

Marsh's Library – A Mirror on the World

Law, learning and libraries,
1650–1750

Muriel McCarthy and Ann Simmons
EDITORS



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The library of Élie Bouhéreau: the intellectual universe of a Huguenot refugee and his family*

Philip Benedict and Pierre-Olivier Léchot

A private library is the record of its owner's intellectual formation, interests and impulse purchases over a lifetime. In early modern Europe it was also a palimpsest of its owner's family history, since large personal libraries typically contained far more books that were 50, 100 or 150 years old than do most modern private libraries, and significant chunks of many large libraries were inherited from other family members and thus reflected their profession and intellectual orientation rather than those of the library's last owner. While friends and users of Marsh's Library will be very familiar with the first librarian of the library, Élie, or Elias, Bouhéreau, as his family history and biography is pertinent to how his library was put together, we must begin by recalling this.¹

Bouhéreau descended from an important La Rochelle family that was part of the Reformed church of that Huguenot stronghold from the early years of the cause. Pierre Bouhéreau, a merchant and member of the municipal council, was one of the initial eight members of the Church's consistory.² He and his son played a role in municipal government over the subsequent decades. At least part of the family came through the terrible siege of 1628 that ended the era of Protestant political domination of the city and reduced the city's Protestant population by half – not least because Élie's father (born in 1603),

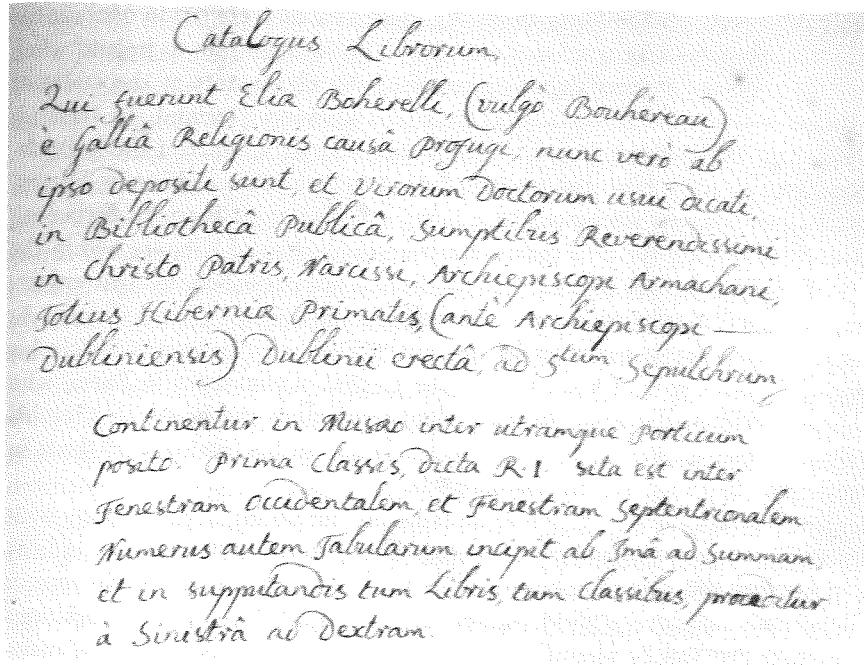
* We would like to express our gratitude to Maria-Cristina Pitassi, Andréa Carlino and James Amelang for their help in the elaboration of this paper. ¹ For more detail, see Muriel McCarthy, 'Élie Bouhéreau, first public librarian in Ireland' in *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* 27 (2001), 543–60; and Ruth Whelan, 'Marsh's Library and the French Calvinist tradition: the manuscript diary of Élie Bouhéreau (1643–1719)' in M. McCarthy and A. Simmons (eds), *The making of Marsh's Library* (Dublin, 2004), pp 209–34. These supersede the entries in E. and E. Haag, *La France protestante*, 10 vols (Paris, 1846–58), ii, 420–1 and *La France protestante*, 6 vols (2nd ed., Paris, 1877–88), ii, 981–4. ² P. Rambaud, *De La Rochelle vers l'Aunis. L'histoire des réformés et de leurs Églises dans un province française au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 2003), pp 219, 307, 331–2; *La France protestante*, 1st ed., ii, 420–21. There is no mention of the family in either Judith Pugh Meyer, *Reformation in La Rochelle* (Geneva, 1996) or Kevin C. Robbins, *City on the ocean sea: La Rochelle, 1530–1650. Urban society, religion, and politics on the French Atlantic frontier* (Leiden, 1997).

also named Élie, like his father before him, was away from La Rochelle at the time, studying in Geneva for the ministry.³ This Élie served as pastor first in Fontenay-le-Comte and then in La Rochelle until his death in 1653. He is not known to have published any writings.⁴

His son, Élie III, the future Sir Elias, was born in 1643. He studied at the important Huguenot academy of Saumur, where he appears to have been particularly close to Tanneguy Lefevre (1615–72), a somewhat louche professor of the humanities said by Voltaire to have been ‘*plus philosophe que huguenot*’, who had been educated by the Jesuits of La Flèche before converting to Protestantism and who earned renown as the translator and editor of numerous ancient works.⁵ Élie III purchased quite a few books from Lefevre’s library and owned many editions of ancient authors prepared by him.⁶ After completing his humanities, Élie studied medicine and received his degree in that subject in 1655 from the University of Orange, an institution notorious as one of those medical schools where obtaining a diploma required little more than paying the necessary fees. This was followed by a voyage to Italy with his cousin and future La Rochelle medical colleague, Élie Richard (1645–1706).⁷ After both men returned to La Rochelle to begin medical practice, Bouhéreau also found time to devote himself to classical studies and lit-

³ See S. Stelling-Michaud (ed.), *Le Livre du recteur de l’Académie de Genève (1559–1878)*, 6 vols (Geneva, 1959–80), ii, 290 (No. 2702). Élie II registered as a student in theology on 14 Nov. 1626. ⁴ Stelling-Michaud errs in attributing a translation of the *Contra Celsum* to him. This was, in fact, the work of his son, Élie III. ⁵ On Lefevre, in addition to *La France protestante*, 1st ed., vi, 499–505, see F. Laplanche, *L’Écriture, le sacré et l’histoire, érudits et politiques protestants devant la Bible en France au XVIIe siècle* (Amsterdam, 1986), pp. 545–50.

