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Education in partibus infidelium

Catholic Catechisms and Controversy in the Dutch Republic

Abstract

Catechisms and schoolbooks were essential tools for Catholics living *in partibus infidelium*, ‘in the lands of the unbelievers’, in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. While constant demand for these texts from parents, priests and schoolteachers sustained the livelihoods of many Catholic printers, their regulation and censorship became a battleground of doctrinal orthodoxy. In the 1690s, corrections to the catechism of the Archbishop of Sens led to printed polemical rebuttals and an audit of books used in Catholic schools. Using the remarkable archival evidence surviving from this controversy, this article demonstrates the importance of schoolbooks to the Catholic book trade in the Dutch Republic and how accusations of unorthodoxy and censorship can help to reconstruct lost titles and editions.

Keywords: catechisms, education, lost books, censorship, Jansenism

Roman Catholics in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic lived at the centre of a series of intersecting tensions. As they saw it, the creation of a public Reformed Church in their homeland meant that they were now living *in partibus infidelium*, in the lands of the unbelievers. At the same time, theological controversies such as Jansenism threatened their relationships with other members and bodies of the Catholic Church. Nowhere were these pressures clearer than in the approach to religious education. In the archive of the Apostolic Vicars, held in Het Utrechts Archief, a curious set of manuscripts reveals a previously unknown controversy, taking place around 1700, surrounding the orthodoxy of a popular catechism commissioned by the Archbishop of Sens in 1669.¹

These manuscripts reveal that the accusations of Jansenism around this catechism sparked an audit of vernacular catechisms in Holland, Gelderland

1 Het Utrechts Archief (hereafter HUA), 1003, Apostolische Vicarissen van de Hollandse Zending (hereafter AV), inv. 407.

and the Generality Lands, requiring notices of doctrinal corrections and lists of what was being used in each school. As the crisis of Jansenism increasingly divided secular and regular clergy within the Dutch Mission, catechisms became yet another weapon in the battle for the future of Dutch Catholicism. Fortunately, the paper trail of this controversy is a rich source for recovering some of these lost catechism editions. By examining surviving evidence of the controversy around the Sens catechism and subsequent audit, it is possible to recover four new titles and twenty-five new editions of catechisms being used in this period that do not survive in any form other than contemporary references.

It is certainly true that censorship and religious controversy caused the loss of many early modern books. However, the records left behind by censors have great bibliographical value. This is nothing new: systematic studies by Jesús Martínez de Bujanda in particular have documented the work of the Congregation of the Index and the many indexes of prohibited books implemented over the sixteenth century.² However, the potential of this material in recovering titles and editions that would otherwise have been lost has yet to be explored comprehensively. In Theo Clemens's 2006 study of pre-censorship in the Southern Netherlands he observed the same, demonstrating that ecclesiastical approbations could provide evidence of lost editions. However, as he noted, this was not always copy- or even edition-specific, but 'something that can be better compared to a common genetic code than a unique fingerprint'.³ It is rare for the kind of print deemed 'cheap print', which includes most catechisms, to be covered by any of these censorial records, since it was usually trivial enough to ignore.

In this remarkable case, controversy and censorship have provided the unique fingerprints that eluded Clemens. The theological criticism of the Sens catechism, preserved both in print and manuscript in the Utrecht archive, as well as manuscript records of the institutional audit identify which vernacular catechisms were being used down to the edition, and which were approved by

2 For example, J.M. de Bujanda and Marcella Richter (eds.), *Index librorum prohibitorum: 1600-1966*. Sherbrooke: Centre d'Etudes de la Renaissance, 2002. For more on the organisation and intellectual value of Catholic censorship see Gigliola Fragnito, 'The Central and Peripheral Organization of Censorship', in: Gigliola Fragnito (ed.), *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 13-49 and more recently Hannah Marcus, *Forbidden Knowledge: Medicine, Science, and Censorship in Early Modern Italy*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2020.

3 Theo Clemens, 'Met dank aan de censor. De informatieve waarde van precensuursporen in katholiek drukwerk uit de Nederlanden', in: *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis* 13 (2006), 8. All translations mine unless otherwise specified.

the Dutch Mission. This exceptional level of detail provides us with knowledge of both editions and entire catechisms which have not survived in any known form. While the theological context is essential, rather than a recapitulation of these doctrinal differences this article aims to illustrate what avenues religious controversy provides for the study of book history and the reconstruction of lost editions.

Dutch Catholicism in Crisis

In the final years of the seventeenth century, Dutch Catholicism found itself in a period of transition. The occupation of Louis XIV from 1672-1674 had provided some brief triumphs, such as the restoration of Catholic worship in the Domkerk in Utrecht. However, during the occupation, Dutch and French Catholics coexisted somewhat uneasily.⁴ Despite their shared faith French Catholics occupied a sometimes uncomfortable middle ground, excluded linguistically from Dutch services.⁵ In 1674, the brief glory of Catholicism restored in the ecclesiastical capital of the Northern Netherlands was extinguished all too quickly, leaving Catholics to be regarded with extra suspicion by their Reformed neighbours. This was especially true as the theological fractures within the Dutch Mission became more severe due to the Jansenist controversy.

The Dutch Mission has had no shortage of scholarly coverage in the last two centuries. In fact, most studies of Dutch Catholicism rely heavily on the sources provided by the Mission, giving clerical and ecclesiastical perspectives that can sometimes overlook the experiences of laity.⁶ The magisterial scholars of the twentieth century mined these documents thoroughly for institutional data on numbers of Catholics and the experience of clergy.⁷ Similarly, the political and ecclesiological fissures caused by Jansenism in the Dutch Catholic community, particularly in regards to the Bible, have been studied recently in

4 Bertrand Forclaz, "Rather French than Subject to the Prince of Orange": The Conflicting Loyalties of the Utrecht Catholics during the French Occupation (1672-73), in: *Church History and Religious Culture* 87 (2007), 509-533.

5 David van der Linden, 'Unholy Territory: French Missionaries, Huguenot Refugees, and Religious Conflict in the Dutch Republic', in: *Church History and Religious Culture* 100 (2020), 530.

6 This is given a particularly thoughtful revision in Charles Parker, *Faith on the Margins: Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age*. London: Harvard University Press, 2008.

7 Among many classic studies see Lodewijk Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het katholicisme in Noord-Nederland in de 16e en de 17e eeuw*. Amsterdam: Urbi et Orbi, 1947, volume I. chapters 9-10; M.G. Spiertz, *L'Eglise catholique des Provinces-Unies et le Saint-Siège pendant la deuxième moitié du VIIIe siècle*. Louvain: Presses Universitaires Louvain, 1975.

great depth by Els Agten.⁸ The rise of this theological movement threatened to disrupt the already precarious missionary church even further.

This doctrinal conflict took place within a context of a rich and multifaceted print culture. The world of Catholic print in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, focused particularly in centres such as Amsterdam and Utrecht, was rich and thriving. Lay religious women called spiritual daughters or *kloppen* sold Catholic print, including catechisms, door-to-door and in stalls set up on the street.⁹ This confessional print catered to every aspect of religious life, from large intaglio art prints of saints large enough to be hung up on walls to cheap, single-sheet funeral announcements and wedding pamphlets. There was also a large market for Bibles, large-format liturgical books and scholastic theology. These works were largely bought and read by secular and regular priests in the Dutch Mission, but were also frequently obtained by Reformed ministers interested in owning Catholic works in order to read and refute them, or simply out of interest. In Amsterdam, the capital of the book trade in the Dutch Republic, more than sixty Catholic printers, booksellers, publishers and bookbinders were active over the course of the seventeenth century, making up about four percent of the booksellers' guild.¹⁰ The confessional print available for sale in Amsterdam and other Dutch cities was a combination of large-format liturgical and theological books imported from the Southern Netherlands, Paris and Cologne, and cheaper Catholic print produced domestically.

