

The library of an Irish Catholic émigré: Michael Moore's *bibliothèque*, 1726

Introduction

On 22 August 1726 Michael Moore, a retired Irish professor, died in his rooms at the Collège Royal de Navarre in Paris.¹ Five days later the local notary, Jean Fromont, and his assistants began drawing up an inventory of Moore's estate, before executing his will. Moore bequeathed property, money and goods to relatives in Ireland and France, to his servant, Louis Dammenville, and to educational institutions in Paris with which he had been associated, including the Nation d'Allemagne and the students of the Collège de Navarre. The greatest beneficiary was the Irish Collège des Lombards, which would receive Moore's most valuable material possession, his library.² At the time of his death, Moore possessed a large private library containing more than 1,261 volumes and in keeping with a growing trend in France, he decided to make it available to a larger reading audience.³ Fortunately the inventory of his goods compiled in late August and early September 1726 recorded the contents of part of the library, and provides an important insight into the reading tastes of a prominent Irish émigré scholar.⁴

1 On Michael Moore's career see: Patrick Boyle, 'Dr Michael Moore, sometime Provost of Trinity College and Rector of the University of Paris (A.D. 1640–1726)' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, 5 (1916), pp 7–16; Colm Connellan, 'Michael Moore (1640–1726)' in Fran O'Rourke (ed.), *At the heart of the real: philosophical essays in honour of the most reverend Desmond Connell, archbishop of Dublin* (Dublin, 1992), pp 261–70; Liam Chambers, 'Defying Descartes: Michael Moore (1639–1726) and Aristotelian philosophy in France and Ireland' in Michael Brown and Stephen Harrison (eds), *The medieval world and the modern mind* (Dublin, 2000), pp 11–26; idem, *Michael Moore (c.1639–1726): Provost of Trinity, Rector of Paris* (forthcoming). 2 Michael Moore's will, 10 April 1721, codicil to the will, 1 May 1721, second codicil to the will, 7 December 1723 (Archives Nationales, Minutier Central, Etude XVII/632, novembre–décembre 1723). These have been summarised in Liam Swords (ed.), 'Calendar of Irish material in the files of Jean Fromont, notary at Paris, May 1701–24 Jan. 1730, in the Archives Nationales, Paris: part 2, 1716–1730' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, 36–7 (1994–5), pp 111–13. On the use of wills as an Irish historical source, see: Ciaran O'Sceá, 'The devotional world of the Irish Catholic exile in early-modern Galicia, 1598–1666' in Thomas O'Connor (ed.), *The Irish in Europe 1580–1815* (Dublin, 2001), pp 27–48, especially p. 30, note 13. 3 Following the example of Mazarin, in the mid-seventeenth century, large private collections of books were increasingly made available to a wider public audience of students and scholars. See Roger Chartier, *The cultural uses of print in early modern France*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton, 1978), pp 190, 204–8. The library of the *Collège de Navarre* was open to selected members of the public. For contents, see 'Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque du Collège de Navarre, depose au greff de la chambre suivant l'arrest de la chambre du 29 Juin 1743' (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Latin 9371). For a broad overview of changing reading and publication patterns in the eighteenth century, see: Thomas Munck, *The Enlightenment: a comparative social history 1721–1794* (London, 2000), pp 76–105. 4 'Inventaire, Aoust, 1726' (A.N., M.C., ET/XVII/647). The list of books has been extracted from the inventory and reproduced below.

The inventory document⁵ begins by listing the executors of the will, the four *proviseurs* of the Collège des Lombards, and those present. Moore's will and codicils were recorded and a protest was lodged by Matthew Barnewall, an Irish priest of Jansenist sympathies, and Marguerite de la Hoyde that the provisions of the will were injurious to family members.⁶ The inventory proper begins with a list of Moore's belongings, primarily his furniture and clothes. These were valued at just over 280 *livres*, much less than his library.⁷ The bulk of the document deals with Moore's books.⁸ In the middle of the list of books a separate document was inserted which recognised Matthew Barnewall as *procureur* (agent) for Nicholas Wogan during the proceedings.⁹ Finally, the inventory also included three lists of Moore's papers, largely of a personal nature, including letters of naturalisation, papers relating to his publications and promissory notes from Irish and French persons who had borrowed money from Moore.¹⁰

It can be assumed that most Irish students and scholars in Paris and other educational centres in Europe owned at least a few books. Paris was an important point of origin for Catholic bibles that were imported into Ireland in the eighteenth-century. Moreover, European religious writing constituted a sizeable chunk of Irish catholic reading material. Irish clerics with continental connections, such as Luke Wadding, imported large amounts of pious and devotional material.¹¹ Richard Moore, an Irish priest who died in Paris in 1723, left behind possessions worth just over fifty *livres*. Despite his apparent poverty (his heir waived his right to the belongings since they were 'more onerous than profitable'), Richard Moore owned twenty volumes, 'books of devotion, for ecclesiastical use, valued at 10 *livres*.'¹² Jean Fromont's notarial files also contains a list of over fifty titles belonging to John Courtin, mostly of a religious nature. Courtin's books were deposited, for safety, with Daniel Sullivan in Paris, while the owner travelled to Ireland. If he died they were to be donated to the Collège des Lombards.¹³ While book ownership by Irish clergy on the continent was unrestricted, it must have been more difficult for clergy in Ireland to amass a sizable library, at least in the early eighteenth century. For instance, Hugh Fenning has noted that when Edmund Byrne, the archbishop of Dublin, died in 1723, he appears to have possessed no library at all.¹⁴

5 Ibid. The pages of the 'inventory' are not foliated and comprise, in fact, three distinct documents. Folio references, therefore, have been inserted by the present author. They represent the order of the document, as it exists in the archives. The main document covers ff 1-6, 9-16. A separate document granting Matthew Barnewall the right to represent Nicholas Wogan occupies ff 7-8. The final document, a list of some of Moore's papers, covers ff 17-19. 6 Ibid., ff 1-2. 7 Ibid., ff 2-5. 8 'Inventaire, Aoust 1726' (A.N., M.C., ET/XVII/647), ff 5-6, 9-14. 9 Ibid., ff 7-8. 10 Ibid., ff 14-19. 11 Kennedy, 'French language books in eighteenth-century Ireland: dissemination and readership', i, pp 406-8; Gillespie, 'The circulation of print in seventeenth-century Ireland', pp 48-9. 12 Swords (ed.), 'Calendar of Irish material in the files of Jean Fromont . . . part 2, 1716-1730', pp 108-9. 13 Liam Swords (ed.), 'Calendar of Irish material in the files of Jean Fromont, notary at Paris, May 1701-24 Jan. 1730, in the Archives Nationales, Paris: part 1, 1701-15' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, 34-5 (1992-3), p. 80. 14 Hugh Fenning, 'The archbishops of Dublin, 1693-1786' in James Kelly and Dáire Keogh (eds), *History of the Catholic diocese of Dublin* (Dublin, 2000), p. 185.

There is some evidence that during his lifetime Moore provided access to his books, notably for other members of the Irish ecclesiastical community in exile. While imprisoned in the Bastille between June 1712 and November 1713, for the distribution of Jansenist literature, Matthew Barnewall had Moore's copy of Maldonat's work on the evangelists. Barnewall's attempt to return the volume from his prison cell appears to have been successful, since it figures in the list of 1726.¹⁵ Moore's decision to bequeath his library to the Irish Collège des Lombards represented an extension of this policy. In his will he commented:

J'ay deja donne par donation entre vifs quelque chose au College des Lombards que je confirme par ce testament en cas qu'elle en ont besion et de plus je donne tous mes livres et ce qui appartient a ma bibliotheque, globes et autres choses au dit college avec ma pendule pour la bibliotheque.¹⁶

It is important to note that Moore considered his books as a '*bibliothèque*' rather than a loose collection of volumes scattered around his lodgings. He envisaged that the library would be used by the Collège des Lombards, though he did not specifically state that the books would be housed there. At the time of his death the library of the Irish college was in a state of disrepair, 'no more than a shapeless pile of books, of dust, of ordure and broken bookcases.' As a result of the financial assistance of Nicolas-Guillaume Bautru, Abbé de Vaubrun, the library was refurbished around 1730.¹⁷ But by the late eighteenth century, the college library was actually smaller than Moore's personal library. Luc-Vincent Thiery simply described the library as 'small' in 1787, while John Baptiste Walsh, the *commisaire* of the Collège des Lombards, stated in 1790 that 'the library contains about 1,000 volumes, given by different individuals.'¹⁸ Thiery was more impressed by the library of the other Irish College in Paris, the Collège des Irlandais, which opened to students in the 1770s, and it is conceivable that some of Moore's books were moved there.¹⁹

¹⁵ De Barneville à Mr Huré, 30 Juin [1712] (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Archives de la Bastille, MS 10602, ff 130-1). ¹⁶ 'I have already given, by donation *inter vivos*, something to the *Collège des Lombards*, which I confirm by this testament in case it [the college] has any need of it and, moreover, I give all my books and that which belongs to my library, globes, and other things to the said college with my clock for the library.' Michael Moore's will, 10 April 1721 (A.N., M.C., ET XVII/632, novembre-décembre 1723). ¹⁷ Quotation taken from Patrick Fagan's 'Précis of the Reply of Messrs Bourke and Daton, Provisors of the Irish College Paris to the Memoir of the Irish Priest-Students of the same college' [1736] in Patrick Fagan (ed.), *Ireland in the Stuart Papers, 1719-1765* (Dublin, 2 vols, 1995), i, p. 226. ¹⁸ See: Liam Swords (ed.), 'History of the Irish College, Paris, 1578-1800. Calendar of the papers of the Irish College, Paris' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xxxv (1980), pp 179-80; Maurice Caillet, 'La bibliothèque du Collège des Irlandais et son fonds des livres anciens' in *Mélanges de la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne*, tome II, Paris 1991, p. 152. ¹⁹ Caillet, 'La bibliothèque du Collège des Irlandais et son fonds des livres anciens', p. 152; Robert Amadou, 'Saint-Ephrem-des-Syriens du Collège des Lombards à nos jours' in *Mémoires de la Fédération des sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et l'Île de France*, 37 (1986), p. 33 and n. 93-4. The libraries of both the Collège des Lombards and the Collège des Irlandais were dispersed during the French Revolution. The library of the modern Collège des Irlandais was restocked in the nineteenth century and contains only a very small number

Library lists provide a crucial source for the historian of books and reading, but like all sources they also raise problems. Walter Harris, writing in the eighteenth century, raised one problem specific to the present source:

He [Moore] was blind some years before his death, and obliged to keep a person to read to him, who made him pay dear for his trouble, by imbezelling [*sic*] and selling many hundred volumes of his choice library; the remainder of which he bequeathed to the Irish College . . .²⁰

Harris mentions no particular source for this charge, but the likely culprit was Moore's servant, Louis Dammenvalle. If Harris was correct, then Moore's library may have been even larger than that which existed when he died in 1726. There is no reference to such a suspicion in the inventory document. However, Moore had effectively prevented the executors of his will raising the issue. In his 1721 will, he noted: 'Je ne pretends point toucher aux livres de mon domestique Louis Dammenvalle et je veux qu'on le croit a la parole, car il m'a toujours [servi] tres fidelement.'²¹ But, if Dammenvalle was so trustworthy why did Moore feel it necessary to include such a comment in his will? It suggests that Moore was aware of the suspicion that his domestic was stealing his books. Indeed it might be possible that Moore had asked Dammenvalle to remove some books from the collection, perhaps the books which may have cast a shadow on Moore's orthodox reputation. He certainly felt it necessary to protect Dammenvalle from the executors. The evidence on the matter is ambiguous, but some material, for whatever reason, may have been removed from Moore's library, before 1726.

