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Students, Scholars and Their Books at the University of Louvain (1425–1797)

Edited by
Violet SOEN
Wouter DRUWÉ
Wim FRANÇOIS
Ralph DEKONINCK



BREPOLS

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Rossana SCEBBA–Margherita FANTOLI
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DRAWING PRACTICES AS LEARNING AND RECREATIONAL PROCESSES IN LOUVAIN STUDENT NOTEBOOKS (SEVENTEENTH-EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES)

1. *Introduction*

At the Faculty of Arts of the Old University of Louvain, the practice of dictating lessons gave rise to the incorporation of pen drawings and prints in lecture notebooks, often called *dictata* in Latin.¹ The contribution draws attention to this well-known aspect of the *dictata* that has nevertheless not been studied as a distinctive student practice. Representations in student notebooks in logic and physics were an integral part of student note-taking from the late sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century.² They constitute an important source of information about the content and methods of early modern university teaching and the organization of knowledge. The drawings could be either original compositions created by the student, or copies after prints on sale at Louvain printers and booksellers. Such ‘student images’ therefore oscillated between creation, imitation and adaptation.

I hypothesize the value of drawing practices for the student codices, focusing on notebooks in logic. I present the diversity of their functions, from structuring and mnemonic to relaxation

¹ Recent scholarly literature has focused on images inserted in Louvain student notebooks and their role, in particular Vanpaemel et al. 2012 and Berger 2017. On the daily university life, see Smets 2022; on the reuse of emblematic plates in logic and physics manuscripts from the 1660s, see van Vaeck 2006 and 2012; on the scientific images produced from 1670 by Louvain printers, see Vanpaemel 2011; on the practice of cut and pasted engravings, see de Mûelenaere 2023.

² This has been particularly highlighted in relation to printed emblems. See the different publications by Marc van Vaeck as well as Berger 2017.

purposes, and show how these functions participated in the learning process. Two claims open new perspectives. Firstly, the chapter draws attention to the freedom the students took in creating their drawings. More than mere copies of existing compositions, they are the fruit of a subtle game of montage and bricolage using a variety of visual sources. The second claim of this contribution concerns relaxation and *hilaritas* in relation to the transfer of knowledge. Students spend effort, time and money on drawing while compiling their manuscripts. Only in a few instances, was there a direct link between the topic of the course and the drawing. However, indirect links between text and image contributed to the learning process as well. I argue that the visual aesthetics personally developed by students in their codices played a role in the study of logic.

This article first presents an overview of the nature of images inserted in Louvain *dictata*. It then focuses on the role of pen drawings in three handwritten notebooks of logic from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The next section investigates the use of drawing in philosophy education through the analysis of depictions in two codices by the same student now held at the Royal Library of Belgium (KBR, MSS II 1245 and 1249, *Logica*, 1663–1664).³ It then turns to the influence of Jesuit visual culture – via printed emblem books and *affixiones*, or emblematic exhibitions of the Jesuit College in Brussels – on student notebook iconography (KU Leuven Libraries Maurits Sabbe Library, MS PM0334, *Dialectica*, 1744).⁴ The chosen examples are exceptional by virtue of the artistic qualities and the important number of drawings incorporated, but they are nevertheless representative of the creative process explored by Louvain students in assembling their handwritten volumes. These volumes were also selected as they were produced at different periods and show various relationships to the text they supplement.

³ <https://www.kuleuven.be/lectio/magisterdixit/items/show/1701> and <https://www.kuleuven.be/lectio/magisterdixit/items/show/1704>.

⁴ <https://www.kuleuven.be/lectio/magisterdixit/items/show/52>.

2. *Drawings in Handwritten Student Notebooks from Louvain*

The drawing practice can be found in other collections of university lecture notes, but the breadth and eclecticism of the iconographic material present in the volumes produced at Louvain are particularly noteworthy – more than half of all preserved manuscripts contain at least one drawing, whether didactic or not. The historiography on Louvain student notes gives a number of clues as to the nature and functions of drawings. Jan K. Steppe (1968) provides an initial chronological overview of the drawings found in Louvain lecture notes, highlighting the data contribution on students' daily life and folklore. Maurits Smeyers (1975) carries out an extensive codicological and iconographical analysis of a fifteenth-century manuscript, showing that the material appearance of the textbook is very closely linked to its content. Albert d'Haenens (1994) discusses non-textual elements in codices and traces the history of transcription in Louvain teaching, carried out before the start of the course, which explains the appearance of drawings in spaces left blank. Katharina Smeyers (2012) retraces the steps involved in creating student notebooks (addition of drawings and prints, choice of paper, binding). Recently, Susanna Berger (2017) has explored the origins and various roles of representations incorporated in Louvain student notes in logic.

In Louvain in the fifteenth century, students had to bring with them the texts they were to study during the lessons. Several iconographic documents show them sitting in class, following the lesson with textbooks on their laps or on their desks. The students had to themselves transcribe beforehand – but progressively – the texts that would be used in their lessons and exercises. The transcription was carried out in several phases: copying; correcting; summarizing some passages in the margins; writing colophons; working on initials and on folios left blank at the end of transcription. Binding was only carried out once the lessons had been completed. Care was taken to clearly mark the order of the main sections, leaving gaps: for the initials of titles to be written later; or for the colophons that would indicate the end of the book, with its title and the date on which the teaching was completed.⁵

⁵ D'Haenens 1994, pp. 404–05.

This teaching process explains the appearance of drawings in fifteenth-century Louvain student notebooks. One can mention a volume of physics held at the University Library of Aberdeen (1467),⁶ a volume of logic held at the Edinburgh University Library (1477),⁷ and a manuscript at the Bibliothèque municipale of Cambrai (1482).⁸ The latter, written down by Theodoricus Regis, student at the pedagogy of the Lily, contains a drawing of the *Pons Asinorum* ('donkey's bridge') (fol. 47^v) in addition to religious scenes and ornamental letters. Images of a diagrammatic nature are often to be found in logic notebooks and fulfill an obvious didactic role. Thus, from the outset, we see the two main functions of the practice of page ornamentation, a typically 'student' activity in the literal sense of the word.⁹ On the one hand, the aim was to make textual subsets – sentences, paragraphs, chapters, books – visible, to make explicit both their individuality and their sequential interrelation. In order to understand and retain the content, it had to be clearly 'seen', visibly indicated to the eye. On the other hand, it was important to express through iconic signs what the text expressed in verbal signs, by adding diagrams and graphs such as the donkey's bridge and the logical square.

The few manuscripts kept from the sixteenth century display some small pen drawings as well, though such drawings do not appear systematically.¹⁰ From the end of the century, and until the mid-eighteenth century, the practice of inserting or pasting prints in the manuscripts would progressively prevail. From the 1630s (and maybe earlier), engravings specifically intended for the Louvain print market were produced. Louvain printers and

⁶ Aberdeen, University Library, MS 109. Other early Louvain manuscripts are held in this collection.

