Although he is regularly contrasted with Aquinas (because of the rivalry of Scotists and Thomists in later centuries), Scotus considers the *Doctor Solennis* as the main authority with whom to debate. This inevitably impacted his own thought. It has indeed been suggested that much of what was handed down as Scotism in subsequent centuries, may be found preformulated in Henry’s works.⁶

³ *Ord.* III, dist. 3, q. 1, n. 28, ed. Vat. IX, 179.

⁴ *Ord.* III, dist. 3, q. 1, n. 34, ed. Vat. IX, 181.

⁵ Eric Doyle OFM, “Duns Scotus – A Man for All Time,” in *The Seventh Centenary of the Birth of the Blessed John Duns Scotus*. Edinburgh: Scotus Academy, 1966, 9–10.

⁶ For Henry’s influence on Scotus, see Tobias Hoffmann, “Henry of Ghent’s Influence on John Duns Scotus’s Metaphysics,” in Gordon A. Wilson (ed.), *A Companion to Henry of Ghent*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011, 339–367, with references to further

literature. For the later reception of Henry’s thought, see Jacob Schmutz, “Les paradoxes métaphysiques d’Henri de Gand durant la seconde scolastique,” *Medioevo* 24 (1998), 89–149, especially 146: “... il semble bien qu’au-delà de la tradition scotiste souvent unilatéralement exagérée, c’est en vérité le fantôme du Docteur Solennel qui continue à hanter la métaphysique moderne.” I’m grateful to Claus A. Andersen for these references.



SCOTE QUID ADSPECTAS VENIENTIA LUMINA OELO ?
 ILLINC EXSPECTO QUID MEA PENNA DABIT .
 CELICA DIVINI SI EXSPECTAS MISSA PARENTIS ,
 DIVINVM SAPIET QVOD TVA PENNA DABIT .

2



Ego posui te quasi plaustrum
 habens rotas serrantibus
 et comminues: & colles
 VENTILABIS eos.
 turbo disperget eos

rum TRITVRANS nouum
 TRITVRABIS montes
 quali puluerem ponas
 & ventus tollet, et
 Isaia, capit. 41. ver. 19.

Et orientur vobis
 amentibus nomen meum
 SOL IUSTITIE
 et sanitas in venis eius
 Malac. cap. 4. ver. 2.

Cultus
 Ventilabrum
 in manu sua: et per
 mundabit Arcam suam
 et conseruabit Triticum suum
 in Horreum Palatis autem
 comburet igni. Math. cap. 3. ver. 12

17

Pm 145 2ae

QVÆSTIONES D. S.
IO. DVNS SCOTI
 SVPER LIBRIS ARIST.
 DE ANIMA:
 CVM COMMENTARIIS, ANNOTATIONIBVS,
 & Scholijs, illustratæ, atq; discussæ

PER R. P. F. HVGONEM CAVELLVM ORD. MIN.
 S. S. Observantia, Prouincia Hibernia, in Collegio S. Antonij
 apud Louanienfes, olim S. Theologiae Lectorem emeritum.

ACCESSIT PER EVDENDM, SVPLEMENTVM, RELIQVAS
 quæstiones, ac difficultates ad Libros de Anima spectantes, complectens,
 & ad mentem eiusdem Doctõris Subt. solidè resoluens.

R. AD. P. IOSEPHO RADAELLO
 ORD. MIN. REG. OBS. IN CVRIA
 Generali Commissario Dicatæ.

VENETIIS, Superiorum Permissu, & Priuilegio. MDCXXXI.

Typis Marci Ginamini.

4

F. IOANNIS
DVNS SCOTI
 ORDINIS MINORVM
 DOCTORIS SVBTLIS
 THEOLOGORVM PRINCIPIS
 IN
 PRIMVM ET SECVNDVM
SENTENTIARVM
 QVÆSTIONES SVBTLISSIMÆ.

Nunc nouitè recognita, & habita collatione cum selectioribus antiqui editionibus, ac
 vetustissimo codice manuscripto, ab innumeris mendis & vitijs, quibus vbiq; scatebant,
 castigata; annotationibus marginalibus, doctorumque celeberrimorum ante quoslibet
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 cibus varijs & copiosis, aliisque multis (de quibus in præfatione ad Lectorem) summo la-
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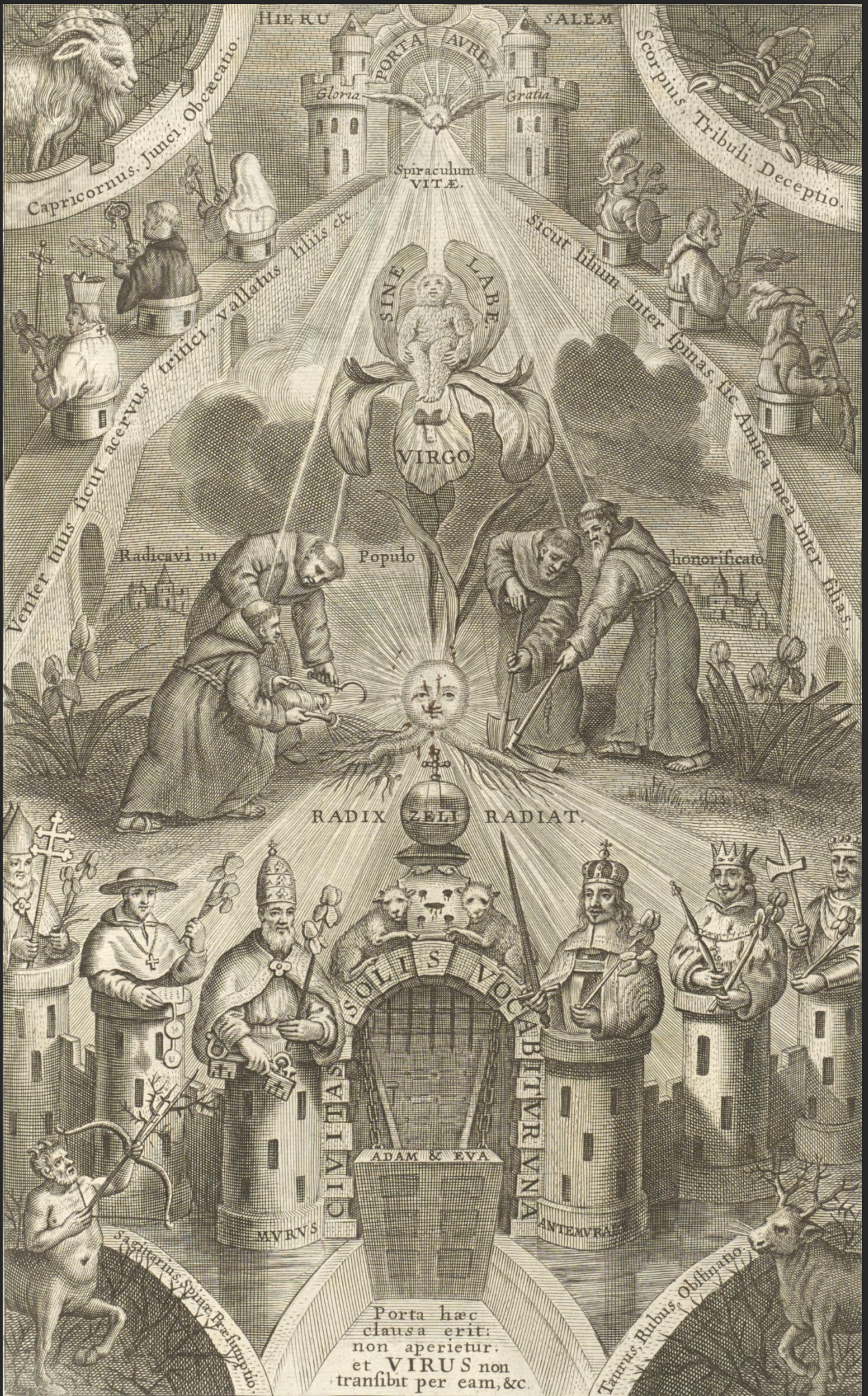
Per R. HVGONEM CAVELLVM Hiberniam Doctorem in Collegio S. Antonij Palatii Minorum
 Hibernicorum apud Louanienfes, factæ Theologiae Licentiam obtinente.

Accesserunt per eundem, Vita Scoti, Apologia pro ipso contra P. Abrahæsum Doussium, & Appendixæ
 q. 1. dist. 3. lib. 3. quæ ponitur sine eiusdem lib. 3. de immaculata Conceptione.

ANTVERPIÆ.
 Apud IOANNEM KEERBERGIVM.
 M. DC. XX.
 Superiorum permissu.

3

7



BEGGING SCHOLASTICS – THE ACADEMIC CULTURE OF THE LOUVAIN FRANCISCAN CONVENT OF THE HOLY TRINITY, 1529–1796

Jacob Schmutz (UCLouvain)

*L'histoire des Frères-Mineurs en Belgique avant la
Révolution française est encore toute à écrire*
Aubain Heysse, 1910

In 1796, French troops occupied the vast premises of the ancient Franciscan convent of the Holy Trinity of Louvain, located on the banks of the river Dyle, and expelled the community of 53 members, as they had done for all the religious communities in the occupied Austrian Netherlands. Like many other Louvain convents, the buildings were divided into lots and auctioned off. The early sixteenth century Gothic church was razed in 1799, and all the other conventual buildings were dismantled or reconfigured to make place for new constructions, dedicated to private housing and to some nascent industrial purposes (wood storage and a distillery), due to its enviable location near the river. The contents of its library and artistic heritage were scattered and destroyed, as were many of the precious tombstones in the church – only the tombstone of the famous humanist Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), who had been buried in the Franciscan church (as was supposedly also the case for the famous artist Dirk Bouts, 1415–1475, who lived next door), had been saved and transported to a Brussels museum in 1795. This is how six centuries of intellectual life brutally ended. The second Franciscan convent of Louvain, the Irish College of Saint Anthony's, whose history is much better documented than that of the "Flemish" was luckier: its astute former Guardian, James Gowan, managed to buy it back in 1822 to transform it into a school, saving it from destruction. When the re-established Flemish Franciscans returned to Louvain in 1871, they bought a chapel in what is now the Vlamingenstraat (Onze-lieve-Vrouw-ter-Koorts) and constructed a new convent – which eventually became too big for the dwindling community and was sold to the KU Leuven (1986) and now hosts the KADOC research centre and archives. The Irish Franciscans, who had formally returned to their old convent of Louvain in 1922, also left as a community around the same period (1984), but they remain the owners of what is now the Leuven Institute of Ireland in Europe, commonly known as the "Irish College."

A DOCUMENTARY DISASTER

This story has been repeated in innumerable places in Europe between the French revolutionary wars and various secularization policies, but rarely has the documentary obliteration been so complete as for the Louvain Franciscans. I have so far only been able to locate only *one* typical scholastic manuscript of the long succession of professors of the Louvain *studium*: lectures on creation, marriage, and

human acts taught by Theodor Schmissing and Petrus Paludanus (= Pierre du Marais or Pieter Vandebroec) delivered in 1613, which survived probably only because the winds of history transported it to a provincial French library. The intellectual culture of the convent can however be reconstructed thanks to the impressive printed philosophical and theological courses of the same Theodor Schmissing (1580–1626 – himself a German aristocrat from Westphalia), Willem Herinx (1621–1678), Willem Van Sichen (1632–1691), and Jan Vandenbosch (Joannes a Bosco, 1613–1684) presented in this catalogue by Claus A. Andersen. The only other early modern "Belgian" Franciscan philosophical or theological manuscripts I have so far managed to recover were courses taught in different convents, such as Liège (before 1654), Verviers (1737) and Ath (1740–41; 1750–51) and a late manuscript compilation of Herinx's moral theology compiled in Mechelen (1729). Several academic manuscripts of the Irish Franciscans also survive, mainly in foreign libraries.

In comparison, and in spite of the brutal wreckage of the Louvain University Library by the German Imperial army in 1914, we have managed to reconstruct a collection of several hundred manuscript lecture notes from the ancient secular colleges of Louvain (Pork, Castle, Pig, and Falcon) and of the Faculty of Theology, scattered in various libraries. For the Franciscans, we can only reconstruct a catalogue of "phantoms" or lost works based on old bibliographies. The most knowledgeable historian of the Ancien Régime Louvain university, canon Edmond Reusens (1831–1903), who still benefitted from the pre-1914 collections, had managed to compile a list of theological dissertations defended at the Irish College of Saint Anthony, but never did the equivalent for its "Flemish" counterpart, although he mentions their existence in the since-then destroyed Louvain University Library (Aubain Heysse established a precious catalogue for the Province of Saint Joseph in 1943, and Uriël Smeets mentions a number of them in his 1942 bibliography of Scotistic literature). Maastricht-born Servatius Dirks OFM (1825–1887), a major scholarly figure of the re-established Franciscan Province of Saint Joseph in Sint-Truiden, produced a complete catalogue of what remains accessible in printed works (1885), and also compiled information about lost manuscripts, mainly based on the famous *Mémoires* by Jean-Noël Paquot (1722–1803), who had also briefly been librarian in Louvain before

revolutionary times and who documented the existence of several *Sentences* commentaries produced during the sixteenth century. Other Belgian Franciscan scholars of the 1890–1930 generation contributed to a better knowledge of its intellectual history, such as Pholianus Naessen OFM (1895), Stephanus Schoutens OFM (1901), Aubain Heysse OFM (1910), and Jérôme Goyens OFM (1913 to 1932). They all centralized the information available in Belgian and Dutch State archives and in some of the former or still existing Franciscan archives, such as the former archives of the convent of Weert (Netherlands) accessible now at the Utrechts Archief or those of Sint-Truiden deposited at KADOC in Louvain. Lucien Ceyskens OFM (1902–2001), the famous historian of Jansenism and himself a Franciscan from Sint-Truiden, also regularly returned to the history of his order, analysing the Franciscan’s stance in the doctrinal war of that century. In recent years, thanks to the digitalization projects of various library collections in Belgium, the Netherlands, and beyond, a great number of printed dissertations defended at Franciscan convents of Louvain (*Theses, Conclusiones*) from the seventeenth and eighteenth century have reappeared, providing us thereby with a more detailed image of the intellectual life in one of Europe’s most important university cities, which was at the heart of successive movements such as humanism, counter-reformation, Jansenism, and the Catholic Enlightenment.

LATE-MEDIEVAL REFORMS

During the Renaissance and early-modern period, the Louvain convent of the Holy Trinity was one of the central institutions of the Province of Lower Germany (*Provincia Germaniae Inferioris*), which was itself a secession from the much bigger and older German province of Cologne since 1523. The story of the Louvain convent starts with the initial expansion towards northwestern Europe of the order founded by Saint Francis of Assisi (†1226). His first followers “conquered” what is now Belgium from the West and from the East: from the West, they moved through France towards historical Flanders; from the East, they came to “Teutonia” via the Rhine, Mosel, and Meuse valleys towards historical Brabant and Limburg. This explains why during the entire Middle Ages, the current Belgian territory was divided into three different Franciscan custodies. On the French side, the convents belonged to the Custody of Flanders and the Custody of Liège (two of the nine custodies of the Province of France), with its major convents in Bruges (1225) and Ghent (1225), Namur (1224, usually considered as the oldest convent on “Belgian” soil), Dinant (1228), Huy (1230), and Liège (1238). On the German side, the convents belonged to the Custody of Brabant (part of the Province of Cologne), with its first foundations in Sint-Truiden (1225), Tienen / Tirlemont (1226), Brussels and Diest (1228), Mechelen (1231), Maastricht (1234), and of course Louvain, whose foundation is commonly dated between 1230 (first regional chapter) and 1233 (consecration of the church). All the dates indicated above can be subject to interpretation, whether one counts the physical arrival of the first friars (often earlier than the dates given here) or the formal establishment of a convent or consecration of a church (which I have used as a more

obvious reference). The arrival of the Franciscans in Louvain is thus almost contemporary to that of their major mendicant challengers, the Dominicans, who established their convent a few years later (1235) nearby on the shores of the Dyle (and of which the later Gothic church is still preserved), and the Hermits of Saint Augustine (1236, a convent today also entirely destroyed), who would play an immense role at the university during the early modern period. The Carmelites, well established in Brussels and other towns of Brabant and Flanders, would arrive only much later, after the foundation of the University (1431). These convents constitute the “second wave” of regular foundations in Louvain, after the historical establishment of the monastic orders of Prémontré (Abbey of Park, founded 1129, still preserved) and the regular canons of Saint Augustine (Abbey of Saint Gertrude, founded 1206, still partially preserved in its early modern form, also near the river). All three mendicant orders benefitted of the patronage of the Dukes of Brabant Henry I (r. 1183–1235) and Henry II (r. 1235–48), but in particular of the later ecclesiastical policy of Henry III (r. 1248–61). Until the late Middle Ages and the monastic reform movement of the “Observance” (i.e., a movement to restore the original rule), all “Belgian” convents followed the same rule, but were geographically far apart, which gave them different doctrinal and political hinterlands. The Flemish convents of the West were closely linked to what happened in France and Paris, and the Brabant and Limburg convents of the East (including also many convents in pre-reformation Holland) to what happened in Germany and Cologne.

It is thus not surprising that, when the reform movement of the Observance spread all over Europe, the Louvain convent was reformed by a German Franciscan, Dietrich Kölde (†1515, “Dirk Coelde” in Flemish, “Theodoricus a Monasterio” in Latin) from Münster in Westphalia, author of a regionally influential *Kersten-Spieghel* (“*Mirror of the Christian*”). The convent had already undergone a previous reformation in 1449, and it joined officially the Observance under Kölde in 1506. Many other new convents were founded during this Franciscan reform movement of the late fifteenth century – notably a second convent in Liège (1485, after unsuccessful attempts to reform the original one, which remained Conventual) and also in many Dutch towns. The major date in early-modern Franciscan history is 1517, when the break between the Conventuals and Observants was sanctioned in Rome: all of what is now Belgium, the Netherlands, and most parts of Northern France and Northern Germany, joined the Observance movement. A small pocket of Northern convents resisted, giving rise to a Conventual province based in Cologne, with three convents in what is now Belgium (Liège, Huy, and Dinant) eventually creating their own little “Province of Liège.” They constitute an interesting and isolated branch of Northern European conventualism, never studied as such, in spite of the fact that it played an important role in the internationalization of theology at the time, since its members often travelled to Southern France or Italy for their studies, which was not the case for the now mainstream Observants. In 1529 (General Chapter of Parma), the convents of the medieval Custody of Brabant, of which

Louvain was the most important, demanded their secession from the vast German Province of Cologne, and thereby constituted the Province of Lower Germany. Joining the Observance was not a small thing: it meant that the convents accepted abandoning their territorial and financial possessions in order to be more in conformity with the Franciscan rule's spirit of poverty; whereas their Conventual counterparts could finance trips to Rome and Assisi, the Observants were deeply rooted in their region and could travel only as far as begging would take them. In exchange for their renunciation of worldly possessions, however, local authorities often granted them tax exemptions, which was also a major incentive for their territorial expansion during the following two centuries. The same independence movement had happened somewhat earlier in the west of what is now Belgium. The Custody of Flanders had asked for "independence" from France, creating thereby a new "Province of Flanders" (1523) with Ghent and Bruges as its main centres. A third new province was created on the basis of the Custody of Artois, renamed the Province of Saint Andrew (1558), which included "Belgian" convents such as Tournai and Mons, but mainly important convents from what is now Northern France, in particular in the university city of Douai and in the prestigious and historical bishopric of Cambrai.

In Brabant or "Lower Germany," Louvain would then during the sixteenth century be elevated to the rank of *studium primarium*, because of its location in the only university city of the Duchy of Brabant. A new Gothic-style church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, began to be constructed in 1553, and gave the convent its new name. Franciscans from Brabant became important "political" ambassadors of Franciscanism; during the general congregation of Assisi (1526), it was decided that provinces would be united under a new umbrella entity called *nationes* ("nations"), under the supervision of a Commissary General. Louvain became the centre of the new "German-Belgian Nation" (*natio germano-belgica*), which encompassed up to 13 Provinces (including most of the historical German, Belgian, and Dutch nations, as well as Denmark, England, Scotland, and Ireland). This was the high peak of political influence of the Brabant Franciscans; during the following two centuries, most of the General Commissaries of the "German-Belgian nation" were natives of Brabant, and Belgian-born Franciscan commissaries visited and resided in convents as far away as in Thuringia, and maintained strong links with the important university city of Cologne, where Dutch and Belgian-born theologians were omnipresent during most of the early modern period. On the other hand, Louvain lost on the Atlantic and "colonial" side. The Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500–1558, r. 1520–1558), born in Ghent, was closely linked to the Franciscans of the new Province of Flanders; his confessor was the French, Paris-trained Franciscan Jean Glapion (1460–1552), born in the Loire valley but guardian of Bruges, and several Franciscans of the Ghent convent became celebrities in the newly conquered territories of America – the founder of the convent of Quito, in newly conquered Ecuador, was Joos de Rijcke (Jodoco Rique, 1498–1578), a Franciscan from the Ghent

convent close to the emperor, and "Peter of Ghent" (Pieter van der Moere, Pedro de Gante, †1572) played an essential role in the history of Mexico, where he died. During the entire sixteenth century, this colonial aspect seemed largely absent from the Louvain convent, more focused on the East and the intra-European intellectual reformation movement, linked to humanism and the challenge of the reformation.

