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A STUDY OF THE PRINTED BOOKS IN FRENCH IN BISHOP COSIN'S LIBRARY

ABSTRACT

In Chapter I a brief account is given of the life of John Cosin, with special emphasis on his relations with France. Then follows an assessment of John Cosin as a lover of books and book collecting, including the formation and early history of his Library. The Chapter ends with a summary of the history of the Episcopal Library from 1672 to the present day.

In Chapter II the French historical and literary background to the acquisition and the contents of the Cosin French books is outlined in order to place the Collection in its true context. Detailed references to the Collection are provided in footnotes.

In Chapter III the theological systems which predominated in France at the time are outlined, namely those of Calvin and the Counter Reformation, since most of the works under consideration are serious religious writings deriving from Calvinist and contemporary Roman Catholic sources. As in Chapter II references to specific items in the Library are given in footnotes.

In Chapter IV the composition of the French section of the Library is surveyed in detail, from the point of view of both its bibliographical and subject interest.

Chapter V is concerned with the Protestant theologian Pierre du Moulin, who is the most profusely represented French writer in the Collection under review in this study. A short account of Du Moulin's position in relation to the Library and its founder is given; then bibliographical descriptions are provided of all the French items in the Library by and relating to this writer.

In Chapter VI bibliographical descriptions are given of a further selection of the French religious writings in Bishop Cosin's Library.
A STUDY
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IN
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S. R. A. PROCTOR
M.A. Thesis, 1974
PREFACE

The following is a study of the printed books in the French language possessed by the Episcopal Library founded at Durham in 1669 by John Cosin, D.D., Lord Bishop of Durham. The Collection, which is now part of Durham University Library, is one of the oldest and most important of its kind.

Very little has yet been published about the Library as a whole, and no work has appeared concerning the French books in particular before the present study. With reference to the acquisition of the French books, our information on John Cosin's activities in France during his sixteen year exile there is examined (1644-60), and a certain amount has been deduced from the composition of the French section of the Collection itself. As for the books themselves, some are obscure, and most require some explanation for the general reader.

This study does not claim to have resolved all the many questions raised by this collection of books. Indeed it is clear that the extent and depth of the material provides scope for much further study. The present work is, however, intended as an authoritative introduction to the writings, giving background information on the French books as a whole, with detailed analysis of certain aspects.

The works of Pierre du Moulin have been chosen for special attention since, apart from being the most comprehensive selection of the works of any French writer, they relate to a much wider section of the French religious writings in the Library.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The present writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. D. Ramage, formerly University Librarian at Durham, for making available his Catalogue of the Printed Books in French in Bishop Cosin's Library, which has been consulted extensively, especially in the compilation of the bibliographical sections of this work, Chapters IV, V and VI.

He also wishes to express his gratitude to Dr. A. I. Doyle, Keeper of Rare Books at Durham University Library, for his most valuable help throughout.
CONTENTS

PREFACE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I  JOHN COSIN AND HIS LIBRARY.
1. Life of John Cosin.  
2. The Formation of Bishop Cosin's Library.  
3. The Library from 1672 to the present day.

CHAPTER II  CONTEMPORARY CONDITIONS IN FRANCE.
1. Historical events.
2. Literary and cultural conditions.

CHAPTER III  THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION.
1. The doctrines of Calvin and their development by the French divines.
2. The doctrines of the Counter Reformation and its French adherents.

CHAPTER IV  THE COMPOSITION OF THE FRENCH SECTION OF BISHOP COSIN'S LIBRARY.

CHAPTER V  PIERRE DU MOULIN AND HIS WORKS IN BISHOP COSIN'S LIBRARY.
1. Pierre du Moulin and the Cosin Library.
2. The works of Pierre du Moulin in Bishop Cosin's Library.

CHAPTER VI  BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS OF A SELECTION OF THE FRENCH BOOKS IN BISHOP COSIN'S LIBRARY.
1. French Protestant writings.
2. French Catholic writings.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

INDEX
CHAPTER I.

JOHN COSIN AND HIS LIBRARY
CHAPTER I  SECTION I

LIFE OF JOHN COSIN.

John Cosin, the founder of the Library which forms the basis of the following study, was without doubt one of the most eminent divines ever to be raised to the honoured position of Bishop of Durham. He was born on 30th November, 1595, the eldest son of Giles Cosin, a well-respected gentleman, of Norwich. Both his parents, who came from important Norfolk families, were devout and conscientious members of the Church of England. He received his early education at the city grammar school, and at fourteen he proceeded to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, where, after a distinguished academic career, he was elected one of the Fellows.

His academic prowess is well proven by the fact that two of the most learned scholars of the time desired to offer him a post as secretary. These were the Bishop of Ely, Lancelot Andrewes (1555 - 1626) and the Bishop of Lichfield, John Overall (1560 - 1619). Both wanted Cosin as their Librarian - already Cosin's remarkable abilities in this direction were evident. On the advice of his tutor he attached himself to Overall in the dual capacity of Secretary and Librarian in the year 1616. His ardent love of books, which was sometimes carried almost to fanaticism, remained with him throughout his life. His extraordinarily beautiful handwriting well qualified him for his secretarial duties. In addition he possessed wisdom, shrewdness, and keen perceptiveness. His diligence and industry were exemplary, and he was not lacking in the ability to organise. Furthermore, he was endowed with a handsome appearance, and it is not surprising that, with all his outstanding qualities, he soon won the favour of his patron and many other influential people.

To be in association with such a distinguished scholar as John Overall, who enjoyed a high reputation throughout the learned world, numbering among his correspondents Grotius and Vossius, was a uniquely
valuable privilege and opportunity, and Cosin always acknowledged a tremendous debt to his 'Lord and Master Overall'. It is significant that it was Overall, perhaps more than anyone else, who contributed to building up the reaction in the Church of England against the austere and rigid Calvinism which had been so influential in the Elizabethan era, and was typified by such men as Whitaker and Whitgift.

An appointment such as the one Cosin held was naturally a passport to ecclesiastical preferment, and soon after the death of his patron in 1619 Cosin was employed as Domestic Chaplain by Richard Neile, then Bishop of Durham, who was no great scholar but a compelling personality and a notable preacher. This otherwise undistinguished churchman had one outstanding ability - he was quick to appreciate good qualities in others. As Domestic Chaplain Cosin had the opportunity of visiting Durham House, located in the Strand, which was then the London Palace of the Bishops of Durham. There he soon involved himself in the learned society of London. In 1625 part of Durham House was used for a time as the French Embassy, an inconvenience which irritated Cosin and his Bishop. However, he may well have made some contacts with French divines at this time.

Cosin's friendship with Richard Montagu, Canon of Windsor, later Bishop of Chichester, was significant for the course of his life and conduct. Montagu was an arch Anglo-Catholic and was often accused of reverting to the beliefs and practices of Rome. Cosin himself played a part in the writing of Montagu's Answer to the late Gagger of Protestants which was published in London in 1624. Montagu was not only accused of Popery, but also of Arminianism - a charge he vigorously denied. Cosin also had a hand in Montagu's second reply to his critics, his Appello Caesarem of 1625. Montagu only escaped the dire consequences of his assertions by relying on the protection of the Duke of Buckingham. Cosin's sympathy for Montagu, who died in 1641, is evident in their mutual correspondence, consisting of some sixty-three letters dating from 4th January 1620 to 23rd November 1628.
In 1624 Cosin received his first preferments, including a Prebendary's stall at Durham Cathedral. He officiated as Master of Ceremonies at the Coronation of Charles I in 1625, and in September of that year was made Archdeacon of the East Riding of Yorkshire. In the following year he became Rector of Brancepeth, partly through the influence of Archbishop Laud and the Duke of Buckingham. He proceeded to his BD and on 13th August, 1626 married Frances Blakiston, the daughter of a fellow Prebendary. He showed great diligence in the pursuit of his duties in the Cathedral and played an important part in tightening up many of the regulations concerning the clergy and the administration of the churches in the diocese, where, as in most places at that time, slackness and negligence were not uncommon. Already Cosin was a keen controversialist and no mean opponent for anyone, be he Papist or Puritan. He looked down upon his Puritan adversaries with special contempt. Rigorous and incisive he certainly was, but he also had the warmth and even tenderness that often goes with an impetuous temperament. Cosin's letters of this period are often entertaining reading, couched in a lively and sometimes racy style of expression. Indeed he was no mean writer, and even some of his theological writing is often enlivened by that same vigour.

In the year 1627 Cosin's troubles really began. At the request of Charles I at the instigation of some ladies at court, Cosin published his Collection of Private Devotions, the first edition of which consisted of only 200 copies and is extremely rare. This book offended the Puritans for many reasons, notably for the use of Hours of Prayer, the inclusion of prayers for the dead, and the IHS motif on the title-page which was identified as a Jesuit device. William Prynne replied with A Brief Survey and Censure of Mr. Cozens his cozening Devotions and Henry Burton with a Tryall of Private devotions, or A Dyall for the Hours of Prayer, both published in 1627. But the Puritan reaction was felt right in Cosin's own Cathedral when on 7th July 1628 Peter Smart, one of the Prebendaries, preached a violent sermon denouncing
the trends apparent in the Church towards restoring the doctrinal errors and ceremonies of the Church of Rome. Cosin himself was denounced as

our young Apollo (who) repaireth the Quire and setteth it out gayly with strange Babylonish ornaments.

Smart was censured for his sermon and removed from his position at Durham Cathedral, whereupon he took the matter to court, claiming for indictments against the Dean and Chapter of Durham under the Act of Uniformity, but failed in his attempt. Smart again brought up his indictments before the Puritan Judge Sir Henry Yelverton, who at first seemed willing to grant them but later tried to effect a reconciliation between Smart and Cosin, and restrained both parties from undertaking any further litigation, deciding to lay the matter before the King and the Bishops of London, Durham and Winchester. The High Commission Court, meeting in York, fined Smart £400, committed him to prison, and finally, on his refusal to retract anything he had said, expelled him from his orders.

Cosin was involved in further trouble when he was accused of making a remark critical of the royal supremacy at a court dinner at Durham in 1628. He had to produce a detailed defence calling upon the testimony of several witnesses, and succeeded in exonerating himself. Cosin's fortunes waned, however, when Bishop Neile was succeeded by Bishop Howson, who was sympathetic to the Puritans and tried to make further trouble for Cosin and his colleagues, and had to be restrained by Archbishop Laud.

Cosin was put in charge of the ceremonies connected with the royal visit to Durham in 1633 - the visit that King Charles paid on his journey to Scotland to be crowned King of that nation.

On 8th February 1634/5 Cosin was elected Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, in succession to Dr. Matthew Wren. Cosin's appointment was undoubtedly the result of the influence of Laud who was anxious to restore some ecclesiastical order to the University. To the great annoyance of the Puritans Cosin introduced to the College Chapel a more

-4-
elaborate ceremonial, an ornate altar and many features of the High Church mode of worship, even the use of incense. In 1640 Cosin filled the office of Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University. On 7th November of the same year he was appointed Dean of Peterborough. On 10th November Peter Smart felt that his time for vengeance had come. He presented a petition against Cosin to the House of Commons and on the 21st Cosin was committed to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, and a committee was appointed to prepare charges against him. On 3rd December he was released on bail and sureties totalling £3000. He was deprived of his benefices on 22nd January 1641/2, and on 13th March 1642/3 twenty-one articles of impeachment were preferred against him. Again he was released, only to be placed in custody yet a third time on the trumped-up charge of one member of the Commons that he had enticed a student at Cambridge to defect to the Church of Rome. This charge Cosin was able to refute entirely. But Cosin took sides in the already open conflict between Parliament and the King by effecting the removal of the College plate from Peterhouse to the Royal Mint at York. On 13th March 1643/4 he was ejected from his Mastership by warrant from the Earl of Manchester. He was indeed the first victim of Parliamentary vengeance.

Cosin's troubles at this time were no doubt made more acute by the death of his wife on 25th March, 1642/3.

The fear of further measures on the part of his adversaries impelled Cosin to go into exile. He removed to Paris where circumstances afforded him the opportunity of safe refuge from persecution. In Paris he was given rooms in the Louvre and at the special request of Charles I officiated as Chaplain to the Anglican members of the Court of Queen Henrietta Maria, herself a Roman Catholic, who went into exile in July 1644. His ministrations of divine service were conducted first in a private house, and later at the residence of Sir Richard Browne, the English Ambassador. A chapel was provided there and the services of the Church of England were conducted with
great dignity. Cosin had a small pension from the French government on account of his official standing at the Court of the Queen of England. This pension appears to have been supplemented by the generosity of some Royalist friends in England, notably Sancroft. The difficult years of exile, though a period of deprivation and even real poverty, were nevertheless filled with intense literary activity. His energies were not surprisingly directed towards writings of a controversial nature. Controversy was in fact forced upon him since repeated attempts were made by Jesuits and others to entice the English exiles away from their faith. Allusions to this are frequent in the Correspondence and in other writings. Some members of the Court, one example being Lady Kynelmeaky, were very unsteady in matters of religion. The validity of Anglican ordination, the Canon of Scripture, and the dispute over Transubstantiation were particular points which engaged his attention, and this is no surprise considering the circumstances in which he was placed. These controversies have been edited and published in volume four of the Works of John Cosin published in 1851 in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology.

One important battle for the defence of the Anglican Faith was the one he was forced to join with Father Robinson, the Prior of the English Bénédictines in France in 1645. Father Robinson, endeavouring to draw a lady in the English court from her own profession of religion to the Roman party, had among other things undertaken to prove to her, that in the Church of England we had no true priests; whereupon she desired a conference between him and the D(ean) of P(eterborough).

A member of the court had promised Robinson that if in that conference he (Cosin) cannot defend the validity of his own sacred orders and give me satisfaction in what you have to say against it, I will and do promise you to quit my present profession, and to be reconciled by you to yours the very next morning after.

The conference took place the following day before seven or eight witnesses, and Cosin claimed to have put the Prior to silence. But Robinson suggested that they should continue the dispute on paper, to which the Dean agreed. He wrote a paper asserting that the judgment of
the ancient fathers was in favour of the Anglican practice\(^{13}\), and in a second paper (in which he deprecates the Prior's lack of frankness and his supercilious tone), where he shows that the Roman Church itself not always insisted on any one form of ordination, and that the Greek Church never did. Robinson apparently made no further reply, but the situation regarding the wavering Anglican is uncertain. In these cases there were very often other pressures at work besides those of reasoned arguments.

This controversy took place (it appears) early in June 1645 and Cosin's first paper addressed to Robinson was dated 14th June, while the second, which was re-written, was dated 11th July. The Prior clearly had the worst of the argument and came in for strict censure from Cosin. However, in a PS of 12th July Cosin expressed his 'most humble service and thanks' to the fathers of the Benedictine monastery, and especially to one Father Francis, who had given the Dean two books of devotions\(^{14}\).

In a letter to Bishop Morton dated 8th August 1648 Cosin relates another conference which well illustrates the conduct of the lesser Catholic adversaries:

Many times I meet here with those who are the masters of Popish novelties, and the professed enemies of our truly Catholic and Protestant religion; and many controversies I have had with them, but especially with those limitors who come creeping into our pale and hunt for proselytes whereof they have not (God be thanked) been able for these four years' space to get one, unless it were a poor footman, (whom they trapped with a female French bait too,) and have lost some others of more considerable quality, whom they had lured into their nets before \(^{15}\).

Cosin narrates that, not long before writing this letter he had a conference with one of the Fathers of the Oratory

who, being weary himself, fetched in a couple of \(\phi\)subsidiary Sorbonists, that would take it upon them to be somebody. But when all the old Fathers and Councils failed them for the maintenance of their new inventions . . . they betook themselves to their twelve hundred new Fathers, the authority of the council of Lateran . . . under Pope Innocent the Third, a council that they use to magnify above all the councils of the world that were ever before it\(^{16}\).

Cosin seems to have been very successful in defending the Church in controversy, but it became increasingly difficult to prevent apostasies when temptation became too great.

Cosin's Tractate on Transubstantiation (1647) 17 is 'a declaration

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of the ancient Catholic Faith and doctrine of the fathers concerning
the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Blessed
Sacrament' and was the germ of his later and more extended History of
Popish Transubstantiation which was composed in 1656 and published
posthumously in Latin in 1675. The tract claims to be an answer to a
Roman writing entitled: Transubstantiation Mainteyned which was apparently
distributed among the English exiles. Cosin's tract was circulated in
manuscript and not published in print until 1869 when the Surtees Society
brought out the first volume of Cosin's Correspondence. The tract
sets forth the orthodox Anglican belief concerning the Eucharist. The
Roman belief is seen to be a dogma which was utterly unknown to the
Primitive Church, and indeed hardly held at all in the Church right down
to 1215. On the other hand, the doctrine of the Real Presence of the
Body and Blood of Christ, by faith discerned and received, - the Lutheran
doctrine - was from the first held to be the truth. This indeed was
an ancient Catholic doctrine which the Anglican Church held in common
with the rest of the Universal Church. Cosin brings forward an impressive
array of witnesses in support of his argument, Fathers, Councils and
later divines, Protestant and Catholic. Even Cosin's enemies appreciated
his remarkable ability to summon witnesses in his defence. It is obvious
that his love of book collecting here found expression and worked to his
advantage. 18

Cosin discharged his pastoral duties with great fervour and diligence:
John Evelyn, the diarist, tells us that he was a very frequent preacher
at the Anglican services which he conducted with great solemnity and
elaborate ceremony. His 'monitions and exhortations' were directed
against the persuasion and conniving of the Jesuits who were always eager
for new converts, knowing the weakness of the Anglican Church. To redress
the balance somewhat Cosin also preached against Calvinist extremes
'perstringing those of Geneva for their irreverence of the Blessed Virgin' 19.
He was a frequent spiritual counsellor to the philosopher Hobbes.

Of all his works Bishop Cosin's sermons are among the most luminous

-8-
and perceptive, and they give us perhaps the best insight into his theological, ethical and political opinions. They are also of interest from the point of view of the Cosin Library and its items in French in particular, since most of his finest sermons (at least of those which survive) were preached during the period of his residence in France. Twenty-two sermons have come down to us in manuscript form and these are complete texts, although some prayers in them are not written out in full. Fragments of a number of other sermons have also survived, although it is not easy to date or edit these. Of the complete sermons, which span the years from 1621 to 1655, nine were preached to the English exiles in Paris from 1650 to 1655. Two of the fragments are dated in 1651 while other undated fragments may also be part of the same series of sermons which the Dean of Peterborough gave on the text of the Parable of the Wheat and the Tares in 1651. It is far from clear in what order some of these fragments should be placed. All the extant sermons and fragments have been printed in the first volume of the Bishop's Works, where each complete text occupies on average some fifteen pages, thus indicating a discourse of rather more than half an hour's duration - much shorter, incidentally, than the length of the sermons of many of the contemporary French Protestant divines.

There are three major groups of subjects dealt with in the sermons given in Paris: the Fall of Adam, the Birth, Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord, and the Parable of the Wheat and the Tares. The reason why these particular sermons have been preserved in writing rather than the many others which were preached at the time is unknown.

The earliest of the Paris sermons (Sermon XIV in volume I of Cosin's Works) was delivered on 11th September, 1650 on the text 'Let them be confounded, as many as have evil will at Zion' (Psalm 129:5). In his exposition Cosin shows himself first to be the dedicated monarchist. Zion has its twin summits topped by the House of God and the House of the King, and the two are inseparable. Having established this he continues:
And it cannot but weigh much with all that shall weigh the point well, that kings are taken into so near a society and conjunction with God in Zion, that the league is so firm and the knot so strait between them, as one cannot have ill will to the one but he must have it to the other also.

Cosin defends the legitimacy of imposing a curse on the real enemies of Zion, be they atheists and heretics to the Catholic faith, or political rebels against the authority of the Monarchy, including especially those rebels then active in England.

