THE CHURCH AND THE EUCHARIST
HIGHLIGHTS
FROM THE EXHIBITION AT MAYNOOTH

An exhibition was held in the Russell Library in conjunction with the conference. The Russell Library is home to the early-printed and manuscript collections of St Patrick’s College, Maynooth. Forming one of the finest theological collections in the country, they contain contemporary editions of European scholarship from the Renaissance onwards. Pre-eminently, they reflect the history of the Irish Catholic Church and the spirituality of the Irish people.

The exhibition was divided into four sections: Biblical texts; Office for the Feast of Corpus Christi; Irish catechisms, primers and liturgical supplements; and Early illustrations.

BIBLICAL TEXTS


There have been four Polyglot Bibles in the history of printing which have been denominated ‘great’. In each, the several languages are presented in parallel, a typographical feat to be appreciated. The first Polyglot, the Complutensian, under the direction of Cardinal Archbishop Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros of Toledo, was printed in Alcalá de Henares (Complutum), between 1514 and 1517 and published following papal sanction, received in March 1520. The languages used are Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek and Latin. (1) The second, the Antwerp, was published between 1569 and 1572 by Christopher Plantin, the leading printer in that city. Plantin persuaded Philip II of Spain to underwrite the project, and the King agreed but insisted that the scholar Benito Arias Montano should supervise its publication. Surviving a shipwreck off the west coast of Ireland en route from Spain, Arias Montano arrived in Antwerp and worked tirelessly with Plantin and his team of scholars to produce eight monumental folio volumes. The first four comprise the Old Testament in Hebrew, with the Greek Septuagint, the Vulgate and Aramaic paraphrases. The New Testament, in volume five, has columns of Syriac with a literal translation in Latin, Greek, the Latin Vulgate and the Syriac in Hebrew characters. The remaining three volumes repeat the Hebrew and the Greek New Testament, this time with interlinear translations, word for word, followed by a weighty apparatus of dictionaries and grammars. Philip II ordered thirteen extra sets printed on vellum, each of which took 2,000 skins. (2) The great Paris Polyglot of 1629-45, initiated by Cardinal Jacques Davy du Perron, was published in nine tomes, and added Samaritan and Arabic. (3)

In the London Polyglot (1655-7), edited by Brian Walton, Bishop of Chester, Ethiopian and Persian were added to the complement. (4) The New Testament has five languages in parallel with a sixth for the Gospels, and the texts used are the Latin Vulgate (following the Clementine text), Greek (following the Stephanus edition of 1550), Syriac (largely following Gabriel Sionita’s edition which had appeared in the Paris Polyglot), Arabic (edited by Edmund Castell and Edward Pococke), Ethiopian (based on
on the 1549 edition and edited by the Irish Orientalist Dudley Loftus, with Castell); and Persian for the Gospels of which the editio princeps had appeared only months earlier in an edition by Abraham Wheelocke of a 14th century manuscript belonging to Pococke. Each non-roman script is accompanied by a Latin translation. There are two sets of this Polyglot in Maynooth, in company with over 2,000 other printed Bibles from 1482 to the present. Almost six hundred languages and dialects are represented. Editions in the vernacular range from the earliest edition of the Bible in Spanish (Basle, 1569), to St John’s Gospel in Adi or Abor-Miri (Calcutta, 1923), spoken in the borders of Tibet and N.E. Assam; from the Gospels and the Psalter in Arabic (Rome, 1591; 1614), to the Epistles and Revelation in Babatana, a language of East Choiseul in the Solomon Islands in the Pacific ([Sydney], 1960).

In the exhibition, the Plantin New Testament lay open at Matthew 26: 26-8.


