

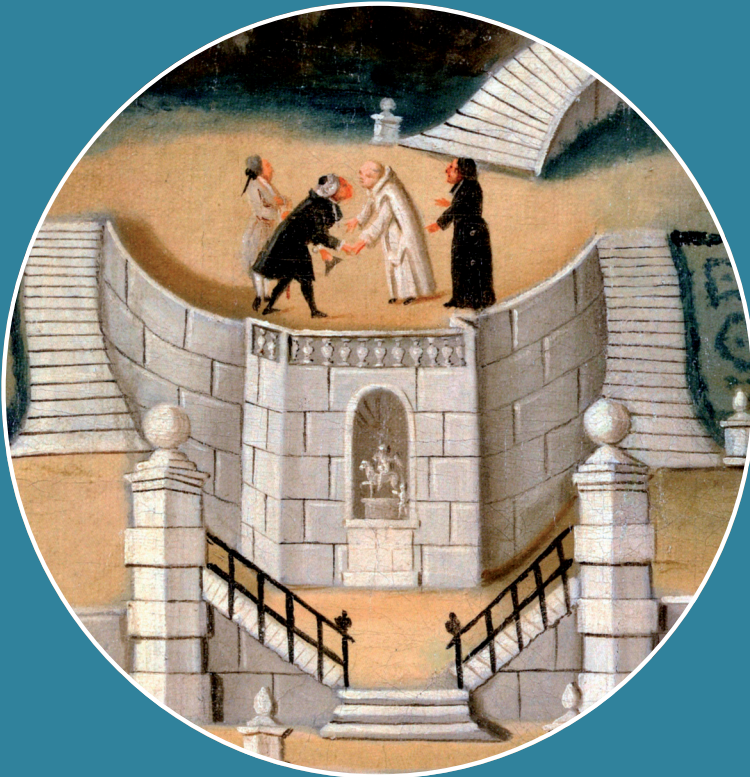
Analecta Cartusiana

298

LES CHARTREUX ET LES ÉLITES XII^e-XVIII^e SIÈCLES

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ATQUE HAEC QUIDEM FUERUNT!
THE CARTHUSIANS AND COLLEGE FOUNDATIONS AT
THE UNIVERSITY OF LEUVEN

But this [the priests] have in common with those of the heathens, that they are vigilant enough to the harvest of their profit, nor is there any of them that is not better read in those laws than the Scripture. Whereas if there be anything burdensome, they prudently lay that on other men's shoulders and shift it from one to the other, as men toss a ball from hand to hand, following herein the example of lay princes who commit the government of their kingdoms to their grand ministers, and they again to others, and leave all study of piety to the common people. In like manner the common people put it over to those they call ecclesiastics, as if themselves were no part of the Church, or that their vow in baptism had lost its obligation. Again, the priests that call themselves secular, as if they were initiated to the world, not to Christ, lay the burden on the regulars; the regulars on the monks; the monks that have more liberty on those that have less; and all of them on the Mendicants; the Mendicants on the Carthusians, among whom, if anywhere, this piety lies buried, but yet so close that scarce anyone can perceive it.

Desiderius ERASMUS (†1536), *The Praise of Folly*¹

Erasmus' Folly, while mocking the abuses in the Western Church and the corruption of monasticism, praised the piety of the Carthusian monks, albeit with a teasing hint at their hidden life. Elsewhere Erasmus calls the Carthusians the "most magnificent and sacred religious". Especially in the Low Countries some monks maintained friendly relations with the prince of the humanists².

1. Desiderius ERASMUS, *The Praise of Folly*, trad. John WILSON, London, W. Leak, 1668, repr. New York, 2007, p. 58.

2. *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami...*, Percy Stafford ALLEN and Helen Mary ALLEN (eds.), 12 vol., Oxford, Clarendon, 1906-1958, vol. iv: 1519-1521, p. 473, n. 425 and vol. vii: 1524-1528, p. 199; Marc VENARD, "Érasme et les chartreux", in *Crises et temps de rupture en Chartreuse (XIV^e-XX^e siècles). Actes du colloque international d'histoire et de spiritualité cartusiennes (Chartreuse de Glandier, 15-18 septembre 1994)*, Alain GIRARD and

Despite Erasmus' stance on reforming the church from within, the Carthusian General Chapter of 1537, amid the turmoil of the Reformation afflicting the Order, not only forbade the reading of the works of Luther, but also those of Erasmus and *aliorum qui sanam et Catholicam doctrinam non sapiunt, et religioni statui impie aduersantur*. The monks who would engage in discussing forbidden opinions were to be subjected to general discipline. The ordinance was confirmed the next year, explicitly forbidding the use of Erasmus' translation of the New Testament and of the *Monotessaron* compiled from it³.

The start of Luther's movement, in the years following the publication of Erasmus' Greek New Testament between 1514 and 1522, had already caused great concern within the Order. In particular monks of the Carthusian *Provincia Teutonica*, who were openly flirting with Lutheran criticism of the church were warned by an *Exhortatio* of the General Chapter in 1524, which urged Charterhouses in the Low Countries not to get involved with the doctrine of Luther⁴. In 1532 the General Chapter had appended an *Ordinatio* to the dispositions for *Teutonia* and the Rhineland, imposing an imprisonment for monks who persisted in the Lutheran doctrine⁵.

Although the 1524 and 1532 admonitions of the General Chapter only targeted individual flirtations with Lutheran ideas, they had much broader implications. As will become clear in the course of this paper, the visitors of the Carthusian Teutonic Province were very harsh with monks who seemed to be increasingly entangled in the development of humanism at the University of Leuven, or were dragged into the tarpit of theological dispute between followers and adversaries of both Luther and Erasmus at the Leuven Faculty of Theology.

The main subject of this paper will be the dealings of the Charterhouse of Leuven⁶ with the University of Leuven. First, it will be shown that its

Daniel LE BLÉVEC (eds.), Pont-Saint-Esprit, Centre de recherches cartusiennes (Analecta Cartusiana, n. s., 6/11-12), 1995, p. 67-72.

3. John CLARK, "Carthusian Legislation in the Sixteenth Century as Reflected in the Chartae", in *Magister Bruno. Negen eeuwen uitstraling van de Kartuizerorde*, Francis TIMMERMANS and Tom GAENS (eds.), Leuven, Peeters, 2003, p. 127-140, p. 129; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 7044-7046, fol. 33r-33v.

4. *Cartae visitationum cartusiae Lovaniensis (1504-1537 and 1559-1561)*, *British Library, Ms. Harley, 3591*, Jan DE GRAUWE and F. TIMMERMANS (eds.), Salzburg, Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik (Analecta Cartusiana, 248), 2007, p. 57-58.

5. J. CLARK, "Carthusian Legislation in the Sixteenth Century", quot. art., p. 129.

6. F. TIMMERMANS, "Chartreuse Sainte Marie Madeleine sous la Croix de Louvain", in *Monasticon cartusiense. Band III*, James HOGG and Gerhard SCHLEGEL (eds.), Salzburg, Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik (Analecta Cartusiana, 185/3), 2005,

early development is closely entwined with the foundation of new university colleges and the rise of humanism. Second, the influence of the Carthusians on newly founded university colleges is explored, as well as the incorporation of the Charterhouse into the University. Third, the above-mentioned actions by the visitors of the Teutonic Province and its implications for the Carthusians of Leuven will be discussed.

1. The Charterhouse of Leuven and its benefactors

The foundation of the Charterhouse within the city walls of Leuven can be seen as a high point of an evolution in which the locations of newly founded Charterhouses increasingly moved away from remote “deserts” to the immediate vicinity of city walls. An evolution also in which monks showed a greater openness compared to the 11th century Carthusians in the south of France⁷.

The rapid growth to prosperity of the Charterhouse of Leuven, founded between 1486 and 1491, was due to a large supporting network connected with influential figures at the Burgundian-Habsburg court as well as with leading figures at faculties, pedagogies and colleges of the University of Leuven, as can be seen in tables 1 and 2.

As far as the identity of the founder(s) is concerned, the *cartae* of the General Chapter are in contradiction with the chronicle of the Leuven Charterhouse. According to the former, Joannes Overhof was the *primus fundator* (see table 1). Some historians, in contrast, point to Walterus Waterleet as the “founder” of the Charterhouse, as he donated the foundation property. He is called *unus de primis benefactoribus seu fundatoribus* in the chronicle (see table 1).

p. 230-238, 351-353 ; Hendrik DELVAUX, “Chartreuse de Louvain”, in *Monasticon belge. Tome IV. Province de Brabant*, 6 fasc. in 2 vol., Bruges, Desclée De Brouwer-Denée, Abbaye de Maredsous-Liège, Centre national de recherches d’histoire religieuse, 1964-1972, fasc. 6, 1457-1494.

