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The Library of Lausanne Academy in the 16th Century

The Theological Corpus, from the Reformation to Early Orthodoxy[1]

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Introduction

If private libraries reflect the intellectual activity of their owner, as well as their areas of interest[2], it is likewise the case for academic libraries and their professors. The library of Lausanne Academy in the 16th century aptly illustrates this. Our research's aim was to reconstruct this library, by detecting its 16th century acquisitions, which are scattered amid the "Réserve précieuse" of the current Bibliothèque Cantonale Universitaire de Lausanne (BCUL).[3] The titles that are of interest to this study are demarcated by various families of 16th century ex-libris – among other markings – indi-

[1] This article synthesizes parts of my MA thesis in History, defended in 2020 at the University of Lausanne, downloadable online here: https://serval.unil.ch/fr/notice/serval:BIB_S_29570. It includes the catalogue constituted for this research, to which I here refer as "BAL-" (Bibliothecae Academiae Lausannensis).

[2] See Urs B. *Leu*, Raffael *Keller*, and Sandra *Weidmann*, Conrad Gessner's Private Library, Leiden 2008; Urs B. *Leu* and Sandra *Weidmann*, Huldrych Zwingli's Private Library, Leiden 2019.

[3] There is institutional continuity between the 16th century library and the current BCUL, for the Lausanne Academy acquired its status as a University in 1890, thus becoming what is today the University of Lausanne.

cating that they belong to the academic library of that period. This article summarizes our findings, as well as what the reconstructed catalogue has to offer; we provide a brief overview of the academic library's history, before focusing on its theological titles, which amount to half of the entire corpus.

As courses were first delivered in 1537 by Pierre Viret and his colleagues, books were immediately acquired to assist the professors and pastors. The earliest acquisitions came from church property taken by the Bernese[4]; afterwards, books were bought thanks to an allowance distributed by the bailiff, and specifically dedicated to the academic library.

These books attest to the desires of the professors and highlight their striking heterogeneity throughout the 16th century[5]: teachers of Liberal Arts, ancient languages, theology and philosophy, adepts of humanist and scholastic methods, critics and defenders of Aristotelianism, and advocates of Zwinglian and Calvinist doctrines. Certainly, the academic library reflects the intellectual dynamics of the 16th century Lausanne Academy.

Our research culminates in the reconstruction of what the academic library contained around 1600. In total, 578 titles were found, bound in 404 volumes. Determining which books were part of the 16th century academic library led to the elaboration of a database, upon which both synchronic and diachronic analysis was undertaken. On the one hand, the catalogue provides a view of what the library looked like at the close of our timeframe, thus raising the question: what types of books could a professor or pastor consult in this library at the end of the 16th century? On the other hand, this paper tries to explore whether, and if so, in which way, the development of the corpus can be sketched by the help of

[4] Alexandre César *Chavannes*, Histoire abrégée de l'Académie de Lausanne, depuis son origine, BCUL, Ms.B.800, 16; see Michael W. *Bruening*, Calvinism's First Battleground. Conflict and Reform in the Pays de Vaud, 1528–1559, Dordrecht 2005, 142–143.

[5] See Karine *Crousaz*, L'Académie de Lausanne entre humanisme et réforme (ca. 1537–1560), Leiden 2012; William *Heubi*, L'Académie de Lausanne à la fin du XVIe siècle. Étude sur quelques professeurs d'après des documents inédits, Lausanne 1916; Henri *Meylan*, La Haute École de Lausanne. 1537–1937, Lausanne 1986, 9–46; Henri *Vuilleumier*, Catalogue des Français protestants qui ont étudié à l'ancienne Académie de Lausanne de 1602 à 1837 suivi de la liste des professeurs de même nationalité qui y ont enseigné dès sa fondation en 1537, Lausanne 1900.

various clues within the books themselves, as well as through other sources such as the published writings of 16th century professors – raising yet more questions: by whom and when were the ex-libris inscribed? Can an ex-libris family reveal the interests of its inscriber? What tendencies can one observe in the development of the corpus, and in what way do they reflect the intellectual climate?

A Brief History of the Academic Library

The present study is not the first to propose a history of the Lausanne Academy Library. Alexandre César Chavannes (1731–1800), professor and curator of the academic library, wrote in 1780 an Histoire abrégée de l'Académie de Lausanne. According to him, the library was founded immediately after the Reformation in Lausanne (1536), and the first books incorporated were taken from the bishop's residence. Indeed, the penultimate bishop of Lausanne, Aymon de Montfalcon (1443–1517), was a Renaissance man who possessed several incunables.[6] The titles in our catalogue that present a clear sign of his previous ownership are classical Roman poetry and history: Ovid's De arte amandi et de remedio amoris (1477) and Justinus' Epitomae in Trogi Pompeii historias (1472).[7]

Together with the bishop's books, other titles were found to be early acquisitions. Some presented on their title page the price for which they were bought and the year of acquisition. For instance, one volume containing Andreas Osiander's translation and commentary of the Gospels and Martin Bucer's commentary of the Gospels, was bought in 1537 for 8 florins and 11 pennies[8]; Sebas-

[6] Bernard *Andenmatten*, Aymon de Montfalcon. être évêque vers 1500; Grégoire *Oguey*, La 'Petite Renaissance' d'Aymon de Montfalcon. Le goût de l'évêque et des milieux canoniaux pour l'Italie et les monuments; Estelle *Doudet*, Maître Antitus orateur, in: Aymon de Montfalcon. Mécène, prince et évêque de Lausanne (1443–1517), ed. by Bernard *Andenmatten*, Dave *Lüthi* et al., Lausanne 2018, 23–45, 107–128, 175–194.

[7] BAL–441, 367. Chavannes wrongfully supposed that the bishop's books were "ecclésiastiques et scholastiques" (*Chavannes*, Histoire abrégée, 16).

[8] "8 florins, 11 sous, 1537", in: Andreas *Osiander*, Harmoniae evangelicae libri IIII graece et latine, Basel: Froben and Episcopius, 1537 (BAL–437); Annotationum in Har-

tian Münster's Hebrew Bible was bought the same year, the first tome for 5 florins and the second tome, bound with his Hebrew translation of Mathew's Gospel, for 8 florins[9]. Such precious information confirms Chavannes' supposition that the academic library was founded immediately after the Reformation in 1536, or at least it suggests that books were being acquired at an early stage, thus gradually forming what would become the academic library.

As a matter of fact, one can doubt whether, already in the 1530s, the academic library truly existed as an institution, and not just as a shelf. The accounts of Lausanne's Bernese governing bailiff, preserved at the Archives cantonales vaudoises, do not mention any regular sum allocated to the buying of books between 1537 and 1545. The first explicit mention of the academic library (die Liberey) appears in the accounts for the year 1544–1545; therein, the bailiff documented spending for furniture, such as chairs and lecterns, the latter to which certain books were enchained from 1556–1557 onwards.[10] A number of volumes still possessing their original binding testify to the practice, as they present a metallic protrusion on their tail that once was attached to the chain. If the academic library started to be considered as such by its contemporaries around 1545, this echoed the efforts of Pierre Viret,

moniam Evangelicam liber unus, Basel: Froben and Episcopius, 1537 (BAL–438); Martin *Bucer*, In sacra quator evangelia, ennarationes perpetuae, Basel: Johannes Herwagen, 1536 (BAL–159). We are not sure who inscribed these prices and dates but, we know Pierre Viret read Bucer's commentaries in Lausanne during the first four months of 1537: "58. Calvinus Vireto", in: Joannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia, vol. 10, ed. by Edouard *Cunitz*, Johann-Wilhelm *Baum* et al., Brunswig 1871, 96.

[9] "5 florins 1537", in: Sebastian *Münster*, Hebraica Biblia Latina, Basel: Heinrich Bebel, 1534 (BAL–123). "8 florins 1537", in: Sebastian *Münster*, Vetus Instrumentum tomus secundus, Basel: Heinrich Bebel, 1535 (BAL–124); Evangelium secundum Matthaeum in lingua Hebraica, Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1537 (BAL–421). Only three other volumes presented a price and date on their title pages: "10 florins 1539", in: Agostino *Steuco*, Veteris Testamenti ad veritatem hebraïcam recognition, Lyon: Sebastian Gryheus, 1531 (BAL–108); "7 florins 1539", in: Petrus *Crabbe*, Concilia omnia, Cologne: Petrus Quenten, 1538 (BAL–211, 212); "6 florins 1541", in: Theophylact *of Ohrid*, Enarrationes in Quatuor Evangelia, Basel: Andreas Cratander, 1540 (BAL–534); In omnes Divi Pauli Apostoli Epistolas Enarrationes [… et] in aliquot Prophetas minores compendiaria explanation, Basel: Andreas Cratander, 1541 (BAL–535).

[10] Archives cantonales vaudoises [ACV], Bp 32/2, 320; Bp 32/4, 255; *Crousaz*, L'Académie, 198.

Maturin Cordier, Celio Secondo Curione, and Simon Sulzer to provide the nascent academy with adequate infrastructure – the fruits of which were the Leges scholae lausannensis of 1547.[11]

The academic library's development was assured by a stable yearly allowance provided by the Bernese. From 1546 until the 17th century, 100 florins were allocated annually.[12] At first, the bailiff himself was in charge of acquiring books. Furthermore, as Karine Crousaz informs, he was ordered, in 1549, to hold a register of the library, that would be passed on to the next bailiff. This register is lost, if ever it was redacted.[13]

That same year, the task of book acquisition was handed over to academic personnel. Between 1549 and 1557, the bailiff noted to whom the sum was given.[14] From 1550 onwards, the recipients were Jacques Vallier, a pastor of Lausanne, and the professor acting as rector of the Academy. After 1557, the bailiff ceased to name the recipients. In total, the Lausanne Academy received circa 6,000 florins for its academic library between 1545 and 1600.[15]

While substantial means were provided to garnish the library, they did not evolve in parallel to the economic context. Assuredly, the annual sum of 100 florins corresponded to half the annual salary in money professors of Greek and Hebrew received between 1537 and 1558.[16] If in-folio books, or Bibles such as Münster's 1534–1535 edition, cost around 10 florins, then the rector could acquire a dozen books per year.[17] However, just as salaries did not increase throughout the century, neither did the book-acquisition

[11] *Crousaz*, L'Académie, 83–91.

[12] ACV, Bp 32/2–11. The accounts for 1589–1594 appear to be lost.

[13] *Crousaz*, L'Académie, 197.

[14] ACV, Bp 32/3, 252 (Quintin le Boiteux), 284 (Jean Ribit), 477, 541 (Theodore de Bèze); Bp 32/4, 38, 102 (Eustache du Quesnoy), 174, 248 (Jean Ribit).

[15] One must distinguish the academic library from the students' library. See Betty *Lugrin*, La Bibliothèque de MM. les étudiants de l'Académie de Lausanne, Lausanne 1943.

[16] *Crousaz*, L'Académie, 145. Bailival accounts at the end of the 16th century indicated that salaries did not increase, with the exception of professors of renown such as Guillaume du Buc (Guilielmus Bucanus) who earned an annual 250 florins (ACV, Bp 32/9–11).