In the troubled period of the second part of the sixteenth century, when Brussels, Antwerp, and especially Ghent were briefly governed by reformed councils, Louvain remained Catholic, in spite of suffering several bloody uprisings and sieges. The Louvain convent became a centre of Christian humanism, although here again, due to the lack of manuscript sources, one has to rely mainly on the printed material, which is nevertheless quite impressive. During the sixteenth century, one must single out in particular the numerous philosophical textbooks and Biblical commentaries produced by the Hasselt-born Frans Titelmans (1502–1537), who died prematurely after having joined the Capuchin Order in Italy. Another major figure in the Franciscan biblical tradition was his successor on the convent's chair of Sacred Scripture, Delft-born Adam Sasbout (1516–1553). In close connection with the convents of Mechelen and Antwerp, the convent also produced or merely printed a vast number of spiritual works, often in the vernacular language, such as those of Frans Vervoort (†1555, author of a famous *Woestyne des Heeren*, "*Desert of the Lord*") who spent all his life at the convent of Mechelen. Henricus Sedulius (1547–1621), born in Kleve (now Germany), became a major Church historian and promoter of the female branch of the Franciscans, with works lavishly illustrated by the Antwerp printers. He was also a political agent of the Habsburgs, being at the origin of the Tirolian province of the Franciscans in Austria, where he resided a few years. We know scholastic theology was also taught during the sixteenth century, but none was published during that time and no manuscript has so far been recovered. It is important to remember that the Louvain Franciscans never held chairs at the Faculty of Theology of the university – even if, as other regular Orders, they sometimes called themselves "professors of the University," on the basis of the late medieval aggregation of their *studium* to the university. Throughout the early modern period, their teaching was developed exclusively internally, and the dissemination of their works therefore also occurred primarily through Franciscan networks.

The period of 1560–80 had also a strong political impact for the Louvain Franciscans; it corresponds to the closure of numerous important convents in the United Provinces now independent after the success of the "Dutch Revolt" (including recent Observant foundations such as Delft, Amsterdam, Haarlem, etc., not speaking of the historical medieval Dutch convents such as s'Hertogenbosch, Utrecht, Dordrecht, Zierikzee, etc.) and the emigration of many Dutch Franciscans to the South – with the traumatic memory of the "martyrs of Gorcum" (19 Catholics from this Dutch town, among whom 14 Franciscans, were executed by the Calvinists in 1572) who

became rapidly one of the most important identity markers of early modern Franciscan identity, not only in the Low Countries, but worldwide and the subject of numerous artistic representations. Some Scottish Franciscans, victims of the Reformation, also sought refuge at the convent of Louvain. During this same period, the “Belgian” provinces witnessed a radical shift from the very humanistic-minded sixteenth century tradition towards the more orthodox Scotist philosophical and theological scholasticism that had already become prevalent in Spain, Italy, and in other parts of Europe during the sixteenth century. The strong presence of Spanish or Spanish-trained Franciscans was here certainly instrumental. The Flemish Province was then briefly governed by a Spaniard, Francisco de Astudillo (†1592, Provincial 1584–88), a member of the court of Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, who had drowned in blood the Calvinist revolt, and the Commissary General for Spain was Matías de Burgos (1548–1611), who had taught orthodox Scotism at the famous Convent of San Diego in Alcalá and trained several French and Belgian “expatriate” students. One of his successors as Commissary General was the Antwerp-born but also Spanish-trained Joseph de Bergaigne (1588–1647), who later participated in the important General Chapter of Toledo in 1633, which renewed the recommendation of Scotism as the official scholastic tradition for the Franciscan Order.

THE IRISH FRANCISCANS IN BELGIUM

Since 1607, Louvain had a second Franciscan convent, that of the exiled Irish Franciscans, who had also joined the Observant reform and were therefore under the rule of the same Commissary General as the “Belgian” Franciscans of the Holy Trinity: the College of Saint Anthony, founded by Florence Conry (Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire, 1560–1629), the exiled Irish archbishop of Tuam. It rapidly became the flagship institution of the Irish Franciscans, exiled on the Continent due to the English penal laws, which prohibited Catholic learning on the British Isles during more than two centuries. Just like their Flemish brothers, the Irish Province also embraced the Recollect reform of the “stricter observance.” Louvain rapidly became the central institution of other major Irish Franciscan convents on the Continent, such as Saint Isidore in Rome (1625) and the Immaculate Conception in Prague (1629). Benefitting, just like its Flemish counterparts, from the patronage of the archduke and archduchess Albert and Isabella, the convent became a stronghold of both Irish language and heritage – establishing notably the first press ever adapted to Irish script – and theological Scotism. Although we have a number of manuscript lectures (with the exception of Hugh McCaghwell (Aod Mac Aingil, 1571–1626) who reprinted and commented on the works of Duns Scotus), the convent did not publish major textbooks such as those of John Punch (1599–1661), who was however briefly trained in Louvain under the ecclesiastical historian John Colgan (†1657) before moving to Rome and Paris. The relationship between both convents – the “Flemish” and the Irish – remained minimal, since they both belonged to different provinces and intellectual networks, in spite of being under the authority of

the same Commissary General. For the reason indicated above about the “scattering” of the Flemish Recollect convents, it seems that the Irish community of Louvain often outnumbered that of its Flemish counterpart. Its archives and tradition have been well researched by scholars of the exiled Irish Catholics for more than a century, in particular thanks to the pioneering work of Brendan Jennings OFM (1883–1970) and Benignus Millett OFM (1922–2006). After the final dissolution of the Louvain Irish Franciscan community (1984), the “Louvain papers” have been centralized in the Franciscan convent of Killiney near Dublin, and are now deposited as a particular collection of the University College Dublin archives.

RADICAL REFORM: THE RECOLLECTS

The next step of Franciscan reform also starts from the Western Province of Flanders. The general movement of the Observance, i.e., the call for a return to the radical sources of Franciscanism, never ceased to permeate the intellectual culture of the convents. Frans Titelmans, the most intellectually productive figure of the Louvain convent during the 1520s, had chosen to leave the order and join the relatively new Order of the Capuchins in Italy, shortly before his premature death (1537) at the age of 35 at the convent of Anticoli in Campania (now Fiuggi). The Capuchins were the leaders of the second movement of reform of the Franciscans, after the Observance, embracing even more poverty and simplicity. This had an important demographic aspect. They placed emphasis on building more convents, but on a smaller scale, in more territories, often in remote areas untouched by evangelization or disputed by Protestants. It was a strongly anti-elitist movement, which could only challenge the convents established in major university cities. In the “Belgian” territories, the Capuchin movement began expanding, in particular during the post-Reformation rule of the Archduke and Archduchess Albert and Isabella, who multiplied Capuchin foundations in various cities, including in secluded provincial towns and rural areas, in order to promote a bottom-up Catholic evangelization after the success of the Reformation in the Low Countries and its violent suppression by the Spanish armies.

The Observant Franciscans felt threatened. It is not a surprise that a new radical reform movement began in the last decade of the sixteenth century from very provincial places, namely from the convents of Farciennes (a small community near what is today Charleroi – a city that did not yet exist) and Nivelles, two Walloon towns then part of the Province of Flanders, for a more radical reform inspired by the Capuchins and also other *Riformati* branches of the Italian Franciscans. This became the root of the vast movement of the “Recollects” in the entire territory of what is now Belgium (*recolligere* means “getting back to oneself”). Similar movements had appeared in French convents, and in 1601, Pope Clement VIII granted them similar privileges as the Italian *Riformati*. The Provincial of Flanders, Jérôme Fostier (†1610), accepted the introduction of the reform in 1607, and became the first Recollect Provincial, elected during the Chapter of Namur. The reform

received full support from Andrés de Soto (1552–1629), the confessor of Isabella (since 1599), who had before been himself one of the promoters of the Recollect reform in Spain, as guardian of the very strict convent of La Aguilera near Aranda del Duero. Soto played an important role in the expansion of the Recollect reform among the Franciscans of the Low Countries, and in the development of the Tertiary Order, which Isabella herself joined after the death of her husband Albert (1621). Although started in small Walloon convents, the reform movement seems to have been more successful in the Dutch-speaking convents than in the French-speaking convents. This is a very interesting historical case where spiritual, intellectual, and regional and linguistic divisions overlap. The person in charge of handling this crisis was a brilliant Walloon Franciscan from Couvin, a small convent then belonging to the Province of Flanders, Pierre Marchant (1585–1661), who was for many years Provincial and Commissary General as successor of Joseph de Bergaigne. Well trained in Scotist theology and ecclesiastical history, and a witty politician, he was omnipresent in all Franciscan debates during the 1630–60 period in the Low Countries. With almost four centuries of political anticipation, he decided in 1628 to separate the Province of Flanders into two linguistically divided parts. He negotiated that all the convents wishing to join the Recollect reform should now be part of a new province, formally called the “Province of Saint Joseph in the County of Flanders,” which counted initially 13 convents (1628). The choice of the name of Saint Joseph was not innocent, since it corresponds to the moment of the historical promotion of the myth of Saint Joseph “the carpenter,” hardworking man, father of Jesus, an essential element of Catholic Christianity adapting to pre-capitalist society. All other convents – French-speaking – remained in the old “Province of Flanders,” with the paradoxical result that geographically and culturally “Walloon” convents such as Liège and Namur were now part of the “Province of Flanders” – Matthias Hauzeur (1586–1676, from Verviers), the major Scotist of the Liège convent, was its first Provincial after the separation, and signs for instance his works as a member of the “Province of Flanders.” Unlike other religious Orders, such as the Jesuits, who named their linguistically divided provinces “Gallo-Belgian” and “Flemish-Belgian” (1612), the Franciscans never changed this historical reference to the prestigious medieval Custody of Flanders.

This is the administrative situation that prevailed until the Brabant revolution and French invasion in 1792. With the exception of the three small communities of the Conventual “Liège Province” – almost an historical anomaly –, the Recollect reform became hegemonic in all the three provinces that cover current-day Belgium (Saint Joseph, Flanders, and Lower Germany). As seen in an impressive demographic chart published by Caroline Galland, Fabien Guilloux, and Pierre Moracchini (2014), the “Belgian” Recollects constituted one of the most numerous branch of the order, this being of course also a reflection of the high density of population in the Southern Low Countries at the time. In other countries, the Recollects and other reformed Franciscans also created their own provinces, but they

always coexisted with either traditional Observants or Conventuals, or even both. The city of Paris, for instance, hosted then three Franciscan convents: an Observant (the “Grand Couvent des Cordeliers”), a ‘stricter’ Observant (the “Ave Maria” convent), and a Recollect convent – the last being very active in the overseas missions in the Americas. A Walloon Recollect born in Ath, but trained in French convents, Louis Hennepin (1640–1705), became the first geographer of Louisiana.

What were the consequences of this administrative reorganization on the intellectual level? It led first of all to a progressive dissolution of the centrality of the Louvain convent. The Recollects insisted on living in small communities and dedicated themselves mainly to missionary activity. Whereas the Province of Saint Joseph suffered from the loss of several convents due to the French territorial claims (Dunkirk, Gravelines, Cassel, Hondschote), the Province of Lower Germany was particularly active in missionary activity and kept expanding, sending Franciscan preachers and missionaries to the Protestant parts of the Netherlands and multiplying new conventual foundations in the Catholic border territories (Venlo, Venray, etc.) and on the German Western side of the Rhine (Heinsberg, Erkelenz, etc.). The Francophone Franciscans of the Province of Flanders also developed their own missions, mainly throughout the Ardennes, with also a number of new foundations (Ciney, Durbuy, Bastogne, etc.) in a rough territory which had been largely untouched by monastic communities since the medieval Benedictines. Because of the continuous assaults of the French, only three convents of the Province of Saint Andrew remained in the Spanish and Austrian Low Countries: Tournai, Binche, and Mons (Douai, Lille, Valenciennes, and others becoming all French cities). They were finally annexed to the francophone Province of Flanders by the Holy See in 1727. Living on charity and begging, the Recollect convents were unable to sustain large communities. There were even regular complaints by local bishops about the “insistent begging” of this particular new brand of Franciscans, especially the dirt-poor Irish, who used to beg all their way from Louvain to Ostend or Nieuwpoort, from where they would embark towards the British Isles. This explains a rather anarchic academic organization, with the teaching activity now being distributed among all the major convents of the province, historical convents such as Mechelen, Brussels, Bruges, Antwerp, Ghent, Ypres, and especially Liège became equally important scholarly places as Louvain. During the second part of the seventeenth and the eighteenth century, professors of philosophy and theology would move from one convent to the other within each province.

Louvain of course nevertheless enjoyed some form of doctrinal prestige as a university town, and also thanks to some of its very professional printing houses. In 1661, the Castilian-born missionary Pedro Alva y Astorga (†1667) returned from Bolivia and Perú and established himself at the Louvain convent, where he created an entire enterprise dedicated to the promotion of the cult of the Immaculate Conception, both a Franciscan doctrinal specialty since John

Duns Scotus (as emphasized by Dom Abbott in this catalogue) and also an important political agenda for the Spanish crown, especially in its American colonies. Promoting the “impeccable” character of the Holy Virgin was a way to promote the purity and inclusiveness of the Spanish imperialism conducted under Mary’s patronage. Alva y Astorga set up an ephemeral printing house at the convent, aimed at producing works with extraordinary graphic representations thanks to the talent of the local printers, until the whole enterprise was closed down due to Dominican lobbying at the court and the death of its champion. During the same years, the Louvain convent witnessed a strong turn towards doctrinal Scotism, with the publication of several important theological courses *ad mentem Scoti*. But the scholastic culture of the Louvain Franciscans never forgot the importance of the other major scholastic authority of the Order, Saint Bonaventure, who had already been regularly celebrated during the heydays of sixteenth-century Christian humanism, and whose authority could thereby serve as a link between the more humanist and the more scholastic periods of the convent. In 1674, the convent organized important celebrations on the occasion of the four-hundredth anniversary of the death of the Seraphic Doctor. The equal reverence for the authority of Bonaventure and Duns Scotus is visible on a number of title page engravings showing both authors (for instance the beautiful frontispiece of Smising’s *De Deo trino* from 1626, on the back of our catalogue), as well as more original celebrations, such as the beautiful chronogram of Bonaventure that can be found in a dissertation by Gilles de Glabais (1674).

Throughout the eighteenth century, in the general context of the “Catholic Enlightenment” particularly powerful during the Austrian period, the Recollects of the Catholic Low Countries continued a vital tradition, conspicuously present in most of the smaller and larger towns of the territory. They developed, as did several other religious Orders of medieval extraction such as the Carmelites, Dominicans, and Augustinians, their own brand of what one may label “scholastic conservatism.” The ideas of the new philosophy, in particular Cartesianism, were met with immediate criticism; their convents were not turned into laboratories of experimental physics, as happened in other congregations, such as those of the Jesuits or the Minims. In the study of the Bible, in which the Recollects excelled during the eighteenth century in particular, they did not take into account any of the new “documentary” hypotheses, popular in many European academies since the Louvain-trained humanist André Maes (1514–1573) had raised some doubts on the Mosaic authority of the Pentateuch. On the other hand, they did play an important role in the vulgarization of the Bible thanks to new translations, with the development of the “Antwerp school” of the Kevelaer-born Wilhelm Smits (1704–1770).

When the Franciscans were allowed to return to the newly created Belgian State (1830), they established small communities in two of their ancient convents: Sint-Truiden in former Lower Germany, and Tielt in former Flanders. From there, they recreated in 1842 a general “Province of

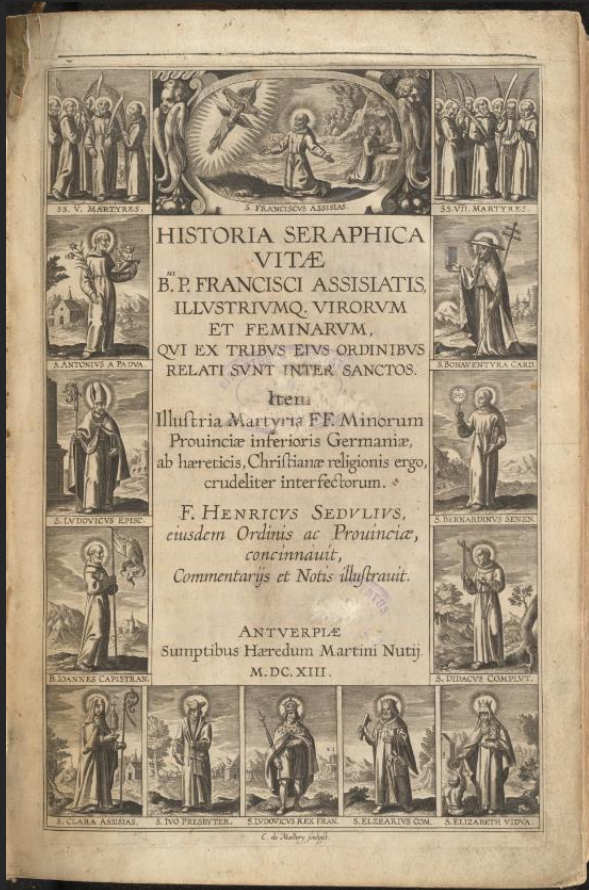
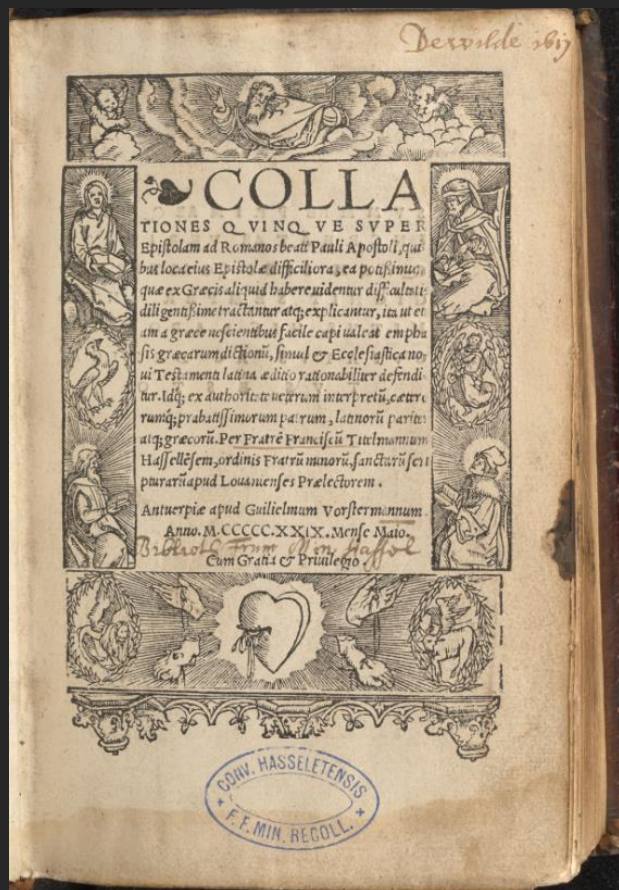
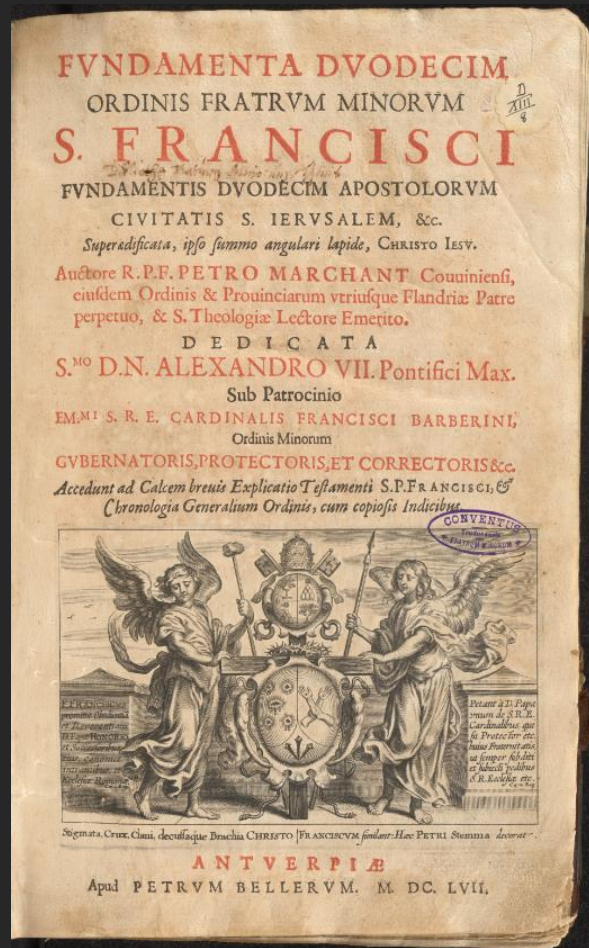
Saint Joseph,” which played an important role in nineteenth-century Catholicism, and later in the export of notable Franciscan-minded theologians to various parts of the world – the Republic of Congo counts today more brothers than does Belgium. Today, only small and aging Franciscan communities survive in a few towns historically linked to Lower Germany, notably in Hasselt, Louvain, Wilrijk, and two communities in Brussels – one Observant and one Conventual. Belgian federal or regional authorities do also not seem to have much interest in preserving the heritage. What remained from the convent of Tirlemont (Tienen) – one of the oldest of the country – was torn down by real estate promoters in the early 2000s after having served as army barracks for almost two centuries; the unprotected Recollect church of Binche was devastated by fire in 2022. Over more than a decade, an urbanistic drama has now been unfolding around one of the very rare well-preserved early modern Franciscan convents of the country, that of Nivelles, also prey to real estate promoters. With the recent deconsecration of the Franciscan church of Sint-Truiden and its acquisition by the city (2019), a last page of Franciscan history in the Low Countries seems about to be turned. With the transfer of its archives to KADOC and of the printed academic works to the Maurits-Sabbe Library of the Faculty of Theology of Louvain, the Franciscans had to acknowledge that the social secularization of post-WWII was even more efficient than the brutal administrative secularization of the French occupants in 1796. We must be grateful to the authorities of KU Leuven for having rescued this heritage.