There are more general problems with the inventory as a source material. The first concerns the extent to which the historian can actually make use of a private library to draw conclusions concerning its owner. As Canice Mooney commented in his edition of a list of Archbishop Piers Creagh's books, 'At any time to attempt to judge a man on his library alone is a risky proceeding, if due care is not exercised and all the factors of time, place, and background given full consideration.'²² Lists of books in *inventaires* such as Moore's have been the staple diet of French historians in their attempt to construct a history of private reading habits during the *ancien régime*. But French historians have approached this material with caution. As Roger Chartier has noted

The significance of the owned book remains uncertain as well: was it personal reading matter or an inherited keepsake? Was it a working aid or a valued object that was never touched? Was it a bosom companion or

of books from the earlier establishments. See: Maurice Caillet, 'The library of the Collège des Irlandais in Paris' in *The Long Room*, 42 (1997), pp 16–18. ²⁰ Sir James Ware, *The whole works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland, revised and improved*, ed. Walter Harris (2 vols, Dublin, 1739–45), i, p. 288. ²¹ 'I do not claim to touch the books of my servant Louis Dammenvalle, and I want people to believe him at his word, because he has always served me very faithfully.' Michael Moore's will, 10 April 1721, (A.N., M.C., ET XVII/632, novembre–décembre 1723). ²² Canice Mooney (ed.), 'The library of Archbishop Piers Creagh' in *Reportorium Novum*, i, 1 (1955), p. 139.

an attribute of social appearances? The dry entries of the notarial style give us little help here. In sum, it is clear that all the books people read were not the books they owned. . . . Estate inventories thus cannot tell us the whole story. Nevertheless, by the massive amount of data they provide, they offer an opportunity for preliminary categorization, and they permit us to test comparisons and to sketch evolving changes.²³

Above all, the original function of the inventory record poses a problem for the historian. The notary and his assistants were not interested in the state of their subject's reading habits and library for their own sake: they were concerned with estimating the value of the deceased's estate. For this reason few notarial records present a complete list of all the subject's books. The notary concentrated on volumes that were of significant value. These were listed individually, while the remaining volumes were recorded in packets or lots. Often, the convention was to record the number of volumes in a bundle of unnamed books and then to label them, for instance, books of devotion or novels. In this way, we can determine the size of Moore's library, but have limited information on the titles collected.²⁴

Moore's library was large by contemporary standards, containing more than 1,261 volumes, though only a proportion of these were listed individually by the notary and his assistants. 439 volumes were described title by title, accounting for 277 titles in total.²⁵ A further 832 volumes were described in packets. They were not given a generic description. The notary recorded the most interesting title or author present in each lot. For example a typical entry runs: 'Item trois autres paquets dont symachii opera composant ensemble quarante cinq volumes in quatro'. These three 'packets' of forty-five volumes were worth only ten *livres*.²⁶ In the course of describing these bundles, the notary recorded the title/author of a work in only fifteen cases.²⁷ In the case of the final entry on the library, comprising ten packets, the notary did not record the number of volumes or an author/title. Hence the library contained slightly more than 1,261 volumes. The individually listed volumes were valued at 500 *livres*, while the remaining works accounted for 163 *livres*.

In the process of listing, the notary often recorded only the name of an author and the number of volumes in the given work. This creates a particularly difficult problem for the identification of classical authors or fathers of

²³ Chartier, *The cultural uses of print in early modern France*, pp 184–5. Elsewhere Chartier points out that the accumulation of this material was a necessary prelude to further progress in the field of the history of reading, see: Roger Chartier, *The order of books: readers, authors, and libraries in Europe between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries* trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (London, 1994), pp 1–23.

²⁴ On the *inventaire après décès* and its use as a source material, see the comments of Michel Marion, whose study was based exclusively on this material: *Recherches sur les bibliothèques privées à Paris au milieu du xviiiè siècle (1750–1759)*, pp 45–51. The other possibility is a study based on catalogues of books for sale from an estate. See: Christiane Thomassery, 'Livres et culture cléricale à Paris au xviiiè siècle: quarante bibliothèques d'ecclésiastiques Parisiens' in *Revue Française d'Histoire du Livre*, 6 (1973), pp 281–300. ²⁵ Numbers 1–277 on the list. ²⁶ 'Inventaire, Aoust 1726' (A.N., M.C., ET/ XVII/647, f. 13). ²⁷ Numbers 278–292 on the list.

the church, as it is impossible to determine even the date or place of publication, not to mention the precise contents of the work in question. Therefore it is not possible to identify all the works. However, the title usually provides an indication of content. In fact, the list (numbers 1–277) has a certain internal logic. It appears that the books were sifted through before the inventory was compiled and divided into a number of identifiable categories: bibles, biblical commentaries and fathers of the church, theology and philosophy, classical writers and grammars, history and protestant authors. Other noteworthy subjects, which account for more than a few titles, include geography and travel guides, canon and civil law, as well as humanist writings.

Moore taught philosophy at the Collège des Grassins in the 1660s and 1670s, and at the Collège de France in the first two decades of the eighteenth century. It is therefore unsurprising to find a large number of philosophy and theology titles in the list, many of them reflecting Moore's Thomist leanings. In 1700 he published a *Hortatio* on the importance of Greek and Hebrew for the rejuvenation of catholic scholarship.²⁸ Ancient classical literature is well represented in the list, which also includes a rare Hebrew bible. Classical historians are also present, indeed after theology/philosophy, the list suggests that Moore's favourite reading material was history. As well as ancient, medieval and ecclesiastical histories, Moore owned works dealing with the history of France, England, Germany, Hungary, Denmark, Flanders, Turkey, Spain, Naples and Rome. In fact, according to one source, Moore contemplated writing a history of Ireland around 1691; his library provided him with many examples of the genre.²⁹ A final category merits mention. Moore's library contained a range of key protestant writers, among them Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Bullinger, Brontius and Osiander, as well as a number of French Huguenots. Clearly Moore's interest was apologetic, but his ownership of these authors was rare for a contemporary Irish or French catholic.

Some aspects of the list can be explained by the notary's selection criteria. The library, as revealed by this list, was almost completely filled with works published in Latin. Moreover, many of the books identified were published in the sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries. It can only be assumed that more recent material was deemed less valuable and therefore included in the lots mentioned at the end of the list. Certain categories were not represented, for example, non-classical literature, devotional material (though a few such titles do appear towards the end of the list) and breviaries. There are two titles relating to the University of Paris: César Égasse du Boulay's massive six-volume *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris, 1665–73), which, from its description, appears to have been a frequently consulted source and de Launoy's *Historia Collegii Navarrensis* (Paris, 1682). However, it is clear that material with which

²⁸ *Hortatio ad studium linguae Graecae et Hebraicae, recitata coram eminentissimo D.D. Marco Antonio Barbado* (Montefiascone, 1700). ²⁹ 'Cormac comharba Ciaráin', Dublin, to Michael Moore, Paris, 24 April 1690 [*sic* – 1691] (B.L., Add MSS 34,727, ff 159–62).

Moore was particularly familiar was not included, most importantly the writings of René Descartes or Pietro Pomponazzi, which we know Moore studied closely.³⁰ There appears to be nothing relating to the voluminous Cartesian and anti-Cartesian debates of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, with which Moore was intimately acquainted. Contemporary philosophical material, possibly cheaply produced, was obviously not considered to have great financial value. Furthermore, there is practically nothing in the library written by authors from Britain or Ireland, excepting John Sinnich, John Duns Scotus, Thomas Stapleton and Thomas More. Nor does the library contain any material published in Ireland. If he did possess books published in Ireland, or books by Irish authors produced on the Continent, they were not deemed of sufficient value to be listed by the notary. The list indicates that Moore's reading matter was strongly European in character. The impression that Moore's intellectual tastes were outdated may be, at least in part, attributable to the notary's criteria of selection. These prioritised older titles, which were usually the most valuable.