7. T. GAENS and Frans HENDRICKX, “Het vaste ritme van verandering. Vijf eeuwen kartuizergeschiedenis in de Nederlanden (1314-1796)”, in *Het geheim van de stilte. De besloten wereld van de Roermondse Kartuizers*, K. PANSTERS (ed.), Zwolle, Uitgeverij Waanders, 2009, p. 30-47, 249-253.

Table 1. Benefactors of the Carthusians at the Burgundian-Habsburg court.

Name / Occupation	Donations / Relation to the Carthusians	University donations / Relations
Walterus Henrici Waterleet (†1494) ⁸ , cantor and chaplain of Charles the Bold and Margareta of York, provost of Saint Quentin's (Maubeuge), scholaster of Saint Gudula's (Brussels)	donated foundation property in 1486; contributed to the building of a cell; friend and benefactor of the Carthusians of Brussels	founded 3 student scholarships at the Falcon college
Margareta of York (†1503) ⁹ , duchess of Burgundy	laid the first stone; contributed to building the procurator's cell; benefactrix of the Carthusians of Herne, Brussels and Grande Chartreuse	granted many scholarships to needy students, amongst others to Adrianus Florentii (see below) and Joannes Briart (see below)
Joannes Briart of Ath (†1520) ¹⁰ , canon of Saint-Peter's, counselor and confessor of Margareta of York	<i>semper amicus et fautor</i> ; buried at the Charterhouse next to his parents	professor at the Falcon; dean of the Faculty of Theology; rector (1505, 1510); vice-chancellor of the University; friend of Adrianus Florentii (see below); founded 1 scholarship at Holy Spirit's college

8. Jean MOLANUS, *Les quatorze livres sur l'histoire de la ville de Louvain...*, ed. P. F. X. DE RAM, 2 vol., Brussels, M. Hayes (Collection de chroniques belges inédites), 1861, vol. I, p. 295, 300; E. H. J. REUSENS, "La chronique de la chartreuse de Louvain depuis sa fondation en 1498 à l'année 1525", *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, 14 (1877), p. 228-299, p. 230, 246; ID., *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'Université de Louvain (1425-1797)*, vol. IV, Leuven, Univ. catholique, 1886-1888, p. 433.

9. J. MOLANUS, *Les quatorze livres*, *op. cit.*, p. 296; E. H. J. REUSENS, "La chronique de la chartreuse de Louvain", *quot. art.*, p. 232, 238, 251, 262-263; H. DE VOCHT, *Monumenta humanistica Lovaniensia. Texts and Studies about Louvain Humanists...*, Leuven-London, 1934, p. 403; K. RAGETLI, *Mirae Fautrix. An in-depth Study on Margaret of York's Patronage...*, Master Thesis, Univ. of Utrecht, 2010, p. 64-67, 77, 88-92.

10. E. H. J. REUSENS, "La chronique de la chartreuse de Louvain", *quot. art.*, p. 295-296; ID., *Documents relatifs*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, Louvain, Univ. Cath., 1893-1902, p. 262; *ibid.*, vol III, *loc. cit.*, 1881-1885, p. 99, and vol. IV, *loc. cit.*, 1886-1888, p. 387; P. G. BIETENHOLZ and Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, vol. I, Toronto-Buffalo-London, Univ. of Toronto Press, 1985, p. 195-196; J. DE BUSLEYDEN, *Jerome de Busleyden, Founder of the Louvain Collegium Trilingue. His Life and Writings*, H. DE VOCHT (ed.), Turnhout (Humanistica Lovaniensia, 9), 1950, p. 8-9;

<p>Franciscus Busleyden (†1502)¹¹, chamberlain and tutor of Philip the Handsome, councillor and chancellor of Flanders; canon of Saint Lambert's (Liège), of Saint Simeon's (Trier), of Our Lady's (Cambrai), canon and treasurer of Saint Gudula's (Brussels), provost of Saint Lambert's (Liège) and of Saint Donatian's (Bruges), procurator of the provost of Saint-Peter's (Leuven), dean of Our Lady's (Antwerp), archbishop of Besançon, cardinal</p>	<p><i>magnus benefactor domorum Antverpiae, Capellae, Bruxellae, et novae plantationis in Lovanio</i>; contributed to building the prior's cell † (A)</p>	<p>chancellor of the University (during Ruter's absence); older brother of Hieronymus Buysleyden, founder of the <i>Collegium Trilingue</i>; administrator of Saint Donatian's college (as provost of Bruges); defended the university privileges in 1500; generously supported scholars, including Erasmus, with whom he had entered the service of Henricus de Bergen (see below)</p>
<p>Nicolaus Ruter (Ruistre) (†1509)¹², secretary, master of requests and councillor under Charles the Bold; secretary of the council of finance, treasurer and master of requests under Philip the Handsome; canon of Saint Donatian's (Bruges), of our Lady's (Cambrai), of Saint Gommer's (Lier), of Our Lady's (Dendermonde) and of Our Lady's (Kortrijk), archdeacon of Brabant in Cambrai, provost of Saint Bavo's (Haarlem) and of Saint Peter's (Leuven), bishop of Arras</p>	<p>contributed building a cell; celebrated his first mass as bishop of Arras at the Charterhouse; donated stained-glass panels</p>	<p>chancellor of the University (1487-1509); founder of the Arras college; founded 16 scholarships; the Arras college was established in the house of Catharina Absoloens (†c.1501); she contributed to building a cell at the Charterhouse</p>

H. DE VOCHT, *Monumenta humanistica Lovaniensia*, *op. cit.*, p. 403; Th. VANDEBORGHT, *Het paedagogium Falconis Lovaniense (1426?-1578)*, Lic. Thesis, Katholieke Univ. Leuven, 1957, p. 28; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 7043, fol. 144v, 145r and Ms. 7044-7046, fol. 5r-5v.

11. J. MOLANUS, *Les quatorze livres*, *op. cit.*, p. 296; E. H. J. REUSENS, "La chronique", *op. cit.*, p. 239, 251, 259; ID., *Documents relatifs*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 391; vol. IV, p. 493-496; P. G. BIETENHOLZ and Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 234-237; E. DE MAESSCHALCK, *Kollegestichtingen aan de universiteit te Leuven (1425-1530)*..., Doct. Thesis, Katholieke Univ. Leuven, 1977, p. 549, n. 5.

12. J. MOLANUS, *Les quatorze livres*, *op. cit.*, p. 297; E. H. J. REUSENS, "La chronique", *op. cit.*, p. 257-258, 278; ID., *Documents relatifs*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 390 and vol. III, p. 155-158; P. G. BIETENHOLZ and Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, *op. cit.*, vol. III, *loc. cit.*, 1987, p. 177-178; E. H. J. REUSENS, "La chronique", *quot. art.*, p. 245, 250; *Jerome de Busleyden*, *quot. ed.*, p. 305-307. On the visit of cardinal Carjaval to Leuven, see: H. DE JONGH, *Lettres par lesquelles le cardinal Carvajal, légat apostolique, accorde*

<p>Conradus de Sart (†1502)¹³, master of requests and counsellor of Philips the Handsome; scholaster of Saint Peter's (Leuven), canon and official of Saint Lambert's (Liège), secular abbot of Our Lady's (Namur), provost of Saint Rumbold's (Mechelen)</p>	<p>contributed to building a cell; buried at the Charterhouse; Franciscus Busleyden (see above), Adrianus Florentii (see below) and Petrus Coelkies, architect and benefactor of the Carthusians, were his testamentary executors</p>	<p>rector (1488); benefactor of the Holy Spirit's college; founded 1 scholarship</p>
<p>Simon <i>de Slusa</i> (Sluys) (†1499)¹⁴, court-physician and councillor of Philip the Handsome, counsellor of the prince-bishop of Liège; canon of Saint Lambert (Liège), Saint Donatian's (Bruges), Our Lady's (Kortrijk), Saint Peter's (Lille) and Saint Martin's cathedral (Utrecht), archdeacon in Liège and Utrecht; provost of Saint Rumbold's (Mechelen), Saint Waltrude's (Mons), Saint Martin's (Utrecht) & Saint Pharaïlde (Gent)</p>	<p>contributed to building a cell</p>	<p>founded 2 scholarships at Holy Spirit's college and 1 scholarship at Saint Ives</p>
<p>Engelbertus de Nassau (†1504)¹⁵, lieutenant-general of the Netherlands and chief-counsellor of Philip the Handsome</p>		<p>early benefactor of the Standonk college; its founder, Joannes Standonk, stayed at his Breda court in 1502</p>

des indulgences au Collège d'Arras à Louvain en 1508, Leuven, 1908, p. 9; E. H. J. REUSENS, "La chronique", quot. art., p. 279-280; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 7043, fol. 136v-137r.