⁷ Magnus Makculloch, *Lectura Super Logicalia Aristotelis Petri de Mera, Andree de Alchmaria, Theodrici Meysach*, 1477. Edinburgh, University Library, MS 205. https://archives.collections.ed.ac.uk/repositories/2/archival_objects/177058.

⁸ Theodoricus Regis, *Lectiones in opera logica Aristotelis et Porphyrii*, 1481–1482. Bibliothèque municipale of Cambrai, MS 964. See Smeyers 1975. https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/resultRecherche/resultRecherche.php?COMPOSITION_ID=5269.

⁹ D'Haenens 1994, p. 406.

¹⁰ For instance, KU Leuven Libraries Special Collections, MS 237, *Logica*, 1513–1514; and KBR, MS II 1036, *Logica*, 1593–1594.

booksellers such as Michael Hayé (d. 1676), Lambert Blendeff (c. 1650–1721), Petrus Denique (1683–1746), and Charles-Henri Becker (second half of the seventeenth century) sold prints on loose leaflets to *Artes* students who would interleave them or (cut and) paste them in their volumes.¹¹ These printed images, in most cases copies of prints produced in Antwerp publishing houses, were therefore not faithful illustrations of the academic text. They were rather the result of a ‘bricolage’ on the part of printers and students who, sometimes, sought to match available visual material with the philosophical notions being taught by adding new titles.

This is also the case for drawings, which continued to appear in Louvain notebooks alongside engravings. They took the form of ornamental initials and cartouches, coats of arms, landscapes or views of Louvain, humorous doodles often linked to daily university life; drawings using a symbolic language; or representations with an educational purpose (in particular the opposition diagram and the *Arbor Porphyrii* [‘Porphyry’s tree’] in logic, and representations of Cartesian orientation in physics, from the second half of the seventeenth century).¹² Gradually, drawings based on engravings were also added on the pages. Copying of texts and images was a frequent and widespread practice in early modern Europe. Copying was a learning method as, through repetition, it facilitated the acquisition of new information and skills in a similar manner at universities and in artists’ workshops.¹³ The practice of copying and drawing sketches after prints to improve draftsmanship is one of the main uses of printed images.¹⁴ However, the drawings I propose to study in this chapter are not exactly faithful copies after engravings. They are often the result of a montage of images, a combination of elements from several com-

¹¹ Vanpaemel 2011; van Vaeck 2012. On Louvain printers and booksellers (1425–1797), see Delsaert 2001, pp. 351–428.

¹² In Bielak & de Mûelenaere 2025, Alicja Bielak and I propose a typology of the most frequent images in the Louvain corpus of student notebooks. We use this tripartite division of traditional university iconography; scientific drawings and engravings; and symbolic language (emblems and allegories). See also Opsomer 2000.

¹³ Fransen & Reinhart 2019, pp. 216–17.

¹⁴ Griffiths 2018, p. 394.

positions, which were then adapted to match the titles or texts they accompany in the manuscripts. As we will see, students, by drawing in their notebooks and by studying these visual representations, engaged in the pursuit of knowledge.¹⁵ The process of assembling, mounting and framing images taken from a variety of visual sources also made it possible to introduce humor, as well as references to everyday life and to the socio-political situation at the time.

3. *Ludovicus van Colen's Manuscripts (1663–1664): Drawings after Prints*

In the academic year 1663–1664, Ludovicus van Colen, student at the Falcon pedagogy, penned two volumes in logic: a *Dictata* (Brussels, KBR, MS II 1245) and an *Annotata* (Brussels, KBR, MS II 1249).¹⁶ In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Louvain student notebooks in logic could present different structures. The *Dictata* are composed in a format typical of medieval school textbooks. They contain definitions and exposition, often followed by a series of *quaestiones* focusing on specific points or clearing up common misconceptions. The *Annotata*, appearing from 1645 onwards, consist of the same chapters in the same order, but are presented through the form of short questions and answers, rather than a lengthy exposition.¹⁷ In this section, I focus on the production process and role of the numerous drawings included by Van Colen in his handwritten notes, notably by tracing their printed sources, and I highlight the sense of *hi-*

¹⁵ Berger 2017, p. 121.

¹⁶ *Proemi[m] In Logicam sub doctissimo D[omino]. D[omino]. Lamberto Vincent professore primario. Ludovicus van Colen. Anno 1663.* The professor primarius was Lambertus Vincent (d. 1684) and the professor secundarius was Robertus de Novilia. *Annotata magis principalia a doctissimo Domino Lamberto Vincent Grauens, professore florentissimi paedagogij Falconis primario tradita, & a me Ludovico van Colen Antuerpiensi scripta anno millesimo sexcentesimo sexagesimo tertio Louanii; Annotata minus principalia sub doctissimo Domino Roberto Nouilia Leodio, professore florentissimi paedagogij Falconis secundario, a me Ludovico van Colen. Antwerpiensi scripta Anno 1663. Louanii.* On the scholastic curriculum, see Coesemans 2019, chap. 3, who follows Van Colen as a prototypical example for the seventeenth-century course of logic.

¹⁷ Coesemans 2019, pp. 26–28.

laritas they conveyed. The intention of my analysis is to show that depictions made by students fulfilled a learning as much as a recreational function.

Numerous ornamental initials and small pen drawings of auricular cartouches, animals, putti, and flowers accompany the text in the *Dictata*.¹⁸ Some depictions refer to the four pedagogies, which was a frequent iconographic theme in Louvain notebooks. There are specific mentions of the Falcon, Van Colen's pedagogy, with its motto *Voliuat super omnia falco* ('The falcon flies over everything').¹⁹ Additionally, a colophon written four times in Van Colen's volumes reads: *Quamquam charta patet nonnulla fenestra latet*/'al is t' pampier hier hol nochtans den sin is vol' ('Although the sheet is clear, some windows remain unknown/Even though the paper here is empty, the mind is full').²⁰ Colophons – communications at the end (of a section) of a manuscript or printed book – often contain information on the author, title and date (in this case, of the end of the course). In lecture notes, these liminal spaces are often the setting for reflections (humorous or otherwise) on the acquisition of knowledge.

Even more images were sketched by the student in his second logical notebook, *Annotata*. On the one hand, colophons, initials, compositions referring to university life and some more clumsy drawings were presumably devised by the student himself. Most of these visual and textual elements are humorous. In a colored pen drawing containing the title *Tractatus de differentia et diuisionibus eius* ('Treatise on the difference and its divisions'), a man is depicted smoking (fol. 36^r). A caption reads: *non est in mundo prestantior herba tobaco/sumere cum pinctis mixta Tobaca iuuat* ('There is no herb in the world more remarkable than tobacco/It is pleasant to consume tobacco mixed with pints').²¹ Other pen drawings referring to drinking and smoking are to be

¹⁸ Ornamental initials can be found on fols 2^r, 3^v, 8^r, 13^r, 15^v, 21^v, 66^r, 76^r, 105^r, 125^r, 139^v; and other pen drawings on fols 1^r, 3^r, 42^r, 55^r, 65^r, 122^r, 124^v, 158^r.