Though there was little censorship to deter Catholic printing in the Dutch Republic, printers had to navigate tensions with two sets of ecclesiastical authorities, Reformed and Catholic. Catholic print was never banned by name but rather by implication, for example by a 1581 ban on 'seditious and scandalous print'.¹¹ While no censorship of Catholic books was systematically implemented, occasional prohibitions of politically accusatory pamphlets aimed to keep Catholics on their toes.¹² Censorship from the Catholic side

8 Els Agten, *The Catholic Church and the Dutch Bible*. Leiden: Brill, 2020.

9 Elise Watson, 'The Jesuitesses in the Bookshop: Catholic Lay Sisters' Participation in the Dutch Book Trade, 1650–1750', in: *Studies in Church History* 57 (2021), 163–184.

10 For an overview of Catholic print in Amsterdam see Lienke Paulina Leuven, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam door katholieken gedreven tijdens de Republiek*. Epe: Hooiberg, 1951.

11 As described in Marianne Roobol, *Disputation by Decree: The Public Disputations between Reformed Ministers and Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert as Instruments of Religious Policy during the Dutch Revolt (1577–1583)*. Leiden: Brill, 2010, 172–173.

12 For example, Carolus Scribani, *Den Hollantschen apocalypsis urijmoedelijck uytgheleet*. s.l.: Hans Waerseggher, 1625 (Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam / OTM: Pfl. C s 11a). W.P.C. Knuttel, *Verboden boeken in de republiek der vereenigde Nederlanden: beredeneerde catalogus*. Den Haag: M. Nijhoff, 1914, 8. For more on Reformed criticisms of Catholic practice see Christine Kooi, 'Popish

was equally ill-enforced. While the Congregation of the Index theoretically restricted the ability of both clergy and laity to read prohibited books, the reality of the distance between Rome and Amsterdam and the sheer availability of printed literature in the Dutch Republic meant that any kind of systematic implementation was impossible. In fact, in one exceptional case the papal nuncio Fabio Chigi gave Leonard Marius, an Amsterdam Jesuit priest, his blessing to impersonate an ecclesiastical censor in Cologne, Henricus Sierstorffius, in order to provide imprimaturs for Catholic books.¹³ Censorship in this case was a highly flexible, negotiation-based process.

Learning by the Book

By the seventeenth century, Catholic schooling had developed into its own microcosm of the educational system. In the northern provinces, where the population was mostly Reformed, Catholic parents of means had a variety of options: they could hire a Catholic tutor, find a local Catholic school or send their child to the Southern Netherlands for their education. Spiritual daughters ran residential schools for young girls and probably young boys as well, where they catechised them and taught them practical skills.¹⁴ This was, of course, more difficult in provinces with stricter regulations and fewer Catholics such as Friesland and Groningen. In the Generality Lands, southern regions governed directly by the States General after 1648, Catholics made up the vast majority of the population and could generally run their own schools untroubled despite official opposition. These lands proved to be essential for the Dutch Mission. Outside of concentrated and population-dense areas of Catholics such as North Holland and Utrecht, local schools and nobility living on large estates were often responsible for maintaining the old faith in the countryside. Gelderland was an area with a significant Catholic population, and as Jaap Geraerts describes in his work on Catholic nobility in Utrecht

Impudence: the Perseverance of the Roman Catholic Faithful in Calvinist Holland, 1572-1620', in: *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 26 (1995), 75-85.

13 J.F.M. Sterck, 'Calcovius-Blaeu-Vondel: Keulsche Boeken te Amsterdam Gedrukt', in: *Vondel-Kroniek* 7 (1936), 71.

14 Joke Spaans, 'Orphans and students: recruiting boys and girls for the Holland Mission', in Benjamin Kaplan [et al] (eds.), *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands c. 1570-1720*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009, 183-199; see also Carolina Lenarduzzi, 'De religieuze spagaat van katholieke studenten in de Republiek rond 1600', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 31 (2015), 267-283.

and Gelderland, noble estates often housed missionary priests and became centres for worship and devotion.¹⁵ In 's-Heerenberg, the seat of the Van den Bergh family, Bergh Castle, was a seat of significant ecclesiastical influence.¹⁶ Gelderland was also notable for its lack of spiritual oversight: parts of the province fell under the jurisdiction of the troubled bishopric of Roermond, requiring regular orders to step in to provide spiritual care.

This was also the benefit of nearby cities such as Kellen and Emmerich, which are mentioned in this audit of Catholic schoolbooks despite being technically part of the duchy of Cleves in the Holy Roman Empire.¹⁷ Emmerich had acted as a safe haven for exiled Catholics during the sixteenth century, and its importance as an outpost of Catholicism to the Dutch Republic remained in the seventeenth century as well.¹⁸ As Violet Soen, Alexander Soetart and the KU Leuven project on transregional history and printing in the Southern Netherlandish province of Cambrai have demonstrated, early modern borders were often not fixed but rather disputed and fluctuating. A study of printing and book use must acknowledge how people and goods could often move freely in ways that belied the political boundaries in which they legally operated.¹⁹

Given the critical importance of these borderland schools, it is no surprise that a wide variety of educational print catered to the demands of this confessional education. Particularly towards the end of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth, educational print exploded into a wide variety of forms including catechisms, educational broadsheets, chapbooks, ABC books, songbooks and storybooks with Biblical narratives.²⁰ Catechisms were particularly valuable, as they provided concise explanations of Catholic doctrine that could be used to teach children or adult converts.²¹ These books were mainly sold in bookshops and book stalls, but could be sold by schoolmasters directly to their pupils as

15 Jaap Geraerts, *Patrons of the Old Faith*, ch. 4 'Shaping the Missio Hollandica', 190-249.

16 Geraerts, 'Contested Rights', 215.

17 Geraerts, 'Contested Rights', 211-212. See below, 24-5.

18 Geert Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014, 166-169.

19 Violet Soen [et al], 'How to do Transregional History: A Concept, Method and Tool for Early Modern Border Research', in: *Journal of Early Modern History*, 21 (2017), pp 343-364. For an example see their database, *Impressa Catholica Cameracensia*. Accessed on 31 October 2021, https://www.arts.kuleuven.be/nieuwetijd/english/odis/ICC_search

20 Annemarie van Toorn [et al], 'Christen Jeugd, leerd Konst en Deugd. De zeventiende eeuw', in: Netty Heimeriks and Willem van Toorn (eds.), *De hele Biblebontse berg: De geschiedenis van het kinderboek in Nederland & Vlaanderen van de middeleeuwen tot heden*. Amsterdam: Querido, 1990, 105-168.

21 Jaap Geraerts, *Patrons of the Old Faith: the Catholic Nobility in Utrecht and Guelders, c. 1580-1702*. Leiden: Brill, 2018, 138.

well. Surviving print from these genres demonstrates just how cheaply these texts were made, with low paper and ink quality that shows they were meant to be used until they fell apart.²² Catechisms could range from a short pamphlet of a single sheet to octavo or duodecimo editions of hundreds of pages intended for more advanced learners. While larger catechisms survived better, those discussed here rarely exceeded ten sheets or 120 pages in duodecimo.

Catholic catechisms were essential to ensure the future of Catholicism through children and adult converts. In addition, the brevity and precision with which catechisms had to explicate the essentials of Catholic doctrine meant that all clergy wanted to ensure that the versions being used were doctrinally orthodox and of a sufficient standard. In the world of Reformed schooling, local synods were responsible for examining the license of the school, the textbooks used and the ages of the students, in order to see if any Catholic education was taking place. Members of the Dutch Mission lacked a similar process for their own schools that would ensure proper catechisms were being used.²³ As a result, catechism use in the Dutch Mission retained an element of ambiguity. In 1705, Vicar Apostolic Pieter Codde complained of the difficulties of not having one unified catechism for all missionary clergy to use. Though there was a set of four or five approved texts, he protested, there were always new titles coming from France and the Holy Roman Empire, trying to subvert the approval process.²⁴

However, Codde's remark may have been more sardonic than a comment about insecure borders. Codde himself was frequently implicated as a fairly open supporter of Jansenism in the seventeenth century, which made him a target of increasing concern regarding the content of catechisms over the course of the seventeenth century. The catechisms produced and used by bishops and other clergy reflected the anxieties over orthodoxy and uniformity in their particular period. As diocese-specific catechisms became more common in seventeenth-century France, Dutch Catholics followed their example by producing works specifically for the Dutch Catholic community to be used alongside other popular catechisms.