[17] Robert Estienne's 1557 edition of the Bible could also be bought for around 10 florins. See Francis *Higman*, Le domaine français 1520–1562, in: La Réforme et le livre. l'Europe de l'imprimé (1517–v.1570), ed. by Jean François *Gilmont*, Paris 1990, 129.

allowance, thus creating a gradual reduction of purchasing power. Indeed, inflation was a plague to Early Modern Europe, and the book trade was not spared.[18] In the latter part of the 16th century, the book market was subject to "monopolization", and throughout Europe, book prices were artificially held high.[19]

As to the academic library's location, Chavannes mentions the Castle of Menthon as its first abode, a building near the cathedral, destroyed in the 18th century[20]. In 1587, a fire damaged the castle. The library was thus moved to the "Nouveau Collège" – now called "Ancienne Académie" –, a building also in the heart of Lausanne, near the cathedral.[21] The consequences of the fire on the library's books are not detailed in our historical sources but since all the multi-volume collections of books are complete – except Jean Gerson's Opera[22] – it is reasonable to assume that damage was minimal. Furthermore, none of the books show signs of fire-related damage.

The Reconstructed Catalogue and the Academic Library's Composition in circa 1600

The aforementioned 6,000 florins allocated to the Academy, throughout the 16th century, for the garnishing of its academic library seem to cohere with the number of titles found (578), if a title's average price is correctly estimated at around 10 florins[23].

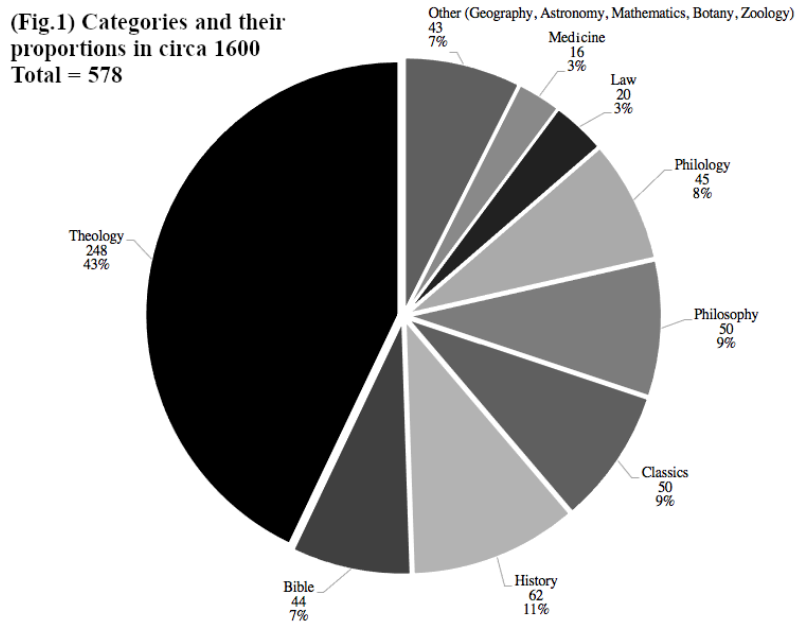
[18] The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, vol. IV: The Economy of Expanding Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, ed. by E. E. *Rich* and C. H. *Wilson*, Cambridge 1967, chap. VII; Goran *Proot*, The Pricing Policy of the Officina Plantiniana, 1580–1655, in: Balthasar Moretus and the Passion of Publishing, ed. by Dirk *Imhof*, Antwerp 2018, 32–44.

[19] Francesco *Ammannati* and Angela *Nuovo*, Investigating Book Prices in Early Modern Europe: Questions and Sources, in: JLIS.it, 8/3 (2017), 11, 20; Majorie *Plant*, The English Book Trade. An Economic History of the Making and Sale of Books, London 1974, 102–113; Paul G. *Hoftijzer*, The Dutch Republic. Centre of the European Book Trade in the 17th Century, in: European History Online (2015).

[20] *Chavannes*, Histoire abrégée, 16; Ansgar *Wildermann*, Henri de Menthon, in: DHS, vol. 8, Hauterive 2009, 429.

[21] See Brigitte *Pradervand-Amiet*, L'Ancienne Académie de Lausanne. Innovation et tradition dans l'architecture scolaire du XVIe siècle, Lausanne 1987.

[22] Jean *Gerson*, Prima pars operum, Basel: Nikolaus Kessler, 1489 (BAL–288); Tertia pars operum, Basel: Nikolaus Kessler, 1489 (BAL–289).



Taking into account free acquisitions, such as Bishop Aymon de Montfalcon's books, as well as costly collections such as the Alcala[24] and the Antwerp[25] Polyglots, 578 appears to be an unsurprising number. Moreover, other contemporary universities and academies had like-sized academic libraries: in 1595, the younger Leiden Academy Library had 442 titles, while Franeker University's library had 862 titles in 1601[26]. If titles have been lost through the wear and tear of centuries, they represent a feeble minority. Our catalogue is thus quasi-complete, and the survival of Lausanne Academy's 16th century library constitutes a precious historical source.

[23] Such a price was high – even twice as high as in Zürich – but one must consider costs related to format, binding, transportation, and potential intermediaries: Urs B. *Leu*, Habent sua pretia libelli! Unknown Economic History of the Book in the Early Modern Period, Conference, Antwerp 2018.

[24] BAL–96–101.

[25] BAL–117–121.

[26] Jacob *van Sluis*, The Library of Franeker University in Context, 1585–1843, Leiden 2020, 154.

Before delving into individual categories of our corpus, let us look at the catalogue as a whole. By representing our catalogue's data graphically, we can portray the academic library's composition in circa 1600 and enhance certain salient particularities.

Figure 1 shows that theology was clearly the dominant discipline within the academic library, though other disciplines were substantially represented. While training pastors was central to the 16th century Lausanne Academy, historiography has, at least until the latter part of the 20th century, portrayed it as its sole purpose.[27] However, recent research has shed light on the importance given to the teaching of the bonae literae, whether for training schoolteachers, or the sons of the political and intellectual elites. This is why historian Karine Crousaz can state that "the Lausanne Academy constitutes a tool for the training of a governing class who is favorable to the Reformation, who reads the Classics of Antiquity for their ethical value, and who is capable of expressing itself in Ciceronian Latin"[28]. Moreover, one must note that 16th century intellectuals were well-read in diverse disciplines. For instance, Pierre Viret, though a theologian, read and employed the classical authors, as well as books on medicine, history, and law, in order to both reinforce his critiques of the Roman Catholic Church and develop his views on Natural Theology.[29]

Our corpus's titles were printed in various places. While more than 30% of them were printed in Basel (190 titles), 39 other cities were represented – as the map below (Figure 2) displays. Through Erasmus's presence, as well as the establishment of several famous printers such as Froben, Herwagen, Petri, and Oporinus, Basel became a significant center for editing and book production.[30]

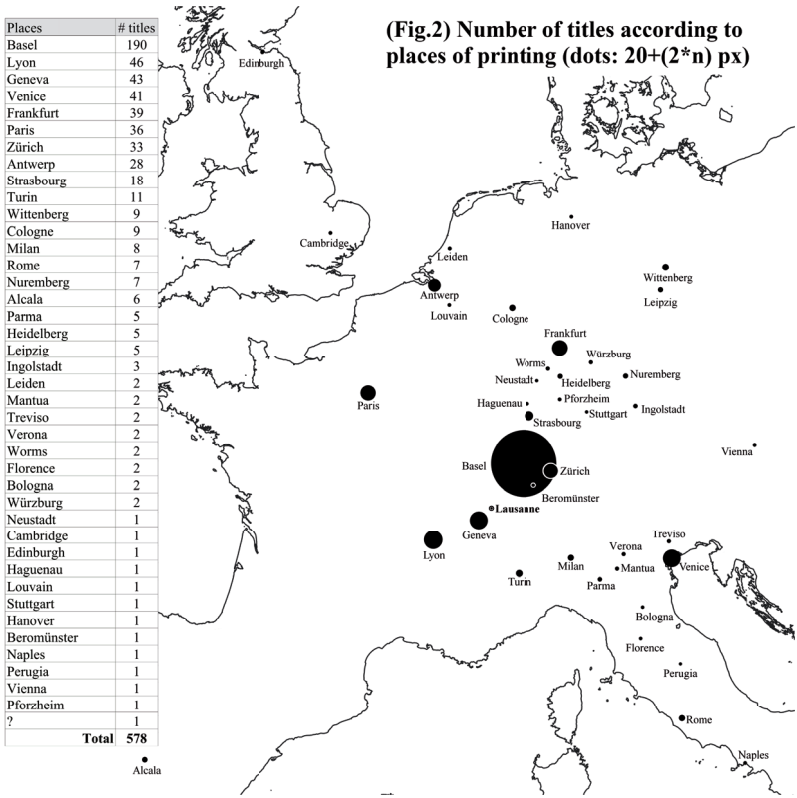
[27] *Crousaz*, L'Académie, 5–9.

[28] "L'Académie de Lausanne constitue ainsi un outil pour la formation d'une classe dirigeante favorable à la Réforme qui lit les classiques de l'Antiquité pour leur valeur éthique et qui est capable de s'exprimer en un latin cicéronien", in: *Crousaz*, L'Académie, 439.

[29] See Pierre *Viret*, Des actes des vrais successeurs de Jesus Christ et des apostats de l'Eglise, Genève: Jean Girard, 1554; Dialogues du désordre qui est à présent au monde, Genève: Jean Girard, 1545; Exposition de la doctrine de la foy chrestienne, Genève: Jean Rivery, 1564, dialogues 11–24.

[30] Peter G. *Bietenholz*, Edition et Réforme à Bâle 1517–1565, in: La Réforme et le livre. l'Europe de l'imprimé (1517–v.1570), ed. by Jean François *Gilmont*, Paris 1990, 239–268.

Places	# titles
Basel	190
Lyon	46
Geneva	43
Venice	41
Frankfurt	39
Paris	36
Zürich	33
Antwerp	28
Strasbourg	18
Turin	11
Wittenberg	9
Cologne	9
Milan	8
Rome	7
Nuremberg	7
Alcala	6
Parma	5
Heidelberg	5
Leipzig	5
Ingolstadt	3
Leiden	2
Mantua	2
Treviso	2
Verona	2
Worms	2
Florence	2
Bologna	2
Würzburg	2
Neustadt	1
Cambridge	1
Edinburgh	1
Haguenau	1
Louvain	1
Stuttgart	1
Hanover	1
Beromünster	1
Naples	1
Perugia	1
Vienna	1
Pforzheim	1
?	1
Total	**578**



(Fig.2) Number of titles according to places of printing (dots: 20+(2*n) px)

From Basel came titles that fit in diverse categories, though in our research the majority were patristics and philology.

The commercial circulation of books in the 16th century Pays de Vaud has not yet been thoroughly studied. We know of several printers and booksellers, who settled in Lausanne during this study's time-frame, such as Jean Rivery (1556–1558), Jean and François Le Preux (1569–1579), and Jean Chiquelle (1586–1588); however, historiography has primarily focused on their printing activity.[31] While the academic library did not hold any titles printed

[31] Silvio *Corsini*, Imprimeurs et libraires lausannois du XVIe siècle, in: Le livre à Lausanne. Cinq siècles d'édition et d'imprimerie 1493–1993, ed. by Silvio *Corsini*, Lausanne 1993, 18f. See in the same volume the contributions by Jean-François Gilmont and Alphonse Rivier.

in Lausanne – despite strong ties between the Academy and the city's printers[32] –, the above map points to the significance of their bookselling activity, as well as to their eventual commercial networks.