6



7






MATRITI EX TYPOGRAPHIA REGIA AN MDCXLIIX

INTEGER
PHILOSOPHIAE
 CURSVS
 AD MENTEM
SCOTI
 PRIMVM EDITVS IN COLLEGIO
 Romano Fratrum Minorum Hibernorum.

*NUNC VERO. AB AVTHORE, IN CONVENTU
 Magno Parisiensi recognitus, mendis quibus scatebat, expurgatus, MORALI
 insuper Philosophia, variisque Additionibus locupletatus.*


Authore R. P. FR. IOANNE PONCIO, Hyberno, Corcagiensi Ordinis
 Minorum, Sacrae Theologiae Lectore Iubilato.



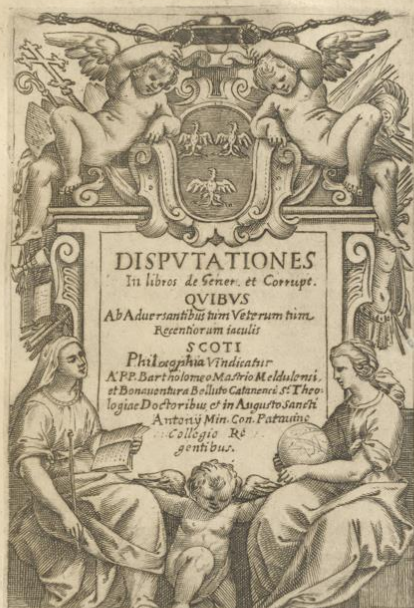
Sumptibus **ANTONII BERTI**
 M. D. C.
 Cum Privilegio Regis, &

37

INTEGER
CVRSVS
PHILOSOPHICVS
 BREVI, CLARA ET AD DOCENDVM
DISCENDVMQVE FACILI
 METHODO DIGESTVS
 Petrus Anno 1660 AUCTORE Cabri
F. GUILIELMO VAN SICHEN,
 ORDINIS FRATRVM MINORVM
 Regularis Observantiae in Academia Lovanienſi
 Sacrae Theologiae Lectore.
 TOMVS PRIMVS.
 Complectens Logicam & Metaphysicam.



31




DISPVATIONES
 In libros de Gener. et Corrupt.
 QVIBVS
 Ab Aduersariis huius Veterum huius.
 Regentium iaculis
SCOTI
 Philosophia vindicatur
 A P. P. Bartolomeo Mastro Mellulensi,
 et Bononiarum B. illis Galimoni, et Theo-
 logiae Doctoribus et in Augusto Sancti
 Antonij Min. Con. Patruini
 Collegij Re-
 gentibus.

VENETIS Typis Marci Ginami Superioris permissu et Privilegio
 M. D. C. XXXV.

36

INTEGER
VNIVERSAE
PHILOSOPHIAE
 DISPVATIONES
 IN REALEM RATIONALEM, DIVINAM
 NATVRALEM, ATQVE MORALEM
 DIVISAE.

In quibus Joannis Danti Scoti Doctoris
 Sabilis doctrinae explicatione non ab
 Aduersariorum iaculis defenditur.
 Philosophiae
 realis rationalis et modo cognoscendi
 rerum
 Tractatus primus
 in duas partes segregatus.
PARS PRIOR.
 In qua totius universitatis realis se intromittit
 in antiquae rationis doctrinam.
 Auctore ADAM. R. P. F. MICHAELIS FRANCE
 à Neapoli Ord. Minor. Iren. Observant.
 Josephi P. Francisci P. P. L. L.
 Provincialis ac Sacrae Theologiae
 Lectore Generali.



38

Venerabilis Magistri fratris Step-
hani Brulefer Parisiensis ordinis Ad-
norum formalitatus Tertius Ana-
cuz ipsius commento perlucido.



Lum privilegio.

EXPOSITIO

Exactissima, atque absolutissima
IDENTITATVM, ET DISTINCTIONVM
(quas Formalitates vocant)

M. ANTONII SIRECTI DOCT. PARIS.
secundum doctrinam Doct. Subtilis Scoti,
Subtilium omnium Principis;

In qua difficultates quamplurimae, & controuersiae, quae inter Scoti-
stas versantur, facillime resolutissimaeque explicantur.

AUCTORE

R. P. F. FRANCISCO ARRETINO
Ord. Min. de Obser. Generali. Doctor. ac Sacerdos. Magni Vniuersitatis Ducis
Theologiae, & sacris confessionibus, & Ecclesiasticis.

NUNC PRIMUM IN LUCEM EDITA.

Cum Indice insignium rerum & sententiarum locupletissimo.

(VNI TRIVILEGIIS.)



VENETIIS,

Apud Io. Antonium & Iacobum de Francis.
M DC VI.

rectus sic confunditur confuse & di-
stribuitur et ita debet denotari. Ex
quo sequitur falsitas istius opposi-
tionis. Ego sum sapiensior te. & deo-
nam terra exponens est falsa & no-
tu & deus estis ita sapiens sic ego
patet igitur quomodo in positi-
uo comparatiue sumpto ponit co-
paratiuus negatus in tertia exponen-
te. Et in comparatiuo ponitur positi-
uus comparatiue sumptus negatus.

Capitulum undecimum.

UPERLATIVVS

gradus a superando dis-
ctus quia & positiuus &
comparatiuum excedit potest su-
mi dupliciter. Vno modo absolu-
te ut dicendo baptista est sanctissimus.
Decem sunt generalissima.
Sba est genus generalissimum, alio
modo respectiue. Primo modo decla-
ratur dupliciter. Vno modo positi-
ue quia omni alio sanctior. Secun-
do modo negatiue nullus eo sancti-
or. Tertio modo respectiue quia
terminus respectiue in proposito
ne ponitur ut leo est fortissimus ani-
malium. Cicero est eloquentissi-
mus romanorum. Et tunc sic expo-
nitur. In primis ponitur tertium in
quo comparatur ambo. In tertia
vero ponitur gradus comparatiuus
negatus. ut dicendo leo est fortis
& animalia sui forma & nullum ani-
malium est fortis leone. igitur leo

est fortissimus animalium. Ex quo
sequitur falsitas istius christus est
sanctissimus hominum. De pro-
positionibus autem a doctoribus
positis quomodo intelligende fut-
tam dictum est.

Capitulum. xii.

EQVIVTR differt
aliquid non idem dista-
tione. Et quia non paruum
faciunt difficultatem in multis p-
positionibus realitatum. Ideo de
istis per ordinem dicemus. ut vide-
atur materia ample. Primum in
istis genere est notandum quia non
idem quibus cadit distinctio.
Secundo quia est communis quia
non idem est inter entia & entia &
inter entia & non entia. non sic di-
uersum & differentia sine distin-
ctio. Tertio quia non idem vide-
tur includi in omnibus istis et alia
non includitur in illo. Quantum
ad istud dico quod propositio in qua
ponitur sic absolute non est expo-
nibilis sed in genere exponibilis
in isto capitulo est immediate tenens
naturam negatiuam quia aut ex-
poneret se ipsum & hoc non aut ex-
ponitur per alium alia aliud & hoc
non quia semper aliqua exponitur
esset falsa ut dicendo materia non
est idem privationi aut natura est non idem
privatio. Sed contra potest sic ex-

poni natura est. & privatio est. & na-
tura non est privatio igitur sed appa-
ret quod secunda exponens est falsa quia
esse non competi privationi. etc.
Secundum dicitur si distingui aut
distinguitur & dico quod distinguitur
ponit circa suum casuale diuini &
distingui unde dicitur sic pater di-
stinguitur a filio sic exponitur. pa-
ter est & filius est & filius non est
pater igitur distinguitur a filio ex
quo sequitur falsitas illarum propo-
sitionum pater distinguitur ab essen-
tia patris distinguitur ab essen-
tia quam tertia exponens est falsa. ut
dicens pater est & essentia est & pa-
ter non est essentia sine essentia non
est pater. Ex quo sequitur quod hec con-
sequencia si ualer paternitas distin-
guitur formaliter ab essentia igitur
paternitas distinguitur ab essentia
quam antecedens est uerum & con-
sequens falsum & aliquid connotat
in consequente quod non connotatur
in antecedente arguitur ab inferiori ad
superius quod alius sit uerum pa-
ter non sic exponitur formalitas pater-
nitatis & formalitas essentie est ea for-
malitas unius non est formalitas alte-
rius igitur per introductionem igitur ista
sententia est intelligendum quod di-
stinctio est multiplex una dicitur ra-
tionis & est illa ad quam ad fabrican-
dum necesse conuenit intellectus
aut uoluntas quatuor originali sui-
rebus. specialiter illa que sit ab in-
tellectu. Distinctio alia dicitur esse

ex natura rei & est illa qua intel-
lectus non facit sed a natura factam
declarat sicut est distinctio inter atri-
buta diuina & inter fundamentorum
& relationes aptitudinales. Distin-
ctio realis est illa que est inter du-
as res realiter & actualiter existen-
tes realitatis propriis realitatibus et
existentibus suis propriis existentibus
uel subsistentibus. Distinctio essen-
tialis est inter duas essentias com-
pletas realitatis suis propriis reali-
tibus. Distinctio formalis est di-
stinctio duarum formalitatum in
primo modo non se includitur aut
non adequatur. Distinctio modalis
est distinctio inter modos alicuius
quiditatis aut inter quiditatem
& modum proprium. Distinctio
subiectiua est duorum non poten-
tium communicare aliquid realitate su-
biectiua. Distinctio obiectiua est
duorum non potentium communicare in
aliquo uno conceptu quod itaque neq-
in quod neq- in quale. Ex his infero
quod in omnibus istis exponens sunt pro-
positiones secundum aduerbia illi pro-
positioni adiecta ut reali formalis gen-
tiali modalis. Tertio est differre siue
differentia illa proprie dicunt differ-
re quod in aliquo sui intrinseco conue-
niunt & aliquo sui intrinseco differunt
ex quo sequitur quod iste non est bonus mo-
dus exponendi. a. differre. a. b. a. e. b.
est & a. non est. b. igitur differre. na-
casi consequens est falsum ut pa-
tet de duabus ultimis differentibus
h ii

SOME BELGIAN SCOTISTS AND SCOTISM IN LOUVAIN

Claus A. Andersen (UCLouvain)

“Scotism Made in Louvain” – the title of our exhibition should not, of course, lead anyone to believe that Scotism, the scholastic tradition that builds on the thought of John Duns Scotus, in fact originated in Louvain. Rather, within this broad and long tradition, Louvain happened to become the seat of one distinct local tradition of Scotism. The history of Scotism in the territories that now form Belgium, however, stretches far beyond that local tradition. In the following, I shall, through the prism of our exhibits and the authors behind them, highlight some aspects of the complex history of Scotism in Belgium.

STEPHANUS DE FLANDRIA, THE FIRST BELGIAN SCOTIST

Stephanus from Flandria (fl. 1470s–1490s), a native of Ypres, is the first known Scotist from Belgium. Unlike the other authors in our exhibition, he was not a Franciscan, but rather belonged to the Order of Servites (also known as Servants of Mary). Having studied in Louvain, he continued his studies in Cologne, Bologna, Ferrara, and Florence, before receiving his Laureate in Theology in Parma in 1476. His promoter was another Belgian Servite, a certain Michael from Flandria. From 1482, he was active at the Theological Faculty of Florence, including serving as Dean from February 1491. In March 1492, he became a member of the Theological Faculty in Bologna. Throughout the 1490s, until 1500, his presence is recorded at several Laureate ceremonies. In Bologna, he reportedly gave public classes in metaphysics.¹ Being the author of a small handbook of logic, he likely, at some point, also taught this discipline. This handbook of logic, consisting of 54 folios in quarto, was written “in the spirit” of John Duns Scotus: *Logica secundum mentem doctoris subtilis Scoti*; it was printed in Bologna by Benedetto Hector on 14 October 1495. His second book, an opusculum of just 10 folios in quarto, also references Duns Scotus in its title: *Quaestio de subiecto et propria passione ad mentem Scoti*; it was printed in Bologna by Gentilis de Roveis on 2 May 1497. Stephanus is not known to have authored any other works besides these two.

In the Renaissance, Aristotelianism gave structure to all philosophical training in the universities. The

curriculum and the individual disciplines therein were divided along the lines of Aristotle’s works and their divisions and subdivisions. The content, however, could be taught in various ways, for instance “in the spirit” of either Duns Scotus or Thomas Aquinas. Stephanus’s handbook of logic covers all the traditional branches of Aristotelian logic (treating various kinds of concepts, suppositions, syllogisms, scientific and topical argumentation, and fallacies). The most Scotistic trait is Stephanus’s discussion of different ways of *distinguishing* among parts or aspects of reality. Duns Scotus’s doctrine of a special “formal distinction” (applying, e.g., between ‘rationality’ and ‘animality’ in man, the ‘rational animal’ and between the attributes of the divine essence, i.e., cases where a strong real identity does not rule out some kind of “lesser” distinction in the thing) had, already in the early fourteenth century, inspired some of his followers to map all the ways we can apply distinctions in philosophy and theology. One model, proposed by the early Scotist Petrus Thomae († 1340), became particularly influential; it is his doctrine of seven different ways of distinguishing that we find incorporated into Stephanus’s handbook of logic, combined with one “modal distinction” borrowed from Francis of Meyronnes (1285–1328), another of the early Scotists.² Scotist distinction theory is also at the heart of Stephanus’s *Quaestio de subiecto et propria passione ad mentem Scoti*. The text is a metaphysico-logical treatise about the relationship between a subject (e.g., ‘human being’) and its predicates (e.g., the predicate of being ‘rational’); more specifically, the question is whether there is a “real distinction” between them, as Thomas Aquinas and the Thomists held, or rather a “formal distinction,” as Duns Scotus and the Scotists held. After long discussion, Stephanus ends up with the balanced view that the Scotists have well answered the objections to their doctrine raised by the Thomists, and that the Thomists have likewise answered the objections from the Scotists. The disputed matter is a “neutral problem” about which there is “no determined and genuine truth.” Each school has its own “opinion” or “fancy.”³ Stephanus holds the balance between the most prominent scholastic traditions of his time, but adds that

¹ His biographical dates have been collected in Celestino Piana, *Ricerche su le Università di Bologna e di Parma nel secolo XV*, Quaracchi, Florentiae: Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae (Spicilegium Bonaventurianum 1), 1963 (in particular 66: his two published works; 106, 108, 125: mentioned among other Servites from Belgium in Bologna in 1467, 1469, and 1474; 194–203: his presence during Laureate ceremonies in the Episcopal Palace in Bologna; 292: variants of his name – de Flandria, de Allamania, de Francia; 449–451: short portrait and the Laureate document from Parma 1476). It is unknown at what

point in his life Stephanus joined the Servites, whether in his native country or while already in Italy.

² Stephanus de Flandria, *Logica secundum mentem doctoris subtilis Scoti*, Bologna, Benedetto Hector, 1495, 29r–v. For the tradition of the doctrine of seven distinctions, see Claus A. Andersen, “*Scientia formalitatum*. The Emergence of a New Discipline in the Renaissance,” *Noctua* 11/2 (2024), 200–257.

³ Stephanus de Flandria, *Quaestio de subiecto et propria passione ad mentem Scoti*, Bologna, Gentilis de Roveis, 1497, 9v: “... nulla est determinata et sincera veritas sed tantum opinio

Scotus's view seems to be better in conformity with Catholic faith, because it better accounts for divine omnipotence (if God can separate what is really identical, and only formally distinct, then he is more potent than if the items under consideration were already really distinct).⁴ The issue under dispute turns out to have a theological bearing. Stephanus's lectures must have had an interdisciplinary character, with elements from logic, metaphysics, and theology.

Stephanus's *Logica* was prefaced by his own former student Oliviero Jonto, a teacher of logic at the University of Bologna in the 1490s, calling Stephanus "a most subtle theologian, philosopher, and logician."⁵ Jonto says that he had asked a student of his, Andreas Arena (ca. 1478–1517) to prepare the book for publication. This Andreas, better known under his Hellenized name Andrea Ammonio, later became a famed humanist in his own right and a personal friend of Erasmus of Rotterdam.⁶ This first Belgian Scotist did not influence the later Scotists among the Franciscans in Louvain, who most likely never heard of him. Not one copy of his works is known to exist in Belgium.

The doctrine of multiple distinctions in which Stephanus was so interested was discussed widely in his lifetime and in the later Scotist tradition. One of the most influential authors on the subject was the Franciscan Observant Étienne Brulefer (1450/55–1496/99), active in Paris, Mainz, and Metz. His short treatise on distinctions, first printed in Paris between 1480 and 1485, was reprinted many times, often along with Brulefer's own long commentary on the treatise. We show an extraordinarily well-preserved copy of the 1504 Venice edition of his *Formalitatium textus una cum ipsius commento perlucido*, formerly property of the Franciscan Convent in Sint-Truiden. Three further works in the exhibition were of central importance for this specific "Formalist" tradition within Scotism (named after Scotus's formal distinction). Giovanni Vallone's (fl. 1530s) treatise on distinctions was printed no less than seven times during the sixteenth century. Jean Du Douet's (fl. 1570s–1580s) handbook on the same topic testifies to the presence of this tradition at the Grand Couvent of the Franciscans in Paris in the late sixteenth century. Finally, Francesco Pitigiani d'Arezzo's (ca. 1553–1616) treatise on distinctions from 1606 is the most comprehensive "Formalist" work ever to have been printed.

imo si sunt auctoritates philosopharum ad partes ab istis glosantur et trahuntur ab illis ad suam fantasiam."

⁴ Stephanus de Flandria, *Quaestio*, 9v–10r. For the mentioned argument, see John Duns Scotus, *Reportatio I–A*, dist. 42, qq. 1–2, n. 30, edited and translated by Allan B. Wolter and Oleg V. Bychkov, volume 2 (New York: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2008), 516.

⁵ Oliviero Jonto, [Epistle], in Stephanus de Flandria, *Logica*, *1r: "... reverendi preceptoris mei magistri Stephani de Flandria theologi subtilissimi necnon philosophi et logici..."

⁶ See Gilbert Tournoy, "The Unrecorded Poetical Production of Andreas Ammonius," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 37 (1988), 255–264, documenting the prefatory epistles by both Jonto and Ammonio.

⁷ From the same family descended at least two other learned Franciscans, the Recollects Peter and Johannes Schmising,

Theodor Schmising (1580–1626), usually referred to as Smising, was a descendant from a noble family of Westphalia and by birth a German.⁷ He was an Observant Franciscan from the Province of Lower Germany. He is recorded to have served his Order as Definitor, Custos, and Provincial Minister, and to have lived in the Flemish Franciscan Convent in Louvain, where he started teaching Theology in 1610 and continued to do so "for many years." He died prematurely at the age of 46. One of his early biographers, Antonius Sanderus (1586–1664), remarks he was writing a treatise about the angels when he joined their choir.⁸

Smising published two large volumes on Scotist theology. The first was his *Disputationes theologicae de Deo Uno* (Antwerp: Geeraerd van Wolsschaten, 1624, 896 pages in folio). The second, conceived as a continuation of the first one, was a volume of theological disputations *De Deo Trino* (Antwerp: Willem Lesteens, 1626, 316 pages in folio). Sanderus's reference to Smising's work on a treatise on angels suggests he was, at the time of his death, preparing a third part of a complete presentation of all aspects of scholastic theology, or at least those aspects covered in the first part of Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*. Shortly after Smising's death, the two published volumes were reprinted and presented as one giant volume, titled *De Deo Uno et Trino* (Antwerp: Willem Lesteens, 1627). The engraved frontispiece of the 1626 edition of the second volume, showing Biblical motifs and depictions of Bonaventure and Duns Scotus, was reused in the later edition. To Smising, of these two Franciscan authorities Scotus is clearly the more important. Smising's theological project is quite novel in that he sets out to explain Scotus's theology under the structure of Aquinas's *Summa*, which at the time had become the almost universally accepted model of scholastic theology.⁹ The decision to follow Aquinas's structure is thus not only and not primarily about inspiration directly from Aquinas, but may rather be seen as a Franciscan attempt to catch up with developments in contemporaneous scholasticism. In his preface, Smising explicitly addresses the "new structure of theology" resulting

whose names are found in the vast theological *theses* literature of the eighteenth century. Peter Schmising presided over *theses* defenses throughout the 1760s, whereas Johannes Schmising defended a set of theological theses in the Franciscan Convent in Antwerp in 1779.