¹⁹ KBR, MS II 1245, fols 8^r, 13^r, 21^r; MS II 1249, fols 191^r, 363^r. On the four Louvain pedagogies, see Derez 2012, pp. 47–71.

²⁰ KBR, MS II 1245, fol. 75^v; MS II 1249, fols 5^v, 313^r. Additionally, the drawn pierced heart on fol. 321^r displays the Latin sentence.

²¹ I am grateful to Aline Smeesters (UCLouvain) for her help with the Latin translation.

found on fols 83^r, 94^v, and 249^v (a bird smoking, a stool, pipes and beer glasses), while numerous amusing heads are drawn inside initials.²² On the other hand, numerous drawings added on the pages of the manuscript were made after engravings and etchings. Twenty-seven printed images used as models for the pen drawings have been identified: title pages, satirical prints, portraits of sovereigns, Roman emperors, animals, or hunting scenes.²³ Except for the title pages, produced in Louvain, and the satirical prints, realized by Jacques Callot (1592–1635) and Frans Hogenberg (1535–1590), a French and a Dutch artist, all the prints were produced in Antwerp, from the late sixteenth century to the 1660s. The pen drawings by Van Colen's hand attest to the popularity of Antwerp engravings and etchings at the time, but also to their use as iconographic models for draftsmen.

The two title pages in pen drawing were sketched after Louvain prints.²⁴ *Metaphysica, physica* (fol. 1^r), copying an engraving by an unknown artist used at least from 1631,²⁵ presents portraits of Aristotle and Plato and the signs of the Lily, the Falcon, the Castle, and the Pig. The second title page, with two putti and the sign of the Falcon (fol. 192^v) is copied after another popular engraved cartouche. A first unsigned edition of this print can be found in a 1646–1648 student notebook,²⁶ before a second edition signed by Quirinus Boel (Flemish printmaker/engraver, c. 1620–1668, active in Antwerp and Brussels), was in use from 1656 onwards.²⁷ Printed title pages circulated in large numbers in Louvain and

²² On daily university life, see De Ridder-Symoens 1978, pp. 99–100.

²³ There were probably more engravings serving as models for the student, but I could not trace any source for the cartouches (fols 191^r, 363^v) or for some ornamental letters (fols 3^r, 193^r, 194^r).

²⁴ See my upcoming article on engraved title pages in Louvain notebooks.

²⁵ The engraving is inserted twice in Namur, MS SAN 31, *Logica*, 1631, Joannes Perperius (student) and Arnold Mennekens (professor). Alfons Hamer indicates this title page as a source for Petrus Rucholle's title page with an auricular cartouche (Hamer 2020, cat. 94).

²⁶ University of Pennsylvania, MS Codex 903, *Commentarius in uniuersam Aristotelis physicam*, 1646–1648, vol. 1, fols 2^r, 158^r.

²⁷ KU Leuven Libraries Special Collections, MS 258, *Physica*, 1656, fol. 112^r, with a *sphera mundi* printed inside the cartouche. Previous versions of this composition with the two putti, containing also portraits of the Aristoteles and Plato, circulated at least from 1636 (KU Leuven Libraries Special Collections, MS 201, *Logica*, 1636, fol. 1^r, unsigned).

were often reedited or copied, which led to their use through decades. They presented fill-in-the-blanks cartouches or frames surrounded by signs of the pedagogies, views of Louvain and faculty buildings, depictions of scientific instruments, portraits of philosophers and patron saints. In addition to the title, the students could write the names of their professors, the academic year, and other relevant information about the course.

Alongside this typically Louvain material, several satirical compositions inserted in Van Colen's *Annotata* manuscript aimed at conveying a sense of *hilaritas* (cheerfulness, good humor, merriment).²⁸ Two full-page pen drawings (for one of them, see Figure 1) reproduce four dancing figures from Frans Hogenberg's 'The dance of fools' (*Stultorum chorea. Der sotten dans*), c. 1560–1570 (Figure 2).²⁹ The student copied the bilingual Latin and Dutch captions as well. The figures of *Adulator* (sycophant) and *Loquax* (loquacious) on fol. 112^{v30} and of *Superbus* (haughty) and *Ambitiosus* (ambitious) on fol. 291^{v31} face texts devoted to propositions of relation (*De propositionibus relationis*) and rules of logical consequences (*Prima regula consequentiarum*), respectively. The playfulness these figures bring to the volume is also to be found with the drawing of a grotesque cut and pasted on fol. 53^v. It is copied from the series *I Gobbi* published by Jacques Callot in 1621–1625.³² The caricature *L'homme au ventre tombant* might be a self-portrait of the French etcher. Callot's œuvre,

²⁸ On *hilaritas* used in print under Archdukes Albert and Isabella, see Verberckmoes 2022. A brief discussion of the concept in the Habsburg Netherlands can also be found in Porteman 1998.

²⁹ Luijten 2009, p. 122, cat. 20.

³⁰ *Adulator* [pluijmstrijkendesot]: *Omnia dissimulo simuloq[ue] & blandus adulator/Omnibus ore, manu, Vultu animoq[ue] duplex./Alle dinck vleij[n] sick die elck can soetelijck vleijen/Mette[n] monde en therde vol dobbelheijen. Loquax, [Clapachtichsot]: *Prodit lingua loquax stultu[m], facile tegat ip[se]/Stultitiam fatuus si tacuisse queat./De clappende tonghe can den sot betijg[h]en/Want sulx soth[heid] bedeckt bleef cost hij gezwijgen.**

³¹ *Superbus* [hooghveerdichsot]: *Solus ego bonus & sapiens nec dignor honore,/Que[m]q[ue] aliquo, pre me, na mihi nemo placet./Ic[k] en eere niemant, want ic[k] alleen ben goet en Wijs/Niemant en behaegt mij maer mij selven g[h] euic[k] den prijs. Ambitiosus [Eerghierichsot]: *Omnia presumo temerarius o[mn]ia de me/polliceor propriae laudis amore furens./Alle ding[h]en vermetick mij en beroeme mij seere/Want ic[k] ben rasende om mijn eijgen eere.**

³² 'Varie figure gobbi di Jacopo Callot', Nancy, [1616] 1621–1625. See for instance Amsterdam, RM, RP-P-OB-21.001.

and particularly *I Gobbi* and *I Balli*, are fundamental to the development of the caricature genre in the early seventeenth century.³³ Other cut and pasted etchings by or drawings after Callot can be found in contemporary Louvain lecture notes, which attests to the popularity of these satirical figures among the students.



FIG. 1

Superbus and *Ambitiosus*, pen drawings in Ludovicus van Colen, *Logica*, 1663–1664. Brussels, KBR, MS II 1249, fol. 291^v.