The academic library did not contain titles contemporary to their acquirers alone. Indeed, 30% of our titles were printed before 1537 – when the nascent Academy's embryonic library began –, and 14% were incunables:

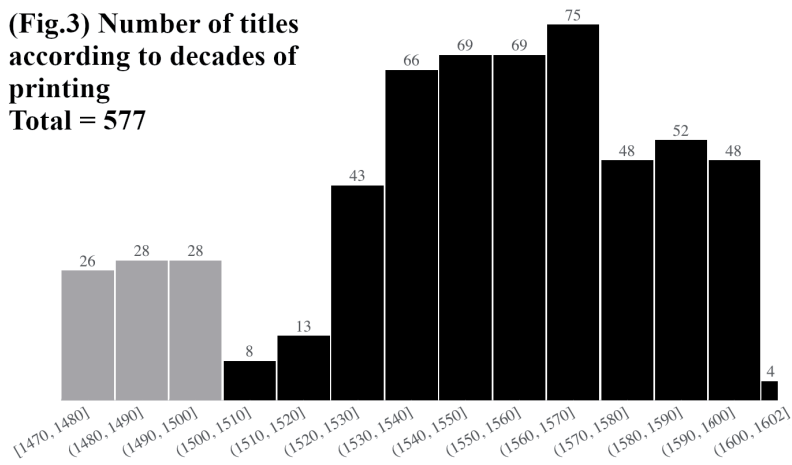


Figure 3 displays a lesser number of titles printed during the last three decades of the century. However, this only partially points to the aforementioned decreasing purchasing power. Indeed, rectors seem to have acquired books that were sometimes not fresh off the press: for instance, our corpus's copy of Plautus's Opera[33], printed in 1577, has written on its title page, under the ex-libris, the year "1598", which means that books were sometimes bought more than 20 years after their printing.

[32] Henri *Vuilleumier*, Histoire de l'Eglise réformée du Pays de Vaud sous le régime bernois, vol. 1, Lausanne 1929, 427–429.

[33] *Plautus*, Opera, ed. by Denis *Lambin* and Justus *Lipsius*, Lyon: Wilhelm Hertman, 1577 (BAL–462).

Another example confirms the practice of buying titles printed several decades earlier: an early 17th century professor of the Lausanne Academy, Nicolas Girard des Bergeries (rector in 1616–1617 and 1625–1626), acquired for the academic library 28 titles printed between 1570 and 1600.[34] These are not part of our corpus, being acquisitions done beyond our timeframe; nevertheless, would this research extend its corpus well into the middle of the next century, Girard des Bergeries' purchased titles – together with those of other rectors and professors – would flatten the curve manifest in the above graphic, and suppress its decline. While informative, what the previous graphic and map fail to convey is whether any diachronic variations transpire, pertaining to the provenance of our catalogue's titles.

Though a look at the dates of printing does not inform *per se* on the precise – year by year – development of the Lausanne Academy's library as to its diachronic process of acquisition, it does roughly point to major tendencies observed over decades. Such observations are possible through the merging of the previous graphic and map (see figure 4).

The most salient feature of this graphic is Basel's mid-century absolute dominance in our corpus. Between 1520 and 1570, 171 of our titles came from Basel – patristics alone amounting to 50 titles.[35] While Erasmian sets such as Augustine's Opera (1528–1529)[36] were present through their first edition, others such as Ambrose's Opera (1538)[37] were republications, or even on a rare occasion, pirate republications such as Jerome's Opera (Lyon, 1530)[38]. Parisian mid-century prints were editions of classical authors, as well as theological works of authority to the Roman Ca-

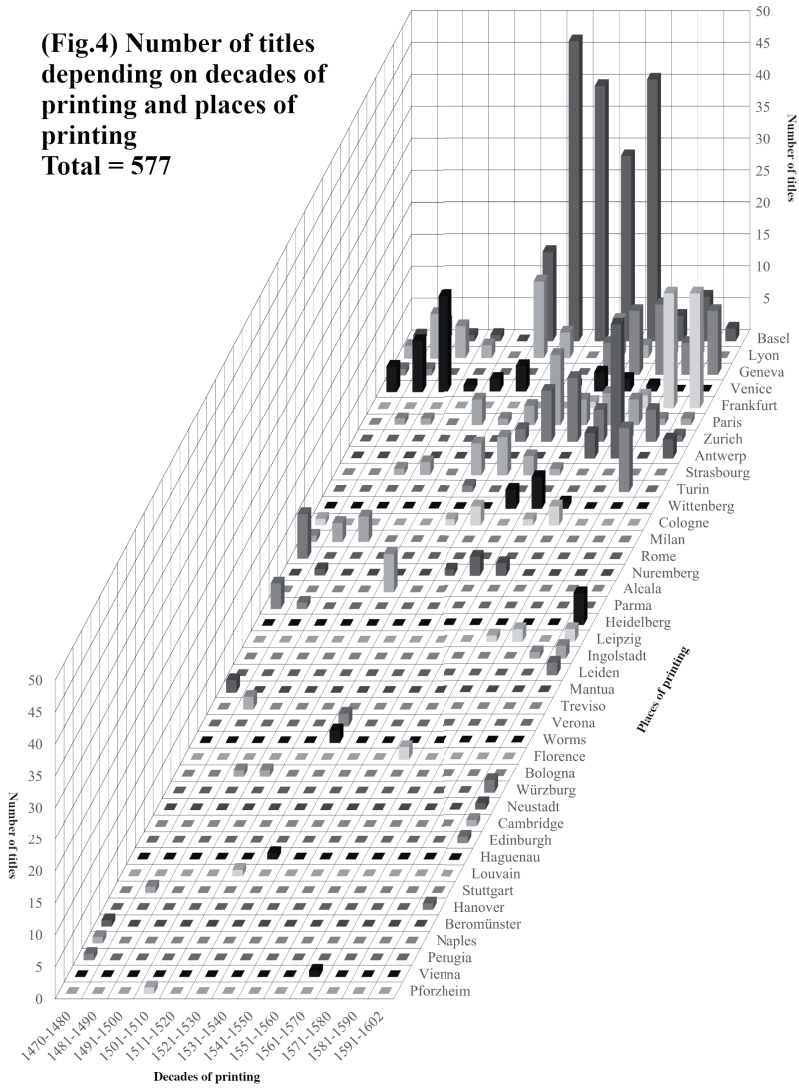
[34] Nicolas Girard des Bergeries' acquisitions were detectable due to the ex-libris he personally inscribed in them. Titles printed between 1570 and 1600 acquired by him, located at BCUL's "Réserve précieuse": 2L 2353, 2U 1806, 3K 155, 2U 1747, 1D 687, 3L 2615/1–2, 3L 2615/3–4, 2U 1683, 1C 610, 1L 1581/1, 1L 1581/2, 1L 1581/3, 1U 290, 1U 397, 1U 882, 1U 1610, 1V 1003, 1V 1601, 2L 1406/1, 2P 440, 2U 405, 2U 478, 2U 1683, 2U 1743, 3K 155, 3P 1549/1, 3P 1549/2, 1S 146bis. His other acquisitions printed between 1480 and 1569: INC II 55, 3P 2271/3, 2O 672, 3L 2729, 2L 1628, 1L 697, 1L 199.

[35] See *Bietenholz*, Edition, 253.

[36] BAL–61–71.

[37] BAL–4–8.

[38] BAL–341–351.



tholics, such as Gratian's Decretorum (1570) and Bernard of Clairvaux's Opera (1548).[39] Strasbourgian titles were mainly Otto Brunfels' botanical and editorial work, as well as Bucer's.[40]

[39] BAL–296; 202. Note that such works were also of historical value for Reformers' such as Pierre Viret, and did not constitute the numerous contemporary Roman Catholic responses to Protestantism redacted between 1550 and 1570, mentioned in: Fran-

The latter part of the century seems to display the consequences of confessionalization. Though Basel is still present, Geneva and Frankfurt are substantially on the rise, followed by Heidelberg. Throughout the second half of the 16th century, publishers tended to reflect their clients more and more, revealing their commitment to "confessional affiliations".[41] Indeed, the above graphic's end-of-century surge in Frankfurtian titles is due to the acquisition of Aristotle's Opera, in Greek and in Latin, edited by the Reformed classical scholar Friedrich Sylburg.[42] The Reformed produced books for readers of their own confession, and likewise did the Lutherans and Roman Catholics.[43]

Nevertheless, when necessary, scholarship remained "supraconfessional", as in the case of the 1581–1582 Turinian edition of Thomas Aquinas's works commented by Cajetan[44]; indeed, as will be discussed below, interest in Thomism appeared at the Lausanne Academy in the 1580s and 1590s, and reflected a general interest in Aquinas throughout the Reformed intellectual sphere.[45] Notwithstanding, Aquinas's works remained the prerogative of Roman Catholic printers, for authorities in 16th century Reformed cities seem to have deemed them too far from orthodoxy to allow their printing.[46]

cis *Higman*, Le domaine français 1520–1562, in: La Réforme et le livre. l'Europe de l'imprimé (1517–v.1570), ed. by Jean François *Gilmont*, Paris 1990, 118f.

[40] BAL–153–158, 329–331, 161–163.

[41] Ian *Maclean*, Learning and the Market Place. Essays in the History of the Early Modern Book, Leiden 2009, 18, 40, 65, 183–184. See Ute *Lotz-Heumann* and Matthias *Pohlig*, Confessionalization and Literature in the Empire, 1555–1700, in: Central European History, 40/1 (2007), 35–61.

[42] BAL–24–46.

[43] This can be observed in the case of Aristotle editions: F. Edward *Cranz*, A Bibliography of Aristotle Editions 1501–1600, Baden-Baden 1971.

[44] BAL–10–17, 167, 328.

[45] See Aquinas Among the Protestants, ed. by Manfred *Svensson* and David *VanDrunen*, Oxford 2018; Beyond Dordt and De Auxiliis. The Dynamics of Protestant and Catholic Soteriology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, ed. by Jordan J. *Ballor*, Matthew T. *Gaetano*, and David S. *Sytsma*, Leiden 2019.