⁸ Antonius Sanderus, *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae*, vol. 3, The Hague: Christian Van Lom, 1727, 151. See further Servais Dirks, *Histoire littéraire et bibliographique des Frères Mineurs de l'Observance de Saint François en Belgique et dans les Pays-Bas*, Antwerp: Van Os-De Wolf, 1885, 148–150.

⁹ See Jacob Schmutz, "From Theology to Philosophy. The Changing Status of the *Summa Theologiae*, 1500–2000," in Jeffrey Hause (ed.), *Aquinas & Summa Theologiae. A Critical Guide*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, 221–241.

from this peculiar combination of Scotus and Aquinas.¹⁰ Among Franciscans, only the Italian Conventual Angelo Volpe had previously undertaken a similar project, the first fruit of which appeared in 1622, when he published the first volume of his vast *Summa* of Scotist theology (which successively appeared in 12 folio volumes until 1647).¹¹ Scotist theology had until then mostly unfolded in the form of meta-commentaries on Scotus's Oxford commentary on Peter Lombard's *Four Books of Sentences*. Smising must have worked on his own first volume in parallel to Volpe, whom he does not seem to mention anywhere. He is aware, though, of other contemporaneous Scotists such as the Italian Conventual Franciscan Filippo Fabri (1564–1630) and the Polish Observant Piotr Bielinski (1575–1658), also known as Petrus Posnaniensis. Smising also draws on the older Scotist tradition (in particular, Francis of Meyronnes, Peter Tartaret, Antonio Trombetta, Franciscus Lichetus, and Giacomino Malafossa). He also frequently refers to Thomist authors from the Dominican Order and to his contemporaries among the Jesuits (e.g., Francisco Suárez, Luis de Molina, and the famous Louvain Jesuit Leonardus Lessius). He never refers to any local tradition of Scotism and must hence be regarded the founder of the Louvain school of Scotism in the seventeenth century.

What does Smising's theology concern? In his first volume, Smising starts out with a consideration of the nature of theology, stressing its "supernatural" character, in contradistinction from Aristotelian metaphysics that also goes by the name of "natural theology"; Smising emphasises the theology he presents in his work is "our theology," i.e., a human endeavour, not the theological knowledge of the Blessed or God's theological self-knowledge.¹² Despite their dependency on faith, which excludes heretics from doing Catholic theology,¹³ theological conclusions are not based on faith, but rather on "the natural light";¹⁴ theology is indeed a "deductive habitus," which ensures its status as a *scientia* rather than just being *fides* or *opinio*.¹⁵ After the introduction, three treatises follow. The first, short, treatise deals with God's existence and essence. According to Smising, God's existence can only be proved *a posteriori*, not *a priori*, i.e., any proof of God's existence must start out from God's effects, rather than the cause of these effects, about which

man in this present life (*pro statu isto*) has no direct knowledge; "our theology," of course, must respect the epistemological limitations of human beings in this present life.¹⁶ One proof for God's existence is that the admirable order of the universe shows there must be an *artifex* behind it;¹⁷ another is that whatever is produced, is produced by something else, and there cannot be an infinite regress in the series of causes.¹⁸ Smising adds a series of "moral" proofs, one of which is that atheism, the negation of the existence of God, would lead to societal chaos because it deprives people of their fear of God.¹⁹ Surprisingly, Duns Scotus's own approach to the existence of God (laid down in Book I, distinction 2, of his various commentaries on the *Sentences*, and in his *De primo principio*) does not play any significant role in Smising's discussion.²⁰ The second treatise is devoted to the "intrinsic modes of the divine nature" and the third to the "attributes of God." God's intrinsic modes are: 'being uncaused,' 'necessity,' 'infinity,' 'simplicity,' 'immutability,' 'eternity,' 'immensity,' 'invisibility,' 'incomprehensibility,' and 'ineffability.' God's attributes are: 'unity,' 'truth,' 'goodness,' 'intellect,' 'will,' and such features that come with the intellect and the will ('cognition,' 'volition,' 'omnipotence').²¹ The first series of divine predicates is frequently, e.g., by Suárez, discussed as God's "negative attributes."²² The Scotist element in Smising's treatment is that he understands these predicates as *modi intrinseci*, drawing on a key doctrine in Scotus's metaphysics that was developed particularly by Francis of Meyronnes (whose "modal distinction" was mentioned above).²³ The predicate of 'invisibility' occasions a lengthy discussion of all aspects of the Beatific Vision.²⁴ The first three predicates in the second series are "transcendentals," and are discussed both as applying to all of being and specifically to God.²⁵ Duns Scotus's doctrine of "disjunctive transcendentals" (e.g., 'necessary – contingent') is dismissed with a nod to Suárez's criticism that these do not describe being as such; rather, each member of such disjunctions describes one particular entity (in our example, God is necessary, whereas all of creation is contingent).²⁶ In his treatment of God's intellect and will, Smising, following the commentators on Aquinas's *Summa*, includes investigations of divine foreknowledge, predestination, and providence. Already in the preface, Smising had announced his discussion of these

¹⁰ See Theodor Smising, *Disputationes theologicae de Deo Uno*, Ad benevolam lectorem praefatio, Antwerp: Geeraerd van Wolsschaten, 1624, *4r. "... ab Angelico ordinem, Subtili vero Doctore sententiarum delectum accipere decrevi, proprio dissidens ingenio ad novam Theologiae structuram inveniendam."

¹¹ See Claus A. Andersen, "Ens reale, ens rationis, or Something In-Between? The Scotist Angelo Volpe († 1647) on the Status of esse cognitum," *Vivarium* 62 (2024), 58–89, especially 63–64.

¹² Smising, *Disp. theol. de Deo Uno*, De ratione theologiae proem., nn. 1–2 and 5, ed. 1624, i–ii.

¹³ *Ibid.*, De ratione... proem., nn. 10 and 12, iv.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, De ratione... proem., n. 16, vi.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, De ratione... proem., n. 97, xxxv–xxxvi.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Tract. 1, disp. 1, q. 5, nn. 63 and 66, 14.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Tract. 1, disp. 1, q. 6, n. 83, 18.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Tract. 1, disp. 1, q. 6, n. 93, 22.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Tract. 1, disp. 1, q. 6, n. 102, 25.

²⁰ This was quite normal in seventeenth-century Scotism; see Lukáš Novák, "The (Non-)Reception of Scotus's Proof of God's Existence by the Baroque Scotists," *Quaestio* 8 (2008), 323–344.

²¹ Smising, *Disp. theol. de Deo Uno*, Tract. 2, disp. 1, q. 1, n. 10, ed. 1624, 47.

²² Francisco Suárez, *De divina substantia* II, proem., *Opera omnia*, vol. 1, Paris: Louis Vivès, 1856, 45.

²³ Smising, *Disp. theol. de Deo Uno*, Tract. 2, disp. 1, q. 1, nn. 2–3, ed. 1624, 45–46; discussion of Scotus and Meyronnes's view of intrinsic modes.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Tract. 2, disp. 6, qq. 4–9, 189–293.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Tract. 3, disp. 1 ("De attributis Dei transcendentibus"), qq. 1–2, ed. 1624, 313–336.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Tract. 3, disp. 1, proem., n. 1, ed. 1624, 313. Regarding Suárez's criticism of the disjunctive transcendentals, echoing similar criticism from the Scotist tradition, see Claus A. Andersen, *Metaphysik im Barockscotismus*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins, 2016, 618–626.

topics closely connected with the controversy *De auxiliis* that in the past decades had raged between the Dominicans and the Jesuits.²⁷ Smising shows interest especially in the Jesuit approach to divine foreknowledge of future conditional facts (Luis de Molina's doctrine of *scientia media*), but cautiously sides with the "old scholastics," according to whom God's foreknowledge is not concerned with future conditional but rather only with future absolute facts (events that will or will not happen, not events that may happen under such and such circumstances).²⁸ The single treatise of Smising's second volume is devoted to the "most holy mystery of the divine Trinity." In five disputations, Smising discusses 1) the existence of the three Persons in the Deity, 2) the quiddity and properties of the Trinity, 3) its principles and origin, 4) its operations and effects, and 5) the mission of the divine persons; in the fifth disputation, Smising includes a meta-reflection on how the Mystery of the Trinity may be expressed in human language.²⁹

HERINCX, BOSCO, AND SCOTIST THEOLOGY IN LOUVAIN

Had Smising not died shortly after the publication of the second volume of his *Theological Disputations* a third one on the angels would have followed, and possibly further volumes were planned. Notably, two Louvain Franciscans carried on Smising's work, albeit only after three bleak decades: Willem Herincx (1621–1678) and Jan Vandenbosch (1613–1684), normally referred to under his Latin name Joannes Bosco. Both men were, like Smising, Observants from the Province of Lower Germany, until the Louvain Franciscans joined the movement of the Recollects (as explained by Jacob Schmutz in this catalogue). Willem Herincx, a native of Helmond (now in Dutch Brabant), studied in Louvain and joined the Franciscans there in 1637, was ordained priest in 1644, and subsequently taught Theology in the Franciscan convents of Antwerp, Mechelen, and Louvain. He held several high posts within his Order, until he was made Bishop of Ypres in 1677, just 10 months before his death (Ypres was the former see of Cornelius Jansen, Bishop 1636–1638).³⁰ His *Summa theologica scholastica et moralis* is indeed, as the title suggests, a full-blown theological *Summa*, consisting of four volumes in folio. The work had three editions (first edition 1660–63, second edition 1680, third edition 1702–4; all editions appeared in Antwerp, though with different printers). The first volume not only covers topics previously dealt with by Smising, God's nature and perfections as well as the Trinity, but proceeds further with a consideration of angels and human beings as parts of God's creation. The second volume

may be said to represent Herincx's theological anthropology (with discussions of the ultimate end of human life, free will, grace, etc.), and the third his moral theology (discussing virtues and sins). The fourth volume contains his Christology as well as his sacramental theology. In the preface to the first volume, Herincx says he will be following John Duns Scotus, as prescribed by the General Constitutions of his Order, but also emphasises he is indebted to both Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure. Along with Scotus, Bonaventure figures on the second edition's engraved frontispiece, similar to the engraved frontispiece of Smising's second edition.³¹ Herincx also published an edition of Bonaventure's opusculum *Speculum disciplinae ad novitios* (Antwerp: Peter Beller, 1673).

Herincx does not mention Scotus in the title of his *Summa*. This differs from Bosco, a native of Antwerp, who did not climb as high on the ecclesiastic ladder as Herincx but surpassed him in literary output, producing no less than eight folio volumes of Scotist theology. His *Theologia sacramentalis scholastica et moralis [...] ad mentem Doctoris Subtilis Joannis Duns Scoti D. Augustino conformem* consists of 6 volumes (printed 1665–1685 in Louvain and Antwerp by three different printers). The two last volumes of this giant work of sacramental theology had a separate reprint edition under the title *Disputationes de sacramento matrimonii ad mentem Doctoris subtilis Joannes Duns Scoti D. Augustino conformem* (two volumes, Antwerp: Hieronymus Verdussen, 1685). The second of Bosco's works was published posthumously in 1686; the title again invokes Scotus and emphasises the conformity with the teachings of Augustine: *Theologia spiritualis scholastica et moralis [...] ad mentem Joannis Duns Scoti D. Augustino conformem* (two volumes, Antwerp: Michiel Cnobbaert, 1686). Both Herincx and Bosco frequently refer to Smising when they treat topics he discussed. In particular, the latter of Bosco's works, which is a speculative treatise on God's intellect and will (vol. 1) and providence, predestination, and reprobation (vol. 2), is replete with references to Smising and in fact starts out, on the very first page, with a discussion of his view of God's "intrinsic modes."³²

Important to mention here further is the great number of theological *Theses*, or dissertations, produced in both the Flemish and the Irish Franciscan Convents in Louvain. Texts of this kind, usually printed as leaflets, were written by a professor and then defended before a jury by one or more of his graduate students.³³ On display are four specimens of this literature. From the Irish Convent we have

²⁷ Ibid., Ad benevolam lectorem praefatio, ed. 1624, *5r.

²⁸ Ibid., Tract. 3, disp. 2, q. 5, n. 139, ed. 1624, 383.

²⁹ Smising, *Disp. theol. de Deo Trino*, Tract. unicus, Methodus harum disputationum, Antwerp: Willem Lesteens, 1626, 1–2, explains the order of disputations in the volume.

³⁰ See Archangelus Houbaert, O.F.M., "Herincx, Willem," in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 4, Brussel: Paleis der Academiën, 1970, 408–411, with references to further literature.

³¹ Willem Herincx, *Summa theologica scholastica et moralis*, vol. 1, Praefatio, Antwerp: Peter Beller, 1660, 1–6. The engraved frontispiece is in the second edition of 1680, printed in Antwerp by Jacob Woons and Frans Vivien. In the copy held in

the Maurits Sabbe Library a patch of paper indicating Woons as printer has been pasted over the name of Vivien; the story behind this maneuver is unknown to me.

³² Joannes Bosco, *Theologia spiritualis scholastica et moralis*, vol. 1, disp. 1, prooem., nn. 1–4, Antwerp: Michiel Cnobbaert, 1686, 1–2.

³³ The Franciscans apparently did not adopt the practice of producing large *theses* sheets to be exhibited in public before doctoral disputations, a practice otherwise common in Louvain, as has recently been documented by Arne Van Driessen, 'Disputationes ad valvas' – *Thesisbladen aan de Leuvense universiteit in de zeventiende eeuw*, Masterproef aangeboden

one such dissertation from 1679 called *Theologia ad mentem doctoris subtilis Joannis Duns Scoti*, with Patrick Duffy (a relative of Patrick Duffy, Bishop of Clogher and also a Franciscan) as *praeses* and Jacob McGann as *defendant*, and another one from 1688 called *Theses theologicae de vera felicitate, ac libertate amoris beatifici, et de fide divina, ad mentem [...] Joannis Duns Scoti*, with Francis O'Donoghue as *praeses* and John Granell as *defendant*. On the Flemish side, we have two examples from the following century, the first of them from the Convent of the Recollects in Roermond and the second from their Convent in Antwerp, but both of them printed in Louvain. We here first see Jacob Versteegen defending, in 1752 under Frans Buysmans as *praeses*, a thesis called *Theses theologicae de fide, spe, charitate, et religione*, and then later, in 1768, himself acting as *praeses* for a thesis called *Theses theologicae ad mentem Doctoris Subtilis Scoti*, in fact just one of many dissertations presided over by Versteegen. This rather monotonous *theses* literature was an important part of the academic output of the religious Orders, including the Franciscans. Duns Scotus figures in some of the titles mentioned above; Bonaventure too was often considered in this literature. The importance of Bonaventure in Franciscan scholasticism in the seventeenth century is further evident from a work produced by the Recollect Matthias Hauzeur (1589–1676) from the Province of Flandria and active in the Franciscan Convent in Liège. His *Collatio totius theologiae* (2 volumes in folio, printed in 1652 by the press belonging to the Franciscans' Liège and Namur) is less speculative than those of his colleagues in Louvain and is something like a comparative study of the theology of the three major Medieval Franciscan authorities Alexander of Hales, Bonaventure, and Duns Scotus.

In the Irish Convent, Hugh MacCaghwell (1571–1626) taught theology for ca. 14 years before moving to Rome in 1623. He is best known for his many editions of Duns Scotus's works, all of which later entered the famous *Opera omnia* of Scotus's works published in 12 folio volumes by the Irish Observant Luke Wadding (1588–1657) in Lyons in 1639, which edition (reissued by Louis Vivès in Paris, 1891–95) was widely appreciated until it gradually became replaced by modern critical editions in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (about which see Dom Abbott's text in this catalogue). Most of MacCaghwell's editions were published after his Louvain years, but in 1620 his edition of all four books of Scotus's Oxford commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* was printed in two folio volumes by

Jan van Keerbergen in Antwerp. Of the three versions of Scotus's commentary on this work, this is the one that most profoundly influenced not only the Scotist tradition, but also authors from other schools. MacCaghwell included a "Life of Scotus", an "Apology for Scotus" (a defence of the Subtle Doctor against recent polemical accusations), and an explanation of Scotus's view of the Immaculate Conception that was appended to the third book. He furthermore added many explanatory corollaries to Scotus's text. One of the reviewers of the two volumes was none other than the Louvain Jesuit theologian Leonhardus Lessius (1554–1623).³⁴ Along with MacCaghwell's edition of this important work, our exhibition shows his edition of Duns Scotus's *Questions on Aristotle's On the Soul* that first came out in 1625 in Lyons and again in 1641 in Venice (on display). Here, MacCaghwell added his own treatise on the soul as a supplement to his edition of Scotus's text.³⁵ MacCaghwell was industrious as an editor, but it does not seem that he had much impact on the local brand of Scotism that developed in the "Flemish" Convent in Louvain.

VAN SICHEREN AND SCOTIST PHILOSOPHY IN LOUVAIN

In the scholastic curriculum, philosophy always comes before, and is seen as a path to, theology. Paradoxically, in the historical development of Louvain Scotism, philosophy comes last. Thus, no Scotist philosophical literature is presently known to have been produced in Louvain until the 1660s. This is remarkable, because the genre of *Cursus philosophicus* had, since the first decades of the century, dominated scholastic philosophical discourse, with the Irish Observant John Punch (1599 or 1603–1661), a former student in the Irish Convent in Louvain and later among the collaborators on Wadding's Scotus edition, and the two Italian Conventuals Bartolomeo Mastri (1602–1673) and Bonaventura Belluto (1603–1676), and others, competing to publish the first comprehensive philosophical textbook "ad mentem Scoti."³⁶ Along with some of their works, our exhibition shows a rare work by the Italian Observant Michele Franco (biographical dates unknown), printed in Naples in 1650; the book only contains his presentation of logic and is only the first part of a planned comprehensive presentation of all of philosophy, a plan that seems not to have materialized; no further volumes by Franco are known to have been published. Interestingly, like Stephanus de Flandria had done in his manual of logic, Franco too – though in much more detail – treats the Scotist doctrine of multiple

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³⁴ His "Censura" is included in Ioannes Duns Scotus, *In quatuor libros Sententiarum*, vol. 1, edited by Hugh MacCaghwell, Antwerp: Jan van Keerbergen, *7v. Regarding MacCaghwell's editorial work see Cathaldus Giblin, "Hugh MacCaghwell OFM and Scotism at St. Anthony's College, Louvain," in *De doctrina Joannis Duns Scoti. Acta Congressus Scotistici Internationalis Oxonii et Edimburgi 11–17 sept. 1966 celebrati. Vol. 4: Scotismus decursu saeculorum*, Rome: Commissio Scotistica, 1968, 375–397, especially 392–393. For an overview of the historical Scotus editions, before and after MacCaghwell and Wadding, see Uriël Smeets, *Lineamenta bibliographiae Scotisticae*, Rome: Commissio Scotistica, 1942, 1–12.

³⁵ On this work, see Michael Dunne, "Aodh Mac Aingil (Hugo Cavellus, 1571–1626) on Doubt, Evidence and Certitude," *Maynooth Philosophical Papers* 5 (2008): 1–8, and (despite ignoring the 1625 edition that already contains MacCaghwell's own treatise) Anna Tropia, "McCaghwell's Reading of Scotus's *De anima* (1639) – A Case of Plagiarism?," *The Modern Schoolman* 89 (2012), 95–116.

³⁶ See Marco Forlivesi, "'Ut ex etymologia nominis patet?' The Nature and the Object of Metaphysics according to John Punch," in Victor M. Salas (ed.), *"Hircocervi" and Other Metaphysical Wonders. Essays in Honor of John P. Doyle*, Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2013, 121–155, and Andersen, *Metaphysik im Barockscotismus*, 33–43.

distinctions, thus testifying to the long-term influence of this metaphysico-logical Scotist doctrine.³⁷

Willem Van Sichen (1632–1691) was the first Louvain-based author of a textbook of Scotist philosophy. A native of Mopertingen near Limburg, he joined the Franciscans probably while studying in Louvain. He was ordained priest in 1657, defended a theological dissertation in Mechelen in 1658, and subsequently taught philosophy in Antwerp and then theology in Mechelen and Louvain (possibly an indication there actually was no philosophy teaching among the Franciscans in Louvain). He held close ties to Herincx, with whom he was in Rome in 1664 (likely, to participate in their Order's General Chapter); he there, in the Aracoeli Convent (then the seat of the Observants), defended 48 theses "ex universa theologia," covering topics from all branches of scholastic theology, with the "assistance" of Herincx – who probably acted as *praeses* and may have written the theses.³⁸ Back in Belgium he held various high positions in his Order and was repeatedly a candidate to become a Bishop.³⁹ His two-volume *Integer cursus philosophicus, brevi, clara et ad docendum descendendumque facili methodo digestus* was published in 1666 (printed by Peter Beller in Antwerp). A second, revised version appeared in 1678 (printed by Jacob Woons, also in Antwerp). Whereas the first edition carries a recommendatory epistle signed by Herincx, confirming that the work has fulfilled "our wish,"⁴⁰ the second edition is dedicated to him, now Bishop of Ypres.⁴¹ Herincx is also mentioned in the short introductory section on the nature of philosophy. We there learn that philosophy consists of logic, metaphysics, physics, and ethics, but since Herincx already treated ethics in his theology, Van Sichen will only treat the three first disciplines.⁴² This seems to suggest the work was written precisely in order to fill a lacuna in local Franciscan education. It is quite possible that this lacuna had become too obvious vis-à-vis the spread of Cartesianism in the surrounding academia. In his preface, Van Sichen says he will be avoiding both the old errors of the Aristotelians and the new ones of Descartes; like both Herincx and Smising, who are frequently referenced throughout the work, he vows to follow Scotus (or try to), but partially also Aquinas.⁴³ Van Sichen often refers to the most influential Scotist

philosopher-theologians of his time, the above-mentioned John Punch and Bartolomeo Mastri (with Bonaventura Belluto), and is also up to date on new developments in contemporary scholasticism outside of the Scotist tradition, in particular referencing many recent Jesuit authors (e.g., Thomas Compton-Carleton and Giovanni Battista Riccioli) as well as the former Rector of the University of Louvain, Libert Froidmont (1587–1653), who interestingly sided with Janseinus against the Jesuits.