22 Van Toorn [et al], 'Christen Jeugd', 109-11; Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World: Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019, 155-159, 185.

23 P.Th.F.M. Boekholt and E.P. de Booy, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland vanaf de middeleeuwen tot aan de huidige tijd*. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1987, 20, 26. For an example of Reformed complaints about the independence of Catholic schools in the Generality Lands see Haarlem, Noord-Hollands Archief, 279, Collectie van aanwinsten van het R.-K. Bisdom Haarlem, inv. 224.

24 Pieter Codde, *Verklaring en antwoorden die d'aertsbisschop van Sebaste, apostolise vicaris in 't Verenigde Nederland, te Rome zynde, aen d'vitmuntenste heeren kardinalen heeft ingelevert*. [Rome], s.n., 1705 (Koninklijke Bibliotheek KW 1174 F 18 [6]), 129.

Petrus Canisius' *Summa doctrinae christianae* is a necessary starting point for any discussion of Catholic catechisms after the Reformation. Canisius, a Nijmegen native who would go on to become a saint and a Doctor of the Church, joined the Society of Jesus and wrote this catechism in 1555. Paul Begheyn has called it the most published book by a Dutch author in history, with over one thousand traceable editions.²⁵ As Karen Carter describes, the success of this catechism was due to its ability to teach an audience of all ages and reading levels, and its focus on everyday Catholic living rather than solely combatting heresy.²⁶ In the seventeenth century the expectation for bishops to issue catechisms for their own diocese led Vicar Apostolic Philip Rovenius to formulate his own in 1622. This was partly in response to the popular Mechelen Catechism, written by Mathias Hovius and edited by Jesuit Willem de Pretere, which he felt did not adequately address the struggles of living as a religious minority particular to Dutch Catholicism.²⁷ This text was first published in Den Bosch by Jan III Scheffer under the pseudonym Christiaen van den Berghe and entitled *Catholijke Catechismus, ofte Cort onderwijs van Christelijcke Leering (Catholic Catechism, or Short Education in Christian Doctrine)*.

The Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC) and Short-Title Catalogue Netherlands (STCN) record more than a dozen editions produced over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²⁸ The number of surviving editions for such an ephemeral text imply that many more may have existed but have now been lost. A reference to this catechism also, unusually, survives in a contemporary catalogue. This catechism is mentioned in the 1697 probate inventory of Hendrikje Kool, spiritual daughter and bookseller in Amsterdam, as stock in her bookshop.²⁹ Inevitably, Rovenius' catechism also garnered criticism, especially as the content changed over the course of a century. In the same folder in the Utrecht archive, an unnamed author penned a manuscript comparing passages between the 1622 and a later edition of Rovenius' catechism, detailing how he felt it had been corrupted due to corrections made by 'adversaries'.³⁰

25 Paul Begheyn, S.J., 'The catechism (1555) of Peter Canisius, the most published book by a Dutch author in history', in: *Quaerendo* 36 (2006), 51-84.

26 Karen Carter, *Creating Catholics: Catechism and Primary Education in Early Modern France*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011, 30-31.

27 Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, 143. For more on Hovius see Craig Harline and Eddy Put, *A Bishop's Tale: Mathias Hovius Among His Flock in Seventeenth-Century Flanders*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000, esp. 126.

28 This includes seven currently in the USTC and ten in the STCN (five shared). I have found seven additional editions undescribed in either, which will be described in my forthcoming monograph.

29 For more on Kool and this catalogue see Watson, 'The Jesuitesses in the Bookshop'.

30 HUA, AV, inv. 407.

After the posthumous publication and condemnation of Cornelius Jansen's *Augustinus* in 1642, catechisms were one aspect of doctrine among many that came under additional scrutiny. The popular seventeenth-century bishop of Condom and later Meaux, Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, wrote one of the most popularly circulated catechisms. The STCN records thirty-two works by Bossuet printed in the Dutch Republic between 1678 and 1700 alone, which does not include the catechism editions included here. While his works were popular in France, they were used among the Dutch Mission as well. Though Bossuet was not a self-proclaimed Jansenist, his ties to Jansenist figures and beliefs were close enough to be a topic of speculation from the seventeenth century onwards.³¹ On the other side, Cornelius Hazart, the famous Jesuit and anti-Jansenist polemicist and controversialist, wrote his *Triomph van de christelyke leere ofte Grooten Catechismus* (*Triumph of Christian Doctrine or Great Catechism*) in 1683. It became an immediate hit in both the Northern and Southern Netherlands, though it was equally immediately attacked by secular Jansenist priests.³² At least four detractors published refutations in French and Dutch before the close of the century.

The Sens Catechism and its Antagonists

The Sens catechism drew its name from the French diocese of Sens, where it was written and printed by order of the archbishop, Louis-Henri de Gondin.³³ The Sens printer Louis Prussurot and the Troyes printer Nicolas Oudot collaborated on printing for the archbishop, and produced the first edition in 1669, followed by second, third, fourth and fifth editions between 1669 and 1673, as demonstrated in Table 1 below. It was originally published in the Low Countries in Ghent by François d'Erle in 1673, in a French edition. This was followed by a Dutch edition in 1674 (Table 1). All known editions are in duodecimo, comprising between twelve and fourteen sheets, a fairly standard size for a seventeenth-century catechism. A 1690 manuscript of three folio leaves, in the same archival collection in Utrecht, presents

31 For twentieth and twenty-first century examples of this debate see C.G. Christofides, 'Bossuet and Jansenism', *Romance Notes*, 1 (1960), 141–45 and Thomas M. Lennon, 'Bossuet's Jansenism', in: Thomas M. Lennon, *Sacrifice and Self-interest in Seventeenth-Century France: Quietism, Jansenism, and Cartesianism*. Leiden: Brill, 2019, 203–234.

32 Agten, *The Catholic Church*, 179–80; Joep van Gennip, 'Cornelius Hazart S. J. and the Jansenist Controversies, 1682–1690,' in: R. Faesen and L. Kenis (eds.), *The Jesuits of the Low Countries*. Leuven: Peeters, 2012, 177–192.

33 *Catechisme ou Instruction chrestienne pour le diocese de Sens*. Sens: Louis Prussurot, 1669 (Ghent UB BIB.TH.003302/-2). See Table 1.

evidence that it may have been later printed in Latin as well. This manuscript presents an overview of the forty-four lessons of the Sens catechism, as well as the preface, prayers before and after the catechism (*oratio ante/post Catechismum*), the Catholic confession of faith, and psalms to be read for a Requiem Mass (*Missa pro defunctis*). Most remarkably, it includes an imprint at the beginning: in Antwerp by Frederik van Metelen, under the sign of the Four Evangelists on the Warmoesstraat, in the year 1690. Van Metelen, a Catholic printer, worked exclusively in Amsterdam, so it is probable that this manuscript was referencing and summarising a falsely imprinted book (number 9 in Table 1 below).³⁴

Though Pieter Codde became Vicar Apostolic of the Dutch Mission in 1688, fourteen years after this catechism was originally published, he would become the most prominent figure involved in this controversy. As the Sens catechism continued to be printed for use in schools in the 1690s, a new edition required ecclesiastical emendations around the topic of original sin.³⁵ Codde, whose previously mentioned support of Jansenism as Vicar Apostolic angered the Dutch Jesuits, was probably the cause of this extra scrutiny. Though revising catechisms was a routine practice, this change caused great disquiet among clergy. In particular, it resulted in the publication of an anonymously authored pamphlet, titled *Aanmerkingen op eenen catechismus by de hollandsche clergie veel in 't gebruik* (*Remarks on a Catechism Much in Use by the Dutch Clergy*), in 1697, probably written by notorious anti-Jansenist polemicist Adriaan van Wijck.³⁶ Addressed to Gomarus Huygens, this pamphlet argued strongly against the influence of Codde, the 'Roman stadtholder', whom Van Wijck saw as an authoritarian attempting to use the catechism to impose his Jansenism on the population.³⁷ It is this pamphlet that is the original to the Latin translation present in manuscript in Utrecht pictured in Figure 1, copied precisely by the scribe down to the details on the illustration. Another excerpted version in a different hand describes 'some of the absurd, calumnious, [and] turbulent propositions (...) turned against the Sens catechism in the Flemish language (*propositiones aliquot absurdae, calumniosae, turbulentae (...) in flandricum idioma*)'.³⁸

34 HUA, AV, inv. 407.

35 Pieter Codde, *Verklaring en antwoorden die d'aertsbisschop van Sebaste, apostolise vicaris in 't Verenigde Nederland, te Rome zynde, aen d'vitmuntenste heeren kardinalen heeft ingelevert* ([Rome], 1705), 146.