³³ Khan-Rossi 1993, pp. 263, 267. For the use of cut and pasted etchings by or drawings after Callot in other Louvain student notes, see van Vaeck & Verberckmoes 2012, pp. 196–204; Berger 2017, pp. 140–45.



FIGG. 3–4

Portrait of Pope Alexander VII and Chronograms, pen drawings in Ludovicus van Colen, *Logica*, 1663–1664. Brussels, KBR, MS II 1249, fols 22^r, 23^r.

of Louvain').³⁵ This drawing was presumably copied after an (unidentified) print issued by the University of Louvain on the occasion of Pope Alexander VII's election in 1655.

The seven portraits drawn by Van Colen do not seem to be related to the philosophical content of the notebook. Firstly, they fulfill an aesthetic role. Secondly, the drawn portraits were used to render the manuscript 'up to date' with references to the new Pope and to contemporary rulers. Thirdly, they play a structuring role in the manuscript, being placed at the end of sections or facing subtitles. It could either be hypothesized that the student, looking for a structuring principle, wanted to draw and used engravings that were at his disposal; or that Van Colen already was in possession of the engravings, which then inspired him to draw. In any case, the drawing practice is central in this volume. The student could have simply pasted or inserted the printed images, but decided instead to draw the compositions, marking his willingness to devote time to decorating and structuring his manuscript. The engravings on which the sketches are made were issued by or after Antwerp artists and publishers *c.* 1650–1663: Coenraet Waumans (fl. 1633–1661), Frederik Bouttats the Elder (fl. 1612–1661), Cornelis Meyssens (fl. 1660–1661), Martinus van den Enden (fl. 1630–1654), Theodoor van Merlen I (fl. 1624–1659), Joannes Meyssens (fl. 1640–1670), and Adriaen Possemiers (fl. in Ghent until 1685).³⁶

Finally, numerous representations of animals, historical and mythological scenes were based on engravings made by Antwerp artists in the late sixteenth century. A folded leaflet (fol. 132^r) contains a dense illustration of Orpheus charming the animals by playing the lyre. It is based on a plate by Adriaen Collaert (1560–1618) after Adam van Noort (Antwerp, 1570–1618).³⁷ Interestingly, the student signed this drawing – and only this one, among the forty or so drawings by his hand in the *Annotata*.

³⁵ I am grateful to Caroline Supply (UCLouvain) for her help in translating these Latin sentences.

³⁶ See for instance Amsterdam, RM, RP-P-1910–4512; RP-P-1908–862; RP-P-1905–4827; RP-P-1905–4823; London, British Museum, 1923,0129.22; 1923,0129.18; 1923,0129.26.

³⁷ Leesberg & Balis 2005, V, p. 137, cat. 1170. See for instance Amsterdam, RM, RP-P-BI-6083.

With the central mention *Ludovicus van Colen fecit*, the Louvain student presents himself as the creator of this image.³⁸ He asserts his position as an artist in addition to being the writer of his notes. Van Colen is certainly a talented draftsman, practicing his art on multiple occasions and on different scales throughout his two volumes.

On fol. 183^r, a pen drawing depicting wildlife hanging two hounds similarly attests to the search for relaxation through hand-



FIG. 5

Wildlife hanging two hounds, pen drawing in Ludovicus van Colen, *Logica*, 1663–1664. Brussels, KBR, MS II 1249, fol. 183^r.

³⁸ Berger 2017, p. 138.

icraft (Figure 5).³⁹ The composition copies the background scene of an engraving made after Peeter van der Borch (c. 1532–1608) and published by Karel Collaert (1598–1654), *Topsy-turvy world*, c. 1599 (Figure 6).⁴⁰ The handwritten Latin text underneath is also copied from the engraving: *Ferarum & siluestrium bestiarum in uenatores & canes uenaticos ultio* (the French and Dutch translations in the engraving read: ‘Vengeance des bestes sauvages contre les chasseurs & chiens de chasse’. ‘Wraecke der wilde dieren teghen de iaghers ende iachthonden’). A stag as a judge on the left in the engraving was placed in the foreground by Van Colen to accommodate the vertical format of the page. A monkey playing a musical instrument was also added by the student. This shows the



FIG. 6

Anonymous after Peeter van der Borch, *Topsy-turvy world*, c. 1599, engraving published by Karel Collaert. Brussels, KBR, inv. SI7111.

³⁹ In addition, one can mention two large drawn folded leaflets depicting Roman emperors on horseback, KBR, MS II 1249, fol. 177r: *Nero*, fol. 316r: *Domitianus*. They are copied from the series *Imperatorum XII a Suetonio descriptorum effigies resque gestae*, made in 1587–1589 by Adriaen Collaert after Jan van der Straet and published by Philips Galle. See Leesberg & Balis 2005, V, p. 152, cat. 1184, p. 153, cat. 1190.

⁴⁰ Luijten 2004, cat. 200; Berger 2017, p. 138.

work involved in mounting and assembling the image, which was not an exact replica of the engraving.

In some cases, different drawings in the notebooks were created using details from the same engraving. Images were deconstructed before being reassembled in a new page layout to accommodate their new user. Engravings served as an iconographic repertoire from which the student could combine elements to form new compositions. The sketches were therefore not faithful copies but were the result of a creative process made by the draftsman. Six pen drawings of the *Annotata* were based on various plates from the series *Animalium Quadrupedum* by Adriaen Collaert, published by Theodoor Galle (1571–1633) in 1595–1599. For instance, the deer, elephant and lion depicted together on fol. 186^r are inspired by three different engravings from *Animalium Quadrupedum*, *Two elephants and rhinoceros*, *Deers*, and *Leopard and two lions*;⁴¹ while the two dogs and two monkeys depicted around the initial T in calligraphy on fol. 6^r are copied after three different engravings from the series ‘Dogs’, ‘Various animals’ and ‘Monkeys and cats’.⁴²

Dogs hunting a hare, a deer and a wild boar, an engraving by an unknown artist copied after Adriaen Collaert’s series *Bestiarum quadrupedum Viuae Icones*, offers a similar example of copying and mounting a printed image.⁴³ The three registers were copied entirely or partly, or were mixed and assembled with other iconographic motifs so as to be adapted according to the format

⁴¹ Leesberg & Balis 2005, VI, pp. 169–70, cats. 1464, 1469, 1470; Dackerman 2011, pp. 208, 212–13, cat. 45. For the series, see for instance Amsterdam, RM, RP-P-1905–5221 to RP-P-1905–5239.