Very few library catalogues or lists of Irish Catholics have come to light for the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries and of those which have been published only the library of the late seventeenth century bishop of Ferns, Luke Wadding, was comparable in size to that of Moore.³¹ French comparisons also indicate the impressive size of Moore's collection. Of two hundred private libraries examined by Henri Jean Martin for the period 1665–1701, in his monumental study *Livres, pouvoirs et société à Paris au xviii^e siècle (1598–1701)*, the author found that only twelve held more than 1,000 volumes.³² Even by the mid-eighteenth century, the average Parisian library was smaller than Moore's, at 1,084 volumes.³³

A comparison with the five available libraries of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Irish ecclesiastics reveals little overlap with the library of Michael Moore.³⁴ Most promising in this regard are the libraries of Bishops Luke

³⁰ See: *De existentia Dei et humanae mentis immortalitate secundum Cartesii et Aristotelis doctrinam disputatio* (Paris, 1692). ³¹ Patrick J. Corish (ed.), 'Bishop Wadding's Notebook' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xxix (1970), pp 49–114. 'Almost seven hundred [books] are listed' (p. 53) in this document. ³² Henri Jean Martin, *Livres, pouvoirs et société à Paris au xviii^e siècle (1598–1701)* (2 vols, Genève, 1969), ii, p. 927. ³³ Michel Marion, *Recherches sur les bibliothèques privées à Paris au milieu du xviii^e siècle (1750–1759)* (Paris, 1978), p. 118. Marion notes that this average can be misleading given the disparities in the size of the libraries from which the data was derived. They varied from libraries with hundreds of volumes to huge collections, including one with more than ten thousand volumes. Irish libraries were generally quite small in the seventeenth century, but larger collections of over 1,000 books account for 38.9% of the total studied by Máire Kennedy. See Mary Elizabeth Kennedy, 'French language books in eighteenth-century Ireland: dissemination and readership' (PhD thesis, UCD, 1994), ii, p. 484, table three; Raymond Gillespie, 'The circulation of print in seventeenth-century Ireland' in *Studia Hibernica*, 29 (1995–7), pp 55–6. ³⁴ Corish, 'Bishop Wadding's notebook', pp 49–114; Mooney, 'The library of Archbishop Piers Creagh', pp 117–39; Hugh Fenning, 'The library of Bishop William Daton of Ossory, 1698', in *Collectanea Hibernica*, 20 (1978), pp 30–57; idem, 'The library of a preacher of Drogheda: John Donnelly, O.P. (d. 1748)' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, 18–19 (1976–7), pp 72–104; Pdraig Ó Suilleabháin, 'The library of a parish priest of the penal days' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, 6–7 (1963–4), pp 234–44. The library of one eighteenth-century Irish religious

Wadding and William Daton. Moore provided evidence for Daton at the latter's *processus datariae* in Rome before his appointment as bishop of Ossory in 1696. Daton was also a serious scholar and during the Jacobite period he had briefly occupied the post of rector at the short-lived Royal College of St Canice, at Kilkenny.³⁵ The available list of Daton's library is quite extensive at 170 titles. Daton and Moore both owned books by the church fathers, Basil and John Chrysostom, the historian Eusebius of Caesarea, the theology or philosophy of Becanus, Suárez, Aquinas and Toletus, as well as work by Sponde, Virgil, biblical material and a few other items.³⁶ At over 700 titles the library of Luke Wadding is closer to Moore's in size. However, in contrast to Moore's library, Wadding's contained a large amount of devotional pamphlet literature. The fact that so many of Wadding's books were in English also contrasts sharply with Moore's Latin-dominated collection. Only a small number of common titles or authors appear in both Wadding's and Moore's libraries. Apart from bibles and material on the council of Trent, these include Aquinas, Becanus (a mainstay of all the published libraries of contemporary Catholic clerics), Diana, Martial, Toledo, Cicero, Maldonat, Suárez, Stapleton, Aristotle and possibly Kellison and Contzen.³⁷

From the basic comparisons outlined above it will be immediately apparent that the points of contrast greatly outweigh the available points of convergence between Moore's library and those of his countrymen. Part of this can probably be explained by the partial nature of Moore's list. There were some widely read authors, Becanus being the most obvious example. However, the contrasting situations of the owners created differing patterns of book ownership. But even allowing for Moore's partial list, it is important to note that, leaving aside the library of Wadding for the moment, Moore's collection was more extensive and wide ranging than other libraries of early modern Catholic clerics. His command of foreign languages and collection of books on history, geography, philosophy, protestantism and humanism differentiates him. Even Wadding's list cannot rival the breadth and range of Moore's interests. To take two simple examples, of the six clerics for whom we have information, Moore was the only one to own a Hebrew bible or Greek New Testament. Moreover he was the only one to possess the writings of some of the most important protestant theologians.³⁸

community has also been edited: Hugh Fenning (ed.), 'The library of the Augustinians of Galway in 1731' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, 31–2 (1989–90), pp 162–95. For Catholic printing in eighteenth-century Dublin, see: Hugh Fenning, 'Dublin imprints of Catholic interest, 1701–1739' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, 39–40 (1997–98), pp 106–54; idem, 'Dublin imprints of Catholic interest: 1740–59' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, 41 (1999), pp 65–116; idem, 'Dublin imprints of Catholic interest: 1760–69' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, 42 (2000), pp 85–119; idem, 'Dublin imprints of Catholic interest: 1770–82' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, 43 (2001), pp 161–208. ³⁵ See John Leonard, *A university for Kilkenny: plans for a royal college in the seventeenth century* (Dublin, 1996). ³⁶ Fenning, 'The library of Bishop William Daton of Ossory, 1698', pp 30–57. ³⁷ Corish, 'Bishop Wadding's notebook', pp 49–114. ³⁸ See Raymond Gillespie, 'Reading the bible in seventeenth-century Ireland' in Bernadette Cunningham and Máire Kennedy (eds), *The experience of reading: Irish historical perspectives* (Dublin, 1999), pp 10–31.

It is in the context of French private libraries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that one is best able to analyse Moore's library. A number of French studies, based largely on *inventaires* for information, provide useful tools for general comparison between Moore's library and those of his contemporaries and near contemporaries. Perhaps the most important study of the book in *ancien régime* France is the work of Henri-Jean Martin on Paris. This includes a section on private libraries during the period 1665–1702. Michel Marion has examined private libraries in Paris during the period 1750–9, while Jean Quéniart had looked at private libraries in the north west of France, for the years 1697–8 and 1727–8. Thomassery's study, based on catalogues of sale, examines ecclesiastical libraries in eighteenth-century Paris.³⁹

Marion's study has shown that for the mid-eighteenth century period, professors, like Moore, were among the greatest owners of books, 75% owned books, 33% possessed a 'library'.⁴⁰ For the purposes of analysis it is best to compare Moore's collection to that of a much wider social group, the first estate, and in particular the urban clergy of Paris. Moore's library conformed in one important way to the general pattern of first estate private libraries of early eighteenth-century France: it was dominated by theology and history books. Thomassery's study of ecclesiastical libraries reveals that during the period 1706–40, 38% were composed of theology while history accounted for 32.5%.⁴¹ In the mid-eighteenth century theology was decreasing in popularity but still accounted for 22.29% of libraries, while history remained strong at almost 35%.⁴² While theology declined in popularity among the reading population, Quéniart has detected an important shift in the reading material of clerics in western France during the first decades of the eighteenth-century. Not only did ecclesiastics own more books, but the influence of the counter-reformation was becoming more strongly felt. This was accompanied by a new emphasis on uniformity and the importance of spiritual works and pastoral manuals.⁴³ In Paris too, Marion has noted that most theological tracts were pre-1700 publications, while a marked rise occurred in the ownership of works of piety.⁴⁴ Moore's list undoubtedly reflects the concerns of the counter-reformation, for instance in his possession of so many writings of the church fathers. But Moore's library remained an intellectual, not a pastoral collection. The fact that Moore owned theological tracts by non-catholic theologians marks him out too. In general, even by the mid-eighteenth century, an interest

³⁹ Martin, *Livres, pouvoirs et société à Paris au xviiiè siècle*, ii, pp 926–952; Marion, *Recherches sur les bibliothèques privées à Paris*; Jean Quéniart, *Culture et Société urbaines dans la France de l'ouest au xviiiè siècle* (Paris, 1978); Thomassery, 'Livres et culture cléricale à Paris au xviiiè siècle: quarante bibliothèques d'ecclésiastiques Parisiens', pp 281–300. ⁴⁰ Marion, *Recherches sur les bibliothèques privées à Paris*, p. 94. ⁴¹ Thomassery, 'Livres et culture cléricale à Paris au xviiiè siècle: quarante bibliothèques d'ecclésiastiques Parisiens', p. 287. ⁴² Marion, *Recherches sur les bibliothèques privées à Paris*, pp 136, 142, 173. ⁴³ Jean Quéniart, *Culture et Société urbaines dans la France de l'ouest au xviiiè siècle*, pp 193–202, 221ff. See also: Chartier, *The cultural uses of print in early modern France*, p.190 ⁴⁴ Marion, *Recherches sur les bibliothèques privées à Paris*, p. 141.

in other religions was exceptional, though clergy like Moore were expected to arm themselves with the resources for religious controversy.⁴⁵

Moore's collection of history books also differed from those of his contemporaries. Both Thomassery and Queniart have noted that, at least during the early eighteenth-century, collections of history tended to focus on the ancient world or the aristocracy, not on 'national histories'. This was particularly marked in the case of Parisian clerics, even allowing for the sizeable amounts of religious history. As Thomassery comments, 'Pour la reste, l'histoire profane est caractérisée par un fort attachement pour l'histoire ancienne et les sciences auxiliaires [especially geography] qui résistent face à la poussée des histoires nationales.'⁴⁶ Proportionately Moore's history collection was below average, but his possession of so many national histories was remarkable. In other categories, which account for a much smaller proportion of Moore's library, he conforms to the usual ecclesiastical model. For example, his collection has few books that could be categorised as 'belles lettres', while those literary titles which do appear are generally classical. Further, 'science et arts' is poorly represented. Both examples suggest a general clerical 'retard culturel', but this needs to be contextualised carefully.⁴⁷

Martin's study underlines the fact that Moore's possession of a Hebrew bible was exceptional, as was his ownership of two Greek New Testaments.⁴⁸ Martin's work also suggests what was missing from Moore's library and seems to confirm some of the general features already mentioned. Thus, while works of spirituality were increasingly popular in Paris during Moore's lifetime, they do not feature in his collection, despite the fact that Moore actively encouraged piety among the students in his care.⁴⁹ Also, literature is poorly represented in his collection, and Moore's history section has a stronger bias towards 'national' studies than those of his contemporaries. One surprising omission from Moore's library is any edition of the writings of Saint Augustine, the most popular of the fathers.⁵⁰

While the present study of a single library makes only general comparisons with the statistical material gathered on similar source material, it seems that Michael Moore's library was broadly similar to those of his ecclesiastical confreres of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, except for the paucity of devotional, pastoral and spiritual material in the Irishman's collection. However, spiritual titles may have been more plentiful in Moore's

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 135. ⁴⁶ 'For the rest, profane history is characterised by a strong attachment to ancient history and the auxiliary sciences which resists in the face of pressure from national histories.' Thomassery, 'Livres et culture cléricale à Paris au xviii^e siècle: quarante bibliothèques d'ecclésiastiques Parisiens', p. 290; Queniart, *Culture et Société urbaines dans la France de l'ouest au xviii^e siècle*, p. 327.

⁴⁷ Thomassery, 'Livres et culture cléricale à Paris au xviii^e siècle: quarante bibliothèques d'ecclésiastiques Parisiens', pp 290–1; Marion, *Recherches sur les bibliothèques privées à Paris*, pp 142–3.