This Dublin Bible of 1794 was the first Irish edition of the Vulgate in English to be printed in large, folio format. This was a visible mark of a changing Catholic consciousness in Ireland, a new sense of stature. The accompanying list of subscribers confirms it: 550 names from Dublin and several counties to the north, headed by Archbishop Richard O'Reilly of Armagh, and including seven other bishops, parish priests, Catholic gentry, merchants and even craftsmen, such as Patrick Conolly, a stucco-plasterer on South Cumberland Street. Though described as the sixth edition, this was only the third time the complete Vulgate had been printed in Ireland.(5) The first Irishman to undertake an English translation of the Vulgate was Cornelius Nary (1658-1738), Paris-educated and parish priest of St Michan’s in Dublin. His translation of the New Testament was published in 1718.(6) No place of printing is given in the imprint, but the press corrector states that the translator was ‘at a great distance’ when the book was printed and the approbations and printer’s signatures make Paris a possibility, without ruling out Dublin. Nary’s translation was banned by Rome in 1722 for unorthodoxy.

The first publishing in Ireland of the complete Vulgate was in 1763-4: the translation of Bishop Richard Challoner (1691-1781), it comprised the second revision of his Old Testament and the fourth revision of his New Testament.(7) No place or printer is mentioned but Pat Lord and Richard Fitzsimons of Dublin took the credit in a less conspicuous source.(8) Apart from a re-issue by Patrick Wogan in 1789 of a Liverpool-printed New Testament,(9) there was no further Irish edition until at the behest of John Carpenter, Archbishop of Dublin, Bernard MacMahon, priest of Hardwick Street Chapel, who had already published a Missale Romanum with an Irish Proper in 1777, published an extensive revision of Challoner’s New Testament in 1783.(10) He went on to revise his New Testament further and to publish it with Challoner's Old Testament, just slightly revised, in 1791, in quarto, for the Archbishop of Dublin, John Thomas Troy OP.(11) Three years later it was brought out once more in this fine folio edition. Bernard MacMahon was also a noted scientist and drew up tide tables for Dublin Bay besides inventing the use of a great bell in the Bay which was rung by the rising water at high tide, and warned the ships at sea.
In the exhibition, the Bible lay open at Mark.14: 22-4

3. TISCHENDORF, Constantin (ed.): Bibliorum Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitani, Petropoli [Lipsiae, typis exscriptserunt Giesecke et Devrient], 1862. 4 vols

This is a facsimile of the Greek text of the Bible (c. 4th century) which was discovered at the monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai in 1844. Constantin Tischendorf had visited libraries throughout Europe and the Near East in search of important Biblical texts and had prepared careful editions of the most important of these. His most famous discovery was the Codex Sinaiticus. On his first visit to the monastery of St Catherine, he saw and was given, a few leaves of the Old Testament; on his third visit in 1859, he borrowed the entire manuscript and presented it to the Tsar of Russia, Alexander II. The manuscript contained half the Old Testament and the complete New Testament. The ‘donation’ was regularised in 1869 and was sold in 1933 to the British Museum for £100,000. (12) The manuscript was published in facsimile, by order of the Tsar, in 1862. Volume 4 contains the New Testament, here displayed. Dr Charles William Russell, President of Maynooth (1857-1880), petitioned the Tsar for a copy for the College Library, and we find him writing delightedly to Baron Philip von Brunnnow, the Russian Ambassador in London, on 24 August 1865, to express his thanks and to say that he had just returned from vacation and found, in answer to the prayer ‘que j’avais osé adresser’ that the Codex had arrived. (13)

In the exhibition, the New Testament lay open at Luke.22: 17-20

OFFICE FOR THE FEAST OF CORPUS CHRISTI


Here amongst the shorter works, the Opuscula, of St Thomas Aquinas, is the Office that he wrote at Orvieto for the feast of Corpus Christi. The feast was instituted by Urban IV in 1264 and the Office (which includes both proper Office and Mass) written at his request. By the Bull, Transiturus de hoc mundo, he then sought to extend its observance throughout Latin Christendom. This edition, (14) by Antonio Pizzamano, a Venetian Patrician, prefaced by his life of Aquinas, was first printed in 1490 by Hermann Lichtenstein in Venice and then eight years later by Octavianus Scotus. (15) In the fifteenth century, Venice ranked as one of the leading centres of printing, producing works of the finest quality. Octavianus Scotus, was perhaps the best-known of its publishers (Maurice O’Fihely or Mauritius de Portu (d.1513), Franciscan Archbishop of Tuam, (1506-13), the first Irishman to write for the printing press, worked in close association with Octavianus Scotus as a scholar-corrector). Pizzamano dedicated the biography to Augustinus Barbacidus, the Doge of Venice. At the end of the biography he reproduces the bull of canonisation (1323). The book has a contemporary binding of blind-tooled panels on goatskin, over wooden boards, and contains contemporary annotations. It came from the Irish College in Salamanca, which was founded in 1592; the college closed in 1951 and its archives, together with many of its books, came to Maynooth where they are now housed, in the Russell
Library. Here also is a Paris edition of the 
*Opuscula* of 1634 and an edition by
Antonio Redetti, Bishop of Bergamo, published in that city in 1741.