[46] This was precisely the case in Geneva: a first attempt to print some of Aquinas' works was made in 1574 and was immediately interrupted; in 1579, another permission was asked, but to no avail. See Registres de la Compagnie des pasteurs de Genève, vol. III, 1565–1574, ed. by Olivier *Fatio* and Olivier *Labarthe*, Genèvea 1969, 135, 143; Registres de la Compagnie des pasteurs de Genève. vol. IV, 1575–1582, ed. by Olivier *Labarthe* and Bernard *Lescaze*, Genève 1974, 152; David *Sytsma*, Sixteenth-Century

The Lausanne Academy was trilingual, and this characteristic was echoed in its academic library. Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were taught by professors who had to consult highly specialized books in their original languages. The library accommodated these needs, as it provided tools that professors themselves often did not own. This is why, contrary to tendencies of private libraries, the academic library contained hardly any vernacular titles. Indeed, over 90% of the titles contained Latin:[47]

(Fig.5) Languages

	Titles	Percentage
Latin	446	77,16%
Greek & Latin	42	7,27%
Greek	38	6,57%
Hebrew & Latin	24	4,15%
Hebrew	10	1,73%
Hebrew, Greek, & Latin	6	1,04%
French	5	0,87%
Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldean, Greek, & Latin	4	0,69%
Syriac & Latin	2	0,35%
Syriac	1	0,17%
Total	**578**	**100,00%**

For instance, according to the Leges scholae of 1547, the Greek professor had to lecture on the orators, the poets, and the philosophers; moreover, a student's letter informs that Theodore Beza also used the New Testament to teach Greek.[48] The academic library thus provided most standard texts for teaching[49], together with specialized material to assist the professors and pastors for further research, publication, and sermon preparation.

Our corpus's use – as a reference library – also expressed itself by its titles' formats: more than 75% were in-folio.[50] The aim was

Reformed Reception of Aquinas, in: The Oxford Handbook of the Reception of Aquinas, ed. by Matthew *Levering* and Marcus *Plested*, Oxford 2021, 135.

[47] Andrew *Pettegree* and Arthur der *Weduwen*, The Bookshop of the World. Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age, London 2019, 181–183.

[48] "Lettre de Diethelm et Gerwig Blaurer à Ambrosius Blaurer, Lausanne, le 19 novembre 1557", in: *Crousaz*, L'Académie, 506f., 384f.

[49] The 1547 *Leges* proposed standard texts for each discipline taught at the Academy: Leges scholae lausannensis, in: *Crousaz*, L'Académie, 481–501.

[50] In the 1620s, Franeker University sold most of its smaller formats in order to

to acquire long-lasting and expensive books that were not already present in the users' private libraries.[51]

Ex-libris Families

Let us now turn to the key criterion allowing to include a title in our corpus: the presence of a 16th century ex-libris such as "Bibliothecae Lausannensis". 578 of these ex-libris were detected, none of them on books printed after 1602. They can be categorized into six families, plus a few that are unique.

The first family to consider was inscribed by Guillaume du Buc (1542–1603), whose handwriting was recognizable through his numerous autograph letters preserved at the Archives cantonales vaudoises.[52] A native of Rouen, he entered the Lausanne scene in 1564 as regent of the College, then was deacon (1568–1571) and pastor (1571–1591) of Yverdon, before being professor of theology at the Lausanne Academy (1591–1603), its rector (1592, 1595–1600), as well as the town's primary pastor (1594–1603).[53] Dying just before leaving for Saumur, where he had accepted the chair of theology, he bequeathed several printed works including sermons, a treatise on homiletics, and his magnum opus, the Institutiones Theologicae (1602)[54].

Bucanus' ex-libris were present on 44 of our titles, printed between 1580 and 1596. These editions, being close to the period of

exclusively buy in-folio titles: *Pettegree* and *der Weduwen*, The Bookshop, 183; *van Sluis*, The Library, 153f., 168f.

[51] In contrast, as an example of a scholar's private library, Théodore Aggripa d'Aubigné (1552–1630) possessed, upon death, 210 titles in his Genevan private library, consisting of 34 in–16, 105 in–8, 42 in–4 and 29 in-folio; the more expensive books were the scarcest: Jean-Raymond *Fanlo*, La bibliothèque genevoise d'Agrippa d'Aubigné d'après l'inventaire après décès, in: Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, LXVI/3 (2004), 567.

[52] ACV, Bd 1/2.

[53] Irena *Backus*, Bucanus, in: DHS, vol. 2, Hauterive 2003, 677; Henri *Vuilleumier*, Histoire de l'Eglise réformée du Pays de Vaud sous le régime bernois, vol. 2, Lausanne 1929, 168–177; ACV, Bd 1/2.

[54] Guilielmus *Bucanus*, Institutiones Theologicae, Genève: Le Preux, 1602. The *Institutiones* were republished several times in Geneva, Bremen, and Bern until 1648, as well as translated into English in 1606 and into Dutch in 1627.

Bucanus' rectorship, could safely be deemed as acquisitions of his choice. Indeed, a survey of the kinds of books he acquired confirms this hypothesis. Firstly, his ex-libris was found on Friedrich Sylburg's 1593 edition of Aristotle's Logic, Ethics, and Physics.[55] Assuredly, Bucanus was a central figure of the "persistence of Christian Aristotelianism"[56] in Lausanne, where the philosophical climate prior to his arrival to professorship was tumultuous, to say the least: on the one hand, in 1570, Petrus Ramus (1515–1572) offered a lecture on his logic at the Lausanne Academy; then professor of Greek (1567–1580), Pedro Nuñez Vela (d. 1580) favorably responded to Ramus's call to reform Aristotle's logic.[57] On the other hand, there were figures such as Antoine de Chandieu (1534–1591) and Claude Aubery (1545–1596) who promoted Aristotle's logic – though the latter developed theological doctrines, deemed unorthodox, that led to his departure.[58]

Bucanus was a proponent of a form of Reformed Aristotelianism. In the preface to his Institutiones, he acknowledged his indebtedness to Aristotle's logic, calling him the most skillful master pertaining to the art or teaching (peritissimus ordinis instituendi artifex)[59]. Specifically, Bucanus' interest was in Thomism. This is exemplified by his ex-libris being found on the 1581–1582 edition of Thomas Aquinas's Opera[60], commented by Cajetan, central fi-

[55] BAL–36–46.

[56] See Richard A. *Muller*, Scholasticism, Reformation, Orthodoxy, and the Persistence of Christian Aristotelianism, in: TRINJ, 1998, 81–96; Richard A. *Muller*, Reformation, Orthodoxy, "Christian Aristotelianism," and the Ecclecticism of Early Modern Philosophy, in: Dutch Review of Church History, 81/2 (2001), 306–325; Richard A. *Muller*, After Calvin. Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition, Oxford 2003, 25–102.

[57] *Vuilleumier*, Histoire, vol. 1, 735; Daniel *Christoff*, Gabriel Ph. *Widmer*, André *Voelke* and Pierre *Javet*, La philosophie dans la Haute École de Lausanne. 1552–1955, Lausanne 1987, 19f.; James Veazie *Skalnik*, Ramus and Reform: University and Church at the End of the Renaissance, Kirksville 2002, 42–44.

[58] Theodore *van Raalte*, Antoine de Chandieu. The Silver Horn of Geneva's Reformed Triumvirate, Oxford 2018, 166–173; Auguste *Bernus*, Le minister Antoine de Chandieu. D'après son Journal autographe inédit 1534–1591, Paris 1889, 51–76; *Heubi*, L'Académie, 64–81; Henri *Meylan*, Claude Aubery : l'affaire des "Orationes", in: Recueil de travaux publiés à l'occasion du 4e centenaire de la Fondation de l'Université, Lausanne 1937, 9–84.

[59] *Bucanus*, Institutiones, 5v.

[60] BAL–10–17, 167, 328.

gure of the 16th century renaissance of Thomism. To illustrate the Lausanne theologian's appropriation of Aquinas, one need only look at the first two pages of the Institutiones (edition of 1605), wherein Bucanus provided Aquinas's proofs of the existence of God, the "five ways" found in the Summa Theologiae.[61]

Bucanus' ex-libris was also found on other books related to Aristotle and Aquinas. Among these titles' authors were the Reformed Aristotelians Peter Martyr Vermigli, Girolamo Zanchi, and William Whitaker, the Lutheran Martin Chemnitz, and the Jesuit Thomist Robert Bellarmine.[62] The preface to the Institutiones testified to the Lausanne professor's interest in the above theologians, as they were mentioned as being the most esteemed of the Protestant camp – with the exception of Bellarmine.[63] Moreover, the Institutiones were the fruits of Bucanus' lectures in theology, taught to his students in preparation for the final examination and ordination.[64] Thus, they give a taste of the school of thought promulgated during his decade of teaching, as well as the influence he exercised on the Lausanne Academy.[65]

The five remaining ex-libris families did not reflect the acquisitions of a particular rector. Rather, they pointed to a decision, at the end of the 16th century, to systematically inscribe in the academic library's books a mark of belonging. Whether this was at Bucanus' instigation is unknown, but what is sure is that both professors and pastors were involved in this collective and systematic enterprise. One of these families could be identified with a Lausanne pastor Samuel Jaquerod (1550–1634), whose ex-libris was on 40 titles printed between 1471 and 1575 – including our corpus's unique manuscript[66] –, of which half were incunables. Another ex-libris family could be identified with Jean Collot, li-

[61] I, Q.2, a.3; Guilielmus *Bucanus*, Institutiones, Bern: Le Preux, 1605, L.I, Q.III.

[62] BAL–555–557, 574, 563, 182–188, 88–90. The remaining titles with Bucanus' ex-libris were BAL–130, 171, 246, 294, 295, 409, 410, 530.

[63] *Bucanus*, Institutiones, 3v, 4v–5r.

[64] Bucanus makes this explicit in the subtitle to this work: Institutiones Theologicae, seu Locorum Communium Christianae Religionis, ex Dei Verbo, et praestantissimorum Theologorum Orthodoxo consensu expositorum, Analysis: ad Leges Methodi Didascalicae, Quaestionibus et Responsionibus conformata: atque in usum Ministerii Sacri Candidatorum, qui se ad Examen Doctrinae subeundum parant, accomodata.

[65] *Vuilleumier*, Histoire, vol. 2, 172.

[66] BAL–453.

kewise a Lausanne pastor around 1600, whose ex-libris was on 99 titles printed between 1472 and 1602. Together with the three other families, no apparent pattern stood out, contrary to Bucanus' ex-libris family. Some of these titles even displayed both the price and early date of purchase – as mentioned at the beginning of this article –, thus indicating that they were incorporated into the academic library at an early time and only received their ex-libris at the end of the century.[67] Furthermore, some sets – such as Erasmus' Opera omnia[68] – had one ex-libris family on half of their titles, and another ex-libris family on the other half, echoing the collective nature of the ex-libris inscription enterprise.

Finally, some titles possessed indications of previous ownership.[69] These titles were few and in no case pointed to the receiving or buying of private libraries. The donation of private libraries to the academic library only appeared in the 17th century. In the 16th century, such a practice was rare for, as Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen inform in their study of the book trade in the Netherlands, private libraries constituted a sort of pension for families.[70]

While the fact that Lausanne's academic library did not receive private libraries in the 16th century limited the development of its corpus[71], it also contributes to the value of the present study. The

[67] BAL–123–124, 421, 211, 212., 108.

[68] BAL–228–237.

[69] BAL–354 (Jean Ribit), 398 (Antoine Caffer, Jean Bœuf), 215 (Jean Bœuf), 551 (Samuel Marthoret), 426 (Pierre Boquin), 322 (Guillaume Franc), 532 (Aemilius Portus).