13. J. MOLANUS, *Les quatorze livres*, op. cit., p. 297; E. H. J. REUSENS, "La chronique", quot. art., p. 254-255; ID., *Documents relatifs*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 260 and vol. III, p. 34-35, 98; H. VANDER LINDEN, "Conrad de Sart", in *Biographie nationale*, t. 21, 1911-1913, p. 412; E. DE MAESSCHALCK, *Kollegestichtingen*, op. cit., p. 193-195.

14. J. MOLANUS, *Les quatorze livres*, op. cit., p. 299; J. REUSENS, "La chronique", quot. art., p. 237-238, 249, 257, 267; ID., *Documents relatifs*, op. cit., vol. III, p. 33-34, 118; A. G. JONGKEES, *Staat en kerk in Holland en Zeeland onder de Bourgondische hertogen (1425-1477)*, Groningen, J. B. Wolters (Bijdragen van het Instituut voor middeleeuwsche geschiedenis der Rijks-Universiteit te Utrecht, 21), 1942, p. 283-284; E. DE MAESSCHALCK, *Kollegestichtingen*, op. cit., p. 221-224.

15. P. G. BIETENHOLZ and Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, op. cit., vol. III, p. 4-5; E. DE MAESSCHALCK, *Kollegestichtingen*, op. cit., p. 798.

<p>Joannes Overhof (†1496)¹⁶, treasurer of Engelbertus de Nassau</p>	<p>called <i>primus fundator in the cartae, secundus fundator [...]</i> et <i>primus dotator</i> and <i>quasi primus et principalis fundator</i> in the chronicle; contributed to building a cell</p>	
<p>Henricus de Nassau (†1532)¹⁷, nephew of Engelbertus, tutor and grand chamberlain of Charles V, advisor at the Spanish court</p>	<p>contributed to the building of the refectory <i>cum pennario et dependentijs</i></p>	
<p>Maria Magdalena de Hamal (†1540)¹⁸, widow of Gulielmus de Croy (†1521), lord of Chièvres and Beaumont, marquis of Aarschot, chamberlain and councillor of Philip the Handsome, member of the council of regency for the Netherlands, president of the council of finance, commander-in-chief, controller-general and lieutenant-general of the Netherlands; chamberlain and mentor of Charles V, duke of Soria, admiral of the kingdom of Naples, captain-general of the seaborne forces, and chief treasurer at the Spanish court</p>	<p>contributed to building a cell, the chapter room, the Holy Cross chapel, three chapels near the church and the little cloister; donated stained-glass panels</p>	<p>founded 4 scholarships at the Standonk college</p>

16. J. MOLANUS, *Les quatorze livres, op. cit.*, p. 295, 300; E. H. J. REUSENS, “La chronique”, quot. art., p. 231-232, 234-236, 247, 248; *The Chartae of the Carthusian General Chapter (1475-1503)*, Ms. Grande Chartreuse 1 Cart. 14, ed. J. CLARK, Salzburg, Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik (Analecta Cartusiana, 100/31), 1999, p. 80, l. 2-3 (c.1497): *habetur obitus providi viri Joannis van Overhot, primi fundatoris novae plantationis in Lovanio, 24 junii, cum pleno monachatu.*

17. E. H. J. REUSENS, “La chronique”, quot. art., p. 287-288, 294; P. G. BIETENHOLZ and Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus, op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 5; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 7044-7046, fol. 5v.

18. J. MOLANUS, *Les quatorze livres, op. cit.*, p. 299; E. H. J. REUSENS, “La chronique”, quot. art., p. 296-297; *Documents relatifs, op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 470; P. G. BIETENHOLZ and Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus, op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 366-367; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 7044-7046, fol. 15v, 21r, 26r; *De Celestijnenpriorij te Heverlee. Van klooster tot bibliotheek*, Mark DEREZ and Anne VERBRUGGE (eds.), Leuven, Univ. Pers., 2005, p. 11-29.

<p>Gulielmus de Croy (†1521)¹⁹, nephew of Gulielmus, provost of Saint Gertrude's (Nivelles), coadjutor to the abbot of Afflighem and to the bishop of Cambrai, bishop of Cambrai, abbot of Saint Bavo's (Gent), cardinal of Santa Maria in Aquiro, archbishop of Toledo, primate of Spain, abbot of Hautmont</p>	<p><i>cartusianis Lovaniensi benevolus</i></p>	<p>humanistic education in Leuven</p>
<p>Jacobus de Croy (†1516)²⁰, canon of Cambrai, Cologne and Liège, prior of Saint Saulve (Valenciennes), provost of Bonn, Maaseik and Arras, bishop-duke of Cambrai</p>	<p>benefactor of the Carthusians of Leuven and Brussels; ordained by Nicolaus Ruistre (see above), suffragan of Cambrai, at the Leuven Charterhouse in 1506</p>	<p>Erasmus composed an epitaph for the bishop</p>
<p>Joannes de Bergen (†1532)²¹, lord of Bergen-op-Zoom and Glymes, first chamberlain to Maximilian I and Philip the Handsome, member of the privy council of Margaretha of Austria</p>	<p><i>fautor ordinis & magnus benefactor domus Lovanij;</i> contributed to building the guest house and kitchen; donated stained-glass panels; benefactor of the Carthusians of Brussels</p>	<p>he and his family founded scholarships at Saint Ives</p>

19. E. H. J. REUSENS, "La chronique", quot. art., p. 292-293; P. G. BIETENHOLZ and Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus, op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 367-368; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 7043, fol. 159r.

20. E. H. J. REUSENS, "La chronique", quot. art., p. 275-276; P. G. BIETENHOLZ and Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus, op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 368; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 7043, fol. 94r, 141v, 151r, 153v.

21. E. H. J. REUSENS, "La chronique", quot. art., p. 272-273; P. G. BIETENHOLZ and Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus, op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 133-134 and vol. III, p. 119; H. DELVAUX, "Chartreuse de Louvain", quot. art., p. 1468, n. 9, and p. 1471, n. 3; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 7043, fol. 145r; *The Chartae of the Carthusian General Chapter. Ms. Paris Bibliothèque nationale Latin 10890*, vol. III, J. CLARK (ed.), Salzburg, Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik (Analecta Cartusiana, 100/23.3), 1997, p. 9, l. 14-15 (c.1533) and l. 25-28.

<p>Henricus de Bergen (†1502)²², brother of Joannes de Bergen, canon of Saint Lambert's (Liège), abbot of Saint Denis-en-Broqueroi (Mons), bishop of Cambrai, chancellor of the order of the Golden Fleece</p>	<p>benefactor of the Charterhouse of Brussels</p>	<p>took Franciscus Busleyden (see above), Erasmus and Gulielmus Bollart into his service; the heart and intestines of Bollart, the later benedictine abbot of Sint-Truiden and benefactor of the Carthusians, were buried at the Leuven Charterhouse; during an exile from France, Joannes Standonk, founder of the Standonk college, stayed at his Cambrai court</p>
<p>Adrianus de Helwyghen (†1521)²³, collector and counsellor of Philip the Handsome and Charles V</p>	<p>contributed to building a cell; <i>magnus benefactor et fautor ordinis</i>; his wife Margarita de Beringhen (†1522) is listed as a <i>magna benefactrix</i>; buried at the Charterhouse</p>	
<p>Joannes de Witte (Albius) (†1540)²⁴, Dominican, bishop of Selimbria, tutor at the Spanish court, confessor of Eleonora of Austria, bishop of Cuba; son of Joannes de Witte, mayor of Bruges and councillor of Charles the Bold</p>	<p><i>bonus amicus domus</i></p>	<p>studied in Leuven and founded a school for theology and Latin and Greek in Bruges; Michael François (†1502), his predecessor as bishop of Selimbria, was the confessor of Philip the Handsome and a friend of Joannes Standonk, founder of the Standonk college</p>

22. P. G. BIETENHOLZ and Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 132-133; p. 162-163; *Jerome de Busleyden*, *quot. ed.*, p. 454-455; H. DE VOCHT, *Monumenta humanistica Lovaniensia*, *op. cit.*, p. 479; E. DE MAESSCHALCK, *Kollegestichtingen*, *op. cit.*, p. 798; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 7043, fol. 124r.

23. J. MOLANUS, *Les quatorze livres*, *op. cit.*, p. 299; E. H. J. REUSENS, "La chronique", *quot. art.*, p. 267.

24. E. H. J. REUSENS, "La chronique", *quot. art.*, p. 287; E. DE MAESSCHALCK, *Kollegestichtingen*, *op. cit.*, p. 798.

Table 2. Benefactors of the Carthusians at the University of Leuven.

