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 Dammenvalle, 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.\(^4\)


\(^3\) 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 document 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. 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. The bulk of the document deals with Moore's books. 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. 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.

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. 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.' Jean Fromont's notarial files also contain 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. 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.

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'ai déjà donné par donation entre vifs quelque chose au Collège des Lombards que je confirmerai par ce testament en cas qu'elle en ont besoin et de plus je donne tous mes livres et ce qui appartient à ma bibliothèque, globes et autres choses au dit college avec ma pendule pour la bibliothèque.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 that Moore's personal library. Luc-Vincent Thiery simply described the library as 'small' in 1787, while John Baptist Walsh, the commissaire 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

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15 De Barneville à Mr Huré, 30 juin [1712] (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Archives de la Bastille, MS 10602, f 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-decembre 1721). 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 Caillot, '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; 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 pacquetes 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

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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 Mazion, whose study was based exclusively on this material: Recherches sur les bibliothèques privées à Paris au milieu du xviie 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 xviie siècle: quarante bibliothèques d’ecclésiastiques Parisiens’ in Revue Française d’Histoire du Livre, 6 (1973), pp 281–300.


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. 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.

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

Moore was particularly familiar was not included, most importantly the writings of René Descartes or Pietro Pomponazzi, which we know Moore studied closely.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Livres, pouvoirs et société à Paris au xvi\è siècle (1598–1701)}, the author found that only twelve held more than 1,000 volumes.\textsuperscript{32} Even by the mid-eighteenth century, the average Parisian library was smaller than Moore’s, at 1,084 volumes.\textsuperscript{33}

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

\textsuperscript{30} See: De existentia Dei et humanae mentis immortalitate secundum Cartesii et Aristotelis doctrinam disputatio (Paris, 1692).
\textsuperscript{32} Henri Jean Martin, \textit{Livres, pouvoirs et société à Paris au xvi\è siècle (1598–1701)} (2 vols, Genève, 1969, ii, p. 927.
\textsuperscript{33} Michel Marion, \textit{Recherches sur les bibliothèques privées à Paris au milieu du xvi\è 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 \textit{Studia Hibernica}, 29 (1995–7), pp 55–6.)

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. 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. 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.

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.


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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 Queniart 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, Queniart 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

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in other religions was exceptional, though clergy like Moore were expected to arm themselves with the resources for religious controversy.\footnote{Ibid., p. 135.}

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.’\footnote{Thomassery, ‘Livres et culture cléricale à Paris au xviiié siècle: quarante bibliothèques d’ecclesiastiques Parisiens’, p. 290; Queniart, Culture et Société urbaines dans la France de l’ouest au xviie siècle, p. 327.}

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.\footnote{Thomassery, ‘Livres et culture cléricale à Paris au xviiié siècle: quarante bibliothèques d’ecclesiastiques Parisiens’, pp 290–1; Marion, Recherches sur les bibliothèques privées à Paris, pp 142–3.}

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.\footnote{Martin, Livres, pouvoirs et société à Paris au xviie siècle, ii, p. 928.} 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.\footnote{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.}

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 contemporaries 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
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.’ 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.’

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 estate, 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.’ 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

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51 ‘There is, moreover, a correlation between Latin and the age of the library.’ Thomassery, ‘Livres et culture cléricale à Paris au xviie 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 super-
vised 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 iden-
tifications and helpful suggestions. Obviously, remaining errors or mistakes are
my own responsibility.

ABBREVIATIONS:

Augustinians Hugh Fenning (ed.), ‘The library of the Augustinians of Galway

BAV Catalogue of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (telnet://
librs6k.vatlib.it/).

BL British Museum general catalogue of printed books to 1955 compact

BN Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque

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

Donnelly: Hugh Fenning (ed.), ‘The library of a preacher of Drogheda:
John Donnelly, O.P. (d. 1748)’ in Collectanea Hibernica, 18–19


Hurter Nomenclator litterarius theologiae catholicae (3rd edn, 5 vols,
Innsbruck, 1903).


Wadding Patrick Corish (ed.), ‘Bishop Wadding’s notebook’ in Archivium

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 hebraïca en deux autres volumes,
   Hebrew Bible

4. et une bible latine et francoise en un volume,
   Latin and French Bible

5. biblia sacra pagnonini 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 Novum . . . 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,

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,

28. Bonard sur l[’]eclesiaste en un volume,

29. agelle sur les pseaumes en un volume,

30. Delrio sur les cantiques en un volume,
Martin Antoine Del Rio (1551–1608), *In canticum canticorum, 1604 [BL].*

31. Holkotz sur les pseaumes en un volume,

32. Tolete sur saint jean en deux volumes,
Francisco de Toledo (1532–96) S.J., *D.F. Toleti . . . in . . . Joannis evangelium commentarii, 1611 [BL].*

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. *aï boreus in paulum [addition: en un volume],*

38. Catena in Job en un volume,

Agostino Cerrelli O.P., *Catena in Iob ex selectis antiquorum, et recentiumpatrum 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 1*, Lyon, 1656 [BN].