[70] *Pettegree* and *der Weduwen*, The Bookshop, 181. However, smaller donations existed, for the 1586 statutes of Franeker University urged dying professors to "bequeath some book to the library, which is not present there yet". This practice somewhat echoes our corpus' singular donations by professors: *van Sluis*, The Library, 137. See also Alexandre *Ganoczy*, La Bibliothèque de l'Académie de Genève. le catalogue de 1572 et ses enseignements, Genève 1969, 19f. The testaments of the Girard des Bergeries family likewise illustrate the value of private libraries: Simon Girard des Bergeries (1541–1599) bequeaths to his children a private library worth 1,700 florins («Lettre de Partages entre Nobles Jehan, Nicolas et Jehanne Girards, frères et sœur/ En datte, du 2. Hapvril/ 1599.», BCUL, Ms. Fonds Constant II/6bis). Jacob Girard des Bergeries (1615–1681) bequeaths his children a private library worth 8,500 florins («Estat des Biens Délaissés par feu Monsieur Le Professeur Jacob Girard Des Bergeries recognus le 14 Apvril 1681», BCUL, Ms. Fonds Constant II/6bis).

[71] The younger Geneva Academy had a larger library, due in part to the acquisition of private libraries such as Calvin's and Vermigli's: *Ganoczy*, La Bibliothèque, 17–28.

majority of titles were acquisitions done by professors and pastors of Lausanne, and this helps us to see what the academic personnel wanted to acquire. Thus, the corpus depicts the choices and desires of the academic library's users, rendering salient some of their schools of thought. Indeed, research on private libraries tends to run into the problem of interpreting catalogues that contain both titles chosen by their owner, and titles inherited, received as gifts, or possessed as symbols of social status.[72] Such factors only affect a fraction of the 16th century Lausanne academic library.

The second part of this article surveys the biblical and theological titles of our corpus. As we comment the catalogue, we distinguish by language, epoch, or confession.

Old Testament and Hebrew Philology

The academic library contained five major editions of the Hebrew Bible: the 1514–1517 Alcala Polyglot edited by Cardinal Francisco Jimenez de Cisneros, the 1525 Rabbinic Bible printed by Daniel Bomberg, the 1534–1535 and 1536 editions by Sebastien Münster, and the 1571–1572 Antwerp Polyglot edited by Benito Arias Montano and his colleagues.[73] On the one hand, the Alcala Polyglot, with its printed marginal notes, indexes, grammars, and lexicons, conveyed the desire to propose a didactic tool. On the other hand, the 1525 Rabbinic Bible strictly provided Semitic script, and in order to understand its commentary, one needed to master both Targumic Aramaic and medieval Hebrew. The copy held in the Lausanne Academy library testified to its users' competence, as it displayed copious marginalia and emendations.[74] Such manuscript additions and emendations seem to have been inscribed by Jean Reymond Merlin, professor of Hebrew at Lausanne (1549–1559),

[72] See Joan *Davies*, The Libraries of Some Protestants of Toulouse in 1572. Cultural Influences and Calvinism, in: Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, XLI/3 (1979), 555–566; Emmanuelle *Chapron*, Histoire du livre et des bibliothèques, in: Faire de l'histoire moderne, ed. by Nicolas *Le Roux*, Paris 2020, 134f.

[73] BAL–96–101, 133–136, 123–126, 117–122.

[74] The rabbinic commentary contained David Kimhi's (d. 1235) and Rashi's (d. 1105) attempts to refute Christological readings of the Tanakh, which explains why a Reformer disagreed with some of its propositions.

and later at Geneva (1559–1564).[75] He wrote in his commentary on Les dix commandemens de la loy de Dieu (1561) that he was helped by the Jewish commentators of the Law[76], and the Lausanne copy of the Rabbinic Bible's manuscript marginalia correspond to his autograph manuscript letters preserved at the Archives cantonales vaudoises.[77]

Though Lausanne Hebraists utilized Roman Catholic and Jewish scholarship, they clearly favored the work of their Reformed champion of Semitic philology, Sebastian Münster. Besides his editions of the Old Testament, the "German Ezra"[78] was present through ten other titles, such as his Dictionnarium Hebraicum (1564), his edition of Elijah Levita's Accentum Hebraïcorum (1539), and his edition of Abraham bar Hiya's Sphaera Mundi (1546).[79] Overall, the academic library held Hebrew dictionaries and concordances, rather than basic grammars, which a Hebrew professor would have most probably already possessed in his private library.

New Testament and Greek Philology

Besides the various polyglot Bibles already mentioned, the academic library contained – among other Greek Bibles – the fruits of Erasmus's scholarship. His Novum Testamentum appeared through three posthumous editions: the 1540 edition located in his Opera omnia, printed by Jerome Froben; a 1542 edition, also printed in Basel, but whose Annotationes have been replaced by Wolf-

[75] *Crousaz*, L'Académie, 529; Henri *Vuilleumier*, Les hébraïsants vaudois du XVIe siècle, in: Recueil inaugural : travaux des facultés / Université de Lausanne, Lausanne 1892, 66; Geneviève *Gross*, Pratique du ministère et terrains d'activité de deux acteurs de la Réforme : Jean Reymond Merlin (1510–1578) et Jean Le Comte de la Croix (1500–1572), Genève 2012, 11.

[76] Jean Reymond *Merlin*, Les dix commandemens de la loy de Dieu, Genève: Jean Rivery, 1561, 11.

[77] For example: ACV, Bd 1/1, 100. Furthermore, Ganoczy informs that Geneva Academy's copy of the Rabbinic Bible arrived only in 1566, five years after Merlin's publication (*Ganoczy*, La Bibliothèque, 159, 19f.).

[78] Münster's epitaph called him the German Ezra and Strabo: Karl Heinz *Burmeister*, Sebastian Münster. Versuch eines biographischen Gesamtbildes, Basel 1969, 193.

[79] BAL–425, 422, 1.

gang Musculus' In Evangelistam Matthaeum Commentarii (1544); a 1570 edition commented by the Lutheran Matthias Flacius Illyricus.[80] Erasmus's philological endeavor found favor in the eyes of various Reformers, for its erudition[81], but also due to the fact that they could side with his desire to reform the Church, formulated, for instance, in his dedication of the 1516 Novum Instrumentum to Leo X.[82]

While in the case of Hebrew, most students at the Academy (Schola publica) were learning the language for the first time, such was not the case for Greek. The College (Schola privata) taught Greek during the last two years (second and first classes). Thus, the Academy's Greek professor did not need to teach the basics of grammar and could limit himself merely to the "exquisitoria praecepta" (the most delicate grammatical rules) – ancillarily to his lecturing on the poets, historians, philosophers, and the New Testament.[83] Philological apparatuses provided to help the professors included lexicons and dictionaries, such as Benito Montano Arias' Lexicon graecum, et institutiones linguae Graecae (1572), two editions of the Σουίδας (1544 and 1564), Guillaume Budé's Commentarii linguae Graecae (1548), and Henri Estienne II's Thesaurus Graecae Linguae (1572).[84]

[80] BAL–233, 234, 128, 109.

[81] Novum D. N. Jesu Christi testamentum. Latine jam olim a Veteri interprete, nun denuo a Theodoro Beza versum: cum ejusdem annotationibus, in quibus ratio interpretationis redditur, Genève: Robert Estienne, 1556, 1v–2v (BAL–105).

[82] *Leu* and *Weidmann*, Huldrych Zwingli, 38–45; John B. *Payne*, Erasmus's Influence on Zwingli and Bullinger, in: Biblical Interpretation in the Era of the Reformation, ed. by Richard A. *Muller* and John L. *Thompson*, Grand Rapids 1996, 80f.; Riemer A. *Faber*, The Influence of Erasmus' *Annotationes* on Calvin's Galatians Commentary, in: Dutch Review of Church History, 84 (2004), 268–283; Jan *den Boeft*, Erasmus and the Church Fathers, in: The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West. from the Carolingians to the Maurists, vol. 2, ed. by Irena *Backus*, Leiden 1997, 546.

[83] Leges scholae lausannensis, in: *Crousaz*, L'Académie, 486f., 493–495; Lettre de Diethelm et Gerwig Blaurer à Ambrosius Blaurer, Lausanne, le 19 novembre 1557, in: *Crousaz*, L'Académie, 506.

[84] BAL–411, 524, 525, 164, 241–245. See also BAL–541, 322.

Biblical Commentaries

The 1547 Leges scholae lausannensis demanded that the professor of theology comment on the Scriptures, starting in the original languages. He then had to proceed by presenting different authors' interpretations and indicating whom the students could read for further study.[85] These authors were commentators, be they in the Reformed, Lutheran, and Roman Catholic camps, or of earlier epochs such as that of the Church Fathers and the medieval theologians. If the theology professor did not personally possess copies of these theologians' texts, he could find them in the academic library.

One immensely precious historical source sheds light on this question: the Studiorum ratio of Jean Ribit, professor of Greek (1541–1547) and theology (1547–1559) at the Lausanne Academy. As a sort of reasoned timetable, the Studiorum ratio informs on how Ribit organized his reading. For instance, here is how he prepared for discussions with the congregation of pastors:

> "I, therefore, begin to examine what concerns the exposition of Scripture that will take place the next day at the congregation of pastors. This year, 1549, Genesis is exposited, and in June chapter 27, for which I must consult numerous interpreters, both ancient and recent, if they are present in the library. Firstly, the Hebrew Scriptures are examined attentively, as well as Rashi's commentaries, which are slightly more obscure. Nicholas of Lyra, Agostino Steuco, Jerome, Münster, Augustine, Zwingli, and the various interpretations, Origen, Basil the Great, if there is something, Ambrose etc."[86]

[85] "Variam interpretationem aliorum modeste reverenterque adductio. Quæ ad locos communes et quatenus referri possint, debeantque diligenter aperito. Locorum vero ipsorum communium summam aut member generatim indicasse sat esto, et ad exactam vestigationem eorum, ad authores studiosos relegate.", in: Leges scholae lausannensis, in: *Crousaz*, L'Académie, 496.

[86] "Tum incipio perscrutari quae ad enarrationem sacrae lectionis quae postridie in conventu ministrorum enarratur. Hoc autem anno 1549 Genesis explicatur ac junio quidem mense cap. 27, cujus multi sunt tum veteris tum recentiores interpretes qui omnes evolvendi mihi sunt, si modo in bibliotheca reperiuntur. Primum literae hebraicae examinandae sunt diligenter cum Rabi Solomon commentariis, qui sunt paulo obscuriores. Nicol. De Lira, Eugubinus, Hieronymus, Münsterus, Augustinus, Zwinglius, et variae interpretationes, Origenes, Basilius magnus si quid habet, Ambrosius etc.", in: L'Académie de Lausanne au XVIe siècle, ed. by Louis *Junod* and Henri *Meylan*, Lausanne 1947, 47.

Our catalogue thus allows to determine precisely what titles Ribit accessed. "Rashi's commentaries" figured in Bomberg's 1525 Rabbinic Bible; Nicholas of Lyra's commentary was present through a four-volume 1488 edition printed in Lyon; it was likewise the case for Agostino Steuco, through his 1531 edition of the Hebrew Bible with commentary, also printed in Lyon; Münster's 1534 Vetus Instrumentum contained his commentary.[87] The other authors were present via their Opera omnia: Jerome's commentary on Genesis was in the third tome of the Lyon 1530 edition; Augustine's Locutionum in Heptateuchum and De Genesi ad literam were in the third tome of the Basel 1528 edition; Origen's Peri Archon and his homilies were in the Basel 1545 edition; Basil the Great's Homiliae in Hexaëmeron were in the Basel 1532 edition; Ambrose's commentary on the Hexaëmeron figured in the fourth tome of the Basel 1538 edition; finally, Zwingli's commentary on Genesis was in the third tome of his 1545 Opera omnia.[88] All editions pointed to were printed before 1549, making it more than plausible that Ribit would have, in effect, found the desired titles in the academic library.