⁶ Alongside the entry for Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum* (Paris, 1636), Bouhéreau’s catalogue notes ‘Hic Liber, cum multis aliis, è Tan: Fabri Bibliothecâ coemptus est ab Eliâ Boherello, Eliae fil: Eliae nep: Petri pronep:’ (p. 579). Bouhéreau’s copy of Statius, *Opera*, Paris, 1618, is also known to have come from Lefevre’s library. The books in whose preparation Lefevre had a hand that are found in the Bouhéreau library catalogue number about ten. Examples include Lucian, *Timon* (Paris, 1651); Lucian, *De Morte peregrini libellus* (Paris, 1653); Longinus, *De Sublimi libellus* (Saumur, 1663); Phaedrus, *Fabulae* and Publius Syrus, *Sententiae* (Saumur, 1664); Marcus Junianus Justinus, *Historia ex Trogo Pompeio* (Saumur, 1671); and the works of Horace and Terence (both Saumur, 1671). ⁷ On Richard, see *La France protestante*, 1st ed., viii, 432–3. According to the *Livre du recteur* and *La France protestante*, 2nd ed., Élie II Bouhéreau married Blandine Richard, the aunt of Élie Richard. Élie III fought several medical battles alongside his cousin and owned two books by him: *Lettre à Mademoiselle d[e La] B[arouère] sur le choix d'un médecin* (La Rochelle, 1683) and *Réflexions physiques sur la transsubstantiation contre Jacques Rohault* (Saumur, 1675). When Nicolas Venette replied to Richard’s *Lettre à Mademoiselle D B* with contradictory advice, Bouhéreau answered Venette in turn with a short pamphlet of his own, *Réponse de Mademoiselle D B à la seconde lettre qui luy a été écrite sur le choix d'un médecin* (La Rochelle, 1683). Bouhéreau and Richard were also parties together in a lawsuit that pitted them against Venette and several other La Rochelle doctors. Laurence Brockliss and Colin Jones, *The medical world of early modern France* (Oxford, 1997), p. 186n.



Page from manuscript shelf catalogue compiled by Élie Bouhéreau,
first librarian of Marsh's Library

erary pursuits. He corresponded with the Protestant literary lion Valentin Conrart. At Conrart's suggestion he began working on what would become his chief claim to scholarly fame, an edition of Origen's *Contra Celsum*.⁸ His diary, elegantly analyzed by Ruth Whelan, shows that he was also a committed member of his church, who might, on occasion, write to a preacher he had just heard to engage in further discussion of the biblical text that was the topic of the sermon. He was judged sufficiently *opinionâtre* that after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes he was ordered by *lettre de cachet* to leave La Rochelle and settle in Poitiers, in order to prevent him from exhorting his fellow Rochelais to remain constant in their faith. Shortly thereafter he was able to slip out of France to England, where he arrived in London in January 1686. His wife and most of his children subsequently followed him, although his youngest daughter had to remain behind in La Rochelle, where she had been placed in a convent. Élie subsequently entered the service of two promi-

⁸ Charles Ancillon, *Mémoires concernant les vies et les ouvrages de plusieurs modernes, célèbres dans la République des Lettres* (Amsterdam, 1709; repr. Geneva, 1970), pp 41, 57, 131. On Conrart, see Nicolas Schapira, *Un professionnel des lettres au XVIIe siècle: Valentin Conrart: une histoire sociale* (Seyssel, 2003).

inent diplomats and military men, Thomas Cox and Henri de Massue de Ruvigny, for whom he acted as a secretary. This brought him to Ireland when de Ruvigny, the former deputy general of the Huguenots at the court of France, was named Lord Galway and lord justice of Ireland. In Ireland, Bouhéreau obtained the favour of Archbishop Marsh, another of the lord justices, who in 1701 procured for him the post of librarian of his new library. As the position was supported by a living attached to St Patrick's cathedral, Bouhéreau quickly received ordination from the bishop of Kilmore within the established Church of Ireland. In 1700 Bouhéreau published, in Amsterdam, his annotated translation from Greek to Latin of Origen's *Contra Celsum*. As for his library, he managed to get that out of France by arranging, before his flight, a phony sale of his books to the English ambassador in Paris, who shipped them to London for him. Bouhéreau gave the books to Marsh's Library when he was made librarian, and drew up his catalogue of them in 1714.⁹ He died in 1719, aged seventy-six.

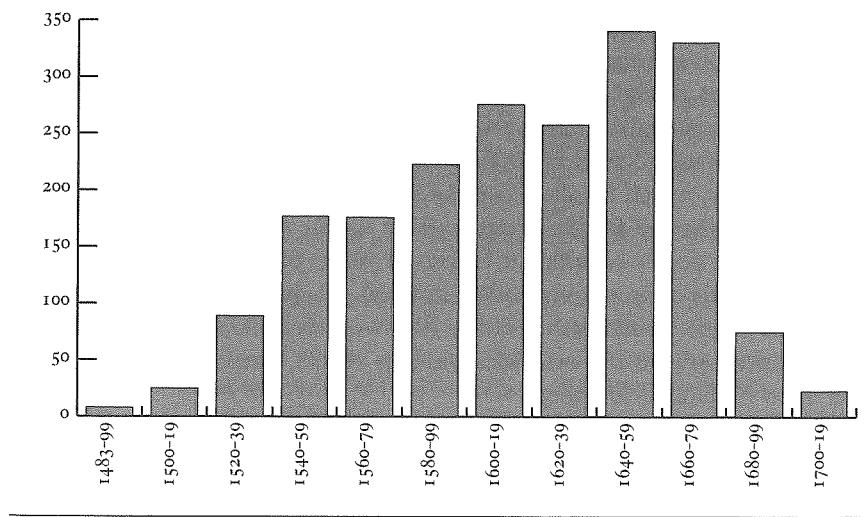
Bouhéreau's library catalogue contains, by our count, 1,741 entries, with virtually every entry having an approximate title, the author and an indication of place and date of publication. Quite a few of the entries are for *recueils factices* in which several short printed works are bound together. If each separate title that can be identified is counted and if the small number of manuscripts and serials listed in the catalogue are removed, one arrives at an estimate of the total number of printed books in his library of 2,022. All statistics about the breakdown of the library have been computed with reference to this universe of 2,022 titles. By the standards of the day a library of 2,022 titles and 1,741 volumes was large, but not extraordinary. To offer some points of comparison: the library of Bouhéreau's near contemporary, Pierre Jurieu, a theologian and university professor, contained 2,294 works when it was auctioned off after his death in 1713.¹⁰ The seventeenth-century Metz minister Paul Ferry, learned enough to engage Bossuet in controversy, had a library of 2,596 volumes.¹¹ A lesser Metz minister of the mid-seventeenth century, Abraham de La Cloche, had 836 volumes; the Swiss pastor David Girard (1626–1716) about 570; and the great English Puritan divine Richard Baxter approximately 1,400.¹² All these figures pale in comparison with the kinds of