43. osorii en un volume,

Juan Ossorio S.J. [Donnelly, 38].

44. Benzon in psalmos[?] un volume,

Rutilio Benzon, *Exposito Psalmi lxxxv, cum tribus disputationibus de jurisdicctione ecclesiastica et temporali, accessit etiam brevis explicatio salvationis 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,


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, litanis 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 pertainet, 4 vols, Douai, 1620 [BL].

52. azori morales un volume
Joan Azor, Institutionum moralium, in quibus universae questiones ad conscientiam recte aut prave factorum pertinentes breviter tractantur, prima (-terto) 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 vitaque 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 Lüwener 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 xii (Brussels/Rome, 1942–3), pp 31–111; F. Claeyts Bouuaert, ‘Jean Sinnich, défenseur de Jansenius’ in Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses xxxi (1955), pp 406–17.

225
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.

Didace sur les ecclesiastes en un volume,

Vigeres sur Sancti Thomas deux volumes,
Joannes Viguerius (Viguier) O.P. of Granada (d. 1550). Author of a number of biblical commentaries which were published in Paris from 1553. See also no. 95.

Heruet sur les sentences en un volume,
Gentian Hervet (1499–1584), French Catholic theologian and philosopher

aluerni opera en un volume,
Guillaume d’Auerne or Guliemus Arvernus, bishop of Paris, for example: Guiliemi Alverni . . . opera omnia . . . hac posteriorie editione . . . expurgata, instaurata, elucidata . . . per J.B. Trojanum [Venice, 1591] [BL].

capreoli opera en quatre volumes,

Durandi opera en un volume,
Guillemus Durandus [William Duranti], bishop of Mendes (d. 1296), Rationale divinorum officiorum (Mainz, 1459) [DTC, X/I, 1063].

bonaventurae opera en deux volumes,
St Bonaventure (c.1221–74), Franciscan cardinal and theologian.

Tertulliani opera en un volume,
Tertullian (b. c.160), theologian

Sancti hilarii opera un volume,
St Hilary of Poitiers (c.315-c.368), bishop and theologian.

Bagoti opera un volume,
Jean Bagot (1591–1604) S.J., scholastic author.

generone polagiere [?] en un volume,

Sasbom opera un volume,
Probably Adam Sasbout (1516–53) O.F.M., theologian.

gregorius de valencia en quatre volumes,
70. **amici theologia en quatre volumes**,  

71. **Cellotii opera en un volume**,  

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 Martínez 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. **Sintagmaioeurs [?] 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. Cortesius in sententias un volume,
Paolo Cortesi (1465–150?), Paulus Cortesius in sententias. Qui in hoc opere elogietiam cum theologiam 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. Kolleson 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).

94. *garzias in sententias deux volumes*,

95. *viguerii opera un volume*,

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.


98. *sanchez disputationes selectae*,

99. *smising disputationes theologiae en un volume*,

100. *pulli opera un volume*,

101. *stapleton en un volume*,

102. *medinae opera un volume*,

103. *aquauia de obligationibus*
106. politique ecclesiastique un volume,

107. Couarruuius un volume,
Diego de Covarrubias y Leyra (1512–77, bishop of Segovia), Didaci Covarruuius 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,

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), Commentaruis 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,

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,

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,

125. pymander en un volume,

126. Institutiones azorii en deux volumes,
   Joan Azor, Institutionum moralium, in quibus universae questiones ad conscientiam recte aut prave factorum pertinentes breviter tractantur, prima (-terto) 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 descrittione de viaggi principalii d’Italia (the first guide book to Italy, which originally appeared in 1600), or Andreas Schottus, Andreae Schotti itinerarium Italiae, Vesaeiae, 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 Budaei, Breviariu 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. plinia 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, inqu omnium totius terrae regionum, montium, promontorium, collium, silvarium . . . nomina et appellantiones veters; additis magna parte etiam recentoribus . . . emendatur, arguuntur, enodantur et conciliantur, Hanover, [1611] [BAV].

139. idem nouus orbis regionum ac jnsularum un volume,

140. cosmographiae generalis merculae en un volume,

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 ortodoxa morum disciplina ex sacris litteris, sanctorum patrum monumentis, conciliorum oraculis, summorum denique pontificium 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. eustiatii opera en un volume,
Eustachius de Sancto Paulo, Summa philosophiae quadruparita, de rebus
dialecticis, ethicis, physicis, et metaphysicis, Paris, 1607 and many other
editions [BN].

157. aristoles de sensu en un volume,

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 vol-
umes 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 pub-
lished in ten volumes at Lyon in 1663.

165. virgili opera en un volume,
Virgil (70–19 B.C.), Latin poet.

166. epigrammata brodaeai opera en un volume,
Jean Brodeau (1500–63), Epigrammatum graecorum annotationibus
Ioannis Brodaei . . . Frankfurt, 1600 [BAV].