⁴² Leesberg & Balis 2005, VI, pp. 171–73, cats. 1471, 1481, 1477. Additionally, the student borrowed another monkey from this latter engraving as well as the monkey from *Various animals*, already sketched on fol. 6^r, as models to decorate an initial L at the end of his volume (fol. 356^r). Yet another monkey, taken from Collaert’s *Monkeys* (Leesberg & Balis 2005, VI, p. 172, cat. 1476), embellishes an ornamental initial L on fol. 327^r. The landscape with a man hunting monkeys in the background of this print by Collaert was copied next to the first ornamental initial of the volume, a letter P (fol. 2^r). The inside of this letter P offers a synthesis of two background scenes of deer hunting from *Deers* (of which another detail had served as a model for fol. 186^r, as mentioned above).

⁴³ It was possibly published by Crispijn van de Passe I (1564–1637). Leesberg & Balis 2005, VI, p. 168, cats. 1462–1481 copy b. See for instance Amsterdam, RM, RP-P-2004-330-13.

and the space available on the pages. On fol. 122^r, two buildings, perhaps of the Louvain Faculty of Arts or the Falcon pedagogy, have been added to the hunting scenes.⁴⁴ Collaert's series present a veritable compendium of animal species across the globe, claiming to offer *uiuae icones*, true representations made from life. His works proved very popular through the seventeenth century and became an iconographic source for naturalists, print-makers and draftsmen, as is the case here.⁴⁵ Finally, four pen drawings in the *Annotata* (Figures 7–9) were created from two hunting scenes made by Philips Galle (1537–1612) after Jan van der Straet (1523–1605), *Hunting elephants* and *Hunting wolves with spears* (Figure 10).⁴⁶ The handwritten inscription *Sic canibus spiculis[ue] lupos sectantur agrestes* ('as they hunt wild wolves with their dogs and spears') added on fol. 154^r (Figure 7) is also copied from Galle's engraving.⁴⁷

The visual materials added by Ludovicus van Colen did not function as a visualization of the logical text. However, they certainly functioned as mnemonic devices. Manual activity helped with studying, as it participated in the appropriation of the subject matter. The visual components, adapted by the student himself from printed models, improved information retention, even though they were not directly related to the philosophical content. As part of a fixed page layout, they could serve to mark section breaks and identify sets and subsets of texts.

Note-taking was a keystone of Renaissance pedagogy, allowing for a long-term retention and accumulation of information.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ See also KBR, MS II 1249, fols 166^r, 305^r. The ruined tower on fol. 305^r perhaps refers to a building in Louvain.

⁴⁵ Dackerman 2011, pp. 209–10.

⁴⁶ The pen drawing on fol. 189^r is copied after the right part of *Elephant hunt*, from the series *In quibus omne genus uenationis, aucupij, piscatusque*, Antwerp, 1578. Leeßang 2008, III, p. 134, cat. 422; Sellink 2001, III, p. 245, cat. 520. See for instance RP-P-1891-A-16413. The three pen drawings on fols 154^r, 154^v, 189^r are based on elements taken from *Hunting wolves with spears* (background, central figure, and secondary figure, respectively), from the series *Venationes Ferarum, Auium, Piscium*, Antwerp, 1578 or later. Leeßang 2008, III, p. 136, cat. 430.

⁴⁷ The verse was written by Cornelis Kiliaan (1528–1607) of Duffel, poet and lexicographer, author of an important Dutch-Latin dictionary, *Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum*, 1574. The *Venationes* series was first issued in 1577, when Van der Straet met Philips Galle in Antwerp. The series was expanded in 1596.

⁴⁸ On the dictation practice in Louvain teaching, see Roegiers 2012.



FIGG. 7–9
Hunting scenes, three pen drawings in Ludovicus van Colen, *Logica*, 1663–1664. Brussels, KBR, MS II 1249, fols 154^r, 154^v, 189^r.



FIG. 10

Philips Galle after Jan van der Straet, *Hunting wolves with spears*, from the series *Venationes Ferarum, Avium, Piscium*, Antwerp, 1578 or after.

London, British Museum, inv. 1957,0413.93.

But it did not preclude reliance on visual elements as mnemonic aids. Page layout in both manuscript and print could also facilitate recall of material from the look of the page on which it appeared. In the eighteenth century, English writer Isaac Watts made explicit remarks about the value of visual cues in aiding recall: 'In such Cases wherein it may be done, seek after a local memory or a remembrance of what you have read by the Side or Page where it is written or printed'.⁴⁹ Watt's notion of 'local memory' involved recalling a passage from its place on a page. As Ann M. Blair underlines, we may still experience such recall today for texts read on paper, but the effect is often lost in digital media given the variability of display on a screen.⁵⁰

Secondly, engaging in handicraft was a creative pastime aimed to amuse the student and lighten the study process. Through drawing, a sense of *hilaritas* was added for relaxation and recrea-

⁴⁹ Quoted in Blair 2010, p. 76.

⁵⁰ Blair 2010, p. 77.

tional purposes. But the practice could also have been used as a stimulation for learning. The student, busy drawing, was in contact with the material being taught, retained the text surrounding the images and recalled the order and layout of the content through them. Thus, the functions of memory and amusement were not mutually exclusive but were fulfilled together.

Finally, the drawing practice transformed a learning tool into a fine visible reminder of the years spent at university. This was certainly the case for Van Colen's manuscripts, which constitute a tangible testimony of his study years. In this sense, they can be paralleled with the genre of *alba amicorum*.⁵¹ The *album amicorum* (friendship book) is a personal notebook in which drawings, poems and autographs from friends were collected. Such documents were typically compiled during study trips. The tradition developed as many students made an academic tour and visited multiple universities throughout Europe. Ornate student notebooks such as Van Colen's display the same combination of texts and images, assembled not only for a pedagogical purpose but also for a symbolic one. These two functions were exercised in two distinct temporalities: the present time, of study, and the future time, of remembrance and a visible sign of one's university status.

4. *A Manuscript of 1744: Jesuit affixiones as Visual Sources*

A manuscript in dialectics dated 1744 provides an interesting case study for exploring another variation of the student drawing practices. As with Van Colen's manuscripts, this volume contains ink drawings that are the result of a combination of several visual sources, a bricolage made by the student himself. The manuscript, kept at the Maurits Sabbe Library in Louvain, is entitled *Dialectica siue ad logicam manuductio* (MS PM0334).⁵² On fol. 1^r, an engraving depicting Saint Catherine was pasted on a pen drawing, which was then covered.⁵³ The manuscript also contains a colored

⁵¹ D'Haenens 1994, p. 409.

⁵² Fol. 218 contains the mention *anno 1744*. The manuscript might have formed part of the book collection of the old Jesuit College in Ghent (see van Vaeck & Verberckmoes 2012, p. 205).

⁵³ The printed image is signed by Louis Crepy, a French engraver (1680–after 1754). The first frontispiece, a personification of *Dialectica* drawn in pen, is

engraving of the *Arbor Porphyrri* (fol. 100^r), two logical diagrams in pen drawing (*tabula oppositarum* and *tabula equipollentium*, fols 135^v and 143^v), as well as fourteen full-page grisaille ink drawings in black and grey wash and a colored gouache at the end of the text.⁵⁴ These drawings are the result of a montage and their insertion plays a role not only in structuring the student notes, but also in visualizing the teaching through humorous depictions, as I will show in this section.