Name / Occupation	Donations / Relation to the Carthusians	University donations / Relations
Jaspar (Gaspar) Kinschot of Turnhout (†1488) ²⁵ , canon of Saint Peter's (Leuven), curate of Saint Martin's (Middelburg)	contributed to building a cell; friend of Walterus Waterleet (see table 1)	regent of the Falcon; rector (1468) of the university; founded 1 scholarship at Holy Spirit's college, 2 scholarships at Saint Ives and 1 scholarship at the Falcon; friend of Henry Houterle, founder of the Houterle college
Gillis (Egidius) <i>de Platea</i> (†1489) ²⁶ , canon of Saint Lambert's (Liège) and archdeacon of Hainaut in Liège, counsellor of the prince-bishop of Liège	bequeathed part of his possessions by testament; brought in other benefactors, such as Joannes Overhof (see table 1)	regent of the Castle; founded 1 scholarship; some of the earliest professed Carthusians of Leuven were students at the Castle
Petrus <i>de Rivo</i> (†1499) ²⁷ , canon of Saint Rumbold's (Mechelen), pastor of Saint Peter's (Leuven)	<i>magnus fautor et promotor</i> ; donated his books of theology and canon law	co-regent of the Castle; rector (1457, 1477, 1478); dictator (1456); founded 3 scholarships at the Castle
Gulielmus Joannis de Vianen (†1529) ²⁸ , pastor of Saint Peter's (Leuven)	benefactor	rector (1500, 1508, 1525); regent of the Castle; founded 2 schol-

25. J. MOLANUS, *Les quatorze livres*, *op. cit.*, p. 299-300; E. H. J. REUSENS, "La chronique", *quot. art.*, p. 236-237; ID., *Documents relatifs*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 257; vol. III, p. 33, 118; vol. IV, p. 311-312, 433; E. DE MAESSCHALCK, *Kollegestichtingen*, *op. cit.*, p. 189-190; Th. VANDEBORGH, *Het paedagogium Falconis*, *op. cit.*, p. 26-27; H. DE VOCHT, "Hoogleraar Jasper van Kinschot en zijn invloed", offprint from *Taxandria*, n. s., 14/3 (1948).

26. J. MOLANUS, *Les quatorze livres*, *op. cit.*, p. 295; E. H. J. REUSENS, "La chronique", *quot. art.*, p. 232-233, 253-254, 267-268. In 1495, the prior of the Leuven Carthusians was appointed *perpetuis temporibus visitatorem et super intendentem xenodochij infirmorum in opido Lovaniensi* by Joannes de Horne, the prince-bishop of Liège; cfr. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 7043, fol. 115v.

27. E. H. J. REUSENS, "La chronique", *quot. art.*, p. 249; ID., *Documents relatifs*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 256, 258, 313; vol. IV, p. 73; E. DE MAESSCHALCK, *Kollegestichtingen*, *op. cit.*, p. 315-317; H. DE VOCHT, *History of the Foundation and Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense (1517-1550)*, vol. I, Leuven, Uystpruyst, 1951, p. 124-125.

28. E. H. J. REUSENS, *Documents relatifs*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 261, 262, 264; vol. III, p. 31, 99; vol. IV, p. 31, 73, 456, 470; P. G. BIETENHOLZ and Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 390-391; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 7044-7046, fol. 31r.

		arships at the Castle; benefactor of the Standonk college; founded 2 scholarships at Holy Spirit's college
Leo Outers (Wouters) of Hondshoote (†1530) ²⁹ , canon of Saint Lambert's (Liège), provost of Saint Paul's (Liège), chancellor of the prince-bishop of Liège	contributed to building a cell; donated three stained-glass panels	rector (1499, 1502); regent of the Lily; founded 6 scholarships at the Lily; friend of Erasmus; his master was one of the promoters of the <i>Collegium Trilingue</i> and correspondent of Erasmus
Nicolaus Viruli (†>1518) ³⁰ , son of Carolus (Menneken) Viruli (†1493)	<i>donated unam pulchram et bonam cistam ferream ad reponendam calices et cetera clenodia domus</i>	co-regent of the Lily, founded or re-established by his father; rector (1482)
Martinus Dorpius of Naaldwijk (†1525) ³¹ , son of the treasurer at the court of The Hague; canon of Saint Peter's (Leuven)	<i>magnus benefactor</i> ; donated a sum of money and 60 books from his collection; buried at the Charterhouse; an epitaph by Erasmus was inscribed on the funeral monument	professor at the Lily; professor of theology; rector (1523), president of the Holy Spirit's college (1515-1519); correspondent of Erasmus; Catharina Pynnock (†c. 1513) bequeathed her house to the Holy Spirit's college, which became the president's residence; she contributed to building a cell in the Charterhouse

29. J. MOLANUS, *Les quatorze livres*, op. cit., p. 298; E. H. J. REUSENS, *Documents relatifs*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 261; vol. IV, p. 168-173, 176-177, 286; P. G. BIETENHOLZ and Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, op. cit., vol. III, p. 37; H. DE VOCHT, *History of the Foundation*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 92-93, n. 2; E. DE MAESSCHALCK, *Kollegestichtingen*, op. cit., p. 376; G. BOSMANS, *De pedagogie "De Lelie" 437-1560*, Lic. Thesis, Katholieke Univ. Leuven, 1958, p. 1-70.

30. E. H. J. REUSENS, "La chronique", quot. art., p. 253; ID., *Documents relatifs*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 259; vol. IV, p. 168-173, 176; P. G. BIETENHOLZ and Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, op. cit., vol. III, p. 401-402; E. DE MAESSCHALCK, *Kollegestichtingen*, op. cit., p. 376, 548.

31. J. MOLANUS, *Les quatorze livres*, op. cit., p. 297; E. H. J. REUSENS, *Documents relatifs*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 264; vol. III, p. 16, 99; vol. IV, p. 246-247; P. G. BIETENHOLZ and

Joannes Stephani Nivellensis († 1520) ³² , syndic (<i>pensionarius</i>) of Leuven	buried at the Charterhouse	professor at the Lily; law professor; rector (1519)
Joannes de Hoya († 1518) ³³ , pastor and canon of Saint Donatian's (Bruges), pastor of Saint John's (Gent)	<i>bonus amicus et magnus benefactor</i> ; contributed to building a cell; buried at the Charterhouse; his testamentary executors were the prior of the Carthusians and Joannes Briart (see table 1)	professor of theology; benefactor of the Holy Spirit's college; founded 2 scholarships
Joannes Moederloys († 1506) ³⁴	donated <i>unum bonum calicem</i> , a former gift of Henricus de Bergen (see table 1)	<i>sacre pagine</i> professor, rector (1483, 1498)
Judocus (Joost) van der Hoeven († 1536) ³⁵ , notary	was granted participation in the good works of the Carthusian order	beadle of the faculty of theology, president of the <i>Collegium Trilingue</i> (1529-1536); founder of scholarships in the <i>Collegium Trilingue</i> and the Holy Spirit's college
Gisbertus Waddinck of Delft († 1519) ³⁶	benefactor; <i>magnus amicus et cordialis fautor</i> ; Henricus Rodulphi of Den Bosch, who was in his service, entered the Charterhouse	promotor (1495); <i>procurator causarum</i>

Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 398-404; vol. II, p. 171; E. DE MAESSCHALCK, *Kollegestichtingen*, *op. cit.*, p. 208, 249-250; H. DE VOCHT, *Monumenta humanistica Lovaniensia*, *op. cit.*, p. 346-348, 400-402; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 7044-7046, fol. 15v-16r.

32. E. H. J. REUSENS, *Documents relatifs*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 263; vol. IV, p. 244; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 7044-7046, fol. 6v.

33. J. MOLANUS, *Les quatorze livres*, *op. cit.*, p. 300-301; E. H. J. REUSENS, "La chronique", *quot. art.*, p. 290; ID., *Documents relatifs*, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 35; E. DE MAESSCHALCK, *Kollegestichtingen*, *op. cit.*, p. 205-208.

34. E. H. J. REUSENS, "La chronique", *quot. art.*, p. 274; ID., *Documents relatifs*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 259, 261.

35. E. H. J. REUSENS, *Documents relatifs*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 259; vol. III, p. 36; vol. IV, p. 497; H. DE VOCHT, *History of the Foundation*, *op. cit.*, vol. III, *loc. cit.*, 1954, p. 9-12.