36 P.J. Blok and P.C. Molhuysen, *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*. Leiden: Sijthoff, 1911-1937, volume 7, 1343.

37 [Adriaan van Wijck], *Aanmerkingen op eenen catechismus by de hollandsche clergie veel in 't gebruik*. Brussels: Anthony Cnopart, 1697 (Maastricht UB MU WA 213 A 5), sig. *3v.

38 HUA, AV, inv. 407.

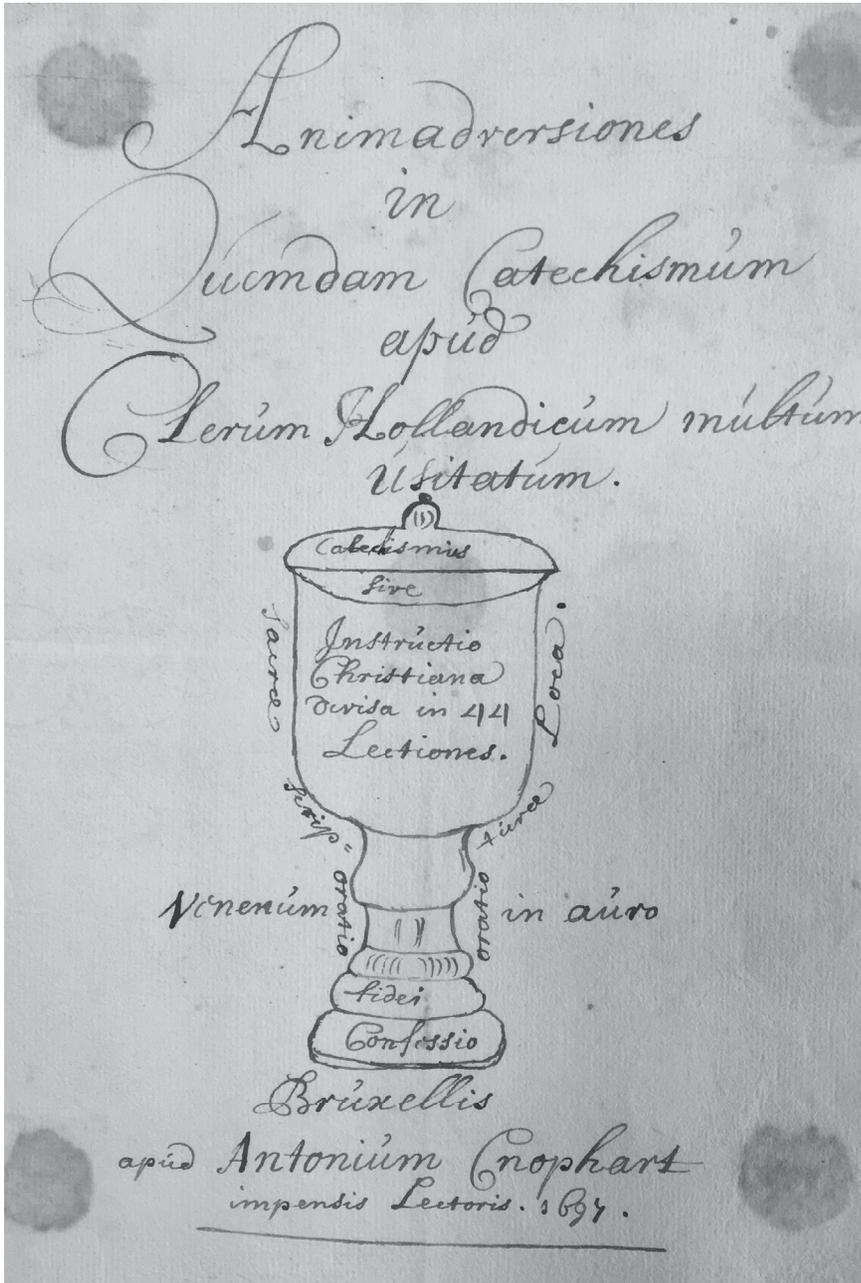


Figure 1. Manuscript Latin copy of a critical response to a French catechism. Animadversiones in Quondam Catechismum apud Clerum Hollandicum multum usitatum. HUA, AV, inv. 407

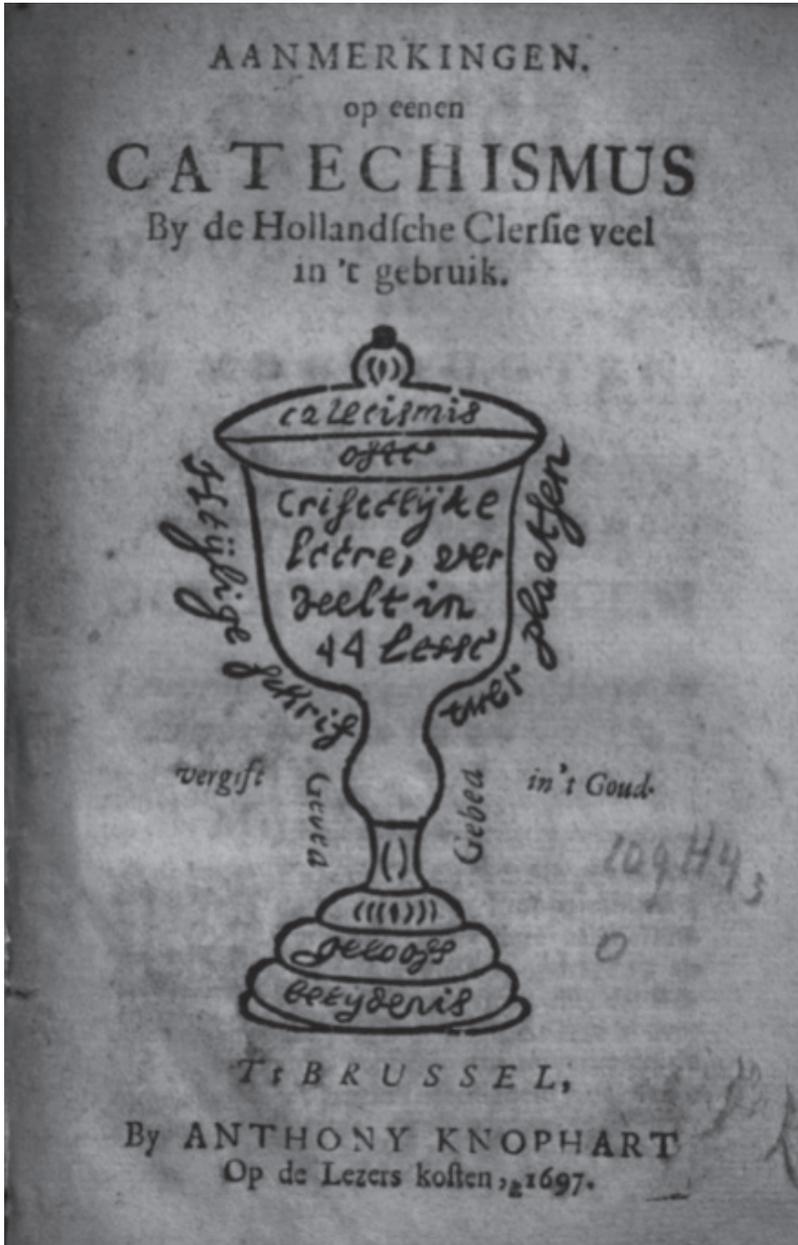


Figure 2. [Adriaan van Wijck], *Aanmerkingen op eenen catechismus by de hollandsche clergie veel in 't gebruik* (Brussels: Anthony Knophart, 1697). Copy: Maastricht University Library MU Wa 213 A 5. <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=YBqapzWSKAsC>. Placed alongside title page of manuscript Latin translation (Fig 1)