Sermons XV to XVII are devoted to the subject of the Fall of Man (Genesis 3: 13, 14). The first of these was preached on 12th February 1651. The corrupt state of human nature is asserted, although the extreme view of total depravity is avoided. God is always scrupulously fair, says Cosin, in hearing and examining the sinner before pronouncing judgement. God always addresses man in a language he can understand, especially in Scripture. While Cosin avoids a direct statement of Predestination he yet holds strictly to the Augustinian view against the Pelagians.

In the next sermon on the same text, which was preached in Paris on 5th March 1651, Cosin deliberates further on the question of man's condition. Even if the witness of Scripture were absent 'the general corruption and irregularity of our whole nature' would be proof enough of sin. Cosin here rejects certain aspects of the doctrine of Predestination as making God out to be unjust. God does not determine punishment before the crime is committed. And the corollary is equally true: 'He saves no man against his will'.

In the same sermon Cosin makes telling comments on some of those who were trying to tempt the exiles away from their faith, without actually naming them. First there are the activities of the licentious wits of some men (who are) so volatile and slippery that no Scriptures, no truth, can fix them.

And in response to these activities many weak-minded individuals among the exiles were:

carried away by a sudden apprehension and a high opinion of men's excellent wits and abilities.

These sentiments are expressed no less in many of the works of the French
The tempter, says Cosin 'must shroud himself in another form, and ever come in some likeness that is a little better than his own', and this was intended to speak as clearly about the tempters of his own day as about the tempter of Eve. This sermon includes an interesting discourse on the nature of Biblical and other allegory. In the case of the story of the Fall the importance of the symbolical meaning is not to be exaggerated at the expense of the literal meaning. Cosin contrasts these Biblical allegories with those of the pagan poets of classical antiquity, of which he displays considerable knowledge.

In the last sermon of the three devoted to the subject of the Fall, which was delivered on 26th March, 1651, Cosin continues to draw his implicit analogy between the tempter of old and the modern tempters. Both tempters try to display superior knowledge to their victims: both try to convince their hearers that what God had said is not true. The tempter's first aim is to convince his victim that the end is desirable, and having done so it is relatively easy to convince him that the means to that end are acceptable. On the question of the human will in reacting to temptation Cosin in this sermon expresses agreement with Luther to whose treatise De servo arbitrio he refers. He maintains that it is not that man has no free will (as Calvin asserted), but that in his fallen condition he does not know how to use it in the right way. Cosin does quite frequently show himself to be in sympathy with Luther in these sermons, and not prepared to follow Calvin very far in his reasoning. Again and again his argument is closely connected with the contemporary circumstances of the English exiles in France who were continually under pressure to join the Roman faith. All the world, declares Cosin, is not worth one sin, and it is wrong to submit to temptation even to prevent oneself starving. On occasions some of the exiles, Cosin included, were actually confronted with the reality of the situation.

Sermon XVIII in the collection is on the subject of the Resurrection and its Scriptural witness. It was preached on St. John 20:9 on the first
Sunday after Easter, 16th April, 1651. The sermon is noteworthy for a refutation of the doctrine of the infallibility of the Apostle St. Peter and for a refutation of the Socinian heresy, which among other things maintained that there was no need for God's justice to be satisfied by Christ. Cosin often favours quoting from St. Augustine in contradiction of various ancient heresies. 

Sermon XIX is concerned with the Ascension, and was preached on the Sunday following that feast, 21st May 1651, on the text of Acts 1: 9 - 11. There is again controversial material in the sermon. Cosin draws an interesting deduction from the meaning of the word 'Galilee' in this sermon. 'Galilee', says Cosin, signifies 'a revolution'.

And these Galileans had not their name for nothing, they made that word good; they made such a revolution in the world as was never made before. For at their preaching of Christ, they made darkness light, and turned the world round.

This idea is something one would not expect to find expressed very strongly in the writings of such an intractable conservative as the Dean of Peterborough was in all matters of Church and State.

Sermon XX is the first of two devoted to the subject of the Nativity. It was given on Christmas Day, 1651 on St. John 1: 9 - 10. Again heresies are refuted; here the Arian in particular. The sermon is most important for its examination of the best way to communicate the Gospel to a person. Merely to insist that the 'natural man' must believe everything without any reason being given would seem 'an unreasonable proceeding with that natural and reasonable man', though not with baptized persons. If one simply says 'Believe all we say or you burn in Hell' as some did, then the hearer could easily find a way of escape by denying the existence of a Hell and hence obviating the need to believe all the rest. 'Reason must be satisfied', says Cosin. He uses an argument similar to that of Descartes to prove the existence of God by reason. Having established God's existence it is then reasonable to suppose that He will take steps to communicate with men. Because of its excellent intrinsic qualities Scripture can reasonably be held to be the Word of God.
natural man knowledge and reason should come first, and these lesser lights should then lead him on to the greater lights of faith and revelation. Yet there is no saviour to be found among the secular philosophers. But there is no contradiction to be seen between faith and reason. Calvin held that human reason had been corrupted by the Fall and was therefore perverse. Cosin rejects this: Faith and nature are subordinate and the one rules the other. The light of reason, if properly used, leads on to the light of faith. The real contrast is between the True Light and the fading lights of this world - a theme common to much seventeenth century preaching, including that of the French Protestant divines.40.

Sermon XXI is on the subject of the Epiphany. It was delivered in Paris on 5th January 1653 on St. Matthew 2: 1 - 2. Cosin commences by refuting the colourful traditions associated with the story. As the subject matter has to do with kings, Cosin takes the opportunity to express his ideas on the duties of a Christian monarch. 'Kings should be our first leaders to Christ'; they are 'the standard-bearers of our true religion towards Him'.41. He develops the theme of human and divine knowledge. The human is no bar to acquiring the divine: the former is subservient to the latter, but is never destroyed or made redundant by it.42. As the question of astrology and astronomical observation arises in the subject-matter Cosin is able to indulge his obvious interest in these matters a little.

Cosin's last complete sermon to be preserved, Sermon XXII in our collection, was preached on Christmas Day, 1655, on I Timothy 5:16. Cosin here returns to the question of faith and reason, and asserts that there are indeed mysteries of the faith which reason is incapable of fathoming.43. But these mysteries of religion are no more obscure than the mysteries of nature and science, and no more is demanded of the believer than is demanded of the enquirer after scientific knowledge. It is only reasonable to 'Allow that Christ may have his mysteries as
well as any naturalist or philosopher of them all. Religion and reason are not opposite but subordinate, that is, the latter is subordinate to the former. It is the advocates of false religion who go against reason. Cosin declares:

We call it not faith, that is not grounded upon reason; and we ground our strongest reason upon the Word of God Himself, That never spake other.

It is always clear that Cosin is not making out a case for religious belief being subject to human reason. Far from it. But human reason does lead us to accept by faith the divine revelation contained in Holy Scripture. The heretics so often incriminate themselves by their denial of reason and of Scripture. Among these are 'those bolder wits' who say Christ came only to teach, not to atone. These are disciples of 'a moral worldly religion'.

Of the seven groups of fragments which are printed in the first volume of Cosin's Works the last two are dated the first Sunday after Epiphany, 1651, and 11th June, 1651. These two, and the preceding undated fragment are concerned with the Parable of the Wheat and the Tares in St. Matthew 13: 24 - 27. Ideas are often repeated in these fragments. Again certain unorthodox views are contested, including the extreme Calvinist concept of the 'absolute reprobation' of man, and the view that God needed sin in the fulfilment of his plan. In the last fragment Cosin extends the saying of St. Paul, that he would be 'all things to all men' to the conclusion that God Himself makes Heaven all things to all men, that He might gain some.

Certainly his contacts with the French Protestants at Charenton and elsewhere were from the evidence of Isaac Basire, Cosin's first biographer, of a much more intimate nature than the differences in theology between the two parties would lead one to expect. Jean Daillé, Charles Drelincourt and Jean Mestrezat were the most eminent pastors of Charenton at that time and they were strict Calvinists. Nevertheless, they were prepared to recognise the validity of Anglican orders just as Cosin, with many reservations it is true, was prepared.
to recognise theirs. Episcopacy and the necessity of episcopal ordination was of course the issue which divided the Church of England from the French Reformed Churches. The externals of religion, liturgies, vestments and the like, were also in dispute between the two churches, but in so far as basic doctrines necessary to salvation are concerned, Cosin had few qualms about communicating with the French Reformed.

In his paper *The state of us who adhere to the Church of England*, which was written while in France, Cosin pointedly contrasts the attitude of both Roman and Reformed Churches to his own. The former 'say and believe that we are all damned and accursed persons'. The latter acknowledge that we believe all that is necessary to salvation. The Romanists call us heretics, the Reformed call us Catholics. While they of the Roman persuasion excommunicate the Anglicans, the Calvinists 'do most willingly receive us into their churches and frequently repair to ours, joining with us both in prayers and sacraments'. The Papists burn and persecute, but the Reformed, who had previously found refuge in England, now receive us and protect us from persecution.

But there is one aspect of the Roman attitude to the English exiles which perhaps rankled with Cosin more than anything else:

They will allow us no other burial of our dead than the burial of a dog; accounting their churches and their churchyards to be polluted if any of our people be there put into a grave, and if this should happen, of which Cosin no doubt had knowledge:

they are bound to scrape up that corpse again with their own fingers, and carry it away to be buried in a ditch or a dunghill, or where else they can find room for it.

By contrast to this scandal the Reformed allowed the English to inter their dead 'among theirs in the churchyards which they have purchased and peculiarly set apart for that purpose', permitting them also to use their own burial service. Something which no doubt also appealed to Cosin was that the English were permitted to erect their own gravestones with their inscriptions in the Protestant cemeteries.
Cosin was thus drawn nearer to Charenton, for the paper concludes;

In all which regards we ought no less to acknowledge them, and to make no schism between our Churches and theirs, however we approve not some defects which may be seen among them.

The intimacy of Cosin's relations with the Protestants while in France is brought out in his Answer to Mr. Fuller's Charge, which is dated 6th April 1658. Thomas Fuller, the ecclesiastical historian, accused John Cosin of many faults, but 'to his due commendation' he claimed that while in France he neither joined the Church of the French Protestants at Charenton, nigh Paris, nor kept any communion with the Papists therein, but confined himself to the Church of English Protestants therein.

Cosin replies quite unashamedly to this 'commendation':

I would that he and all the world should know it - I never refused to join with the Protestants, either here or anywhere else, in all things wherein they join with the Church of England. Many of them have been here at our church, and we have been at theirs. I have buried divers of our people at Charenton, and they permit us to make use of their peculiar and decent cemetery here in Paris for that purpose; which if we did not we should be forced to bury our dead in a ditch. I have baptized many of their children at the request of their own ministers, with whom I have good acquaintance, and find them to be very deserving and learned men, great lovers and honourers of our Church, notwithstanding the loss which she hath lately received in external matters wherein we are agreed that the essence of true religion doth not consist. Many of their people (and of the best worth and quality among them,) have frequented our public prayers with great reverence, and I have delivered the holy communion to them according to our own order, which they observed religiously. I have married divers persons of good condition among them; and I have presented some of their scholars to be ordained Deacons and Priests here by our own Bishops, (whereof Monsieur de Turenne's Chaplain (Daniel Brevint) is one, and the Duke de la Force's Chaplain (Jean Durel) another), and the Church at Charenton approved of it; and I preached here publicly at their ordination. Besides I have been (as often as I had spare time from attending to my own congregation) to pray and sing psalms with them, and to hear both the weekly and the Sunday sermons at Charenton, whither two of my children also (pensioned here in a Protestant family at Paris) have daily repaired for that purpose, with the gentlewoman that governed them.

For Cosin it appears that differences in national circumstances were to be admitted as reason enough for differences in Church structure and administration. This was the view taken by Cosin's mentors, Overall and Andrewes. The circumstances in France certainly came within this provision, for a Protestant episcopate there was clearly impossible. Yet many Anglican divines did not share Cosin's willingness to communicate
with the Calvinists. Bishop Morley in a letter to Cosin dated 10th February 1660 remarks

I am very glad the King was at the Protestant Churches which gives great satisfaction here (Breda) to whom I have told it. I wish there were not some of our clergy too rigid in that particular. 52

Further evidence of Anglican disapproval is found in the letters to Gunning of 11th March and 6th May 1657.

Cosin's letter to Mr. Cordel at Blois, 'who scrupled to communicate with the French Protestants upon some of the modern pretences' sets forth the theological issues involved in more detail. Two objections to communion are generally posed by the opponents: (i) that the Reformed have no priests, and (ii) that they have no consecration of the elements in the Sacrament. Cosin's view is summed up in the following:

I would not wish any of ours absolutely to refuse, or determine to be unlawful (communion with them) for fear of a greater scandal that may thereupon arise than we can tell how to answer or excuse. 53

Certainly Cosin concedes that the Reformed ministers are 'not so duly and rightly ordained as they should be', but he would be loath to assert that there is a 'total nullity' in their ordination.

Their is indeed an 'inorderly ordination'. The Reformed are particularly at fault because there is no subordination of one order of priests to another: to have orderly Church government two orders are required as in the Church of England. Yet the Church of England has not, and does not demand re-ordination:

Therefore if at any time a minister so ordained in these French Churches came to incorporate himself in ours and to receive a public charge or cure of souls among us in the Church of England (as I have known some of them to have so done of late, and can instance in many other before my time) our Bishops did not re-ordain him before they admitted him to his charge, as they would have done if his former ordination here in France had been void. 55

True; the Calvinists' conduct in this matter was a 'fault' and a 'great presumption' deserving censure. Nevertheless it would be an open contradiction of many great writers to say that the French Protestant ordination was void for want of episcopal ordination. 56 Moreover the Kingdom of England itself accepts them, so it would be disloyal for any
individual to contravene the royal practice. Incidentally, the
favour shown by James I to Pierre du Moulin is a notable example of this.

Cosin accepts with reservations the Calvinist form of celebration of
the Lord's Supper. He quotes the formula used by the French Reformed,
and feels sure they would allow any Anglican communicant to add his own
liturgical words. He is sure that Monsieur Testard, a professor of
Saumur who was an acquaintance of Mr. Cordel, and the other French
Protestant leaders would accept two propositions: (i) the absolute order
of presbytery, and (ii) that episcopacy is a lawful order and government
in God's church.

In a letter to Gunning dated 21st March 1657 Cosin makes it clear
that his defence of French Protestant orders was in no way intended to
give comfort to Presbyterians in England, but to answer rash statements
that there are no valid orders in the French Churches. Reaction against
Presbyterianism no doubt led some English residents in France to refuse
to associate with the Reformed. Among these was a former ambassador to
France, Lord Scudamore. Cosin presented Matthieu de Laune for
ordination into the Church of England. Previously he had only been
ordained into the Reformed Church at Leyden. Cosin offered him re-
ordination, but personally he felt that he was already sufficiently well
ordained 57. Cosin always drew a distinction between Presbyterians in
England and Reformed abroad. While the former were politically motivated,
the latter were merely the victims of circumstances. Indeed Cosin's
admiration for the Reformed of France was certainly enhanced by their
courage in the face of persecution. Cosin himself felt some of this
pressure from the Romanists when, as Isaac Basire records

with the consent of the ministers of the Reformed Church of
Charenton (he) interred Sir William Camaby to the opposition
of the Romish curate there 58.

His sermons delivered in the Anglican worship in Paris were heard
equally by the adherents of Geneva and of Rome. Cosin objects to many
aspects of the Calvinist mode of service, including the singing of the
metrical psalms. But in a letter to Richard Watson of 19th June, 1646,
he confesses that, unlike the Papists:

They of Geneva are to blame in many things and defective in some; they shall never have my approbation of their doings nor let them have yours. Yet I do not see that they have set up any new articles of faith under pain of damnation to all the world that will not receive them for such articles, and you know whose case that is.

Another reason for Cosin's charitable disposition towards the ministers of Charenton was no doubt the conversion of his son John Cosin to Catholicism, and the tenacity with which he held to his new creed. The constant pressure from the Jesuits and English Catholics resident in Paris no doubt further exacerbated relations, such as they were, with the Church of Rome. As we have seen Cosin himself was involved in bitter controversy, and was even offered money to deny his faith.

Cosin seems to have taken little interest in the affairs of the French court with which he nevertheless had some contact. He writes disparagingly of Court affairs in the letter of 15th April 1651 to Dean Steward:

'The alterations are many in the French court, but I have no skill in them'.

After his sermon on Trinity Sunday of the same year he preached at the ordination of the two scholars mentioned in the Answer to Mr. Fuller's Charge. Both later became Prebendaries of Durham Cathedral. About this time Cosin's fortunes began to decline. His pension from the French government ceased after the death of the king. The assaults of the adversaries intensified.

Within a very short time of his arrival in Paris Cosin had been drawn into religious disputations over the pamphlet Transubstantiation Mainteyned. Subsequently he often tried to win back some of those among the English who had defected to Rome. Among these was John Evelyn's cousin, Thomas Keightly 'who from a young gallant was become a zealous biggott' as Evelyn put it. Cosin indeed loved nothing more than to defend 'our truly Catholic and Protestant religion' which embodied 'the truth and purity of the Protestant religion'. He therefore desired to speak with that young man at the Louvre, where, Evelyn records, he had 'a competent library', but thought better of it so as to avoid causing offence to the Queen Mother,
and the venue for the debate was fixed at a more suitable location.

Evelyn's cousin brought with him:

one Coniers (a friar) to dispute with the Deane, who, finding himself worsted in every point, was forced to use a thousand subterfuges .... and at last to have recourse to miracles by which my cousin proselyte was pretended to be converted, a sick man being restored to health by the application of some famous relique, with abundance of such stuff, and thus my kinsman with his champion breaking up the dispute in confusion enough, as they commonly doe, went shortly after in England, .... to carry on his proselytising unperturbed.61

In many ways the long and difficult period of exile was the most heroic of Cosin's life. It was a necessary preparation for the achievements which were to follow during his episcopate. It was he, perhaps more than anyone else, who sustained the very existence of the traditional Anglican religion which at that time was overcome by Puritanism at home and threatened by the Romanists abroad. It is with some justification that Evelyn, who was in Paris himself, speaks of him as:

one who in this time of persecution, temptation and apostasy held and confirmed many to our church.62

And Thomas Fuller, who is critical of Cosin's behaviour on some points, nevertheless describes him as:

the Atlas of the Protestant religion, supporting the same by his piety and learning confirming the waverers therein, yet daily adding proselytes (not of the meanest rank) thereto.63

With the execution of Charles I in 1649, the arrival of the Duke of York in Paris and the increasing animosity between the Duke and the Queen Mother over their differences in religion, Cosin's status and financial position deteriorated. Negotiations followed between Prince Charles, the heir to the throne, and the Scots, and Charles, by the Treaty of Breda in 1650, accepted Presbyterianism. Many of the exiles deserted the Anglican Church and there was a rumour that Charles would suspend Anglican worship in Paris. The worst did not happen, however, and in the Royal Letter to Cosin of 27th June 1652 Charles exhorts the Dean to continue his Pastoral duties. But the Queen Regent of France forbade the use of the room in the Louvre where the services had formerly been held, and Henrietta Maria withdrew the allowance she had granted to Cosin. As a result of this the French government also rescinded the small allowance
made over to Cosin for his connection with the Queen Mother and her Court. In 1651 the French clergy agreed to raise a pension for Queen Henrietta in view of her promise to rid her Court of 'heretics'. Cosin was reduced to real poverty and was plagued with offers of money to change his religion, and as Isaac Basire tells us some members of the Court succumbed to such temptation. Cosin repudiated the offers with contempt, but he was grievously afflicted by the defection to Rome of his son and relations between father and son became almost impossible. In his Will Cosin records that he had not seen his son for some four years, so far had their relationship deteriorated.