36. E. H. J. REUSENS, "La chronique", *quot. art.*, p. 286, 290, 298; ID., *Documents relatifs*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 345, 429-430; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 7044-7046, fol. 5v, 11v; *The Villeneuve Necrology. Ms. Grande Chartreuse 1 Cart. 22*, vol. II, J. CLARK (ed.),

Henricus Houterle (†1511) ³⁷ , scholaster of Saint Peter's (Leuven)	<i>bonus amicus</i> and benefactor; one of his testamentary executors, Gerardus de Thymo, city secretary and <i>censor librorum</i> at Saint Peter's (Leuven) was also a benefactor; his son Joannes de Thymo entered the Charterhouse	founder of the Houterle college; benefactor of the Standonk college (see below)
Joannes Spirinck (†1499) ³⁸ , canon of Saint Peter's (Leuven), Saint Gudula's (Brussels), Saint Gommer's (Lier), Saint Rumbold's (Mechelen)	his death was commemorated in the chronicle of the Charterhouse	<i>famosus medicus magister</i>

Thanks to these generous endowments, the community could grow from 6 monks and a converse brother in 1504 to a double Charterhouse with 18 monks, 1 converse brother and 7 donates in 1533³⁹.

Although the monastery suffered from financial problems and had little or no provisions during the first decades of the 16th century, more and more richly decorated buildings were erected. The church, chapter house and chapels had beautiful windows, likewise the great cloister. The intention was to have 24 cells, but in the end only 21 were built. These were grouped round the great cloister, consisting of no less than 100 bays, 26 on the west and east sides, and 24 on the north and south. One bay on each side had a door leading into the garth; the remaining 96 bays gave space in all for no less than 384 rectangular glass panels with 96 demi-figures above. The 21 cells were built gradually over the years 1491-1528; in many cases funds for setting up the adjacent stained-glass windows in the great cloister were given by their donors⁴⁰. Of the great cloister with its fabulous stained-glass panels, the humanist Justus Lipsius (†1606) said that no equal could be

Salzburg (Analecta Cartusiana, 100/27.2), 2002, p. 196, l. 32-33 (c.1519): *magister Gisbertus Vuader [Wader, Wadinc], benefactor domus Lovanij.*

37. E. H. J. REUSENS, "La chronique", quot. art., p. 282-283, 286-287, 296; ID., *Documents relatifs, op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 168-183; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 7043, fol. 142v.

38. E. H. J. REUSENS, "La chronique", quot. art., p. 238-239; P. VAN DIEVE, *Opera varia. Scilicet rerum Lovaniensium Libri IV. Annalium ejusdem oppidi libri VIII...*, Leuven, Vander Haert, 1757, p. 114.

39. *Cartae visitationum cartusiae Lovaniensis*, quot. ed., p. 95.

40. Hilary WAYMENT, *King's College Chapel Cambridge. The Side-Chapel Glass*, Cambridge, 1988, p. 56-67.

found in the surrounding countries⁴¹. Surely, the Carthusians of Leuven had moved away far from the ideals of their founding fathers!

The case of the Carthusian monk Gabriel Offhuys (†1535) is an example of the broad possibilities for fostering contacts with humanists and academics through the above described network of benefactors. The transfer of Gabriel Offhuys, a Canon Regular of Coudenberg near Brussels, to the Charterhouse of Brussels, was arranged by Henricus de Bergen (see table 1). His profession ceremony was attended by Franciscus Busleyden (see table 1). In 1505 Offhuys was sent to the Leuven Charterhouse for a second profession. Erasmus, the former secretary of Henricus de Bergen, wrote Offhuys a letter around 1521, ending with: *Revisam vos ubi primum licebit. Interea salutabis optimum Patriarcham vestrum, oeconomum et eum qui nos obiter magno, ut apparebat, affectu salutabit*⁴².

Erasmus also corresponded with the Leuven Carthusian Joannis Simonis of Heemstede near Haarlem (†1533), who counted among his friends such humanists as Dorpius (see table 2), Vives, Marcus Laurinus and Goclenius⁴³.

II. Incorporation into the University

In the first decades after its foundation, the Leuven Charterhouse counted a very high number of alumni among its professed monks⁴⁴. Although

41. Willem BOONEN, *Geschiedenis van Leuven, geschreven in de jaren 1593 en 1594*, E. VAN EVEN (ed.), Leuven (H. Vanbiesem en A. Fonteyn), 1880, p. 459-461.

42. *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami...*, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 594-595 (ep. 1239); Brussels, Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 7043, fol. 16v, 121v; H. DELVAUX, "Chartreuse de Louvain", quot. art., p. 1473, n. 9; Albertus Emiel PIL, *Het middeleeuws scriptorium en de kloosterbibliotheek der kartuizers te Scheut bij Brussel*, Lic. Thesis (Katholieke Univ. Leuven), 1951, p. 22-23. Many authors wrongfully assume this letter was addressed to the Brussels Charterhouse. See, for example: P. G. BIETENHOLZ and Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 420. Erasmus sent his regards to prior Joannes Petri and procurator Theodoricus Persijn in Leuven!

43. P. G. BIETENHOLZ and Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 109-111, 171, 307-308; *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 409-413.

44. Among the *initiatores* at the Louvain Charterhouse, Joannes Vekenstijl was a Leuven *alumnus*. Among the monks that professed before 1540, Amelricus of Brussels, Joannis Pavonis of Amsterdam, Florentius of Haarlem, Franciscus d'Oesterlinck and Gulielmus Raveschot had studied in Leuven; Petrus Martini Apothecarii of Amsterdam, Cornelius Theodoricus of Leiden and Gerardus Pennebroeck of Haarlem at the Castle; Andreas Andree of Amsterdam, Franciscus Petri of Amsterdam and Theodoricus Persijn of Amsterdam at the Porc; Joannes de Thymo at the Lily; Joannes Gabrielis Sartoris of Antwerp at the Holy Spirit's college; Theodoricus Joanni Vustinck of Utrecht and Joannes Simonis of Heemstede at the Standonk college; Theodoricus Simonis of Heemstede at Saint Ives. Gulielmus Raveschot and Adrianus Boodt of Bruges had studied in Paris, Joannis Simonis of Heemstede in Cologne. Among the monks that made a second profession, Gabriel

university degrees were not uncommon for the Carthusians, they were by profession mostly solitary monks and only by exception learned scholars. In general, there were no schools attached to Charterhouses and the in-house formation of novices was rather anti-scholastic⁴⁵.

Therefore, the Leuven Carthusian's demand for incorporation into the University in 1510, following the example of the Augustinians and Dominicans, was quite a startling move. Clearly, the University council was taken by surprise, and, on 31st of May 1510, decided to investigate whether incorporations of similar monasteries had ever taken place in Cologne or at other universities⁴⁶. In their second supplication to the University in 1513, the Carthusians explicitly added that the incorporation would offer to those monks that were allowed to leave the monastery, such as the prior and the procurator, the opportunity to attend the University. On 29th of November 1513, the governing council of the University, clearly aware of the exceptional situation, instructed the rector and *deputati* to look into similar incorporations in Cologne⁴⁷ – which of course there weren't⁴⁸.

Offhuys studied in Leuven. In total, more than half of the professed monks in this period were university *alumni*. Cfr. J. DE GRAUWE and F. TIMMERMANS, *Prosopographia cartusiana Belgica renovata (1314-1796)*, 2 vol., Salzburg, Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik (Analecta Cartusiana, 154), 1999, nr. ALM153, LoM001, LoM004, LoM005, LoM030, LoM037, LoM038, LoM039, LoM043 (=BxM050), LoM046, LoM057, LoM089, LoM093, LoM094, LoM097, LoM126, LoM136, LoM138, LoM139; E. H. J. REUSENS, "La chronique", quot. art., p. 268, 269, 270, 271, 277, 280, 282, 283, 284, 288, 291, 295. Some prosopographical entries may need to be updated.

45. In agreement with the chapter of Anderlecht, the Carthusians of Brussels had a school for *pauperes iuvenes* in this period. Some of the pupils, who eventually became candidate novices, were sent to the University of Leuven at the expense of the monastery; cfr. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 7043, fol. 81r and 91r (Joannes Florentis), 117r (Judocus Fabri of Aalst) and Ms. 7044-7046, fol. 10v (Judocus Fabri of Aalst), 11r-11v (agreement with the chapter of Anderlecht), 36v (Judocus Fabri of Aalst). On the formation of Carthusian novices in general, see: J. DE GRAUWE, "Vorming van de novicen en de studie van de theologie in de Provincia Teutoniae (1314-1796)", in *Magister Bruno. Negen eeuwen uitstraling van de kartuizerorde*, op. cit., p. 149-158.

46. H. DE JONGH, *L'ancienne faculté de théologie de Louvain au premier siècle de son existence (1432-1540)*, Louvain, 1911, p. 6*.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 7*.