At the end of the 16th century, the academic library held 101 titles containing biblical commentaries, amounting to 17% of the entire catalogue. Contemporary commentaries were the most present, of which 57 were Protestant and 11 were Roman Catholic; among the Protestant commentaries, 38 belonged to the Reformed tradition, 19 were Lutheran. The remainder consisted of 21 patristic commentaries, as well as 12 medieval commentaries, of which 4 were Jewish. Such diversity may surprise, but it is likewise portrayed in the Genevan academic library of 1572 – though to a lesser extent, due to the "dépôt légal" imposed on the local printers, contributing to the proportionally higher number of Reformed commentaries.[89]

According to the Leges scholae Lausannensis (1547), the professor of theology had to present humbly and respectfully, as he lectured, the interpretations of "others".[90] This implies that acquiring

[87] BAL–133–136, 112–115, 108, 123.

[88] BAL–343, 63, 433, 77, 7, 577. Let us note that all the above editions of the Fathers were the fruits of Erasmus' editorial enterprise.

[89] *Ganoczy*, La bibliothèque, 13.

titles by authors of other confessions did not have polemical purposes alone. Indeed, together with the Leges, the academic library testified to the practice of drawing from authors beyond the Reformed confessional camp.

Looking at the whole corpus of commentaries together, one can decompose each title into its separate parts, or commentaries of individual biblical books. For instance, if a professor such as Ribit searched for various interpretations at the end of the century, he would have found 20 commentaries of the book of Genesis. For the Hebrew Bible, the book with the most commentaries was the Psalms (26), and the least were conjointly Proverbs and Ecclesiastes (16 each). Concerning the New Testament, Mathew's Gospel (25) and the Pauline Epistles (24–25 each) were the most present, whereas Revelation was the least represented (14).

As to the styles of commentary, the panel was large. On the one hand, were present primarily philological commentaries, such as that of humanists Benito Montano Arias and Erasmus[91]. On the other hand, there were commentaries that followed the scholastic method, such as Peter Martyr Vermigli's, in which one could find allegorical interpretation, employment of syllogism, and structure according to Aristotelian distinctions and logic.[92] Both methodological tendencies were represented in the works of professors at the Lausanne Academy, though their emphasis changed towards the end of the century: Ribit's and Beza's works echoed the humanist beginnings of the Academy, whereas later professors, such as Chandieu, Aubery, and Bucanus, reflected the end-of-century revival of scholastic method.[93]

[90] "Variam interpretationem aliorum modeste reverenterque adducito.", in: *Crousaz*, L'Académie, 469. Compare Jean Ribit's *Studiorum ratio*: "Si quid aliter expositum sit vel ab antiquioribus vel a recentioribus, ea varia interpretatio modeste reverenterque commemoretur, ac simul quid probari queat, quid non diserte significator.", in: L'Académie, ed. by *Junod* and *Meylan*, 45.

[91] BAL–410–420, 233.

[92] BAL–551–553; John Patrick *Donnelly*, Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli's Doctrine of Man and Grace, Leiden 1976, 60–63.

[93] Note that Chandieu combined the humanist "*ad fontes* and *mos gallicus* emphasis into his scholastic treatment of theology", as exemplified in his hermeneutical rules: Antoine *de Chandieu*, Opera Theologica, Genève: Jean Le Preux, 1593, 704f.; *van Raalte*, Antoine de Chandieu, 198–200. Concerning the merging of humanist and scholastic methods in theology, see Richard A. *Muller*, Post-Reformation Reformed Dog-

Patristic Theology

Patristics consisted of 15% of the entire corpus, and 34% of the theological titles. Such a substantive number of patristic titles was unsurprising, considering the theological climate of our research's time frame; whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, both 16th century humanists and scholastics were admirative of the Fathers. In the following survey, we distinguish the Greek from the Latin Fathers, on a linguistic basis, as well as following the distinction the 16th century academic library's users operated in their theological discourse.[94]

Among the Ante-Nicene Greeks, were found Ignatius of Antioch's letters (1560), Justin Martyr's Opera omnia (1565), Athenagoras' Apologia pro Christianis (1565), Clement of Alexandria's Opera omnia in Greek (1592) and Latin (1566), Origen's Opera (1545), homilies on the Song of Songs and commentary on Job (1530), and Cyprian of Carthage's letters (1486).[95] As to the Post-Nicene Greeks, the 4th century Fathers were the most represented, with the Opera omnia of Athanasius (1564), Basil of Caesarea in Greek (1532, 1552) and Latin (1551), Gregory of Nazianzen (1550), Gregory of Nyssa (1562), as well as Epiphanius of Salamis's Contra Octoginta Haereses in Greek (1544) and in Latin (1560) – all printed in Basel.[96] Then came John Chrysostom's commentaries on the Pauline epistles (1529), the acts of the Synod of Ephesus (1591), John Cassien's Opera (1559), Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's Opera in Greek (1516) and Latin (1498), Theodoret of Cyrus's Opera (1593), the Canons of the Apostles (Κανόνες των Αγίων Αποστόλων [1560]), Procopius of Gaza's Commentarii in Octateuchum (1555), Aeneas of Gaza's Theophrastus (1559), and John Damascenes Opera omnia (1559).[97]

matics: The Rise and Development of Reformed Orthodoxy. Ca. 1520 to ca. 1725, vol. 1, Grand Rapids 2003, 63–66 (PRRD); Maarten *Wisse*, Reformed Theology in Scholastic Development, in: The Oxford Handbook of Reformed Theology, ed. by Michael *Allen* and Scott R. *Swain*, Oxford 2020.

[94] See Antoine *de Chandieu*, De Vera Peccatorum Remissione…, Morges: Le Preux, 1582, 146; *Bucanus*, Institutiones, L.XI, Q.II; L.XLVIII, Q.I.10.

[95] BAL–334, 362, 363, 364, 58, 203, 204, 433, 434, 347, 214.

[96] BAL–56, 57, 77, 78, 79, 299, 300, 226, 227.

[97] BAL–190, 191, 545, 215, 478, 479, 530, 175, 475, 225.

As the years of printing indicate, two thirds of the above titles were present through editions of the second half of the century, attesting to a rising interest in the Greek Fathers during the period of Early Orthodoxy. Moreover, half of the titles provided the Greek text, perhaps reflecting a desire to learn Greek through the Greek Fathers, who were often qualified rhetoricians.[98] Indeed, when the Leges scholae lausannensis were revised in 1616, the pagan Greek authors were taken out of the curriculum and replaced by the New Testament and the Greek Fathers.[99] Furthermore, at the Lausanne Academy in the 16th century, both professors and students of theology were amply capable of dealing with the Greek Fathers in their original language.[100]

As to the Latin Fathers, their presence was twice that of the Greeks. However, the Latin corpus was less diverse, for 75% of its titles were by Augustine (16), Jerome (9), Bede (8), and Ambrose (5). The earliest theologians present were Irenaeus of Lyon, through his Erasmian Opera omnia (1534), and Tertullian through his Opera omnia edited by Beatus Rhenanus (1539).[101] Then came Hilary of Poitiers's Opera omnia (1535), and the more voluminous Erasmian series of Ambrose's Opera omnia (1538), Jerome's (1530), and Augustine's (1528–1529).[102] The latter's Opera omnia constituted the most popular of its editions, and was blacklisted by the Roman Index due to the sharp critiques of the Church Erasmus inserted in the preface and marginalia.[103]

[98] See Les apologistes chrétiens et la culture grecques, ed. by Bernard *Pouderon* and Joseph *Doré*, Paris 1998; Brian E. *Daley*, Gregory of Nazianzus, London 2006, 26–34; István *Pásztori-Kupán*, Theodoret of Cyrus, London 2006, 4; Khaled *Anatolios*, Athanasius, London 2004, 4.

[99] *Vuilleumier*, Histoire, vol. 2, 118.

[100] Note that Bucanus' *Institutiones* and *Ecclesiastes: seu de formandis sacris concionibus* were permeated by Greek quotations, echoing the training undergone by Lausanne Academy's theology students.

[101] BAL–336, 528. Though he wrote in Greek, we include Irenaeus with the Latin Fathers, for his writings survive in Latin alone: Robert M. *Grant*, Irenaeus of Lyons, London 1997, 5.

[102] BAL–323, 4–8, 341–351, 61–71.

[103] Arnoud *Visser*, Augustine in Renaissance Humanism, in: The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine, ed. by Karla *Pollmann*, Willemien *Otten et al.*, Oxford 2013. Reformed theologians reaped these critiques: Peter Martyr *Vermigli*, De sacramento eucharistiae in celeberrima Angliae schola Oxoniensi habita tractatio, Zürich: Andreas Gessner and Rudolf Wyssenbach, 1552, 101.

Most of the Latin Fathers seem to have been early acquisitions due to their years of printing but, also due to echoes that transpired in professors' publications. Though he quoted Augustine already in his first works, Pierre Viret precisely indicated that he was using the 1528–1529 edition of the Opera omnia in a work published as early as 1551.[104] Similarly, Viret quoted Jerome's commentary on Haggai – present in print for the first time in the Erasmian Opera omnia – in a 1545 publication.[105] This somewhat confirms our above hypothesis that Jean Ribit most probably found the books he was looking for in 1549.

Medieval Theology

While the Reformers expressed in their writings a preference for patristic authors and, as a movement, embodied to a certain extent a rupture with the theology of the centuries immediately preceding them, their rejection of medieval theology remained partial; indeed, recent scholarship has shown that there was variegated continuity in terms of method, vocabulary, and even doctrine.[106]

Whether through irenic or elenctic intentions, the corpus of the Lausanne academic library held 42 titles authored by medieval theologians. Theological works of the 9th to the 12th centuries were the scarcest. Firstly, one found Ratramnus' De corpore et sanguine Domini (1557) and Rabanus Maurus' De institutione clericorum (1505), texts which contained elements of sacramentology in compliance with the Reformed view.[107] Other notable titles were

[104] "August. Tom. 7. de baptis. cont. Do. Li. 2. ca. 3.", in: Du devoir et du besoing qu'ont les hommes à s'enquerir de la volonté de Dieu par sa Parolle, Genève: Jean Girard, 1551, 141. Mentioning the seventh tome indicates that Viret was using the Erasmian edition.

[105] Dialogues du désordre, Genève: Jean Girard, 1545, 28.

[106] PRRD I, 37, 65, 72f.; Christopher *Cleveland*, Reformed Theology and Medieval Theology, in: The Oxford Handbook of Reformed Theology, ed. by Michael *Allen* and Scott R. *Swain*, Oxford 2020.