⁹ Dr Bouhéreau shelf catalogue, Marsh's Library. ¹⁰ Emile Kappler, 'Le catalogue de la vente de la bibliothèque de Pierre Jurieu (1713)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 142 (1996), 474, 478. ¹¹ Roger Mazauric, *Le pasteur Paul Ferry* (Metz, 1964), p. 124. ¹² Philip Benedict, 'Protestant and Catholic book ownership in seventeenth-century Metz' in *The faith and fortunes of France's Huguenots, 1600–85* (Aldershot, 2001), p. 181; Archives de l'État de Neuchâtel, papiers de la Vénérable Classe des pasteurs, carton 21, 'catalogue de la bibliothèque de la Vénérable Classe de pasteurs', 1743 (with internal notation of the books previously belonging to David Girard); M. Kadane, 'Les bibliothèques de deux théologiens réformés du XVIIe siècle, l'un puritain, l'autre pasteur huguenot' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*,

collections that the greatest learned figures, famous for their erudition and their libraries, might assemble: roughly 13,000 volumes in the case of the library of Jacques-Auguste II de Thou, who died in 1677, and 30,000 volumes in the case of Jean Bouhier, who died in 1746.¹³

The breakdown of these books according to their date of publication illustrates the prevalence of old and inherited books in early modern private libraries, a characteristic exaggerated in this case by the fact that Bouhéreau seems to have acquired very few books in the last thirty years of his life. The median age of his books was ninety-seven years old when he drew up his inventory in 1714; to put this another way, the median date of publication was 1617. Figure 1, below, reveals the breakdown by twenty-year periods. As can be seen, the library contains just eight incunabula and relatively few works from the early sixteenth century. The number of titles picks up appreciably after 1540. It trends generally upwards until 1680, after which a dramatic drop follows. Only sixty-four of the books date from 1685 and beyond. If these were the only acquisitions Bouhéreau made after fleeing France – and he could, of course, also have purchased older books – he bought or received scarcely two books a year over the last three decades of his life. In all, 35 per cent of his books date from the sixteenth century;

Figure 1: Books in Bouhéreau's library by date of publication



¹³ 147 (2001), 67–100. 13 Antoine Coron, “‘Ut prosint aliis’: Jacques-Auguste de Thou et sa bibliothèque” in Claude Jolly (ed.), *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises. Les bibliothèques sous l’Ancien Régime 1530–1789* (Paris, 1988), pp. 102–25, esp. pp. 106–7; Dominique Varry, ‘Grandes collections et bibliothèques des élites’ in *ibid.*, p. 237.

another 34 per cent date from the first half of the seventeenth century; and 28 per cent from the years 1650–85. As will soon become evident, there is good reason to suspect that many of the books from the first two of these periods came from his father, the minister Élie II, and not simply because the library catalogue notes that the copy of William Perkins' *Harmoniae bibliorum* includes a handwritten outline of sacred chronology in the elder Bouhéreau's hand. Some of the books came from yet more distant ancestors involved in Rochelais politics and administration, notably Élie's great-uncle Joseph Guillaudeau, a lawyer.¹⁴ The next generation also contributed to the library, with a Bible printed in Niort that Élie III's eldest son, still another Élie, won as the second prize for piety when he was a student at Saumur, just before the Revocation. (His father must have kept this for its sentimental value after the young man died in Wesel in 1697 when the two Élies were returning to England after accompanying de Ruvigny to Piedmont during the War of the League of Augsburg.)

Perhaps because of the age of so many of the books, and also because of Bouhéreau's interest in classical studies and medicine, the library is surprisingly heavily weighted toward books in ancient languages for an early eighteenth-century collection. As Table 1 shows, Bouhéreau owned substantially more books in Latin than in French. He also evidently read Italian far better or more avidly than English, despite his purchase of Guy Miege's 1685 *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre l'anglais*, presumably one of the first books he acquired after arriving in Britain, followed not long after by John Chalmer's *English orthography* (1687).

Even though members of the Bouhéreau clan travelled abroad at various times, and even though the book trade was always international in this age when Latin remained the *lingua franca* of the learned, successive generations of the family procured their books first and foremost from France and Geneva. Table 2, below, which breaks down the library's holdings by place of publication, shows that by far the greatest single source of books was Paris, with 547 titles. The degree to which it eclipsed Lyon (133 titles) underscores how thoroughly Paris came to overshadow its great provincial rival as a source for new books in the seventeenth century. For books published prior to 1600 the ratio of titles between the two cities was just 189:88, but for books published after 1600 it climbed to 358:48.¹⁵

¹⁴ Élie I married Susanne Guillaudeau, Joseph's sister. *La France protestante*, 2nd ed., ii, 982. Joseph Guillaudeau's manuscript diary, published as *Diaire de Joseph Guillaudeau, sieur de Beaupréau (1584–1643)* Louis Meschinot de Richemond (ed.) (La Rochelle, 1908), is part of the Bouhéreau collection of Marsh's Library. The signature 'J. Guillaudeau' appears within at least two volumes owned by Bouhéreau now in the Library: Gabriele Catiani, *De eo quod interest syntagma* (Lyon, 1542) and Joachim Fortius, *Rhetorica* (Paris, 1554). ¹⁵ According to Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *L'apparition du livre* (Paris, 1958), p. 271, approx-

Table 1: Number of books in different languages in Bouhéreau's library

Language	Number of titles
Latin	1,181
French	734
Greek	166
Italian	70
Hebrew	26
English	17
Chaldean	5
Dutch	3
Syriac	3

Note: the numbers add up to more than the number of titles in the library due to multi-lingual works, for example, Latin-French editions of certain ancient authors, trilingual bibles, multi-language dictionaries.