48. On the early incorporation of the Mendicants in the universities of Cologne and Paris, see: H.G. WALTHER, "Der gelehrte Jurist als politischer Ratgeber. Die Kölner Universität und die Absetzung König Wenzels 1400", in A. ZIMMERMANN (ed.), *Die Kölner Universität im Mittelalter. Geistige Wurzeln und soziale Wirklichkeit*, Berlin-New York, W. De Gruyter (Miscellanea mediaevalia, 20), 1989, p. 467-487, p. 478, n. 33; Franz Joseph VON BIANCO, *Die alte Universität Köln sowie die zu Köln administrierten Studien-Stiftungen*, vol. II, pt. 1, Köln, Scientia verlag, 1855, p. 8; Pierre MANDONNET, "De l'incorporation des dominicains dans l'ancienne Université de Paris", *Revue thomiste*, 4 (1896), p. 133-170;

The third supplication of the Carthusians finally led to the incorporation being approved by the council on the 29th of November 1520⁴⁹.

Possibly Judocus (Joost) van der Hoeven (see table 2), beadle of the Faculty of Divinity, played a role in the approval. As counsel for the Canons Regular of Saint Martin's, he would request the incorporation of that priory into the University a few years later. In any case, he was granted the good works of the Order by the Carthusian General Chapter in 1517⁵⁰.

On the last day of February 1521, the act of incorporation of the Leuven Charterhouse into the University was finally passed in the great refectory of the Leuven Augustinian Eremites⁵¹.

Among those present were:

- Godescalcus Rosemondts (†1526)⁵², former professor at the Falcon, rector at the time (1520-1521) and later benefactor and president of the Pope's college (1524-1526);
- Nicolaus Baechem of Egmond (†1526)⁵³, former professor at the Falcon, professor of theology and director of the Carmelite house of studies;
- Judocus Vroye (Vroede) of Gavere (†1533)⁵⁴, canon of Saint Peter's, former professor at the Lily (1509-1519), later rector (1521, 1529), dictator (1526-1533) and president of the college of Saint Ives (1521-1539);

C. DOUAIS, *Essai sur l'organisation des études dans l'ordre des frères prêcheurs aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles (1216-1342)*, Paris, Alphonse Picard, 1884.

49. H. DE JONGH, *L'ancienne faculté de théologie*, *op. cit.*, p. 26*.

50. P. G. BIETENHOLZ and Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 193; H. DE VOCHT, *History of the Foundation and Rise of the Collegium Trilingue*, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 10, n. 7.

51. Contemporary copy in: Leuven, Universiteitsarchief KULeuven, *Fonds Oude Universiteit, Verzameling Van de Velde, D2. Stukken m.b.t. geïncorporeerde kloosters en kapittels*, inv. nr. 5. I consulted another copy in: Leuven, Rijksarchief, *Fonds Oude Universiteit Leuven*, inv. nr. 2465. The chronicler Petrus De Wal dated the incorporation on February 21st; cfr. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 7044-7046, fol. 7r.

52. E. H. J. REUSENS, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'Université de Louvain*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 263; vol. III, p. 35, 205, 215; vol. IV, p. 393; P. G. BIETENHOLZ and Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 171-172.

53. E. H. J. REUSENS, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'Université de Louvain*, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 392; *ibid.*, vol. V: *Collèges et pédagogies III*, Louvain, 1889-1892, p. 357-362; P. G. BIETENHOLZ and Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 81-83. On one of his predecessors as director of the house of Carmelite studies, Egidius Fabri, and the Carthusians, see: E. H. J. REUSENS, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'Université de Louvain*, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 355-357.

54. E. H. J. REUSENS, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'Université de Louvain*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 263, 264, 315; vol. III, p. 107 and vol. IV, p. 246; P. G. BIETENHOLZ and Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 419-420.

- Ludovicus de Schore (†1548)⁵⁵, professor of (canon) law, later rector (1521), councillor of Maria of Hungary and president of the privy council of Charles V;

- Egidius (Gillis) de Paey, professor of medicine;

- Theodoricus Persijn of Amsterdam (†1532/1533), procurator of the Carthusians.

Joannes Vullinck (†1530)⁵⁶, scholaster of Saint Peter's and *secretarius universitatis* (1494-1530) acted as notary.

According to the act, the incorporated monastery would enjoy the same protection, liberties, rights and privileges as the Mendicants. But the act also imposed three specific conditions for the incorporation of the Charterhouse:

1. since only the prior and the procurator were allowed to leave the monastery, one of them had to attend the ordinary lectures at the Faculty of Theology;

2. communal masses for the election of a new rector or other occasions were to be attended by the prior or the procurator, provided they were present in the city of Leuven, except when there was a legitimate excuse;

3. monks from other houses who were staying at the Leuven Charterhouse would never be incorporated in the University; they were to be sent to the rector to be matriculated free of charge.

Finally, the act mentioned a fourth, non-specific condition: if the conservation, defence or increase of the privileges resulted in exceptional costs, the monastery could not be charged more than the equivalent of two scholarships (*duas bursas*).

It is highly likely that the third condition in the act referred to the so called *hospites*. The special but unclear status of *hospes* had been created to circumvent the Carthusian *stabilitas loci*, as it allowed a monk to stay as a guest at a Charterhouse different from his house of profession but at the expense of the latter.

Certainly, the Carthusians forced the University to adopt a new type of incorporation, different from the earlier incorporation of the Mendicant orders at the University of Leuven (and at other universities).

55. E. H. J. REUSENS, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'Université de Louvain, op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 263; D. VAN DEN AUWEELE, "Het omstreden huwelijk van Hendrik VIII en Catharina van Aragon. De interventie van de Lovaniensis Lodewijk van Schore (1492-1548)", *Onze Alma Mater*, 45 (1991), p. 167-196.

56. E. H. J. REUSENS, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'Université de Louvain, op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 328; P. G. BIETENHOLZ and Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus, op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 420; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 7044-7046, fol. 21r.

One could argue that the Carthusians only wanted to be incorporated because of the extra (tax) privileges. But the incorporation process very much contradicted the Carthusian way of life, both in letter and in spirit. Surely, the prior and procurator were allowed to leave their monastery, but only in very limited cases and only for administrative and organizational purposes. The regular monks were of course never to leave their house. A Carthusian house of studies, comparable to those of the Mendicants, would be unthinkable and has never been proven to exist.

To the modern reader, it might appear as if Joannes Petri of Delft (†1530)⁵⁷, prior of the Leuven Charterhouse, and Theodoricus Persijn of Amsterdam (†1532/1533)⁵⁸, procurator at the time of the incorporation, both having verifiable connections to humanists such as Erasmus, had created themselves a “legitimate” way to frequent the University. As far as the *hospites* is concerned, Joannes Ammonius (†1543), the more radical of the two humanist brothers Ammonius⁵⁹ and a professed monk of the Charterhouse of Herne, was staying as *hospes* in the Leuven Charterhouse at the time of the incorporation⁶⁰.

In any case, the incorporation further strengthened the bonds between the Carthusians and the *Alma Mater*, a development that was to have great consequences, as will be shown below.

III. The influence of the Carthusians on newly founded colleges

The man who played an important role in the foundation of a number of University colleges was Adrianus Florentii (†1523), dean of Saint Peter's (Leuven), rector (1493, 1500) and vice-chancellor (1497-1519) of the University, tutor and councillor to Charles V, and later cardinal, pope Adrianus VI and founder of the Pope's college⁶¹. The author of the chronicle of the Charterhouse of Leuven especially remembered him for his help and advice, calling him *noster magister Adrianus*.

57. H. DE VOCHT, *Monumenta humanistica Lovaniensia*, op. cit., p. 348; P. G. BIETENHOLZ and Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 232. Cfr. n. 42.

58. H. DE VOCHT, *Monumenta humanistica Lovaniensia*, op. cit., p. 281-283. Cfr. n. 42.

59. P. G. BIETENHOLZ and Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 50-51.

60. In 1529 another (unknown) *hospes* was living in the Leuven Charterhouse; cfr. *Cartae visitationum cartusiae Lovaniensis*, quot. ed., p. 84-85.

61. E. H. J. REUSENS, “La chronique de la chartreuse de Louvain”, quot. art., p. 267, 280; ID., *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'Université de Louvain*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 260, 261, 413; vol. III, 197-204; P. G. BIETENHOLZ and Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 5-9; M. VERWEIJ, *Adrianus VI (1459-1523). De tragische pauze uit de Nederlanden*, Antwerpen-Apeldoorn, Garant, 2011.

In Leuven, Adrianus Florentii was the driving force behind the new Standonk college. Its founder, Joannes Standonk (†1504), was devoting much of his energy to monastic reform and the formation of a congregation of University colleges, which linked his *Collège de Montaigu* in Paris with four affiliated colleges in Cambrai, Valenciennes, Mechelen and the newly founded college in Leuven, under the jurisdiction of the Carthusian prior of Paris. In the statutes of his congregation, the visitation of the colleges was allowed to be performed by local Carthusian priors. In Leuven, Adrianus appointed the Carthusian prior of Leuven and the pastor of Saint Peter's as visitors of the college. The visitors were responsible, together with the college father, for investigating the students' suitability for admission. As far as the scholarships were concerned, they also owned the right of collation. Finally they checked the accounts of the college⁶².