[107] BAL–483, 402. See *Ratramnus,* De Corpore et Sanguine Domini, Basel: [?], 1557, 96r–96v; George H. *Tavard*, The Church as Eucharistic Communion in Medieval Theology, in: Continuity and Discontinuity in Church History, ed. by F. *Forrester Church* and Timothy *George*, Boston 1979, 101; Pierre *Viret*, De origine, continuatione, usu, autoritate, atque praestantia Ministerii verbi Dei, et Sacramentorum, Genève: Estienne, 1554, 109v.

Theophylact of Ohrid's Enarrationes in Quator Evangelia (1541) and Enarrationes in omnes divi Pauli Apostoli Epistola (1540), which were bound together and contained their year of purchase (1541)[108], and Bernard of Clairvaux's Opera (1548).[109]

The most represented century was the 13th, notably through Aquinas's Opera. However, as was earlier discussed, the arrival of his titles in the academic library was late. He was not without interest in the eyes of early reformers such as Pierre Viret, but his importance reached new heights at the end of the century, when Aquinas dominated the curriculum of Roman Catholic universities and figures such as Robert Bellarmine were trained in his school.[110] This was why Bucanus acquired both Aquinas's and Bellarmine's books: in order to more appropriately deal with his Roman Catholic opponents. Other 13th century theologians present were Albert the Great, Hugo Ripelin, Jacobus de Varagine, Bonaventure, Duns Scotus, and Guillaume d'Auvergne.[111]

The 14th century was represented by Guido de Monte Rochen, Guillaume Durand (Rationale divinorum officiorum), John Bromyard, and John Wyclif.[112] Lastly, a few notable theologians of the 15th century present in the library were Jan Hus, Jean Gerson, and Robertus Caracciolus.[113] Overall, the medieval theological corpus was diverse as to its authors as well as to its texts (sermons, doctrinal treatises, liturgical manuals). It provided a portrait of the Roman Church's traditional position, though its selection showed some bias in favor of Reformation theology.[114]

[108] Viret cites Theophylact in: Requiescant in pace de Purgatoire, Genève: Girard, 1552, 33, 133, 137.

[109] BAL–202.

[110] Henk J. *de Jonge*, The Study of the New Testament in the Dutch Universities, 1575–1700, in: History of Universities, 1 (1981), 113; John M. *Fletcher*, Change and Resistance to Change: A Consideration of the Development of English and German Universities During the Sixteenth Century, in: History of Universities, 1 (1981), 5, 24f.

[111] BAL–75, 487, 562, 502, 75.

[112] BAL–307, 222, 223, 152, 565.

[113] BAL–329–331, 288–290, 489.

[114] 21 of the 37 titles of medieval theology were printed before 1510. Further research on these titles' manuscript annotations and bindings is needed in order to elucidate their previous ownership.

Reformed Theology

The larger part of our corpus's contemporary theology was Reformed (48%), though Lutheran and Roman Catholic theologies represented the rest (26% each). Such proportions correspond to the library at the end of the century but, as stated earlier, titles by the Lutheran Osiander and the Roman Catholic Steuco were among the very first to be acquired.[115] Assuredly, second generation reformers were building upon both Roman Catholic and earlier Protestant scholarship.[116] Moreover, if fractures appeared in the Reformed camp during the first decades of the Lausanne Academy, the Consensus Tigurinus (1549) and the Confessio Helvetica Posterior (1566) allow us to assume an overarching unity throughout the ensuing decades of Early Orthodoxy.[117] In parallel to the Lausanne academic library, Bucanus' teaching attested to the use of multiconfessional scholarship, as he gathered theologians of various confessional backgrounds under the title of "Clarissimorum virorum".[118]

Firstly, The Zürich theologians were represented by Huldrych Zwingli's Opera omnia (1545), edited by Rudolph Gwalther – one of the very first students of the Lausanne Academy.[119] The latter was himself present through his Homiliarum in Evangelium Jesu Christi secundum Matthaeum (1581–1584), In prophetas duodecim [...] homiliae (1563), and In Evangelium Jesu Christi secundum Lucam homiliae (1570).[120] The library also held Heinrich Bullinger's In omnes apostolicas epistolas [...] commentarii (1537) and In Acta Apostolicorum [...] commentariorum (1556), as well as Ludwig Lavater's In librum Josue invictissimi Imperatoris Israelitarum Homiliae LXXIII (1576), Liber Judicum, Homiliis CVII

[115] See footnotes 8 and 9.

[116] PRRD I, 53.

[117] *Bruening*, Calvinism, 257f.

[118] "Fateor, inquam, me ex eorum, quos ante dixi, tum ex Clarissimorum virorum, Bezae, Hemmingii, Zanchii, Aretii, Zegedini, Sadeelis, Grynaei, Danaei, Wittakeri, et aliorum recentiorum (quorum nomina recensere longum) Ecclesiarum in Germania, Helvetia, Dania, Hungaria, Gallia, Anglia luminum, quorum memoriam grata mente veneror, eruditissimis Scriptis in adornandis Responsionibus meis magnopere adjutum.", in: *Bucanus*, Institutiones, 4r.

[119] BAL–562–565; *Crousaz*, L'Académie, 538.

[120] BAL–291–294.

(1585), Liber Hestherae Homiliis XLVII (1584), and Liber Jobi, Homiliis CXLI (1585).[121]

The Strasbourg theologian Martin Bucer was present through his In sacra quator evangelia, enarrationes perpetuae (1536), Metaphrases et enarrationes perpetuae epistolarum D. Pauli Apostoli (1536), Sacrorum Psalmorum with commentary (1547), and a volume compiling several of his treatises and letters (1548).[122]

Martin Borrhaus was the only Basel theologian in our corpus, in which figured his In Salomonis [...] commentarius (1539), In Mosem [...] commentarii (1555), In Sacram Josuae [...] commentarius (1557), In Iesaiae [...] commentarii (1561).[123]

Wolfgang Musculus, professor of theology in Bern (1549–1563), was present through his In sacrosanctum Davidis Psalterium Commentarii (1551), and In Evangelium Matthaeum Commentarii (1544).[124]

Just as Ribit desired to read Zwingli's commentary on Genesis in 1549, it seems that the 16th century Lausanne theologians and pastors were particularly interested in the exegetical material published by their Reformed peers. This certainly does not imply a rejection of their dogmatic works; on the contrary, titles such as Bullinger's Decades and Musculus' Loci communes were probably part of the Lausanne theologians and pastors' private libraries. Indeed, such titles were among the numerous titles being translated into French and printed in Geneva between the 1550s and 1570s; moreover, the correspondence of the church leaders testified to a generally amicable relationship between the Calvinists and the Zwinglians during the second part of the century.[125]

Having reviewed the presence of the non-Calvinist Reformed theologians, let us turn to the Calvinists. John Calvin was present through his academic commentaries In viginti prima Ezechielis

[121] BAL–356–359.
[122] BAL–159–163.
[123] BAL–146–149.
[124] BAL–427, 428.
[125] For instance, Beza fraternally addressed Gwalther, as he sadly anticipated the passing away of their common father (communem nostrum parentem), Bullinger: Theodore Beza, Correspondance, T. XVI, (1575), ed. by Hippolyte *Aubert*, Alain *Dufour* et al., Genève 1993, 205 (1160. Bèze à R. Gwalther. Genève. – 19 septembre 1575); Theodore *Beza*, Icones, Genève: de Laon, 1580.

prophetae capita praelectiones (1565), Praelectiones in librum prophetiarum Danielis (1561), Praelectiones in librum prophetiarum Jeremiae (1563), and one of the rare titles in French, the Recueil des opuscules (1561). A late edition of his Institutio Christianae Religionis (1592) was also present; its ex-libris was by Bucanus' hand, and the professor inscribed on the title page words of praise expressed by the Hungarian poet Paulus Thurius: "Praeter apostolicas, post Christi tempora, chartas, / Huic peperere libro saecula nulla parem", a quote Bucanus also inserted in the preface to his Institutiones.[126]

Though Calvin was admired at the end of the century, the Bernese were hostile to him in the 1550s, even leading to the exile of the Calvinists to Geneva in 1559.[127] This seems to explain why his books were only present in our corpus through editions printed in the 1560s onwards. However, one must also take into account the format of Calvin's publications: being mostly in-octavo and in-duodecimo, Calvin's earlier titles did not correspond to the aim of the academic library, which was to acquire expensive in-folio books that were not already owned by the professors and pastors – who were mostly supporters of the Farel-Viret-Calvin trio.

Another reformer linked to both the Lausanne (professor of Greek 1549–1558) and Geneva (professor of theology 1564–1605) academies was Theodore Beza. Often called "Calvin's successor", recent research has pointed to his "personal stature"[128], and his involvement in the Lausanne scene beyond his 1558 departure attested to his marked authority in matters ranging from politics to theology.[129] He was represented in the Lausanne academic library through his Tractationes theologicae (1582).[130]

[126] Bucanus most probably encountered Thurius' quote in: Stephanus *Szegedinus*, Theologiae sincerae Loci Communes de Deo et Homine, Basel: Conrad Waldkirch, 1585, 11v.

[127] *Bruening*, Calvinism, 213–255; *Crousaz*, L'Académie, 101–126. Tensions seem to have ceased within the two decades following the 1559 crisis, for an edition of Calvin's *Institutio* is printed in Lausanne in 1576, edited by Nicolas Colladon, then theology professor of Lausanne.

[128] Béatrice *Nicollier*, Conclusions, in: Théodore de Bèze, 1519–1605, ed. by Irena *Backus*, Genève 2007, 577; Kirk *Summers* and Scott *Manetsch*, Introduction. New Perspectives on an Old Reformer, in: Theodore Beza at 500. New Perspectives on an Old Reformer, ed. by Scott *Manetsch* and Kirk *Summers*, Göttingen 2020, 13–53.

[129] See, for instance, his involvement in the Aubery affair: *Meylan*, Aubery, 9–84.

[130] BAL–94, 95.

Though Beza's presence in the library was hardly felt, Viret's was inexistent. However, this can be explained by the fact that his texts were scarcely reprinted – thus limiting their circulation –, and the overwhelming majority of them were published in small formats.[131] Furthermore, his works were principally in French and, being destined to lay readers, their content was often more pedagogical than it was academic. Lastly, his correspondence showed that he regularly gifted his new publications to his friends and colleagues, rendering their presence in the library unnecessary.[132]

Peter Martyr Vermigli exemplified reformed scholasticism, which late 16th century professors were adamant about. Except for his participation in the Colloquy of Poissy, his physical presence in the French Reformed sphere was limited.[133] The opposite can be said as to his bookish presence. Quantitatively, he was the most represented Reformed theologian in the Lausanne academic library. The corpus held his Defensio doctrinae veteris et apostolicae de sacro sancto eucharistiae sacramento (1559), In librum Judicum [...] commentarii (1565), In Selectissimam Divi Pauli priorem ad Corinthios Epistolam [...] commentarii (1567), In primum librum Mosis [...] commentarii (1569), as well as the Locorum Communium Theologicorum (1580–1582).[134] The commentary on Genesis was previously owned by the professor of theology (1567–1571) Samuel Marthoret.

