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Bert Tops*

The Quest for the Early Modern Bible Reader: The Dutch Vorsterman Bible (1533–1534), its Readers and Users

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Abstract: This article investigates a book-archeological approach to early modern Bible reading that maps the complex interactions between the substantive elements of a book (text, paratext, illustrations) on the one hand, and its historical readers and the traces they left on the other. That method is applied to all 43 extant copies of the Dutch Vorsterman Bible of 1533–1534. The editions printed by Willem Vorsterman were for a long time regarded as Protestant. However, the Bibles had the approval of the secular and ecclesiastic authorities and were intended for a Catholic public. The edition of 1533–1534 is a glossed Bible with many historicizing, chronological, linguistic and typological paratextual elements. The former owners of the 43 Bibles and their confessional background are examined. Intended and unintended traces of use give clues to the actual use of the Bible. The article turns at the end to a heavily annotated copy, examining the religious ideas of the annotator and the way in which he used the Bible.

Keywords: the Low Countries in the Reformation Era, sixteenth-century Dutch Bibles, Willem Vorsterman, literacy, reading and reader markings, Catholic readers, book-archeology

1 Introduction: The quest for the Bible reader

The years between 1526 and 1546 are known as the “vingt glorieuses” (the twenty glorious years) of Dutch Bible production.¹ In that period the Antwerp printers and publishers Jacob van Liesvelt and Willem Vorsterman competed with one another by alternately marketing innovative Bibles. In the editions of this period they constantly tinkered with both substantive and formal characteristics.

¹ Max Engammare, “Les représentations de l’Écriture dans les Bibles illustrées du XVI^e siècle. Pour une herméneutique de l’image imprimée dans le texte publique,” *Revue française d’histoire du livre* 64 (1995): 117–189.

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One striking example is Vorsterman's 1533–1534 folio Bible,² which drew significantly from Liesvelt, but added further paratextual features. Besides the standard cross references, linguistic glosses and historic and chronological glosses, Vorsterman added typological glosses to his Bible. These explain events of the Old Testament as prefigurations of events in the New Testament. Furthermore, Vorsterman's edition was the first to have a subject index, "Tafel om ghereede te vindene alle stucken in geheel die Heylige Scrituren" (Table to readily find all elements in all Holy Scriptures).

These innovations were likely due to the publisher's eagerness to respond to the market and the needs of his target audience. But who were the readers? And how did they read or use their Bibles? Is there any evolution in their profiles and in their uses of the Bible? These questions are treated in "In Readers' Hands: Early Modern Bibles from a Users' Perspective." This research project, shared by the University of Groningen and KU Leuven, studies the Dutch Bible translations published by Willem Vorsterman, Jacob van Liesvelt and Henrick Peeterssen van Middelburch. Such a study will not only allow us to find out more about Bible reading proper, but also about how Bible reading evolved in the long run and even about Bible collecting.

Besides reconstructing the history of Bible reading, an important part of the research is devoted to determining the confessional nature of the Bibles. The Vorsterman Bible of 1528 presents itself as an authorized Catholic answer to the Liesvelt Bibles. The prologue of the 1528 edition states that a correction of the text according to that of the Vulgate was intended.³ It included a printing patent of the city council of Antwerp that refers to the approval by the faculty of Theology in Leuven.⁴ With this approval, the edition complied with the requirements of a version of the Edict of Worms (1521) that was issued specifically for the Low Countries.⁵ In spite of this, the scholarly literature long considered

² The edition has separate colophons for the Old and the New Testament. The Old Testament was printed on October 17, 1533 and the New Testament on January 31, 1534. Therefore, this article will refer to the edition of 1533–1534.

³ *De Bibel*, Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman, 1528, fol. *1v.

⁴ *De Bibel*, Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman, 1528, fol. *1r.

⁵ The Edict of Worms was issued in two versions, one for the Holy Roman Empire as a whole, and another, more detailed, for the Low Countries in particular. The latter stated that all published texts interpreting the Holy Scripture had to be approved by the Leuven faculty. The text was published by Paul Fredericq ed., *Tijdvak der Hervorming in de zestiende eeuw (1514–September 23, 1525)* (Corpus documentorum Inquisitionis haereticae praevitatis Neerlandicae, 4) (Gent: Vuylsteke, 1900): 47–58. See also W. François, "Die 'Ketzerplakate' Kaiser Karls in den Niederlanden und ihre Bedeutung für Bibelübersetzungen in der Volkssprache: Der 'Proto-Index' von 1529 als vorläufiger Endpunkt," *Dutch review of church history* 84 (2004): 198–247.

Vorsterman Bibles to be protestant or at least “protestantizing.”⁶ The misapprehension that the Vorsterman Bibles were protestant was due to the first edition (1528), which failed to adapt a few critical passages in the New Testament to the Vulgate.⁷ This probably betrays the hand of typesetter Jan Seversz, who acted without the printer’s knowledge, since Vorsterman rushed a correct version of the New Testament into print in the following year. Recent studies contradict the protestant or “protestantizing” character, showing that these Bibles were, in fact, designed for a Catholic audience.⁸ It is also possible that Franciscans were involved in designing the Vorsterman Bibles.⁹

The corpus of Vorsterman Bibles is not uniform, however. Its genesis can be ordered into three phases: (1) the (first) “eclectic and protestantizing” edition, dated 1528; (2) the faithful catholic translations of 1529–1531; (3) the “catholicizing” glossed Bibles of 1532, 1533–1534 and 1542. The paratext of the latter is fundamentally “catholicizing”, but it also contains some Protestant characteristics, so that they must be described as eclectic.¹⁰ Research into the Vorsterman editions is still ongoing. According to Louis Vermeulen, the translator of the text in all probability did use the Complutensian Polyglot, though earlier researchers denied this.¹¹

6 E. g. Cornelis C. de Bruin, *De Statenbijbel en zijn voorgangers* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1937), accessible at https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/bru007stat01_01/; Cornelis Augustijn, “De Vorstermanbijbel van 1528,” *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 56 (1975–1976): 78–94. The concepts of “protestantizing” and “catholicizing” are suitable in discussions about a time in which confessional divisions were not yet clear. The term “protestantizing” refers to a Bible in which ever more reformation-like or protestant elements were present in the text and in the paratext, but which at the same time still harks back to tradition, e. g. in echoes of a late medieval text or in catholic touches in the paratext. Including such catholic elements may have been imposed by censorship or by self-censorship, in order to limit the risks. In a “catholicizing” Bible the editors may have decided to become or remain Catholics in the process of the increasing definition of confessions, whether from conviction or in order to fulfill the demands of the censor (or for both reasons). Here, too, the process has not quite run its course and for many reasons, consciously or unconsciously, some reformation-like or protestant elements may have remained, e. g. in the paratext.

7 These passages concern Peter & the Church in Matt 16:18 and penance in Matt 3:2 and 4:17.

8 Wim François, “The Compositors’ Neglect’ or the True Story Behind the Prohibition of Vorsterman’s Dutch Bibles,” *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 91 (2015): 239–256.

9 Wim François, “De Vorstermanbijbel van 1528 en later: naar een katholieke Bijbel,” ed. P. Gillaerts et al., *De Bijbel in de Lage Landen. Elf eeuwen van vertalen* (Heerenveen: Royal Jongbloed, 2015), 237–265.

10 François, ‘The Compositors’ Neglect’.

11 Wim François & Sabrina Corbellini, “Shaping Religious Reading Cultures in the Early Modern Netherlands: The ‘Glossed Bibles’ of Jacob van Liesvelt (1532 and 1534ff.) and Willem Vorsterman (1533–34ff.),” *Journal of Early Modern Christianity* 6 (2019): p.p.; Louis Vermeulen,

The aim of this article is to understand better the 1533–1534 Vorsterman Bible by studying it, not from the point of view of what it offered, but from the point of view of how it was used.¹² This entails questions like: Who were the owners or readers of this edition and how did they read and use it?¹³ Is it possible to find out something about the confessional background of the owners? Is it possible to investigate a copy to see if a reader left traces that cast light on his ideas?

The basis of this article is an “archaeological” investigation of the notes and traces of use in the 43 remaining copies of the 1533–1534 edition extant in libraries and private collections.¹⁴ This involves searching for marks of ownership that might lead to the actual owners. A survey of traces of use and notes left over the years forms the basis of an analysis of the various types of use. One of these extant Bibles – a heavily annotated copy now in Leuven – offers an opportunity for still more thorough investigation.¹⁵ Notes left by a contemporaneous reader in about 450 places throughout this copy are studied to find out how the reader responded to the book and whether these notes reveal anything about the theological, devotional and pastoral concerns of the annotator. But before reporting on the investigation proper, some considerations on the methodology of the “archaeological” method used are advisable.

2 An archaeology of early modern Bible reading

In the study of the “history of books” there is a substantial tradition to bring together actors and elements to be studied in a model. The most frequently

“Die alder beste maniere van over te setten: Een andere visie op het gebruik van bronnen in het Oude Testament van de Vorstermanbijbel,” *Trajecta* 27 (2018): 57–126; and elsewhere.

¹² This research is part of a recent tradition, based on notes and other indications of use, in which Bibles are studied from the perspective of the user; cf. M. van Duijn, *De Delftse Bijbel. Een sociale geschiedenis. 1477–circa 1550* (Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Boekhandel. Nieuwe reeks, 19) (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2017); Femke Molekamp, *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England. Religious Reading and Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Thomas Fulton, “English bibles and their readers, 1400–1700,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 43 (2017): 415–435.

¹³ William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009): xiii, argued for mainly using the term “use”. But Jennifer Richards & Fred Schurink, “Introduction: The Textuality and Materiality of Reading in Early Modern England,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 3 (2010): 345–361 (345), opposed this attempt to drop the term “reading”. Because there is a subtle distinction between these terms, both are retained in this article.

¹⁴ Cf. Appendix 1.