The strikingly large number of Saumur imprints in the Bouhéreau library – just 725 books or pamphlets were published in that city over the two centuries 1500–1699 and one hundred show up here! – emphasizes how central that town was to Bouhéreau's intellectual formation.¹⁶ Other confession-specific local and regional circuits of production and distribution also contributed significantly to the composition of the library, as is suggested by the place occupied in Table 2 by La Rochelle, Niort, Bergerac, Fontenay-le-Comte and Maillé, these last all tiny printing centres that appear here because they were close to La Rochelle and housed Huguenot printers at one time or another.¹⁷ Internationally, it is striking to note the pre-eminent place occupied not only by Geneva but also by Leiden and Amsterdam. Again, the confessional factor

imately 25,000 books were published in Paris and 15,000 in Lyon in the sixteenth century. Comparable estimates of the relative production of the two cities are not available for the seventeenth century, but historians of the book have underscored the great expansion of Parisian production in that period and the tendency for the capital's printers to monopolize the privileges for new books, while Lyon's printers experienced a crisis around 1635 and recovered by reorienting themselves primarily to the production of Catholic devotional works. Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier (eds), *Histoire de l'édition française*, 4 vols (Paris, 1983–6), i, 443, 449, ii, 95–7, 282–3. 16 *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle*, 7 vols (Baden-Baden, 1989–2000), vi, 59–62; *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au XVIIe siècle*, 27 vols (Baden-Baden, 1978–2005), i, 141–245.

17 The works cited in the previous note reveal the following total number of editions for these towns 1500–1699: La Rochelle, 763; Niort, 216; Bergerac, 51; Fontenay-le-Comte, 82; Maillé, 29.

Table 2: Books in Bouhéreau's library by place of publication

Paris	547	Leiden	128	Hamburg	3
Lyon	133	Amsterdam	118	Wittenberg	3
Saumur	100	Antwerp	44	Helmstedt	2
La Rochelle	55	The Hague	13	Tübingen	2
Rouen	44	Rotterdam	9	Altenburg	1
Sedan	13	Utrecht	4	Braunschweig	1
Poitiers	10	Dordrecht	2	Erfurt	1
Niort	6	Douai	2	Hagenau	1
Bordeaux	6	Gouda	2	Halle	1
Caen	5	Arras	1	Jena	1
Montauban	5	Breda	1	Linz	1
Bergerac	3	Deventer	1	Marburg	1
Castres	3	Franeker	1	Passau	1
Besançon	2	Groningen	1		
Fontenay-le-Comte	2	Liège	1	Copenhagen	4
Orléans	2	Lille	1		
Toulouse	2	Louvain	1	Venice	43
Angers	1	Mons	1	Rome	11
Angoulême	1	Nijmegen	1	Florence	4
Avignon	1	Zierikzee	1	Pavia	4
Blois	1			Padua	3
Bourg en Bresse	1	Basel	78	Bologna	1
Châteaumeillant	1	Zurich	13	Ferrara	1
Dijon	1	Bern	2	Genoa	1
Limoges	1	Schaffhausen	1	Naples	1
Maillé	1			Reggio d'Emilia	1
Montpellier	1	Frankfurt	49		
Nîmes	1	Cologne	22	Poschiavo	1
Orange	1	Heidelberg	15		
Orthez	1	Hanau	14	London	47
Péronne	1	Strasbourg	12	Oxford	8
Troyes	1	Herborn	10	Dublin	5
Valence	1	Neustadt	8	Cambridge	3
Vannes	1	Leipzig	7	Saint Andrews	1
		Siegen	7		
Geneva	133	Mainz	4	'Pamplona'	1
Lausanne	1	Berlin	3		

Notes: 8% of the entries in the Bouhéreau catalogue fail to indicate place of publication. Books listed in the catalogue with a place of publication that is the locale of a Protestant temple situated near a major city have been classified with the city in question, as this is where they were typically produced; thus, Charenton imprints appear under Paris, Quévilly under Rouen, and so forth. Manifestly spurious places of publication are not included, nor are those we could not identify with confidence.

was important here, but in this case the strength of the maritime trade connections linking the Dutch Republic to La Rochelle probably further reinforced the prominence Leiden and Amsterdam earned by merit of their importance as centres of Reformed theology, learning and printing in the wake of the Dutch Revolt.

Despite Élie III's travels to Italy, his or his family's taste for Italian literature and the enduring importance of the Italian peninsula within the world of European higher education, the great Italian printing centres of Venice and Rome are outpaced in Table 2 not just by the presses of the Netherlands but also by those of Germany and the Swiss Confederation, which is partly an indication of the extent to which Protestant intellectuals looked to Basel and Protestant Germany for books, and partly a mark of Italy's decline as a centre of the international book trade in the seventeenth century.¹⁸ While English imprints approximately equalled Italian ones within the Bouhéreau library, the sole book said by its title page to come from the Iberian peninsula, a back-water of international book production in the early modern era, was the *Dispute de l'âne contre T. touchant la preminence de l'homme par devant les animaux, traduite de l'espagnol* by the fourteenth-century Mallorcan friar who converted to Islam, Anselme Turmeda (Pamplona, 1606) – very probably a false imprint.¹⁹

Dividing the books in a library by subject categories is at best an uncertain science, since so many books defy easy classification. Our breakdown of Bouhéreau's books by subject yields the results spelled out in Table 3, below, where the structure of his library is compared with that of several other Huguenots of the mid-seventeenth century. As can be seen, the largest group of books in his library concern religion (734 titles), while *belles-lettres* (390) and history (313) are also represented more heavily than medicine (180), philosophy (140) or science (113), even though Bouhéreau was a doctor. This is somewhat unusual as the core of many large, learned libraries was composed of books related directly to the owner's occupation, as shown in Table 3 by the cases of Josias Floris and Abraham de La Cloche.

Floris' library offers a particularly interesting contrast with Bouhéreau's because he was the sole medical doctor with an important library encountered by Benedict in his study of Huguenot book-ownership in seventeenth-century Metz. Over half of Floris' books were medical books; *belles-lettres* and

¹⁸ 60 of the 70 Italian imprints in the Bouhéreau library date from before 1630. Cf. Martin, 'Une croissance séculière' in *Histoire de l'édition française*, ii, 97, where he remarks 'dès 1620–1630 l'édition italienne avait cessé d'être exportatrice'. ¹⁹ Antonio Pérez Goyena, *Ensayo de bibliografía navarra desde la creación de la imprenta en Pamplona hasta al año 1910*, 9 vols (Pamplona, 1947–64), ii, 28–30. Turmeda's *Dispute de l'âne* was listed on the Index of prohibited books. The 1606 edition was probably printed in either Lyon or Paris, where earlier editions had appeared.