Van Sichen's first volume contains his logic and metaphysics. Logic is divided into five treatises: 1) On signs, 2) On universals, 3) On categories, 4) On propositions, 5) On methods of knowledge (*De modi sciendi*). Metaphysics consists of a single treatise (*Tractatus metaphysicus*), placed right after logic due to the "great affinity" between these two disciplines.⁴⁴ The second volume contains Van Sichen's natural philosophy and is structured in seven treatises: 1) On natural bodies, 2) On causes, 3) On the properties of natural bodies, 4) On heaven and the elementary world, 5) On the generation and corruption of natural bodies, 6) On the soul, 7) On meteors (including weather phenomena). Interestingly, psychology is here incorporated into natural philosophy, albeit as its "most noble part" due to the animated body being the most excellent of all natural bodies. In other parts of philosophy, the human intellect is occupied with other things, but here "it properly returns to itself" – Van Sichen indeed quotes the Delphic motto "Know yourself" (*nosce te ipsum*) at the beginning of his treatise on the soul.⁴⁵

Van Sichen's metaphysics offers itself as a test case of his Scotism. The object of metaphysics is real being as such, in abstraction from all particular kinds of being. With this view of the object of metaphysics, Van Sichen sees himself in accordance with Aristotle, Aquinas, Scotus, and others. He explains that metaphysics proves the transcendental properties of being; other objects only accidentally pertain to metaphysics through their subordination to real being, which leaves a door open for a metaphysical consideration of both *ens rationis* and *ens per accidens* (a consideration of *ens morale* is also included); still other objects are considered only secondarily and briefly in metaphysics, namely God and the angels. Van Sichen adds

³⁷ Michele Franco, *Universae philosophiae disputationes [...] pars prior, Logica, Disp. 2, q. 1, art. 2, "De distinctionum generibus secundum Scotistarum doctrinam,"* Naples: Camilli Cavali, 1650, 242–247.

³⁸ This small work is in itself not extraordinary, but it is interesting as documentation of Herincx and Van Sichen's joint sojourn at the Roman Aracoeli Convent; the title page reads: *Theses ex universa theologia quas assistente sibi R.A. Patre Fr. Guilielmo Herincx Ordinis Fratrum Min. Reg. Obs. S. Theologiae Lectore Iubilato, necnon Provinciae Germaniae Inferioris Ministro Provinciali propugnabit F. Guilielmus Van Sichen eiusdem Ordinis & Provinciae in Conventu Lovaniensi Sacrae Theologiae Lector, sub Comitibus Generalibus Romae in Conventu Aracoelitano celebrandis, die 5. Iunii anno M.DC.LXIV. Ad Excellentiss. & Illustriss. Dominum de Cardenas, &c. Ducem Macquedae, Marchionem Cañetis &c. Romae, Ex Typographia Ignatii de Lazaris. M.DC.LXIV. Superiorum permissu.* The copy quoted is held in the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome.

³⁹ See P. Potargent, "Willem Van Sichen, minderbroeder 1632–1691. Een bijdrage tot zijn biografie," in *Album Dr. M. Bussels*, Hasselt: Federatie der geschied- en oudheidkundige kringen van Limburg, 1967, 445–460. Potargent does not mention the *Theses* defended in Rome.

⁴⁰ Willem Herincx, "Facultas," in Willem Van Sichen, *Integer cursus philosophicus*, vol. 1, Antwerp: Peter Beller, 1666, *6v: "Desiderio nostro factum est satis..."

⁴¹ Willem Van Sichen, *Integer cursus phil.*, vol. 1, [Dedicatory epistle], Antwerp: Jacob Woons, 1678 (editio secunda revisa), *2r–*4r.

⁴² Willem Van Sichen, *Integer cursus phil.*, vol. 1, Quaestio prooem., n. 5, ed. 1666, 3.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Praefatio ad lectorem, *8r–v.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Tract. metaphysicus, prooem., 201.

⁴⁵ Van Sichen, *Integer cursus phil.*, vol. 2, Tract. de anima, prooem., ed. 1666, 211.

that although scholastics have traditionally treated God and the angels in metaphysics, “nowadays this does not seem to be necessary,” because theology now treats these matters by means of natural reasoning (“under the natural light”).⁴⁶ It is likely that he primarily, if not exclusively, has the local brand of Scotist theology in mind, for in his brief treatment of God, Van Sichen recapitulates the doctrine of God’s negative attributes and calls them “intrinsic modes,” exactly as Smising had done.⁴⁷ Smising is not mentioned by name in that context, but he is in others. The objective concept of being is univocal in its application to all kinds of being, including God and creatures; it is so, however, in an imperfect way, since God does not actually have anything essential in common with creatures – a specific perspective on Scotus’s famous doctrine of univocation for which Van Sichen credits Smising and Herincx.⁴⁸ After investigations of the general concept of being and how it relates to the various specific kinds of being mentioned above, Van Sichen proceeds with a consideration of the transcendental properties of being, of which there are just three: Unity, Truth, and Goodness – like Smising, he thinks that Scotus’s disjunctive, or “complex,” transcendentals are in fact not genuine properties of being as such.⁴⁹ Adjacent to his treatment of the unity of being, he extensively discusses the ways things, or aspects of things, can be identical or different. This was the topic that had so preoccupied Stephanus de Flandria and many other authors in the long Scotist tradition. Van Sichen shows no interest in the old Scotist doctrine of seven, or eight, kinds of distinctions. He discusses only the rational, the formal, and the virtual distinctions, and his discussion of the formal distinction – a hallmark of Scotism – is quite atypical for a Scotist. Whereas Van Sichen readily acknowledges a formal distinction may be applied to distinguish between the divine essence and the three divine persons,⁵⁰ when it comes to the created world he sees no need for formal distinctions, since everything there can be better explained using rational distinctions; only respect for the authority of tradition might persuade one to assume a formal distinction “*in creatis*.” However, the Scotists are “deceived” (*decepti*) by their belief that real aspects of things are as distinct from one another in reality as they are in the mind – but they are not: ‘animality’ and ‘rationality’ are not formally distinct aspects in man, the ‘rational animal,’ but only distinct species in the mind.⁵¹ Van Sichen adds an explanation of how this criticism may in fact not be at odds with Scotus’s thought on the matter. The

discussion defies summary, but it is interesting to note that a printed marginal note here signals there is talk of “a new way of explaining Scotus.”⁵² Further examples could be adduced, but I think the above sufficiently shows that in distinction theory Van Sichen is on an entirely different page than the old Scotists.

MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

As pointed out by Jacob Schmutz in this catalogue, only very scarce manuscript material from the Flemish Franciscans has survived. The Archive of the Flemish Franciscans administered by KADOC does hold some philosophical manuscripts from the eighteenth century, two of which are relevant in our context.⁵³ The first is a Scotist *Cursus philosophicus* from 1751, taught at the Franciscan Convent of Ath, then belonging to the Recollect Province of Flanders. Its author is unknown, but it belonged to a Fr. Bruno Bierlair from the Franciscan Convent in Florennes, near Liège (a small convent founded in 1605) and also carries a stamp from the Franciscan Convent in Namur. It contains a long section on physics (*Physica seu secunda pars philosophiae ad mentem doctoris subtilis Joannis Duns Scoti*),⁵⁴ a shorter one on metaphysics (*Tractatus metaphysicus ad mentem doctoris subtilis Joannis Duns Scoti*),⁵⁵ and a yet shorter one on ethics (*Tractatus brevis in ethicam seu in philosophiam moralem*).⁵⁶ The arrangement of the disciplines is thus different than in Van Sichen’s *Cursus*, which placed metaphysics after logic and omitted a section on ethics. The part on physics has a substantial discussion of the *concursum* of the first cause with all secondary causes,⁵⁷ a heavily theology laden topic that Van Sichen only briefly touched on in his physics. The part on metaphysics has four disputations: 1) On being as such, 2) On the properties of being, 3) On the essence and existence of finite being, 4) On God and the angels.⁵⁸

The second manuscript, which carries a stamp from the Franciscan Convent in Mechelen, contains the logical part of what seems to have been an entire *Cursus philosophicus* (it is catalogued under this title). It is dated 4 April 1793, and was penned by a Fr. Amatus M.⁵⁹ In the “Prooemium Philosophiae” at the beginning of the manuscript, we learn that the three traditional schools of philosophy – Thomism, Scotism, and Nominalism – have in recent times experienced competition from Cartesianism.⁶⁰ The author is unhappy with the detachment from tradition

⁴⁶ Van Sichen, *Integer cursus phil.*, vol. 1, Tract. metaphysicus, disp. 1, q. 2, nn. 4–6, 202–203.

⁴⁷ Ibid., Tract. met., disp. 4, q. 2, dub. 2, n. 32, 246.

⁴⁸ Ibid., Tract. met., disp. 2, q. 1, nn. 12–13, 204.

⁴⁹ Ibid., Tract. met., disp. 3, q. 1, n. 4, 223.

⁵⁰ Ibid., Tract. met., disp. 3, q. 3, § 2, n. 29, 230–231.

⁵¹ Ibid., Tract. met., disp. 3, q. 3, § 2, nn. 33–34, 232.

⁵² Ibid., Tract. met., disp. 3, q. 3, § 2, n. 39, 233: “Novus Scotum explicandi modus.”

⁵³ The description of these two manuscripts is the result of a cooperative effort by Jacob Schmutz and myself.

⁵⁴ KADOC–KU Leuven, Archief Minderbroeders (Vlaamse provincie), Ms. 10762, 1–444 (paginated).

⁵⁵ Ibid., 447–548, Explicit: “Amen. Fine coronato nobilitate opus finis imponitur 15 junii 1751”.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 549–563. The explicit of this section is dated 13 June 1751 (“Finis philosophiae impositus est vigilia S. Antonii 1751”). This section is succeeded by an index of the manuscript, 567–573.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 208ff.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 447, has an overview of the content of the part on metaphysics. While apparently not referencing any Louvain Scotists directly, the manuscript does have separate treatments of God’s modes (536ff.) and attributes (539ff.), which might be a reminiscence of the local branch of Scotist theology.

⁵⁹ KADOC–KU Leuven, Archief Minderbroeders (Vlaamse provincie), Ms. 10695, Explicit on last unpaginated fol.: “1793. 4a Aprilis. Fr. Amatus M.”

⁶⁰ Ibid., “Prooemium Philosophiae,” 1r–v.

caused by Cartesianism: “Descartes started doing philosophy as if there did not exist philosophy before him.”⁶¹ Most scholastics of the period would agree, including undoubtedly the teachers in Franciscan institutions. The author, or the person who taught the course behind the manuscript, was probably not a Franciscan himself. The manuscript contains a criticism of the formal distinction even more radical than what Van Sichen allowed himself. The author not only rejects the formal distinction in creation but also as applied to God. We learn there is an ongoing “scholastic duel” between the Angelic and the Seraphic schools, i.e., between the Thomists and the Scotists. The latter maintain there is an actual formal or *ex natura rei* distinction, also called *entitativa realis*, among the divine attributes; a distinction of this sort violates divine simplicity and therefore should not be allowed!⁶² This open polemic against Scotism shortly before the closure of the Franciscan Convents in Louvain is in itself one interesting aspect of the history of Scotism in Belgium.

BELGIAN SCOTISM IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In the early twentieth century, when the old scholastic traditions had been replaced with Neo-Scholasticism, Scotism continued to play an important role in Franciscan education. In our material, this is evidenced from two manuscripts preserved as photomechanical reproductions in the Maurits Sabbe Library. The author of both manuscripts is Bérard Habraken, a Conventual Franciscan from the small restored (after 1842) Province of St. Hubertus of Liège. The first volume carries an Ex libris from Joseph M. Uitterhoeve, Provincial of the Conventuals in Belgium († 1928 in Halle, seat of the province, commonly known as “Halse Paters”). The two manuscripts contain courses on natural philosophy given in Louvain in the years 1905–1906 and 1906–1907, respectively. They seem to have been parts of an entire *Cursus philosophicus*. The first volume certainly represents the first part of a presumably larger work called *Institutiones metaphysicae specialis ad mentem S. Bonaventurae necnon Scoti*. The text on the front page further informs the reader that the content of this traditional Franciscan philosophy has been accommodated to modern practice (“ad hodiernum usum scholarum accomodavit et tradidit”). The part of philosophy dealt with is *Psychologia*. The work is divided into two parts (“libri”). The first part deals with living bodies, the second with the soul as such and in relation to a body. The preface announces two further parts, one on the faculties of the sensitive soul, and another on the intellect and the will. The work is not particularly scholastic. It has a long discussion of the theory of natural selection according to

Lamarck and Darwin.⁶³ Other authors referenced include René Descartes, John Locke, Gottfried-Wilhelm Leibniz, Christian Wolff, Fortunatus a Brixia, and Destutt de Tracy, but also scholastic authors such as Bonaventure and Duns Scotus (both of whom are mentioned in the title of the work) as well as Thomas Aquinas. The *prooemium* indeed concludes with a note that the author follows these three authorities (though primarily the two Franciscans).⁶⁴ Another interesting feature is the many detailed pencil drawings of human organs, including the brain.⁶⁵ The second volume carries the overall title *Cursus Philosophicus ad mentem D. Bonaventurae et Scoti*. It contains the part on *Cosmologia*. This work is divided into two parts. The first part is about “general cosmology” (origin and general features of the world, natural laws); the second part is about “particular cosmology” (features of specific parts of the world). Habraken’s work gives the impression of a chimeric mixture of wholly divergent philosophical and scientific projects. The work at one and the same time testifies to the interest among members of the religious orders to engage with modern science, and to the Scotist-Bonaventurian orientation of the Franciscans at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The division of philosophy, or more specifically metaphysics, into psychology and cosmology, resembles practices known from non-Franciscan university training such as the Wolffian textbook philosophy used in German universities in the Enlightenment Period. This was, however, the normal way of dividing the philosophical disciplines in Neo-Scholasticism. We find it again in the *Cursus philosophicus* authored by the Belgian Franciscan Zacharias Van de Woestyne (1878–1955) from the Province of St. Joseph, a professor at the Franciscan University Antonianum in Rome. The first part of the work (596 pages), a manual of logic and ontology, came out in 1921. The second volume (816 pages), containing cosmology, psychology, and philosophical theology, followed in 1925. A second edition was published in two volumes in 1932–1933. Like Habraken, Van de Woestyne is no longer in touch with the old Louvain tradition of Scotism. His work is among the latest printed manuals of Scotist philosophy and, even if not in direct continuation with the older local school, certainly – if seen in a larger perspective – marks the end of a tradition.

VERNULAEUS’S PANEGYRIC CONTRIBUTION TO SCOTISM

One rather peculiar aspect of Louvain Scotism remains to be mentioned. The Louvain humanist Nicolaus Vernulaeus (1583–1649), a professor of both rhetoric and theology, a

⁶¹ Ibid., “Prooemium Philosophiae,” 2r: “Cartesius eatenus Philosophari incepit quasi nulla philosophia ante ipsum extisset.”

⁶² Ibid., *Logica*, pars 1, tract. 2, q. 2, fol. 45v: “Schotisthe (*sic*) vero distinctionem in attributa divina vocant actualem formalem, seu ex natura rei, unde Scholam Seraphicam inter et Angelicam scholastico certatur Duello [...]. Distinctio igitur schotistica formalis entitativa realis, repugnare videtur simplicitati Divinae, Consequenter non est admittenda.”

⁶³ Maurits Sabbe Library 3-056462/B: Berardus Habraken, *Institutiones metaphysicae specialis ad mentem S.*

Bonaventurae necnon Scoti, Louvain, 1905–1906, 180–197. Shortly after having taught his course, Habraken may have been sent as a missionary to Wisconsin, where the Franciscans entertained missions among the native Americans. His name (“Habraken, Bérard, OMC”) is recorded in *The Official Catholic Directory and Clergy List*, Milwaukee: M.H. Wiltzius Company, 1912, 1002.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 6: “N.b. Ubinam possumus fideliter sequemur Seraphicum Doctorem necnon D. Scoti et non omittimus doctrinam S. Thomae.”

⁶⁵ Ibid., 156–159.

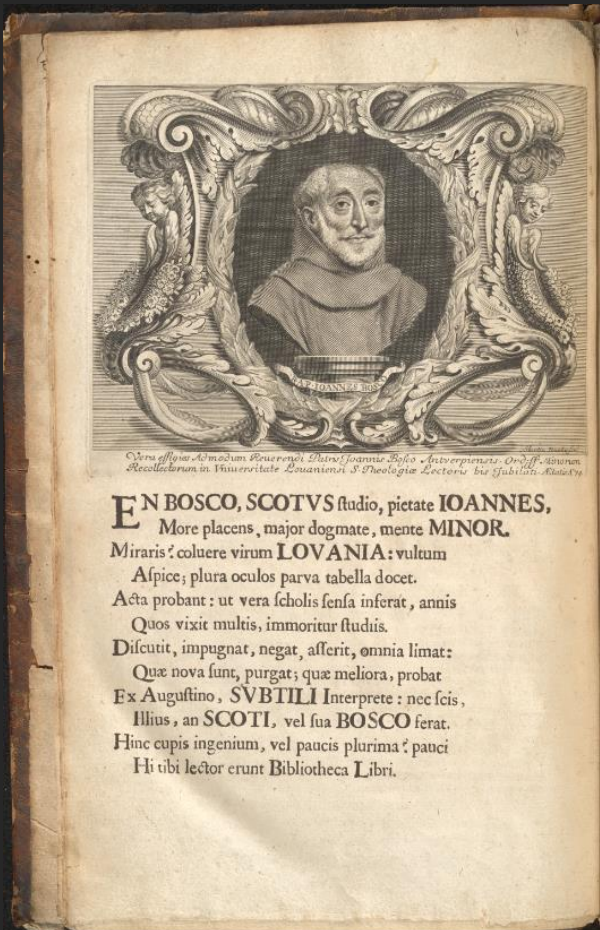
poet and later in his career historiographer to Ferdinand III, included a section on the Convent of the Flemish Franciscans in his history of the University and its adjacent institutions from 1627. It is a brief, yet important historical account of the Convent. Vernulaeus may have known Smising personally. Smising had died the previous year, and Vernulaeus kindly recalls that, “Here was a good and wise man, if there ever was one.”⁶⁶ A personal acquaintance between the two men is likely, since Vernulaeus had published a panegyric portrait of Scotus in 1622 (printed in Cologne by Bernhard Walther). It is worth noting that

Vernulaeus’s brief oration honouring “the eternal fame and remembrance of John Duns Scotus” seems to have been much appreciated among the Franciscans in Belgium. In 1644 it was added as an appendix to an edition of Luke Wadding’s scholarly exposition of the life of Duns Scotus (printed in Mons), and as late as 1856, two years after the Immaculate Conception as conceived by Scotus had been elevated to Catholic dogma, it was reprinted in Louvain and Brussels with an added prologue and scholarly annotations by the Franciscan Gabriel Milis (1822–1866).