⁴⁸ Martin, *Livres, pouvoirs et société à Paris au xviii^e siècle*, ii, p. 928. ⁴⁹ See: Liam Chambers, "'Knowledge and piety': Michael Moore's career at the University of Paris and *Collège de France*, 1701–20' in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, vol. 17 (2002), pp 9–25. ⁵⁰ Martin, *Livres, pouvoirs et société à Paris au xviii^e siècle*, ii, pp 926–952.

collection than the 1726 list reveals. The notary who drew it up concentrated on the works of value in the collection, simply bundling together the less valuable works, which probably included common spiritual and pastoral texts. The backwardness of Moore's library is more apparent than real. As Thomassery has noted, 'Il existe d'ailleurs une corrélation entre la part du Latin et l'âge de la bibliothèque.'⁵¹ Moore was largely in tune with his immediate French peers in the urban clergy. And, as Chartier has commented, 'In its upper ranks, the clergy did not exist in cultural isolation closed to all innovation, but it shared in the culture of other urban elites.'⁵²

The sheer size of this library, at over 1,200 volumes, marks Moore out as one of the most important intellectual forces among the Irish in Paris. It appears likely that Moore intended that his collection of books would form the basis of a library for the Irish Collège des Lombards, but as already pointed out, it is not clear if the college installed the collection or sold it. For Moore, as for other clerics, his library was the most important part of his testament. Michael Marion has perceptively noted that among the first *étatè*, there was little correlation between the ownership of books and the accumulation of wealth that was evident among other sectors of society. He writes, 'Remarquons . . . que les membres plus riches du clergé n'ont pas forcément plus de volumes dans leurs bibliothèques que les membres du clergé le moins fortunés; pour le clergé, le livre, la bibliothèque, n'est pas qu'un signe extérieur de richesse: c'est la richesse.'⁵³ Further research in French notarial archives for library lists and inventories is needed before a satisfactory history of the reading habits of Irish catholic clergy in the *ancien régime* can be attempted.

THE LIBRARY

[Source: Archives Nationales, Minutier Central, ET/XVII/647,
'Inventaire, Aoust 1726']

The following list of books has been extracted from the inventory of Michael Moore's estate, compiled in 1726. The sequence of the original document has been maintained. Each author and/or title has been assigned a number for ease of reference. A proportion of the authors and/or titles have been identified. The abbreviations in square brackets indicate the source of each note, where appropriate. Spelling, as it appears in the original document, has been retained. In a number of cases the document contains apparent spelling errors, probably due to the manner in which the titles were recorded by the notary. It

⁵¹ 'There is, moreover, a correlation between Latin and the age of the library.' Thomassery, 'Livres et culture cléricale à Paris au xviiiè siècle: quarante bibliothèques d'ecclésiastiques Parisiens', p. 293.

⁵² Chartier, *The cultural uses of print in early modern France*, p. 192. ⁵³ 'Let us observe . . . that the most wealthy members of the clergy do not inevitably have more volumes in their libraries than less wealthy members of the clergy; for the clergy, the book, the library, is not just an exterior sign of wealth; it *is* wealth.' Marion, *Recherches sur les bibliothèques privées à Paris*, p. 107.

is possible that one person called out the author or title of a work, while another wrote the information down, leading to errors. Numbers 1–277 in the present list were described individually in the original document. The remaining volumes were described in ‘packets’. In each case one author or title was recorded (numbers 278–292 in the present list). However, in the case of the final entry, comprising ten packets, neither an author/title nor the number of volumes was recorded.

I would like to express my thanks to Dr Thomas O'Connor, who supervised the work on which the present article is based, for his suggestions and advice. I would also like to thank Fr Hugh Fenning, who generously read and commented on previous drafts of this work and who made a number of identifications and helpful suggestions. Obviously, remaining errors or mistakes are my own responsibility.

ABBREVIATIONS:

- Augustinians Hugh Fenning (ed.), ‘The library of the Augustinians of Galway in 1731’ in *Collectanea Hibernica*, 31–2 (1989–90), pp 162–95.
- BAV Catalogue of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (telnet://librs6k.vatlib.it/).
- BL *British Museum general catalogue of printed books to 1955 compact edition* (27 vols, New York, 1967).
- BN *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (231 vols, Paris, 1897–1981); <http://catalogue.bnf.fr>
- Copac <http://www.copac.ac.uk> (A merged online catalogue of major UK and Irish university research libraries, plus the British Library and the National Library of Scotland)
- Daton Hugh Fenning (ed.), ‘The library of Bishop William Daton of Ossory, 1698’ in *Collectanea Hibernica*, 20 (1978), pp 30–57.
- Donnelly: Hugh Fenning (ed.), ‘The library of a preacher of Drogheda: John Donnelly, O.P. (d. 1748)’ in *Collectanea Hibernica*, 18–19 (1976–7), pp 72–104.
- DTC *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* (15 vols, Paris, 1903–50).
- Hurter *Nomenclator litterarius theologiae catholicae* (3rd edn, 5 vols, Innsbruck, 1903).
- NCE *New catholic encyclopedia* (17 vols, New York & London, 1967–79).
- Wadding Patrick Corish (ed.), ‘Bishop Wadding’s notebook’ in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xxix (1970), pp 49–114.
- Wickham Pádraig Ó Súilleabháin (ed.), ‘The library of a parish priest of the penal days’ in *Collectanea Hibernica*, 6–7 (1963–4), pp 234–44.

1. **biblia sacra un volume en latin et en francois,**
An edition of the Sixto-Clementine bible first published in 1592.
2. **Nouum Testament en deux volumes,**
Latin New Testament
3. **biblia hoebraica en deux autres volumes,**
Hebrew Bible
4. **et une bible latine et francoise en un volume,**
Latin and French Bible
5. **biblia sacra paguonini en trios volumes reliez en veau,**
Latin translation of the bible from Hebrew and Greek by Santes Pagnini (d. 1536) [BN].
6. **concordantiae bibliorum en un volume,**
Possibly Pierre de Besse, *Concordantiae bibliorum utriusque Testamenti generales . . . emendatae*, Paris, 1611 [Daton, 121].
7. **Nouum Testamentum de Beze en un volume avec des notes,**
Testamentum Novuum . . . Theodori Bezae Genevae, 1588 [BAV].
8. **Vetus Testamentum en trois volumes,**
Latin Old Testament
9. **nouum Testamentum graecum en un volume,**
Greek New Testament
10. **et alterum nouum testamentum graecum en un volume,**
Another Greek New Testament
11. **biblia sacra en six volumes,**
An edition of the Sixto-Clementine bible first published in 1592.
12. **Santius in reges in josué et in danielem en trois volumes,**
Gaspar Sanctius S.J., *Commentarii in quatuor libros regem*, Lyons, 1623 [Hurter, i, p. 314]. GS was author of other biblical commentaries.
13. **et bolduc in Job en deux volumes,**
Jacques Boulduc, capucin, *R. Patris Jacobi Bolduci, . . . commentaria in librum Job . . .* 1 vol, Paris, 1619 [BN]. A two-volume edition has not been identified.
14. **et Pineda in prophetas,**
Jean de Pineda (1558–1637) S.J., biblical scholar.
15. **Sancti Chrisostomi opera,**
St John Chrysostom (344/54–407), patriarch of Constantinople, theologian.
16. **sancti justini opera [addition: en un volume],**
St Justin Martyr (d. c.165), early Christian philosopher and apologist.

17. **harmonia evangelica [addition: en deux volumes],**
There are a number of works with this title in the BAV. For example: Thomas Beauxamis (1524–1589) O.C., *Harmonia evangelica*, Paris, 1583 [BAV].
18. **psalterium davidia en deux volumes,**
Latin Psalter
19. **Divii Ambrosii en un volume,**
St Ambrose (339–397), bishop of Milan.
20. **Sancti Cypriani un volume,**
St Cyprian (mart. 258), bishop of Carthage.
21. **Sancti Hyeromnimi opera en quatre volumes,**
St Jerome (c.345–419/420), biblical scholar.
22. **Sancti Chrisostomi en trois volumes grecae depareille,**
A Greek edition of St John Chrysostom (344/54–407), Patriarch of Constantinople, theologian.
23. **[addition: Catena in paulum en un volume]**
24. **Theophani opera en un volume,**
Possibly Theophanes the Confessor (752–818), Byzantine chronicler.
25. **pineda en deux volumes,**
Jean de Pineda (1558–1637) S.J., biblical scholar.
26. **Salazar en un volume,**
Probably Étienne de Salazar (1533–96), Spanish theologian and exegete who published a number of biblical commentaries [*DTC*, xiv, p. 1032].
27. **Ghislere sur les Cantiques en un volume,**
Michael Ghislerius, *M.G. . . . commentarii in canticum canticorum Salomonis*, n.p., 1619 [BL].
28. **Bonard sur l[']eceleasiaste en un volume,**
29. **agelle sur les pseumes in un volume,**
Antonio Agelli (bishop of Acerno, 1532–1608), *Commentarii in Psalmos et in divini officia cantica*, Rome, 1606 [BAV].
30. **Delrio sur les cantiques en un volume,**
Martin Antoine Del Rio (1551–1608), S.J., *In canticum canticorum*, 1604 [BL].
31. **Holkotz sur les pseumes en un volume,**
Robert Holkot O.P., *In proverbias Salomonis Roberti Holkoti, seu Thome Guallesii* Paris, 1510 and other editions [BN].
32. **Tolete sur saint jean en deux volumes,**
Francisco de Toledo (1532–96) S.J., *D.F. Toleti . . . in . . . Joannis evangelium commentarii*, 1611 [BL].