The latter years of Cosin's exile were spent mainly in efforts to secure the continuity of the English episcopate. Apart from the sermons there are very few writings and little correspondence dating from the year 1652 to 1656, but it is reasonable to suppose that the Dean was fully occupied on his two great treatises The scholastical History of the Canon of Holy Scripture, published in 1657, and The History of Popish Transubstantiation, composed in 1656. We know from his letters that he expended incalculable time and effort in preparing those treatises. His contribution in preserving the English episcopate has long been recognised.

During the Commonwealth the only place where candidates could be ordained and consecrated Bishop was in the Church of the exiled English community. Some English and Irish Bishops had already gone into exile before or during the Civil Wars and new ones were created, the selection and presentation of whom was to a great extent handled by John Cosin.

Since Cosin's hostility to the Roman Church had increased during his exile it is not surprising to discover from the Correspondence and the Works that he considered a rapprochement with other Churches. He had a conference with the Archbishop Cyril of Trapezond, Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Jerusalem, about the possible reunification of Christendom.

Of Cosin's private life and circumstances during these sixteen years relatively little is known. Some words from his letter to Dean Steward of 7th April 1651 reveal to us that his financial position was poor:
I am left here alone, where the weekly task— _that I must live on will kill me, as it has already made me as lean as Lent_.

The letters to William Sancroft disclose that Cosin had to rely on the generosity of friends in England. He suffered from worsening eyesight, as we learn in his letters from 1656 onwards, only having ever had one eye for reading. By 1659 he was unable to read or write. He also suffered repeated bouts of ill health. His pastoral duties no doubt continued to occupy by far the greater part of his time.

As for his relations with individuals, much more is known of his correspondence with English divines, notably with Gunning, Morley, Morton, Sancroft, Steward and Watson. Less is certain as regards his personal relations with the French divines. Mention is made in the Correspondence of a letter to Cosin by Jean Daillé, Minister of Paris. Another Reformed Minister, Jean de Labadie, minister at Montauban, was known to Cosin. There is nevertheless good evidence that Cosin did correspond with many other divines on theological questions, Moïse Amyraut, Jean Daillé, and Raymond Gaches being probably among them.

Volume four of Cosin's Works contains a Latin epistle to the learned scholar David Blondel dated 8th August, 1646 on the subject of the Council of Lateran (1215). Testard, the Arminian Professor of Saumur, is mentioned in Cosin's letter to Mr. Cordel. George Morley, who forbore to communicate with the Reformed either at Charenton or at Caen wrote to Samuel Bochart, who was minister there, explaining his reasons, whereupon the learned divine gave his answer wherein he justifies the Episcopal government in England, and condemns the taking up of arms by subjects against their Sovereigns in defence of Religion, or for any other cause, or upon any other pretence whatsoever.

Any correspondence between Cosin and the French divines that has yet to be discovered is likely to be of considerable interest. A few letters in French of this period are known to exist in manuscript at Durham, though none to Cosin personally. Among Isaac Basire's extensive correspondence are a number of letters in French, but these also,
unfortunately, do little to acquaint us any further with Cosin's personal relations with the French Reformed Churchmen. Clearly a thorough search is required among the extant correspondence of the French divines themselves before it can be established finally whether or not any new light can be shed on this somewhat puzzling question 69.

There are indications among Cosin's writings that he was familiar with the works of many of the French divines, a large number being preserved in Bishop Cosin's own Library, of which more will be said later. He never accorded the modern divines the authority of more ancient times, but he does quote, for example, Calvin and Beza on the Protestant side, and Claude de Saintes and Jacques-Davy Duperron on the Catholic in Tractate on Transubstantiation. Cosin's period in France covered the French reformed Church's progress from before the Third Synod of Charenton 1644 to the Synod of Loudun in 1659, that is, a period of moderate and sporadic persecution by the Catholic populace when the Churches were already on the decline. The more systematic persecutions under Louis XIV's personal rule were yet to come. Nevertheless pressures were growing. The very fact that Cosin himself was in a situation of persecution himself no doubt in itself drew him closer to his persecuted brethren of the French Churches, whose ministers, though differing with the Dean on matters of church government, were yet in sympathy with him in resisting the advances of the Roman clergy and the conniving of the nation's political rulers.

It was with a great sense of relief that Cosin and the other exiles received the news that the King had been recalled to the throne of England. Cosin returned immediately and as a reward for his loyal service was given back the Mastership of Peterhouse, Cambridge as well as all his other preferments. Soon afterwards, on 2nd December 1660, he was made Bishop of Durham, one of the three most prized episcopates after Canterbury and York. The eleven years as Bishop were spent realising many of the ambitions of a life-time. On 25th March 1661 Charles II issued the warrant for the revision of the Book of Common Prayer and
Cosin was appointed one of the Bishops who were to sit on the commission. He played a very important role, exhibiting a proficiency in the Canons, Fathers and Councils of the Church which was noticed by many, notably Baxter. On 26th July the Conference at the Savoy was called, which ended without real agreement. Cosin's influence on these deliberations, which led to the famous Prayer Book revision of 1662, was felt mainly in the emphasis that was placed on comparison with most ancient liturgies.

Cosin had many difficulties to face in his diocese, which had suffered a great deal under the Civil Wars and Commonwealth. He had many conflicts with Papists on the one hand and Sectarians on the other. The problem of Conventicles often troubled Cosin, as we discover from the Correspondence. He did improve many aspects of his diocese, and restored and beautified many of the buildings, including the Cathedral and the episcopal castles. He constructed new buildings such as some of those surrounding the Palace Green in Durham. He enriched the ceremonies and all things pertaining to the corporate worship. Perhaps most important, he reformed the system of episcopal administration, particularly with regard to the use of the clergy and financial resources. He was very severe in the administration of the episcopal finances, extracting some twenty thousand pounds in rents, etc., but disposing of almost all of this on the diocese, mainly on building, with a significant amount devoted to the Episcopal Library. He administered his diocese with his usual vigour and thoroughness, and never went out of his way to court popularity, ruling with a firm hand and arousing considerable opposition. At times he was domineering, even dictatorial, and extreme in his ultra-loyalist, legitimist political views, refusing to allow the County of Durham to be represented in Parliament. Yet his generosity often found expression in gifts to the poor; in fact as he states in his Will he kept hardly any of the episcopal income for his own use. His achievements have endured for three centuries, notably his work of reconstruction and reformation of the Episcopacy, and his
contributions to the revision of the Prayer Book.

He died at the age of seventy-six on 15th January 1672.

FOOTNOTES


4. Du Moulin, it may be noted, visited England from March 1624 to June 1625.

4a. Fifty-five of these letters dating from 1st January 1621 to 23rd November 1628 are published in Vol I. of the Correspondence while the remaining letters are unpublished.

5. A first edition (London, 1627) is present in Durham Cathedral Library.


7. Some documents connected with this incident are published in Vol. I of Cosin's Correspondence, p. 147.

8. There has been some doubt as to the precise date of Cosin's expulsion. The most reliable dating is the one common to P. Osmond, A Life of John Cosin, D.D. (London, 1913), and J. Venn, Alumni Cantab. (10 vols., London, 1922 - 54), namely 13th March 1643/4. Ormsby, following Surtees gives March 1642/3.

9. See, for example, letters from Cosin to Sancroft, Correspondence, Vol. I, pp. 286, 288, 289.

11. See the letter to Dean Steward, 7th April, 1651., Correspondence, Vol. I, p.285.


13. Dated 14th June 1645, in Works, Vol. IV.


18. A few modern French theologians are mentioned in the Tractate, for example, Du Perron and De Saintes, Correspondence, Vol. I, pp.270, 271, 275.

19. See Evelyn's diary for 25th May, 1651.


52. *Correspondence*, Vol. I, CXV.
54. Examples are Pierre du Moulin and his eldest son, Pierre.
58. Isaac Basire: *The Dead Man's Real Speech* (London, 1673), funeral oration on Cosin, with *A Brief of the Life of John Cosin, D.D.*, p. 57. Basire was Cosin's first biographer, from whose work later writers have all drawn extensively. The 'Curate' in question was the Jesuit François Veron.


69. The present writer, having made several enquiries of libraries and authorities both in Britain and in France, notably with the Bibliothèque du Protestantisme français in Paris, and with Professor Richard Stauffer of the Sorbonne, is still of the opinion, though without any definite evidence as yet, that further material connecting Cosin with the French divines may yet be uncovered.

CHAPTER I

SECTION 2.

THE FORMATION OF BISHOP COSIN'S LIBRARY.

From an early age John Cosin was an ardent lover of books and book collecting. This zeal was no doubt stimulated by his association with John Overall, whose Library Cosin managed. Cosin himself remarks that the greatest debt he owed to this learned divine was the encouragement he gave him to form his own Library.

By keeping Bishop Overall's books he (Cosin) began to learn 'quanta pars eruditionis erat bonos nosse auctores' in the knowledge of which he (Overall) would instruct him.

His enthusiasm for book collecting is further evidenced by his conduct while Prebendary of Durham Cathedral. Cosin's first biographer, Isaac Basire, testifies to his industry in searching and studying 'the Rights and Antiquities of the Church of Duresme', and in the words of Canon George Ormsby, the editor of Cosin's Correspondence for the Surtees Society:

With careful diligence he compared the various Charters and Evidences preserved in the Treasury of the Cathedral with the Repertorium Magnum or great catalogue of its contents which had been compiled by their former possessors; and an occasional 'deest' in the margin in his handwriting witnesses to the industry with which he must have prosecuted his search through that large mass of manuscripts and the accuracy with which he noted the presence or the absence of each separate document.

Further confirmation of his diligence is found in an Act of Chapter for the better maintenance of the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, dated 20th July 1628 which, though signed by the Dean Richard Hunt, is extant in Cosin's own handwriting. It records decisions taken at a Chapter meeting at which Cosin was present. The object of the Act was

- to furnish and provide said Library with such store of bookes and authors in their severall classe both ancient and moderne as they (Dean and Chapter) most desire for the increase of knowledge and for the preservation of the ancient pietie and honour of this religious foundation.

At installation a Dean was to contribute 20 marks to the Library, and a Prebendary 20 nobles, while persons granted leases by the Dean...
and Chapter were to contribute one tenth of the first year's profit.

For burials within the precincts of the Church 40s. was exacted, or £5 if the corpse was interred in the Choir. A similar system of raising money for Library use was extended by Cosin to the Episcopal Library after the Restoration. The Dean and Chapter 'repaired the ruin of the place' and 'reformed the rudeness of the old stalls by making a fair frame of shelves, and other conveniences more useful than before' and further:

neatly composed these ancient manuscripts and other books (whereof the inequity of former times had not yet made a full spoyle) to be the better preserved hereafter for the Church.

This reformation was no doubt sorely needed, for ecclesiastical discipline at that time was not all that it should have been.

It is true that Cosin's love of books is often a feature of his concern for ceremonies, ritual, and all things splendid and ornate in divine worship. His philosophy was clearly that nothing but the finest and most beautiful was fitting for the worship of Almighty God.

At Durham he did introduce, or helped to introduce, a ceremonial which was ornate by any standards, consisting, as his adversaries were quick to point out - with exaggeration no doubt, but with a certain degree of accuracy - in

altar-decking, cope-wearing, organ-playing, piping and singing, crossing of cushions and kissing of clouts, oft starting up and squatting down, nodding of heads, and whirling about till their noses stand eastward, setting basons on the altar, candlesticks and crucifixes, burning wax candles in excessive number, when and where there is no use of lights, and what is worst of all, gilding of angels and garnishing of images, and setting them aloft.

In short Cosin and his friends are accused of bringing back all the trappings of popery. In his Brief Survey and Censure of Mr. Cozens his Cozening Devotions of 1627 Prynne sees a return to Popery in Cosin's use of devotional books, his:

ingrossing of Popish Prayer Books, Portuasses, and Devotions for sundry years, and his curious and costly binding and stamping them after the Popish manner.

While Cosin was Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge from 1634 to 1643,
he naturally devoted much time and energy towards the upkeep of its Library, and in this context it is interesting to learn that in 1641 new book-cases were installed, and in later years Cosin provided books for the College to the number of one thousand, including a valuable collection of church music – another of Cosin's interests. After the Restoration he helped to re-establish the use of church music in his diocese after its suppression and neglect during the Commonwealth. He also provided an endowment for the Librarianship of Peterhouse.

In addition to book-collecting Cosin at this time was also very enthusiastic for the construction of suitable buildings to house the books. He instigated a project for the erection of a new University Library at Cambridge. A model which he had had made of the proposed Library and Senate House building was approved, and progress was made in raising the necessary funds, but the outbreak of the Civil War halted the scheme. During his episcopate, however, Cosin raised the matter again offering to pay an initial £100 towards the cost, giving practical details and promising:

And I also give assurance that after all the said houses are purchased in and pulled down, and the ground made clear, for the building and erecting of the said Commencement House and Library, that I will contribute £400 more ... ... if the said work shall be carried on yearly and vigorously without stop or delay, according to the model and pattern thereof.

Nevertheless the scheme came to nothing, and Cosin's ambitious building programmes were to be confined to the Diocese of Durham.

From the point of view of the French books in his Library the exile in France was obviously a decisive period, even though the evidence to show that many of the French books were actually acquired during these years in Paris is slight. At his departure most of his already considerable library remained at Cambridge in the keeping of the Librarian at Peterhouse, Dr.Edward Allen. We know from some of his letters to England that he sometimes asked his correspondent to verify certain quotations from his books at Cambridge, or to forward books to him in Paris. A list is extant (now at Cambridge) which was compiled in 1643 (or later on during the exile period), and which informs us about his Library.
Cosin's books at Cambridge. This list is not in Cosin's own hand, nor was it necessarily compiled by him; more likely it was the work of someone at Peterhouse soon after Cosin's escape to France, or later in the exile, when there were negotiations about sales.

The list consists of 6 leaves upon which his books are entered according to book size, and with valuation. This gives us an account of (at least some of) those books acquired by Cosin prior to his dismissal. The overwhelming majority of the books are in Latin, some in English, with only a very small number in French and other languages. It would appear from this that Cosin had little knowledge of the French religious writers before his exile, although names of a few French divines do appear in the early correspondence. There is no direct evidence as to where those French books which were collected before the exile were acquired, but since Cosin does occasionally mention a bookseller, or a friend who had recently returned from the Continent, we may assume that these were the most likely sources. Theological writings were widely disseminated in those days and it was an easy matter for books printed in, say, Geneva and Holland as well as in France, to be obtained through booksellers in London and Cambridge, the places where Cosin was most likely to obtain them.

The overwhelming majority of the writings mentioned in the above-mentioned list are of course theological, ancient and modern, and the influence of Cosin's mentors Overall, Andrewes, and Montagu were strong in his selection of books. Many of the French religious writings in Bishop Cosin's Library were published before 1643, for example, some three quarters of the writings of Pierre du Moulin. Some sixty per cent of the titles of French books in the Collection as we know it today are the writings of French Reformed divines published at protestant presses, (see Chapter IV for further details). We must not rule out the possibility that some of those writings which predate 1643 were in Cosin's possession before that year even though the Peterhouse list does not include them. In those disordered times some may well have been deposited at other
places where Cosin had resided, at Durham or with friends. However, it may be assumed with some certainty that the bulk of Dean Cosin's library remained at Peterhouse throughout the Civil War and Commonwealth period.

A register exists (now at Cambridge) of books deposited at and borrowed from this collection at Peterhouse. It is dated at 1651 and consists of 2 leaves upon which are listed the names of borrowers and depositors, and the dates of borrowing and description of the books borrowed and deposited.

Cosin did take quite a number of books with him to Paris, however. There is evidence of further acquisition of books while in France despite his restricted circumstances. Even by the time of his conference with Prior Robinson Cosin must have had a useful library in his lodgings at the Louvre⁹, and in 1651 six years later Evelyn records that he had 'a competent library'there. There is little direct reference to Cosin's book-collecting in France, however, until 1656 in a letter dated 3rd February to Sancroft, where he thanks his correspondent for a gift of money, and adds:

> It will help me to a greater purchase (of books) than I should have been able here to have made without it 'totus enim sum in conquirendis bonis libris'.¹⁰

In a letter to Cosin from one P.G. of 7th July 1657 we learn that Cosin asked for books to be sent to him from his daughter the Lady Gerard¹¹. In the same letter the writer mentions a letter from the Paris minister Jean Daillé to Cosin, a part of which he says he will show to Thomas Fuller. In a letter from Cosin to Sancroft of 26th June, 1659, Cosin mentions a gift from England of 119 crowns, some of which no doubt was used in the further purchase of books. In a letter to the same correspondent, who was then at Geneva, of 28th August 1659, Cosin makes the following interesting comment:

> When the books that you have bought at Geneva, or aught else, come hither to my hands I shall take care to preserve them safely for you until you be pleased to dispose further with them¹².

Books printed at Geneva, of which there are some 71 in French alone in

-32-
the present collection, could easily have been obtained by Cosin from friends returning from that city, and also in France through his contacts with the Protestant ministers with whom he had good acquaintance. Few of the books themselves provide any indication as to how they came into Cosin's possession; among the exceptions (at Cosin X v 25) is a treatise in the form of an epistle, dated 1660, by Jean Daillé, who was a minister at Charenton from 1626 to 1670, which was, as stated in an inscription in Cosin's hand of 15th May 1660, presented to Cosin by its author. One Latin work, (at Cosin T IV 47), by Moïse Amyraut, *In Orationem dominicam exercitatio* (Saumer, 1662) is autographed by its author. A few of the French books in Cosin do have certain hand-written entries, mainly signatures on them, including a work by Jean Mestrezat. Some items have evidence of former ownership, see Chapter VI for details.

It seems very likely, considering the prevailing circumstances, that some of the French Reformed writings in the collection were presented to Cosin by Protestant friends in France during the exile. Despite Cosin's respect for the French Protestants it does not seem very likely that Cosin would expend more than a small proportion of his very limited financial resources on acquiring their writings when he clearly required many of the standard authors and authorities for the purposes of religious controversy. He certainly would not accord the modern French divines, however much he honoured and revered their profound and learned writings, the same authority as the more ancient writers, though he certainly read and admired them. Cosin indeed understood the motives and sincerity of the French divines far better than many of his contemporaries did. This testifies to his familiarity with their writings in the original language. The French Protestant works now in the Cosin collection will be considered more fully in later chapters. At this point it may be noted that, in the opinion of the present writer, the great majority of these writings were acquired by Cosin as a result of the exile in France, although some were actually acquired at a slightly later date, as was the autographed
work by Amyraut mentioned above. Cosin still had some contact with the French Protestants after 1660 as we learn from a letter of 17th September 1661 to Sancroft, where Cosin mentions a letter he had received from the ardently Protestant Princesse de Turenne. He also had some contact with France through his two Prebendaries at Durham, Daniel Brevint and Jean Durel, who are mentioned several times in the later Correspondence. For the most part, however, as Cosin was preoccupied with his onerous episcopal duties he had little time to give to his friends in France.

During the worst periods of his exile in France financial pressures actually forced Cosin to contemplate the sale of some or all of his books, and this tragedy was at last forestalled only by events in England, where, in the spring of 1660 King Charles II was recalled to the throne. Cosin returned to England soon after the Restoration and his books were moved from Paris to Cambridge where Cosin was restored to his mastership of Peterhouse. As Evelyn remarked at this time Cosin possessed 'one of the choicest collections of any private person in England'. In 1660 Cosin's books at Cambridge numbered 1174, these being the ones left at Peterhouse, not including acquisitions made in France. These 1174, incidentally, are not identical with the 1,000 mentioned in the Bishop's Will. The number of his books was no doubt augmented by the sacrificially high amounts of money he spent in France, even though he always drove a hard bargain in purchasing books. In 1661 after his elevation to the See of Durham Cosin's books were removed from Cambridge to his diocese, and on 6th September 1661 Myles Stapylton, Cosin's Secretary, records in a letter to Sancroft:

"His Library is a setting up, the greatest part of the books he hath here being up already and the rest will be set up in a day or two's time: the place he hath chosen for it is the long gallery at Auckland."