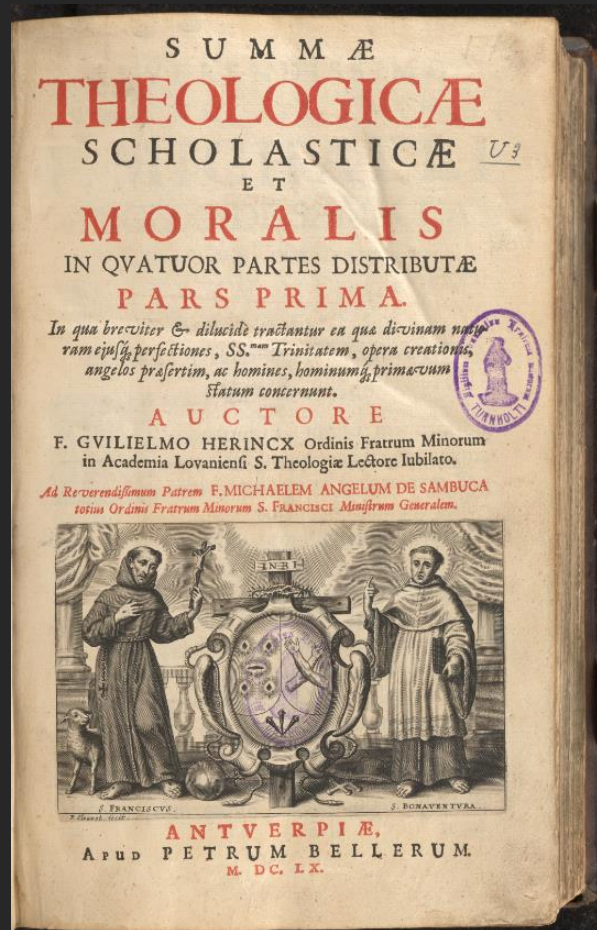


⁶⁶ Nicolaus Vernulaeus, *Academia Lovaniensis libri tres, ejus origo, incrementum, forma, magistratus, facultates, privilegia, scholae, collegia, viri illustres, res gestae*, Louvain: Philippus

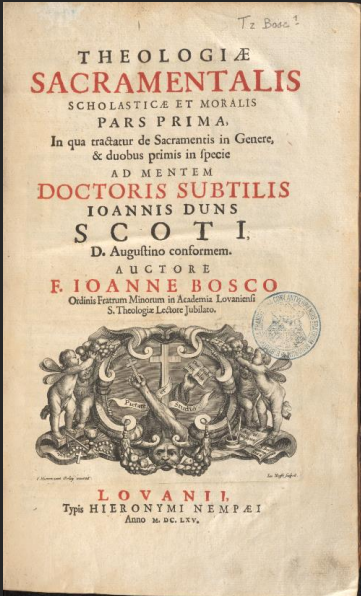
van Dormael, 1627, 245: “Ut hoc tantum dicam, hic erat, si quisquam, vir bonus et sapiens.”



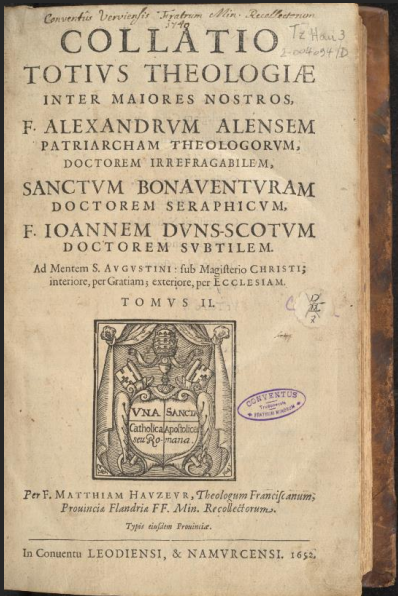
29



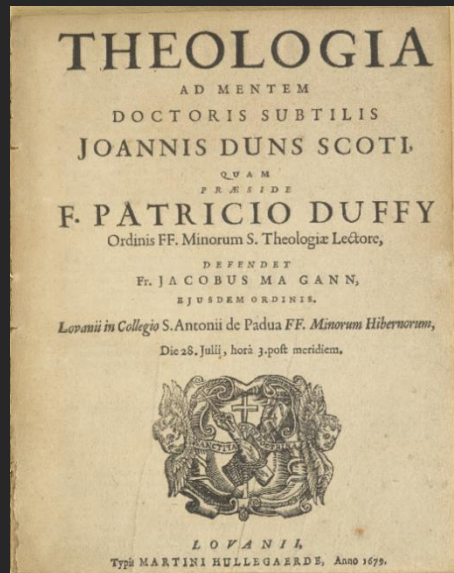
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28



30



32



Omnis sapientia a Domino Deo est.

SUMMA
THEOLOGICA
SCHOLASTICA
ET
MORALIS
IN QVATUOR PARTES DISTRIBUTA
AVCTORE
*Perillustri ac Reverendissimo
Domino ac Patre
GVILIELMO HERINCX
Episcopo Iprensi. ex Ordine
Seraphico Fratrum minorum
Recollectorum Provinciae
Germaniae inferioris
Assumpto*

ANTIQUITAS

NOVITAS



DOCTOR SERAPHICVS



DOCTOR SVBTILIS

ANTVERPIÆ,
Typis IACOBI WOONS,
Sub signo portæ vineæ.
Anno M. DC. LXXX.

Quibus delineavit

Corn. Galle fecit

Tractatus elleta physicus.

Ad mentem doctoris sancti Joannis
Duns Scoti.

Præfatio.

Metaphisica ex ipso nomine sua transcendit esse, sed non quod
sua ipsius supergræda ad usque spualtem naturam et creati sua
transcendens ad ipsum deum ut hinc nati investigatorem plurimè
destruat à se metaphisica à voce meta, quod est, meta à voce deus
quod trans, quod est à deo est quod nra, unde metaphisica dicitur
sua post naturam quia non potest ordinari in deum et deum in se
phisica quia à sua natura de interiori trans naturam, quia objecti
adit metaphisicam transcendit. — De hinc per metaphisicam
quod ipse suam summam existentiæ ordine dignitate et in
sua metaphisica, vult à theologis naturam secundam naturam
de deo ex lumine nati quia theologis tradit à se. Itaque tractationem
hinc à abstractiōnis despicitur quod est de ente et de deo, de partibus
entis nati, de deo et de ente finitè et existenti, de deo, de analogia
quod in se.

Quæstio præliminaria

An metaphisica sit sua et quod ipsa cogitatur?
conclusio prima

Metaphisica à sua ipse dicitur et quodammodo separatur. nam per partem
est quod hinc abest certis et evidentiis per medium naturam dicitur.
si de ente demonstrat quod sit unum, sua à septem existentiis, de
deo demonstrat ipsum in eam quod est in se. De analogia
sit illius quia à nati. — Deinde metaphisica in se ipse dicitur
et evidentiis e.g. in se et deum in se et quod dicitur in se et
dicit deus in se et deum in se et deum in se, quod non potest cogitari.
per se cogitari in se et deum in se, quod non potest cogitari.
quod evidentiis et in se, et quod ipsa quia quod de deo hinc

ratiōnis ratiōcinatōe et distinctiōe ratiōis facta cum
fundamentō in se equivalente pluribus, et dicitur maxime
in illo, et recipitur per modum plurimum: hinc distinctiōne
in se distinguuntur attributa divina N.G. omnipotentia,
justitia, misericordia, et à parte rei et unum et idem,
sunt ipsa divina essentia et simplicissima ac à suis attri-
butis indistincta, differunt tamen secundum modum recipendi
modum, ut cum legimus fundamentum in se: quia essen-
tia Dei, ut largiens sibi peccatoribus et misericordia; eadem
ut punitrix et pœnitrix, et justitia, et actiones præbent nobis
fundamentum recipendi misericordiam à justitia distinctam.
hinc distinctiōnem Thomæ vocant virtutibus eamque in
realem et ratiōis locant. dicunt eandem virtutibus quod reposita
in duas facultates eandem in se, pluribus tamen realiter distinctis
equivalentes: ut misericordia et justitia Dei, et præcurren-
ter equivalent sibi misericordie et justitie, in eadem
realiter distinctis.

Scholasticæ vero distinctiōnem in attributa divina vocant
actuales facultates, seu ex parte rei, unde Scholam Scotianam
in et Anglicanam Scholasticam Gerardo Ducllo, verum nihil. hinc
philosophus distinguit, et Scholam Scotianam est, nihil
Angelicum si Angelus est. distinctiōne ipse Scholasticam
facultatis essentialibus realibus, repugnantem videtur simplicitati
divine, et sequitur et à admittenda.

J. M. J. F.

Institutiones
Metaphysicæ Speciales
ad mentem
S. Bonaventuræ
et Scoti,
ad hodiernum usum scholarum
accommodavit et tradidit
in Collegio Minorum Conventuum
P. Bernardus Habracken
eiusdem ordinis

Tomus Primus. I
Psychologia
continens
tractat. de viventibus in genere; et tractat.
de anima humana tum
in seipsa tum in ordine ad corpus spectata.
A. 1905 - 1906 -

CURSUS
Philosophicus
ad mentem
P. Bonaventuræ et Scoti
quem tradebat
P. Bernardus Habracken
o. min. Conr.
Provinciæ S. Huberti Fodiensis
anno
1905 - 1907.

Cosmologia.
Concordia omnia crescit,
Discordia maxima et labuntur.

ANNOTATED LIST OF ALL EXHIBITS

John Duns Scotus

1. Engraved portrait of John Duns Scotus pointing to the Christ child. Unknown artist. Undated, from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. The portrait is dedicated to Joseph Clemens of Bavaria (1671–1723), Archbishop-Elector of Cologne (1688–1723) and, among other titles, Prince-Bishop of Liège, whose coat of arms figures in the upper part of the engraving. Inscription below the coat of arms: “*B[eaatus] Ioannes Duns Scotus Ord[ini]s Seraph[ici] Doctor Marianus et Subtilis. Nocte Nativitatis Nati Salvatoris Amore languens, Ingeminabat, Verbae Cantic. 8: Quis mihi det te Fratrem meum etc. Et ecce vidit Parvulum Iesum sibi dicentem: Scito me esse Christum hodie natum, quo dicto amplexatus, osculatusque est Eum [...].*” The reference is to *Cant. 8.1*: “If only you were to me like a brother, who was nursed at my mother’s breasts!” 457 x 294 mm. KU Leuven, Central Library, BRES Tabularium PB01044. Photo © KU Leuven. CAA
2. Engraved portrait of John Duns Scotus gazing toward Mary. Unknown artist. Undated, from the seventeenth or eighteenth century. Shows Scotus writing: “*Quaestio utrum B[eaata] Virgo concepta sine originali. Respondeo.*” This is a reference to Scotus, *Ordinatio III*, dist. 3, q. 1, “*Utrum beata virgo fuerit concepta in peccato originali,*” ed. Vat. 9 (Civitas Vaticana 2006), 169–191. Inscription beneath the portrait: “*Scote quid adspectas venientia lumina caelo? Illinc exspecto quid mea penna dabit. Caelica divini si expectas missa parentis, divinum sapiet quod tua penna dabit.*” 312 x 223 mm. KU Leuven, Central Library, BRES Tabularium PA02652. Photo © KU Leuven. CAA
3. John Duns Scotus, O.F.M. (1265/66–1308), *F. Ioannis Duns Scoti Ordinis Minorum Doctoris Subtilis Theologorum Principis in primum et secundum Sententiarum quaestiones subtilissimae. Nunc noviter recognitae, & habita collatione cum selectioribus antiquis editionibus, ac vetustissimo codice manuscripto, ab innumeris mendis & vitiis, quibus ubique scatebant, castigatae; annotationibus marginalibus, doctorumque celebriorum ante quamlibet quaestionem citationibus exornatae; scholiis per universonum opus in textum insertis, indicibus variis & copiosis, aliisque multis (de quibus in praefatione ad Lectorem) summo labore & industria illustratae. Per P.F. Hugonem Cavellum Hibernum Dunensem, in collegio S. Antonii Paduani Minoritarum Hibernorum apud Lovanienses, sacrae Theologiae lectorem iubilatum. Accesserunt per eundem, Vita Scoti, Apologia pro ipso contra P. Abrahamum Bzovium, & Appendix ad q. 1. dist. 3. lib. 3. quae posita in fine eiusdem lib. 3. de immaculata Conceptione. Antverpiae, Apud Ioannem Keerbergium. M.DC.XX. Superiorum permissu.* First of two folio volumes of Scotus’s Oxford commentary on the *Sentences*, edited by Hugh MacCaghwell (1571–1626), with several texts written by MacCaghwell: his biography of Scotus, an apology for Scotus vis-à-vis recent polemics, and a defense of the Immaculate Conception. The edition contains a “Censura” written by Leonardus Lessius (1554–1623). Formerly property of the Franciscans in Sint-Truiden. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 2-003985/D 1–2. Photo © KU Leuven. CAA
4. John Duns Scotus, O.F.M. (1265/66–1308), *Quaestiones D.S. Io[annis] Duns Scoti super libris Arist[otelis] de anima. Cum commentariis, annotationibus, & scholiis, illustratae, atque discussae per R.P.F. Hugonem Cavellum Ord. Min. Strict. Observantiae, Provinciae Hiberniae, in Collegio S. Antonii apud Lovanienses, olim S. Theologiae Lectorem emeritum. Accessit per eundem, supplementum, reliquas quaestiones, ac difficultates ad Libros de Anima spectantes, complectens, & ad mentem eiusdem Doctoris Subt. solide resoluens. R. Ad. P. Iosepho Radaello Ord. Min. Reg. Obs. in Curia Generali Commissario Dicatae. Venetiis, Superiorum Permissu, & Privilegio. MDCXXXI. Typis Marci Ginammi 1641.* Hugh MacCaghwell’s edition of Scotus’s *Questions on Aristotle’s On the Soul*, with MacCaghwell’s own treatise on the soul as appendix. One volume in quarto. Formerly property of the Franciscans in Antwerp. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 2-030055/B. Photo © KU Leuven. CAA

The two Franciscan Convents in Louvain

5. Engraved image showing the Franciscan Convent of the Holy Trinity in Louvain (“*Conventus Lovaniensis FF. Minorum Reg. Obs.*”) in the year 1664, when Willem Herinx (1621–1678) was Guardian of the Convent. From Antonius Sanderus, (1586–1664), *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae*, vol. 3, ed. Hagae Comitum [The Hague]: Christian Van Lom, 1727, 129. All three volumes of Sanderus’s *Chorographia* were first published 1659–1669. The engraver is probably Lucas Vorstermans, the Younger (ca. 1605–1667). The engraving shows the spacious building complex of the Convent, including its large kitchen gardens. The library was placed in the wing next to the church. Lectures were held in the wing with entrance from the street. The Convent was placed in what is now the Minderbroedersstraat; the street name recalls the presence of the Convent of which no visible traces have been left. 363 x 461 mm. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB P Plano 100 SAND Chor. Photo © KU Leuven. CAA
6. Lithograph showing the Franciscan Convent of the Holy Trinity in Louvain. Artists (mentioned in each lower corner of the lithograph): Henri Otto (drawing), Lodewijk Jozef van Peteghem (print). Inscription: “*Le Couvent de Récollets fondé en 1231, supprimé en 1796 et démolé en 1801. (l’église fut bâtie entre les années 1525 et 1533).*” From Edward Van Even, *Louvain monumental ou Description historique et artistique de tous les édifices civils et religieux de la dite ville*, Louvain: C.-J. Fonteyn, 1860. 170 x 235 mm. KU Leuven, Central Library, BRES Tabularium TA00374. Photo © KU Leuven. CAA
7. Lithograph showing St. Anthony’s College (the Irish Franciscan Convent in Louvain). Artist: Henri Otto (after a drawing from 1799). Inscription: “*1. La remise des chars de l’ommegang de Louvain. 2. Le couvent de Récollets Irlandais, fondé en 1609 et supprimé en 1797, d’après un dessin de 1799.*” From Edward Van Even, *Louvain monumental*, op. cit. The “ommegang” is an annual religious procession in honour of Mary; the carts were deposited next to the Irish College. 175 x 243 mm. The College is preserved to this day (located in Janseniussstraat 1). KU Leuven, Central Library, BRES Tabularium TA00332. Photo © KU Leuven. CAA
8. Printed image showing St. Anthony’s College (the Irish Franciscan Convent in Louvain). Artist William Oldham (inscription in the lower left corner); the drawing is either the basis of the lithograph in nr. 7, or else a copy thereof. Inscription: “*St. Anthony’s*”

College, Louvain (As it was in the early part of the 18th century).” From Terence O’Donnell, O.F.M., *Father John Colgan O.F.M. 1592–1658. Essays in Commemoration of the Third Centenary of His Death*, Dublin: Assisi Press, 1959, 16. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 3-047658/B. No photo (similar to nr. 7). CAA

The Wider Franciscan Context of Scotism in Louvain

9. Frans Titelmans, O.F.M. Obs. (later Cap.) (1502–1537), *Compendium physicae Francis[ci] Titelmani, ad libros Aristo[telis] de naturali philosophia utilissimum. Cui libellus accessit, de mineralibus, plantis, et animalibus, ad absolutiorem rerum naturalium naturalium scientiam. Et tabula, universam philosophiae partitiionem continens. Parisiis. Ex officina Prigentii Calvarini ad Geminas Cyppas in Clauso Brunello. 1545*. Handy guide through all of Aristotle’s natural philosophy written by the Hasselt-born Frans Titelmans, who joined the Franciscans at Louvain in 1523 and later, in 1535, shifted to the newly established Capuchin branch of the Franciscan Order. In this posthumous Paris edition, the work comprises 48 folios in octavo. Apart from this purely introductory work, Titelmans also authored a much more sophisticated presentation of all of natural philosophy in twelve books. In the Franciscan tradition, Titelmans stands out for *not* being a Scotist in philosophy, something that has to do with the fact that he had already completed his *artes* studies before joining the Franciscans. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB P53 Tite Comp 1545. No image in catalogue. CAA

10. Frans Titelmans, O.F.M. Obs. (later Cap.) (1502–1537), *Libri sex de consyderatione Dialectica. Per fratrem Franciscum Titelmanum, Hassellensem, ordinis Fratrum Minorum, sanctarum scripturarum apud Louanienses Praelectorem. Excudebat denuo, Symon Cocus, diligentii recognitione praeuia Antverpiae, anno a Christo nato M.CCCCC.XL. Mense Augusto*. Titelmans’s handbook of logic, based on his teaching in the Paedagogium Porci in Louvain, is divided into six parts; it follows the structure of Aristotle’s *Organon* and Porphyry’s *Isagoge*. Titelmans follows Aristotle’s text closely, occasionally giving quotes in the original Greek. The many references to classical, rather than scholastic, authors testify to Titelmans’s humanistic interests. Octavo volume of 222 folios. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB P162.6 TITE Libr 1540. No image in catalogue. CAA

11. Frans Titelmans, O.F.M. Obs. (later Cap.) (1502–1537), *Collationes quinque super Epistolam ad Romanos beati Pauli Apostoli, quibus loca eius Epistolae difficiliora, ea potissimum quae ex Graecis aliquid habere videntur difficultatis diligentissime tractantur atque explicantur; itaut etiam a graece nescientibus facile capi valeat emphasis graecarum dictionum, simul et Ecclesiastica novi Testamenti latina aeditio rationabiliter defenditur. Idque ex autoritate veterum interpretum, caeterumque probatissimorum patrum, latinorum parites atque graecorum. Per Fratrem Franciscum Titelmanum Hassellensem, ordinis Fratrum minorum, sanctarum scripturarum apud Lovanienses Praelectorem. Antverpiae apud Guilielmum Vorstermannum. Anno M.CCCCC.XXIX. Mense Maio. Cum gratia et Privilegio*. In Biblical studies, Titelmans was more a traditionalist than a humanist, as may be seen from this work, a defence of the Vulgate translation of the Bible against Erasmus of Rotterdam’s new Greek edition and Latin translation of the New Testament as well as other Humanistic work on the Bible. The work is written in the form of a conversation between Lorenzo Valla, Jacques Lefèvre d’Étaples, Erasmus, and Titelmans himself. The title page of this first edition of 1529 shows the Five Holy Stigmata of Christ, a winged lion, a winged ox, an eagle, and an angel (all symbols of the four Evangelists), as well as Moses, Jesus, St. Paul, and (most likely) Jerome, main translator of the Vulgate; God in heaven, flanked by two angels, presides over all. The title mentions Titelmans’s affiliation with the Franciscans and his Biblical lectures at the University of Louvain (though most probably held at the Franciscan Convent). The work comprises 308 counted octavo folios, following upon a long introductory apology for the Vulgate. This particular copy interestingly carries a later stamp from the Recollect Convent in Hasselt, Titelmans’s hometown. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB P227.11 TITE Coll 1529. Photo © KU Leuven. CAA

12. Frans Titelmans, O.F.M. Obs. (later Cap.) (1502–1537), *Commentarii doctissimi, in Cantica canticorum Salomonis, aeditione prima (recenti quidem) emendatiores. [...] Lugduni, Apud Gulielmum Rouillium. M.D.LIII*. Titelmans commented extensively both on the New and the Old Testament. Many of his commentaries were reprinted several times. Here is his commentary on the Song of Songs in a Lyons edition of 1553. The main text comprises 654 counted sextodecimo pages. Titelmans’s Biblical studies – continued by his successor as professor of theology Adam Sasbout (1516–1553) – as well as his Aristotelian works in philosophy represent the intellectual profile of the Franciscan Convent before the turn toward Scotism in the seventeenth century (though one should mention that we do not have any manuscripts from this period, and that the actual teaching in the convent may partially have been more scholastic). KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB P223.6 TITE Comm 1553. No image in catalogue. CAA