33. **Ribera sur les prophetes [addition: en un volume],**
Francisco de Ribera (1537–91) S.J., *In librum duodecim prophetarum commentarii, sensum eorundum prophetarum historicum, et moralem, persaepe etiam allegoricum complectentes*, Rome, 1590 and other editions [BAV].
34. **Oecumeni Commentaria in nouum testamentum en deux volumes,**
35. **Theophilacte en un volume**
Theophylacte, eleventh-century Byzantine exegete
36. **idem sur les evangiles,**
Another work by Theophylacte
37. **āi boreus in paulum [addition: en un volume],**
38. **Catena in Job en un volume,**
Agostino Cermelli O.P., *Catena in Iob ex selectis antiquorum, et recentium patrum sententiis*, Genoa, 1636 [BAV].
39. **idem in Matheum en deux volumes,**
40. **idem in Joannem en un volume,**
41. **idem in Lucam un volume,**
42. **columbius in scripturam sacram,**
Jean Columbi, *Joannis Columbi . . . commentaria in sacram scripturam, ab initio Geneseos usque as finem lib. Regem . . . tomus I*, Lyon, 1656 [BN].
43. **osorii en un volume,**
Juan Ossorio S.J. [Donnelly, 38].
44. **Benzon in psalmos[?] un volume,**
Rutilio Benzoni, *Exposito Psalmi lxxxv, cum tribus disputationibus de jurisdictione ecclesiastica et temporali, accessit etiam brevis explicatio salutionis angelicae cum insigni tabula encomiorum M. beatae Virginis . . . auctore Rutilio Benzonio*, Maceratae, 1610 [BN].
45. **Maldonat in evangelica en un volume,**
Jean Maldonado S.J., *Commentarii in quatuor evangelistas, cum quator indicibus*, Paris, 1639 and 1668 [BN].
46. **Beda en un volume,**
Probably Venerable Bede (c. 673–735), medieval historian.
47. **Du Val sur saint thomas en un volume,**
André du Val, *A. Duvalli commentarii in primam (-secundam) secundae partis summae D. Thomas tomus prior (-posterior)*, 2 vols, Paris, 1636, [BL].
48. **Morin de ordinationibus en un volume**
Jean Morin, *Commentarius de sacris ecclesiae ordinationibus secundum antiquos et recentiores Latinos, Graecos, Syros et Babylonios*, Paris, 1655 [BL].

49. **nacanti opera en un volume,**
Guillaume Nakatenus S.J., *Coeleste palmetum variis officiis, litaniis precibus, instructionibus, psalmorum interpretationibus, meditationibus, controversiis . . . opera R.P. Wilhelmi Nakateni*, Cologne, 1691 and other editions [BN].
50. **pinti opera un volume,**
Giacomo Pinto S.J. [BN].
51. **Sayro summa theologiae deux volumes,**
Two volumes of Gregorius Sayrus O.S.B., *R.P.D.G. Sayri . . . opera theologica; moralis doctrinae quae ad conscientiae directionem et solamen pertinet*, 4 vols, Douai, 1620 [BL].
52. **azori morales un volume**
Joan Azor, *Institutionum moralium, in quibus universae quaestiones ad conscientiam recte aut prave factorum pertinentes breviter tractantur, prima (-tertio) pars . . .* Rome, 1600–11, 3 vols; Paris, 1602, volume one; Lyon, 1607, volume two, Lyon, 1610, volume three; Lyon, 1610–13, 3 vols [BN]. The other two volumes are listed separately, see number 126.
53. **Sancti Leonis opera un volume,**
Pope Leo I (d.461), *Sanctae Leonis magni papae primi opera omnia*, various editions [See BN].
54. **Sancti Anselmi opera biblioteca patrum en neuf volumes,**
St Anselm (1033–1109), Archbishop of Canterbury and theologian. There may be more than one work here.
55. **Saul Exrex en deux volumes,**
John Sinnich, *Saul exrex, sive de Saule, israeliticae gentis protomonarcha, divinitus primum sublimato, ac deinde ob violatam religionem principatu vitaeque exuto . . .* Louvain, 2 vols, 1665–7 [BN]. Sinnich (1603–66) was the best-known Irish theologian in Louvain in the seventeenth century. Closely associated with the first phase of Jansenism, he was a respected authority in moral theology. *Saul exrex* was his most famous work. Taking the biblical story of King Saul as a typo-mythical starting point, *Saul exrex* outlines the duties of the Christian prince, presents the general rules for morality and launches a sustained attack on laxism. It was especially critical of two contemporary laxist theologians, Jean Caramuel, a Spanish Cistercian, who had lived for many years in Louvain, and the Italian Jesuit Thomas Tamburini, whose *Expedita decalogi explicatio* appeared in a fourth edition in Lille in 1660. See F. Deininger, *Johannes Sinnich. Der Kampf der Löwener Universität gegen den Laxismus* (Düsseldorf, 1928); Lucien Ceysens OFM; 'Verslag over de eerste jansenistisch deputatie van Leuven te Rome 1643–46' in *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* fascicule xxii (Brussels/Rome, 1942–3), pp 31–111; F. Claeys Bouuaert, 'Jean Sinnich, défenseur de Jansenius' in *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* xxxi (1955), pp 406–17.

56. **Scotus in Thomam en trois volumes,**
Johannes Duns Scotus (c.1265–1308), Franciscan philosopher and theologian. Early modern Irish historians, and others, claimed that he was of Irish origin.
57. **Didace sur les ecclesiastes en un volume,**
58. **Vigeres sur Sancti Thomas deux volumes,**
Joannes Viguierius (Viguer) O.P. of Granada (d. 1550). Author of a number of biblical commentaries which were published in Paris from 1553. See also no. 95.
59. **Heruet sur les sentences en un volume,**
Gentian Hervet (1499–1584), French Catholic theologian and philosopher
60. **aluerni opera en un volume,**
Guillaume d'Auverne or Gulielmus Arvernus, bishop of Paris, for example: *Guiliemi Alverni . . . opera omnia . . . hac posteriore editione . . . expurgata, instaurata, elucidata . . . per J.B. Trojanum* [Venice, 1591] [BL].
61. **capreoli opera en quatre volumes,**
Jean Caprioli, *Joannis Capreoli . . . commentaria in IV libb. Sententiarum seu libb. IV defensorium theologiae Thomas Aquinatis. Edita F. Thomas de Sancto Gervasio*, 4 vols, Venice, 1483 [BL].
62. **Durandi opera en un volume,**
Guillelmus Durandus [William Duranti], bishop of Mendes (d. 1296), *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* (Mainz, 1459) [DTC, XI, 1063].
63. **bonaventurae opera en deux volumes,**
St Bonaventure (c.1221–74), Franciscan cardinal and theologian.
64. **Tertulliani opera en un volume,**
Tertullian (b. c.160), theologian
65. **Sancti hilarii opera un volume,**
St Hilary of Poitiers (c.315–c.368), bishop and theologian.
66. **Bagoti opera un volume,**
Jean Bagot (1591–1604) S.J., scholastic author.
67. **generone polagiere [?] en un volume,**
68. **Sasbom opera un volume,**
Probably Adam Sasbout (1516–53) O.F.M., theologian.
69. **graegorius de valencia en quatre volumes,**
Gregorius de Valencia, *G. de V. . . Commentariorum theologicorum tomi quatuor. In quibus omnes materiae, quae continentur in Summa Theologica Divi Thomae Aquinitas, ordine explicantur*, 4 vols, Ingolstadt, 1594–7 [BL].

70. **amici theologia en quatre volumes**,
 Francesco Amico, *R.P. Francisci Amici . . . cursus theologicus . . . adduntur primam tractatus de jubileo, sacramento ordinis, et tomus nouus de matrimonio . . .* 4 vols, Antwerp, 1650 [BN].
71. **Cellotii opera en un volume**,
 Louis Cellot, *Ludovici Cellotii . . . opera poetica* Paris, 1630 [BL].
72. **Deale in thomam deux volumes**,
73. **suares in thomam en six volumes**,
 Francisco Suárez (1548–1617) S.J., Spanish scholastic philosopher and theologian. Published a large number of commentaries on Aquinas [BN].
74. **summa divi thomae deux volumes**,
 An edition of St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica*.
75. **Ripaldi opera un volume**,
 Probably Jean Martinez de Ripalda (1594–1648) S.J., Spanish theologian, whose key work was *Disputationes theologicae de ente supernaturali*, 2 vols, Bordeaux, 1634 and other editions [*DTC*, XII, pp 2711–2737].
76. **Concilia Navarri**
 Martin de Azpilcueta (called Navarrus) (d. 1576), *Doctoris Navarri opera. In tres et eiusdem consilia in duos tomos distincta*, Cologne, 1606, 5 vols [Daton, 105]
77. **Medina in thomam un volume**
 Bartholomeus Medina O.P. (1527/8–1580), *Commentaria in primam secundae*, Salamanca, 1577, or possibly a later work on Aquinas [*NCE*, ix, 618].
78. **binii Concilia en cinq volumes**,
 Severin Binius (d. 1641), *Concilia generalia et provincialia*, Cologne, 1606, 4 vols [*NCE*, ii, 501]
79. **Sintagmajuors [?] un volume**,
80. **Gomesijopaes [?] un volume**,
81. **Codex theodosianus un volume**,
Codex Theodosianus, cum perpetuis commentariis Iacobo Gothofredi . . . Lyon, 1665, 6 vols [BAV].
82. **budeus in pandectaes[?] un volume**,
 Guillaume Budé (1467–1540), *Annotationes Gulielmi Budaei . . . in quator et viginti Pandectorum libros . . .* numerous editions [BAV].
83. **receuil des arrests d[']arg[?]tione deux volumes**,
84. **scotus in thomam en huit volumes**,
 Johannes Duns Scotus (c.1265–1308), Franciscan philosopher and theologian.

85. **Cortesium in sententias un volume,**
Paolo Cortesi (1465–150?), *Paulus Cortesius in sententias. Qui in hoc opere eloquentiam cum theolodiam coniunxit*, Colophon (Rome?), 1513 [BAV].
86. **posnan in diuum thomam quatre volumes**
Petrus de Poznan (Bielinski) (d. 1658), Polish theologian.
87. **Cotzen en un volume,**
Possibly Adam Contzen S.J., *De unione*, 1615 [Wadding, 33, p 66].
88. **Lemos opera en deux volumes,**
Possibly Thomas de Lemos (c.1550–1629), O.P., a Spanish theologian whose most famous work was published posthumously: *Panoplia gratiae* . . . Liege [Beziers], 1676. He was condemned for Calvinism and Jansenism. [DTC, IX, 210–11]. De Lemos was an associate of the Spanish-born dean of the Roman Rota, Franciscus Pegna (Peña), who assisted at the *congregatio de auxiliis* in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Peter Lombard, archbishop of Armagh, joined the congregation after his arrival in Rome in 1599. Pegna kept a diary of the proceedings and collected documentation, including a copy of Lombard's submissions. On his death in 1612 he left his diary and his papers to de Lemos, who had represented the Dominicans in the congregation. The papers were bound in four volumes, which de Lemos described as 'libro de Monseñor Peña, que contiene varias cosas muchas cartas y relaciones muchissimas, acerca de la causa de los Auxilios de la Divina Gracia. El qual libro con mando se me diessen a Mi Fray Thomas de Lemos, despues de sa muerte'. The diary and the 'libro', including copies of Lombard's submissions, were deposited in the archives of the Dominicans in Rome where J. H. Serry O.P. (1659–1738) consulted them in the 1690s. He published *Historiae congregationum de auxiliis divinae gratiae sub summis pontificibus Clement VIII et Paulo V libri quatuor* in Louvain in 1700. They contain Lombard's submissions.
89. **puteani opera deux volumes,**
Erycius Puteanus (1574–1646).
90. **Kolleeson theologies,**
Possibly Matthew Kellison [Wadding, 56, p. 63]. He was president of the English college in Douai in the early seventeenth century and a supporter of Bishop Richard Smith, titular of Chalcedon, in his campaigns against the English regulars. Some seventeenth-century Irish bishops, like David Rothe of Ossory, sympathised with Smith.
91. **Zachariae opera en un volume,**
Possibly Zacharie de Lisieux, (1596–?), a proto-Jansenist spiritual theologian [DTC, XV/II, 3675–6] or Zacharias Scholasticus (d. 553).
92. **hessii opuscula varia,**
Helius Tobanus Hessus (1488–1540).