Table 3: Breakdown of Bouhéreau's library by subject matter, in comparison with four other Huguenot libraries

	Number of titles	Percentage of titles by category						
		Religion	Belles- lettres	Philosophy	History	Law	Sciences	Medicine
Élie Bouhéreau Josias Floris, medical doctor, 1647	2,022	36	19	7	16	3	6	9
Jacques Couet, Barrister, 1652	695	5	22	10	6	0.3	5	52
Abraham de La Cloche, minister, 1656	765	42	13	2	11	20	3	9
Jean Bancelin, goldsmith, 1653	838	60	16	5	11	3	5	1
	271	34	7	5	37	11	5	1

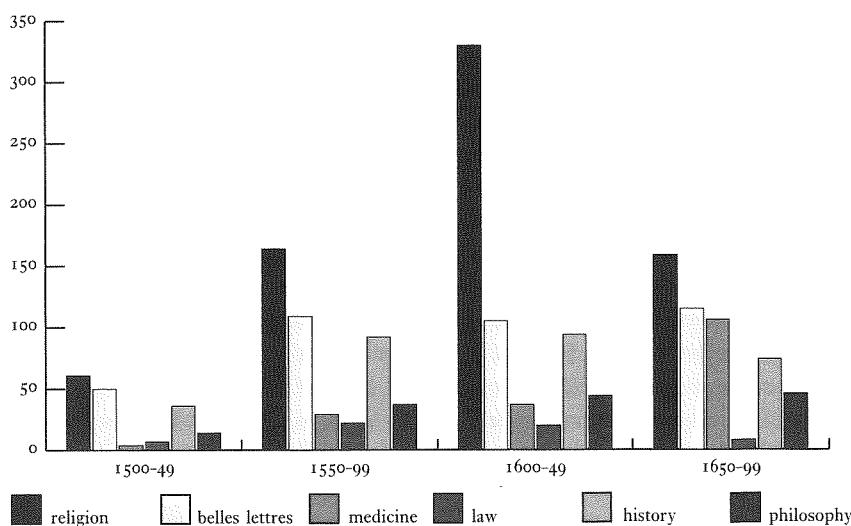
Sources: Bouhéreau library catalogue; Archives Départementales de la Moselle, B 3352, 3355, 3357; Benedict, 'Protestant and Catholic book ownership', pp 181–7.

philosophy followed well behind; and he had just thirty religious books. But as the library of the barrister Jacques Couet shows, other large Metz Huguenot private libraries also had the breadth of contents found in Bouhéreau's library, especially when inherited books bulked large within them; Couet's grandfather was a pastor, which explains the high percentage of religious works in his library.²⁰ In the case of the Bouhéreau library, its breadth of distribution across the various subject categories can be attributed both to the inheritance factor and to the range of Élie III's own intellectual interests and activities.

The likely importance of inherited books shows up especially clearly when we look at the largest category of Bouhéreau's books – those concerning religion. Works from the first half of the seventeenth century bulk especially large here, as is shown by Figure 2, which sets forth the breakdown of the books in different categories by fifty-year periods. The authors represented most frequently also derive predominantly from this period. Listing them in descending order for the frequency of titles from their pen, they are:

²⁰ Benedict, 'Protestant and Catholic book ownership', p. 156.

Figure 2: Books in Bouhéreau's library by category and date of publication



Moyse Amyraut	49 titles
Pierre Du Moulin	31 titles
John Calvin	17 titles
Jean Daillé	16 titles
Theodore Beza	15 titles
Johan Piscator	11 titles
Philippe Duplessis-Mornay	10 titles
Philippe Vincent	9 titles
Charles Drelincourt	8 titles
Jean Mestrezat	8 titles
Philip Melanchthon	8 titles

Apart from three noteworthy exceptions, these are precisely the authors whom we know from other sources to have been particularly sought out by seventeenth-century French Protestant buyers and who show up frequently in other Huguenot library inventories.²¹ The three unusual aspects of this list are: first,

²¹ Cf. Benedict, 'Protestant and Catholic book ownership', pp. 167–8; Henri-Jean Martin and M. Lecocq, *Livres et lecteurs à Grenoble. Les registres du libraire Nicolas (1645–1668)*, 2 vols (Geneva, 1977), *passim*.

the presence of Piscator (1546–1625), the Herborn theologian whose pithy Bible commentaries were much appreciated in early seventeenth-century Reformed theological circles, and may have been appreciated by Élie II for the help they could provide him in preparing his sermons; second, the presence of Philippe Vincent, a relatively little-known author nationally or internationally, who appears here because he was the chief pastor of La Rochelle in the 1630s and 1640s and Élie III's godfather (Vincent's books listed in the catalogue are chiefly short tracts directed against local Catholic preachers and sermons or treatises against dancing); and third, the extremely large number of works by Amyraut. Among seventeenth-century Huguenots more generally, Pierre Du Moulin, Charles Drelincourt and Jean Daillé were all generally more popular than Amyraut. That the Bouhéreaus had so many of his works suggests they had an unusually strong interest in, if not attachment to, his controversial ideas.²² Since eighteen of the Amyraut titles listed in the catalogue were published after the elder Bouhéreau's death in 1653, this interest must have been more that of Élie III than of Élie II. The latter appears from his Genevan formation and from the books that he acquired to have been fairly orthodox in his theological orientation.

Other features of the universe of religious books in the library confirm the impression that this part of the collection had once been the working library of a pastor of the first half of the seventeenth century. One finds, for instance, twenty-five bibles in various languages and editions, most bearing dates of publication from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. One finds various aids for biblical study and interpretation, notably Bible commentaries by Luther, Bucer, Brenz, Piscator, Zanchi, Pareus and Musculus. One finds numerous works of Catholic–Protestant controversy dating from the years 1580–1650 and also, as with other Huguenot pastoral libraries from this period, numerous Catholic works. Some of these could have been appreciated by Protestants for their contents, such as two Bible commentaries by the humanist Catholic Claude d'Espence. Others are much more likely to have been acquired the better to know and rebut the enemy, such as the catechism of the Council of Trent, the rules of the Society of Jesus and Jean-Pierre Camus' *Traité du chef de l'Église*. Providing the faithful with the arguments necessary to counter those of their would-be *convertisseurs* was one of the central tasks of seventeenth-century Huguenot ministers. The library also contains many works

²² Élie III owned also thirteen works by other controversial theologians of the Academy of Saumur: John Cameron (7), Louis Cappel (4), Josué La Place (1) and Claude Pajon (1). In sharp contrast with Élie III Bouhéreau's 47 books by Amyraut, the Swiss orthodox pastor David Girard owned just 8 books from his pen, only one of which was about the chief point of controversy in the debate between Amyraut and the strict Calvinist theologians: the question of grace and predestination. Archives de l'Etat de Neuchâtel, papiers de la Vénérable Classe des pasteurs, carton 21.