**IRISH CATECHISMS, PRIMERS and LITURGICAL SUPPLEMENTS**

5. O’KENNY, Nicholas Anthony: *[Officia Missarum tum in honorem Sanctorum Patronorum principalium Regni Hyberniae tum in honorem Novem Ordinum Coelestium Spirituum* Paris: [s.n.], 1734]

This is a rare volume of Irish liturgical supplements to the Mass in honour of Ireland’s principal patronal saints, published by a Galway Dominican living in Paris. Nicholas Anthony O’Kenny, titular Abbot of Annaghdown, had left Ireland in 1714 and studied at the University of Paris where he was awarded a doctorate in Canon Law in February 1725, subsequently becoming Protonotary Apostolic and Chevalier de St Michel.(16) He saw himself as ‘missionaire irlandois’ and wrote instructive works, mostly in English, for ‘the use of the three kingdoms’. (17) As *convertus* for the Royal College of Navarre he was also writing for the ‘*nouveaux convertis*’ in Paris, for there was great emphasis on bringing people back to the Catholic Faith, following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. He later claimed to have converted three hundred to the Catholic Faith between 1716 and 1735. (18) In 1725, O’Kenny published two works, his *Galway Catechism* and *The Ordinary of the Holy Mass,* (19) and the approbations for each show that they were conceived as companion texts under the title *Le missionaire irlandois,* though this umbrella title was not used. The names of those who gave their approbation to both volumes, reflect a close-knit intellectual Irish community in Paris. (20) In 1734 he published masses for the patronal saints of France and Ireland (unseen) and then it would seem, a separate publication of the Irish masses: the latter volume we have here in Maynooth, on display in the exhibition, though lacking its title-page. (21) No other copy has been located. One of those who gave his approbation to this Irish volume was Richard Pierce, Bishop of Waterford (1696-1739), who had become suffragan to the Metropolitan Archbishop of Sens in 1701, and who, according to his approbation had himself worked for several years on producing a Missal and Breviary for the Diocese of Sens; the information in his approbation is valuable, for neither the Missal nor the Breviary accords Pierce that credit or mentions his name. (22) In his *Officia Missarum,* O’Kenny appends a most interesting list of churches in Ireland at the time, most of them belonging to religious orders; he divides them into three groups: those dedicated to the Holy Trinity, those to Our Lady and those to St Patrick. Unusually for an Irish catholic priest of the time, he had his own coat of arms and included an engraving of them in the text. His interest in the Nine choirs of angels reflected in the title, can also be seen in a mass that he published in the following year, *Messe en l’honneur des neuf choeurs d’anges et autres esprits célestes.* (23) In the exhibition the *Officia Missarum* lay open at the mass for St Mac Nissi.