The episcopal Library was set up in Auckland Castle, one of the Diocese's episcopal residences, but Cosin was also immediately concerned with the Library of the Dean and Chapter. He asked the Sacrist about the condition of the books there, about the existence of a catalogue, and
about 'books which have been in the late wicked and distempered
times embezzled and taken away'.

The finest monuments to Cosin's zeal and industry are without doubt
the buildings erected around the Palace Green, including the Episcopal
Library. After the consecration of Auckland Chapel the building and
stocking of this Library was one of the chief interests of Cosin's life.
If as a builder he rivalled his predecessor Pudsay (1153-95), as a lover
of books he rivalled de Bury (1334-45), the author of the original
Philobiblon. Cosin's love of books was directed towards their external
appearance as well as their contents: the cataloguing and preservation
of books in the Cathedral Library was a life-long interest, and now in
his old age he erected a building which cost him £500, and, to use his own
words:

he hath furnished the same, for public use, with books of
all sorts, to the value of £2000, and he hath also, for the
well-keeping and preservation of that Library given and
settled an annual stipend of £20 sterling upon it15.

During his visits to his diocese Cosin personally supervised the
arrangement of his Library, and this was especially true of his last visit
which lasted from June to September 1669. With reference to this
George Davenport, the Librarian, wrote in a somewhat desperate tone to
Sancroft:

My Lord hath placed his books in the new Library, which he hath
built. But Oh what a life have I in shifting them hither and
thither, and the life, I reckon, I must lead till Michaelmas16.

After his return to London Cosin's letters to his Secretary Miles
Stapylton are full of references to the new Library. On 2nd December 1669
Cosin expresses a wish to acquire a 'Tractatus Tractatum in twenty-eight
great volumes fairely bound' which at £60 he considers to be expensive
'having expended so much on my Library already'17. Cosin had ingenious
plans for raising money to buy books, for example, when a lease was granted
the recipient was asked to make a contribution to the Library either in
the form of a book or a payment. Money was to be raised in this way for
the collection of tracts mentioned above, but with little success. On
7th December the Bishop asks his Secretary to send him a note of all the contributions to his library, both paid and promised to be paid. Cosin asks Stapylton repeatedly to search out for him a certain manuscript letter, which however the Secretary is unable to find. Durel and Davenport were to be exempted from the special contributions to the Library, 'who have, or will shortly, give books to it of good value.'

Cosin is frequently perturbed by the slow rate of progress in cataloguing the books in the Library, and in a letter of 14th December upbraids Stapylton for not cataloguing properly, as William Flower, Cosin's Chaplain in London, had directed. The catalogue is mentioned again in a letter of 23rd December where Cosin states that he himself is perfecting it with the assistance of Mr. Flower, but he sometimes has difficulty in reading and understanding material furnished to him by his secretary in Durham. Cosin also names a certain bookseller called Mr. Scott who 'is now returned out of France and Holland with a great many good books' including large works in many collected volumes, one of which was the much sought after Tractatus Tractatum, for which the Bishop was still trying to raise the necessary funds. In a letter to Stapylton on Christmas Day 1669 Cosin is exasperated at his secretary's continued failure to find a letter he required, and he is also dissatisfied with a note supplied to him for the compilation of the classified catalogue:

> Mr. Flower hath read over your note again, and cannot find that all the authors are there nor distinguish into their volumina.

In a letter of 1st January 1669/70 Cosin finally despairs of Stapylton's ever finding the required letter:

> trouble yourself no further about it till I come and search the Library my selfe.

Cosin requests a somewhat easier task to be accomplished by his secretary. On 11th January he asked for the catalogue of his private Library to be forwarded to him. The plan to purchase the tractates was in difficulties by this time, for by the 28th only £35 had been raised. Cosin expresses
concern about the effect of the winter weather on the condition of
the books in the Library. He continued to be disturbed by the slow
progress of the Alphabetical Catalogue under the supervision of his son-in-
law, Thomas Blakiston: indeed while he was responsible the catalogue
never progressed beyond the letter D. Cosin proposed that some of the
money collected in the diocese should be used to purchase either law
books, or 'those authors that will be useful in a publique Library for
the city and country'.

Such was the Bishop's zeal to augment the Library that almost any
pretext was used to persuade his tenants or clergy to 'get a book to the
Library'. In a letter of 10th May 1670 Cosin enumerates all the
catalogues and registers of matters concerning the Library which were
then being compiled. There were Alphabetical and Clasical Catalogues,
a register of deficient books, and a list of contributions to the Library.
In a letter to Miles Stapylton of 31st May Cosin mentions some books
from his own private collection he will give to the Public Library.

On 30th August he discusses for the first time a plan for the
collection of a small room adjoining the main Library to house various
maps and books of geography which would be better preserved there than in
the homes of any private individuals who might possess them. Cosin
often appeared to promise more money for the acquisition of books than
his secretary in Durham was able to raise: in a letter of 4th October
1670, for example, he says:

I have laid out more than £100 for bookes to be sent unto
the Library, whereof you have the catalogue sent unto you. Only £67 had been raised in Durham, however. Cosin's negligence is
again illustrated by the fact that on 13th October the Bishop was still
waiting for the catalogue of his private Library which he had originally
asked for on 11th January.

On 18th October Cosin expressed concern about the approach of
winter, which could lead to damage:

if the bookes be not all rubb'd over before a fire
once a fortnight or month at least they will contract
Cosin is equally concerned about whether the roof is watertight, or about the risk of fire; he is often worried about whether books have been lost or stolen; he expresses surprise at the number which, even despite Stapylton's protestations to the contrary, seem to have been lost in transit from Auckland to Durham. On 3rd December Thomas Blakiston is asked to use different styles of writing when cataloguing books in English, French and Latin.

Cosin's meticulous care for his books is shown by his careful instructions for the bookbinder, Hutchinson, in stamping books with his armorial:

set the stamp of my arms upon every booke in the Library between those bands on the back of every book that are next under the title set upon every one of them, either in written or in gold letters, the greater stamp upon the bigger and thicker bookes, and the lesser stamp upon the smaller and thinner bookes.

The stamp was to be applied direct on those with good leather bindings, but on paper-board and parchment-bound books a piece of red or crimson leather was to be applied to take the stamp. The bookbinder was somewhat inefficient, and Stapylton suggested that Blakiston might do the stamping himself, but Cosin wisely refused. Indeed, the Bishop finally lost patience with his son-in-law and is quite angry with him in a letter to his secretary (Stapylton) of 7th March 1670/71:

be instant with him to make an end of my catalogue and take no excuses from him, which are too easily found when men list to be lazy.

Cosin at this time was still purchasing more books, and some of these were from the Continent, including Paris. He mentions a bookseller from whom he had bought many books, many of which he had sent on to the Library in Durham.

The bishop and his secretary became increasingly acrimonious in their correspondence with one another and clearly Cosin's meticulous instructions for the maintenance of the Library, given as they were to one who did not share his own love of books, exacerbated relations between them. Progress was at best very limited in all Cosin's
ambitious designs for his Library, whether it was the stamping of the books, the erection of the additional room, the completion of the various portraits, or the cataloguing of the books. Neither the alphabetical catalogue nor the stamping was ever completed in the Bishop's lifetime, and many other things were done in a desultory manner. Nevertheless, despite all this the Cosin Library was a considerable achievement for its time. The overwhelming majority of its present 4400 volumes were assembled by Cosin himself over a period of 55 years, and this entailed an expenditure of £2000 'for the common benefit of the clergy and others that shall resort thereunto'\(^3\). This Library, influenced as it certainly was by other great Libraries such as the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris, founded some years earlier, had a considerable influence in its time and did much to further learning and piety in the diocese.

**FOOTNOTES**

1. *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 471. Cosin compiled a *Vita mea ab initio* \(^{i.e.}\) ab anno 1595 usque ad praesentem annum 1665 brevis enarratio, only a fragment of which (in English) has survived. Cosin was an accomplished bibliographer, producing a *Bibliotheca Historica*.


5. Cf. his preoccupation with the binding and stamping of the books in the Episcopal Library.


7. Montagu probably influenced Cosin's choice of books, see
Correspondence, Vol. I, p. 63, etc.

8. 33 out of 48. See Chapter V, Section 2.


13. John Durel was Chaplain to the Prince de Turenne.


18. Correspondence, Vol. II, p. 211. This volume contains only extracts from Cosin's letters to Miles Stapylton, his 'auditor and commissioner residing at Durham' from 1661 - 72.


CHAPTER I

SECTION 3

The Library from 1672 to the present day.

It is sad to have to conclude that after Cosin's death in January 1672 the fortunes of his Library took a downward turn, and relatively little is heard of it. George Davenport, Cosin's Librarian, died in 1677. In accordance with the provisions of its Foundation Charter responsibility for the Library then reverted to the Receiver-General of the Diocese. In 1725 the Library was visited by Lord Harley, who remarked that the Library 'though handsome and well stocked is sadly neglected and maintained in a slovenly manner' 31. Cosin's Library was never under the care of the Chapter Librarian as such, although at times during the eighteenth century Thomas Rud and other Cathedral Librarians helped in its running, as it appears from the presence of their handwriting in the records, and indeed in a few of the books themselves. Notable additions to the collection were made by Bishop Trevor (1752 - 71) 32, and by Bishop Barrington (1791 - 1826), who presented the Mickleton Manuscripts to the Cosin Library. Lists of books borrowed from the Library, which was intended by its founder for general use, exist for the years 1721 - 82, consisting of only six leaves, and for the period 1782 - 1932, containing only fifty-eight names. This indicates that the Library has been but little used, and apart from the occasional famous name, for example, Robert Southey, it was frequented mainly by clerics and antiquarians.

Since the foundation of the University in 1832 the care of the Library became increasingly the responsibility of the University Librarian. Before 1911 the University Librarian had charge of the Cosin Library only at times and on an informal basis, but from 1911 the responsibility was formally made over to him. Following the reconstitution of the University in 1952 the Cosin Library was officially incorporated into the University Library (1955).
31. See article by Prof. C. Whiting on Cosin's Library, Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Northumberland and Durham, Vol. IX, p. 18.

32. Bishop Trevor, it is known, gave 414 titles to the Episcopal Library, contained in 582 volumes.
CHAPTER II

CONTEMPORARY CONDITIONS IN FRANCE
HISTORICAL EVENTS

The publication of the works in French in Bishop Cosin's Library was set in the context of a rapidly changing background of French history from the years of turmoil consequent upon the Renaissance and Reformation to the relative stability of the early years of the absolute monarchy under Louis XIV. The earliest works in French in Cosin date from the time of the high French Renaissance in the mid sixteenth century, while it was the Reformation which in fact had a more direct influence on these works than did the cultural revival as such.

Many writings, chiefly of a political, religious or historical nature date from the troubled period of the Wars of Religion when for forty years the nation was torn by civil strife born of religious and political rivalry, and of the personal greed and ambition of powerful individuals\(^1\). Great men like the Prince de Condé (1530 - 69) and Admiral Coligny (1517 - 72) led the Huguenots, as the French Protestants were called (a corruption of Eidgenossen, confederates), while Catholic fanaticism was championed by the powerful Guise family through the Sainte Ligue, or Union Catholique, founded in 1576 to extirpate Protestant heresy by all means while ostensibly giving support to the King against his rebel subjects\(^2\). The Ligue in fact served to further the ambitions of Henri, Duc de Guise (1550 - 88), its most formidable leader and favourite of the Parisian mob.

Although the Huguenots were primarily a religious movement their political ambitions early became apparent. By the early 1560's it was already made clear that their political thought and actions were tending towards rebellion against the authority of the Crown, towards, in fact, the establishment of a state within the state and even towards an attempted take-over of the government itself. In 1560 it looked as if there was a possibility that they could succeed and France could become officially a Protestant nation. Philippe Duplessis Mornay in his famous and controversial treatise *Vindiciae contra tyrannos* (1578) set out his theory...
of popular sovereignty in the nation's government which necessitated a severe limitation of the power of the monarchy. The Protestant cause during the period of instability was moreover prejudiced by the association of numerous malcontents and dissidents who rallied to it for divergent reasons. Nevertheless, despite all this and despite persecution and the hostility of the majority of Frenchmen the Reformed religion and party in France grew in strength and became better organised. At its height perhaps as many as one quarter of all Frenchmen adhered to the Huguenot cause. The Reformed Church's doctrine and conduct, which were strongly Calvinist in spirit, were early placed on solid foundations by the first National Synod held in 1559 at which a Confession of faith and a Book of Discipline were approved.

Generally speaking the eight outbreaks of Civil War which occurred between the early 1560's and the accession of Henri IV in 1589 were indecisive in their outcome, although they were characterised by the most shameful brutality, and by continual intrigue and treachery. The last two of the Valois kings of France were weak and indecisive, and the de facto ruler during the years of trouble was the Queen Mother, the cunning and calculating Catherine de' Medici, who by her clever machinations often sought to play off the one side in the conflict against the other.

Yet the extreme feelings on both sides were always difficult to restrain, and events of which the massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Eve (August 24, 1572) was the most notorious example, were only too frequent. In this orgy of planned brutality, which soon led to indiscriminate violence on the part of the mob, Coligny and other Huguenot leaders who were staying in Paris were murdered, together with many thousands of their supporters all over France.

The turmoil continued, until in 1589 the last of the Valois kings, Henri III, was assassinated by a fanatical Dominican Friar. This left the Huguenot Henri of Navarre (1553 - 1610) as the legitimate heir to the throne. It was only with the greatest difficulty, however, that he was able to make good his rightful claim, since the extreme Catholics of the Ligue who held
Paris were in no mood to submit to a heretic, even though he was the lawful king. Yet there was a certain desire for peace among many moderates on both sides, who recognised the good qualities of Henri de Bourbon. But the capital did have to be subjected to a most terrible siège, and even then he seemed to be frustrated. Eventually, however, he succeeded in pacifying the nation, and he who had formerly been excommunicated in 1585 by Pope Sixtus V, but had declared for Catholicism in 1593, was at last crowned king at Chartres on 27th February, 1594, and thereafter commenced one of the finest reigns in French history.

During his reign the political climate was naturally more favourable towards the Huguenots than previously. They were still a very strong, closely-knit community. Even despite his conversion to Catholicism, which had taken place for political reasons, the king was greatly influenced by several Huguenot advisers, the most notable among these being Maximilien de Béthune, Baron de Rosny, later Duc de Sully, who did much to reform the administration of finances and of the national economy.

Henri IV's reign was a period of peace and material advance when, for example, a series of important public works were undertaken, and the machinery of the central government was made more effective, thus laying the foundations for the subsequent rise of the absolute monarchy later in the seventeenth century. Overseas the period was marked by new explorations and in 1608 a settlement was founded at Quebec by Samuel Champlain (1567 - 1635), which was the beginning of France's colonial empire.

But it was with religious questions that the royal government was most deeply concerned, since these were the questions which had to be resolved in order that peace in the state could be maintained. Religious animosities among the people were never far below the surface, and these were easily aroused to erupt in violence. The situation between the two religions was clarified by the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes on 13th April, 1598. This was for its time the most far-reaching and far-sighted measure of toleration to be instituted anywhere in Europe. In addition to its important provisions for the publication of Protestant literature, of which more will be said later (See Chapter IV) its overriding
intention was to guarantee practical equality before the law to the Protestants. While insisting that the Roman Church was the only established religion in France, the Edict maintained equally that the Protestants had the right to hold and practise their religion unmolested, and to worship openly in any of the 150 or so cities of refuge granted to them. The city of Paris and anywhere within a radius of five leagues of the city was explicitly barred to Protestant worship, hence the necessity for their place of worship to be established first at Grigny near Fontainebleau, and eventually, because of a relaxation of the Edict, at the suburb of Charenton (1606). There was, however, one notable facility for the Protestants to meet together in the Capital itself. At the court of the king's sister, Catherine de Bourbon, a staunch Protestant to her death in 1604, "l'église chez Madame" as it was sometimes called met, to the considerable annoyance of the leading clergy.

The education of children as regards religious teaching was to be left to the discretion of the parents, and there was to be no discrimination against the children of Protestants in admission to schools, colleges and universities. Protestants were to benefit equally from the services of hospitals and public charities, and there was to be no partiality on religious grounds in the selection of candidates for entry to employment, even to the highest offices of the state. Some smaller matters were also covered by the Edict, many of which affected the day to day life of the Protestant communities. Their ministers were for the first time officially authorised to perform the marriage ceremony, and they were specifically relieved of all obligations which ran counter to their sacred orders. The right of assembly, within limits, was guaranteed to the minority.

The clergy and the militant Catholics were enraged by the concessions granted by the Edict, and for more than a year the Paris Parlement refused to ratify it. The extreme Calvinists were themselves suspicious of the Edict for their own reasons. But in time tempers were moderated and the terms of the Edict were enacted, and in the main accepted in France.
Henri's policies were no doubt made rather more acceptable to the Catholics by his efforts to seek a rapprochement with the Pope. On 9th December, 1600 the king married Maria de' Medici, the niece of the incumbent Pontiff. In 1603 the Jesuits were allowed to return to France eight years after they had been expelled for being involved in a conspiracy against the life of the King. They took a leading part in the religious controversies of the time as we shall see later.

Henri had many far reaching plans, including a scheme for a form of economic and political union between European nations, but these plans were frustrated when the king was assassinated in 1610 by a fanatic named Ravaillac, who may well have been connected with the Jesuits. There were accusations and counter-accusations over this deed which seemed to threaten once again the peace of the realm.

The regency of the Queen Maria de' Medici which followed the death of Henri IV seemed, however, to begin quite auspiciously for peace, and emissaries were sent throughout the country to see to it that the provisions of the Edict of Nantes were being observed. At the meeting of the States-General in 1614 the French clergy demanded the promulgation of the decrees of the Council of Trent, an issue which had excited passions in France for many years and about which more will be said later. Henri IV had refused enactment of these decrees which had tremendous implications in the political as well as in the religious sphere. At the meeting the Third Estate, the haute bourgeoisie, pressed for the condemnation of the Ultramontane doctrines.

Intrigues and mismanagement were prevalent at court at this time, and the affairs of state were in subjection to the whims of ambitious courtiers such as the Italian Concino Concini, the favourite of Maria de' Medici. The 'coup d'état' of 24th April 1617, whereby the young Louis XIII, in collaboration with his favourite Albert de Luynes, had the ambitious Concini murdered by his guards provides an instance which strikingly demonstrates how fickle and treacherous were the leaders of France at that time. The French court had clearly fallen far since the disappearance
of the firm hand of Henri IV. Religious passions in the country came to the boil once again, and there is ample evidence of this in the masses of controversial literature which flowed off the presses at this time, to which Cosin's Library bears witness. The outbreak in 1618 of the Thirty Years' War in Germany exacerbated the animosities still further. The destruction of the first Protestant Temple at Charenton in 1620 by the Paris mob was only the fiercest outburst of these pent-up feelings.

Despite all the pressure applied against them the Huguenot community in 1620 was still very strong. Its many fortified towns had each become a republic on the Genevan pattern, with military commander and strong forces of troops. These towns were all solidly federated together to form what was in effect a state within the state and hence a real threat to the royal government.