The Sens catechism's popularity, complained Van Wijck, was clear from the multiplicity of extant editions. He specifically named editions of the catechism by Frederik van Metelen and Joannes Stichter in Amsterdam, Arnold van den Eynden in Utrecht, Claes Braau and Pieter Bors in Haarlem, and a printer with the surname De Weert in Rotterdam, none of which survive (Table 1).³⁹ He proceeded to give a thorough description of how the approbation process worked. According to Van Wijck, the catechism was translated from French to Dutch by the Amsterdam priest Justus Modersohn, given approbations by vicar-general Joseph Cousebant in Haarlem and Vicar Apostolic Joannes van Neercassel, and awarded final approval to be used in the Dutch Republic by Jan Hendriksen Erkel, rector of the Begijnhof, in 1696. He noted that his subsequent critiques would be taken from the edition printed 'In Antwerp by Pieter Cornelissen Bors, on the Haarlemmerstraat [under the sign of] the Four Evangelists.'⁴⁰ If this Bors on the Haarlemmerstraat is the Bors he mentioned directly above in Haarlem, we can assume that this is a false imprint, which would have been extremely common. If so, it is interesting that Van Wijck preserved such an obviously false city attribution, and must have been done in service of making the edition easily identifiable. As the case of the Sens catechism demonstrates, this process of identifying the edition was extremely important. Small changes made by authors or editors between editions could have significant doctrinal ramifications.

Appraising Orthodoxy in the Dutch Republic

These issues came to a head with an audit of which catechisms were being used in the Dutch Republic. The sporadic nature of the surviving evidence indicates that this may have been an unofficial audit. In this folder in the Utrecht archive, there are five lists of varying sizes that contain this documentation of catechisms (Appendix A). Three do not include any specific detail on location, but two do: one with the heading 'Gorkom' (Gorinchem), and one that specified these were catechisms used in the Geldrian county (*Graafschaap*) of Bergh, located in the quarter of Zutphen, as well as in Cleves, across the Dutch border.⁴¹ This final list, comprising two sheets, includes fifteen towns and regions (Appendix A, 24-7). Based on the dates provided, it is clear

39 *Aanmerkingen op eenen catechismus*, sig. A1v.

40 *Aanmerkingen op eenen catechismus*, sig. A2r.

41 HUA, AV, inv. 407.

Table 1. Known Editions of the Sens Catechism.

	Title	Place	Language	Printer	Year	Surviving copies
1.	<i>Catechisme ou Instruction chrestienne pour le diocese de Sens</i>	Sens	French	Louis Prussurot	1669	Ghent UB BIB. TH.003302/-2
2.	<i>Catechisme ou Instruction chrestienne pour le diocese de Sens</i>	Sens	French	Louis Prussurot	1669	Bibliothèque jésuite des Fontaines, Lyon SJ S 155/1
3.	<i>Catechisme ou Instruction chrestienne pour le diocese de Sens</i>	Sens	French	Louis Prussurot	1670	Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF) Tolbiac D-28961
4.	<i>Abregé de la doctrine chrétienne pour l'usage du diocese de Sens</i>	Sens	French	Louis Prussurot	1672	BNF YE-8097
5.	<i>Catechisme ou Instruction chrestienne pour le diocese de Sens</i>	Sens	French	Louis Prussurot	1673	Bibliothèque jésuite des Fontaines, Lyon SJ S 155/3
6.	<i>Catechisme ou Instruction chrestienne pour le diocese de Sens</i>	Ghent	French	François d'Ercele	1673	Ghent UB BIB.G.001252
7.	<i>Catechisme ou Instruction chrestienne pour le diocese de Sens</i>	Sens	French	Louis Prussurot	1674	BNF Tolbiac D-14475
8.	<i>Catechismus ofte Christelyck onderwys uyt-ghegheven by den aerts-bisschop van Sens</i>	Ghent	Dutch	François d'Ercele	1674	Ghent UB BIB.G.001248/1
9.	<i>Instructio Christianae (...) divisae in quadragesima quatuor lectiones</i>	Antwerp [=Amsterdam]	Latin	Frederik van Metelen	1690	Lost? Manuscript copy in HUA, AV, inv. 407.
10.	<i>[Catechismus (...)]</i>	[Amsterdam]	Unknown	Joannes Stichter	[1679-1702]	Lost
11.	<i>[Catechismus (...)]</i>	[Utrecht]	Unknown	Arnold van den Eynden	[1670-1698]	Lost
12.	<i>[Catechismus (...)]</i>	[Haarlem]	Unknown	Claes Braau	[1671-1705]	Lost
13.	<i>[Catechismus (...)]</i>	Antwerp [=Haarlem]	Unknown	Pieter Bors	[s.d.]	Lost
14.	<i>[Catechismus (...)]</i>	[Rotterdam]	Unknown	De Weert	[s.d.]	Lost

that these various audits were carried out around the turn of the eighteenth century. These catechisms come with a variety of publication details, many making reference to the edition mentioned above (*ut supra*). Altogether, this unassuming folder in the Utrecht archive contains eleven catechisms divided amongst twenty-five individual editions. The titles can be found in Table 2, and edition-specific information can be found in Appendices A and B (23-8 below):

Table 2. Titles of Catechisms in Audit.

	Author (if known)	Title(s) and Translations	Known surviving copy?	Uses (by location)
1.	Christiaen van den Berghe [=Philip Rovenius]	<i>Catholycke catechismus</i>	Yes	5
2.	Jacques-Benigne Bossuet	<i>Catechisme du Diocese de Meaux</i> <i>Catechismus voor't bisdom van Meaux</i>	Yes	1
3.	Petrus Canisius	<i>Catechismus, in korte vragen en antwoorden</i>	Yes	5
4.	Justus Modersohn	<i>Catechismus</i> ⁴² <i>Korte onderwysinge voor de catholycke jongen om wel te biechten en te communiceren</i>	No	3
5.	Willem de Pretere	<i>Catechismus (...) voor de catholycke jonckheydt van (...) Mechelen</i>	Yes	8
6.		<i>Het heilige communie biechten (...)</i>	No	1
7.		<i>De geestelycke bruyloft der jonge kinderen</i>	No	2
8.		<i>Instructio Christianae (...) divisae in quadragesima quatuor lectiones</i> <i>Catechismus (...) verdeeld in vier en veertig lessen</i> ⁴³	Yes	1
9.		<i>Kleine cabinet der Chrystelycke wysheyd</i>	No	3
10.		<i>Klein catechismus gedrukt door ordre van de 3 Hoogh. Bischoppen van Angiers, Rochelle en Luçon</i> ⁴⁴	Yes	1
11.		<i>Kleine Catholycke catechismus, bequaem om de eerste beginselen van het christelyke geloof (...)</i>	Yes	8

42 These may be two separate titles; however, they are conflated here to avoid the creation of ghost editions.

43 The number of lessons indicates that this was the Sens catechism.

44 This catechism is known as the catechism *des trois Henri*, the Catechism of the Three Henries, due to the names of the three bishops that commissioned it. Though it is well known, there is no surviving edition of the Dutch translation referenced in the audit.