93. **Banes theologia en deux volumes**,
Domingo de Banes (1528–1604) O.P., scholastic theologian [BL].
94. **garzias in sententias deux volumes**,
95. **viguerii opera un volume**,
Joannes Viguerius, *Institutiones as naturalem et Christianam philosophiam . . . opera . . . J. Viguerii . . . ejusdem Viguerii commentaria in D. Pauli ad Romanos Epistolam*, Lyon, 1571 [BL]. For the same author see above no. 58.
96. **Coninck de sacramentis deux volumes**,
Gilles de Coninck S.J. (1571–1633), *Commentariorum ac disputationum in universam doctrinam D. Thomae de sacramentis et censuris tomi duo*, Antwerp, 1616 [BAV]. He caused Peter Lombard of Armagh's *Casus circa decretam Clementis Papae VIII* . . . to be published in Antwerp in 1625.
97. **Raynaudus de virtutibus et vitiis en un volume**,
Théophile Raynaud (1587–1661 S.J.), *De virtutibus et vitiis, accurata et florulenta tractatio*, Lyon, 1631 [BAV].
98. **sanchez disputationes selectae**,
Either Francisco Sanchez (c.1550–1623), scholastic philosopher, or Juan Sanchez (d. 1624), *Selectae et practicae disputationes de rebus in administratione sacramentorum*, Madrid, 1624 [NCE, 12, p. 1040].
99. **smising disputationes theologiae en un volume**,
Theodorus Smising, *Disputationum theologicarum F. Theodori Smising . . . tomus primus, de Deo uno, in quo . . . subtilis doctoris Scoti sententiae . . . explicantur et defenduntur. Huic editioni accessit tomus secundus, de Deo trino*, Antwerp, 1627 [BL].
100. **pulli opera un volume**,
Cardinal Robertus Pullus (12th), English theologian, *R. Pulli . . . sententiarum libri VIII. Item Petri Pictaviensis . . . sententiarum libri V. Nunc primum in lucem editi, ac notis . . . illustrati, opera . . . H. Mathoud*, Paris, 1655 [BN].
101. **stapleton en un volume**,
Thomas Stapleton (1535–98), English recusant theologian and historian based in Louvain, associated with Irish recusants.
102. **medinae opera un volume**,
Joannes Medina, *P. Ioannes Medinae sacrae theologiae professoris illustriss. In titulum de poenitentia eiusq: partibus commentarii*, 1 vol, Salamanca, 1550 [BL].
103. **aquaiua de obligationibus**
104. **lucius de placitis enri de parlamenti un volume**,
105. **Leunclanii[?] opera un volume**,

106. **politique ecclesiastique un volume,**
107. **Couarruuias un volume,**
Diego de Covarrubias y Leyra (1512–77, bishop of Segovia), *Didaci Covarruuias a Leyra . . . opera omnia*, numerous two-volume editions after Lyon, 1574 [BAV].
108. **justol en deux volumes,**
109. **monasticon chopini un volume,**
René Choppin, *Renati Choppini, . . . monastican, seu de jure coenobitarum libri duo*, second edn, 1 vol, Paris, 1610 and other editions [BL].
110. **lexicon juridicon un volume,**
Joannes Calvinus (*fl.*1595–1614), *Lexicon juridicum . . .* 1619 and others [BAV].
111. **platonis opera deux volumes**
Plato (*c.*428–347 B.C.), Greek philosopher.
112. **oeuvres du cardinal de berules un volume,**
Cardinal Pierre de Berulle (1575–1629), *Les oeuvres de l'éminentissime et révérendissime Pierre Cardinal de Berulle . . . augmentes de divers opuscules de controverse et piété, avec plusieurs lettres: et enriches de sommaires et de tables*, Paris, 1664 [BAV].
113. **molineae in thomam un volume,**
Luis de Molina S.J. (1535–1600), *Commentaria in primam divi Thomae partem*, Cuenca, 1592 [BN]. This Spanish jesuit was heavily influenced by his confreres Lessius and Fonseca. The publication in 1588 of his *Concordia* was a key event in the grace debate that developed into a doctrinal storm in the seventeenth century.
114. **Mercirnes [?] de sacramentis en un volume,**
Possibly William Merchier (d. 1639), *Commentariuis in III partem S. Thomae . . . de sacramentis, censures . . .* Louvain, 1630.
115. **Driodonis opera un volume,**
Jean Driedo, *De ecclesiasticis scripturis et dogmatibus libri quattor*, Louvain, 1533 [Augustinians, 4, p. 166].
116. **Diana opera en trois volumes,**
Antonio Diana (1585–1663 C.R.), *Antonini Diana . . . operum omnium tabula aurea . . .* Rome, 1664 [BAV] or an edition of his *Resolutiones morales* first published Paterno, 1629.
117. **brenii opera un volume,**
Daniel Brenius, *Opera theologica*, Amsterdam, 1666.
118. **mori opera un volume,**
Probably Thomas More (1478–1535), English statesman, humanist and opponent of Henry VIII's religious reforms.

119. **postilla catholica deux volumes**,
 Martin Eisengrein (1535–78), *Postilla Catholica, hoc est evangeliorum dominicalium a dominica prima adventus usque ad festum Paschalis, pia . . . orthodoxa explicatio*, Ingolstadt, 1576 [BAV].
120. **pigii opera un volume**,
 Stephanus Pighius (1520–1604), *Stephani Vinandi Pighii . . . Annales Romanorum . . .* Antwerp, 1615, 3 vols [BL].
121. **hierosolymitani opera deux volumes**,
122. **adami opera un volume**,
 Possibly Jean Adam S.J. (1608–1684).
123. **stobaei opera un volume**,
 Possibly Ioannes Stobaeus, fifth-century writer.
124. **sancti thomae physica en un volume**,
 An edition of Saint Thomas Aquinas (c.1225–1274), *Physica*.
125. **pymander en un volume**,
126. **Institutiones azorii en deux volumes**,
 Joan Azor, *Institutionum moralium, in quibus universae quaestiones ad conscientiam recte aut prave factorum pertinentes breviter tractantur, prima (-tertio) pars . . .* Roma, 1600–11, 3 vols; Paris, 1602, volume one; Lyon, 1607, volume two, Lyon, 1610, volume three; Lyon, 1610–13, 3 vols [BN]. The other volume is listed separately, see number 52.
127. **bineri opera en deux volumes**,
 Possibly Etienne Binet (1569–1639) S.J., spiritual writer. He was associated with the third rector of the Irish college, Paris, Thomas Messingham, in the late 1610s and early 1620s.
128. **sanchez in diuum thomam en deux volumes**,
 Francisco Sanchez (c.1550–1623), scholastic philosopher.
129. **schotti opera en un volume**
 Either Franciscus Schottus (1548–1622), *Itinerario opero novo descriptione de' viaggi principali d'Italia* (the first guide book to Italy, which originally appeared in 1600), or Andreas Schottus, *Andreae Schotti itinerarium Italiae*, Vesaviae, 1625 [BAV].
130. **valle geometria en un volume**,
131. **Duorini opera en un volume**,
 Francois Duoren (1509–59), *Franc. Duoreni . . . opera omnium, quae in hinc usque diem edita extant in iure civili, ad ipso nunc denuo auctore recognita atque aucta . . .* Lyon, 1558 [BAV].
132. **augustini tolozani opera en deux volumes**,
133. **gregorii tholosani opera en un volume**,
 Pierre Gregoire, tholosain, sixteenth century writer on law, politics and the implications of the Council of Trent [BN].

134. **Budeus de asse en un volume,**
Gulielmi Budaeci, *Breviarium de asse* . . . Mainz, 1523 and numerous other editions [BL].
135. **notitia utraque dignitatum panciroli en un volume,**
Notitia, utraque, dignitatum, cum Orientis, tum Occidentis ultra Arcadii Honotiique tempora, et in eam Guidi Pancirolo . . . commentatorium . . . Lyon, 1608 [BAV].
136. **plini historia en un volume,**
An edition of Pliny the Elder (23–79), *Historia naturalis*.
137. **volaterani geographia en un volume,**
Raphael Maffejus (Volaterranus), possibly *Descriptio Urbis Romae*, n.p., 1520 [BL].
138. **ortelii thesorus geographicus en un volume,**
Abraham Ortelius (1527–98), *Thesaurus geographicus recognitus et auctus, in quo omnium totius terrae regionum, montium, promontorium, collium, silvarum . . . nomina et appellationes veteres; additis magna parte etiam recentioribus . . . emendantur, arguuntur, enodantur et conciliantur*, Hanover, [1611] [BAV].
139. **idem novus orbis regionum ac insularum un volume,**
Possibly Abraham Ortelius (1527–98), *Appendix theatri A Ortelli et Atlantis G. Mercatorius, continens tabulae geographicas diversarum orbis regionum. Nunc primam editas cum descriptionibus*, Amsterdam, 1631 [BAV].
140. **cosmographiae generalis merculae en un volume,**
Paulus Merula (1558–1607), *Paulii G.f.P.N. Merculae cosmographiae generalis libri tres: item geographicarum particularibus libri quatuor: quibus Europa in genere; speciatim Hispania, Gallia, Italia, describuntur . . .* Amsterdam, 162? [BAV], first published Leyden, 1605.
141. **la description de m[contraction?] somie qui chardin tant allemagne qu'en italie et ailleurs;**
142. **mercator en un volume,**
Gerardus Mercator [Gerhard Kremer 1512–74], Flemish mathematician and geographer, *Atlas minor Gerardi Mercatoris*, Amsterdam, 1628 [Wickham, 7].
143. **theatrum terrae sanctae un volume,**
Christiaan van Adrichom, *Theatrum terrae sanctae* . . . Cologne, 1590. [BN].
144. **dictionnaire de la bible en deux volumes,**
145. **summa christiana marbozii en deux volumes,**
Bon de Merbes (fl.1684), *Summa christiana, seu orthodoxa morum disciplina ex sacris litteris, sanctorum patrum monumentis, conciliorum oraculis, summorum denique pontificum decretis fideliter excerpta*, Paris, 1683 [BAV].