Armand Duplessis, Cardinal Duc de Richelieu (1585 - 1642), who came to power as the king's chief minister in 1624, had to deal with this threatening situation. The intention of this great statesman was always to destroy the Huguenots' political power, not their religious liberties. The condition of the Protestants at this time was, it must be remembered, no worse than the plight of the Catholics in England about which the French government did protest to the English king. England was generally sympathetic towards the Huguenots, and the Seigneur de Soubise, one of the militant French Protestant noblemen, fled to England and tried to whip up support there. Charles I saw himself as the Protector of the French Protestants as did his father, and during Richelieu's fifteen month long siege of the Huguenot fortress of La Rochelle (July 1627 - October 1628) he sent the reckless Duke of Buckingham on an abortive military venture to relieve the beleaguered city. But inexorably the city was starved into submission with appalling loss of life, and it capitulated on 28th October, 1628. With the subsequent surrender of the remaining Huguenot fortress of Montauban, Protestant political independence in France was finally broken. By the Peace of Alais (June 1629)
the religious wars were at last brought to a full end, and thereafter for some forty years the Huguenots did enjoy a measure of peace, freedom and prosperity as fully integrated members of the nation, though there were the occasional incidents, and though the majority retained their hostility towards them. The situation was to take a dramatic turn for the worse, however, under Louis XIV's personal rule (a period extending beyond that covered in this study), when determined efforts were made to eradicate Protestantism completely.

Richelieu had other enemies to face of a more insidious nature than the Huguenots, however. Many members of the nobility were restive, still hankering after their ancient privileges. The abuse of duelling had grown considerably among the nobles in the early seventeenth century. They used this practice in order to demonstrate their claimed right to wage private warfare, and duelling afforded a frequent and brutal spectacle in many streets and public squares. The existing edicts against this had not been enforced, but the Cardinal succeeded in suppressing the abuse with draconian severity. Some nobles conspired with the Queen Mother in 1630 to compass Richelieu's downfall, but this attempt was foiled in the celebrated 'Journée des Dupes'.

In addition to subduing the nobility Richelieu's greatest achievements were in centralising and reinforcing the power of the royal government, thus paving the way for the rise of the Absolute Monarchy.

Certain events in foreign affairs also had their influence on attitudes in France during Richelieu's administration, which was a period which saw the publication of a great many of the items in the collection with which this study is concerned. In 1625 the Catholic inhabitants of the Swiss Protestant Republic of the Grisons revolted against their rulers at the instigation of Spain. The Spaniards thereupon seized the Valtelline Valley, of strategic importance between Austria and Italy. In accordance with his anti-Spanish policy, Richelieu cleared out the Spanish troops from the valley, freed the Grisons Republic from pressure, and forced a peace treaty upon Spain in 1626 on very favourable
Richelieu often found it politic to side with Protestant powers against Spain and the Empire, as he did with the Swedish king Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years' War.

Richelieu's political theories were set forth in *Le Testament politique* which may have been the work of compilers but which is nevertheless a document of unique importance. Perhaps one of the Cardinal's greatest faults was his dictatorial imposition of a rigorous censorship of literature and the press. He died on 4th December 1642, and his royal master Louis XIII followed him to the grave on 14th May 1643.

We have now reached the consideration of the conditions which obtained in France during the period of the residence there of John Cosin, then Dean of Peterborough, who was attached to the English court in exile at the Louvre, having arrived in Paris in March 1644, ten months after the accession to the throne of the young Louis XIV. At the time of his arrival the government of the country was in the hands of Giulio Mazarini, better known as Cardinal Mazarin (1602 - 61) whom the dying Richelieu had recommended as his successor. In the event Richelieu's choice proved to be a wise one and France benefited from the Sicilian's judicious administration, despite a period of instability.

On 19th May 1643 there occurred an event which had an important effect on the balance of power in Europe. The Spanish infantry, which hitherto had been thought invincible, were defeated by the army of the young Duc d'Enghien, the future Prince de Condé, at Rocroi near Sedan. This was rather more than a symbolic turning point in history, and it gave clear confirmation that Spanish power was declining while that of France was in the ascendancy and was on the way to supremacy in Europe.

Mazarin, who was the favourite of the Queen Regent Anne of Austria - the young king being still in his minority - soon had to face dissensions in the kingdom. In September 1643 he was faced with a court conspiracy of those malcontents who styled themselves as the **Importants**, though this was not really very serious in itself. Yet intrigues at court were the order of the day during the Sicilian's rule, and his administration...
was often hindered, rather than helped, by some of those who advised him.

During the early years of Mazarin's administration the kingdom was plunged into a measure of confusion by the financial mismanagement of Michel Particelli, Sieur d'Éneyry, the controller of the royal finances who extorted money from the people - much of it for his own use - by the imposition of onerous taxes and by manipulation of the currency. The misery of the common people increased, as did the discontent of the nobles and the haute bourgeoisie. A climate was thus forming for revolt and it was the deteriorating financial situation, with its attendant inept government remedies, which was largely responsible for the outbreak of the First Fronde, the Parliamentary Fronde, an anti-royalist rebellion instigated by the Paris Parlement (1648-9). There was an attempt to resolve the differences between the lawyers and haute bourgeoisie of the Third Estate and the Royal Government at the Conference of Saint Louis in August 1648, but the arrest of two members of the Parlement, Blancmesnil and Broussel, led to a general rising in Paris demanding their release (26-27 August 1648). The court was compelled to retire to Saint Germain for its own safety (22nd October 1648). The Regent Anne of Austria was ultimately compelled to approve a declaration of the Parlement incorporating most of the lawyers' demands in respect of taxation and the right to constitutional trial.

Yet the intrigues of the Cardinal de Retz (1614-79) and of other nobles continued, and in January 1649 civil conflict broke out afresh. There was a decisive engagement in February 1649 between Condé and the rebel Parisians at Charenton. A formula for peace was arranged between the rebels and the royal government by the Treaty of Rueil (March 1649).

The Second Fronde, known as the Nobles' Fronde, (1649-52) was in effect merely a revolt of the nobility against Mazarin, and there were constant intrigues for personal power. Mazarin succeeded in restoring peace, though after having been hard pressed and forced to leave Paris. The conflict between the two great princes and military leaders, Condé...
and Turenne, was the singular feature of this rebellion. This was the last serious attempt on the part of the nobility to seize power in the state by force.

During the remaining years of Mazarin's rule peace was generally maintained within the borders of France, and the Cardinal is perhaps best remembered today for some of his works of peace. In the cultural field he made a unique contribution to enriching the national situation by the assembly of his large and impressive Library. This very substantial collection of mainly theological and historical works, some 40,000 volumes, was opened to the public from 1643. The influence of this Library, which was studiously overseen by the Cardinal's scholarly librarian, Gabriel Naudé, upon Cosin's own Library, must have been very considerable, both as regards its contents and its arrangement. In 1651 the Paris Parlement ordered the Cardinal's books to be sold, but he succeeded in reconstituting the collection, and in 1661 at his death he bequeathed it, together with a College, which became known as the Collège des Quatre Nations, which was founded in his honour, to the nation. The Library now forms the nucleus of the present day Bibliothèque Mazarine, one of France's greatest libraries.

It was not only within the kingdom that Mazarin had success, however, for his astute and prudent foreign policies generally prospered. In 1655 Mazarin had a considerable success in concluding a commercial treaty with England, then ruled by Cromwell. In 1657 this developed into a full military alliance. Mazarin's policy of toleration towards the Protestants in France was no doubt influenced by his desire for cordial relations with England. This policy could not give much comfort to the exiled John Cosin and the other members of the English Court.

When Mazarin died on 9th March 1661 he had succeeded in restoring peace to the kingdom and in leaving the way open for Louis XIV to assume the reins of absolute power. Cosin's return to England, it may be noted, came within a year of that unprecedented period of grandiose splendour when Le Grand Monarque led his subjects with autocratic severity, first
to the heights of national power and magnificence, and ultimately
to the depths of national misery and isolation.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cosin has writings in French relating to a number of important
figures in French political history. The works are entered in
the catalogue of the French books in the Library compiled by
Mr. D. Ramage under the names of the persons in question, e.g. Condé,
(at Cosin Q vi 22 - 5), and Coligny, (at Cosin X v 24(4)). The
latter work also appears under its author — Antoine Fleury. For
material in the Library on this period of French history, see
especially Pierre de la Place: Histoire de nostre temps. 2 vols.
(1566-7) at Cosin Q vi 24 - 5, and André Thevet: Pourtraits et
Vies des hommes illustres (1584) at Cosin T i 21.

2. See, in Cosin, a writing on the Ligue: Recueil contenant les
choses memorables advenues sous la Ligue. 2 vols. (Paris, 1587 - 9)
at Cosin Q v 22 - 3.

3. See, in Cosin, La confirmation de la Discipline ecclesiastique
observée es Eglise Reformées du royaume de France (Geneva, 1566),
at Cosin I iv 38.

4. See in Cosin volume S iv 21 which contains all the relevant
material.

5. See in Cosin Pierre de Belloy: Moyens d' abus; entreprises et
nullitez du rescrit et bulle du Pape Sixte V contre Henri de Bourbon
(Cologne, 1586), at Cosin X iv 44.

6. See in Cosin, Nicolas de Thou: Ceremonies observées au Sacre
et Couronnement de Henri III, Roi de France et de Navarre,
(Paris, 1594), at Cosin R iv 11(1), another edition (Paris, 1610),
at Cosin R iv 11(2).

7. See in Cosin Sully's Memoires, 8 vols. (London, 1747), at Cosin
BB iv 18 - 25.

8. The move to Charenton owed much to Pierre du Moulin.
9. Henri was previously married to Marguerite de Valois. This marriage was annulled by the Pope, partly as a reward for Henri's manipulation of the Conference of Fontainebleau between Duperron and Duplessis-Mornay. See in Cosin N v 20 (6).

10. See in Cosin on the subject David Hume: Le Contr' Assassin (1612) at Cosin I iv 6, and under Parlement in Catalogue.


15. Le Testament politique was first published at Amsterdam in 1688, Bishop Cosin's Library possesses an undated edition at Cosin I iii 38.

16. See in Cosin several documents relating to the coinage and financial matters at this time in volumes N v 36 and N ii 11.

17. The rebellions took their name from the Fronde or sling used by the Parisian boys in their games. The rebels themselves were known as Frondeurs. John Cosin, it may be noted, took little interest in these events, even though he must have experienced their effects in the capital.

18. It should be remembered that some letters addressed to Cosin in France were sent to Saint Germain.
CHAPTER II  
SECTION 2

LITERARY AND CULTURAL CONDITIONS

Literary conditions in France during the period of the acquisition of the French books in Bishop Cosin's Library were subject to as great and as rapid changes as those which occurred in national affairs. The period was indeed characterised by the rapid development and transition from a post-Renaissance to a Classical context, always bearing in mind the inadequacy of such terms in describing a scene so rich, and varied. Although it is true that some of the trends were not directly reflected in the collection of books under consideration here, there is a sense in which the entire literary climate of the age did materially affect Cosin's choice of books, even though not always in the way one would necessarily expect.

One would not expect the trends evident in what may be described as the 'fashionable' literature of the first half of the seventeenth century in France to have had much influence, if any, on Cosin's choice of books. The Salons, the cult of Preciosity, and their influence on the early seventeenth century prose romances, seem to have no relevance at all to our Collection. Yet the reaction against the affectation of some of these trends is reflected in a few of the items in question, as we shall see in Chapter IV.

So far as the French theatre is concerned, the epoch encompassing Cosin's residence in France was a productive one, and particularly so during the late 1630's and early and mid 1640's. The revival of French classical tragedy was marked particularly by the works of Corneille (Le Cid, 1637; Horace, Cinna, Polyeucte, 1640 - 42; Rodogune, Théodore, 1645 and Nicomède, 1651.) Other tragedians who flourished at the same time were Mairet (Sophonisbe, 1634); Rotrou (Saint Genest, 1646; Venceslas, 1647 and Cosroès, 1649); Du Ryer; Tristan and Cyrano de Bergerac. Mairet's Sophonisbe is generally regarded as being the first regular tragedy of the new French classical stage which was to begin to witness the greatest of all French drama, the tragedies of Racine, within
thirty years or so.

Although in the early seventeenth century the French stage had been dominated by the tragi-comedy and the pastoral play, new types of comedy came into prominence during the period in question here, including the burlesque, and the comedy of manners and character. In this connection Spanish influence played a significant part. Comedies of these types by Corneille and Scarron in particular were popular during the years of Mazarin's rule. The reasons for the absence of French drama of any description from the choice of books made by Cosin are not easily found. It may simply have been that Cosin was not familiar with this area of French literature, and that he confined his selection to those writings which in his situation he held to be most profitable. This would appear more likely than attributing the absence of certain classes of material from the collection to any particular moral objection on Cosin's part.

With regard to French poetry at the time some of the considerations outlined above in connection with Cosin's choice of books will apply equally, although we do find a few isolated examples of French verse in the collection, as will be seen more clearly later. It should be noted that the first quarter of the seventeenth century saw a revival in French poetry following something of a decline during the latter part of the preceding century. Under the influence of François de Malherbe (1555 - 1628) and his followers the French poetic medium was refined and ennobled, strict rules of poetic composition were introduced, and there was a reaction against the frivolity and excessive ornamentation evident in some earlier poets. The school of Malherbe favoured an intellectual, rather than an emotional approach to the writing of poetry, while insisting on expressing themselves in a pure Parisian speech cleared of Latinisms and dialectal expressions. The influence of these poets was felt particularly on the development of French poetic language, and they heralded the dawn of the new classical age in French verse. These trends were opposed, however, most strongly by the baroque and metaphysical
Poets in particular.

While the developments in drama and in poetry were of importance for their effect on the cultural background at the time of the formation of the Cosin's collection, they were by no means as directly influential as the trends apparent in the realm of thought and philosophy. The movement generally known as 'Libertinage érudit', a development towards free-thinking and scepticism, gained momentum during the first half of the seventeenth century. This movement was in sharp contrast to the serious orthodox theology of most of the writers in our collection, but it yet had an impact, both positively and negatively, on many of the authors who are represented. The free-thinkers, it is true, generally developed trains of thought which had already been seen in the writings of Rabelais and Montaigne. A poet, Théophile de Viau (1590 - 1626) was among the first to exhibit strongly unorthodox attitudes. Pierre Gassendi (1592 - 1655), François de la Mothe le Vayer (1588 - 1672) and Gabriel Naudé (1600 - 1653) were generally well respected men of great erudition and insight who succeeded, more or less, in presenting their new scepticism in such a way as not to offend too obviously against orthodox religion. Nevertheless, the conflict was there and this became more apparent in the writings of, in particular, the fascinating Savinien Cyrano de Bergerac (1619 - 1655), especially in several of his works published during Mazarin's rule, notably a tragedy La Mort d'Agrippine (1653), a satirical comedy Le Pédant joué (1654), and the daring masterpieces of social and political satire Histoire comique des Etats et Empires de la Lune (posth. 1656), and its sequel Histoire comique des Etats et Empires du Soleil (posth. 1661). The appearance of for their epoch such highly controversial and even provocative writings such as these demonstrates how great a ferment of ideas was brewing in France during the years of Cosin's residence there. Even his conservative selection of books has not failed at least to take some account of these momentous developments which were the first stirrings of revolt against generally held religious beliefs.
Yet the realm of ideas during the period of Cosin's stay in France was dominated, at least if viewed with hindsight, by the genius of the two greatest minds of the seventeenth century, René Descartes and Blaise Pascal. Descartes (1596 - 1650) was the first great exponent of reason as a working tool, and of a coherent method of thought and of scientific enquiry. For his ideas he was compelled to take up residence in Holland, notably at Leyden, Amsterdam and Utrecht, from 1629 to 1649, and finally, because of the opposition of the Dutch theologians, to repair to Sweden where he died. From the technical philosophical point of view Descartes' most important works are the two Latin treatises Meditatioes de prima philosophia (1641), and Principia philosophiae (1644). So far as the progress of thought was concerned, his two most influential treatises were the popular and readable Discours de la Méthode (1637) setting forth his method of thought and enquiry, and Traité des Passions de l'âme (1649). The implications of Descartes' reasoning on the sphere of moral and ethical debate was considerable. His moral system is based upon a belief in man's free will, his intuitive knowledge of God, and his immortal soul, (cf. Cosin's attitude expressed in his Paris sermons). The passions are seen as being not evil in themselves, but as leading to evil when carried to excess. They must therefore be disciplined by the exercise of reason. The conflict between this and the orthodox Catholic faith was for a time not suspected. This was however clearly discerned by Pascal (and later by Bossuet). Descartes, it should be remembered, did have disciples in religious orders, notably Malebranche of the Oratoire, but also, to a certain extent Arnauld and Nicole of Port-Royal.

Pascal (1623 - 62) was in many ways the counterpoise to Descartes in ethics and religion, though he was at least his equal in mathematics and science. Pascal, between the years 1642 and 1652, for example, developed the first effective calculating machine. In 1646 he came strongly under Jansenist influence (See Chapter III, 2).

There was, indeed, no greater exponent of this creed than Pascal.
Between 1648 and 1651 he composed several treatises on the theme of divine grace, and in 1654 he underwent a remarkable mystical experience which amounted to a spiritual conversion, or at least to a tremendous spiritual renewal. He composed the *Memorial*, a unique record of this experience, which he always carried about with him, and of which the text survives. In 1655 he returned to Port-Royal where he composed his eighteen *Lettres de Louis de Montalte à un Provincial de ses amis et aux RR.PP. Jesuites sur la morale et la politique de ces Pères* (1656 - 7). The letters are strongly anti-Jesuit, treating of divine grace and the ethics of the Jesuit fathers. The work was ordered to be burned in 1660. During his later years Pascal worked on a great *Apologie pour la Religion chrétienne* which was never completed, but which did result in a large collection of remarkable fragments which are known as the *Pensées*.

So far as religious writers of our period are concerned, there were a number of trends which can be indicated here while we bear in mind that many of these will of necessity be covered in greater detail in the course of the survey of the contents of the items in French in the Cosin Collection which follows later (See Chapter IV). Religious writings are the collection's predominant feature. The writings of the French Protestant divines, the spiritual heirs of Calvin, are covered particularly well. Suffice it to say here that these works include sermons, treatises, and devotional writings - prayers and forms of services, and so forth. Notes on some of the important trends in the seventeenth century which are not always well represented in the collection are given below for the light they shed on the overall cultural climate of the time.

Religious themes were not entirely absent from the French Renaissance poets including those of the Pléiade, who were, however, most profoundly influenced by pagan antiquity. Agrippa d'Aubigné (1552 - 1630) was the leading poet of French Protestantism (*Les Théâtriques*, 1616; *La Création*, written c.1630). Guillaume de Salluste, Seigneur du Bartas (1544 - 90) was the second Protestant poet, *La Semaine*, a grandiose Biblical epic,
appearing in 1578. A reply by Christophe de Gamon (1575 - 1621), also a Protestant, appeared in 1609 under the same title. The religious epic was continued into the seventeenth century by Catholic poets such as Montchrestien, Saint Amant, Godeau and Le Moyne. Godeau and Racan were also noted for their paraphrases of psalms and the writing of hymns and canticles, as was Du Vair. Religious drama was of not very great importance in the early and mid seventeenth century. Du Ryer did compose the Biblical tragedies Saul, 1642 and Esther, 1644. Corneille's Polyeucte also reflects a type of drama with religious connotations which was in vogue at that time.

The great bulk of religious writing towards the middle of the seventeenth century was, however, of a far less inspirational nature, consisting mainly of tracts and treatises of varying length and quality, which flowed off the ecclesiastical and Protestant presses. The Jesuits were responsible for the largest amount of this literature on the Catholic side. These writers were as numerous as they were undistinguished for the most part; one example of these Jesuit writers who were prolific during Cosin's exile was François Veron (1575 - 1649), curé of Charenton from 1638, who was deeply involved in controversy. On the Protestant side we may mention Pierre du Moulin, of whom more will be said later, and other ministers of the Reformed Church of Paris, Jean Mestrezat, Jean Daillé and Charles Drelincourt; and later Jean Claude and Pierre Jurieu who produced numerous treatises in defence of their religion, of which our Library has a wide selection.