167. martialis epigrammata en un volume,
Marcus Valerius Martialis (40–101), Florilegium epigrammata Martianis.

168. terentii comediae en un volume,
Publius Terentius Afer (second century B.C.), Latin comic dramatist.

169. ausionii 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. virgii 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, Ioannis Scapulae lexicon graeco-latinum . . . first pub-
lished 1580 [BAV].

174. lexicon theologicum en un volume,
Johann Altenstaig, Lexicon theologicum complectens vocabolorum decrip-
tiones 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 dictionnarium 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. dictionnarium latino gallicum en un volume,
*Dictionary of the Latin-Gallic Language*. A new edition of all previous editions...
with the French terms according to the order of letters... Also Cicero's epithets and antithetical terms, collected by Hordtus Tuscanellus, Paris, 1602 [BAV].

180. ciceronis opera deux volumes,
Cicero (106–43 B.C.), Roman statesman and orator.

181. wolfii opera in ciceronum,
*M. T. Cicero's Works*, with commentary by Hieronymus Wolff, second edition and corrected, and augmented... With brief comments by the same Caton, Laelium, Paradoxa, and Somnium Scipionis... Basel, 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,
Politian (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

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,
Ammiarius Marellinus (330–95), Roman historian.

190. jean de sicille en un volume,

191. cuspiani 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. Titilinii opera en un volume
196. Thucydides opera en un volume,
Thucydides (c.460–c.400), Athenian historian.

197. Annales boiorum aucutini en un volume,
Joannes Aventinus (1477–1534), Annales boiorum, sive veteris Germaniae
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198. Historia hungariae en un volume,

199. Mathaeus Paris en un volume,
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200. Chronica Daniae en un volume,
Albertus Krantz, Regnorum Aquilonarum, Daniae, Suetiae, Norvagiae
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201. Meursius 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,
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202. Meyerus annales flandriae en un volume,
Jacques de Meyere, Commentarii sive annales rerum Flandicarum libri
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203. Taper en un volume,

204. Bizarus de historia persica en un volume,
Patri Bizari, Rerum persicarum historia in XII libros descripta, Antwerp,
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205. Revolution d’angleterre par buoner en deux volumes,

206. Chronicorum turcicorum en un volume,
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origo, principes, imperatores, bella, proelium, caedes, victoriae, relique
militaris ratio . . . exponitur, Frankfurt, 1584 [BAV].

207. Historia delle guerre di Francia de Davila in 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. Xenophonio vol opera,
Xenophon (c.435–354 B.C.), Greek historian.
211. pauzanians vol,
    Pausianias (fl. c.160), Greek geographer and historian.

212. polidor vol.

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 merveilleux 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 officiia eclesiae v.,

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.,

223. idem bergarius historia

224. idem thuanus historia galliae, 4 volumes

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

229. corpus christianae doctrinae en un volume,
Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560), *Corpus doctrinae Christianae* . . . 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,

233. historia ecclesiastica en un volume,

234. historia gotteschalci en un volume,

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 desitiit, ad finem MDCXL*, 3 vols, Paris, 1641 [Daton, 26].

237. eusebea en quatre volumes,

238. concilium tridentinum en un volume,
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239. concilium jllibertianum en un volume,
Fernando de Mendoza (1566–1648), *Vetusissimun Concilium Illiberritanum, quatro 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].
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241. acta ecclesiae mediolanensis en deux volumes,

242. item metropolitana ecclesiae turonensis en un volume,
    Synodal decrees of the archdiocese of Tours.

243. tyrri 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 en un volume,

246. historia seu chronicon naucleri en deux volumes,
    Joannes Nauclerus, Chronica . . . succinctim compræhendentia res memorables 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 biblioteca 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. fratures polonorum en huit volumes imparfaits,
Biblioteca fratrum Polonorum quos Unitarios vocant, Amsterdam, 8 vols, 1656 [BL] Collection of Socinian writings.

263. misterium iniquitatis en un volume,
Ludwig Camerarius (1573–1651), Mysterium Iniquitatis, sive secreta sectaeurum turo-papistica secreta, contra libellum famosum sub titolo segreta Calvin Turcica, auctore quonam personata Theonest Cogmandolo . . . Justinopoli, 1625 [BAV].

264. chamieri opera en quatre volumes,

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,

272. lorgann d’[a]ristote en un volume,
Aristotle’s Organon.
273. de sainctes en un volume,
Claude de Sainctes, bishop of Evreux (1525–9?), De rebus Eucharistiae controversis . . . Paris, 1575 [BAV].

274. duperon en quatre volumes,

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 ouevres 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. percrius
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. Maria Parisiensis, Magister Petrus Cantor Parisien in fine libri sui qui intitulatur verbum abbreviatum: sic procedit contra monacos 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. daille
Jean Daille (1594–1670), French reformer.

289. julius percius[?]
290. **Costar**

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*