6. [LLOYD, Sylvester, OFM, Bishop of Killaloe]: *The Doway Catechism in English and Irish. For the use of children and ignorant people,* Dublin: printed for Ignatius Kelly, 1752
Sylvester Louis Lloyd (1680-1747), Franciscan Bishop of Killaloe, 1728 to 1739, and subsequently of Waterford and Lismore (1739-47), published two catechisms. The first was an English translation of a highly popular catechism by François-Aimé Pouget, Instructions générales en forme de catéchisme...imprimées par ordre de messire Charles Joachim Colbert, évêque de Montpellier (Paris, 1702, revised 1707), known simply as the Montpellier catechism. Lloyd, said to be the son of a Protestant clergyman, began his career as a soldier in the army of William of Orange, fighting in the Netherlands. (24) In 1697, he left the army and became a Catholic. He joined the Hieronymite Order in Portugal in 1703 and then spent nine years at Belem, near Lisbon. It was during this time that he prepared his translation of Pouget’s catechism, encouraged by Luke Fagan, soon to become Bishop of Meath. He was ordained in 1711 and joined the Franciscans the following year. The first edition of Lloyd's catechism is reckoned to have appeared c.1711-12, though no copy of it appears to have survived. There had been another English translation, made c.1709 by an English priest, Thomas Hall (d.1719), but this, according to Lloyd, was ‘stifled’ and never published. (25) Pouget’s catechism had been issued ‘pour l’usage des anciens & des nouveaux catholiques de son diocèse, & de tous ceux qui sont chargés de leur instruction; avec deux catéchismes abrégés, à l’usage des enfans’. (26) It was condemned by Rome in 1721 for its Jansenist tendencies. Lloyd quickly revised his translation. He published the first part only, in 1722, describing it as having been carefully compared with the Spanish edition which had been approved by Rome. (27) There are no approbations, no dedication. In his address to the reader, Lloyd analyses the difficulty in translating catechisms ‘above all other treatises’: to endeavour to be true to the author’s thinking, yet making it ‘speak English so as to be understood by every capacity’. The only known copy of this is here in Maynooth. Part one was republished in full with parts two and three in 1723, in some 900 pages, with the approval of eleven Irish theologians for the first part. In 1725, despite all his efforts, Lloyd’s translation was also banned. (28)

After he became Bishop of Killaloe in 1728, Lloyd spent the next four years travelling his diocese, confirming and preaching. Ten years later, in 1738, during a sojourn in Dublin, he prepared The Doway catechism in English and Irish, for the use of children and ignorant people’. It was printed there for him by Henry Babe. Lloyd hesitated to put his name on the title-page, but we find a discreet attribution at the end ‘By S.L. for the use of the clergy and people of Killaloe’. This was the first Catholic catechism published in Ireland, and only one copy is known to survive. The original Doway catechism, the work of Henry Turberville, appeared first in 1648. (29) and was based on that of Cardinal Robert Bellarmine. Lloyd’s catechism was much simpler. The English text was taken almost entirely from the Gallway catechism of Nicholas O’Kenny, the Galway Dominican, printed in Paris in 1725. (30) O’Kenny, though, had different motives in writing his, for he intended it also for ‘new Catholic and ignorant people’ and the prayers and ceremonies intended for use at their reception; he also makes some changes and additions of his own.

The Irish in Lloyd’s catechism is a literal translation into Munster Irish, using roman typeface. James Gallagher, Bishop of Raphoe, had published his Sixteen Irish sermons only two years before Lloyd’s catechism, in 1736. (31) In his preface, which is written
in English, Gallagher explains his very pertinent reasons for using roman typeface: no Irish Catholic printer had Gaelic type and only one in ten readers could still read Gaelic script. Making a virtue of necessity, he said the roman script would be ‘more familiar to the generality of our Irish clergy’. No doubt Lloyd’s reasons were the same, but he took it one stage further and included a few instructions on pronouncing the Irish language, on the last two pages. Another edition of Lloyd’s catechism (with the attribution still at the back but now in Latin) was printed in 1752, five years after Lloyd’s death, by Ignatius Kelly, the leading Catholic printer in Dublin at the time. This rare edition is the one displayed.

7. THE PRIMER or Office of the B. Virgin Mary, to which are added a new improved version of the Church hymns and the remaining hymns of the Roman Breviary, Dublin: Coyne, [1810]

The first rendering in English of the post-Tridentine Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis, revised in 1571 by Pius V, appeared in Antwerp in 1599.(32) The first Primer that might be called Irish was that edited by Thomas Fitzsimon, of which the earliest recorded is an edition of 1669 printed at Rouen.(33) Addressing the ‘pious reader’, he writes how he has improved on the earlier Antwerp primers: the ‘hymns are in a better verse’; and the book contains many ‘sweet devotions which never were set forth in the Primer’. He signs it ‘Thomas Fitzsimon, priest’. Besides the usual saints, the feasts of ‘duers notable saints of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales’ are also included. Thomas Fitzsimon, Vicar-General of Kilmore (1666-75) has sometimes been credited with the work but his namesake, a priest from Drogheda, who in 1644 was Procurator of the German Nation at the University of Paris and rector of the Irish College, Rouen, might be another contender.(34)