One section of French literature which did progress rapidly during our period was the writing of history, a subject which was then beginning to assume the dimensions of a true academic discipline. Perhaps the first true historian, as opposed to chronicler, to write in French on French history was Bernard Pirard du Haillon (1535 - 1610), his Histoire générale des Rois de France being published in 1576. Etienne Pasquier...
and Claude Fauchet were the most significant French historians of the late sixteenth century, concentrating on the ancient history of France. The study of history progressed through numerous memoirs and anecdotal works until François Eudes de Mézéréay (1610 - 83) wrote his authoritative Histoire de France (1643 - 51). Hardouin de Péréfixe, Archbishop of Paris, and Louis de Maïmbourg, a Jesuit, also wrote important histories in the mid seventeenth century.

Along with the study of history, it may also be noted, the study of geography was beginning to take root during the period of Cosin's exile. The narratives of travellers to far off lands were becoming more popular at the time, and the Cosin Library has taken account of this. Developments in the field of science have not passed unrecognised either, as will appear from the survey and lists of items in the collection which are given later in this study, (see Chapter IV).

It was, at the time of the formation of this collection, becoming rather easier for one resident in Paris to inform himself about current events. In 1631 the first newspaper appeared in France, La Gazette, founded by Théophraste Renaudot (1586 - 1653). It enjoyed the patronage of both Richelieu and Mazarin and was a weekly publication appearing on Saturdays providing an invaluable source of material, including domestic and foreign news, without comment, and with a creditable regard for searching out the truth. Later, it began to incorporate political and historical documents. No doubt this publication was one of the main sources of news which Cosin could easily have made use of. Also in vogue during part of this period was the burlesque weekly Le Muse historique (1650 - 65) founded by Jean Loret; while there were also the activities of the Nouvellistes, who produced satirical and propagandist news-sheets in Paris.

The age of Mazarin was particularly noted for the vast number of political pamphlets which were produced, many by members of the Parlement of Paris directed against the Cardinal and his policies. These Mazarinades
as they are generally known to-day, were particularly evident during the years of the Fronde rebellions (1648–52). There is no doubt that towards the middle of the seventeenth century in France (as in England) there was an unprecedented political awakening among the middle classes as well as among the power-seeking nobility. Mazarin had his defenders, however, against the onslaught, and none more effective than his librarian Gabriel Naudé, in the two polemical works *Mascrurat* and *Jugement de tout ce qui a été imprimé contre le Cardinal de Mazarin* (1649–52).

At this point a note would seem to be required on the state of the medium in which all the books under consideration in the present study were produced, the French language itself, which although it had already acquired its literary identity by the commencement of our period, was yet to undergo certain further changes before it emerged as the modern language we recognise today. It is clear from the earlier French books in the Library that the use of spelling and of grammatical construction was still somewhat in a state of flux, although, of course, almost all the great phonetic and morphological changes which the language had to undergo in the course of its evolution were by that time completed. So far as the meaning of many words found in the books in Cosin is concerned the reader is still often required, before he can be certain, to do some preparation. Even the relatively later writings, those published down to and after the middle of the seventeenth century, still often contain words and phrases whose meanings have since changed. Spellings are generally erratic and the use of type faces often appears to be, as it were, mid-way between Renaissance and modern form.

Words of Provençal origin were introduced into the French language in the sixteenth century, and this tendency was encouraged by the accession to the throne of Henri of Navarre. Writers in the collection such as Du Bartas made use of such words, as did a number of the French Protestant divines who had a southern background. The Italian influence on the French language was most pronounced during the flowering of the French Renaissance in the early sixteenth century. Spanish influence was...
felt most of all from the end of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century. One striking feature of many of the religious writings in the collection is that archaic expressions are often found. This was no doubt favoured by the fact that these treatises were often constructed and expressed in a somewhat archaic mode; their logical process was often more akin to that of the older philosophers - the schoolmen or scholastics of the Middle Ages - than to that of the more modern thinkers. These methods of reasoning - with their Latinising tendency - were in the main preserved into the seventeenth century for the purposes of religious debate by the adherents of both religions.

The early part of the seventeenth century in France witnessed the beginnings of the study of the French language in a logical and systematic way. Many grammatical works appeared; and the most significant of these (at the middle of the century) were those by Arnauld and Lancelot. Dictionaries and encyclopaedic works came into their own during the period of the acquisition of Cosin's French books. In 1606 appeared the first work which may truly be thought of as a genuine dictionary, namely Thresor de la langue francoye by Jean Nicot (1530 - 1600). This was the main source for subsequent French dictionaries. In 1635 Philibert Monet (1566 - 1643), a Jesuit who is represented in the collection, brought out his Inventaire des deux langues françoise et latine which for the first time attempted to define the French words in French before giving their Latin equivalents. Gilles Ménage (1613 - 92) published in 1650 what was the first real etymological dictionary of the French language, Les Origines de la Langue française, from which the inception of the study of comparative philology may be said to date. An encyclopaedic work to appear during the time of Cosin's exile was L'Encyclopédie des beaux esprits (1657) by le Sieur Saulnier. Among other linguistic writers who published work during the exile period we may mention Antoine Oudin, a "loyal interpreter. We can observe from the above that our period was an important one in the development of lexicography in France and for the commencement of the study of such
disciplines as etymology and comparative philology. There was a comparable advance in bilingual dictionaries at this time, and it is hardly surprising that Cosin did include among his collection several French and English dictionaries and a polyglot dictionary, *Le dictionnaire des Six Langages* (Rouen, 1625). The most important of these is without doubt a *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (1611) by the Englishman Randle Cotgrave.

One important development which had an immediate impact upon the literary life of France prior to and during the period of Cosin's exile was the foundation, in 1635, of the Académie Française. This had its origin in the meetings of a number of men of letters, including Chapelain, Conrart, Godeau and Gombault, who met at the house of Conrart in Paris to discuss literary and related matters. In 1634 Richelieu took notice of these gatherings, which were hitherto secret, and persuaded the members to become an official body, with a membership fixed at forty. The group included some of the best literary talents of the day, though it comprised, in the main, critics and connoisseurs of literature rather than original creative writers. The most notable figures during the early years were the critics and grammarians Chapelain (1595–1684) and Vaugelas (1585–1650).

The Académie's purpose was to perfect the French language, and a start was made on the compilation of an authoritative Dictionary, which, until 1650 was largely under the supervision of Vaugelas. Progress was slow, and the first edition did not appear until 1694, and contained only the language of polite society. Yet even during the time of Mazarin's government the Académie was already beginning to exercise its influence in the direction of purity and good taste in literature and language.

Such then is a concise summary of the many and diverse influences operating both in the spheres of national and cultural affairs, which were at work in France during that remarkable period when the French books
in Cosin's Library were published, selected and acquired. It should be possible, in consideration of the above, to ascertain the true position of this collection in relation to the overall picture of French literature and culture of its epoch. The strengths and weaknesses of the collection may also be more clearly perceived, as may also some of the possible motivations which led the Collector to make his choice. It would now seem desirable to consider in more detail some of the systems of thought and theology which largely moulded the outlook and attitudes of the writers represented in Cosin's Library, the systems erected by Calvin and by the Counter Reformation being by far the most significant.

FOOTNOTES

20. French verse in the seventeenth century appears in the Collection only in works by Isabeau de Lagnes (Cosin W v 2), Charles Guillemeau (Cosin T iv 5), and Paul Scarron (Cosin W v 16).
21. Librarian to Mazarin, and the Cardinal's political supporter.
22. See in Cosin the first collected edition of Du Bartas: Oeuvres poetiques et chrestiennes (1598), at Cosin O vi 39.
23. Cosin has three of Veron's works.
24. Pasquier and Fauchet are both represented in Cosin. For other French historical writings, see the lists in Chapter IV.
25. Among the 12 documents in Cosin relating to the Paris Parlement are several political writings of the Mazarin period.
27. See in Cosin Antoine Oudin: Grammaire francaise (Paris, 1640), at Cosin X v 37.
CHAPTER III

THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION
CHAPTER III

SECTION 1

THE DOCTRINES OF CALVIN AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT

BY THE FRENCH DIVINES

Since it is true that almost all the French Protestant ministers and theologians whose works appear so frequently in Bishop Cosin's Library were, to a greater or lesser extent, the spiritual heirs of Calvin and his teaching, it follows that an appraisal of that theological system generally known as Calvinism as it relates to the books in Cosin, is required here. The theological outlook of most of the works under consideration is in fact very little removed from the outlook of the great Reformer himself. Certainly among such a vast body of material as has been preserved among the Huguenot writings in the Library there are many divergent views expressed on various aspects of Christian doctrine. Some writers, for example, lay greater stress on the doctrine of predestination than do others. Some indeed have progressed far along the way to Arminianism, or towards other unorthodox positions, some of which were merely new expressions of more ancient heresies. Nevertheless it can hardly be over-stressed that the basic positions taken by almost all those Protestant writers whose works appear in the Collection were fundamentally Calvinist.

The great Reformer himself (1509 - 64) had always desired most vehemently to establish a thriving Reformed Church in France, and he spent more time and energy in encouraging the Protestants of that country than of any other. France was to be, in his design, the land where the Reformed faith was to expand. Historical circumstances, as we have seen in the previous chapter, however, became increasingly hostile to this aim. Yet Calvin's influence was felt strongly in France for well over a century, and certainly throughout the period covered by the Huguenot writings in Cosin, that is, roughly from 1560 to 1660. This influence was felt in many spheres of French life. But his influence is felt most directly in those able and eloquent defenders of the Reformation, the second and third generations of Calvin's successors, who, despite vigorous opposition from the clergy and the authorities, continued the work of building the Reformed Churches of France.
From its first appearance in March 1536, Calvin's epoch-making treatise, *Institutio religionis christianae* was directed by its author perhaps most of all towards a French readership in the original Latin and in the French edition of 1541. Its dedicatory epistle, both was addressed to François I, whom Calvin exhorts to hear the case of the Protestants of his kingdom. Calvin, in this masterpiece of French prose, expresses himself with his usual power of logic and authority. In 1541 he published the greatly expanded French version of the work *Institution de la Religion christienne*, which was to disseminate his ideas through many strata of French society. A second French edition of the work was published in the same year at Geneva. The publication of this work was the first in the impressive series of Protestant (Calvinist) publications appearing in Geneva during the following century and a half, of which Cosin's Library possesses a wide selection.

The term Calvinism is really an invention of modern theologians and historians, although it is true that Calvin's followers in France were often known as 'les Calvinistes'. Calvinism is often used in a derogatory manner by the detractors of Calvin. In the popular imagination Calvinism often stands for extreme Protestantism, involving a fundamentalist attitude to the Bible; puritanical morals; a self-righteous bigotry, and the belief in predestination. The Calvinists of the seventeenth century in France, it may be noted, met with these, and other criticisms. Yet anyone there, as now, who would willingly be known as a Calvinist would not look for the source of final authority in matters of faith to the works of the Reformer, no matter how much he revered them. A true disciple of Calvin sought to obey not Calvin, but him who was Calvin's master. The seventeenth century French Reformed theologians never hesitated to defend Calvin against unjust, and often scurrilous attacks, as Pierre du Moulin demonstrates in his *De la juste providence de Dieu* (Geneva, 1624), at Cosin 1 vi 28(4).

Yet they would always refrain from making him into any kind of idol or saint, always recognising his fallibility, for although endowed with masterly powers of logic and eloquence, and having received a large measure of divine revelation, he was yet a man of this world. On questions where the disciples
had to disagree with their master (which were usually minor points) they generally found it quite acceptable to do so.

It is an indisputable fact that Calvin did give to the world a presentation of Christian doctrine which, for its completeness and coherence, is unrivalled before or since his time. The rigidity of the doctrinal structure erected by Calvin may be accounted for to some extent by his desire to establish his Genevan church upon the most solid foundations possible. Luther may rightly be seen as the real innovator and religious reformer, the man who really turned Christendom upside down; Calvin, on the other hand, can well be seen as the founder and builder of a new Church, and indeed, in one sense, of a new civilization.

Though the work itself only comprises about one quarter of Calvin's total output in French (which in turn is only about one fifth of the total in all languages), it contains the essence and the development of his theological system. It grew in stature and magnificence, from the first Latin edition, through to the final French edition. Whether one considers the Latin version, which initially had only six chapters, or the final French version, which had eighty (although some of these were most probably the work of disciples), there is no deviation or break in the sequence of thought whatsoever. The work simply cannot be faulted for its architectural structure. This structural perfection could not fail to make its impact at a time when French literature was not renowned for its high quality of structural technique. The ordered sequence of its presentation could not, moreover, fail to exert a tremendous influence on the construction of many of the considerable and often comprehensive defences of the Reformation which came off the presses of the French Protestant centres during the period covered by the works under consideration in the present study.

Calvin's fundamental doctrinal position was not original. He had drawn liberally on the writings of many of the ancient Fathers, notably Augustine, as well as upon the Scriptures, where the letters of St. Paul provided, not unnaturally, the greatest source of material. In his own century Luther, Zwingli, Melanchthon, and Bucer had all developed their thought towards their
own distinct patterns for the Reformation of the Church before Calvin, and the Frenchman relied heavily upon their works to furnish most of the early material of the *Institution*. Even many of Calvin's successors were not unwilling to acknowledge their indebtedness to these earlier Reformers.

It is a common feature of Calvin's argument, however, that, having assimilated an idea from whatever source he would always press it to its logical conclusion, (some would say to extremes), while at the same time clearing it of any defects. This is perhaps where Calvin's originality really lies; not that the ideas themselves were new, but that the irresistible logic of their presentation was.

Calvin, like many before him, and like his disciples, sought his inspiration first and foremost in the sacred text of Holy Scripture, which he devoutly believed to be the very Word of Almighty God. On this point Calvin was in complete agreement with Luther and all the Reformers. The Bible was to Calvin the one final, uncontestable authority. All the religious controversies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were centred upon the Scriptures, and for the Calvinists a satisfactory proof from scripture was sufficient to resolve any matter in dispute. The large number of comprehensive defences of Scripture, defences of its perfection and self-sufficiency, which are preserved in Bishop Cosin's Library, bears witness to the all-important position accorded to the Bible by the followers of Calvin.

The first task of Calvin with regard to the question of final authority was therefore to clear away all human traditions and human commandments which are not in conformity with the teaching of Scripture. Nothing, whatever its apparent value in human terms may be, could be allowed in any way to obscure the light of divine revelation. This explains the often destructive criticisms levelled by the Calvinists against what may sometimes appear to be quite honourable and meritorious human institutions.

It was not without a certain degree of aptness that the early Calvinists were often known in their own time as 'Christaudins' - listeners of Christ.
Throughout the century after Calvin the Protestants would always contrast the fallibility of human traditions with the infallible perfection of Scripture. To listen to God's word is indeed the first duty of every Christian, since God in his wisdom has made it clear and intelligible to all, at least in so far as its essential message is concerned. Nothing must ever be allowed to overrule or contradict the sacred text, whether it be customs, laws, decrees, edicts or Councils, or even miracles or visions.

Some no doubt object to this that Scripture requires a guarantee of its authenticity, that an authoritative interpretation is required, and that this can only be provided by the Church with her own infallible authority. Calvin rejects this objection. Every Christian believer, who has the gift of the Holy Spirit, is fully able to comprehend and interpret the Word for himself. This is not to imply that the interpretations of the Fathers and other doctors of the Church are to be ignored, far from it. And Boileau's celebrated remark that with a Bible in his hand every Protestant is his own Pope is true only in one sense and to a limited extent. Nevertheless, Calvin did allow a certain amount of freedom of interpretation to the Christian conscience.

An important factor in Calvin's outlook was his realisation that the Scriptures were not obscure oracles to be preserved only for the initiated, the select band of theologians who alone possessed the key of knowledge, but that they were intended by their divine Author to be read and understood by all the faithful. This no doubt explains Calvin's own considerable contribution to translating the inspired writings into the vernacular. It was, incidentally, with intent that Calvin's own writings, and many of those of his successors, were deeply influenced by the Scriptures as regards their style and literary expression.

So far as Bible interpretation is concerned, Calvin maintains that Scripture itself is its own best interpreter. Any obscure passage can often be elucidated by reference to other related passages. Yet Calvin and his disciples would never attempt to minimize the real elements of mystery and obscurity which do pervade many parts of Scripture.
Thus inspired by the Scriptures, Calvin proceeds to construct a complete philosophy, a total view of man and his destiny. The thoroughly Biblical concept of original sin is his point of departure, the basis of his doctrine of man. Man, declares the Institution, is the product of unclean seed. He is born, tainted with the infection of sin. More strikingly, man is described as an ape, a wild and savage beast, an excrement. Though originally created in the image of God, as an inherited result of the Fall man tends necessarily to evil, and yet at the same time something noble glimmers through the darkness of man's corrupt nature. Calvin on this point takes ideas from his predecessors, but develops them with brutal logic.

Original sin is an hereditary depravity and corruption of our nature. Some ancient writers, including Augustine, had failed to take this far enough. It is more than the loss of man's original righteousness. Man's nature is not only passively bereft of good, but is actively productive of all kinds of evil. In short every part of man, his intellect, his will, his soul and his flesh are all defiled and 'crammed with concupiscence'. The whole of human nature, therefore, is always active in devising evil and it can never be inactive from this.

The weight of human sin is so overwhelming that man can do nothing but submit to it. In fact he has no possibility of ridding himself of it by his own effort. Man is not a free agent in the matter; he is the slave of sin and his corrupt, servile will can of itself lead to nothing but evil. In his fallen condition even repentance is not at his disposal. He is totally incapable, if left to himself, of rejecting the evil and choosing the good.

Yet a recognition of this 'total depravity' is salutary and beneficial. The more feeble a man is in himself the better God receives him. God alone can grant to man remission of sins and full salvation, as a direct result of Christ's atoning sacrifice, on one condition only, and that condition is faith in him. It is by divine grace that an individual receives salvation, and he receives it by faith alone and not by dint of any human works or merit whatsoever. The man who is justified, that is, acquitted of his sin,
and counted as righteous before God, is thereafter no longer deemed a sinner but a righteous man. God considers him to be righteous in (that is, spiritually united with) Christ, however great his unrighteousness in himself may be. The justice of Christ is imputed to the believer.

To believe in Christ here means to trust in him, to obey him, and to be thoroughly committed to him; only thus can a man escape (and be sure of escaping) the just punishment which his natural corruption would otherwise inexorably bring down upon his head. Without faith, says Calvin, no man can even be called a Christian. His justification is the Christian's first great joy and consolation. Here rests the foundation for his hope.

The necessity for absolute submission to God was for Calvin and his followers not merely an intellectual or emotional necessity, but a compelling duty arising from his exalted conception of the Deity. In this he was as much a disciple of the Old Testament as of the New. He would not acknowledge any contribution that man of his own natural powers could make to enhance the glory of God. To recognize the slightest merit in man in this respect would be to obscure the glory of God and amount to rebellion against him.

Calvin and his successors showed themselves to be diametrically opposed to the Humanists of their age who founded their whole philosophy of the world on man. Calvin could see clearly that the greatest obstacle to the Gospel of God was the pride of man, and if destroying that pride meant, as some have felt, taking a kind of pleasure in trampling on human nature and its achievements, then so be it. The violence of much of Calvin's language here was only matching the intractability of the obstacle which had to be assailed.