The anonymous student used a first source of inspiration to design the pen drawings in his *Dialectica* notebook.⁵⁵ For ten of his drawings, the student borrowed compositions or parts of compositions from two volumes of *affixiones* of the Jesuit College in Brussels.⁵⁶ These *affixiones* were public exhibitions of emblems that Jesuit pupils produced each year to mark religious festivities. At the end of the exhibition, an artist was appointed to copy the *picturae* in gouache onto a smaller format, with a calligrapher carefully noting the textual elements of the emblems.⁵⁷ A collection of volumes commemorating these exhibitions was compiled between 1630 and 1685 and kept at the time in the college's main library. The student probably had access to the *Bibliotheca Maior* of the Jesuit College, where he must have studied previously, and was able to consult certain volumes to create his own drawings.⁵⁸

slightly visible on the back of the page. The drawing was inspired by an engraving frequently found in Louvain logic manuscripts, itself copied from an engraving by Jan Sadeleer I (1550–1600) after Maarten de Vos (1532–1603), *Dialectica* (from the 'Seven Liberal Arts' series, after 1575). It is still possible to decipher the words *Ars disserendi* and *Dialectica* handwritten above and below the covered drawing.

⁵⁴ Pen drawings: fols 9^r (*Virtualiter*), 10^v (*Virtualiter*), 12^v (*De certitudine morali*), 14^v (*Lapis per se centrum petit, per accidens caput hujus hominis*), 17^v (*Cæcitas quid positivæ, quid negativæ*), 22^r (*De hedera*), 31^v (*De concretis*), 40^v (*De uniuocis*), 42^v (*ros marinus et ros matutinus*), 43^r (*De æquiocis*), 50^v (*De repugnantiâ*), 52^v (*De contradictorijs*), 154^v (*De diuisione*), 196^v (*In baroco*), 232^r (*Finis coronat opus*).

⁵⁵ Van Vaeck & Verberckmoes 2012, pp. 206–11.

⁵⁶ Drawings in Brussels, KBR, MS PM0334, fols 9^r, 10^v, 14^v, 22^r, 42^v, 154^v correspond to Brussels, KBR, MS 20.325 (1673), fols 61^v, 95^v, 103^v, 91^v, 38^v, 93^v, respectively. Drawings in Brussels, KBR, MS PM0334, fols 12^v, 31^v, 196^v, 232^r correspond to Brussels, KBR, MS 20.326 (1682), fols 20^v, 40^v, 64^v + 104^v, 14^v, respectively. No convincing source was found for fol. 17^r: *Cæcitas*.

⁵⁷ On the tradition of *affixiones*, see Porteman 1996; Van Houdt & van Vaeck 2003; Ems 2016, I.

⁵⁸ Van Vaeck & Verberckmoes 2012, p. 208.

The two volumes of *affixiones*, dated 1673 and 1682, are now held in the Royal Library of Belgium.

The *Dialectica* drawings are not faithful copies of original images, but rather a work of montage based on multiple sources, being sometimes themselves copies from previous compositions. Details were added or subtracted to suit the title of the philosophy (sub) chapter. For instance, the drawing on fol. 196^v (Figure 11) seems to be based on two different sources. On a formal level, it was designed after two *affixiones*, and on a meaning level, after an engraving published by Michael Hayé. The drawing shows a drunk man spitting out liquor while, alongside him, his companion seems to dislike engaging in pipe-smoking. It illustrates the syllogism *Baroco*⁵⁹ and can be paralleled with Hayé's print *Syllogismo in Baroco*



FIG. 11

In baroco, grisaille ink drawing in *Dialectica sive ad logicam manuductio*, 1744. Louvain, KU Leuven Libraries Maurits Sabbe Library, MS PM0334, fol. 196^v.

⁵⁹ In Aristotelian logic, Baroco is a mnemonic word used to memorize a syllogism. Specifically, it has the first proposition universal and affirmative, but the second and third particular and negative, and the middle term the attribute in the

depicting a vomiting student (Figure 12). In the sixteenth century the term *Baroco* shifted beyond philosophy and began to be used to describe uselessly complicated reasoning. Early sources associated the term with complexity, confusion, and excess.⁶⁰



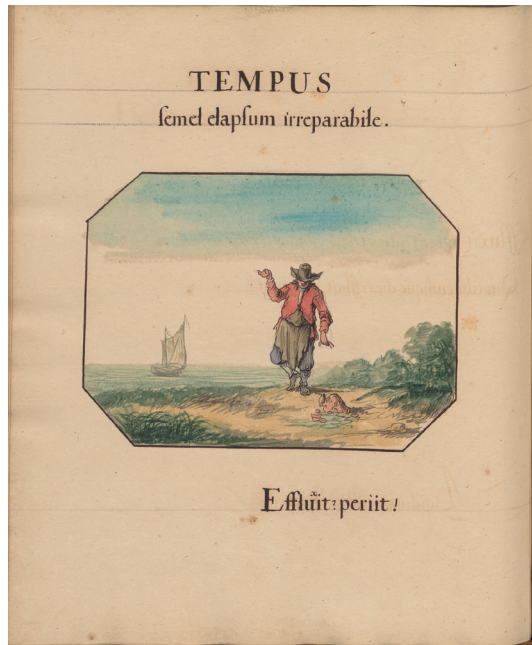
FIG. 12

De syllogismo in baroco, in Georgius Jodoigne, Petrus de Molder & Joannes Van Esse, *Logica*, 1677–1678, engraving published by Michael Hayé. Louvain, KU Leuven Libraries Special Collections, MS 250, fol. 162r.

The pen drawing seems to suggest that the student felt he had taken in a bit too much of the complex reasoning being taught. The next page contains a piece of advice to continue practicing the various forms of reasoning: *habes hic singulorum exempla, in quibus exercere te crebro debes, si uelis egregius euadere philosophis* ('Here you find examples of some syllogisms, in which you must

two first. In other words, a syllogism in Baroco consists of a proposition such as: all P is S, and some F is not S, so some F is not P.

⁶⁰ Vincent 2019, pp. 233–59.



FIGG. 13–14
Album of *affixiones* (*Deo aeterno haec de aeternitate emblemata symbolica*),
1682. Brussels, KBR, MS 20.326, fols 64^r and 104^v.

often practice, at least if you want to ascend in an excellent manner to the same height as the philosophers', fol. 197^r).⁶¹ If the idea was taken from Hayé's print, the two figures were drawn after two men depicted in *affixiones* from MS 20.326 (Figures 13–14). The man on the left was drawn after the figure in MS 20.326, fols 64^v–65^r (*Effluxit: perit!*), and the student has added a jug in his left hand, as well as a spout illustrating the act of vomiting; the man on the right is reminiscent of the figure in MS 20.326, fols 104^v–105^r, but the soap bubbles denoting the transience of life (*Nascimur & morimur*) in the *affixio* have been replaced by a pipe in *Dialectica*.⁶² The drawing thus evokes student life and its excesses, here associated with the title *In Baroco*. The depiction faces the title *Caput quintum. De principiis et regulis syllogismi simplicis* ('Fifth chapter. On the principles and rules of the simple syllogism'), a chapter which includes the syllogism in Baroco. The student made a montage from several images, picking out the elements that interested him to produce a result that suited the philosophical subject covered in his classes.