The first known primer to be published in Ireland appeared in 1767.(35) It was possibly a collaboration between the bookseller, Richard Fitzsimons, and the printing firm of Thomas Meighan of London.(36) The calendar is certainly not distinctively Irish. Fitzsimons has an unusual and handsomely engraved title-page which states only that it is sold by himself; there is also a final leaf of advertisements promoting his publications, including an eight-penny life of St Joseph, which is no longer extant. The primer was substantial and expensive, costing 3s 3d. The copy in the National Library was most elegantly bound. A slim Cork primer of 1789 published by James Haly contains only the Office of the BVM, the Method of saying the Rosary and the Litany of Loretto.(37) It was most probably intended for the use of a Dominican confraternity. So also was another, printed by Richard Cross in Dublin in 1799, which similarly contained only the Office, the Devotion of the Rosary ‘first revealed by the B. Virgin to St Dominick’ and again the Litany of Loretto.(38)

This last edition ‘being entirely disposed of’ by 1803, a new edition, edited and revised by Bernard MacMahon of Hardwick Street Chapel was published that year, with a ‘new calendar in which the Irish saints are inserted in their proper days’. (39) In 1810, the rising Catholic publisher Richard Coyne, published the edition in this exhibition, particularly notable for its 10-page list of Dublin subscribers, with their addresses. This was primarily a book for the laity, as no priests are listed as subscribers. The impetus may well have come from the Discalced Carmelites of
Clarendon Street, whose chapel, begun in 1793 and only recently completed, was one of Dublin’s largest at the time. (40) A number of subscribers lived in Clarendon street including John Maguire the engraver of the title-page image of the Blessed Virgin in glory. (41) Carmelite feasts including ‘the Transverberation of the Heart of Our Holy Mother Saint Teresa’ are included in the calendar. The feast days are studded with Irish saints and also include ‘all the saints’ of the Orders of Mount Carmel, St Augustine and St Francis. These subscribers were modest, pious Catholics, who largely lived on an axis between Clarendon Street on the south side of Dublin and Mary’s Lane on the north. There were also addresses on St Stephen’s Green and Dawson Street. None of the names are associated with the Catholic Convention of 1792-3. (42) None were titled or known to be of gentry families. None are mentioned in Henry Young’s Catholic Directory, c.1821 (the earliest extant) which lists the priests and officials in Catholic parishes, schools and institutions. (43) There are 295 subscribers, and what is most interesting, one third were women - an extraordinarily high proportion for that period. For the next one hundred years, Ireland took the lead in printing English-language primers. For the exhibition, the book lies open at the prayers spoken before and after receiving the Blessed Sacrament, composed by St Thomas Aquinas and St Bonaventure.

8. DAILY devotions, or the most profitable manner of hearing Mass, very necessary for all Roman Catholicks, Dublin, printed in the year 1777

Here we have a rare, tiny booklet of 72 pages, discovered at the back of a copy of The poor man’s manual and poesy of prayers; or the Key of Heaven (Dublin, 1784). There are simple woodcuts on every alternate page, each depicting part of the Mass, with a prayer opposite, in large type, linking that part of the Mass with the different stages of the Passion, twenty-nine illustrations in all. In these woodcuts, the scenes from the Passion float as it were on a cloud, above the altar. The apparel and the interior with its tiled floor suggest an earlier period and a continental origin. The priest is bearded and there is a large cross on the back of his chasuble. Abbot Geoffrey Scott has discovered a fine Italian exemplar, Devotissimo Esercizio per ascoltare con frutto la Santa Messa (Firenze, 1761) containing the same images. The illustrations also occur in The Devout manual (Dublin, 1760), printed ‘at the Cloysters’ possibly Bartholomew Corcoran whose business was on Inns Quay, near the Cloister. It is likely that there were other editions of the little booklet, which would have been intended for popular use, but this is the earliest Irish edition to survive. Two London editions are extant, published in 1722 and 1753; they too have the same woodcuts but more finely cut and in reverse. The use of illustration in 18th century Irish Catholic printing was very restrained, and was normally confined to a title-page or frontispiece, to catch the eye.