These questions inevitably lead to a consideration of the most controversial and characteristic feature of Calvin's system. The earlier Reformers had been reluctant to concede entirely the principle of predestination but Calvin's reasoning on this point is inexorable. God reserves all power for himself. This power is not vain, idle and almost dormant, but eternally watchful and active. Man is incapable of fully understanding the ways of God, who governs everything in the world. Consequently, a man
can neither believe nor do anything that has not been predestined by
God from all eternity. And concerning salvation and a man's ultimate
destiny, it depends entirely upon the free decision of God. Once again,
Calvin draws upon former writers and carries their arguments further.
Reasons of piety often restrained the old writers from boldly asserting the
principle of predestination. They frequently stop at the assertion of
God's foreknowledge of events. But, says the Reformer, certain Scriptures
explicitly state that certain men of old were deliberately hardened and
blinded against the will of God. When God removes his light from the human
soul nothing remains there but darkness and blindness. When God's guidance
is withdrawn a man inevitably errs from the straight path. This action on
the part of God is often seen to be deliberate. In order to carry out his
judgements on the wicked he directs their counsels and excites their wills in
the direction which he has decided upon, through the agency of Satan.\(^7\)

Few really devout Christians, says Calvin, would go so far as to deny
outright that predestination by which God selects some for the hope of life
and others for eternal death. But many have hedged themselves about with
quibbles and reservations. By predestination, which Calvin defines closely,
is meant the eternal decree of God by which he has decided in his own mind
what he wishes to happen in the case of each individual. All men are thus
not created on an equal footing, but while for some eternal life is pre-
ordained, for others eternal damnation awaits them.\(^8\)

Though often misrepresented, this teaching occupied a central place in
much religious thought and debate during the century to follow. Few of the
important treatises possessed by the Library with which the present study has
to do have failed to take account of this highly emotional and controversial
subject.\(^9\)

Calvin himself freely admitted that this was a terrifying doctrine, yet
rightly applied it could give reassurance, for it instructs us that, whatever
the machinations of men may be, God is always in full control, despite
appearances. But it is frequently objected that this divine decree is
arbitrary and unjust. Calvin's reply is that man, being a mere creature,
has no right to contest the ways of God which, in any case, he is incapable of fully comprehending. The doubter should look into his own soul and there perceive that in his state of sin he deserves a fate no better than Hell. But this does not imply that man must therefore be plunged into fatalistic resignation, for it has already been established that all those who put their faith in God are already predestined for salvation. It is from the firm conviction of being completely in the hands of the Merciful and Righteous God that Calvin and many of his followers were enabled to live such lives of incomparable heroism and piety. Though some displayed the characteristic faults accompanying such a belief, it is clear that the assurance deriving from predestination was the main-spring of much of the most noble behaviour of the Huguenots during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The assurance of salvation is indeed the greatest treasure to be re-discovered by the Protestant Reformation.

Predestination almost by definition admits that evil does enter into God's plan. God would not, says Calvin, have allowed the First Man to sin had he foreknown that his glory would have been better served by not doing so. The obvious objection to this line of argument is that evil-doers must therefore no longer be responsible for the evil they do, since all is predestined, and hence a way is opened for moral licence. But Calvin replies that the evil-doers are without excuse, for they have all been given a conscience that testifies to them that what they are doing is not with God but against him. Even if one does allow that God is in truth the Author of their damnation, they cannot thereby efface their crime in the slightest. Their wickedness is engraved on their conscience; their sin stares them in the face on each occasion it is committed. Nevertheless, the greatest difficulty of all in Calvin's system resides here, and it was a difficulty which frequently ensnared many of his lesser disciples: How can one insist on liberty, that is, personal moral responsibility, in the realm of morality while at the same time insisting on denying it in the realm of theology? The answer must be sought in terms of man's duty towards God. Even if a man cannot understand the counsels of God he must still subject himself to God's law simply because
he is the creature and God the Creator.

In fact Calvinism did demand an active and rigorous morality. The Christian must obey God's law not in order to earn salvation, but because he is saved. By his good works the Christian proves the reality of his faith and hence of his election. Christians belong to Christ: they must therefore be ready to live and die for him. They obey, not out of fear, but out of love and respect for him who first loved them. Good works are essential as evidence that one has the true faith. They are the fruits of that faith, but that saving faith itself is the free gift of God. The Christian believes, and works, because God works in him.

Although Calvin does stress the importance of God's direct dealings with the human soul this is not to the entire exclusion of a rightful place for the external means of grace. The sacraments are retained and honoured as one of the greatest of these means. They are of immediate assistance in sustaining and confirming faith, occupying a similar function to the preaching of the Gospel. They are also signs testifying to our salvation. But the Calvinists objected strongly to those who attributed some kind of secret virtue to them, for this they maintained insults the Spirit of God. God does not need such signs in order to communicate grace to men. Any view that the sacraments can justify and confer grace was considered impious.

The *Institution* defines a sacrament in the following terms. It is an external symbol whereby God attests to us his goodwill towards us in order to sustain our faith. We on our part bear witness to our piety towards him, both in his presence and in the presence of the congregation. A sacrament is a testimony of God's grace toward us, confirmed by an external sign, which also testifies to our answering devotion towards him. This fundamental definition was closely followed by Calvin's spiritual heirs, although it was an issue upon which it was most difficult for them to attain any real precision and clarity.

On the Eucharist, which was the more sensitive of the two sacraments
to be subjected to scrutiny, Calvin in the *Institution* set out a middle way between the positions taken by the Lutherans on the one hand and the Zwinglians on the other. Following Zwingli to some extent he opposed Luther, who admitted a Real Presence of Christ in the host through what he called Consubstantiation. Calvin interpreted the formula: This is my body, as meaning that the bread and the wine are visible signs of the Body and Blood of Our Lord. Unlike Zwingli, however, he insisted that the Lord's Supper was far more than merely a commemoration of Christ's last meal on earth, and that the communicant gained more from it than merely a symbolic union with Christ. A real union with Christ is effected, though it is of spiritual substance. Unlike the Catholic view, the Calvinist view rejected Transubstantiation, the belief that during the consecration the bread and the wine are actually transformed into the physical substance of the Body and Blood of Christ, that is, the earthly body. On the contrary in Calvin's view it is the actual glorified body of Christ which is communicated to the believer in the Eucharist. This gives him unquestionable confidence in eternal life.

Calvin did attempt to define the Eucharist, but this proved difficult for many, since it is a matter so close to the heart of Christianity. It is defined as, 'that sacred communication of Christ's Body and Blood whereby he pours his life into us'. The Eucharist is no empty sign, but it is effective because it is effected by the Holy Spirit. The reality of the gift is only perceived by the true believer. If he truly receives the symbol, then he may be confident that he also receives the gift of the sacred Body and Blood.

It is hardly surprising that the Eucharist was one of the main focuses of religious controversy during the period covered by the books under discussion in this study. The issue was exacerbated by the dispute arising from the sacrificial element in the Mass. In general the Reformed divines found it necessary to spend more time and energy in defending their beliefs concerning the Eucharist than concerning any other question. It was a dispute which affected the lives of the common
people in those days, since attendance at Mass was often a matter of social and political, as well as religious concern.

There was markedly less controversy during our period over the other sacrament, Baptism, although there were differences in doctrine between the Roman and the Reformed positions almost as wide as over the Eucharist. Yet passions were not aroused so much over this, (except of certain sects), and in France the question was almost ignored by the divines of our period.

According to the Reformer and his followers Baptism is the token of one's being a Christian, and the sign whereby one is received into the community of the Church. It has been given to us by God, first to reinforce our faith towards him, and second to help us in the confession of our faith before our fellows. It is not merely a mark distinguishing the Christians from all the rest, but truly the sign of the remission of sins. Yet it is still only a sign. The baptismal water has no inherent power; sins are remitted solely by the operation of the Holy Spirit. Infant baptism, incidentally, was allowed by Calvin and most of his immediate French successors.

Since nearly all the emphasis in Calvin's system is placed on the work of the Holy Spirit correspondingly little attention is given to human aids in living the Christian life. Consequently, the Calvinist service of worship, which was instituted at Geneva and practised by the French Reformed Churches, was one of stern simplicity. It was in essence the hearing of the Word, and consisted of prayers, preaching, and the singing of psalms. The Holy Communion was celebrated only three or four times a year and was for all the company of the faithful who participated in both kinds. There was of course no sacrificial element in any of the services, since the Reformers held that Christ had offered once and for all time a single and sufficient sacrifice for all sins. All prayers were in the vernacular. Procedures for administering the Supper and the other services were generally formalised in the French churches, though the ministers were allowed a certain latitude. In many of the books in our Collection there are numerous
directions, formalities and prayers of the sort which were used in
the various French Reformed Churches.25

The church buildings themselves (called Temples in France) were
rather austere places, both in Switzerland and in France. Even the
great Temple at Charenton, the central Church of French Protestantism,
was bare and austere by comparison with the humblest Roman church.
Statues, pictures, sacred ornaments and organs were banned as idolatrous.
Calvin naturally rejected the cult of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints,
asserting that there is but one Mediator between God and man. All the
eexternals of religion, however, were debated vehemently during the period
under consideration here. The arrangement of the interior of the early
Reformed Churches was significant, for prominence was given to the Lord's
Table, the pulpit or other places used by the minister for preaching, a
lectern for reading the Word, and a table or slate whereupon were inscribed
the Ten Commandments and other sacred texts. There was no separation
between the Communion Table (there was of course no altar) and the
congregation. This shows that for the early Calvinist personal faith
was a matter of real inner conviction, and should not therefore need to
be buttressed by numerous external aids.

Calvin's theory of the Church as an institution provoked numerous
controversies throughout our period. He clearly set forth two conceptions
of the Church, referred to as the visible and the invisible Church. The
invisible Church is the entire company of the faithful as known only to
God, that is, the entire company of believers, past, present and future.
The visible Church is the multitude of men and women now living who all
make one like profession of faith in Christ. This can be visible to men.
Though denying the Church an absolute authority, Calvin's conception of
the Church is yet most exalted. It has been instituted by Christ; the
treasury of Christ has been committed to its care; it is a just and
sacred institution to which the Christian owes obedience, and which has the
right to impose its discipline upon those who by their wicked behaviour
dishonour Christendom. This is very far indeed from spiritual
laissez-faire or even congregationalism.

Whether a church is a part of the true universal Church depended for Calvin and his followers not on some dubious pastoral succession, but on whether that Church's doctrine is sound, that is, in conformity with Scripture. Calvin was not perturbed by the fact that his was in all appearances a new church. Unlike many Anglicans he was not concerned about the ministerial succession by the laying-on of hands, which could be traced back to the Apostles. Some of Calvin's followers, however, it may be noted, did feel it necessary to resort to certain historical expedients in order to construct an unbroken line of pastoral succession from the Reformed to the Old Latin Church.26 It was enough for Calvin that the doctrine of a Church be pure, and the discipline be in conformity with the New Testament.

The ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Calvinist churches consisted of four degrees; pastors; teachers; elders and deacons.

A great controversy took place in the seventeenth century over the vocation and ordination of ministers. In addition to the familiar taunt 'Where was your church before Luther?' the Protestants' adversaries would often ask the ministers 'Who sent you?'. 'God himself,' they would reply, but it was from Geneva that most of the early ministers in France were physically sent forth, from the University which Calvin had founded there in 1559.

In the later sixteenth century a number of Calvinist colleges were founded in France on the pattern of the University of Geneva. These performed the function of schools and universities, including the training of ministers. The most famous of the Académies were established in the Protestant cities of France, notably at Montauban, Orange, Saumur, and Sedan. The prime purpose of these institutions was to maintain, and inculcate the pure doctrine as taught by Calvin in order to consolidate the position of the Reformed Churches in French society.

The duties of the pastors were the most onerous of the four categories of the Protestant hierarchy. First, they had to proclaim the Word of God, that is, preach, instruct, exhort and admonish. Sessions of
instruction were held as often as practicable. Second, they were required to administer the sacraments. Third, they had to visit and comfort the sick.27 The teachers had no ministerial function as such; they were charged with maintaining purity of doctrine and with educating the young. The elders were the representatives of the Christian community chosen by the Councils in Geneva, or by the congregations themselves in France. The deacons were entrusted with the material duties, such as work for the poor and the sick.

The Consistory was the ruling body responsible for the churches of a district in France, or for those of Geneva. It met regularly to ensure the satisfactory running of Church affairs and had powers to enforce discipline, admonition, excommunication, and (in the case of Geneva) denunciation to the civil authorities. In France the consistories were overseen by twelve Provincial Synods, and the whole structure was surmounted by the National Synod, which met thirteen times between 1559 and 1659.

An essential feature of Calvin's view was that Church and state must be kept separate. This separation took opposite appearances in France and Geneva. While the Genevan Consistory had a strong influence over the civil power, the French National Synod was very much at the mercy of that country's political masters.

As it will be clear from the foregoing analysis, the Institution ranges over the whole field of Christian doctrine. There were quite a number of points which, generally speaking, were not in dispute between the two religious persuasions during our period, for example, the belief in the divinity of Christ, the Holy Trinity, and the certainty of the Second Advent of Christ and of final judgement. It was the central question of man's relationship to God that was at the focal point of the Protestants' controversy with the Church of Rome, and it was this question which dominated the French religious writings preserved in Bishop Cosin's Library.
The French Protestant writings in the Library do illustrate the development of the Reformed theology in that country from the late sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. It is true that these writers do often reveal a characteristically French strain of Calvinism, which was evidently influenced by the national circumstances as well as by the national temperament. Some of the writers became involved in national politics, where some favoured active opposition to persecution, and others complete submission to the authorities. Their attitudes were often coloured by the degree of toleration shown to the Huguenots by the government, the clergy and the people. The French Calvinists of the early seventeenth century found themselves in a unique, almost impossible situation.

There was relative toleration under Mazarin, during the period of Cosin's exile. Yet the underlying hostility of the French Catholic population towards the very existence of a Calvinist community was never far below the surface. It proved relatively easy for Louis XIV, in later years, to proceed with his fanatical campaign to eliminate Protestantism by such means as the Dragonnades, from about 1680 to 1685, when the Edict of Nantes was formally revoked.

The revolutionary trends apparent in the French Reformed Churches of the sixteenth century were moderated in the first half of the seventeenth century under the influence of a number of saintly and dedicated pastors, notably those presiding over the Parisian church. Most of the works in Cosin are of this restrained, moderate tradition, for example, works of Du Moulin, Mestrezat, Dailly and Drelincourt, of which more will be said in the next chapter. There is a sharp distinction in attitudes between these men and many contemporary English, Scottish or Dutch Calvinists. Cromwell's Calvinist followers, English Puritans and Sectarians, often displayed a much more aggressive attitude both in theology and in politics, than did many of the French Protestants. Writers like Du Moulin could never justify armed rebellion against the Royal Government, however unjust, nor interdenominational conflict. Many of the French writings themselves are less concerned with politics than are those of their
English counterparts. This was partly because of the political realities; the French Protestants only counted for a small minority of the population, but it was also partly because they had an extremely profound grasp of Scriptural teaching and spiritual qualities. The Protestant academies no doubt played their part here.

The drift towards Congregationalism, which became more pronounced in the French churches in the later seventeenth century, is not very apparent in most of the writings possessed by Cosin, though its beginnings can be seen in, for example, the works of Du Moulin.

So far as basic doctrines as such were concerned, one can see in these writings very little relaxation, if any, in Calvinist strictness, although there were differences over the question of predestination. The teaching of Jakob Armensen (Arminius) who died in 1609, a Professor at Leyden, did not fail to influence many of the French divines, (see Note 2.). Though generally rejected by most of the French divines and condemned by the Synod of Dort, 1618, this view was permitted, to a greater or lesser extent by some of the professors and ministers, Amyraut and Testard of the Académie of Saumur being the most notable in our period. Other learned and influential men, however, including Chammier and Blondel were also thought to have leaning towards Arminianism.

There were some controversies in the French churches over the Trinity and the nature of Christ's presence with man after the Resurrection, and over prophecies (see works by Amyraut and Du Moulin), as well as the continuing disputes over church government.

It may be concluded, that, during our period, the orthodox Calvinist view prevailed, although only with difficulty. There always was a tendency towards illuminism, a belief in personal revelation, among many French Protestants, and this tendency was to become more prominent as the seventeenth century progressed.

There was a genuine desire on the part of the Protestant divines of the first half of the seventeenth century to appear reasonable and attractive to other reasonable members of the community. Their writings
generally became less aggressive, more apologetic and justificatory. There was, of course, no compromise in doctrine, no compromise with the fashionable trends in society and literature. The Protestant religious writings were probably the only writings in France of this period not to be positively influenced by these trends. Little account was taken of scientific advances and new directions in secular philosophy. Nevertheless, the writers often cultivated elegance of style, though not for its own sake. Sometimes, remembering that their didactic purpose was paramount, they expressed themselves in deliberately (for the age) coarse or barbarous language, making striking use of incongruities and dissonances.

It should not require emphasising that these writers never compromised in the slightest with worldly standards in morality and manners, but adhered strictly to their austere ethical code. There was all the same a genuine desire to communicate their message to others, and this is reflected in their many clear and readable works, sometimes allegorical or fictional, of which we have some excellent examples in Cosin. At their best these display a lucidity of thought and expression which is unusual for their period. Also one can detect, in the best of them, some of the finer qualities associated with French classicism, which was to flower during the later part of the seventeenth century, including a controlled expression of emotion and a unity of form and purpose. Yet these writers always composed their works with one central, passionate motivation; to convey to their readers the essential message of their faith, that message of assurance and hope which Calvin and the other Reformers re-discovered and restored to the world.

FOOTNOTES

1. The ministers of Charenton, Du Moulin, Mestrezat, Daillé and Drelincourt were much stricter Calvinists than, for example, Chaumier and Blondel (See the Cosin catalogue for their works).
2. Arminius (d. 1609), was the most eminent of the theologians who reacted against the more extreme attitudes of some of Calvin's followers. While acknowledging the necessity for divine grace in salvation, Arminius placed rather more emphasis on the freedom of man's will in relation to the divine plan. This view was adopted by Archbishop Laud, and was generally accepted in the Church of England during the period of Cosin's episcopate. Cosin himself had some sympathy for the view. Among the French writers in Cosin's Library, Moise Amyraut was probably the most overt Arminian.

3. Socinianism figures particularly in one French writing in Cosin: La confession de Foi des Chrestiens qui croient en un seul Dieu (Sedan, 1646), at Cosin 0 iv 22. The origins of Anabaptists are described in another Cosin item: Guy de Brès, La racine, source et fondement des Anabaptistes (Rouen, 1565), at Cosin P v 19.

4. Surprisingly, Cosin possesses only one French treatise by Calvin: Traité des reliques (Geneva, 1599) at Cosin K v 38 (1). Cosin does have a relatively late Latin edition of the Institutio (Gen, 1590 apud Johannem le Preux) at K i 19.

5. Printed by Ruch and Winter at Basle.

6. The first French edition (1541) was printed by Ribel of Strasburg, the second, in the same year, by Gerard of Geneva.

7. There are 71 French examples in Cosin's Library; for more details see Chapter IV, and the bibliographical details in Chapter V, Section 2, and Chapter VI, Section 1.

8. The text is headed Examen des blasphèmes qu'on jette ordinairement contre J. Calvin.

9. There were often differences on the question of church government, see Chapter V on Pierre du Moulin, Section 1.


11. See, in Cosin, for example, Charles Drelincourt: Les nullités pretendues de la Reformation de l'Eglise. (Charenton, 1653) at I iv 32 (2), and Traité des justes causes de la separation des Protestans d'avec l'Eglise Romaine. (Charenton, 1649) at N iii 7.