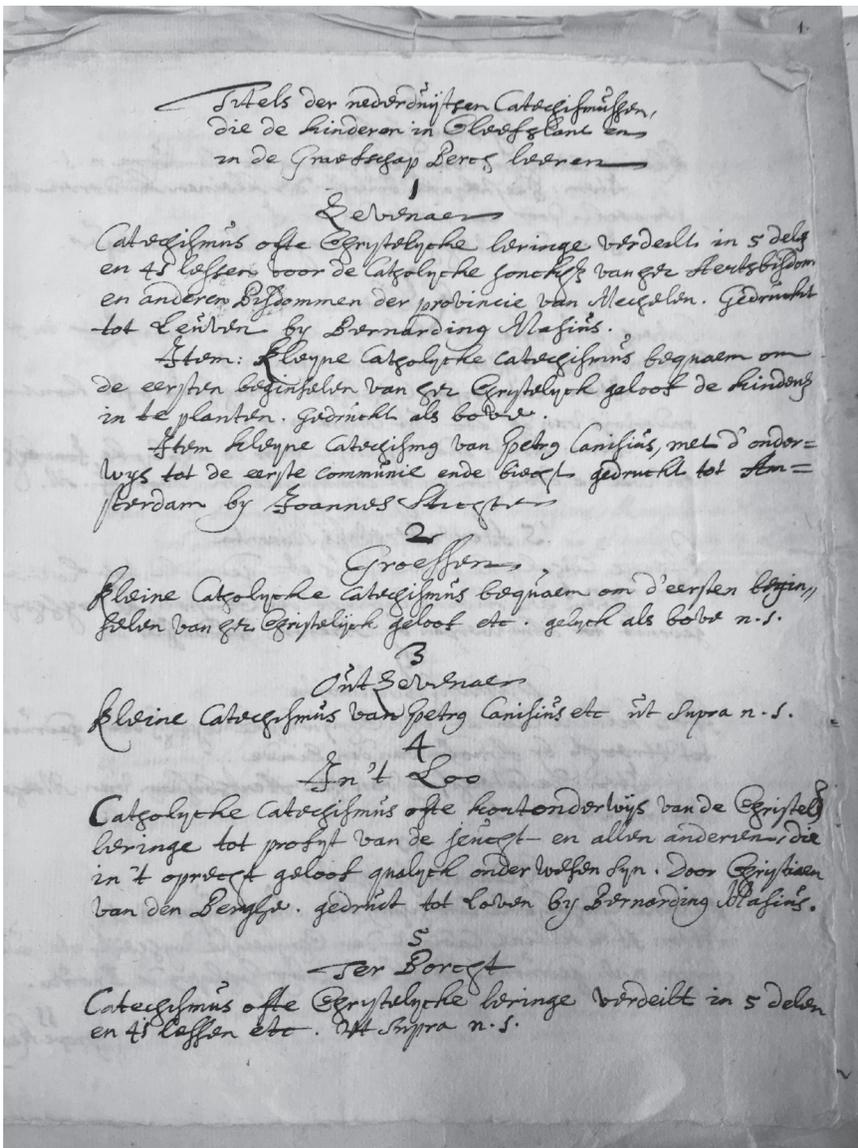


Figure 3. Titels der nederduijtsen Catechismussen die de kinderen in Cleefslant en in de Graefschap Ber[gh] leeren. HUA, AV, inv. 407. Image courtesy of Het Utrechts Archief

This insight into seventeenth-century Catholic catechisms is only a glimpse, preserved by chance. However, it provides a great deal of interesting information about which catechisms circulated and where. Most importantly, it reveals how much has been lost. Of the eleven titles documented here, four no longer survive in any copy, and none of the twenty-five individual editions can be traced to a surviving edition in a short-title catalogue.

Justus Modersohn, a secular priest in Amsterdam involved in the Catholic publishing industry, wrote at least one catechism that no longer survives in any form.⁴⁵ This now-lost catechism also appears in the probate inventory of bookseller Hendrikje Kool in Amsterdam.⁴⁶ This loss demonstrates that while great thought and care was put into selecting which catechisms were used down to the edition, some of these works were truly ephemeral, intended to be used and thrown away. This makes administrative records, such as this catechism audit, all the more important.

In this area, the choices of catechisms and authors were remarkably consistent. These works were carefully and often explicitly tailored to children. The same authors, including Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet and Petrus Canisius, appeared consistently, often in the same editions. Rovenius's catechism, too, was used frequently and in significant quantities. Of the catechisms with specific dates, the range suggests that while newer editions were ideal, the acceptable range was fairly broad, and catechisms published twenty-five years apart could still be used. This seemed to be as true in Gorinchem, in the prosperous province of Holland, as it was in the Geldrian borderlands. On average, the schools or individual teachers in each town utilised three or four different catechisms by different authors. This range likely depended on the size of the school and the audience of the catechisms in question. Some texts such as Canisius' attempted to address a range of ages, but there were few catechisms that could simultaneously teach a five-year-old and a fifteen-year-old, as some schools attempted to do.⁴⁷ Therefore, a range of catechisms allowed the kind of graded instruction needed for a range of students.

45 *Korte onderwysinge voor de catholycke jongen om wel te biechten en te communiceren* (s.l., s.n., s.d.)

46 Amsterdam, Stadsarchief, 5075 Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam, Johannes Commelin (226), Minuutacten no. 5619, ff. 542r-566r.

47 The range of ages especially in rural schools could be extremely broad. In her study of catechisms and *petites écoles* in France, Karen Carter found that though the majority of children in these schools were under age six some stayed on well past their first communion at twelve or thirteen. Carter, *Creating Catholics*, 190-7.

The most-used catechisms typically do survive in some form. Willem de Pretere's catechism, intended for use in the diocese of Mechelen, appears eight times, as does the anonymous *Klein Catechismus* (Table 2). The titles now lost were neither the most nor the least used, an indication of some level of chance in the survival process. Canisius and Rovenius seemed to be equally popular. The large number of titles and low number of surviving editions imply that many more were printed that do not survive. Of the surviving titles, every edition that survived from the seventeenth century is either in octavo or duodecimo, comprised of between one and ten sheets according to the Short Title Catalogue Netherlands.

The French influence is also notable. As the seventeenth century progressed, Catholic print in the Dutch Republic took on an increasingly French character, probably due not only to the Disaster Year and the general influx of French print into the Dutch Republic, but to the popularity of French Jansenism among secular clergy in the Dutch Mission. Catechisms that were produced for use in French dioceses filtered into the Dutch Republic. These connections were not new; Bossuet and Vicar Apostolic Joannes van Neercassel had corresponded and even sent books back and forth in the 1670s.⁴⁸ However, the number of catechisms being used in Dutch schools intended for use in France was significant. This includes the controversy over the Sens catechism, of course, and the resulting use of the Sens catechism in schools. However, it also includes the so-called 'Catechism of the Three Henrys', commissioned and planned by the bishops of Angers, La Rochelle and Luçon. This catechism included different lessons for children and those at different stages of their theological education.⁴⁹ It is also worth considering the impact of Jansenism on the battle over catechism use, as both the Sens catechism and the Three Henrys became notorious for their Jansenist theological underpinnings. In fact, a meeting of the Congregatio De Propaganda Fide criticised the Dutch translation of this text due to its failure to mention the importance of the intercession of saints.⁵⁰ This battle raged even on the Dutch frontier with the Holy Roman Empire, far away from the French border.

48 HUA, AV, inv. 294. In this example from 1678, Bossuet thanks him for an unspecified book that Neercassel sent him along with his commentary.

49 Karen E. Carter, 'The Science of Salvation: French Diocesan Catechisms and Catholic Reform (1650-1800)', in: *The Catholic Historical Review* 96 (2010), 246-247 and R. Darricau, 'Les catéchismes, au XVIIIe siècle, dans les diocèses de l'Ouest (Province ecclésiastique de Bordeaux)', in: *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 81 (1974), 604-608.