13. Henricus Sedulius, O.F.M. Rec. (1547/49–1621), *Historia seraphica vitae B[eatissimi] P[atris] Francisci Assisiatis, illustriumque virorum et feminarum, qui ex tribus eius ordinibus relati sunt inter sanctos* (Antwerp, 1613). Henricus Sedulius (Heinrich/Hendrik de Vroom) was born in Kleve (now Germany) and died in Antwerp. He was an important writer on Franciscan history and sanctity, and also helped in establishing the Franciscans in Tirol. He published this famous biography of Saint Francis, with a splendid frontispiece engraved by the Antwerp-born Karel van Mallery (ca. 1571–1635), who had been trained in the office of the Haarlem-born Philips Galle (1537–1612) and who had also been active in Rome and in Paris, like his master, before returning to his hometown Antwerp. The title page presents 14 vignettes of important Franciscan saints, including Saint Francis, Franciscan martyrs (the five on the left are the five martyrs of Marrakesh, who had been killed in 1220, and the seven on the right are the martyrs of Ceuta, beheaded by the Muslims in 1227), Franciscan reformers (Saint John of Capistrano, Saint Diego of Alcalá), important spiritual and intellectual figures of the order (Saint Anthony of Padua, Saint Bonaventure, Saint Bernardine of Siena) as well as two female figures (Saint Claire of Assisi and Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, one of the first queens to have been associated with the then nascent Tertiary Order). The vignettes underline in particular the importance of the Tertiary Order, then promoted by the Habsburg archduke and archduchess Albert and Isabella in the Low Countries (r. 1598–1633), with the figures of Saint Ives (1253–1303), Saint Louis of Toulouse (1274–97), Saint Elzear of Sabran (1285–1323, from the Kingdom of Naples), and foremost the King of France Saint Louis (Louis IX, 1214–70, common patron of the Tertiary Order). John Duns Scotus, not being a saint, is absent. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 2-003738/D. Photo © KU Leuven. JS

14. Pierre Marchant, O.F.M. Rec. (1585–1661), *Af-beeldinghe des vvaerachtigh christen mensch, naer het voor-beelt vanden reghel der derder ordre van den Godt-salighen Vader S. Franchois* (Ghent, 1639). Dutch translation of a work by Pierre Marchant

published one year earlier in French by the same printer, *L'image du vray chrestien sur le pourtrait de la règle du Tiers Ordre de N.B.P.S. François* (Ghent: Alexander Sersanders, 1638). Marchant was then General Definitor of the Order and resided at the Ghent convent. These were troubled years: Breda had just fallen to the Prince of Orange (1637) and Antwerp was under siege. It is a small treatise in the vernacular language destined to explain the origins and rules of the Tertiary Order of the Franciscans and promoting it by examples from members who had been elevated to sanctity. Attracting important members of society into the Tertiary Order was an important way for the Franciscans to gain political leverage. In the Low Countries, the Franciscans were proud to have welcomed the Archduchess Isabella into the Tertiary Order after the death of her husband Albert (1621), thanks to the influence of her Franciscan confessor at the Brussels court, Andrés de Soto O.F.M.; Marchant dedicates his work to her memory. The Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia was the daughter of King Philipp II of Spain (r. 1556–98) and Elizabeth of Valois (daughter of the French King Henry II). She ruled the Low Countries with her husband Albert of Habsburg (grandson of Emperor Charles V) from 1599 to her death in 1633, a period commonly seen as the “Golden Age” of the Spanish Netherlands after the previous decades of religious strife and devastation and before the progressive rise of Dutch and French power. In this engraving by Alexander Voet the Elder, we see Saint Francis handing out the rule of the Tertiary Order to King Philipp III of Spain (r. 1598–1621) and his royal offspring on the left, and to Isabella in the habit of a Franciscan nun on the right. Isabella is strangely called “Elizabeth”, probably to underline her proximity with two famous medieval sanctified queens who were both members of the Tertiary Order and among her ancestors: Saint Elizabeth of Hungary (1207–31) and Saint Elizabeth of Portugal (1271–1336). This Flemish version of the work was reprinted thrice (1662, 1683, 1724). KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 2-000439/A (without engraving) and GBIB 2-022183/A (with engraving). Photo © Claus A. Andersen. JS

15. Pierre Marchant, O.F.M. Rec. (1585–1661), *Fundamenta duodecim Ordinis Fratrum Minorum S. Francisci fundamentis duodecim apostolorum civitatis S. Ierusalem etc. superaedificata, ipso summo angulari lapide, Christo Iesu* (Antwerp, 1657). Marchant, a Walloon Franciscan brother of the small convent of Couvin (then belonging to the Province of Flanders) was the architect of the Recollect reform in the Low Countries, and the creation of the new Flemish-speaking Province of “Saint Joseph in the County of Flanders” (1628), separated from the francophone convents remaining in the historical “Province of Flanders”. Besides his political activity, he published numerous works of moral theology as well as of Franciscan history, with a strong emphasis on the local history of the new Franciscan provinces of Flanders and Lower Germany. The frontispiece of this work, dedicated to Pope Alexander VII (pope 1655–67), shows a typical Franciscan iconography: the wounds of Christ (the five *stigmata* on his hands, feet, and chest), the cross formed by the two arms crossing each other (showing in this case quite explicit *stigmata*), and the three nails used at the crucifixion of Christ. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 271.3.017/F° MARC Fund. Photo © KU Leuven. JS

16. Pedro Alva y Astorga, O.F.M. Obs. (ca. 1601–1667), *Sacra Cismontana familia Ord. Minor. exhibet Armamentarium Seraphicum et Regestum Universale tuendo titulo Immaculatae Conceptionis*. Toward the end of his life, this Spanish-born Franciscan missionary in Perú and Bolivia returned to Europe and settled at the Franciscan convent of Louvain. He there established a printing house dedicated to the promotion of the Immaculate Conception, attempting to affectuate its adoption by the papacy. This “Seraphic armory for the defense of the notion of the Immaculate Conception” is an earlier work of his, from before he arrived in Louvain; it was published in Madrid in 1649 and dedicated to the Spanish King Philipp IV (r. 1621–65). The frontispiece (by Herman Panneels) shows a fortified defense of the Immaculate Conception. In Baroque scholastic culture, military terms, such as ‘fortification,’ ‘shield,’ or ‘armory,’ were commonly used to signal strong doctrinal disagreement. Key theological issues such as, in this case, the Immaculate Conception of Mary (denied by Aquinas, supported by Scotus) occasioned genuine “scholastic wars.” Here, Mary stands on the top of a fortified tower bearing the coat of arms of the Habsburgs. Two friars embrace the tower, seemingly protecting it. The Franciscan, or Saint Francis of Assisi, on the right with his knotted cord and stigmata, looks like he is trying to “help” the Dominican, or Saint Domingo de Guzmán, with his black coat, notably opposed to the idea of the Immaculate Conception of Mary. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 2-009530/C. Photo © KU Leuven. JS

17. Pedro Alva y Astorga, O.F.M. Obs. (ca. 1601–1667), *Sol veritatis cum ventilabro seraphico, pro candida Aurora Maria in Suo conceptionis ortu Sancta, Pura, Immaculata, et a peccato originali praeservata*. This work, on the “Solar Truth with a Seraphic Threshing Fork,” one more defense of the Immaculate Conception, was published by Alva y Astorga in Madrid in 1660, on his return from the Americas, while he was staying in the Spanish capital before settling in Louvain the following year. The frontispiece was created by the Madrid-based engraver Marcos Orozco, who produced a great number of frontispieces for Spanish scholastic works of the second half of the seventeenth century. The motif is strikingly esoteric: the figure of the Virgin Mary is called “rising dawn” (*aurora consurgens*), an expression found in the Bible (*Cant. 6:10*: “Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners?”), and truth is represented as a sun with angelic wings. To any educated Renaissance or Early Modern reader, this title and iconography undoubtedly recalled a famous alchemical treatise entitled *Aurora consurgens*, which was often but falsely attributed to Aquinas and which repeatedly used the motif of a winged figure. In the winged hands of truth are two tools: in the left hand a threshing fork (*ventilabrum*), in the right hand something like a crusher, an allusion to the Gospel of Matthew (3:12, with an old Testament correspondent in *Is. 41:19*), where the good wheat is separated from the bad chaff; the left hand thereby extracts the good wheat from the scholastics, exegetes, preachers, and canonists, while the right hand crushes its enemies who are traitors or cheaters (*adulteratos*), vicious (*vitiatos*), fictitious (*fictitios*), and “multipliers” (*multiplicatos*, those who out of one make twelve, dividing thereby humanity). KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 2-009974/C. Photo © KU Leuven. JS

18. Pedro Alva y Astorga, O.F.M. Obs. (ca. 1601–1667), *Radii solis zeli seraphici veritatis, pro immaculatae conceptionis mysterio Virginis Mariae discurrentes*. The frontispiece of this work, printed in Louvain by the press established by Pedro Alva y Astorga himself, is a symbolic masterpiece. It was created by Pieter de Jode the Younger (ca. 1606–1674), and is extremely rich and complex. Attention is immediately drawn to the middle of the picture, with four Franciscan friars labouring in a garden, which is the place of the immaculate birth of the Virgin symbolized by the blossom of a lily. The garden is protected by a wall and towers, on which one can see theologians of different religious orders as well as princes and kings defending the doctrine. The wall has only two doors, one on the top and one at the bottom. The upper door is the golden door opening itself towards celestial Jerusalem.

The lower door, in front of a drawbridge bearing the names of Adam and Eve, is closed; the legend says “Virus non transibit per eam” (= “the virus/disease shall not enter by it”), an obvious alteration of the Vulgate which says “Vir non transibit per eam” (Ez. 44:2: “no man shall enter in by it”), thus transforming the virility of man (*vir*) into a disease (*virus*). In the Hebrew Bible, the closed gate refers to Jerusalem, which has to be protected; in the medieval and post-medieval Christian reading, it refers allegorically to the virginity of Mary. We show photo material from the copy held in the Royal Library of Belgium, KBR/ VB 1.536 C RP. Photo © Royal Library of Belgium. JS

Stephanus de Flandria and the Formalist Tradition

19. Stephanus de Flandria, O.S.M. (fl. 1470s–1490s), *Logica secundum mentem doctoris subtilis Scoti*. With prefatory epistles by Oliviero Jonto and Andreas Arena (later called Andrea Ammonio). Colophon on fol. 54v: *Opus diligenter emendatum per acutissimum Andream Arenam Lucensem Bononiae impressum per me Benedictum Hectoris Bononiensis, 1465 [vere: 1495], die vero 14. mensis Octobris*. Stephanus de Flandria may be regarded as the first Belgian Scotist. He belonged to the order of Servites (or Servants of Mary) and had a teaching career in various universities in Northern Italy, belonging to the Theological Faculty in Bologna throughout the 1490s. On display (as photo material) is his Scotist manual of logic from 1495, in which he, among many other topics, discusses a doctrine of multiple kinds of distinctions that was popular among Scotists. We show photo material from the copy held in the Biblioteca Casanatense, Roma, Vol. Inc. 1705. Photo © Claus A. Andersen. CAA

20. Étienne Brulefer, O.F.M. Obs. (1450/55–1496/99), *Venerabilis Magistri Fratris Stephani Brulefer Parisiensis ordinis Minorum Formalitatum textus una cum ipsius commento perlucido. Cum privilegio*. Colophon on fol. 38r: *Venetis per Lazarum de Soardis, qui obtinuit a dominio Veneto quod nullus possit imprimere, nec imprimi facere in eorum dominio sub pena ut patet in suis privilegiis. Die ultimo Julii. 1504*. This edition contains both Brulefer’s short treatise on distinctions and his own long commentary on the treatise. 38 folios in quarto. Bound with the same author’s commentary on Peter Lombard’s *Sentences* (*Clarissimi sacrae paginae doctoris fratris Stephani Brulefer ordinis Minorum In quatuor divi seraphicique Bonaeventurae Sententiarum libros interpretatio subtilissima*). The special literature dealing with Scotist distinction theory often goes by the name “Formalist treatises,” after Scotus’s formal distinction. Brulefer at one and the same time contributed to this literature and was critical of certain motifs popular among the Formalists. The extraordinarily well-preserved copy is former property of the Franciscans in Sint-Truiden. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB PN00235/Q. Photo © KU Leuven. CAA

21. Giovanni Vallone, O.F.M. (Obs.?) (fl. 1530s), *Lectura absolutissima Super Formalitatibus Scoti, R. F. Io[annis] Vallonis Minoritae Conventualis, cum indice locupletissimo marginibusque nonnullis ex fonte Scotistarum excerptis. Florentiae, Apud Georgium Marescotum. 1580*. This special treatise on Scotist distinction theory had seven printed editions from 1533 to 1588 and is the most often printed work on this topic written in the sixteenth century. In this present Florence edition of 1580, the work comprises 473 octavo pages. A peculiar feature of this edition is that Vallone on the title page is called a Conventual Minorite, whereas all other editions either call him a Regular Observant or else simply a Minorite (this may reflect that he, at some point in his life, shifted from one branch of the Franciscans to another). KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB PN00636. No photo in catalogue (similar to nr. 23). CAA

22. Jean Du Douet, O.F.M. Obs. (fl. 1570s–1580s), *Formalitatum Doctoris Subtilis Scoti, Antonii Sirecti, Antonii Trombetae, et Stephani Bruleferi, eximiorum Theologorum, ordinis Minorum, Monotessera in philosophiae Aristotelis et Theologiae theoricae studiosorum gratiam adunata, ac in tres libros capitibus sectos ordine perfacili digesta [...]. Parisiis, Apud Ioannem Popupy, sub Bibliis aureis, viae Iacobeae. M.D.LXXX*. The Observant Du Douet, a native from Dinan in the Bretagne, was active in his Order’s Parisian Grand Couvent. This (apparently rare) 1580 edition of his manual of Scotist distinction theory is a simple reprint of the first edition that came out in 1579 (same place and printer). Du Douet is original in that he proposes to view the discussions of the multiple kinds of distinctions and related matters as a discipline of its own, a “science of formalities” (*scientia formalitatum*). 286 octavo pages. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB PN00035. No photo in catalogue (similar to nr. 23). CAA

23. Francesco Pitigiani d’Arezzo, O.F.M. Obs. (ca. 1553–1616), *Expositio exactissima, atque absolutissima identitatum, et distinctionum (quas Formalitates vocant) M. Antonii Sirecti Doct. Paris. secundum doctrinam Doct. Subtilis Scoti, subtilium omnium Principis: in qua difficultates quamplurimae, & controversiae, quae inter Scotistas versantur, facillime resolutissimeque explicantur [...]. Venetiis, Apud Io. Antonium et Iacobum de Franciscis. MDCVI*. The Tuscan Observant Pitigiani, besides being a legislator, wrote several works on Scotist philosophy and theology. His 678 pages long quarto volume on Scotist distinctions, printed only once, in 1606, is the most comprehensive “Formalist treatise” ever to have been printed. Even though literature of this kind continued to appear long into the seventeenth century, the Franciscans gradually adopted the more common *Cursus philosophicus* format for their Scotist philosophy. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 2-029457/B. Photo © Claus A. Andersen. CAA

Louvain Scotism in the Seventeenth Century

24. Theodor Smising, O.F.M. Obs. (1580–1626), *Disputationum theologiarum F. Theodori Smising, Ordinis FF. Minorum, Reg. Observantiae Provinciae Germ[aniae] inferioris, Lovanii Sacrae Theol[ogiae]. Lectoris. Tomus secundus. De Deo Trino, in quo breviter tota huius mysterii ratio traditur, et Subtilis Doctoris Scoti de eodem argumento doctrina elucidatur. Antverpiae apud Guilielmum Lesteenum, via vulgo Hoochstraet dicta, sub Pelicano aureo MDCXXVI. Cum privilegio Caesareo et Regis Hispaniarum*. Bound with the first edition of the first volume of 1624. The engraved title page, made by an unknown artist, of the second volume was later reused in the 1627 edition of both volumes, though with accommodated title. Smising’s *Theological Disputations* are the first major output of the Louvain school of Scotism in the seventeenth century, comprising 1212 folio pages in total. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 2-003746/D. Photo © KU Leuven. CAA

25. Willem Herinx, O.F.M. Rec. (1621–1678), *Summae theologicae scholasticae et moralis in quatuor partes distributae pars prima. In qua breviter & dilucide tractantur ea quae divinam naturam ejusque perfectiones, Sanctissimam Trinitatem, opera creationis, angelos praesertim, ac homines, hominumque primaevum statum concernunt. Auctore F. Guilielmo Herinx Ordinis*

Fratrum Minorum in Academia Lovaniensia S. Theologiae Lectore Iubilato. Ad Reverendissimum Patrem F. Michaellem Angelum de Sambuca totius Ordinis Fratrum Minorum S. Francisci Ministrum Generalem. Antverpiae, Apud Petrum Bellerum. M.DC.LX. First edition of Willem Herincx's *Summa* of theology in four folio volumes. The first, second, and fourth volumes all appeared in 1660, whereas the third volume was published in 1663. The title page shows the Franciscan motif of stigmata, also seen on the title page of a work by Pierre Marchant (see above nr. 15) that was published with the same Antwerp printer, Peter Beller (partially similar motif also in nr. 11). KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 2-009827/C* 2. Photo © KU Leuven. CAA

26. Willem Herincx, O.F.M. Rec. (1621–1678), *Summae theologiae scholasticae et moralis in quatuor partes distributa. Auctore Perillustri ac Reverendissimo Domino ac Patre Guilielmo Herincx Episcopo Iprensi ex Ordine Seraphico Fratrum minorum Recollectorum Provinciae Germaniae inferioris Assumpto. Antverpiae. Typis Jacobi Woons, Sub signo portae vineae. Anno M.DC.LXXX.* First posthumous edition of Herincx's *Summa* (the second came out in 1702–4). The author is now called Bishop of Ypres, a post he achieved 10 months before his death, and also – mirroring the institutional situation of the time – figures as a *Recollect* Franciscan. Another novelty in this second edition is the engraved title page with small portraits of Bonaventure and Scotus; interestingly, Bonaventure is placed beneath the personification of 'antiquitas,' whereas Scotus is beneath 'novitas.' The second edition was printed by Jacob Woons and Frans Vivien; Peter Beller, the publisher of the first edition, is still mentioned as printer in the colophon. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 2-009831/C. Photo © KU Leuven. CAA

27. Etched portrait of Willem Herincx, O.F.M. Rec., by Richard Collin and Hieronymus van Orley. The portrait is undated, but may likely have been made shortly after Herincx passed away on August 17, 1678. Herincx is shown sitting, looking toward the viewer. Two large volumes are seen on a table in the background. His Bishop's hat and coat of arms are shown in the lower part. The inscription relates Herincx's career. 296 x 214 mm. KU Leuven, Central Library, BRES Tabularium PA05011. Photo © KU Leuven. CAA

28. Joannes Bosco, O.F.M. Rec. (1613–1684?), *Theologiae sacramentalis scholasticae et moralis pars prima. In qua tractatur de Sacramentis in genere et duobus primis in specie. Ad mentem Doctoris Subtilis Ioannis Duns Scoti, D. Augustino conformem. Auctore F. Ioanne Bosco Ordinis Fratrum Minorum in Academia Lovaniensi S. Theologiae Lectore Jubilato. Lovanii. Typis Hieronymi Nempaei. Anno M.DC.LXV.* First of six folio volumes exclusively devoted to sacramental theology. All of Bosco's printed works are announced to be "in the spirit of Scotus" and "in conformity with Augustine." Note the Franciscan motif of crossed arms on the title page; one of the arms belongs to Christ, the other to Scotus (at least, Scotus's name is on the book it holds). KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 2-003680/D 1. Photo © KU Leuven. CAA

29. Portrait of Joannes Bosco, O.F.M. Rec. (1613–1684?), from his *Theologiae spiritualis scholasticae et moralis tomus primus: In quo tractatur de Intellectu et Scientia Dei, ejusque Objecto. Item de voluntate et volitione Dei, ejusque Objecto. Ad mentem Doctoris Subtilis Joannis Duns Scoti, D. Augustino conformem [...]. Antverpiae, Apud Michaellem Knobbaerum, sub signo S. Petri, 1686.* The first of two volumes in folio devoted to speculation over God's intellect and will and related matters. The portrait is said to show Bosco in the 74th year of his life, which does not square with the dates usually given for his birth and death, according to which he died at the age of ca. 71; this opens the question whether his two late volumes were indeed published posthumously, or not. We do not presently possess any evidence for or against. The inscription further states he is a *Recollect* and a "lector bis iubilatus" at the University of Louvain, though he in reality taught in the Franciscan Convent of the Holy Trinity. The page opposite the portrait is the first page of the work, where Bosco starts out with an account of Smising's view of God's intrinsic modes. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 2-009821/C Folio. Photo © KU Leuven. CAA