In 1508, Adrianus was also involved in the foundation of the Arras college in Leuven. Its founder, Nicolaus Ruistre (see table 1), had been so much impressed by the Carthusians that he initially thought of founding a new Charterhouse. But he changed his mind under the influence of Joannes Robbys, who had entered Ruistre's service and had become dean of Saint Rumbold's (Mechelen)⁶³. Ruistre then asked Adrianus to take direction of the college and to draw up the new statutes together with Robbys. The college of Arras would become in many aspects very similar to the Standonk college, giving pride of place to ascetism, virtue and discipline. Typical in this respect is the fact that Ruistre endowed the Standonk college in his will⁶⁴.

Likewise, Henricus Houterle (see table 2), founder of the Houterle college, must have felt connected to the Standonk college, as he also provided it with a donation in his testament. As directors of his own college, Houterle had appointed the dean, pastor and scholaster of Saint Peter's (Leuven) as well as the prior of the Leuven Carthusians⁶⁵.

62. Leuven, Rijksarchief, *Fonds Oude Universiteit Leuven*, inv. nr. 2032; E. H. J. REUSENS, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'Université de Louvain*, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 443-456; E. DE MAESSCHALCK, *Kollegestichtingen*, op. cit., p. 655, 690-691, 705-706, 722, 768-770, 774 and bijlage 4, 26, 34, 52.

63. J. MOLANUS, *Les quatorze livres*, op. cit., p. 297-298. A family member of Robbys, Joannes Roobosch, would enter the Charterhouse of Leuven in 1530; cfr. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 7044-7046, fol. 24r.

64. E. DE MAESSCHALCK, *Kollegestichtingen*, op. cit., p. 794-801 and bijlage 52.

65. Leuven, Rijksarchief, *Fonds Oude Universiteit Leuven*, inv. nr. 2453-2455; E. H. J. REUSENS, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'Université de Louvain*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 168-183; E. DE MAESSCHALCK, *Kollegestichtingen*, op. cit., p. 666, 1001 and app. 12, 56; H. DE VOCHT, *Monumenta humanistica Lovaniensia*, op. cit., p. 412.

Looking at these newly founded colleges at the beginning of the sixteenth century, one could speak of a “cloistering” or “monasticizing” process. In the Standonck college this was carried to the extreme: students were obliged to wear some form of habit and were forbidden to eat meat; exiting the college was very much restricted (*clausura*), while chapter and even office prayers (including night office) were introduced⁶⁶!

Carthusian monks were also chosen as guardians of stability and discipline at the *Collegium Trilingue*, founded by Hieronymus Busleyden (see table 1). At the explicit request of the founder, the *plebanus* or parish-priest of Saint Peter’s, the president of the theological debates in the Holy Spirit’s college and the prior of the Carthusians were entrusted with the visitation. Here, the responsibilities of the visitors included appointing the president of the college as well as the professors, overseeing the collation of the scholarships, next to checking the accounts and guarding the statutes of the college⁶⁷.

In the 1532 statutes of the Arras college, founded by Nicolaus Ruistre, and in those of the Pope’s college, founded by Adrian Florentii, there were also visitors appointed to oversee the administration and discipline. But in these two cases, the Carthusians weren’t involved: the visitation was carried out by a cleric of Saint-Peter’s and a senior member of the theological faculty⁶⁸. The absence of the Carthusians in the visitation process of the Arras and Pope’s college might possibly be explained by what happened in the 1520s and 1530s, as will be shown.

iv. The restoration of the Carthusian ideal of piety

In their openness to the University and to the development of humanism, the Carthusians had been increasingly undermining their own discipline and stability. This is witnessed by some surviving reports of the visitations

66. W. VAN CASTER, *Jan van Standonck en zijn kollegie te Mechelen*, Mechelen, 1893, p. 5-7; E. DE MAESSCHALCK, *Het Standonckkollege van Leuven. Ontstaan en eerste groei (1500-1536)*, Lic. Diss., Katholieke Univ. Leuven, 1968, p. 143-175. The students of the Paris college were often called the poor *capettes* of Montaigu. Apparently, some of them had the following saying: *Mons acutus, ingenium acutum, dentes acuti*.

67. Leuven, Rijksarchief, *Fonds Oude Universiteit Leuven*, inv. nr. 1439; E. H. J. REUSENS, *Documents relatifs à l’histoire de l’Université de Louvain*, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 493-496; E. DE MAESSCHALCK, *Kollegestichtingen*, *op. cit.*, bijlage 54; H. DE VOCHT, *History of the Foundation and Rise of the Collegium Trilingue*, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 46-49.

68. E. DE MAESSCHALCK, “Het Atrechtcollege vóór 1600. Een verhaal over bisschoppen en hertogen, dekens en rentmeesters”, in Johan HOORNAERT, E. DE MAESSCHALCK, Emiel LAMBERTS *et al.*, *Atrechtcollege 1508-1979*, Leuven, KUL. Archief, 1979, p. 3-17.

of the Leuven Charterhouse, written by the visitors of the Carthusian Teutonic Province.

In 1513 the visitors warned the Leuven Carthusians not to get involved too much with the University⁶⁹. The *cartae* of 1515, 1517 and 1519 showed an increasing concern with the financial situation of the rapidly growing community and with the aging of the prior, Joannes Petri of Delft. Several monks were reprimanded for their behaviour⁷⁰. A monk and a donate, who had been on the run but returned to the Charterhouse in 1519, were to be sent to other houses⁷¹. In 1521 the atmosphere in the Charterhouse was described as too secular and mundane. A lack of observance threatened the silence and solitude of the cells⁷². In 1523 the situation hadn't improved and the health of the prior caused great concern. Attached to the visitation report of 1523, the *Exhortatio* of the 1524 General Chapter urged the Charterhouses of the Teutonic Province not to get involved with Lutheran doctrine⁷³. Finally, in 1525, Joannes Petri was relieved of his office; the newly elected prior and former procurator, Theodoricus Persijn, was given the benefit of the doubt⁷⁴. The situation became quite grim in 1527, when the prior was reprimanded for neglecting his spiritual task and for the shortcomings of his subordinates. Some monks were described as deformed creatures, mundane and disobedient. Three monks were transferred to other Charterhouses. A request to visit the new convent of the Celestines near Leuven was denied⁷⁵. In the course of the years 1529, 1531 and 1533 the number of monks was again increasing. A new prior had been elected after the death of Theodoricus Persijn in 1532/1533. The visitors reprimanded some troublemakers through fierce outbursts⁷⁶. In 1535 the General Chapter heavily criticized the situation in the Charterhouse, allowing the visitors to move personnel at will. The number of monks suddenly dropped from eighteen to ten. One monk seemed to have disappeared⁷⁷.

69. *Cartae visitationum cartusiae Lovaniensis*, quot. ed., p. 26-29.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 30-45.

71. The donate Robertus de Monte was probably sent to the Charterhouse of Utrecht, while the monk Petrus Martini Apothecarii probably remained in Leuven until 1527; cfr. *ibid.*, p. 43, 50, 64, 71, 78.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 46-51.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 52-65.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 66-73.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 74-80; *De Celestijnen priorij te Heverlee*, quot. ed.

76. *Cartae visitationum cartusiae Lovaniensis*, quot. ed., p. 81-97.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 98-102. In the same period, two Brussels Carthusians left their monastery: Judocus Fabri of Aalst in 1522 and Joannes Zuene in 1538. At the time of his profession in 1522, Zuene had contributed to buying the works of Hieronymus, edited by Erasmus.

The above-mentioned order-wide prohibition of reading Erasmus' works as well as the books of other authors came in 1537, following the advice of Natalis Beda, professor at the Sorbonne, one of Standonk's former disciples and an inveterate critic of Erasmus⁷⁸.

Although visitation reports traditionally remained a bit vague, there were inhabitants of the Leuven Charterhouse with Lutheran ideas, such as the hospes Joannes Ammonius and the donate Judocus de Honsbergen, who left the monastery⁷⁹. In 1526 Ammonius was sent back from Leuven to this house of profession in Herne, where he was locked up in his cell by the prior⁸⁰. Also in 1542 several Louvain artists, who were working within the Leuven Charterhouse, were condemned for their Lutheran sympathies⁸¹.

But it was not only the difficult financial situation and the Lutheran sympathies that led to rigorous actions from the visitors. More evidence on what happened in the Leuven Charterhouse (as well as in other Charterhouses in the province) can be found in the letters of Joannes Ammonius' brother Livinus (†1556). The latter complained to Erasmus in 1533 that his new prior at the Charterhouse of Lierde near Geraardsbergen treated all belletrists as heretics. He mused on his Greek letters to the humanist Joannes Oridryus de Bergeijck and to the hellenist Jacobus Tayng of Tournai, on the happy days of studying the classics, on long philosophical conversations and on correcting the Latin verses of the students of councillor Leo Outers or the essays of the young prince-bishop of Liège, Evrardus de la Marck⁸²!