¹⁵ Leuven Maurits Sabbe Library, P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1533 C.

debated model is Darnton's "communication circuit", which maps the interactions between the various actors that have a role in the successive stages (production, distribution and consumption) of the life of a book.¹⁶ But Darnton had to admit that "reading remains the most difficult stage to study in the circuit that books follow."¹⁷

Starting in the 1980s, the "history of reading" was to develop into an autonomous discipline, which, however, allows for distinctive socio-economic approaches. Thus, quantitative research may enable reconstructions of various socio-economic groups of readers. Qualitative research is directed rather to reading behavior and asks how books were read.¹⁸ An important quest in the study of reading is the one for the historical reader. Blaak is right in noting that books cannot exist without readers and that historical readers may have approached books in a manner totally different from what researchers expect.¹⁹

The books themselves are an important source in the search for historical readers. Studying notes and traces of use makes it possible to discover how they responded to books and even added meanings of their own to them. That process of appropriation has been emphasized by a number of scholars, including Rogier Chartier.²⁰ At first blush the study of notes and traces of use may seem qualitative, but if a sufficiently large number of books is studied, it may also yield interesting quantitative results.

Studies of notes and traces of use are not new.²¹ The most common name of this type of research, which is also what I intend to do, is "archaeology of reading." The term appears, in passing, in Chartier's 1992 volume of essays

16 Robert Darnton, "What is the History of Books?" *Daedalus* 111 (1982): 65–83 (67).

17 Darnton, "What is the History of Books?" 74; also quoted by Evangelia Stead, "Introduction," in *Reading Books and Prints as Cultural Objects*, ed. E. Stead (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 1–30 (7).

18 Jeroen Blaak, *Literacy in everyday life. Reading and Writing in Early Modern Dutch Diaries* (Egodocuments and History Series, 2) (Brill: Leiden, 2009), 9–10.

19 Blaak, *Literacy*, 7.

20 Roger Chartier, "Culture as Appropriation: popular cultural uses in early modern France," in *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century*, ed. Steven L. Kaplan (Berlin: De Gruyter 1984), 230–253. Rogier Chartier, *L'ordre des livres. Lecteurs, auteurs, bibliothèques en Europe entre XIV^e et XVIII^e siècle* (Aix-en-Provence: Alinéa, 1992), Roger Chartier, *Forms and Meanings: texts, performances, and audiences from Codex to computer* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 1995), Roger Chartier, "The order of books revisited," *Modern Intellectual History* 4 (2007): 509–519.

21 Cf. two studies, among others, that led to the recent popularity of studying notes and other indications of use in scholarly research: Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: University Press, 2005) and Sherman, *Used Books*.

L'ordre des livres.²² An important article is Lisa Jardine's and Anthony Grafton's "How Anthony Harvey read his Livy",²³ which spawned a digital database, the Archaeology of Reading, a collaboration of Johns Hopkins University, University College London and Princeton, which inventories notes and traces of use in early modern books.²⁴ Such an archaeological study is material²⁵: it studies elements that earlier readers and users have made inextricably bound up with the object that is the book. The first eye-catching material element is the binding, which the owner may have used to leave his personal stamp on the object.²⁶ The composition of the book, which is linked with the binding, matters too: owners sometimes chose to bring together into one binding several books or several volumes of a book. In the Delft Bible, for instance, the purchaser himself could choose between a shorter history Bible or a complete Bible, with its books in the canonical order.²⁷ Other vital aspects include marks of ownership, traces of use, and readers' notes. In Bibles, notes are often theological, devotional, or pastoral. These notes open like doors to the world of the reader, in some cases revealing information about external sources the reader used while studying the Bible.²⁸

²² Chartier, *L'ordre*, 32.

²³ Lisa Jardine & Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy," *Past & Present* 129 (1990): 30–78.

²⁴ <https://archaeologyofreading.org/>.

²⁵ Materiality is an important component in Daniel Bellingradt and Jeroen Salman, "Books and Book History in Motion: Materiality, Sociality and Spatiality," in *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe: Beyond Production, Circulation and Consumption*, ed. Daniel Bellingradt, Daniel Nelles & Jeroen Salman (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 1–11.

²⁶ Bellingradt & Salman "Books in motion": 3, too, consider the binding as a subject worthy of study when investigating the materiality of a book. The structure of the book and its decorative elements may allow conclusions about reading habits, book distribution, and place of purchase and binding. Cf. the description of the aims of the study of book bindings in: Chris Coppens, "Bookbindings in a Library: Frustrations and Possibilities," in *Early Sixteenth Century Printed Books 1501–1540 in the Library of the Leuven Faculty of Theology* (Documenta Libraria, 15), ed. Frans Gistelinck & Maurits Sabbe (Leuven: Bibliotheek Godgeleerdheid, 1994), 169–205 (169 and 180). In addition, such "book archaeological investigation" may complement the search for ownership marks. The structure of a book may allow conclusions as to whether a book was (partially) rebound and at which time, even though it no longer has an ownership mark that could point to a presumed change of owner.

²⁷ van Duijn, *Delftse Bijbel*; This applies less to the 1533–1534 Vorsterman edition, whose copies were without exception bound in the same manner.

²⁸ Enenkel extends this even further and refers to the aggregate of illustrations, personal experiences, thoughts, "pre-texts" and "con-texts." Cf. Karl A. E. Enenkel, "Meditative frames as reader's guidance in Neo-Latin texts," in *Meditatio – Refashioning the Self. Theory and Practice in Late Medieval and Early Modern Intellectual Culture* (Intersections, 17), ed. Walter S. Melion & Karl A. E. Enenkel, (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 27–44.

The number of publications that focus on this “materiality” of reading is increasing steadily. But as early as 2010 Jennifer Richards and Fred Schurink warned against losing sight of “textuality” and called for an expansion of the prevailing research model.²⁹ Both substantive and formal elements of the text should be taken into account. Admittedly, formal elements of the text, like typeface, font, layout, and the placement of illustrations on the page, can be considered “material,” but they are inextricable from “textuality,” i. e. the substance of the text and the paratext and of the illustrations. As Manuwald explained in her article about “cultural techniques” in a fourteenth-century devotional manuscript, its lay-out, the shape of its letters and its illustrations all contribute to the meaning of a manuscript (and by extension of a printed book) and, above all, they trigger the reading attitude of whoever picks up the work.³⁰

Analogous with the kind of research practiced on an archaeological site, the purpose of this work is to map the complex interactions between the substantive elements of a book (text, paratext, illustrations) on the one hand, and its historical readers and the traces they left on the other. Extant copies are both the object of this kind of study and at the same time the “site” where the world of the text and the world of its reader met.³¹ The written and unintended traces discovered are like archaeological artifacts, silent witnesses of Bible reading in earlier centuries. And just as the soil profile of an archaeological site may have been interfered with, such as by new habitations or the plowing of a field, a new owner of a Bible may have decided to destroy an old binding or to make a mark of ownership illegible. The analogy can be extended further: many human activities leave no traces in the soil; likewise many readers and their activities leave no traces in a book.

In what follows this method of archaeological research will be applied to the study of all known surviving copies of the 1533–1534 Vorsterman Bibles.³² First to be studied are the marks of ownership, which will then serve as stepping stones for the study of readers and users. That will be followed by some considerations about how this edition was generally read and used. The final

²⁹ Richards & Schurink, “Introduction,” 348.

³⁰ Henrike Manuwald, “On Cultural Techniques Related to a fourteenth-century Devotional Manuscript,” in *Reading Books and Prints as Cultural Objects* (New Directions in Book History), ed. Evangelina Stead (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 57–80. Cf. also Chartier (*Order of Books Revisited*, 518), who did not merely stress the reader’s role, but above all the triangular relation between semantics (the text), the material form (the object) and the reader’s final appreciation.

³¹ About the meeting of the “world of the text” and the “world of the reader,” see a reference to P. Ricoeur in Chartier, *L’ordre*, 15.

³² Cf. Appendix 1.

section will be devoted to a heavily annotated copy of this edition. The analysis of the ca. 450 notes left by a contemporaneous annotator throughout the Bible will show how he used it and will yield some insight into his ideas.

3 From owners to users: Marks of ownership

Can marks of ownership be used unproblematically in the investigation of historical readers? A book's owner hasn't necessarily picked up the book and read it. Yet marks of ownership are generally used as a starting point for research into the history of reading, for in many cases there is a historical reader hiding behind a mark of ownership.³³ On the other hand, a reader or user who left a proper name or many notes in a book need not have been its owner. Thus the nature of an entry does not distinguish an owner from a user.

Finding the owner of a book can pose serious problems. While it was customary to inscribe names of persons or institutions in books or manuscripts, it was almost as common for later owners to make earlier marks of ownership illegible. In addition, a number of title pages were lost in the course of time (as endpapers are most exposed to wear and tear); also, endpapers with marks of ownership were often removed when a book was rebound or restored. In a few cases, owners hid their names in the middle of their Bibles, and to find these entire Bibles need to be fully scrutinized.

In the forty-three copies studied, there were sixty-five marks of ownership.³⁴ In fourteen copies, there were no indications of ownership. Twenty-two of these previous owner names had been made illegible, wholly or in part, with a layer of ink, although some of these yield hints about the original user's profile. Moreover, modern photographic techniques make it possible to discern these marks of ownership partially or entirely.³⁵ Entries other than marks of ownership may indicate

³³ Cf., among others, p. 145 of van Duijn's *Delftse Bijbel*, a study of the 1477 Delft Bible, in which van Duijn uses inscriptions of ownership as a basis to establish users' or readers' profiles.

³⁴ Nineteenth and twentieth century library stamps were ignored in this article. The inscriptions of ownership are listed in the appendix, together with descriptions of the locations where the books are to be found, their dates, and the types of their owners. If prosopographic data can be found, the owner's location was mentioned if possible, as well as its source.