50 Jaap Geraerts, 'Contested Rights: Clerical and Lay Authority in the Holland Mission', in: *Early Modern Low Countries* 2 (2018), 214.

Catholic teachers seemed also not to differentiate between catechisms published in the Northern or Southern Netherlands. Frederik van Metelen's false imprint was repeated in the manuscript version of his edition of the *Sens* catechism, and false imprints by his fellow Amsterdam printer Joannes Stichter were reproduced as well. Altogether, of the twenty-two editions with location information, a remarkable fifteen are from the Dutch Republic, as opposed to six from the Southern Netherlands and one from Emmerich. This presents a significant revision to the traditional idea that Dutch Catholics obtained the vast majority, if not all, of their books as imports from the Southern Netherlands.⁵¹

The spread of publishing locations demonstrates the ease with which books travelled across Northern Europe. The duchy of Cleves and the south-eastern corner of the Dutch province of Gelderland, where the county of Bergh was housed, were almost a hundred kilometres east of regional Catholic print centres such as Utrecht and Den Bosch. They were even further away from the most prosperous print centres of the Dutch Republic, in particular Amsterdam. The number of catechisms from Amsterdam in the three unclassified lists may be an indication that they, like Gorinchem, were located closer to or in Holland. However, the Geldrian towns of Groessen and Oud Zevenaar used catechisms specifically printed in Amsterdam by Joannes Stichter. The large number of catechisms printed in Louvain by Bernardus Masius, present in most towns on this list, is even more notable. Louvain was even further away than Amsterdam, more than two hundred kilometres from some of these areas. Based on the resources it took to ship a large quantity of books, it would be tempting to assume that more towns followed the example of Didam and Zeddum and imported catechisms primarily from closer towns such as Utrecht.

However, perhaps it is not such a surprise that catechisms were coming from some of the major production centres in northern Europe. There is a conspicuous absence of print from significantly sized cities in Gelderland, Nijmegen and Arnhem especially, and only one catechism from Emmerich. The relatively small size of these catechisms, most in octavo or duodecimo, means that they would have been quick and cheap to print. Nijmegen, for example, was a significant centre for the Dutch Mission and the Jesuit order in particular, and produced missionary print and Catholic almanacs.⁵² The fact

51 For one example of this argument see, Theo Clemens, 'The Trade in Catholic Books from the Northern to the Southern Netherlands, 1650-1795', in: C. Berkvens-Stevelinck [et al] (eds.), *Le Magasin de L'Univers: The Dutch Republic as the Centre of the European Book Trade* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 85-94.

52 Paul Begheyn S.J., *Jesuit Books in the Dutch Republic and its Generality Lands, 1567-1773*. Leiden: Brill, 2014, 413-418; Jeroen Salman, *Populair drukwerk in de Gouden Eeuw. De almanak als lectuur en handelswaar*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1999, 460-600.

that they were not printing catechisms for their local schools indicates that it was more convenient and perhaps cheaper to import them from larger domestic print centres such as Amsterdam. One of the elements that made the Dutch Republic such a successful print centre was the business acumen of printers and booksellers. They made their money through strategic imports, targeting underserved markets and buying books from elsewhere when it was cheaper to do so.⁵³ This too, could have been the strategy of booksellers in Gelderland, selling catechisms imported in bulk from Amsterdam and Louvain at a lower cost than producing them locally.

Though discussions of Jansenism tend to focus on Holland, sources such as these remind us not to overlook the importance of strategic borderlands. These schools existed on the frontier between the Dutch Republic, its still newly acquired Generality Lands, the Southern Netherlands and the German Rhineland. While debates around theological orthodoxy may have been most concentrated in Holland and Utrecht, areas such as these may have been hotbeds of Jansenist or anti-Jansenist sentiment as well. These lists of catechisms strongly indicate the importance teachers placed upon creating and raising believers with a proper understanding of contemporary doctrinal issues within the Catholic Church. Most intriguingly, this audit also suggests that Jansenist writings could have been filtering from the Dutch Republic into the German borderlands, owing to the inclusion of schools across the border in Cleves in the list of towns surveyed.

Gaining Value from Loss

Early modern Catholic catechisms found themselves at the centre of multiple controversies. The regular usage and concise nature of catechisms intended for children meant that their theological precision was of the utmost importance. Inevitably, catechisms became embroiled in the theological controversies surrounding Jansenism. Paradoxically, it is because of these controversies, in particular the accusations of Jansenism that were aimed towards the catechism commissioned by the archbishop of Sens, that these twenty-five editions and four titles have survived to be documented today. This list tells us a great deal about the importance of catechism revision, as well as how schooling functioned in these areas and how Jansenism spread in the seventeenth century.

53 This argument is made in Pettegree and der Weduwen, *Bookshop of the World*, ch. 11, 'Bookshop of the World', 266-293.

It is rare that controversies such as these produce edition-specific information. However, this case reinforces that for book historians accustomed to spending time in libraries, it is time to turn to archives for evidence of lost print. The shifting and constantly changing nature of catechisms, as this audit demonstrates, necessitated careful regulation by authorities. This left significant evidence that would not have survived otherwise. Documentation such as this audit can provide information about the types of catechisms used, their origins, their users and the nature of Catholic education in parts of the 'lands of the unbelievers' about which we otherwise know very little.

Appendix A: Vernacular Catechism Editions mentioned in HUA, AV, inv. 407 by Location

Cities are listed in the order in which they appear in the audit, specifying which catechisms are in use in different locations. Dates are estimated for some printers based on clearly delineated years of activity (for example, Frederik van Metelen was active from 1681-1709) but not for those whose career is more ambiguous (for example, Bernardus Masius, whose widow and heirs printed under his name long after his death).

Unspecified

Jacques-Benigne Bossuet, *Catechisme du Diocese de Meaux* ([Amsterdam]: Frederik van Metelen, 1697)

Jacques-Benigne Bossuet, *Catechismus voor't bisdom van Meaux* ([Amsterdam]: Frederik van Metelen, 1697)

Jacques-Benigne Bossuet, *Catechismus voor't bisdom van Meaux* ([Amsterdam]: Frederik van Metelen, 1699)

Catechismus (...) verdeeld in vier en veertig lessen (Antwerp [=Amsterdam]: Frederik van Metelen, 1690)

Christiaen van den Berghe, *Catholycke catechismus* (Louvain [=Amsterdam]: Frederik van Metelen, [1681-1709])

Petrus Canisius, *Catechismus, in korte vragen en antwoorden* (Emmerich: s.n., s.d.)

Kleine Catholycke catechismus, bequaem om de eerste beginselen van het christelyke geloof (...) (Amsterdam: Frederik van Metelen, [1681-1709])

Instructio Christianae (...) divisae in quadragesima quatuor lectiones (Antwerp [=Amsterdam]: Frederik van Metelen, 1690)

Gorinchem (Holland)

Christiaan van den Berghe, *Catholycke catechismus* (Rotterdam [=Amsterdam]:

Joannes Stichter, [1679-1702])

Christiaan van den Berghe, *Catholycke catechismus* (Louvain [=Amsterdam]: Joannes

Stichter, [1679-1702])

De geestelycke bruyloft der jonge kinderen, gemaect door eenen priester der Societeyt

Jesu (Amsterdam: Joannes Stichter, 1675)

Het heilige communie biechten (...) (Antwerp: Weduwe van Joris Willemsen, 1683)

Willem de Pretere, *Catechismus* (...) *voor de catholijcke jonckheydt van* (...) *Mechelen*

(Louvain: Bernardus Masius, s.d.)

Zevenaer (Gelderland)

Willem de Pretere, *Catechismus, ofte Christelyke Leering* (...) (Louvain: Bernardus

Masius, s.d.)

Kleine Catholycke catechismus, bequaem om de eerste beginselen van het christelyke

geloof(...) (Louvain: Bernardus Masius, s.d.)