Cfr. A. E. PIL, *Het middeleeuws scriptorium en de kloosterbibliotheek*, op. cit., p. 25-26; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 7044-7046, fol. 14r.

78. Cfr. n. 3; R. DE SMET, "Erasmus en de geloofscrisis van Jan Van der Maude, kartuizer van het Domus Capellae te Herne", in *De Kartuizers te Herne (1314-1783)*, Edingen, 1983, p. 75-85, p. 82, n. 22-23. On the role of Gulielmus Bibaut (†1535), convisor (1511-1513) and visitor (1513-1521) of the Carthusian Teutonic Province, prior general of the Order (1521-1535), see: E. H. J. REUSENS, "La chronique de la chartreuse de Louvain", quot. art., p. 287, 297; A. E. PIL, "*Humanistica cartusiana*. Levinus Ammonius als vertaler van Chrysostomos' sermoen *De Providentia Dei et Fato*", in *Sacris erudiri*, 26 (1983), p. 275-310, p. 280, n. 21, 22; p. 281-282, n. 30; p. 291-294; P. G. BIETENHOLZ and Th. B. DEUTSCHER, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 145.

79. H. DELVAUX, "Chartreuse de Louvain", quot. art., p. 1475, n. 2-3.

80. R. DE SMET, "Erasmus en de geloofscrisis van Jan Van der Maude", quot. art., p. 81-82, n. 20; A. E. PIL, "*Humanistica cartusiana*", quot. art., p. 282, n. 33bis. The apostate and belletrist Joannes de Merica of Leuven, professed monk of the Charterhouse of Brussels, was incarcerated in the jail of his house of profession. A. E. PIL, *Het middeleeuws scriptorium en de kloosterbibliotheek*, op. cit., p. 26; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 7044-7046, fol. 48v, 58r, 90r, 95v, 141r, 156r.

81. H. DELVAUX, "Chartreuse de Louvain", quot. art., p. 1475, n. 3.

82. A. E. PIL, "*Humanistica cartusiana*", quot. art., p. 281, n. 27; Alphonse ROERSCH, "Correspondance inédite du chartreux Laevinus Ammonius", Gand, 1901, offprint from

Livinus was sent from his house of profession to the Charterhouse of Gent and, in 1540, to the Charterhouse of Monnikhuizen near Arnhem, at distance from his friends at the *Collegium Trilingue* and deprived of all his books. In a letter dated 1542, Livinus listed some classical authors of the innumerable books that he had read and copied, but that were now lost to him. Melancholically, he thought of the dozens of belletrist friends who had brought him daily visits or to whom he had went out to greet with familiarity! He regretfully wrote: *Atque haec quidam fuerunt! Fuerunt inquam, fuerunt!* In the same year, he wrote another, long letter, addressed to the prior of the Leuven Charterhouse, in defence of the Greek and Hebrew⁸³. In this letter, Ammonius referred to the above-mentioned disappearing of a monk, the flight of *Franciscus N.*, from the Charterhouse of Leuven, bringing it into direct relation with the prohibition of the study of the classics⁸⁴.

It seems that the General Chapter and the visitors, in the upheaval of the Lutheran Reformation, had not only forcefully suppressed Lutheran ideas, but also the reading of classical and humanist authors, as well as the fruitful contacts with the University and with humanist and belletrist friends, including Erasmus.

In the following decades and centuries, the relations between the Carthusians and the University would develop at a much slower pace⁸⁵. The highest authorities of the Order had successfully restored the Carthusian ideal of piety, yet buried so well that scarce anyone could perceive it⁸⁶.

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Bulletin de la Société d'histoire et d'Archéologie de Gand, 9 (1901), p. 15-18. On Leo Outers and his master Evardus de la Marck, see above, n. 29. The positive attitude towards humanism at the Charterhouse of Lierde changed radically following the death of prior Michael Dierickx (†1531); cfr. *De Kartuziers en hun klooster te Zelem. Tentoonstelling ter gelegenheid van het negende eeuwfeest van de Orde (1084-1984)*, Frans HENDRICKX (ed.), Diest, Vrienden van het Stedelijk museum en archief (Diestsche cronycke, 7), 1984, p. 115.

83. A. E. PIL, "*Humanistica cartusiana*", quot. art., p. 282-283; A. ROERSCH, "Correspondance inédite du chartreux Laevinus Ammonius", quot. art., p. 15-18; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 7044-7046, fol. 33r.

84. This monk may be identified as Franciscus d'Oesterlinck; cfr. n. 77.

85. At least the checking of the accounts of some colleges seemed to have been carried out well into the 16th and 17th centuries, as can be shown from surviving reports; cfr. Leuven, Rijksarchief, *Fonds Oude Universiteit Leuven*, inv. nr. 1439, 2032, 2453-2455.

86. Cfr. n. 1.

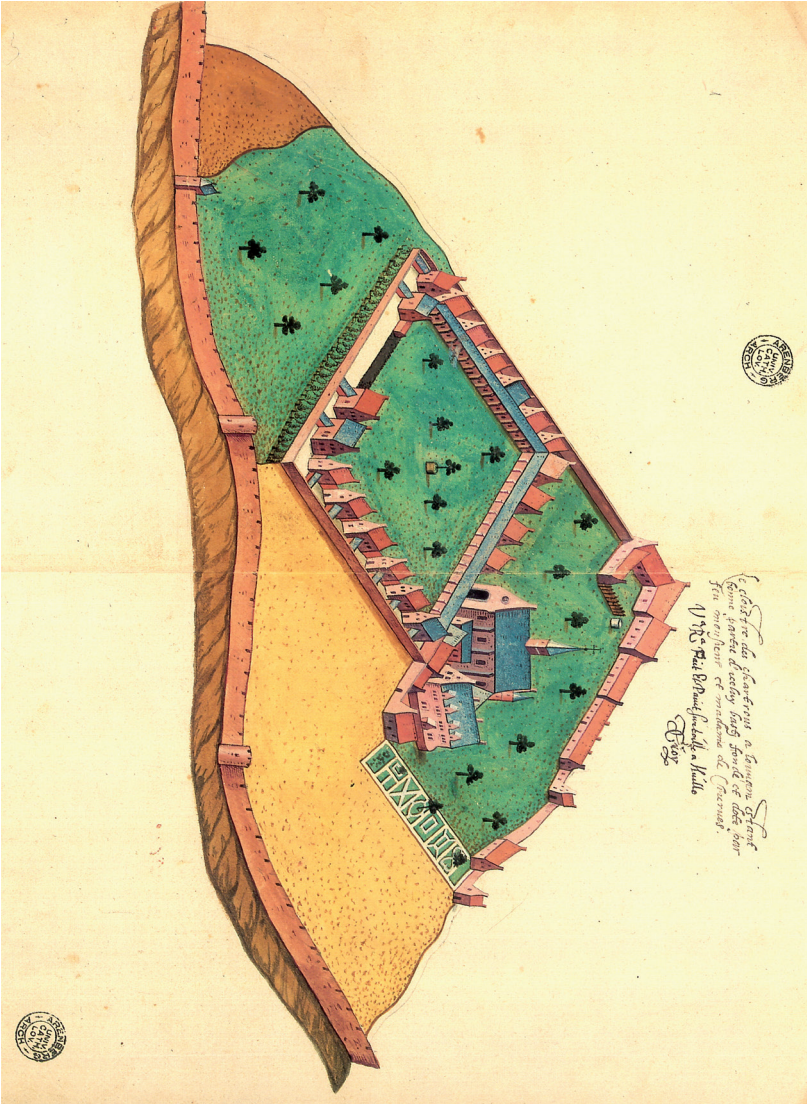


Fig. 1. – Leuven, Universiteitsarchief, Domeinarchief van het Hertogdom Aarschot, inv. nr. 2414, fol. 11-12, *Le choiste des Chartres a Louvain, estant bonne partie d'iceluy basti, fondé et doté par feu monsieur et madame de Chierres*, drawing by Pierre de Bersaques, around 1596-1598, 58,3 x 44,6 cm. © Universiteitsarchief, Leuven.



Fig. 2. – London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 6914-1860, A kneeling donor before a statue of Saint Mary Magdalene, stained glass from the Charterhouse of Leuven, attributed to Hendrik or Jan Van Diependaele, around 1505-1510, 70,5 × 46 cm. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig. 3. – London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 2633-1855, Stained glass panel from the Charterhouse of Leuven depicting the coat of arms of Nicolaus Ruter, bishop of Arras, by an unknown artist, around 1520-1525, 71,7 × 48,3 cm. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.