dealing with intra-Protestant controversies, especially the Remonstrant quarrel in the Netherlands and the Amyraldian controversy in France. Further pointing to the conclusion that most of the books in this category were assembled by Élie II is the fact that the library includes all of the few books published by two professors of theology active in Geneva during Élie II's student years, Theodore Tronchin and Benedict Turrettini, as well as a 1618 Geneva edition of John Sharp's *Cursus theologicus*, a basic introduction to the points of dispute between Catholics and Protestants for theology students of that time.²³ One also notes with interest a few classics of scholastic theology – Peter Lombard's *Sentences* (Paris, 1518), Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologiae* (Lyon, 1608), Duns Scotus' *Scriptum oxoniense* (Paris, 1519), these last two important in the making of Reformed neo-scholasticism – and a few works of those Renaissance authors whom Protestants recuperated as contributors to the restoration of the pure gospel: Lorenzo Valla's annotations on the New Testament (Basel, 1526), Savonarola's meditations on the psalms (Paris, 1538) and *Oracolo della renovatione della Chiesa* (Venice, 1543) and Juan de Valdes' *Divine considerations and holy meditations* (Lyon, 1601).

The religious books published after 1653, and thus acquired by Élie III, can offer some clues as to the theological and controversial issues that grabbed the attention of this pious doctor and pastor's son in the generation before the Revocation. Works in the vernacular of an apologetic or controversial character were particularly numerous, which is unsurprising for this period when the pressure on the Huguenot minority to convert was growing still more intense. Bouhéreau followed particularly closely the debate between Antoine Arnauld and Jean Claude over the eucharist and that occasioned by Isaac d'Huisseau's *Réunion du christianisme*, buying treatises on both sides of each question. (Tanneguy Lefevre launched and championed d'Huisseau's book.)²⁴ He also did not hesitate to acquire expositions of Catholic doctrine, such as Bossuet's *Exposition de la doctrine de l'Église catholique*. While contemporary controversies attracted the lion's share of his attention, he also picked up such forbiddingly scholarly works as Petrus Cunaeus' *De republica Hebraeorum*, John Selden's *De dis syris syntagma*, and J.H. Heidegger's *De historia sacra*, not to mention two of the century's most daring works of critical biblical scholarship: Isaac de La Peyrière's *Exercitio de Praeadamitis* and Richard Simon's *Histoire critique du vieux testament*. After Amyraut, the authors he purchased most frequently were Daille, Jean Claude (probably the most widely

²³ Still other books appreciated by theology students of this era in the Bouhéreau library are the *Synopsis purioris theologiae* (Leiden, 1625) (a collective work of the Leiden Contra-Remonstrant professors Rivet, Thysius, Walaeus and Polyander), Keckermann's *Systema theologicum* (Hanau, 1607) and William Bucanus (Guillaume Du Buc), *Institutiones theologiae* (Geneva, 1612). ²⁴ R. Stauffer, *L'affaire d'Huisseau, Une controverse protestante au sujet de la réunion des chrétiens (1670–1671)* (Paris, 1969), p. 8.

diffused Huguenot author of the generation immediately prior to the Revocation), Pierre de Launay (a learned elder of Charenton and the author of biblical commentaries who supported Amyraut in the debates over universal grace, but parted company with him in predicting the imminent arrival of the millennium) and Pierre Jurieu.²⁵

Since the Bouhéreau family would ultimately make its way to Ireland, it is interesting to see what knowledge it had of the complex British religious scene prior to arrival. Relatively little, it would appear. Of British religious authors, the one who appears most often in Bouhéreau's library is William Whitaker, the late sixteenth-century moderate Puritan divine much appreciated by continental Protestants for his skills as an anti-Catholic controversialist.²⁶ Most of the other British divines who appear in the catalogue of the Bouhéreau library also lived in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century and are among those churchmen whom previous studies have shown to have been translated frequently into French, or whose Latin works are known to have been circulated widely on the Continent: William Perkins, Joseph Hall, Lewis Bayly, Daniel Dyke and (a bit less common) Robert Rollock.²⁷ Once again we are back in the mental world of the first part of the seventeenth century; the doctrinal disputes that would divide the English church from the Arminian controversy onward are unimportant in these works. By contrast, the Bouhéreau catalogue does not mention a single work of Richard Baxter, the most important English theologian of the second half of the century, nor does it contain any works by the authors Baxter read most extensively: John Owen, Henry Hammond, Edward Stillingfleet, and James Ussher.²⁸ Élie III's few English religious works from the years 1650–85 included a three-volume edition of Tillotson's sermons, John Cosin's *Historia transubstantiationis papalis* and Thomas Pierce's *Pacificatorium orthodoxae theologiae corpusculum*. Like most Huguenots, even learned ones, he would have arrived in Britain knowing little about the archipelago's theological debates, incapable, one presumes, of distinguishing a Presbyterian from a Congregationalist from a Quaker.

After his arrival, Bouhéreau acquired at least one work pertinent to British controversies – Edward Synge's sermon, *The divine authority of church gov-*

²⁵ The works by Jurieu that Bouhéreau owned were *Apologie de la morale des Réformez contre Antoine Arnauld* (Rouen, 1675), *Lettres à Louis Du Moulin sur la puissance de l'Église* (Rouen, 1677), *L'examen du livre de la réunion du Christianisme et réponse à son apologie*, and *La pratique de la dévotion ou Traité de l'amour divin* (Rotterdam, 1700). On de Launay, see F. Laplanche, *Orthodoxie et prédication: l'œuvre d'Amyraut et la querelle de la grâce universelle* (Paris, 1965), pp 254–5, 438–9. ²⁶ Whitaker's writings in this area made him the first post-Reformation English churchman to gain any wider European prominence. Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan church* (Cambridge, 1982), chpts 6, 8. ²⁷ Georges Ascoli, *La Grande-Bretagne devant l'opinion française au XVIIe siècle*, 2 vols (Lille, 1930), ii, 63–72, 87–103. ²⁸ Kadane, 'Bibliothèques de deux théologiens réformés', p. 89.