³⁵ The library of the KU Leuven, the author's research institution, makes the services of its Imaging Lab available. Besides digitalizing its own collection, the laboratory also offers services such as multi-light and multi-spectral imaging. These techniques make it sometimes possible to make an original but overwritten mark of ownership legible again. See Bruno Vandermeulen, Hendrik Hammeeuw, Lieve Watteeuw e.a., "Bridging multi-light & multi-spectral images to study, preserve and disseminate archival documents," *Archiving Conference* (2018): 64–69.

something about the author. The heavily annotated copy that will be discussed later is an example of this: although a mark of ownership has been removed, the entries make it possible to construct the anonymous annotator's profile.

Turning our attention to the time in which these marks of ownership were written, we find that ten legible marks of ownership go back to the sixteenth century. Four of them point to religious. Two go back to two Canons Regular of convent of the Order of the Holy Cross (Crosiers) at Huy in the Prince-Bishopric of Liège, who passed on a Bible among themselves. The formulas used indicate that they owned the Bibles themselves.³⁶ A mark of ownership indicating that a Bible was owned by the convent of Huy is from a later date, probably from the turn of the century with the 17th.³⁷ Another copy most likely was the property of a priest from Ghent; this is the copy that will be discussed at length later in this article.³⁸ Yet another copy belonged to a member of an unnamed community of regulars.³⁹

The other seven entries are probably from laypersons. Four refer to male owners.⁴⁰ Around 1557 one Jan Cornelis Lacouter left his name twice in a margin somewhere in the middle of a Bible, as well as a monogram.⁴¹ So far no prosopographic data about him have been discovered.⁴² A thorny question,

36 "Comparata sunt hec biblia p. r. p. fr(atre)m / Theodricu(s) ab Ubach. Anno d(omi)ni 1540 / pretio 38 st b(rabantiae)"; Liber fratr(u)m s(an)cte Crucis co(n)ve(n)tus Huyen(sis) / diocesis Leodien(sis) ab eode(m) R. P. F. Theodorico / ab Ubach per fr(atr)em Pauli Proveners / 33 st brab(antiae) rede(m)ptus Anno d(omi)ni 1556", Liège Seminary, 1.E.6, front endpaper. The everyday language in the abbey probably was French. But obviously its recruiting area was at least in part Dutch-speaking. That his fellow monks hailed from a Dutch-speaking area can possibly be derived from the purchase of a translation of the Bible into Dutch, and maybe also from the anthroponym Theodoricus ab Ubach. This likely refers to a noble family connected with Übach, a locality nowadays in North Rhine-Westphalia, which at the time was a seignior of the abbey of Thorn.

37 Liège Seminary, 1.E.6., title page.

38 Leuven Maurits Sabbe Library, P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1533 C; cf. *infra*.

39 "frater Joannes Helbrecht Hal[...] custodia hui(us) libri", Tongerlo (O. Praem.), 212 H1, fol. Q5v.

40 One inscription begins with "Hans Marcke[...]", a proper name, but the rest is gone. Its incompleteness makes it as yet impossible to decide if this person was a cleric or a layman. Tongerlo (O. Praem.), 212 H1, fol. Q5v.

41 "Jan Cornelis Lacouterz 1557"; "Jan Cornelis Lacaunter" Antwerpen Erfgoedbibliotheek, fol. N4r.

42 In recent years there has been a revolution in the accessibility of prosopographic data, thanks to archivist and other online sites. In addition, ever more genealogical data are placed online. However, this revolution does not at all guarantee that information about, e.g. sixteenth-century persons, is automatically retrievable. The large majority of archival records has not yet been provided with indexes of names. In addition, many archives have been lost, owing to the revolt of the Netherlands, among other causes.

raised also in van Duijn's study of the Delft Bible (1477), is the possibility that the name of a layman hides a secular cleric.⁴³ As to the sixteenth-century marks of property in Vorsterman Bibles, there are no indications that any was owned by a secular cleric. One remarkable ownership mark points to shared use of the Vorsterman Bible, namely an entry of the guard of The Hague prison that possibly shared his copy with the prisoners (see Figure 1).⁴⁴ Two entries were left by women.⁴⁵ One may originate from a widow reflecting on the loss of her husband.⁴⁶ In all there are three entries that were definitely made in the context of a family.⁴⁷ In addition, one Bible was passed from father to son.⁴⁸

Figure 1: Ownership mark of the guard of The Hague prison, Antwerp Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library, F 210700: ex1, fol. Q8v.

The legible seventeenth-century entries indicate that nine copies originate from a variety of lay people, including two families. Five copies were in the keep of religious, of which four were owned by convents (the Huy Crosiers, already mentioned, a convent of Conventual Franciscans, the Geldern Capuchins and

⁴³ van Duijn, *Delftse Bijbel*, 147.

⁴⁴ "dyt bouck hoert toe die(n) suppier vanden gevanckenisse / in Sgravenhae(ghe)" (This book belongs to the guard of the prison in The Hague.) Antwerp Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library, F 210700: ex1, fol. Q8v.

⁴⁵ "Cornelia von Eilb[...]" undoubtedly refers to a woman, Tilburg UB, TFK E152, fol. Q5v.

⁴⁶ "opde(n) xxiiij(en) aprilis a(nno) 1593 des avonts ontrent middernacht is my(n) lieve lieve Ricxt geru[pen] ind(en) Heere"; "a(nn)o 1593 des avonts o(n)trent twaelff uuijren ofte des middernachts is mij(n) lieve Ricxt van deesse werelt gescheijde(n). Rust inde(n) Heer's (On April 23, 1593 at night near midnight, my dear dear Ricxt was called unto the Lord; in 1593 at night near midnight or at midnight my dear Ricxt was taken from this world. Rest in the Lord.) Zaltbommel Stadskaestel, nr. 3511, fol. fol. A6v; Q5r.

⁴⁷ See Nijmegen UB, P.Inc 98, fol. Q5v and Tongerlo (O.Praem.), fol. Q5v.

⁴⁸ Tongerlo (O.Praem.), fol. Q5v.

the Briggittines in Xanten).⁴⁹ One of those religious was Josephus Vanderachter, later Abbot of Tongerlo, who inscribed his name a year after his profession.⁵⁰

In the eighteenth-century copies there's a fifty-fifty equilibrium between copies of laypersons and religious: each group left five. Among the religious there are three copies of (parish) priests,⁵¹ as against two owned by convents (of the Capucins of Maaseik and Meersel).⁵² In the nineteenth century, there were seven entries that point to (presumed) laypersons' milieus, (including two families). There were four entries by individual clerics, three secular priests and one regular.⁵³

These results show that the audience of the Vorsterman Bibles was varied and consisted in equal parts of religious and laypersons. A somewhat surprising finding is that the copies of the 1533–1534 Vorsterman edition remained for a long time in laypersons' hands, even after the sixteenth century. There are no entries in copies of this edition that refer to gifts from laypersons to convents or to religious individuals which pre-date the French Revolution. Gifts to abbeys and convents usually happened after these institutions were started or restarted in the nineteenth century. There are, however, a few data about books owned or used by regulars that ended up in a convent's collection, as has already been mentioned. Conversely, it was also a definite possibility that a Bible owned at one point by a cleric might later resurface in a layperson's milieu. The case study later in this article may be such a copy.

Research into book ownership usually focuses on the socio-economic background of the owners. Most extant copies of the Vorsterman Bibles are large folios,

49 "Conventus cruciferorum Hui" (Convent of the Crosiers of Huy), Luik Groot-Seminarie, 1.E.6., titlepage; "sum conventus [...] fratrum conventualum / a(nn)o 1674" (I am from a community of Conventual Franciscans, 1674) Strasbourg BNU, R.11.014, title page; "Capucinatorum Geldriensium" (of the Capucins of Geldern), Tilburg UB, TFK E152, title page; "Ex libris frat(rum) Birgittanorum Marię ad arborem in Clivia", Cologne USB, GBIV3735, title page.

50 "fr(rater) Josephus Vanderachter / rel(igiosus) Tonger(lo) 1694 13 martij", Den Haag KB, 228 A13, front endpaper. Josephus vander Achter (*1670 – †1745) professed in 1693 and abbot from 1742 on (communication from the archivist of the abbey Fr. Kees van Heijst). Presumably the book later was part of the collection of the Tongerlo abbey, which ended up in the National Library of the Netherlands some time in the 1820s, a short while after the dissolution of the abbey during the French Revolution. See, among other sources, Pierre Delsaerdt, "De verzegelde kisten van de Vrouwe Adriana. De abdijbibliotheek van Tongerlo en de patrimonialisering van het boek in het Verenigd Koninkrijk der Nederlanden," *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis* 25 (2018): 129–149.

51 "A Loos p(res)b(yte)r 1748", Gent Carmel, MIA.7, dl. 1–2, front endpaper; "ex libris Bernardus / Berckmans pastor Herinnensis [Herne]", Brussels KB, II 33969 C LP, fol. G2v; "Ex Libris Henr. Scheers Past. de Casterle 1741", Private Copy, endpaper.

52 "Capucinatorum f(ratrum) Masecanorum", Tilburg UB, TFK E153, front endpaper and "Capucinen tot Meersel", Anonymous Religious Institution, fol. +2r.

53 See Appendix 1.

which were bought by those who could afford these expensive copies. Besides being wealthy, they obviously had to be literate and have time and space to read those Bibles.⁵⁴ Yet the important but understudied question remains as to the confessional orientation of owners and readers, not only because the Vorsterman Bibles were produced in confessionally turbulent times, but also because an earlier generation of scholars assigned them to the protestant sphere. Hence the question arises: if the Vorsterman Bibles were meant to be a Catholic response to the Liesvelt Bibles, does their audience show this? Though text and paratext of the 1533–1534 edition are largely catholicizing, it is somewhat eclectic in that it contains a few paratextual passages that are distinctly Protestant. Does this imply that the edition was meant for an eclectic audience? Of the half of our copies that were demonstrably owned by religious individuals or convents, the confessional orientation of the owners is evident. In view of the catholicizing nature of the Vorsterman Bibles, it is to be expected that most laypersons who read them belonged to Catholic milieus. But establishing a layperson's religious orientation is almost as hard as, or even harder than, distinguishing religious from laypersons, in view of the paucity of prosopographic data.