Volume two of this work lies open at an engraving which depicts a mass inside a Catholic church in early 18th century France. The priest stands at the altar offering the
sacred host and ciborium to the ladies and gentlemen kneeling before him: the women
decorously dressed, with their heads covered, the men in skirted buff-coats and tie
wigs. All those kneeling on the steps are holding close the large communion cloth as
they receive the host.

In November 1720, Jean-Frédéric Bernard, a leading publisher in Amsterdam, had
brought to public notice, a very ambitious plan.(44) He proposed to publish, in French,
an account of the customs and ceremonies of all the major religions of the world,
which he optimistically expected to complete in four large folio volumes. Lavish
illustrations in the form of copper engravings by Bernard Picart (1673-1733),(45)a
leading French engraver, were to be the chief attraction. Picart was the son of Étienne
Picart, also a painter and engraver, who had studied in Rome. The young Bernard,
who was brought up in the Catholic Faith, studied at the Académie Royale in Paris,
and was a pupil of the well-known artist, Sébastien Leclerc. At the age of twenty three,
he left Paris, then moved back and forth between France and the Netherlands before
finally settling in Amsterdam in 1711, at which point he became a Protestant.
Throughout his life, he worked mostly on book illustration. The first two volumes of
this work focus on the rites and ceremonies of the Catholic Church in the period
following the Council of Trent. They provide a graphic portrayal of church and people
in European city life in the early 18th century. The first edition of these two volumes
appeared in 1723; Bernard brought out a second edition of them in 1739, with the text
changed considerably. The work has been reprinted many times since.

10. VELAZQUEZ, Juan Antonio: De Maria Immaculata Concepta, Pinciae
[Valladolid]: excudebat Barth. Portales, 1653

The flamboyant title-page, engraved by the Spanish artist, Eugenio Orozco of Madrid,
portrays Philip IV bearing the standard of Maria Immaculata, and being crowned with
a wreath of laurels by an angel on either side. It is a wonderful example of Spanish
book illustration. Juan Antonio Velazquez (1585-1669), from the Diocese of Avila,
was born in Madrid and commenced his novitiate in the Society of Jesus in 1602 at
Salamanca, later becoming Professor of Sacred Scripture there. At different stages of
his career, he was rector of the Jesuit colleges of Monforte, Segovia, Medina and
Valladolid, and Jesuit provincial of the province of Castile. Philip IV of Spain
ominated him as consultor to the Congregation for the Defense of the Immaculate
Conception. He died in Madrid in 1669. (46) Apart from commentaries on the
Scriptures, he wrote two other works on the Blessed Virgin.(47)

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Librarian
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(1) [Biblia polyglotta]. In Academia Complutensi: industria Arnaldi Guillelmi de
Brocario, 1514-7. 6 vols; see T.H.Darlow and H.F. Moule, Historical catalogue of the
printed editions of Holy Scripture, London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1903-
11. 4 vols; for all four polyglots see vol. ii, pp. 2-26, and variously for each language
(2) C. Clair, Christopher Plantin, London: Cassell, 1960, pp.57-86
(4) Biblia Sacra Polyglotta, London: Thomas Roycroft, 1655-7. 6 vols
(6)[Cornelius Nary], The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, newly translated out of the Latin Vulgat. By C.N.C.F.P.D. [s.l.], printed in the year, 1718; there was a corrected reprint in 1719; Nary is identified in the approbations; see also Patrick Fagan, Dublin’s turbulent priest: Cornelius Nary (1658-1738), Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1991, pp. 79-99
(8)R. Bowes, Practical reflections for every day throughout the year, [Dublin]: P. Lord and R. Fitzsimons, 1764, p.iv, grazie, Fr Fenning; not a re-issue of the sine loco 1749-50 edition which evidence suggests was not published in Ireland
(11)The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgat…5th ed. Dublin: H. Fitzpatrick for R. Cross, 1791, see approbatio on final leaf; with a subscription list, the New Testament was also issued separately
(13)Draft letter from Russell to von Brunnow, 24 Aug. 1865, Maynooth College Archives, Russell Papers, MCA 13/44/9
(14)Incunabula STC it00257000; Hain 1542*
(15)Not yet published in the Leonine edition