ernment and episcopacy (Dublin, 1710; perhaps a gift) – but he remained oriented toward books published by Huguenots in exile or those relevant to the issues of Catholic–Protestant controversy that had long set so much of the agenda for Huguenot thought. Among his acquisitions from these years were Jacques Abbadie's famous *De la vérité de la religion chrétienne*, Jean Claude's posthumous works and the abbé Boileau's history of flagellation, this last the kind of criticism of the excesses of Catholic devotion from within the Roman church that Protestants adored. Daniel de Superville's sermons, Ostervald's *Traité des sources de la corruption*, Jurieu's *Pratique de la dévotion* and Valentin Conrart's new translation of the psalms provided spiritual nourishment. The injustices the Huguenots had suffered and the history of La Rochelle's church prior to the Revocation also interested him, to judge by his acquisition of Benjamin de Daillon's *Examen du principal prétexte de l'oppression des Réformez en France* (Amsterdam, 1687), Henry Delaizement's *Histoire des réformez de La Rochelle depuis 1660 jusqu'en 1685* (Amsterdam, 1689) and Philippe Vincent's posthumously published *Recherches sur les commencements et les progrès de la réformation à La Rochelle* (Rotterdam, 1693). Finally, he displayed some limited curiosity about the radical ideas that were increasingly challenging Christian belief in this period of *la crise de la conscience européenne*. He acquired Johann Colerus' biography of Spinoza, which added to a well-informed life of the daring Jewish philosopher and biblical critic a defence of Christ's resurrection against Spinoza and his 'sect'. He acquired two rebuttals of Pierre Bayle's corrosive questioning of the claim that God was just, the 1702 *On the origin of evil* by the soon-to-be archbishop of Dublin William King, and Jean de La Placette's 1707 *Réponse à deux objections qu'on oppose de la part de la raison à ce que la foi nous apprend sur l'origine du mal et sur le mystère de la Trinité*. He did not, however, acquire any works by Bayle or Spinoza themselves, nor any of Bayle's less conventional rationalist critics, such as Jean Le Clerc and Isaac Jaquelot, nor any works by Locke, nor any of the early English deists. Although he lived in Britain, most of his books from the years after 1700 came from the Netherlands, a sign of how fully that country overshadowed London as a Huguenot publishing centre and hub of the international Protestant republic of letters.

Philosophically, Élie III Bouhéreau seems to have remained a product of that mid- to late seventeenth-century moment in France when the Aristotelian philosophy that still dominated academic instruction in philosophy came under challenge from the ideas of Descartes and Gassendi. With numerous editions of Aristotle, such classics of Protestant school philosophy as Keckermann's and Pierre Du Moulin's logic, six volumes of manuscript notes on the philosophy courses on Aristotle that Élie III had taken at Saumur with the Aristotelian professor Isaac Hugues, and Hugues' published textbooks on ethics and metaphysics, the Bouhéreau library suggests several generations of family instruction in academic Aristotelianism, perhaps slightly mitigated by

some early instruction in Ramism, as suggested by the presence of Ramus' *Dialectica, declinationes* and *Rudimenta et grammatica Latina*.²⁹ The library also contains the works of Gassendi in six volumes and ten titles by Descartes, plus several additional works by some of those disciples of Descartes classified by Henri Gouhier as *cartésiens augustinisés*: Jacques Rohault, Louis La Forge and the anonymous author of *L'art de vivre heureux formé sur les maximes de René Descartes*.³⁰ Pierre de Villemandy's *Philosophiae Aristoteleae, Epicureae, Cartesiana parallelistus* (Saumur, 1675) and Jean-Baptiste Du Hamel's *De consensu veteris et novae philosophiae libri duo* (Rouen, 1675) may suggest a desire to reconcile these different approaches.³¹ Élie III also acquired the *Logique de Port-Royal* (1664) and Hobbes' *Leviathan* (1674), demonstrating a certain desire to keep up with the latest works in philosophy even after leaving the arts course behind. In the domain of natural philosophy, he owned such early seventeenth-century classics of the new science as Kepler's *De harmonia mundi* and Galileo on the two world systems, but no Newton. The only work in his library from the circle of the Royal Society was one of Robert Boyle's early presentations of his experimental methods in chemistry, *Certain physiological essays*, which he owned in the Latin edition of 1667. Other recent books of his in chemistry included the *Cours de chimie* (Paris, 1683) of the French practical chemist Nicolas Lémery (with whom Élie Richard is known to have studied) and Johann Joachim Becher's more alchemical *Oedipus chymicus* (Amsterdam, 1664).³²

The 180 medical books in Bouhéreau's library are much more heavily weighted towards titles published since 1650 than any other portion of his library (see Figure 2, above), suggesting that they were predominantly Élie III's own purchases. Once again, we find him reading, or at least buying, on both sides of the controverted questions of his day. The Paris medical world of the 1660s was divided between Galenists and *novatores*. Bouhéreau's library contained both such conservative pillars of the Paris medical faculty as Jean Riolan *père et fils*, and such *novatores* as William Harvey, Marcello Malpighi, Thomas Sydenham

²⁹ These last two works were published in La Rochelle in 1587 and 1588 and were probably used in the early stages of the educational *cursus* of members of the Bouhéreau family.

³⁰ These authors and works are discussed in Gouhier, *Cartésianisme et augustinisme au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1978), pp 58–79. ³¹ Villemandy was professor of philosophy at Saumur from 1669 to 1683. On his eclecticism, see Joseph Prost, *La philosophie à l'académie protestante de Saumur (1606–1685)* (Paris, 1907), pp 108 ff.

³² On Lémery, see P. Dorveaux, 'Apothicaires membres de l'Académie royale des sciences, VI. Nicolas Lémery', *Revue d'histoire de la pharmacie*, 19 (1931), pp 208–19 and C. Lécaillé, *L'aventure de la chimie jusqu'à Lavoisier* (Paris, 2004), pp 152–8 and 286–7. For Becher, see 'Johann Joachim Becher (1635–82)', in *Personalbibliographien zu den Drucken des Barock*, 6 vols (Stuttgart, 1990–93), i, 428–57; Pamela H. Smith, *The business of alchemy: science and culture in the Holy Roman Empire* (Princeton, 1994), a study of Becher that does not, however, discuss the *Oedipus Chymicus*.

and Thomas Willis. Many of the books are practical in character. Our colleague, Andrea Carlino, a specialist in the history of medicine, judges this part of the library to have been a fairly standard library of a practising doctor without a clearly defined orientation to any particular approach to medicine.