Another pen drawing from *Dialectica* shows two gardeners tending a potted tree (Figure 15). Here as well, the student takes inspiration from an *affixio* of the 1673 volume (Figure 16) only for its formal aspect, but he changes the original text – and therefore the meaning of the emblem.⁶³ The title under the pen drawing reads: *ros marius ros matutinus*. *Rosmarius* appears to be sometimes attested as a plant name, probably as a doublet of *rosmarinus* (rosemary).⁶⁴ The title, associated with the depiction of gardeners at work, could be translated as 'rosemary and morning dew'. The sun causing the dew on the left of the composition was added by the student and might have been invented by him or taken from another emblematic source.⁶⁵ The depic-

⁶¹ Van Vaeck & Verberckmoes 2012, p. 206, n. 15.

⁶² On the 1682 album of *affixiones*, see Porteman 1996, pp. 162–63.

⁶³ On the 1673 album of *affixiones*, see Porteman 1996, pp. 160–61.

⁶⁴ Database of Latin Dictionaries. See for instance a Jesuit book (Fabri 1677, p. 78), in which *rosmarius* is listed alongside *oregano*. However, *marius* is not an adjective attested in Latin. I am grateful to Aline Smeesters (UCLouvain) for her help in translating this Latin phrase and the sentence mentioned in conclusion.

⁶⁵ The emblematic literature usually depicts stars causing the dew (which in turn generates pearls, according to ancient postulates in natural history). See Smeesters 2017, p. 454.

tion is not facing a chapter title but another pen drawing, *De aequiuocis*. The two drawings appear in an article on the terms unequivocal, equivocal and analogical (*Articulus sextus. De termino uniuoco, aequiuoco et anallogo*, fols 41^r–49^v). The image of equivocation shows a dog, a fish, and a star, referring to Aristotle's (384–322 BCE) definition of the term, denoting things that have a name in common and a different definition of their substance. According to the Greek philosopher's interpreters, the Latin word *canis* can signify a dog, or a dogfish, or the Dog Star.⁶⁶ The pen drawing is based on a print by Hayé, itself copied after details from two thesis broadsides by Martin Meurisse (1584–1644) in 1614 (*Artificiosa totius logices descriptio*) and 1622 (*Typus necessitates logicae ad alias scientias capessendas*).⁶⁷



FIG. 15

Ros marius et ros matutinus, grisaille ink drawing in *Dialectica sive ad logicam manuductio*, 1744. Louvain, KU Leuven Libraries Maurits Sabbe Library, MS PM0334, fol. 42^v.

⁶⁶ Berger 2017, p. 163.

⁶⁷ On the iconographic program of the thesis prints designed by Martin Meurisse, see Berger 2017, and specifically about their influence on Louvain printed material, see pp. 161–65.



FIG. 16

Album of *affixiones* [*Adversitas/prosperitas*], 1673. Brussels, KBR, MS 20.325, fols 38^v–39^r.

In this case, the student combined different emblematic elements taken from gouaches and printed images and added to his drawings short titles evoking the subject matter or even matching the section titles. He therefore created new compositions directly in line with the content of the course in logic. Through its aspect of montage, the drawing practice offered the student a place for creativity when note-taking was a different process, reproducing faithfully a fixed content which was the same for all. Furthermore, this example shows the influence of Jesuit visual culture, notably with the presence of good humor, which was part of their education and pastoral care. College plays but also *affixiones* could include funny confrontations between words and images and in the Low Countries, emblematics were considered by important writers an amusing genre (*genus iocosum*).⁶⁸

Secondly, six ink drawings in the 1744 manuscript are inspired by the printed materials available on the Louvain print market.⁶⁹ More specifically, the student used emblematic engrav-

⁶⁸ Porteman 1996, p. 44.

⁶⁹ For fol. 40^r: *De uniuocis*, see *Quid sunt uniuoca* (1st state in *Firmamentum Symbolicum*, p. 116); fol. 43^r: *De aequiuocis*, see *De equiuocis* (Michiel Haye exc. P. Huybrechts fecit); fol. 50^v: *De repugnantia*, see *Repugnantia* (first stated in

ings sold by Michael Hayé as models. In the 1660s, Hayé bought to the Antwerp printer Michiel Cnobbaert (fl. 1652–1706) the copperplates made for two emblematic publications, Hendrik Engelgrave's (1610–1670) *Lux Euangelica sub uelum sacrorum emblematum* (1648), and Sebastianus a Matre Dei's *Firmamentum symbolicum* (1652). Hayé used these two sets of copperplates to sell prints on loose leaflets to university students. As of 1667, the *picturae* were accompanied by the title of a philosophical chapter.⁷⁰ In *Dialectica*, the pen drawing on fol. 52^v depicts a sundial placed between the sun and a starry night (Figure 17). The title *De contradictoriis* written under the representation explains this contradictory association of day and night. The drawing was inspired by an engraving by Hayé with the same title.⁷¹ It was frequently inserted in student notes of logic, in chapters devoted to contradictory propositions (Figure 18). The Louvain engraver reused the *pictura* of emblem 42 in *Lux Euangelica* (Figure 19). In Engelgrave's publication however, the image had a religious meaning as it was accompanied by a quote by Matt. 6. 24: 'No one can serve two masters' (*Matth. 6. Nemo potest duobus dominis seruire*). The emblem highlighted the fact that one must be devoted to one God.

The practice of combining multiple emblematic devices to create one image can be found in other student notes as well. For instance, in *Dialectica* (1701–1703, private collection, fol. 20^r), the student Joannes Peeters created an original composition by combining two images taken from Hendrik Engelgrave's *Lux Euangelica* (1648) and already used in previous university notebooks to denote a logical content.⁷² So there is at the same time

Lux Euangelica [1648], 1654, p. 576); fol. 52^v: *De contradictorijs*, see *De contradictoriis* (first stated in *Lux Euangelica* [1648], 1652, p. 414); fol. 154^r: *De diuisione*, see *De rarefactione. Item de penetratione et separatione* (first stated in *Lux Euangelica* 1648, p. 41); fol. 196^v: *In baroco*, see *De sillogismo in baroco* (Apud Michaellem Haye Lovany). Hayé's engravings are listed in Vanpaemel et al. 2012, annexes 3 and 4.

⁷⁰ Van Vaecck 2006, p. 86.