30. Matthias Hauzeur, O.F.M. Rec. (1589–1676), *Collatio totius theologiae inter maiores nostros, F. Alexandrum Alensem Patriarcham Theologorum, Doctorem Irrefragabilem, Sanctum Bonaventuram Doctorem Seraphicum, F. Ioannem Duns Scotum Doctorem Subtilem. Ad mentem S. Augustini, sub Magisterio Christi; interiore, per Gratiam, exteriori, per Ecclesiam. Tomus II. Per F. Matthiam Hauzeur, Theologum Franciscanum, Provinciae Flandriae FF. Min. Recollectorum. Typis eiusdem Provinciae. In Conventu Leodiensi, et Namurcensi, 1652.* Second folio volume of Hauzeur's theological masterpiece, a kind of comparative study of Alexander of Hales, Bonaventure, and Scotus. Hauzeur was a *Recollect* like the Louvain Franciscans, but unlike them belonged to the "Province of Flandria," living in the *Recollect* Convent of Liège. On the title page of his work, he is interestingly styled a "Franciscan Theologian." In the volume existing in the Maurits Sabbe Library, the engraved frontispiece showing the three great Medieval Franciscan authorities in discussion under supervision of Augustine and Christ himself, has been lost and is only shown in reproduction. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 2-004094/D; Folio. Photo © KU Leuven. CAA

31. Willem Van Sichen, O.F.M. Rec. (1632–1691), *Integer cursus philosophicus, brevi, clara et ad docendum discendumque facili methodo digestus. Tomus primus. Complectens Logicam et Metaphysicam. Antverpiae, Apud Petrum Bellerum. M.DC.LXVI.* Bound with the second volume (*Tomus secundus. Complectens Physicam*) that came out in the same year (1666). The only Scotist *Cursus philosophicus* known to have been written in Louvain in the seventeenth century. This first edition carries a recommendatory epistle written by Willem Herincx. The second edition of 1678, when Herincx had become Bishop of Ypres, is dedicated to him. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 2-003925/D Folio. Photo © KU Leuven. CAA

Franciscan / Scotist Theses Literature

32. *Theologia ad mentem Doctoris Subtilis Joannis Duns Scoti, quam praeside F. Patricio Duffy Ordinis FF. Minorum S. Theologiae Lectore, defendet Fr. Jacobus Ma[c]Gann ejusdem ordinis. Lovanii in Collegio S. Antonii de Padua FF. Minorum Hibernorum, Die 28. julii, 1679, hora 3, post meridiem. Lovanii, typis Martini Hullegaerde, anno 1679.* Scotist dissertation defended in St. Anthony's College, Louvain. The *praeses*, Patrick Duffy, O.F.M. (seventeenth-eighteenth century), was a Lector of theology in the Irish Convent and known for his stance against Jansenism. Quarto leaflet of 10 pages. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, from Bibliothek Theol. College S.J. Maastricht, Coll. Jansenisme, XXXIII, 37 (2318). Photo © KU Leuven. CAA

33. *Theses theologiae de vera felicitate, ac libertate amoris beatifici, et de fide divina, ad mentem Doctoris Subtilis Joannis Duns Scoti, quas praeside F. Francisco O Donnochu Ordinis FF. Minor. Recoll. S. Theologiae Lectore, defendet Fr. Joannes Granellus*

ejusdem ordinis. Lovanii, in Collegio S. Antonii de Padua FF. Min. Recoll. Hiber. Die 22. Junii, hora 9. ante, et 3. post meridiem. Lovanii, Typis Martini Hullegerde ante Academiam, Anno 1688. Scotist dissertation defended in St. Anthony's College, Louvain. Francis O'Donoghue, O.F.M. (late seventeenth century), was a Lector of the theology in the Irish Convent. Leaflet of 4 quarto pages. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 2-006481/C (nr. 58). No photo (similar to nr. 32). CAA

34. *Theses theologicae de fide, spe, charitate, et religione. Quas praeside F. Francisco Buysmans Ordinis FF. Min. Recoll. S. Theol. Lectore, Defendit F. Jacobus Verstegen, F. Thomas van den Heuvel ejusdem ordinis. Ruraemundae, in Conventu FF. Minorum Recollectorum die 17. Aprilis 1752, hora 9 ante, et 3. post meridiem. Lovanii, Apud Hanrocum Vander Haert, Sub signo Galeae prope Forum.* Dissertation defended in the Convent of the Recollects in Roermond. Notably, Jacob Verstegen, who himself later acted as *praeses* on many dissertations, here is one of the students defending their professor's *theses*. Printed in Louvain. Leaflet of 8 quarto pages. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 2-026363/B (nr. 37). No photo (similar to nr. 32). CAA

35. *Theses theologicae, ad mentem Doctoris Subtilis Scoti, quas, praeside F. Jacobo Verstegen Ordinis FF. Minorum Recollectorum S. Theologiae Lectore, defendit F. Laurentius Coopmans ejusdem ordinis. Antwerpiae in congregatione Provinciali die 16. Septemb. 1768, hora 9. ante Meridiem. Lovanii, Typis Joannis Francisci van Overbeke. Sub signo Lampadis Aureae.* Dissertation defended in the Convent of the Recollects in Antwerp. Jacob Verstegen here acts as *praeses*. Leaflet of 16 octavo pages. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 2-025992/B* (nr. 8). No photo (similar to nr. 32). CAA

Philosophy Courses from the Seventeenth-Century Scotist Tradition in Europe

36. Bartolomeo Mastri, O.F.M. Conv. (1602–1673) and Bonaventura Belluto, O.F.M. Conv. (1603–1676), *Disputationes in libros de Gener[atione] et Corrupt[i]one, quibus ab adversantibus tum veterum tum recentiorum iaculis Scoti philosophia vindicatur. A P.P. Bartholomeo Mastro Meldulensi et Bonaventura Belluto Catanensi [Sacrae] Theologiae Doctoribus et in Augusto Sancti Antonii Min. Con. Patavino Collegio Regentibus. Venetiis. Typis Marci Ginami Superior permissu et Privilegiis M.D.C.XXXX.* The two Italian Conventuals Mastri and Belluto were among the most influential Scotist authors of the seventeenth century. Together they authored a complete *Cursus philosophicus*, the individual parts of which were first published as separate volumes (all in quarto format). They are generally structured as disputations on Aristotle's philosophical works and thus still close to the traditional Aristotelian commentary tradition, something that we do not find in the extant Scotist material from Louvain. On display is the first edition of their disputations on Aristotle's *On Generation and Corruption*, bound with the first edition of their disputations on Aristotle's *On the Heavens*. Both volumes were published in 1640, when the two authors were teaching theology in the renowned Collegio S. Antonio in Padua. Note that their publisher, Marco Ginammi in Venice, has added a two-page advertisement of books on sale from his bookshop, among which are several Scotist works (on the first page of the advertisement). Formerly property of the Franciscans in Sint-Truiden. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 2-030163/B. Photo © KU Leuven. CAA

37. John Punch, O.F.M. Strict. Obs. (1599 or 1603–1661), *Integer philosophiae cvrsvs ad mentem Scoti. Primum editus in Collegio Romano Fratrum Minorum Hibernorum. Nunc vero ab authore, in Conventu Magno Parisiensi recognitus, mendis quibus scatebat, expurgatus; Morali insuper Philosophia, variisque Additionibus locupletatus. Authore R. P. Fr. Ioanne Poncio, Hyberno Corcagiensii Ordinis Minorum, Sacrae Theologiae Lectore Iubilato. Parisiis, Sumptibus Antonii Bertier [...]. M.D.C.XLIX.* The Irish Observant John Punch, a former student in St. Anthony's College in Louvain, competed with Mastri and Belluto to be the first Franciscan to publish a complete *Cursus philosophicus* in the spirit of Duns Scotus. He disagreed with them on many topics. This Paris edition of 1649 of his *Cursus philosophicus* contains his replies to much of their criticism. His influence on Willem Van Sichen is evident from Van Sichen's many references to his works. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 2-001135/D. Photo © Claus A. Andersen. CAA

38. Franco Michele O.F.M. Strict. Obs. (fl. ca. 1650), *Universae philosophiae disputationes in realem rationalem, divinam, naturalem, atque moralem divisae. In quibus Ioannis Duns Scoti Doctoris Subtilis doctrina explicatur; nec non ab adversariorum iaculis defenditur. Philosophiae realis rationalis de modo cognoscendi rerum tractatus primus in duas partes segregatus. Pars prior. In qua natura universalis realis, ac intentionalis, entisque rationis declaratur. Auctore Adm. R.P. Fratre Michaele Franco a Neapoli Ord. Minor. Strict. Observant. Seraph. P.S. Francisci Prov. Tre. Lab. Provinciali, ac Sacrae Theologiae Lectore Generali.* Printed 1650 in Naples by Camillo Cavallo. A rare work of Scotist philosophy, being the first part of what would have been a comprehensive presentation of all of philosophy that, in spite of the announcement on the title page of the first part, does not seem to have materialized; no other work of this Neapolitan Observant is known to have been printed. Engraved title page with small portraits of Franciscans under the influence of Scotus, Scotus himself, Bonaventure, Saint Anthony of Padua, and Francis of Assisi (who is otherwise not commonly depicted on engraved frontispieces of Franciscan philosophical works). KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 2-009536/C. Photo © KU Leuven. CAA

Later Scotist Philosophy in Belgium (Eighteenth–Twentieth Centuries)

39. Anonymous (eighteenth century), *Physica seu secunda pars philosophiae ad mentem doctoris subtilis Joannes Duns Scoti.* Manuscript from the Convent of the Franciscan Recollects in Ath. Explicit dated 15 June 1751. In possession of Fr. Bruno Bierlair OFMRec from Florennes, who arrived in Ath on 2 August 1751 and most likely acquired a manuscript of a course given during the previous academic year. Stamp from the Franciscan Convent in Namur. Includes sections on physics (1–444), metaphysics (447–548), and ethics (549–563). KU Leuven, KADOC, Archief Minderbroeders (Vlaamse provincie) Ms. 10762. The photo shows the beginning of the *Tractatus metaphysicus*. Photo © KU Leuven, KADOC. CAA

40. Fr. Amatus M.[?] (eighteenth century), general title missing, catalogued as *Cursus philosophicus*. The manuscript contains only the part on logic. It begins with a general introduction to philosophy (“Prooemium Philosophiae”). Explicit dated 4 April 1793, followed by the name of the author “Fr. Amatus M.” An archival note suggests the author is Amatus Binchet (“waarschijnlijk P. Amatus Binchet lector van filosofie”). The manuscript has no indication of the place of origin, but carries a stamp from the Library of the Franciscans in Mecheln. The author is hardly a Franciscan, since he sides with the Thomists against the Scotists regarding

the application of the formal distinction to the divine attributes (f. 45v, shown in catalogue). KU Leuven, KADOC, Archief Minderbroeders (Vlaamse provincie) Ms. 10695. Photo © KU Leuven, KADOC. CAA

41. Bérard Habraken, O.F.M. Conv. (fl. 1905–1912), *I.M.J.Fr. Institutiones metaphysicae specialis ad mentem S. Bonaventurae necnon Scoti, ad hodiernum usum scholarum accomodavit et tradidit in Collegio F. Minorum Conventualium. P. Berardus Habraken eiusdem ordinis. Tomus primus. Psychologia continens tractat. de viventibus in genere, et tractat. de anima humana tum in seipsa tum in ordine ad corpus spectata. A. 1905–1906*. Photomechanical reproduction of a manuscript, written with purple pen, of a philosophical course given in Louvain. The preface (“Ad lectorem”) is dated Louvain, 16 January 1906. 511 numbered pages and appended is a list of contents and a list of all theses defended in the course. Ex libris stamp on title page: “Ex libris ad usum simplicem Joseph M. Uitterhoeve Ord. Min. Conv.” Second Ex libris stamp (on cover page and title page) “Ex libris conv. imm. conc. B.M.V. Rallis.” Stamp (on title page) from the Theological Faculty in Louvain. Quarto volume. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 3-056462/B. Photo © KU Leuven. CAA

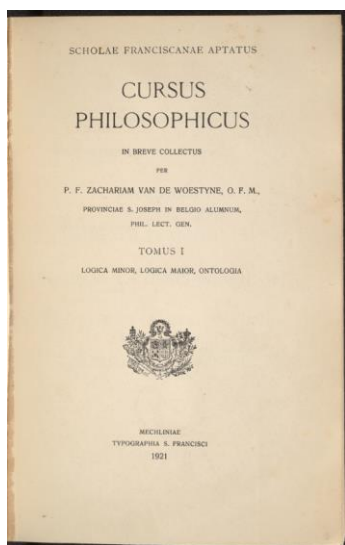
42. Bérard Habraken, O.F.M. Conv. (fl. 1905–1912), *Cursus Philosophicus ad mentem D. Bonaventurae et Scoti quem tradebat P. Berardus Habraken, o. min. Conv. Provinciae S. Huberti Leodinensis, anno 1906–1907. Cosmologia. [Motto:] Concordia omnia crescunt; Discordia maxima dilabuntur*. Second part of the same philosophical course that Habraken had started giving in the previous academic year. Photomechanical reproduction of a manuscript, written with purple pen. The preface (“Ad lectorem”) is dated Louvain, 14 July 1906. Dedication (without addressee) on the last page, in red pen (same hand as throughout the volume): “Souvenir de votre Ami et confrère P.B. Habraken.” Stamp (opposite the title page) from the Theological Faculty in Louvain. 308 numbered pages, with appended corrigenda and an incomplete list of contents. Quarto volume. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 2-025985/B. Photo © KU Leuven. CAA

43. Zacharias Van de Woestyne, O.F.M. (1878–1955), *Scholae Franciscanae aptatus Cursus philosophicus in breve collectus per P. F. Zachariam Van de Woestyne, O.F.M., Provinciae S. Joseph in Belgio Alumnum, Phil. Lect. Gen., Tomus I, Logica minor, logica maior, ontologia. Mechliniae Typographia S. Francisci 1921*. First volume of a two-volume *Cursus philosophicus*. The second volume (*Cosmologia, psychologia, theologia*) was published in 1925. A second edition was published in two volumes in 1932–1933. Joseph Bittremieux (1878–1950), professor of theology in Louvain, published reviews of the two volumes of the first edition, in *Revue néo-scholastique de philosophie* 24 (1922) 530–532 and 28 (1926) 73–75. Quarto volume. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 036453/B (first volume) and GBIB 3-004529/C (second volume). Photo © KU Leuven. CAA

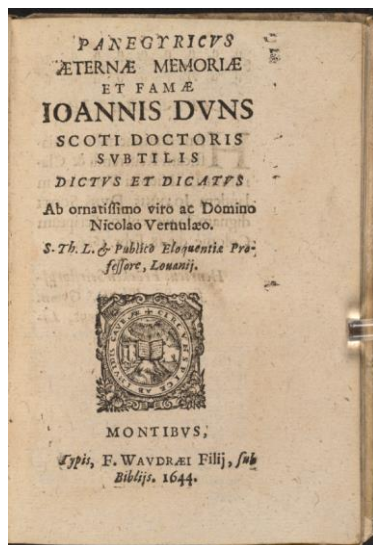
Nicolaus Vernulaeus’s Praise of John Duns Scotus

44. Nicolaus Vernulaeus (1583–1649), *Panegyricus aeternae memoriae et famae Ioannis Duns Scoti Doctoris Subtilis dictus et dicatus ab ornatissimo viro ac Domino Nicolao Vernulaeo. S. Th. L. et Publico Eloquentiae Professore, Lovanii. Montibus, Typis, F. Waudraei Filii, sub Biblis. 1644*. Printed as appendix to Luke Wadding, O.F.M., *Vita R.P.F. Ioannis Duns Scoti Ordinis Minorum Doctoris Subtilis. Authore R.P.F. Luca Wadingo Hiberno, Ordinis Minorum historiographo, Sacrae Theologiae Professore gen. Inquisitionis Romanae censore & collegii S. Isidori in urbe Guardiano* (same place and year of printing). Vernulaeus’s panegyric portrait of Duns Scotus was printed separately, probably for the first time, in Cologne in 1621 (printed by Bernhard Walther). Octavo volume. KU Leuven, Central Library, BRES Tabularium CaaA1915. Photo © KU Leuven. CAA

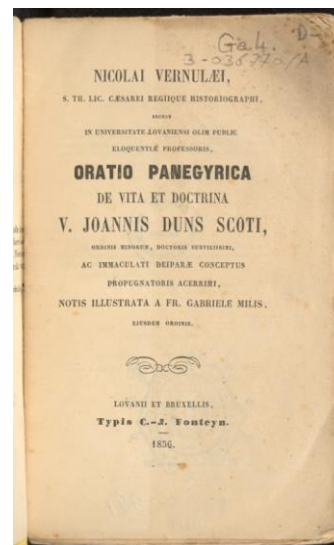
45. Nicolaus Vernulaeus (1583–1649), *Nicolai Vernulaei S. Th. Lic. Caesarei Regiique historiographi, necnon in Universitate Lovaniensi olim public[o] eloquentiae professoris, Oratio panegyrica de vita et doctrina V. Joannis Duns Scoti Ordinis Minorum, Doctoris subtilissimi, ac immaculati deiparae conceptus propugnatoris acerrimi, notis illustrata a Fr. Gabriele Milis ejusdem ordinis. Lovanii et Bruxellis. Typis C.-J. Fonteyn, 1856*. Reprint of Vernulaeus’s panegyric portrait of Duns Scotus, with a prologue and annotations by Gabriel Milis, O.F.M. (1822–1866). Octavo leaflet. KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, GBIB 3-036770/A. Photo © KU Leuven. CAA



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SELECT LITERATURE ON THE FRANCISCANS IN BELGIUM AND LOUVAIN SCOTISM

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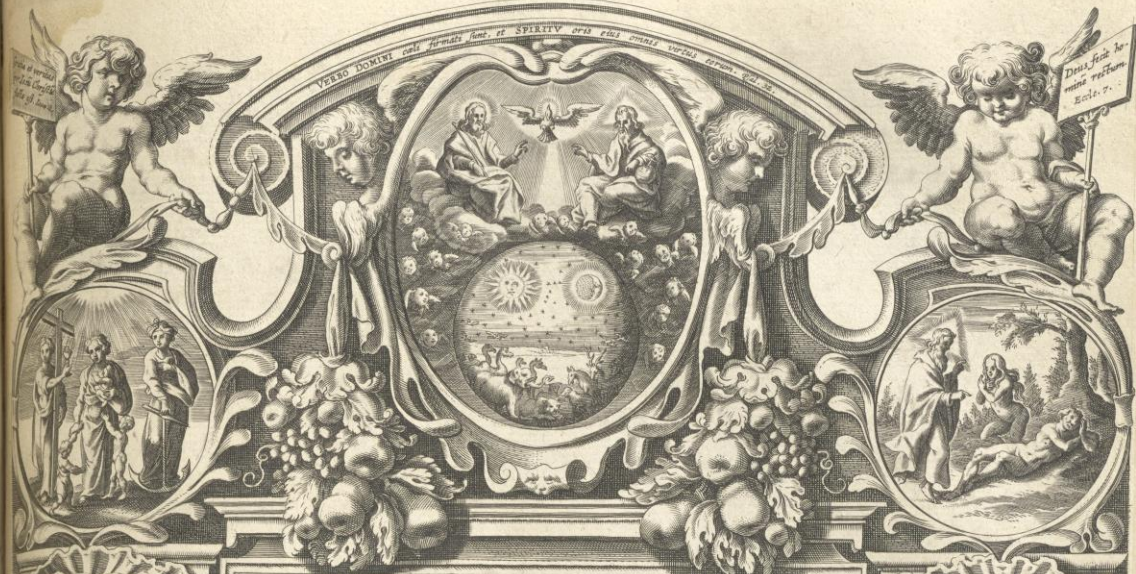
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DISPUTATIONVM
THEOLOGICARVM

F. THEODORI SMISING,
Ordinis FF. Minorum, Reg.
Obseru.^o Prou.^o Germ. Inferioris,
Louanij S.^o Theol. Lectoris,

TOMVS SECVNDVS.

DE DEO TRINO,

*In quo breuiter
tota huius mysterij ratio
traditur,
et Subtilis Doctoris SCOTI
de eodem argumento doctrina
elucidatur.*



*Len. per. Moysen
lat. 177. 10. 1.*



*Abundantiam
gratie et iustitiae acci-
peretes. etc. Rom. 5.*



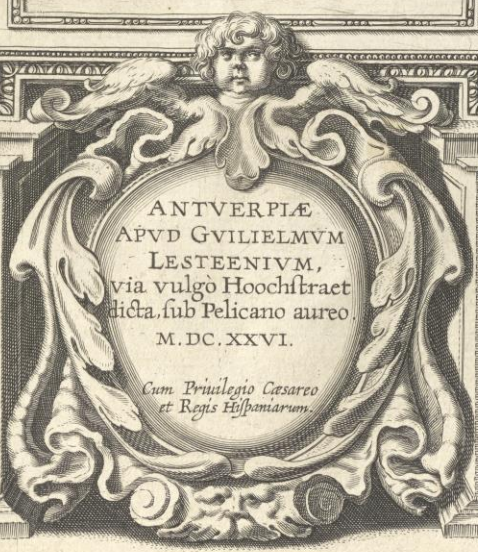
*Si vnus de illis mors
regnauit, Rom. 5.*



*Multo magis
per vnum Iesum
Christum. Rom. 5.*



BONAVENTURA.



ANTVERPIÆ
APVD GVILIELMVM
LESTEENIVM,
via vulgò Hoochstraet
dicta. sub Pelicano aureo
M. DC. XXVI.

*Cum Priuilegio Cesareo
et Regis Hispaniarum.*



SCOTVS.