Yet there are Vorsterman Bibles that can be demonstrated to have been passed on in the Dutch Republic between Catholic families, some of which belonged to the milieu of the clandestine churches. Among the genealogical notes there is one dated 1739 that mentions that one Ferdinandus Appelman officiated as the priest at the wedding of Jan Koenisse and a Cornelia.⁵⁵ The wedding probably took place in Haarlem, at whose beguinage Ferdinandus Appelman was working as a priest.⁵⁶ Another copy contains genealogical notes about a Catholic family who, in the early nineteenth century, belonged to “De Papegaai” (literally ‘the Parrot’), once a clandestine church in Amsterdam.⁵⁷ Not all copies ended up in the hands of faithful Catholics. In a sixteenth-century hand, a certain Cornelia left a Lutheran-like message: “Gott ist

⁵⁴ Jeroen Blaak, *Literacy*, 3, observes that large sections of the population could not write and had neither money, time nor space to make daily notes. The latter is obviously obtains for reading texts as well.

⁵⁵ “Int jaar ons heeren Yesu Christus anno 1739 den 10 mey ben ick / Jan Koenisze met Cornelia vander Werrelt getrouwt beyden / eerwaarden Ferdenandus Appelman” (In the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1739 on May 10 I, Jan Koenisze, was married to Cornelia vander Werrelt by the Reverend Ferdenandus Appelman), Zaltbommel Stadsbestuur, 3511, back endpaper.

⁵⁶ See among others W. E. Meiboom, *Inventaris van het archief van de Gedeputeerden van Haarlem ter Dagvaart van de Staten van Holland, (1589) 1603–1787* (Inventaris nr. 3.01.09) (Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, 1989): archiefnr. 328. Accessible online at: http://www.gahetna.nl/collectie/archief/pdf/NL-HaNA_3.01.09.ead.pdf.

⁵⁷ Utrecht UB-THO, RAR-55, front endpaper.

mein troß [sic] allein" (God is my only refuge) (see Figure 2).⁵⁸ Also, it is possible that one of the owners in 1601 was Gerardus Welhove, burgomaster of Delft, who can hardly be believed to have belonged publicly to the Catholic Church.⁵⁹

Figure 2: Ownership mark of Cornelia von Eilb[...]: "Gott ist mein troß allein" Tilburg UB, TFK E 152, fol. Q5v.

But it is difficult to calculate the percentage of laypersons who were Catholics, as opposed to those who were Protestants. Moreover, there must have been owners and readers who belonged to what historians are wont to call the "middle groups."⁶⁰ But clearly the "Protestant paradigm" (which claimed that Catholics neither read nor possessed Bibles) is no longer tenable.⁶¹ But that the paradigm is still making itself felt is proved by a

⁵⁸ Tilburg UB, TFK E152, fol. Q5v.

⁵⁹ There is a monogram on the front cover which reads "Geraldo / Welhovco / 1601", LEIDEN UB, 1497 B 10. This monogram may be the same as the eponymous burgomaster from Delft. G. H. Leuridijk, "Hermannus Tegelarius (ca. 1605–1666)," in *Figuren en thema's van de Nadere Reformatie*, ed. T. Brienens et al. (Kampen: De Groot Goudriaan, 1990), 32–45 (40).

⁶⁰ On these so-called middle groups, see Jan J. Woltjer, *Op weg naar tachtig jaar oorlog. Over de voorgeschiedenis en de eerste fasen van de Nederlandse opstand* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2011). Woltjer observes that the sixteenth century had people occupying a middle ground. Their numbers were important, yet they have so far been neglected in historical research.

⁶¹ The term "protestant paradigm" refers to the fallacy that there were no Bible translations before Luther. see, zie Andrew Colin Gow, "Challenging the Protestant Paradigm. Bible Reading in Lay and Urban Contexts of the Later Middle Ages," in *Scripture and Pluralism. Reading the Bible in the Religiously Plural Worlds of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Thomas Heffernan & Thomas E. Burman (Leiden: Brill, 2006): 161–191. It can also refer to the larger fallacy that, after the Reformation, the Catholic Church continued its attempts to keep laymen

couple of descriptions in library catalogs: two copies of the 1533–1534 editions were termed “Statenbijbel” (States Bible) and “Bible des jeux” (Beggar’s Bible).⁶² But research has shown that the first of these copies was handed down by a Catholic family and the other by regular clerics. Another indication is that the 1546 Louvain Index, which listed the 1533–1534 Vorsterman Bible, proved no impediment to the spread of the edition in Catholic milieus.⁶³

How representative are these data? 43 extant copies of a print run estimated at between 1000 and 2000 obviously limits us from drawing sweeping conclusions.⁶⁴ Nevertheless the data they yield are valuable, all the more so as they cannot be retrieved from other sources.⁶⁵ A comparison with the Delft Bible is telling: of the 30 marks of ownership of that translation of the Old Testament, a mere four referred to a convent, one to a beguinage and no fewer than twenty-five to laypersons.⁶⁶ This contrasts with the proportion (just under half) of Vorsterman Bibles that were owned by regular or secular clerics versus a small majority of owners that were laypersons. What were the uses those clerics and those laypersons put these translations to? That question will be discussed in the next sections.

4 From devotional aid to collector’s item: Traces of use

Whereas the marks of ownership treated above are a stepping stone for research into historical reading, its most important source is provided by the numerous

from reading Scripture, to put the Bible on the Index, and to persecute translators and printers of the vernacular Bible. This is only partially true and needs serious qualification. See Wim François, “Vernacular Bible Reading in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe: The ‘Catholic’ Position Revisited,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 104 (2018): 23–56.

⁶² Zaltbommel Stadskasteel, 3511, back endpaper; cf. supra; STRASBOURG BNU, R.11.014, and endpaper: In 1673 this copy was owned by a convent of Conventuals and in 1820 by a parish priest.

⁶³ François, “The composers’ neglect”.

⁶⁴ On print runs, see Renaud Adam, *Vivre et imprimer dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux (des origines à la Réforme)*. Vol. 1. *Des hommes, des ateliers et des villes* (Nugae Humanisticae, 16) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018): 110–112. These data will further on be compared with those of other editions and with the copies of Jacob van Liesvelt and Henrick Peeterssen van Middelburch.

⁶⁵ If an inventory mentions a Bible, it generally does not allow finding out who the printer was or exactly which edition.

⁶⁶ Van Duijn (*Delftse Bijbel*, 141–151) only studied the oldest inscriptions, dated between 1477 and ca. 1550.

intended (written) and unintended traces of use in the extant copies. Obviously their variety is pretty great. There are copies that have been read to pieces; other Bibles look pristine in spite of their great age. Intended (written) and unintended traces of use are the object of the next part of this inquiry.

Unintended traces are stains or other traces left involuntarily by anonymous readers.⁶⁷ It is not easy to develop a methodology for studying them. Kathryn Rudy developed a machine, a “densitometer” to discover patterns of usage in medieval manuscripts.⁶⁸ Such a device may not be practical when researching early modern Bibles, given the vast number of pages.⁶⁹ Yet the experience of leafing through thousands of folios of early modern Bible translations makes it possible to detect, with the naked eye, patterns in the use of early modern Bibles and to make some general observations.

The general pattern that emerges is that early modern Bible readers were fascinated when they began to read the first books of the Pentateuch (Genesis and Exodus). However, advancing in the Pentateuch, they left fewer traces of use. That same pattern could be repeated by either the same reader or by another who came to own the book later.⁷⁰ There are three potential explanations for the diminishing attention given the Old Testament. The first reason is that continuous Bible reading is such a major undertaking that after a while reading is interrupted, and this happens time and time again.⁷¹ Such reading habits continue in modernity – seen in a book of almost any length, but most certainly in the Bible, given its huge length. The second reason is the theological and historical importance people ascribed to the story of creation and to the first books of Moses. Genesis did not only explain the origin of all life, but also of evil

67 These unintended traces of use must be distinguished from natural wear caused by the elements. The first and the last quire of a book normally shows some traces of wear, which may be due to possible damage to the binding. Damage to the front and back quire may also be due to a great number of curious people who opened the volume to merely have a cursory look at its contents. This cannot be considered traces left by true historical readers.

68 Kathryn M. Rudy, “Dirty Books: Quantifying Patterns of Use in Medieval Manuscripts Using a Densitometer,” *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish art* 2 (2010): 1–44.

69 The question must also be asked to what extent the use of such a machine, which it is difficult to copy or to use in other investigations, is more objective scientifically than observations with the naked eye.

70 W. R. Owens, “Sequential Bible Reading in Early Modern England,” *Bunyan Studies* 15 (2011): 64–74, cites a number of witnesses who restarted reading (Protestant) English Bible translations over again. e. g. in 1540 archbishop Cranmer issued a call to read and reread the Great Bible several times.

71 The history of reading, and in particular of Bible reading, features a discussion whether Bibles were read continuously or not. Continuous reading is defined as reading following the order of the chapters in the Bible. A discontinuous reader reads in another (arbitrary) order.

and of the sinfulness of the world. In addition, a third reason for a waning reader's attention is the narrative (and Christian) interest of Genesis and Exodus, which is much greater than the legal rules of Deuteronomy, Leviticus, and Numbers. That same theological, historical and narrative importance also explains why a reader would start over, reading the Bible from its very beginning.