⁷¹ This engraving also served as a model for another pen-and-ink drawing made by a student a few years later: Brussels, KBR, MS II 3376, *Dialectica*, Van Muijsen, 1761, fol. 52.

⁷² See de Mûelenaere & Bielak 2025. This manuscript is mentioned in 550 jaar Universiteit Leuven (1976), p. 135; d'Haenens 1994, p. 438.



FIG. 17

De contradictoriis, grisaille ink drawing in *Dialectica sive ad logicam manuductio*, 1744. Louvain, KU Leuven Libraries Maurits Sabbe Library, MS PM0334, fol. 52^v.



FIG. 18

De contradictoriis, in Petrus van Gils & Petrus Clijmans, *Dialectica*, 1705, engraving published by Michael Hayé. Louvain, KU Leuven Libraries Maurits Sabbe Library, MS PM0478, fol. 49^v.

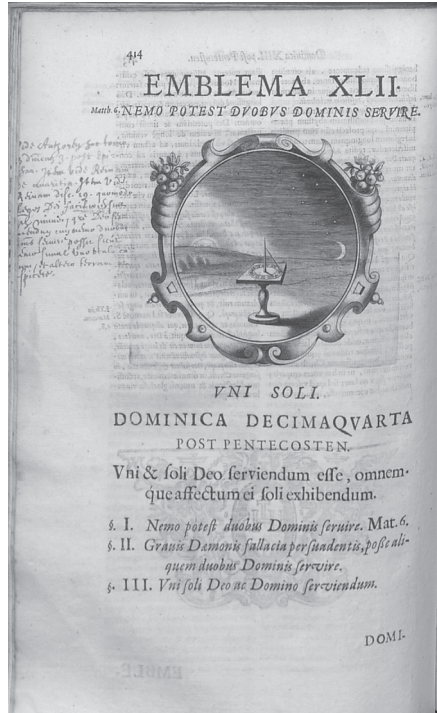


FIG. 19

Emblema XLII, in Hendrik Engelgrave, *Lux Euangelica sub velum Sacrorum Emblematum*, Antwerp, 1652, part. 2, 414. Antwerp, Ruusbroecgenootschap, inv. 3069 A 1.

a recycling aspect and a creative dimension to this approach. The assemblage and reuse of iconographic motifs, either by keeping or changing the meaning of the original image, is characteristic of the emblematic process. Daniel Russell defines this emblematic process ‘as a framing practice used for cutting fragments from traditional works or corpora and shaping them into new configurations of meaning as determined by the framing text’.⁷³ The interpretation of the image is modified by its new adjacent text and context of display. The practice of emblematics was encouraged by the Jesuit Order for pedagogical purposes, as we saw previously with the *affixiones* tradition in the Jesuit College of Brussels, but also through the numerous devotional and moral-

⁷³ Russell 2009, p. 7.

izing emblematic publications by members of the Order, particularly in the Southern Netherlands.⁷⁴ The Jesuit investment in images, whether verbal or visual, was strong and may even be identified as a defining characteristic of the Order.⁷⁵ It is likely that the Louvain students who added inventive representations in their notebooks had received a visual training, possibly from the Jesuits, and perpetuated this use of images during their university curriculum.

5. Conclusion

Often rooted in allegorical and emblematic modes but also pertaining to ornamental, religious, or satirical languages, images incorporated in Louvain lecture or student notebooks helped students to retain information by stimulating their imagination and by combining visual pleasure and utility. They functioned as mnemonic devices, served as a fight against boredom, could contain evidence of student life or political statements, constituted a way for students to develop their artistic skills, and allowed for customization with the addition of personal information (via coats of arms, symbols of the pedagogies, references to their home towns) or with the imitation of book practices (through drawn title pages, ornamental cartouches and vignettes, visual chronograms).

A main feature of the drawn images added by Louvain students in their logic notebooks is the *hilaritas*, the sense of humor that they often conveyed. The use of images in lecture notebooks illustrates the tension between the rigor and seriousness of studying on the one hand, and the need for relaxation on the other hand. References to such a lightness sometimes take the form of a criticism. For instance, a colophon written in *Dialectica*, fol. 18^r, reads: *Haec praecepta tibi data sunt seruanda, futurum/ne uanis pereant, tempus et hora jocos* ('These precepts have been given to you to preserve, so that your future time and your hours to come

⁷⁴ Daly 1999.

⁷⁵ Melion 2016, p. 7.

will not be lost in vain amusements’).⁷⁶ The importance of learning is emphasized, while ‘vain amusements’ are condemned as a waste of time. This disapproval of futile activities can be found in a number of other notebook images, including a popular engraving by Michael Hayé, *Pons asinorum*. It displays student distractions such as cards, dice, pots and pipes, hunting, tennis rackets, musical instruments, fashionable clothes.⁷⁷ At the top of the image, the student about to fall into the donkeys’ pond is holding a paintbrush and a palette of colors, which seems to include artistic activity as a futile pastime.

Additionally, the case studies developed in this article highlight the large number of visual sources available to students, mostly with the circulation of engravings by Antwerp artists but also through other media such as the *affixiones* in gouache to which the author of the 1744 *Dialectica* notebook had access. These examples also indicate, to some extent, the influence of the Jesuits on the image production and its use in academic frameworks. Student drawing practice could offer a direct (or allegorical) visualization of teaching, a structuring device, or sometimes a merely recreational activity. But even when operating at different levels, the drawings supplementing the text in these codices of logic played a role in the transfer of knowledge. As Karel Porteman emphasized in his study of emblematics in classical Jesuit teaching, the creative approach to the subject matter is the best method of learning.⁷⁸

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⁷⁶ This is an elegiac couplet, consisting of a dactylic hexameter verse followed by a pentameter verse.

⁷⁷ Papy 2012, pp. 117–18.

⁷⁸ Porteman 2000, p. 191.

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Abstract

At the Faculty of Arts of the Old University of Louvain, the practice of dictating lessons gave rise to the incorporation of pen drawings and prints in lecture notebooks, often called *dictata* in Latin. Representations in lecture notebooks, an integral part of student note-taking

ing from the late sixteenth to the late eighteenth century, constitute an important source of information about the content and methods of early modern university teaching and the organization of knowledge. The drawings could be either original compositions created by the student, or copies after prints on sale at Louvain printers and booksellers. Such ‘student images’ therefore oscillated between creation, imitation, and adaptation. In this contribution, I formulate the hypothesis of the value of drawing practices for the student codices, focusing on notebooks in logic. I present the diversity of their functions, from structuring and mnemonic to relaxation purposes, and I show how these functions participated in the learning process. Two claims open new perspectives. Firstly, the chapter draws attention to the freedom the students took in creating their drawings. More than mere variations of existing compositions, they are the fruit of a subtle game of montage and bricolage using a variety of visual sources. The second claim of this contribution concerns relaxation and *hilaritas* in relation to the transfer of knowledge. I argue that the visual aesthetics personally developed by students in their codices played a role in the study of logic.

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