As we have seen, *belles-lettres* comprised the second largest category of Bouhéreau's books after religion. His collection included many of the classics of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century French literature and such widely circulating non-French Renaissance authors as Boccaccio, Ariosto, Tasso, Guarini and Cervantes. Among seventeenth-century French authors Malherbe, Boileau, Chapelain, Scarron, St Evremond, La Mothe Le Vayer, Guez de Balzac and La Fontaine all appear, but none of the early female novelists and none of the great playwrights of the French classical stage. Ancient authors occupy almost as much space in the *belles-lettres* category as do modern ones, with 162 titles as opposed to 225 modern – another sign of the profound immersion in classical culture that marked so many of the seventeenth-century learned, and an indication that in the contemporary debate between the ancients and the moderns, Élie III inclined toward the former. Sixteen years' worth of subscription to the *Journal des Scavans* and none of the *Mercure galant* also suggest that he oriented himself more towards the republic of letters than toward the courts and the salons of Paris. He did, however, acquire Courtin's manual *de la civilité française*, the Chevalier de Méré's dialogues concerning *honnêteté* and Félibien's description of the château of Versailles.

In the field of history, as in *belles-lettres*, the ancient world bulked large in the Bouhéreau library, with 111 works dedicated to the history and geography of antiquity. Table 4, below, spells out the geographic dispersion of the subject matter of the books devoted to recent history or geography. As can be seen, they focus quite strongly on French affairs, thanks chiefly to numerous pamphlets, news accounts, memoirs and compilations relating to the sixteenth-century Wars of Religion and to the sieges of La Rochelle and Montauban in the 1620s, as well as to the full-dress histories of Paolo Emilio, Jacques-Auguste de Thou, Agrippa d'Aubigné and Pierre Matthieu, which focus primarily or exclusively on France. The works on Italian history chiefly concern those subjects of great interest to early seventeenth-century Protestants: Paolo Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*, and the affair of the Venetian Interdict. While a few works, such as the Jesuit relations about China and India and the *Voyages et conquêtes de Courtois* [Cortez], offered information about those distant lands, the Ottoman empire was the portion of the non-Christian world that formed the subject of the largest number of books, as was more generally typical of European interest in the non-Western world at the time.³³

33 J.H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 12–14.

Table 4: Works of recent history and geography by geographical focus

General	16
Europe as a whole	5
France	61
Italy, including history of Papacy,	
Roman church	26
Germany	11
Britain	10
Netherlands	4
Switzerland	3
Iberia	2
Ottoman empire, Near East	10
Asia	5
Americas	3
Africa	2

The small number of law books in the collection date primarily from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century and cluster around a variety of preoccupations. Some are compilations of French laws, collections of notable pleas and works on the customary law of the region around La Rochelle. Several are works on demonology, including the classic pleas for the stern treatment of witchcraft by Pierre de Lancre and Jean Bodin. Several justify the French claims to Lorraine and other neighbouring territories. Four works concern the Edict of Nantes and subsequent legislation or court decisions concerning the status of the Reformed in France.

Finally, one of the most interesting features of the Bouhéreau library is its small collection of works of political theory. It is well known that the political thought of France's Huguenots oscillated from the justification of resistance in the later sixteenth century to a growing embrace of royalist and absolutist political theories as the seventeenth century advanced and as it became clear that toleration for the faith rested entirely on the good will or respect for precedent of the crown, and finally back again to the justification of resistance among at least some believers in the wake of the Revocation.³⁴ The Bouhéreau library offers a striking encapsulation of the Huguenot tradition and its internal tensions. One still finds in the library at the beginning of the

³⁴ For the broad outline of this story, see Quentin Skinner, *The foundations of modern political thought*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1978), ii, chpt 9; Hartmut Kretzer, *Calvinismus und französische Monarchie im 17. Jahrhundert: die politische Lehre der Akademien Sedan und Saumur* (Berlin, 1975); Guy H. Dodge, *The political theory of the Huguenots of the diaspora* (New York, 1947).

eighteenth century three of the most celebrated works of sixteenth-century resistance theory: Etienne de La Boétie's *De la servitude volontaire*, Beza's *Du droit des magistrats* and Stephen Junius Brutus' *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*. Evidence of the stubborn survival of monarchomach attitudes among La Rochelle's Protestants? Perhaps, yet these books stood on Bouhéreau's shelves alongside some of the most important expressions of reason of state thinking: Machiavelli's *Prince*, Justus Lipsius' political writings, Gabriel Naudé's *Considerations politiques sur les coups d'État* (a work that justified the St Bartholomew's Massacre) and Henri de Rohan's *Le parfait capitaine et l'intérêt des princes*. Jean Bodin's *Six books of the republic*, with its novel definition of sovereignty and rejection of rights of resistance, was also there, as was Moyse Amyraut's *De la souveraineté des rois*, which imported Bodin's definition of sovereignty into Huguenot political thinking and stressed the subject's duty of obedience to the sovereign. Bouhéreau owned James I's defence of the power of kings, Claude Saumaise's denunciation of the execution of Charles I, the *Defensio regia pro Carolo I* and John Milton's reply to that tract, justifying the regicide, *Pro populo defensio* (London, 1651). The most noteworthy later seventeenth-century book that Élie III acquired in the realm of political thought was Samuel Pufendorf's *De jure naturae et gentium*, with its complex melding of natural law thinking, a strong theory of the sovereignty and autonomy of the state once it was created by a social contract, a reason of state acceptance that politics has a morality of its own and a preference for obedience or flight over resistance in all cases of misrule or tyranny, except the most extreme.³⁵

The variety of these titles in the realm of political thought seems typical of the library as a whole. Rather than offering us a sharply defined picture of its last owner's personal intellectual orientation, it reveals instead his larger intellectual inheritance and the range of texts he might have used to think with, or against. To the extent that Élie III's own intellectual profile emerges, he clearly cannot be positioned at the cutting edge of the early Enlightenment, where historians are often wont to locate the Huguenots of the diaspora, despite the presence in his library of a few of the more radical authors of the seventeenth century, such as La Peyrière, Hobbes or Simon. At the dawn of the eighteenth century he was more Aristotelian, Cartesian or Gassendist than Newtonian; more Amyraldian or orthodox than deist; more deeply immersed in classical studies and in the history of the early church than in experimental philosophy. What his library catalogue reveals, above all else, are his intellectual horizons: those of a Saumur-educated medical man with an interest in the classics and theology, descended from an élite La Rochelle family of pastors and *hommes de loi*. The arrival of such a man and his books in Dublin

³⁵ Alfred Dufour, 'Pufendorf', in J.H. Burns (ed.), *The Cambridge history of political thought* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 563–88.

would have brought to that city's circles of Protestant learning a range of viewpoints and an acquaintance with debates that were different from those of the British world he entered. How these might subsequently have fed into the Irish Enlightenment or Counter-Enlightenment must be for historians of those subjects to assess.