In addition, each copy of the Bible has a certain point at which the leaves show renewed handling. Sometimes too it can be seen that the Bible lay open for a while at a certain passage. There is great variety in the traces of readers: some were interested in the historical chapters of the Bible, others were fascinated by the Psalms, Job, Ecclesiastes, the prophets. The many attempts at continuous reading are thus matched by discontinuity of usage.⁷²

The written and unintended traces of use show various types of use of the Bible, which can be classified as follows: devotional use, use of the Bible as an object of study, and use of the Bible as a collector's item. Also evident, though less common, was the exchange of the Bible within a family and its use as a register to record important information. No copies of this edition with this type of use were found.

Bible editions containing only the Epistles and the Gospels were common in the middle ages and early modernity. These offered laypersons the possibility of preparing or reflecting on the readings of the liturgy, which in church were read or sung in Latin. But large folio Bibles too were likely often used as aids in

⁷² Peter Stallybrass, "Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible," in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, ed. Jennifer Andersen & Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia: University Press, 2002), 42–79, considered continuous Bible reading, possible thanks to the introduction of the codex instead of the scroll, a "radically reactionary". Owens ("Sequential Bible Reading") pointed out that in the sixteenth century discontinuous Bible reading was rather associated with Catholics, who read for liturgical reasons, whereas Protestants inveighed against this practice. Cf. Cranmer's call to read the Bible from beginning to end and repeat that exercise. But in the Catholic Church too there was discussion whether to allow laypersons to read the Bible or not. Thus Erasmus, *Epistola nuncupatoria ad Carolum caesarem* (1522), fol. A6v: "me quidem autore leget agricola, leget faber, leget latomus, legent et meretrices et lenones, denique; legent et Turcae" (But if it were up to me, the peasant, the craftsman, the bricklayer, yea, the prostitutes and the pimps should read [the Bible], and even the Turks). On the debate in the church, see W. François, "The Catholic Church and the Vernacular Bible: Between the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Era," *Biblicum Jassyense* 4 (2013): 5–37. This discussion doubtless also touched on continuous Bible reading. Whether the (discontinuous) readers of the Vorsterman Bibel preferred some Bible books over others will be the subject of further research. There were certainly readers that left more traces in the Psalter than other Old Testament books, cf. *infra*.

devotions and the liturgy.⁷³ Noticeable in many copies of the 1533–1534 Vorsterman edition are the traces found in the table of Epistles and Gospels located after the title page of the New Testament. Here, many unintended traces of use reveal that the Bible sometimes lay open where that table was or that the pages on which it was printed were consulted often. In a few cases readers left notes on the tables, suggesting they used the Bible as a liturgical tool. It is therefore no accident that the table of Epistle and Gospel readings is to be found between the Old and the New Testament. That was a key that allowed readers to quickly find their way in the New Testament, which occupied a central place in the liturgy and was read a lot in general. That readers left more unintended traces in the Psalter than most other Old Testament books is also indicative of its central place in the office (Liturgy of the Hours) and the (liturgical) spirituality of many faithful including the laity of those days.⁷⁴

The study of marks of property has revealed that a large percentage of owners of a Vorsterman Bible consisted of clerics. An interesting subject of study, as yet poorly researched, is the use of the Bible as an aid for preaching. The translation allowed the parish priest or the priest charged with delivering the sermon to paraphrase the Latin readings in the vernacular. At any rate this type of potential use is part and parcel of devotional or liturgical use. Reacting against reformers who were accused of basing their heretical theses on idiosyncratic Scripture reading, Catholic theologians and clerics stressed ever more strongly the importance of Bible reading in agreement with the tradition of the Church. Priests especially must assume the role of interpreters of Scripture, according to Tradition. Clearly laypersons must not interpret the Bible themselves. The noxious effects of their doing this had been demonstrated quite clearly by the emergent Reformation. These ideas are reflected in the (very Catholic) prologue to the New Testament that Vorsterman published in 1530.⁷⁵

⁷³ Instead of *liturgical devotional reading*, the term *para-liturgical* could also be used. In that case it refers to special religious practices of layperson outside, or parallel to, the official liturgy, but were somehow connected to it, e. g. Bible reading following the liturgical calendar.

⁷⁴ Cf. Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 B.rel. 50 c; Leuven Maurits Sabbe Library, P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1533 A; Maastricht Centre Céramique, Rolduc Sem 6041 D 2. In Manchester John Rylands Library, R22417 and Brussels KB, BV 175 C, the Bible seems to have laid open at the Psalter.

⁷⁵ “daerom gelijc als het woort Gots te horen liet Christus Jesus alle menschen toe, alsoe dat te beduden ende wtteleggen of te preke(n) en liedt hi niema(n)t toe da(n) zijn Apostele(n) oft haer navolgers” (Therefore, just as Christ Jesus allowed all people to hear the word of God, he likewise allowed no one to interpret and explain or to preach it but his Apostles and their followers.), *Nieuwe Testament*, ed. Vorsterman, Antwerpen, 1530, fol. B1r.

Not every devotional use can be ascribed to liturgy. Texts by the Church Fathers already contain passages that encourage the faithful to meditate about the text of the Bible. In fact, throughout the middle ages the Bible was probably the text most meditated upon, and often in acts of personal devotion, rather than in a way that matched the divine office or the liturgical calendar.⁷⁶ This personal devotional use tended not to leave any trace, unless readers underscored a certain passage or marked it in the margin. The marks that have been preserved indicate a wide variety of personal motives and interests.

Another type of use was that of the Bible as an object of study. The paratext of the 1533–1534 Vorsterman Bible suited this purpose. Its glosses cross-referred to other biblical passages, or contained linguistic, historical-chronological and typological information. An important feature of this edition is the subject index, the “Tafel op die gheheele Heylighe Schriftuere.”⁷⁷ This type of use also shows various interests and can overlap with devotional reading. The case study later in this article is an instance of such use, in which notes of a reader interact with the glosses in this edition. That does not mean that it was only in the sixteenth century that this Bible was used as an object of study. It may be due to the information in the glosses becoming outdated in the course of time and to the fact that their precise context had gotten lost to the readers.

Navigating within the volume was at any rate an important method of Bible reading. A few copies still have remnants of tabs that allowed the reader to navigate between the various chapters. Those tabs were not new technology; they already are found in manuscripts and incunables. Such tabs allowed the reader to retrieve certain passages in a chapter, making it easier to read the Bible discontinuously and to handle the subject index or the tables of Epistle and Gospel readings.

After some time the 1533–1534 Vorsterman Bible could only be bought second-hand. As early as the seventeenth century some must have considered this post-incunable as a collectible. Such an evolution, from devotional to collectible object, may have obtained – perhaps even more clearly – for the Delft Bible.⁷⁸ This type of use must not only be ascribed to true collectors or bibliophiles. A buyer may have chanced upon a Bible and, attracted by its age and rarity, may have snapped it up. Conversely, Bibles that were bought as collectibles may still have retained considerable devotional value.

⁷⁶ A more in-depth analysis of meditative reading in Walter S. Melion & Karl A. E. Enenkel (ed.), *Meditatio – Refashioning the Self. Theory and Practice in Late Medieval and Early Modern Intellectual Culture* (Intersections, 17) (Leiden, Brill: 2010).

⁷⁷ Cf. *supra*.

⁷⁸ M. Van Duijn, *Delftse Bijbel*, 137.

Thus a buyer, who in 1676 wrote:

A la Plus Grande Gloire / de Dieu et pour le salut de / mon ame [...] j'achepte cette sainte Bible / ansienne et Catholique [...]. Dieu me donne la grace / d'achever mon temps Pieusement(t) / et fidellement. Ainsi soit(-il) (To the greater glory of God and for the salvation of my soul [...] I buy this old and Catholic Bible [...] God give me the grace to finish my time [on earth] piously and faithfully. So be it).⁷⁹

It is not clear whether this francophone buyer ever read this Bible, though it seems clear that the purchase and ownership of this Bible was itself an act of devotion. Proof of true bibliophilic intent is the occasional ex libris, like the one from the Prince of Sussex, dating from the early nineteenth century.⁸⁰ Around 1900 this copy still captured the attention of two theologians, the Bible scholars Eduard Reuss from Strasbourg and Frederik Willem Grosheide from Amsterdam.⁸¹

Finally a couple of other types of usage must be mentioned. A well-known type is the family Bible. Seven Vorsterman Bibles contain inscriptions that they were used in the family; some of these contain extensive genealogies.⁸² Another form of use seems even less relevant to the biblical content, in which the book is used as a register to record important information, like contracts, data about payments, etc.; it is not attested in this edition.

5 Was a Vorsterman Bible a study book of a Ghent Cleric?

A heavily annotated copy of the 1533–1534 Vorsterman Bible, at present in the Maurits Sabbe Library, the Research and Heritage Library of the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, was one part of the collection of the Ghent convent of the Friars Minor, which closed down in 2004.⁸³ The convent probably acquired it after it was refounded in the nineteenth century.⁸⁴ This Bible is

⁷⁹ Private collection, front endpaper.

⁸⁰ Prince Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex (1773–1843), London BL, 3023.e.7, front endpaper.

⁸¹ Amsterdam BVU, XC 05042, voordeksblad en Strasbourg BNU, R.11.014, front endpaper.

⁸² Cf. supra; see also the annexes.

⁸³ Leuven Maurits Sabbe Library, P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1533 C. Retrievable on http://depot.lias.be/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE9357550. The following footnotes no longer repeat the signature, but only refer to the Bible passage.

⁸⁴ Leuven Katholiek Documentatie- en Onderzoekscentrum (Kadoc), *Archief Minderbroeders (OFM) – Vlaamse Provincie Sint-Jozef* (13. c.–21. c.), nr. 3364, “Ter verklaringe op de Bibliotheek”

remarkable for its ca. 450 handwritten glosses scattered throughout the text. Paleographic research has shown that, except for a very few, these glosses were all written by the same hand in the middle of the sixteenth century. That same hand marked large portions of the text, using lines or other indications.