146. **homerii opera en deux volumes**,
Homer (eighth-century B.C.), Greek writer.
147. **platonis opera en un volume**,
Plato (c.428–347 B.C.), Greek philosopher.
148. **sextus empireus en un volume**,
Sextus Empiricus (fl. c.200), Greek sceptical philosopher.
149. **dandinii opera en un volume**,
Probably Girolamo Dandini, *Hieronymi Dandini . . . De corpore animato lib. VII Luculentis in Aristotelis tres de anima libros, commentarius peripateticus*, Paris, 1610. He also wrote works of travel literature.
150. **Quingeri opera en un volume**,
151. **Turnobii opera en un volume**,
152. **Casaubonius in aristotelem en un volume**,
Isaac Casaubon (ed.), *Operum Aristotelis . . . nova edito Graece et Latiné . . . ex bibliotheca I. Casauboni*, n.p., 1590 (another 1605) [BL].
153. **Gazae opera en un volume**,
Theodorus Gaza (1398–1478), grammarian and philosopher.
154. **panilli opera en un volume**,
Possibly Jacobus Pamelius (d. 1587), editor of works on Tertullian [Hurter, i, 109–10].
155. **septali opera en un volume**,
Ludovico Settala (Septalius) (1552–1633).
156. **eustiati opera en un volume**,
Eustachius de Sancto Paulo, *Summa philosophiae quadriparita, de rebus dialecticis, ethicis, physicis, et metaphysicis*, Paris, 1607 and many other editions [BN].
157. **aristoles de sensu en un volume**,
An edition of Aristotle, *On the senses*.
158. **galeni opera en un volume**,
Galenus (c.130–201), Greek physician.
159. **boethi opera en un volume**,
Ancius Boethius (c.480–524) Roman philosopher, author of *The consolation of philosophy*.
160. **hermoae[?] opera en un volume**,
161. **ficini opera en un volume**
Marsilio Ficino (1433–99), his *opera omnia* were published in two volumes at Basle in 1576 [BN].
162. **histoire de l'universite de paris qui sont les pr deux trois cinq et six le sixieme volume estant en de plein [?]**,
Despite the French title this must be César Égasse du Boulay, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, 6 vols, Paris, 1665–73 [BN].

163. **plotini opera un volume,**
Plotinus (c. 205–70), neo-platonist.
164. **cardani opera six volumes,**
Jerome Cardan[us] or Girolamo Cardano (1501–76), his *opera* were published in ten volumes at Lyon in 1663.
165. **virgilii opera en un volume,**
Virgil (70–19 B.C.), Latin poet.
166. **epigrammata brodaeii opera en un volume,**
Jean Brodeau (1500–63), *Epigrammatum graecorum annotationibus Ioannis Brodaeii* . . . Frankfurt, 1600 [BAV].
167. **martialis epigrammata en un volume,**
Marcus Valerius Martialis (40–101), *Florilegium epigrammata Martialis. Josephus Scaliger Iul. Caesaris f. vertit graece*, Paris, 1607 [BAV].
168. **terentii comediae en un volume,**
Publius Terentius Afer (second century B.C.), Latin comic dramatist.
169. **ausonii epigrammata en un volume,**
Probably Decimus Marcus Ausonius (c.310–c.395), Latin poet and writer.
170. **plauti comediae en un volume,**
Plautus (240–184 B.C.), Latin dramatist.
171. **virgilii opera en un volume,**
Virgil (70–19 B.C.), Latin poet, see also no. 164.
172. **cusani lexicon en deux volumes,**
173. **lexicon scapulae en un volume,**
Johann Scapula, *Joannis Scapulae lexicon graeco-latinum* . . . first published 1580 [BAV].
174. **lexicon theologicum en un volume,**
Johann Altenstaig, *Lexicon theologicum complectens vocabolorum descriptiones definitiones et interpretationes quae sunt scholae theologiae propria* . . . [Lyon], 1580 [BAV].
175. **athenaei opera en un volume,**
Athenaeus (*fl.* c.200), Greek writer, especially noted for his *Deipnosophistae*.
176. **budaei dictionarium en un volume,**
Guillaume Budé, *Dictionarium Latino-Grecum* . . . numerous edns [BAV].
177. **suidas en un volume,**
Suidas cuius integram Latinam interpretationem, et perpetuam Graeci textus emendationem Aemilius Portus, Geneva, 1691 [BAV].
178. **idem en un volume,**
Another copy.

179. **dictionarium latino gallicum en un volume,**
Dictionariolum Latino Gallicum. Iam recens post omnium editiones excussum . . . avec les mots françois selon l'ordre des lettres . . . item ciceroniana epitheta antitheta, et abverbia verbis adiuncta, per Hordtium Tuscanellom collecta, Paris, 1602 [BAV].
180. **ciceronis opera deux volumes,**
 Cicero (106–43 B.C.), Roman statesman and orator.
181. **wolfii opera in ciceronum,**
M.T. Ciceronis libri tres de officiis, cum Hieronymi Wolfii commentariis, hac secunda editione et correctis, et nonnihil auctis . . . Addita sunt et scholia brevia eiusdem Catonem, Laelium, Parodoxa, et Somnium Scipionis . . . Basil, 1569 [BAV].
182. **thesaurus linguae en un volume,**
183. **asconius in ciceronum en un volume,**
 Pedianus Quintus Asconius (9 B.C.–A.D. 76), writer of a historical commentary on Cicero's oratory.
184. **politiani opera en un volume,**
 Politan (1454–94), Angelo Ambrogini, Italian humanist.
185. **ketroum porterum [?] un volume,**
186. **erasmi colloquia en un volume,**
 An edition of Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536), *Colloquia*.
187. **idem adagia**
 An edition of Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536), *Adagiorum chiliades*.
188. **valere maxime en un volume,**
 Valerius Maximus, *Valerii Maximi factorum et dictorum memorabilium ad Tiberium Cesarem. Liber primus incipit feliciter . . .* [Strasburg, 1470], this was the first of numerous editions [BL].
189. **amion marcillion en un volume,**
 Ammiarus Marellinus (330–95), Roman historian.
190. **jean de sicille en un volume,**
191. **cuspiiani opera en un volume,**
 Joannis Cuspianus (1473–1529), possibly *De Caesaribus*.
192. **suetoni opera en un volume,**
 Gaius Suetonius (b. c.70), Roman biographer.
193. **appion alexandrin en un volume,**
 Appianus (second century), *Appian Alexandrin, des guerres des Romaines, livres II . . .* Paris, 1552 [BAV].
194. **Titelino par Vigeuer en deux volumes**
195. **Titilini opera en un volume**

196. **thucydides opera en un volume,**
Thucydides (c.460–c.400), Athenian historian.
197. **annales bojorum aucutini en un volume,**
Joannes Aventinus (1477–1534), *Annales boiorum, sive veteris Germaniae libri VII a Nicol Ciserno edita et aucti*, Frankfurt, 1627 [BAV].
198. **historia hungariae en un volume,**
199. **mathaeus paris en un volume,**
Matthew Paris (1200–59), medieval historian, probably the *Historia major*.
200. **chronica daniae en un volume,**
Albertus Krantz, *Regnorum Aquilonarum, Daniae, Suetiae, Norvagiae chronica*, Frankfurt, 1575 [BL].
201. **mursius historiae danicae en un volume,**
Joannes Meursius the elder, *J. Meursii Historiae Danicae libri III in quibus res commemorantur gestae a Christiano I.; ac Joanne ejus filio: et nepote Christiano II*, Copenhagen, 1630. Or *J. Meursii Historiae Danicae, sive de regibus Danicae, qui familiaram Oldenburgicam praecessere, eorumque rebus gestis . . . libri quinque priores*, Amsterdam, 1638 [BL].
202. **meyerus annales flandriae en un volume,**
Jacques de Meyere, *Commentarii sive annales rerum Flandicarum libri septendecim*, Antwerp, 1561 [BL].
203. **taper en un volume,**
204. **bizarus de historia persica en un volume,**
Patri Bizari, *Rerum persicarum historia in XII libros descripta*, Antwerp, 1583 [BL].
205. **revolution d'angleterre par buoner en deux volumes,**
206. **chronicon turcicorum en un volume,**
Philipp Lonicer (fl.1599), *Chronicorum Turcicorum in quibus Turcorum origo, principes, imperatores, bella, proelia, caedes, victoriae, relique militaris ratio . . . exponitur*, Frankfurt, 1584 [BAV].
207. **historia delle guerre di francia de dauila en italien en un volume,**
Enrico Caterino Davila (1576–1631), *Historia delle guerre civili di Francia, di Henrico Caterino Davila*, Lyon, 1631 and other editions [BAV].
208. **straboni geographica en un volume,**
Strabo (c.64 B.C.-c.23 A.D.), *Geographica*.
209. **idem ptolomei en un volume**
Ptolemy (fl.127–45), Greek geographer.
210. **xenophontio vol opera,**
Xenophon (c.435–354 B.C.), Greek historian.