Groessen (Gelderland)

Kleine Catholycke catechismus, bequaem om de eerste beginselen van het christelyke

geloof(...) (Amsterdam: Joannes Stichter, 1679-1702])

Oud Zevenaer (Gelderland)

Petrus Canisius, *Kleine Catechismus* (Amsterdam: Joannes Stichter, [1679-1702])

Loo (Gelderland)

Christiaan van den Berghe, *Catholycke catechismus* (Louvain: Bernardus Masius, s.d.)

Terborg (Gelderland)

Willem de Pretere, *Catechismus, ofte Christelyke Leering* (Louvain: Bernardus Masius,

s.d.)

Griethausen (Cleves)

Petrus Canisius, *Kleine Catechismus* (Louvain: Bernardus Masius, s.d.)

De geestelycke bruyloft der jonge kinderen, gemaect door eenen priester der Societeyt

Jesu (s.l., s.n., s.d.)

Justus Modersohn, *Catechismus* (s.l., s.n., s.d.)

Kellen (Cleves)

Willem de Pretere, *Catechismus, ofte Christelyke Leering* (...) (Louvain: Bernardus Masius, s.d.)

Christiaen van den Berghe, *Catholycke catechismus* (Louvain: Bernardus Masius, s.d.)

Justus Modersohn, *Korte onderwysinge voor de catholycke jongen om wel te biechten en te communiceren* (s.l., s.n., s.d.).

's-Heerenburg (Gelderland)

Kleine Catholycke catechismus, bequaem om de eerste beginselen van het christelyke geloof (...) (Louvain: Bernardus Masius, s.d.)

Kleine cabinet der Chrystelycke wysheyt (Antwerp: Hieronymus Verdussen, s.d.)

Didam (Gelderland)

Kleine cabinet der Chrystelycke wysheyt (Utrecht: Arnold van den Eynden, [1670-1698])

Willem de Pretere, *Catechismus* (...) *voor de catholijcke jonckheydt van* (...) *Mechelen* (Utrecht: Arnold van den Eynden, [1670-1698])

Zeddam (Gelderland)

Kleine Catholycke catechismus, bequaem om de eerste beginselen van het christelyke geloof (...) (Utrecht: Arnold van den Eynden, [1670-1698])

Kleine cabinet der Chrystelycke wysheyt (Aalst: Philip de Brouw, s.d.)

Kemmena/Kemnade (Gelderland)

Petrus Canisius, *Kleine Catechismus* (Louvain: Bernardus Masius, s.d.)

Kleine Catholycke catechismus, bequaem om de eerste beginselen van het christelyke geloof (...) (Utrecht: Arnold van den Eynden, [1670-1698])

Willem de Pretere, *Catechismus, ofte Christelyke Leering* (...) (Utrecht: Arnold van den Eynden, [1670-1698])

Beek (Gelderland)

Kleine Catholycke catechismus, bequaem om de eerste beginselen van het christelyke geloof (...) (Louvain: Bernardus Masius, s.d.)

Kleine cabinet der Chrystelycke wysheyt (Aalst: Philip de Brouw, s.d.)

Duiven (Gelderland)

Klein catechismus gedrukt door ordre van de 3 Hoogh. Bischoppen van Angiers, Rochelle en Luçon (s.l., s.n., s.d.)

Willem de Pretere, *Catechismus, ofte Christelyke Leering* (...) (Louvain: Bernardus Masius, s.d.)

Justus Modersohn, *Korte onderwysinge voor de catholycke jongen om wel te biechten en te communiceren* (s.l., s.n., s.d.).

Wehl (Gelderland)

Willem de Pretere, *Catechismus (...) voor de catholycke jonckheydt van (...) Mechelen* (Utrecht: Arnold van den Eynden, [1670-1698])

Christiaan van den Berghe, *Catholycke catechismus* (Louvain: Bernardus Masius, s.d.)

Petrus Canisius, *Kleine Catechismus* (Louvain: Bernardus Masius, s.d.)

Emmerich (Cleves)

Kleine Catholycke catechismus, bequaem om de eerste beginselen van het christelyke geloof(...) (Louvain: Bernardus Masius, s.d.)

Appendix B: Vernacular Catechism Editions mentioned in HUA, AV, inv. 407

This appendix lists all editions mentioned in the audit discussed in this article. As a result, it does not include the five lost editions of the Sens catechism mentioned above (Table 1, numbers 10-14).

1. Christiaan van den Berghe, *Catholycke catechismus* (Louvain [=Amsterdam], Frederik van Metelen, [1681-1709])
2. Christiaan van den Berghe, *Catholycke catechismus* (Rotterdam [=Amsterdam]: Joannes Stichter, [1679-1702])
3. Christiaan van den Berghe, *Catholycke catechismus* (Louvain [=Amsterdam] : Joannes Stichter, [1679-1702])
4. Christiaan van den Berghe, *Catholycke catechismus* (Louvain: Bernardus Masius, s.d.)
5. Jacques-Benigne Bossuet, *Catechisme du Diocese de Meaux* ([Amsterdam]: Frederik van Metelen, 1697)
6. Jacques-Benigne Bossuet, *Catechismus voor't bisdom van Meaux* ([Amsterdam]: Frederik van Metelen, 1697)
7. Jacques-Benigne Bossuet, *Catechismus voor't bisdom van Meaux* ([Amsterdam]: Frederik van Metelen, 1699)
8. Petrus Canisius, *Catechismus, in korte vragen en antwoorden* (Emmerich: s.n., s.d.)
9. Petrus Canisius, *Kleine Catechismus* (Amsterdam: Joannes Stichter, [1679-1702])
10. Justus Modersohn, *Catechismus* (s.l., s.n., s.d.)
11. Justus Modersohn, *Korte onderwysinge voor de catholycke jongen om wel te biechten en te communiceren* (s.l., s.n., s.d.)

12. Willem de Pretere, *Catechismus (...) voor de catholijcke jonckheydt van (...) Mechelen* (Louvain: Bernardus Masius, s.d.)
13. Willem de Pretere, *Catechismus (...) voor de catholijcke jonckheydt van (...) Mechelen* (Utrecht: Arnold van den Eynden, [1670-1698])
14. *Catechismus (...) verdeeld in vier en veertig lessen* (Antwerp [=Amsterdam]: Frederik van Metelen, 1690)
15. *De geestelycke bruyloft der jonge kinderen, gemaect door eenen priester der Societeyt Jesu* (Amsterdam: Joannes Stichter, 1675)
De geestelycke bruyloft der jonge kinderen, gemaect door eenen priester der Societeyt Jesu (s.l., s.n., s.d.)
16. *Het heilige communie* (Antwerp: Weduwe van Joris Willemsen, 1683)
17. *Instructio Christianae (...) divisae in quadragesima quatuor lectiones* (Antwerp [=Amsterdam]: Frederik van Metelen, 1690)
18. *Kleine cabinet der Chrystelycke wyshey*t (Antwerp: Hieronymus Verdussen, s.d.)
19. *Kleine cabinet der Chrystelycke wyshey*t (Utrecht: Arnold van den Eynden, [1670-1698])
20. *Kleine cabinet der Chrystelycke wyshey*t (Aalst: Philip de Brouw, s.d.)
21. *Klein catechismus gedrukt door ordre van de 3 Hoogh. Bischoppen van Angiers, Rochelle en Luçon* (s.l., s.n., s.d.)
22. *Kleine Catholycke catechismus, bequaem om de eerste beginselen van het christelyke geloof(...)* (Amsterdam: Frederik van Metelen, [1681-1709])
23. *Kleine Catholycke catechismus, bequaem om de eerste beginselen van het christelyke geloof(...)* (Louvain: Bernardus Masius, s.d.)
24. *Kleine Catholycke catechismus, bequaem om de eerste beginselen van het christelyke geloof(...)* (Amsterdam: Joannes Stichter, [1679-1702])
25. *Kleine Catholycke catechismus, bequaem om de eerste beginselen van het christelyke geloof(...)* (Utrecht: Arnold van den Eynden, [1670-1698])

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