It still has its original leather cover, ornamented with renaissance palmettes, but it has no monogram (see Figure 3 for the cover and Figure 4 for the title page). When it was rebound in the beginning of the eighteenth century and given a new spine, its leaves were cropped, which caused the irreversible loss of

Figure 3: Leather cover of the heavily annotated Vorsterman 1533–1534 Bible, Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, P22.055.1/Fo BijB 1533 C.

(1911). This is probably identical with number 664, viz. *Den Bibel Tgeheelde oude ende nieuwe Testament, naer den Latijnschen tekst* – Antwerpen; it was mistakenly dated 1530, KADOC, Archief Minderbroeders (OFM) – Vlaamse Provincie Sint-Jozef (13. c.–21. c.), nr. 3425, Library catalog (twentieth century).

Figure 4: Incomplete title page of the heavily annotated Vorsterman 1533–1534 Bible, Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1533 C.

parts of the sixteenth-century notes.⁸⁵ This rebinding took place when the book was owned by the Klappaert family,⁸⁶ likely a bourgeois family from Ghent or environs.⁸⁷ In a note to Jonah 3:3, the sixteenth-century author compares the

⁸⁵ In addition the book was restored twice, ca. 1900 and in 2000.

⁸⁶ Gen 1:50 and fol. a1v.

⁸⁷ *Clappaert* is a Middle Dutch word meaning ‘chatterbox’ or ‘calumniator’; see the entry *Clappaert* in Frans Debrabandere, *Verklarend woordenboek van de familienamen in België en Noord-Frankrijk* (Brussel: Gemeentekrediet, 1993). As a proper name it was definitely used in sixteenth-century Ghent. Bauwen Clappaert was a fugitive anabaptist, who was excommunicated. See Johan Decavele, *De dageraad van de reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520–1565)* (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Letteren, 76), (Brussel: Paleis der Akademie, 1975): 90. In the

size of the biblical city of Nineveh with that of Ghent (see Figure 5).⁸⁸ This suggests that this Bible was already in Ghent at the time. But there is no mark of ownership that corresponds with the notes. There may have been one on the title page, which has been reserved only partially.

Figure 5: Sixteenth century annotation that compares Nineveh with Ghent, Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, P22.055.1/Fo BlijB 1533 C, fol. *1v.

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the name *Clappaert* and *Klappaert* occurs in Ghent, Lokeren, Sinaai, Bruges and elsewhere. Wedding registers of eighteenth-century Ghent named *Petrus Clappaert* (Saint Nicholas' Church, 1741), *Petrus Franciscus Klappaert* (Saint Michael's Church, 1757), and *Joannes Baptista Klappaert* (from the parish of Saint Bavo) in 1773 (Saint Martin's Church, 1773) see <http://search.arch.be> (retrieved April 12, 2019). The name *Joannes Francis Clappaert* (or *Klappaert*) has not (yet) been found in current indexes. The contemporary distribution of the anthroponym *Clappaert* also points to the environs of Ghent, Lochristie and Lokeren, see <https://familienaam/Clappaert> (retrieved March 3, 2019). The name cannot be found in a list of professions of the Ghent Minorites, which indicates that the edition was not owned by the Ghent Franciscans in the eighteenth century, KADOC, *Archief Minderbroeders (OFM) – Vlaamse Provincie Sint-Jozef* (13. c.–21. c.), nr. 3373, *Professieboek Gent* (1639–1795).

⁸⁸ "Gandauu(m) / 7 mile(n)" (Ghent / 7 miles), fol. *1v.

Most of the notes of the sixteenth century annotator (see Table 1) are to be found in the beginning of the Bible, notably in the subject index, the Pentateuch (especially in Genesis, Exodus and Leviticus), the historical books of the Old Testament, a couple of prophets like Jeremiah and Isaiah, and Ecclesiastes. The most popular book of the New Testament is Acts, likewise a historical book. A remarkable feature is that there are almost no notes to the Pauline Epistles. In the context of the sixteenth century, with its plethora of theological debates, one would have expected the annotator to make far more notes on Paul's letters. That he made most of his notes in the beginning of the Bible and fewer as he progressed suggests that he read continuously, and that his efforts diminished as he progressed, a phenomenon already discussed.

Table 1: Number and percentages of notes entered in each book of the Bible.

Genesis	34	7,7 %	Judges	3	0,7 %
<i>Index</i>	31	7,1 %	1 Chronicles	3	0,7 %
Jeremias	28	6,4 %	Nehemiah	3	0,7 %
2 Kings	27	6,2 %	John	3	0,7 %
Exodus	21	4,8 %	2 Corinthians	3	0,7 %
Leviticus	21	4,8 %	James	3	0,7 %
Isaiah	19	4,3 %	1 John	3	0,7 %
Ecclesiastes	17	3,9 %	2 John	3	0,7 %
3 Kings	15	3,4 %	Tobias	2	0,5 %
2 Machabees	15	3,4 %	Esther	2	0,5 %
Acts	15	3,4 %	Romans	2	0,5 %
Numbers	14	3,2 %	Galatians	2	0,5 %
4 Kings	13	3,0 %	Ruth	1	0,2 %
Deuteronomy	12	2,7 %	Prayer of Manasse	1	0,2 %
1 Kings	12	2,7 %	3 Esdras	1	0,2 %
Ezekiel	12	2,7 %	Baruch	1	0,2 %
Matthew	11	2,5 %	Amos	1	0,2 %
Judith	10	2,3 %	Habacuc	1	0,2 %
Job	10	2,3 %	Malachias	1	0,2 %
Joshua	7	1,6 %	1 Machabees	1	0,2 %
4 Esdras	7	1,6 %	Mark	1	0,2 %
Psalms	7	1,6 %	1 Corinthians	1	0,2 %
Proverbs	7	1,6 %	2 Thessalonians	1	0,2 %
Wisdom	6	1,4 %	Timothy	1	0,2 %
Luke	6	1,4 %	Philemon	1	0,2 %
Revelation	6	1,4 %	1 Peter	1	0,2 %
Hebrews	5	1,1 %	2 Peter	1	0,2 %
Jonah	4	0,9 %			

It is clear that the annotator used the Bible as a textbook. He may have been invited to do so by the subject index in the front of the Bible, to which he added a few notes and markings. Could it be that he bought it because of the paratextual innovations of this edition? His notes reveal two spheres of interest: biblical history and the theology that can be derived from Scripture. The theological notes are very diverse and extensive. They can be subdivided in categories that cover the entire theological field, from fundamental theology over Scripture and Tradition to sacraments, sacramentals and prayers.⁸⁹

This may indicate that the annotator had been formed theologically. Some notes bring up themes that were conversational topics of exegetic scholars. E. g. according to the annotator, Isaiah 24:13 “ghelijck dat een weynich olyven, die overbleven zijn, gesuyvert worden vanden olyve, ende wijndruyven, als die wijnsnijdinghe gheeynt is” (as if a few olives, that remain, should be shaken out of the olive tree: or grapes, when the vintage is ended) mystically refers to the Heavenly Jerusalem, where “weinigen uitverkoren zijn” (few are chosen), which in its turn alludes to Matt. 22:24.⁹⁰ Here the annotator discusses the mystic sense, which, together with the literal sense, was one of the meanings that can be found in the text of the Bible.

The interaction between biblical illustration and annotation is of particular interest. The 1533–1534 Vorsterman edition was notable for its typological references, which our sixteenth-century reader reacted to in certain places. To the illustration of Moses and the burning bush, beside which there is a marginal gloss that sees in the burning bush a prefiguration of the perpetual virginity of Mary – “dit bosch bernende ende niet bernende is een figure van de onbevleekte maechdoms des moeder [sic] Gods Maria” (this bush, burning and not burning up, is a prefiguration of the immaculate virginity of Mary, the mother of God),⁹¹ the annotator added “inviolata intacta et casta es Maria” (you are undefiled, unsullied and chaste, Mary),⁹² which is also the title of a Marian song. *Inviolata* was a “prose” or “sequence” sung on major Marian feast days and on other days as well.⁹³

⁸⁹ A further study would allow subdividing the entries and ordered into a catechetical schema. The subdivision was more or less the same for Catholics and Protestants and subject to but little change. See Marcel Gielis, “De vernieuwing van catechese en catechismus in de Nederlanden ten tijde van het Concilie van Trente,” *Perspectief* 23 (2014): 59–73.

⁹⁰ “mystice de celesti Jerusaem pauci electi”, fol. M2r.

⁹¹ The perpetual virginity of Mary must not be confused with the Immaculate Conception.

⁹² Exodus 3, fol. c6r. For an image of the annotation, see Figure 8 in the article in this volume by Wim François and Sabrina Corbellini.

⁹³ Thomas Forest Kelly, “Modal Neumes at Sens,” in *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium. Studies in the Medieval Liturgy and its Music*, ed. S. Gallagher et. al. (Londen: Routledge, repr.

The annotator added numerous notes on the life of prayer. Sometimes he wrote, in the Latin of the Vulgate, a part of a Psalm whose content reminded him of the passage next to which he wrote it in the margin.⁹⁴ It is highly likely that the annotator was familiar with the Office, which was sung or prayed in Latin. E. g. Luke 22:37–39 relates how Jesus taught [during the day], but spent the night outside on the Mount of Olives. The annotator added interlinearly “biddende” (praying) and in the margin he added: “media nocte surgebam ad co[n]fitendum tibi” (I rose at midnight to give praise to thee), a fragment of Psalm 118 (119):62, which was prayed during Matins.