211. **pauzanians vol**,
Pausanias (*fl.* c.160), Greek geographer and historian.
212. **polidor vol**,
Possibly Polidorus Virgilius, *Historia Anglica*, ed. A Thysius, Lyon, 1651.
213. **labarre v.**,
Renatus Laurentius de Labarre, *Historia christiana veterum patrum* . . . Paris, 1583 [BL].
214. **philon v.**,
Philo (20 B.C.–A.D. 40), Alexandrian Jewish philosopher and theologian.
215. **histoire de pontius v.**,
An edition of Pontius, *Vita Cypriani*.
216. **destonus de la reyne mere v.**,
Henri Estienne (1531–98), *Discours merueilleux de la vie, action et deportements de la reyne Catherine de Medicis mère de Francois II, Charles II, Henry III rois de France*, La Haye, 1663 [BAV].
217. **codinus de officia ecclesiae v.**,
Gregorius Codinus, *Gregorius Codinus Curopalata. De officia magnae Ecclesiae et aulae Constantinopolitanae, ex versione P. Iacobi Gretseri*, Paris, 1648 [BAV].
218. **ottoniae opera chassener v.**,
Possibly an edition of Otto of Freising (d. 1158). There may be two works in this reference.
219. **grantzy historia de [?]iliiae v.**
220. **hispanicorum historia v.**
221. **rerum germanicorum v.**
222. **grandmon histotia gallia v.**,
Gabriel-Barthélemy de Grammont, *Historia prostratae a Ludovico XIII sectariorum in Gallia rebellionis, autore Gabr. Bartholomaeo Gramoundo* . . . Toulouse, 1623 [BN].
223. **idem bergarius historia**
224. **idem thuanus historia galliae, 4 volumes**
An edition of Jacques Auguste de Thou (1553–1617), *Historiarum sui temporis*, numerous early seventeenth-century editions [BN].
225. **histoire des comtes de Toulouse v.**
226. **ceduny[?] amalea v.**
227. **bizary historiae v.**,
See no. 204.

228. **histoire de france de la popiniere deux volumes**
Lancelot Voisin de la Popelinière (1541–1608), *L'Histoire de la France enrichie des plus notables occurrances suruenues ez prouinces de l'Europe & pays voisins, soit en paix soit en guerre, tant pour le fait seculier qu'eclésiastic: depuis l'an 1550 jusques a ces temps*, 2 vols, [La Rochelle], 1581 [Copac].
229. **corpus christianaee doctrinaee en un volume,**
Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560), *Corpus doctrinaee Christianaee* . . . numerous editions [BN].
230. **zonar en un volume,**
Joannes Zonaras, medieval historian.
231. **platino en un volume,**
Plato (c.428–347 B.C.), Greek philosopher.
232. **histoire du concilo de trente deux volumes,**
Paolo Sarpi (1552–1623 O.S.M.), *Histoire du concile de Trente. Traduite de l'Italien de Pierre Soave Polon (pseud.) par Jean Diodati*, Paris, 1665 and other editions [BAV].
233. **historia ecclesiastica en un volume,**
An edition of Eusebius of Caesaraea (260/5–339/40), *Historia ecclesiastica*, translated into Latin by Rufinus and published in 1474.
234. **historia gotteschalci en un volume,**
Louis Cellot (1588–1658 S.J.), *Historia gotteschalci praedestinatiani, et accurata controversiae per eum revocatae disputatio in libros quintae distincta* . . . Paris, 1655 [BAV].
235. **annalles de sponde en quatre volumes,**
Henri de Sponde (1568–1643), *Annales ecclesiastici* . . . various editions [BAV].
236. **continuation de sponde en deux volumes,**
Annalium C. Baronii continuatio ab anno MCXCVII, quo iis desiit, ad finem MDCXL, 3 vols, Paris, 1641 [Daton, 26].
237. **eusebea en quatre volumes,**
An edition of Eusebius of Caesaraea (260/5–339/40), *Historia ecclesiastica*, translated into Latin by Rufinus and published in 1474. See also no. 233.
238. **concilium tridentinum en un volume,**
An edition of *Concilium Tridentinum [canones et decreta]*.
239. **concilium jlliberlitanum en un volume,**
Fernando de Mendoza (1566–1648), *Vetusissimum Concilium Illiberritanum, quatto ineunte saeculo in Hispania celebratum, cum discursibus apologeticis ad Clementem VIII Pont. Max. de eo concilio confirmando, viri sapientissimi D. Fernandi de Mendoza*, Lyon, 1665 [BAV].

240. **pontifex romanum en un volume**,
Abraham Bzowski (1567–1637 O.P.), *Pontifex Romanus, seu de praestantia, officio, auctoritate* . . . Cologne, 1619 [BAV].
241. **acta ecclesiae mediolanensis en deux volumes**,
Acta ecclesiae Mediolanensis, a b. Carlo Borromaeo . . . Brescia, 1603 and other editions [BAV].
242. **item metropolitana ecclesiae turonensis en un volume**,
Synodal decrees of the archdiocese of Tours.
243. **tyrii historia en un volume**,
Maximus Tyrius, Roman historian.
244. **mariana en un volume**,
Juan de Mariana S.J. (1536–1623), political theorist and historian.
245. **histoire d'angleterre un volume**,
246. **historia seu chronicon naucleri en deux volumes**,
Joannes Nauclerus, *Chronica* . . . *succinctim comprahendentia res memorabiles seculorum omnium ac gentium ad initio Mundi usque ad annum Christi 1500. Supplementa porro . . . rerum gestorum ad haec usque tempora* . . . *hac editione consulto sunt praetermissa*, Cologne, 1579 [BL].
247. **bergomen historia en un volume**,
248. **nouissmae edita bergon un volume**,
249. **histoire de naples en un volume**,
250. **Liutprandi opera en un volume**,
Liutprandus Cremonensis (920–972?), bishop of Cremona.
251. **l'histoire romaine par Coesteaux en trois volumes**
See also no. 277.
252. **wolfgangi opera en cinq volumes**,
Iohann Wolfgang Freymonius, sixteenth-century writer on civil and canon law.
253. **caluini opera en quatre volumes**,
Jean Calvin (1509–64), French reform theologian.
254. **melanctonis opera en quatre volumes**,
Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560), lutheran theologian.
255. **lutheri opera aussy en quatre volumes**,
Martin Luther (1483–1546), reformation theologian.
256. **bullingeri opera en quatre volumes**,
Heinrich Bullinger (1504–75), Zwingli's successor.
257. **brontii opera en huit volumes**,
Nicolaus Brontius, sixteenth-century reformer.

258. **osiander bibliotheca en trois volumes**,
Andreas Osiander the elder (1498–1552), sixteenth-century reformer.
259. **petri martyrii opera en trois volumes**
Pierre Vermigli (known as Peter Martyr) (1500–62), protestant reformer from Florence, he died at Zurich [*DTC*, xv, pt 2, 2694–9].
260. **goualteri opera en six volumes**,
Simon Goulart (1543–1628), French reformer.
261. **borresi[?] opera en quatre volumes**,
262. **fratres polonorum en huit volumes imparfaits**,
Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum quos Unitarios vocant, Amsterdam, 8 vols, 1656 [BL] Collection of Socinian writings.
263. **misterium jniquitatis en un volume**,
Ludwig Camerarius (1573–1651), *Mysterium Iniquitatis, sive secreta sectreorum turco-papistica secreta, contra libellum famosum sub titolo segreta Calvino Turcica, auctore quonam personata Theonest Cogmandolo* . . . Justinopoli, 1625 [BAV].
264. **chamieri opera en quatre volumes**,
Daniel Chamier (1565–1621), French reformer. Possibly *Daniel Chamieri . . . Panstatae Catholicae, sive controversiarum de religione adversus Pontificos corpus, tomuis quatuor distributum. Cum indicis necessariis*, 4 vols, Geneva, 1626–30 [BN].
265. **galantinus de arcanis catholicae veritatis en un volume**,
Petrus Galantini, *Opus de arcanis catholicae veritatis*, Basle, 1550.
266. **sadellis opera en un volume**,
267. **hemnigy opera en trois volumes**,
Nicolaus Hemming or Niels Hemmingsen (1513–1600), Danish reforming theologian.
268. **summa thomae en deux volumes**,
An edition of St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*.
269. **lantichrist en un volume**,
Possibly Jeremias Ferrier, *De l'antichrist*, Paris, 1615 [Hurter, i, 293].
270. **traite de la seine en un volume**,
271. **idem de l'eucharistie en un volume**,
Louis Bonnin de Chalucet Armand, Bishop of Toulon (1640–1712), *Traité de l'Eucharistie, ou réponse à l'écrit de M. Claude ministre de Charenton sur la presence réelle*, second edn, Paris, 1684 [BAV].
272. **lorgann d[']aristote en un volume**,
Aristotle's *Organon*.

273. **de saintes en un volume**,
Claude de Saintes, bishop of Evreux (1525–9?), *De rebus Eucharistiae controversis* . . . Paris, 1575 [BAV].
274. **duperon en quatre volumes**,
Possibly Cardinal Jacques Davy du Peron (1556–1618), French ecclesiastic.
275. **rosfens en un volume**,
276. **de primatu papae en un volume**,
Nilus Cabasilas (fourteenth century), *De primatu papae Romani libri duo* . . . Lyon, 1645 [BAV].
277. **et oeuvres de coesteaux un volume**
278. **Caesar**
Gaius Julius Caesar (100–44 B.C.), Roman statesman and orator.
279. **justo lipso**
Justus Lipsius (1547–1600), humanist.
280. **percius**
Persius (34–62), Roman poet.
281. **symachii**
Symmachus (340–402), Roman orator and writer.
282. **becani**
Martinus Becanus [Verbeeck] S.J., perhaps his *Summa theologiae scholasticae*, Paris, 1615 [Daton, 20]. This was one of the most popular texts in Irish continental colleges in the early modern period.
283. **historia animalium**
Aristotle's *Historia animalium*.
284. **plinii**
Pliny the Elder (23–79), natural historian.
285. **petrus cantor**
Petrus, cantor Ecclesiae B. Mariae Parisiensis, *Magister Petrus Cantor Parisien in fine libri sui qui intitulatur verbum abbreviatum: sic procedit contra monachos proprietarios* [1505?] [BL].
286. **de launoy**
Jean de Launoy (1603–78), *Historia Collegii Navarrensis*, 2 vols, Paris, 1682 [BN].
287. **basilii opera**
St Basil (c.329–79), bishop of Caesarea.
288. **daillé**
Jean Daillé (1594–1670), French reformer.
289. **julius percuis[?]**

290. **Costar**
 Pierre Coustard (1603–60) *Lettres de Monsieur Costar*, 2 vols, Paris, 1658–9 [BAV].
291. **lexicon juris ciuilis**
 Jacob Spiegel, *Lexicon iuris civilis, per C.U.D. Iac. Speigelium postremo auctum et recognitum*, Basle, 1549 [Daton, 121].
292. **Lombard**
 Peter Lombard (c.1100–60), author of the *Sententiae*