In continuity with Chandieu and Aubery, Bucanus further propelled the rise in prominence of Reformed scholasticism in Lausanne. Together with the works by Girolamo Zanchi and William Whitaker that Bucanus personally acquired for the academic library, were present Robert Rollock's In Epistolam sancti Pauli apostoli ad Romanos commentarius (1595) and In Evangelium Domini Nostri Jesu Christi secundum Sanctum Johannem commentarius (1599), as well as Franciscus Junius' Animadversiones versus Robert Bellarmine (1600–1602).[135] Interest in scholastic

[131] Dominique-Antoine *Troilo*, L'œuvre de Pierre Viret, Lausanne 2012, 80, 185–585.

[132] *Viret*, Epistolae, 340, 63, 346.

[133] Jason *Zuidema*, Vermigli and French Reform, in: A Companion to Peter Martyr Vermigli, ed. by Emidio *Campi*, Leiden 2009, 469f.

[134] BAL–538–544.

[135] BAL–490, 491, 356–361.

theology continued into the first quarter of the 17th century: Nicolas Girard des Bergeries would later acquire for the library, between 1616 and 1626, Antoine de Chandieu's Opera theologica (1591), as well as other titles by Zanchi, Andreas Hyperius, and even Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas.[136]

Lutheran Theology

The corpus of Lutheran theology started with the very first titles acquired for the library: Andreas Osiander's Harmoniae evangelicae libri IIII and corresponding Annotationum (1537).[137] However, during the period spanning until the 1559 crisis, the Lutheran corpus seems to have grown in monochromatic fashion. Indeed, except for the Augsburg Confession (1551)[138], only titles by Martin Luther were found: his Latin Opera (1545–1554), In Genesin Enarrationum (1550–1554), and Postillae on the Gospels (1546).[139] The Lausanne years of Viret and Beza were not devoid of Reformed-Lutheran polemic but, the academic library did not indicate a particular interest in acquiring more than Luther's authoritative writings – if indeed they were not bought later.

The Lutheran corpus was diversified in the last third of the 16th century. The library contained biblical commentaries by David Chytraeus (1591), Heinrich Moller (1591), Victorinus Strigel (1569), Joachim Camerarius the Elder (1572), and Nikolaus Selnecker (1595), as well as doctrinal treatises by Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1567), Hermano Hamelmano (1568), and Johann Rivius (1562).[140] The most represented Lutheran, after Luther himself, was Martin Chemnitz, through his Examinis Concilii Tridentini (1585) and Loci theologici (1594–1595).[141]

Chytraeus, Selnecker, and Chemnitz were among the writers of the Formula Concordiae, composed between 1567 and 1577, and

[136] BCUL: 2U 478, 2U 1806, 2U 1747, 1U 397, 2U 405.
[137] BAL–437, 438.
[138] BAL–404.
[139] BAL–384–393.
[140] BAL–192, 409, 522, 173, 174, 504, 271, 312, 488.
[141] BAL–182–188.

adopted by most Lutheran territories in 1580.[142] Their writings, and that of others, were therefore of particular importance, since Lausanne professors were involved in organized responses to the Formula: Antoine de Chandieu participated in the redaction of the Harmonia confessionum fidei, Orthodoxarum, et Reformatarum Ecclesiarum (1581), and Claude Aubery was the Lausanne delegate to the Montbéliard Colloquy (1586).[143]

Roman Catholic Theology

From Viret to Bucanus, all the lecturers of Theology in 16th century Lausanne were concerned with Roman Catholicism, whether it was by dealing with their polemical adversaries' publications, or by training future pastors destined to ministry in regions loyal to the Pope and Protestant regions presenting resistance to the Reformation.[144] This explains our corpus's diverse selection of Roman Catholic theologians.

Desiderius Erasmus was the most represented Roman Catholic theologian in our corpus, though he is difficult to categorize, being condemned by the 1559 Roman Index and included among the pre-Reformers.[145] His 1540 Opera omnia provided a vast panel of his theological works and religious polemics, of which the desire to bring Christianity to its primitive purity was central.[146] Erasmus'

[142] Émile G. *Léonard*, Histoire générale du protestantisme. II L'établissement, Paris 1988, 23–30; Introduction à l'histoire de la théologie, ed. by Pierre-Olivier *Léchot*, Genève 2018, 238–243.

[143] *Vuilleumier*, Histoire, vol. 2, 127–129. Beza also was involved in controversies between the Gnesio-Lutherans and Crypto-Calvinists during the 1570s, that led in part to the *Formula*: Molly *Buffington Lackey* and Kirk *Summers*, Beza Among the Lutherans, in: Theodore Beza at 500. New Perspectives on an Old Reformer, ed. by Scott *Manetsch* and Kirk *Summers*, Göttingen 2020, 177–201.

[144] See Thomas *Cristofis*, Les résistances à la Réforme dans le Pays de Vaud (1525–1590), MA thesis, University of Lausanne 2020; Elias *Jordan*, Les testaments vaudois au début de la Réforme (1534–1550), entre adaptations et résistances, MA thesis, University of Lausanne 2020; Simon *Sulzer*, Acta Synodi Bernensi, Basel: Cratander, 1532, cap. XXIIII.

[145] Index Auctorum et Librorum, Rome: Salviani, 1559, 9v; Theodore *Beza*, Icones, Ciii.

[146] BAL–228–237. Carlos M. N. *Eire*, War Against the Idols. The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin, Cambridge 1998, 28f.

influence on the Lausanne theologians was especially salient in matters of philology and exegesis: Theodore Beza employed Erasmus's New Testament and annotations when working on his own translation in the 1550s[147] and, at the end of the century, Bucanus did likewise for his exegetical lectures on Romans 5.[148]

A friend and admirer of Erasmus, Jean Louis Vivès was also part of our corpus, through his Opera (1555).[149] His works defended the humanist method versus traditional scholastic dialectics, and contained texts corresponding to the sensibilities of the early Lausanne professors, such as Viret, Beza, Caelio Secondo Curione, and Maturin Cordier, who endeavored to propose a humanist education in the Academy and College. It is therefore plausible that Vivès' Opera, together with Erasmus's, were acquisitions of the early period of the Academy.

Other Roman Catholic authors figured in the academic library, such as Luigi Lippomano (1546), Claudio Especaeo (1561), Jean Bodin (1580), Gilbert Genebrard (1592), and Nicholas Sanders (1592).[150] Their texts were popular in the Roman Catholic universities and were subject to responses from the Reformed camp.[151] However, none were more popular than Robert Bellarmine. This was why Bucanus acquired his De Controversiis Christianae Fidei, adversus hujus temporis hareticos (1590–1593)[152], which could be considered as one of the sharpest critiques of the Reformed position. Being a Jesuit Thomist, his method was strictly scholastic, and it was precisely in response to this argumentative style that Antoine de Chandieu called for a scholastic Reformed theology in 1580.[153] Chandieu's call contributed to setting the tone for Lau-

[147] Theodore *Beza*, Novum Jesu Christi Domini nostri Testamentum latine, Basel: Barbier and Courteau, 1559, 2r–3v.

[148] Guilielmus *Bucanus*, Lectiones theologicae […] in Cap. V. Epist. Ad Roman., BCUL, Ms. V 904a, 55.

[149] BAL–560, 561.

[150] BAL–381, 238, 140, 477, 496f.

[151] See for instance Max *Engammare*, Licence poétique versus métrique sacrée. La polémique entre Bèze et Génébrard au sujet des Psaumes et du Cantique des Cantiques (1579–1586). Première partie, in: Théodore de Bèze, 1519–1605, ed. by Irena *Backus*, 479–499.

[152] BAL–88–90.

[153] Antoine *de Chandieu*, Locus de Verbo Dei Scripto, adversus humanas traditiones, theologice et scholastice tractatus. Ubi igitur de vera methodo theologice simul, et scho-

sanne and Geneva's theology in the ensuing decades, and Bellarmine's works were, thus, exactly what a Reformed academic library needed to possess. The De Controversiis was certainly the type of text that Bucanus consulted as he prepared his dogmatics courses and ultimately his Institutiones.[154]

Conclusion

Our catalogue sheds light on the development of Reformed thought in the 16th century Lausanne Academy. In historical research whose starting point is an Early Modern manuscript catalogue, one is faced with constraints such as a rather synchronic point of view;[155] our research, having its starting point in the extant volumes of the 16th century academic library – which often contain clues as to their period of acquisition –, offers thus both synchronic and diachronic perspectives. Titles susceptible of being acquisitions done in the early years of the Academy echo Karine Crousaz's research, which portrayed an institution providing a humanist education: emphasis was on Hebrew, Greek, and Latin philology, and theology was principally exegetical. Indeed, professors from this period mainly produced Bible translations and commentaries, and their polemical treatises were humanistic in style rather than scholastic.

As the end of the century approached, humanist sensibilities subsisted, but the scholastic method had taken over. In Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*, actors of the Academy, such as Claude Aubery, Antoine de Chandieu, and Guillaume du Buc saw the argumentative method most suitable for teaching and disputing theology. These professors focused particularly on dogmatics; such an interest was reflected both in their own publications and the books they selected for the academic library.

lastice disputandi, Morges: Le Preux, 1580; Donald *Sinnema*, Antoine de Chandieu's Call for a Scholastic Reformed Theology (1580), in: Later Calvinism. International Perspectives, ed. by Fred W. *Graham*, Kirksville 1995, 159–194; *van Raalte*, Antoine de Chandieu, 202.

[154] See *Bucanus*, Institutiones, L.XXXI, Q.XXXVIII.3; L.XLVIII, Q.XLI–XLIV.

[155] Alexandre Ganoczy used a 1572 catalogue of the Genevan academic library.

Evidently, focusing on the theological corpus alone means that we have surveyed only half of the 16th century academic library's corpus. Moreover, the shift in emphasis from humanism to scholasticism that we have observed, concerns theology; other disciplines were subject to different processes of mutation between the 1530s and the dawn of the 17th century.

As mentioned at the beginning of this article, the Lausanne Academy also trained schoolteachers and the sons of the intellectual and political elites. Therefore, looking at other categories of our corpus, such as history, philosophy, the classics, medicine, and law, sheds light on how the bonae literae were received and taught, as well as how such disciplines were employed in the service of theology.[156]

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Abstract: In 1537, the first theology courses in Lausanne were dispensed in order to form what would become the Lausanne Academy in the 1540s. That same year, books started to be acquired in order to form an academic library, constituting a tool for the professorial and ministerial personnel in Lausanne. At the end of the sixteenth century, all the books in the library of the Academy received ex-*libris*. Preserved at the Bibliothèque Cantonale Universitaire de Lausanne, these books were classified in a catalogue of 578 titles. Thus, this reconstituted the sixteenth century academic library. Its study—here focusing on the theological titles in particular—sheds light on the diachronic intellectual climate surrounding the Lausanne Academy, such as confessionalization, the shift of the emphasis from humanism to scholasticism, and the consequences of intra- and extra-Protestant polemics.

Keywords: Academy; Library; Books; Ex-libris; Lausanne; 16th Century; Pierre Viret; Guilielmus Bucanus; Desiderius Erasmus; Confessionalization; Humanism; Scholasticism

[156] All the categories of the 16th century Lausanne academic library are briefly surveyed in the MA thesis on which this article is based.