Notes about liturgical uses may be indicative of chronology. There is an intriguing marginal note: “miracula: Laurenti[us] qui potuit transgredi no[n] est transgress[us]” (a miracle: Lawrence, who could transgress, did not transgress) next to the printed text of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) 31:9–10: “want hij heeft wonder in zijn leven gedaen (...) die over mocht treden, en [de] en is nyet overghetreden, ende quaet doen, ende en hevet nyet ghe-daen” (he hath done wonderful things in his life (...) He that could have transgressed, and hath not transgressed: and could do evil things, and hath

2016), 429–452 (447–450). The *Inviolata* song occurs in a processional of the Cambrai cathedral, where at the end of the fifteenth century the canons sang it, together with *Gaude Maria*, at the foot of the statue of the Virgin Mary. But it seems it also led a separate existence in Cambrai, and it was used on other occasions as well. See Robert Michael Nosow, *Ritual meanings in the Fifteenth-Century Motet* (Cambridge: University Press, 2012), 184. Research into the music of Notre Dame in Paris reveals that the canons on their way to the altar of whatever saint halted at the well-known statue of the Virgin Mary on the west façade to sing *Inviolata*. In addition, last wills from the late middle ages and the Renaissance had founded a great number of annual masses that stipulated, among other things, that *Inviolata* should be sung on a certain day or in a certain season. As a result after many centuries it was heard nearly every day in the Paris cathedral and it became a popular Marian song. See Craig M. Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge: University Press, 1989, repr. 2008), 107. It could still be found as a song of praise in a pre-Vatican II Flemish song book, *Vlaams Hosanna* (Brugge: Desclée De Brouwer, repr. 1957): No. 62.

94 In the back of Revelation the user wrote a couple of fragments that occur in Psalm 52 of the Vulgate (Psalm 53 in the Hebrew numbering): “[pro]spexit super filios homin[um] de celo de taber[nacu]lo suo ut videret in aliquis sit intelli[gens] aut requirens deu[m]. O[mn]es declinave[r]unt [...] qui faciat bon[um] no[n] erat usq[ue] ad unu[m]” (God looked down from heaven on the children of men: to see if there were any that did understand, or did seek God. All have gone aside ... there is none that doth good, no not one), fol. Q1v.

not done them).⁹⁵ The annotator linked that verse with Saint Lawrence and with the Vulgate translation of that text. This very same connection can be found in a responsory for feast days of Saint Lawrence.⁹⁶ The annotator probably knew this verse from its use in the responsory sung during the Office of Saint Lawrence. The liturgical reforms imposed by the Council of Trent greatly reduced the use of such responsories.

To sum up, the notes evince a thorough knowledge of the Psalms in the Latin Vulgate and familiarity with parts of the Divine Office. This points to an experienced person, possibly a (Catholic) cleric, probably one with a theological formation, which was not always the case for many clerics of his day. Although he knew Latin, he attached great importance to Bible study in the vernacular. In a marginal note to Mt 2:3 he even deplored that in his day the Church was in need especially of better trained preachers: “O utinam eccl[es]ia non haberet hodie indoctos predicatores” (Oh, if only the Church today did not have untrained preachers).⁹⁷ This may point to a type of use discussed in the previous section; the use of Bibles in the vernacular as an aid to preaching.

The annotator did not merely advocate reforming the church; sometimes he even criticized it. A few markings the annotator made in the subject index are eye-catching. (He provided both markings and comment in glosses in this index.) Thus he marked a few clearlyly Reformation-like entries like “Uut der gratie Christi Jesu werde(n) wi salich / ende niet uut den wercke(n)” (Through Christ’s grace we are saved and not through works).⁹⁸ Furthermore he adds to the entry “Christus is het hooft vander Heyliger Kercke” (Christ is the head of Holy Church) the telling handwritten note “ende niet die paus” (and not the pope) (see Figure 6).⁹⁹

Some notes even recall Luther and his teaching. Such is the note in the margin of Psalm 52 (53): “sol[us] Ih[e]s[us] nost[er]” (only our Jesus). That is the annotator’s reply to fools who say from the heart that there is no God. This note can be compared to a similar one, “Solus Deus adorandus” (Only God is to be adored) following the call in Revelation 19:10: “Bidt God aen, want dat ghetuych JESU, is die Gheest des prophecie” (Adore God. For the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy).

⁹⁵ fol. I6r.

⁹⁶ See *Beatus vir Laurentius... V. Qui potuit... V. Hic est vere*, in *Comparatio Des chants liturgiques médiévaux*, <http://comparatio.irht.cnrs.fr/chantById/267539> (retrieved March 3, 2019).

⁹⁷ Marginal note about the assembly of chief priests and scribes whom Herodes requested to find out where Christ was born. Mt 2: fol. B1r.

⁹⁸ fol. + 3v.

⁹⁹ fol. + 2r.

Figure 6: Annotation “ende niet die paus” (and not the pope), Leuven Maurits Sabbe Library, P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1533 C, fol. + 2r.

This seems to point to a Ghent cleric, some of whose notes show that he had reforming or even Reformation-like ideas. In other places of the Bible, however, he exhibits quite traditional ideas. There is his short slogan “via antiqua optima” (the old way is the best), somewhat hidden but telling, next to the Lord’s call in Jeremiah 6:16, to ask for the old paths, which is the good way, and to walk in the good way to find refreshment for the soul (see Figure 7).¹⁰⁰ The note is probably due to the philosophical and theological discussion between the “via antiqua” and the “via moderna,” or between realists and nominalists. Suddenly the annotator presents himself as a representative of classical medieval Thomism.¹⁰¹ This indicates that he was familiar with the philosophical and theological debates of his time and that he had had some formation in the debate.

Figure 7: Annotation “via antiqua optima”, Leuven Maurits Sabbe Library, P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1533 C, fol. - 05v.

¹⁰⁰ fol. 05v.

¹⁰¹ See, among others, ed. Erika Rummel, *Biblical humanism and scholasticism in the age of Erasmus* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); James H. Overfield, *Humanism and scholasticism in late medieval Germany* (Princeton: University Press, 1984).

6 Conclusion

The 1533–1534 Vorsterman Bible is a “catholicizing” Bible translation whose marginal glosses contain cross-references to other Bible texts, linguistic glosses (including glosses referring to Hebrew) and historical-chronological glosses as well as typological ones. Although the basis of the text and the paratext was Catholic, the edition contains a number of elements with characteristics of the Reformation, which give it, besides its “catholicizing” character, also an “eclectic” one.

“Archaeological” research of 43 extant copies of the glossed Bible published by the Antwerp printer Willem Vorsterman in 1533–1534 made it possible to reconstruct how this edition was read and used. Marks of ownership provided a starting point for research attempting to penetrate to readers and users. A small majority of these indicate ownership of laypersons; a minority, ownership by clerics. The proportion of clerics, both regular and secular, seems to have been larger among the owners of this Bible than among those of the Delft Bible (1477). The dearth of prosopographic data about the owners make it difficult to calculate exactly the confessional orientation of owners who were laypersons. But there are definitely enough data to further refute the “Protestant paradigm” according to which Catholics neither owned nor read Bibles. And although the 1533–1534 edition ended up on the “Louvain index,” its circulation among Catholics continued to grow. There is no question, though, that some copies have handwritten entries that reflect Reformation interests – in harmony with the edition – which points to a (partially) eclectic audience.

Traces of use and notes were analyzed to discover how Bibles were read and used. These Bibles show traces of both continuous and discontinuous reading. It is striking that many continuous readers started reading the Bible from the beginning with enthusiasm, but this enthusiasm waned as time went on. The Bibles were read discontinuously for liturgical or devotional reasons, using the Table of Epistle and Gospel readings. Large folio Bibles too were used by laypersons to read the vernacular texts of the liturgy at home, in spite of their cost. Readers that left many unintended traces in the Psalter indicates its central place in the office (Liturgy of the Hours) and the (liturgical) spirituality of many faithful including the laity of those days. Discontinuous readers sometimes used aids, like tabs, to quickly retrieve certain chapters. It is therefore clear that editions purporting to be Catholic, like the 1533–1534 Vorsterman Bible, were not used in just one way (like discontinuous reading). After a while copies of this “postincunable” became rarities and thus became valuable as collector’s items.

Finally there are some less common uses this Bible could be put too, like the well known use as a family Bible, or as a register to record important information.

The “archaeological” study of one heavily annotated copy yielded fascinating results. A reader left some 450 notes throughout the Bible, making it possible to have some insight into his thinking. He may have been a Ghent cleric, whose notes may have been written shortly after this edition was published, on the eve of the council of Trent. He was familiar with the Divine Office, the Psalms, and the liturgy in general. He used the Bible as an object of study, interacting with the subject index and with the paratextual glosses. He was acquainted with the philosophical and theological discussions of the time. In a few places he pled for church reform and called for better trained preachers. He even ventured outright criticism of the Church, by stating that it is Christ that heads the Church and not the pope. The entry “Solus Ihesus Noster” (Only our Christ) even has a Lutheran quality. The eclectic profile of this user indicates agreement with the character of the edition, which, though Catholic, contained a few elements characteristic of Reformation ideas in the paratext.

Appendix 1: Overview of the former owners (and their location) of the extant copies of the Vorsterman Bible (1533–1534), alphabetically arranged according to the place and library where they are currently preserved

Explanation: [...] indicates unreadable / crossed-out ownership marks. The blank fields indicate that no information can be derived from the marks. Bibles without property marks are marked by //. The last column gives the total number of annotations in each copy; in the current state of the research, I have not yet been able to attribute each of the annotations to a particular identifiable annotator.

Library	Signature	Folio	Name/Information	Type	Confession	Period	Place	Annotations
Amsterdam BVU Amsterdam UB	XC 05042 Ned. Inc. 104	Pastedown	Latin annotation: [...]	Laymen (family)		18th c.	Zaandam (N.-Holland)	2
		Endpaper	Genealogical annotations family Winkelaar			19th c.		
		Title page	[...]	Prof. Theology (exegesis)	Reformed	1907	Amsterdam	
		Pastedown	Ex libris: Frederik Willem Grosheide, dr Theol.					
		fol. + 2 v.	Anth. Card[...]	Layman		17th c.		
		fol. + 2 v.	Leonard Valcke			18th c.		
		fol. A1r.	Ex libris: [...]			17th c.		
		Endpaper	[...]			1712		
		Endpaper	[...]	Layman	Catholic?	1735	Ypres (W.-Flanders)	
		Endpaper	J.A. Walwein			18th c.		