(20) Approbations for each were written by F.M. Williams and Michael Burke, Andrew O’Halloran, Theatine, Michael Flannery of Clonfert [MA, Paris, 1708], ‘priest rector of Luan’, James Merrick of the Collège des Lombards and F. Lepy, a Doctor of the Sorbonne and Director of the *Maison des Nouveaux Convertis*

(21) *Missae Propriae sanctorum patronorum ac titularium Franciae et Hyberniae…*, Paris: G.C. Berton, 1734 (copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale)


(23) Printed Paris: Berton, 1735, also unseen; the unseen volumes are all in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and are currently receiving treatment for water damage


(26) From the title-page of the 1702 edition; these abridged catechisms were intended for teaching children who had been confirmed

(27) See note 25

(28) Fagan, *An Irish bishop*, pp 20-32 examines aspects of Lloyd’s translation in some detail

(29) [Henry Turberville], *An abridgment of Christian Doctrine, with proofs of Scripture for points controverted. Catechistically explained by way of question and answer*, Doway: [s.n.], 1648


(31) [James Gallagher], *Sixteen Irish sermons in an easy and familiar stile, on useful and necessary subjects. In English characters; as being the more familiar to the generality of our Irish clergy. By J.G.D.D.*, Dublin: Henry Babe, 1736


(33) The Primer more ample and in a new order containing the three Offices of the B. Virgin Mary in Latin and English, and all offices and devotions which were in former primers, Rouen: printed by David Maurry, 1669; note on additional saints at the end of the calendar; Sir James Ware *The history of the writers of Ireland…continued down…by Walter Harris*, Dublin: Robert Bell; and John Fleming, 1764, p. 294 claims this was not the first edition; there was a later edition, c. 1729
described by Padraig Ó Suilleabhain, 'Thomas Fitzsimons and the Primer of the Blessed Virgin Mary' in *Breifne*, iv, no.13, pp.92-3

(34) Fitzsimons of Kilmore had long links with Louvain and was in Ireland from 1663 onwards; in 1666 he was made Vicar-General of Kilmore and was de facto running the diocese, see Francis J. MacKiernan, "Thomas Fitzsimons (1614-80)" in *Breifne*, ix, no.37 (2001), pp.313-35; on Fitzsimons of Drogheda, see Patrick Boyle, ‘Irishmen in the University of Paris in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries’ in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, xiv (1903), pp. 24-45, at p. 40

(35) The Primer...with a new and approv’d version of the church hymns. To which are added the remaining hymns of the Roman Breviary, Dublin: sold by Richd Fitzsimons, 1767; for locations of 18th century works, see Fenning, 'Dublin imprints 'and F. Blom [et al], *English Catholic books, 1701-1800*, Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1996

(36) Blom, *English Primer*, p.72

(37) The Primer, or Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Cork: printed by James Haly, 1789

(38) The Primer, or Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Dublin: printed by R.Cross, 1799

(39) The Primer, or Office of the B. Virgin Mary...with many useful additions and amendments, Dublin: publish’d by Richard Cross, [1803]; see S. Ó Casaide, ‘Bernard MacMahon’ [note 10], pp. 267-79


(41) *Wilson's Dublin Directory*, Dublin, 1810

(42) C.J. Woods,'The personnel of the Catholic Convention, 1792-3' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lvii (2003), pp.26-76

(43) H. Young, *The Catholic Directory*, Dublin: printed and published by John Coyne, [c.1821]; Coyne describes himself as ‘printer and bookseller to the General Confraternity of the Christian Doctrine’

(44) Vol.1 (1739), p.1


(47) *De augustissimo eucharistiae mysterio sive de Maria forma Dei*, Vallisolettii, 1658; *De Maria advocata nostra adnotationes, et exempla*, Matriiti, 1668 (copy at Maynooth)