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Library	Signature	Folio	Name/Information	Type	Confession	Period	Place	Annotations
Antwerp Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library	F 210700: ex1	fol. Q8v.	The guard of the prison of The Hague			16th c.	The Hague	
	F 210700: ex2	fol. N4r. Endpaper	Jan Cornelis Lacouterz (Lacaunter) Peeter Lambrechts	Layman Laymen		16th c. 1804	Boechout (Antwerp); Kamphenout (Flemish- Brabant)	
		////////	////////	////////	////////	////	////////	////////
Antwerp Private copy								
Bruges GS	GGB 1092	Endpaper Title page Endpaper	Jean Baptiste Delafontaine [...] [...]	Layman	Catholic	19th c.	Meulebeke (W.-Flanders)	6
Brussels KB	II 33969 C LP	fol. G2v.	Bernardus Berckmans	Parish priest	Catholic	19th c.	Meulebeke (W.-Flanders)	1
Brussels KB	VB 175 C	Title page	Initials: I.SG			18th c.	Herne (Flemish-Brabant)	
Cologne USB	GBIV3735	Title page	Ex libris frat(rum) Birgittanorum Marię ad arborem in Clivia	Regular clerics		18th c. 17th c.	Xanten (N. Rhine- Westphalia)	
Ghent O. Carmel	MIA.7, dl. 1-2	Endpaper	A. Loos presbyter	Priest	Catholic	18th c.		
The Hague KB	228 A 13	Endpaper Endpaper	Mathijs van Giensbergen Josephus Vanderachter	Layman Regular cleric (Norbertine)		17th c. 1694	Heusden (N-Brabant?) Tongerlo (Antwerp)	
The Hague Private collection		Endpaper	Note by anonymous byer	Layman	Catholic	1676	Prince-Bishopric Liège	
Harrisburg EMU	H 220.53931 B47 1533-34 EC	////////	////////	////////	////////	////	////////	////////

Heeswijk-Dinther Berne (O. Praem)	Postinc. 133	Pastedown	[Ex libris:] B. J. Heijmeijer	Layman		19th c.	Amsterdam?	90 (in the table of Epistels and Gospels) 85 (throughout the Bible)
Leiden UB	1497 B 10	Front cover	Geraldus Welhovcus, possibly burgomaster of Delft	Layman	Reformed?	17th c.	Delft? (S.-Holland)	
Leuven Maurits Sabbe Library	P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1533 C	fol. a1v. fol. c5v. Passim	Klappaert Joannes Francis[cus] Clapaert Anonymous annotator	Layman Layman Cleric?	Catholic Catholic Catholic; with Reformation-minded undertone)	18th c. 18th c. 16th c.	Ghent? Ghent? Ghent?	450 (Cf. Table 1)
	PP22.055.1/ Fo BIJB 1533 A	////////	////////	////////	////////	////	////////	9
	P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1533 B	////////	////////	////////	////////	////	////////	
	(*)	////////	////////	////////	////////	////	////////	
	P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1532 B	////////	////////	////////	////////	////	////////	
	(**)							
London BL	3023.e.7	Endpaper	Ex libris: [...] prince August Frederick of Sussex	Layman (bibliophile)		19th c.	Kensington (United Kingdom)	3
		Title page	[...]					
		Title page	[...]					

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Library	Signature	Folio	Name/Information	Type	Confession	Period	Place	Annotations
Liège GS	1.E.6	Endpaper	Theodricus ab Ubach	Regular cleric (Crosier)	Catholic	1540	Huy (Liège)	
		Endpaper	Paulus Proveners	Regular cleric (Crosier)	Catholic	1556	Huy (Liège)	
		Title page	Conventus Cruciferorum Hui	Regular clerics (convent Crosiers)	Catholic	ca. 1600	Huy (Liège)	
Maastricht SB	Rolduc Sem 6041 D 2	////////	////////	////////	////////	////	////////	////////
Manchester John Rylands Library	R22417	Pastedown	Ex libris: Richard William Smith Griffith	Layman (bibliophile)		19th c.	United Kingdom?	9
Munich SB	4 B.rel. 50 c	Pastedown	P.A. Kampers [...] his housewife belongs this D4r.; Q8r. D4v.; Q8r. fol. Q8v. [...]	Parish priest Layperson (woman)	Catholic	1830 17th c.	Beesel (Dutch Limburg)	3
Mortsel Private copy		Endpaper	Henricus Scheers	Parish priest	Catholic	16th c. 1741	Kasterlee (N.-Brabant)	
		Title page	Jan der [...]	Laymen		17th c.		
New York Morgan Library	PML 126367	fol. Q8v. fol. Q8v.	[...] [...]					
New York PL	*KB + 1534 Bible. N.T. Dutch (***)	////////	////////	////////	////////	////	////////	1
Nijmegen UB	P.Inc 98	fol. Q8v.	Wedding Johan van Burden and Margarita van [...]	Laymen (family)		16th c.		
Nijmegen UB	P.Inc 417	////////	////////	////////	////////	////	////////	////////

Oxford Bodleian	Bib. Dutch																	
	c.2																	
Strasbourg BNU	R.11.014	Pastedown	Ex libris: prof. Dr Eduard Reuss	dr Theology (exegesis)	Reformed	19th c.	Strasbourg											
		Title page	sum conventus [...] fratrum conventuallium	Regular clerics (convent)	Catholic	1674												
					Friars Minor- Conventuals)													
Stuttgart WLB		Title page	Initials: F(ratres) R(egulares) F (ratrum) C(onventuallium) / [...]	Regular clerics (convent)		18th c.												
				Friars Minor- Conventuals)														
				Parish priest	Catholic	1820	Velen (N. Rhine-Westphalia)											
Bb niederländ.		Title page	J. Niefert															
	1534 02																	
(continued)																		

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Library	Signature	Folio	Name/Information	Type	Confession	Period	Place	Annotations
Tilburg UB	TFK E152	Endpaper	Fr(ater) Francisci Gravius	Regular clerics (order unknown)	Catholic	19th c.		
		fol. Q8v.	Cornelia von Eilb [...]: "Gott ist mein troß allein"	Layperson (woman)	Lutheran?	16th c.		
		fol. Q8v.	[...]			16th c.		
		Title page	Capucinatorum Geldriensium	Regular clerics (convent)	Catholic	17th c.	Geldern (N. Rhine-Westphalia)	
Tongerlo	212 H1	Endpaper	Capucinatorum f(ratrum) Masecanorium	Regular clerics (convent)	Catholic	18th c.	Maaseik (Limburg)	
		Endpaper	L Vercruysse / 1851	Capucins		1851		53 (mainly in 3 and 4 Ezra)
		fol. Q8v	frater Joannes Helbrecht Hal[...]	Layperson		16th c.		
				Regular cleric (order unknown)	Catholic			
Utrecht MCC	BMH p.i. 65	fol. Q8v.	Bernaert K[...]'s son of late Roger [...]	Layman		16th c.		
		fol. Q8v.	[...]					
		fol. Q8v.	Hans Marcke[...]	Layman		16th c.		
		////////	////////	////////	////////	////////	////////	////////

Utrecht UB-THO	RAR 6-57	Endpaper	Pater Bertinus	Regular cleric (order unknown)	Catholic	1812	Ravestein (N.-Brabant)
		Endpaper	A. Smits (°Zeeland)	Parish priest	Catholic	1823	Reek (N.-Brabant)
	RAR 5-55	Endpaper	Genealogical annotations married couple B.J. Timmermann (°Frankfurt-am-Main) and Marina Daalmulder (°Amsterdam).	Laymen (family)	Catholic	1795–1826	Frankfurt-am-Main; Amsterdam; Düsseldorf; Lobith (Gelderland); Wesel (N. Rhine-Westphalia)
		Endpaper	Genealogical annotations married couple Paulus Michielsse and Cornelia Hoffmanns.	Laymen (family)		1644–1649	
	RAR 5-56	////////	////////	////////	////////	////	////////
Wolfenbüttel HAB	RAR 5-41	////////	////////	////////	////////	////	////////
	H: A 169.2°	////////	////////	////////	////////	////	////////
Zaltbommel Stadskasteel	Helmst. 3511	fol. A6v. ; Q8r.	Annotations possibly by a wife after the decease of her husband	Layperson (wife)		16th c.	
		Endpaper	Genealogical annotations by Cornelia vander Werrelt, wife of Jan Koenisze. Mention of Ferdinandus Appelman, priest of the Beguinage of Haarlem [Ex libris:] dr G.J. Jaspers	Layperson (wife)	Catholic	18th c.	Haarlem
		Endpaper		dr Linguistics	Reformed	20th c.	Amsterdam

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Library	Signature	Folio	Name/Information	Type	Confession	Period	Place	Annotations
Religious institution that wishes to remain anonymous		Title page fol. + 2r.	[Initials]: Al Capucinen tot Meersel	Regular clerics (convent Capucins)	Catholic	18th c.	Meersel (Antwerp)	

*Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1533 B, contains only the Old Testament.

**Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, P22.055.1/Fo BIJB 1532 B, is actually a copy from the years 1533–1534, although a page from the 1532 edition, containing the colophon of the Old Testament part (fol. 2D4) has later been joined to this 1533–1534 copy.

***New York PL, *KB + 1534 Bible. N.T. Dutch, contains only the New Testament. We were not (yet) able to retrieve or localize three copies which are nevertheless included in the most important historical catalogues (see www.bibliasacra.nl): Berlin Prussian State Library, 4^o Bw 6731 (which is presumed to have been taken to Moscow); Nijmegen Albertinum, Pr.B 24^A; and Enkhuizen Oud-Kath. Pastorie, no shelf mark.