12. For example, see in Cosin Jean Mestrezat: Traité de l'Ecriture
13. Church traditions are examined in many Calvinist writings in Cosin (see Chapter IV, subject index). A notable example is Pierre du Moulin, *Des traditions et de la perfection et suffisance de l'Écriture Sainte* (Geneva, 1632) at Cosin I vi 25 (2).


16. See in Cosin, for example, Pierre du Moulin's *Hieraclite* (Geneva, 1624) at Cosin I vi 28 (1).

17. *Institution*, Book 2, Chapter 4.


19. Cosin French works on Predestination include in particular Pierre du Moulin, *De la juste providence de Dieu* (Geneva, 1624) at I vi 28 (4).

20. For example, the argument of Pierre du Moulin in *Éclaircissements des controverses salmuriennes* (Sedan, 1648).

21. Calvin's basic definition of a sacrament is found in Book 4, Chapter 14 of the *Institution*.

22. *Institution*, Book 4, Chapter 17.

23. See, in Cosin, a French Protestant work on attendance at Mass, Josué de la Place: *Discours ... sur la question si on peut faire son salut en allant a la messe pour eviter la persecution* (1643) at Cosin O lv 36.

24. One treatise on the subject is found in Cosin (X iv 23), *Traité de l'efficace du Baptême*, (La Rochelle, 1613) by Antoine Gueroud.

25. See in Cosin, for example, the prayers in Pierre du Moulin: *Du combat chrétien* (Geneva, 1624) at I vi 28 (2), and in *Saintes Prieres, plus divers Traictes* (Geneva, 1633) at O vi 38. For items relating to the *Discipline ecclésiastique* see in Catalogue under Huisseau (Jean d'), and La Roche de Chandieu (Antoine de).
26. See in Cosin the authors listed in the subject - index in Chapter IV under Albigensians and Vaudois.

27. As we see from Pierre du Moulin: *Familiere instruction pour consoler les malades* (Geneva, 1625) at Cosin I vi 28 (7) there was often a formalised procedure for this.

28. Théophile Brachet de la Milletière (represented by three works in Cosin) counselled rebellion. Pierre du Moulin, on the other hand, advised submission, see Chapter V of the present study (Section 1).

29. It may be noted that some of these trends, including Preciosity, are specifically condemned by Protestant divines. See *Heraclite* by Pierre du Moulin.

30. There were some seventeenth century French Protestant writers keenly interested in scientific matters. In this connection Cosin possesses Pierre Chanet: *De l'instinct et de la connaissance des animaux* (La Rochelle, 1646) at X iii 28, and Claude Pithoys: *Cosmographie, ou doctrine de la sphere, avec un Traité de la géographie* (Saumur, 1641) at X iv 41.

31. See in Cosin François Joyeuse: *Avis aux curieux sur les communications entre du Moulin et de Balzac* (Paris, 1633) at Cosin H V 28 (5).

32. See in Cosin, for example, Josué de la Place: *Discours en forme de dialogue entre un père et son fils* (1643) at Cosin 0 iv 36, and Charles Drelincourt: *Dialogues familiers sur les principales objections des missionnaires* (Charenton, 1648), at Cosin I iv 31.
The Counter Reformation, that reaction within the Roman Catholic Church leading to a revival and consolidation of its strength following the separation of the Protestants, was laid upon solid doctrinal foundations by that most influential General Council of the Church held at Trent (Trento in Northern Italy) from 1545 to 1563. The Council was called initially to investigate and counter the doctrines of the Reformers, and a Protestant deputation was received during the session 1550 - 2. The Council's decrees, which formalised and codified much of modern Roman Catholic doctrine, produced considerable reaction and controversy in France, where most of the clergy and particularly the Jesuits pressed for the promulgation of these Canons in the French Church and state. Many opposed this move, however, and there was for many years a bitter controversy over the matter, especially since the findings of the Council impinged on the realm of politics as well as theology; the Popes, for example, frequently claiming to have authority over the kings and subjects of sovereign nations, as well as over the government of the churches of those nations.

In France the dispute over authority in the government of the church there was particularly acute. The conflict between the Gallicains, those Catholics who believed that the French Church should, broadly speaking, be free to exercise her own functions and to construct her own destiny without undue interference from Rome, and the Ultramontanists, those who held to the opposite view, hence looking to Rome and to her political allies for guidance, raged fiercely during the early years of the seventeenth century, the period from which so many of the Catholic treatises in our collection derive.

So far as Bishop Cosin's Library is concerned, the majority of the Catholic theologians represented there, opponents, as many were, of Protestant doctors who are also well represented, held to, and defended vehemently, the doctrines of the great Council, and even in some cases developed them.
to a more uncompromising rigidity, while others did favour a more flexible approach, and some opposed them. These doctors of theology, many from the Sorbonne, the centre of French conservative Roman theology at that time, monks of various orders, bishops and priests of all kinds and others, examples of whose writings survive in Cosin's Library, for the most part laid great authority on the decisions of the Council of Trent and on the doctrinal formulations of the notable theologians of the Counter Reformation. As the basic theological outlook of many of the figures who appear in Cosin's Library, it is well to bear in mind, however, that, while Trent's overall view of man and his destiny was anti-Pelagian in spirit, it yet left the door open somewhat, and many of the succeeding divines were in effect semi-Pelagian in their attitudes. The Council's decrees on this matter are indeed far from being as clear as they may appear, and it is not surprising to find that, by the time of Cosin's period in France, these Pelagian ideas on justification had gained general acceptance in the French Church — with the notable exception of the Jansenist movement.

Yet despite these reservations it can still be maintained that most of the Scriptores Pontifici in Cosin's Library are in fact defences of the Roman doctrines and practices which were propounded by the Council of Trent, and so a brief exposition of these doctrines and practices is here given.

On the question of final authority in matters of faith the Council asserted that saving truth and discipline are contained in written books and in unwritten traditions which were received by the Apostles from Christ Himself, and have since been transmitted to us through the work of the Holy Spirit, by the Apostles, and handed down to us by tradition in the Church over the centuries. Thus all the books of Scripture, both Old and New Testaments are to be venerated with equal piety with those traditions, which have been handed on by unbroken succession in the Church, which in fact is the true guarantee and authoritative interpreter of both Scripture and traditions. The church in effect gives authority to these. Traditions and Scriptures are of value both in the spheres of faith and morals.

The Apocryphal books, incidentally, were also granted canonicity here.
The dispute over the relative merits of Scripture and traditions was at the root of many of the seventeenth century religious controversies in France, between the Reformed and the Roman divines. These are in many instances well documented by the items in French in Bishop Cosin's Library.

So far as the question of the origin of sin is concerned, the Counter Reformation held strictly to the teaching that the Fall of Adam was complete, involving the introduction of sin (with physical disabilities) and spiritual death to all mankind. Sin was transmitted to subsequent generations by propagation, not by imitation. The Council of Trent was not very specific in its concept of original sin, however.

The question of the removal of sin then arises. The Council declared that anyone who maintained that this original sin, common to all mankind, could ever be removed by man's natural powers or by any other remedy save by the mediation of Christ was anathematised. Baptism was required of all infants whether of baptised persons or not. Infants were not considered to be in a state of innocence, and required expiation by the laver of regeneration which is truly effected in baptism, which is thus seen to be far more than merely an outward sign of an inward and spiritual grace. In the sacrament of baptism both the guilt and the nature of original and actual sin are destroyed, even though actual sins may follow.

The proposition that a man could attain salvation by his own works, that is by works which are performed either in the strength of human nature, or by the teaching of the Law, apart from divine grace through Jesus Christ, was condemned. Divine grace, furthermore, was not given in order that man may attain eternal life, if that were possible, through his own free will. Without the prevenient inspiration of the Holy Spirit, or with His aid withdrawn, no man can believe, hope, love or repent as he ought. But the (Protestant) idea that a man does not co-operate in receiving the grace of justification is rejected. Whereas Calvin stressed the importance of the sovereignty of God in salvation to the absolute exclusion of the human will, the Council maintained that a man's free will, moved and aroused by God, does indeed respond to his awakening call so as to prepare itself
for receiving the grace of justification. The will could, conversely, refuse that grace. In essence the human will was seen to be active, not passive or inactive, which was the concept which, according to the Roman divines, was taught by the Reformers. Man's free will had not, moreover, been wholly lost or destroyed as a result of the Fall. He remains to a limited extent, a free agent. Thus, while appearing to favour to some extent the Augustinian view, that is, the assertion of the supremacy of divine grace, the Council nevertheless left a place for the role of the human will, which was therefore deemed to be an essential factor in the process of justification.  

The reaction against the doctrine of predestination, the concept for which Calvin is noted, was taken still further by the Roman divines than merely to assert the efficacy of free will. Evil works as good works are deemed to be performed by man through his own will, and the idea that all works, whether good or evil, are performed ultimately by God himself was repudiated by Trent and those who held to its findings. The feeling, widespread among many theologians, that the Calvinists were really making God out to be the author of sin in some way was hotly debated in France during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This idea was considered impious, as were other Calvinist views, and often from genuine motives of piety.  

Works done before justification, which were considered by Calvin and his followers as by the Church of England, to have the nature of sin, were thought to be of real value by the theologians of Trent and the Counter Reformation. It was repugnant to those divines, including those whose works are found in the Cosin Collection, that everything done prior to conversion was evil in the sight of God, and that the harder one tried to please God before justification the more one displeased Him. It was thought to be extremely irreverent that an impious man could be justified by faith alone without any predisposition of his own will to receive the grace of God.

Equally unpalatable to the Counter Reformation was the Protestant
notion that a man, once converted, was bound to believe that he was
assuredly saved and among the company of the elect. Yet some of the positions
condemned by the Council of Trent and its adherents were in effect gross
misrepresentations, even caricatures, of the Reformed views; for example, they
condemned the idea that a man once reborn could totally avoid sin thereafter,
and that if he should subsequently fall into sin then he had not been truly
saved in the first place. But the true Calvinist view that all good works
done after justification have their functions as fruits and signs of that
justification, and not as a means of increasing the justification itself
was, as far as they comprehended it, considered to be impious by the Post-
Tridentine theologians. 

The Council was instrumental in formalising the doctrines associated
with the question which was at the heart of the most intractable of all the
religious controversies, the question of the Eucharist. On this point the
Council reasoned as follows. Christ explicitly said that what he offered
under the appearance of bread and wine was truly his own Body and therefore
the Church had always believed that through the consecration of the bread
and wine there comes about a conversion of the whole substance of the bread
into the substance of the Body of Jesus Christ, and of the whole substance
of the wine into the substance of his Blood, this conversion properly
being called Transubstantiation. The debate over this doctrine resulted
in numerous lengthy and often tedious volumes, of which the Cosin Library
has an abundance. 

This sacrament, in the opinion of the divines of the Council of Trent
and their spiritual successors, conveys divine grace 'ex opere operato',
that is, 'by the act performed'. That meant that grace is conferred upon
the communicant by virtue of the sacramental action so long as the recipient
is not in a state of mortal sin, and provided that the administrator is
acting according to the true 'intention' or formal requirement of the Church.
This reasoning derived chiefly from the scholastic theologians. The
efficacy of the sacrament is in no way dependent upon the priest's personal
life and conduct. This line of argument applied basically to all the
sacraments. The French Catholic theologians of the period under review accused their Protestant contemporaries of debasing the sacrament by making it depend on the predisposition of the recipient.\textsuperscript{11}

The sacrament of the Eucharist, declared the Council of Trent, requires, because of its most holy nature, the full worship and adoration of the faithful which is due to God himself. The whole Christ is said to be contained under both species and in each separate part of each species in the sacrament. This is no doubt the reason why the Host is raised and adored in the celebration of the Mass. This practice, together with the practice of offering only the bread to the common people was naturally contested strongly by all the defenders of the Reformation.\textsuperscript{12}

It was the sacrificial element in the Mass which aroused passions most of all, however, during our period. In this offering, declared the Council of Trent and its adherents, Christ is contained in a bloodless sacrifice which is truly propitiatory, and through which it comes about that if we with true hearts and right faith, with fear and reverence, and with contrition and penitence approach God, we attain mercy and find grace and help in time of need. For God is propitiated by the oblation of this sacrifice in the Mass and grants us the gift of penitence, and the remission of even our most grievous sins. There is said to be one common victim, both of Calvary and of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, Christ, who is now offered up through the ministry of the priesthood, the only difference between the two being in the method of the offering. Further, the fruits of the sacrifice with blood are perceived more fully through the oblation without blood, and this is claimed to be very far from taking any honour from the Sacrifice of Calvary, an accusation levelled by the Protestants against Rome. The missal oblation is rightly offered, not only for the benefit of the faithful living, but also for the faithful departed whose purification is not yet complete.\textsuperscript{13}

This naturally leads to a consideration of the Council's views on the state of the believer after death, a subject upon which there has always been much unprofitable speculation. The question of Purgatory, that is, the doctrine of a place of correction rather than of final punishment after
death as an intermediate state between Heaven and Hell was propounded, though with a certain degree of caution, by the divines of the Council of Trent. The souls in Purgatory were declared to be helped by the intercessions of the faithful living, but most of all by the acceptable sacrifice of the Altar. This doctrine was to be taught clearly, but among the unlearned common people the more difficult and subtler questions, which do not lead to edification nor to any increase in piety, were to be excluded from public preaching. Even discussions of these tendentious matters were to be forbidden. All things which could pander to curiosity or superstition, or which involved practices misused for base financial gain, were to be studiously avoided in the Church.14 This was far from what actually happened, especially in so far as many of the French clergy were concerned, who seemed to revel in indulging their curiosity in these matters, even delivering extravagant sermons on these forbidden topics.15

The Council instructed priests to teach the faithful the consensus opinions of the Fathers regarding the intercessory role of the departed saints, their invocation by believers in prayer, the honour due to relics, and the lawful use of images, explaining that the saints who reign with Christ offer their prayers to God on behalf of men.16 It was affirmed by the Council and its adherents to be good and profitable to invoke the saints in prayer, and indeed to have direct recourse to them in obtaining their help in supplicating God for his gifts.17

Penance was included as one of the seven sacraments of the Church – Baptism; Confirmation; the Eucharist; Orders, that is, the authority given to priests; Marriage, and Extreme Unction being the remaining six – to be held in great honour. It had been instituted by Christ himself, for the reconciliation to God of baptised persons who thereafter fall into sin. Penance was held to be a true sacrament distinct from baptism. The priests have complete power either to remit or to retain sins. Three actions were required on the part of the penitent, namely contrition, confession and satisfaction. Private confession to a priest was regarded as necessary to salvation and fully in harmony with Christ's teaching and the traditions
of the Church. 18

The power of conferring indulgences, perhaps one of the most abused functions of the Church (especially prior to the Reformation), was confirmed by order of the Council of Trent and thereafter maintained for some time in the Church. 19 This power had been granted to the Church by Christ, and since the Church had made use of this provision from the earliest times, the practice, which was seen to be most salutary for the people, was to be continued. Here as on the other matters Trent was following the example of earlier Councils 20.

It is therefore evident, when we consider the above summary of the many important aspects of the findings of the Council of Trent, that as a result of its deliberations the doctrine and practice of the Roman Catholic Church were placed on relatively stable foundations after the turmoil caused by the schism of the Protestants. The Council did provide a formulated and reasoned presentation of the Church's beliefs, particularly in relation to the Protestant divergences. A certain note of authority was sounded, which re-echoed through the subsequent development of the Counter Reformation, even though there were some matters which were not clearly resolved. The revival in the Church, both as regards its theology and its external aspect - the erection of the great edifice of St. Peter's in Rome during the sixteenth and early seventeenth century being evidence enough of the latter - was remarkable during the century following the Council, and something of this was seen in France, despite the unsettled state of national affairs there. Without doubt the spirit of the Counter Reformation was still powerfully at work during the period of the formation of the collection of books under consideration in the present study.
The development of the Counter Reformation in France was directed and governed by the clergy of that nation, the priests of all degrees and orders who resolutely opposed the doctrines of the Reformers, which had gained the support of a significant minority of Frenchmen. Of all these orders none was more prominent in France during the early and mid-seventeenth century than the Jesuits, the members of the celebrated and international Compagnie de Jésus, which had been founded in 1534 by the Spaniard St. Ignatius Loyola and established by Papal Bull in 1540. In the sixteenth century in France the Jesuits sought to combat the views of the Reformation, and outside the confines of France they pioneered the work of bringing Christianity to the heathen.

Their discipline was strict and even austere in many ways, and like their founder the Jesuit fathers were often noted for their zeal and devotion. In France in the sixteenth century the Jesuits' principal activities were preaching, teaching and hearing confessions. Their teaching activities provided them with their most creditable and enduring achievements, and many great minds were nurtured in their schools. Many of their fathers were, however, given to engaging in politics and in this field their record during the period under review was often far from creditable. In 1595, for example, they were expelled from France for being implicated in plots against the life of the king, and they were not permitted to return until 1603. They were also implicated in the assassination of Henri IV in 1610, and constantly favoured the idea that the Pope was the ruler of all monarchs and their subjects. The Jesuits were particularly active in religious controversy at that time, and it is hardly surprising that a collection of books which has so many items of a controversial nature as does Bishop Cosin's Library should include among these a great many Jesuit writings. These indeed form a very large proportion of the French Catholic writings possessed by the Library. There are of course devotional and instructive works there too. Yet the ranks of the Compagnie de Jésus in our period provided first and foremost a large number of aggressive and determined adversaries of the French reformed theologians.
They were always very conservative in their doctrines at this time, maintaining a strict regard for the doctrines propounded by the Council of Trent, although they did maintain the doctrine of justification at least partly by works. They always held firmly to the more obscure tenets of the faith, and would not, for example, refrain from maintaining a stout defence of the teaching on Purgatory and indulgences.

The considerable learning and piety of some of their fathers were unfortunately often outweighed by the behaviour of some other members of their order who, when their arguments failed, often resorted to coarseness and abusiveness. Their motives and methods were sometimes dishonourable. They would at times try to discredit their opponents by accusing them of being disloyal to the state when in fact, more often than not, it was they who were conniving to obtain political power by devious means. The moral conduct of some of their members often left much to be desired, and this was true even before the Jansenist attacks upon them. Yet the Jesuits did exercise a very powerful influence over the French clergy and state. Their ideas and attitudes sometimes reached a position of dominance during our period. They were the bitterest opponents of Jansenism, over which they did appear to triumph during the later seventeenth century. In relation to the works in Cosin, however, it is true that it was their zeal in attempting the conversion of the Protestants, often by disreputable means, which must be held to be of the greatest significance among the Jesuits' various activities.

Apart from the Jesuits one of the most influential religious foundations in France during our period was the Congrégation de l'Oratoire, founded in Paris in 1611 by cardinal Pierre de Bérulle on the pattern of the earlier foundation of St. Philip Neri in Rome in 1564. The foundation's function was the instruction of the clergy, and it thus played an inestimable role in the French Counter-Reformation, which required highly educated priests. Malebranche and Massillon were its most eminent members, and quite a number of the priests whose writings appear in our collection were connected with it. Cosin, as we have seen earlier, was involved in a dispute with one of its fathers during his time in France.
Other religious orders were active in France during the period of the acquisition of the books under consideration, who had their own contribution to make to the development of the Counter Reformation in that country; the Benedictine, Dominican and Franciscan orders being the most important. A role of some influence was played by the fathers of the Capuchin order, a subsidiary of the Franciscan, in the struggle to combat the Protestant theologians. This struggle, it may be noted, was conducted by representatives of these orders who held a wide variety of ecclesiastical appointments, though usually 'religious' and theologians, with many professors of theology from various colleges and seminaries. There were, of course, inconsistencies in doctrine and attitudes amongst such a diversity of writers and preachers. Indeed the Protestants were always in a position to point out the many contradictions manifested in the writings of these churchmen. Examples of these contradictory views may be seen, for instance, in some of the adversaries of the Protestant divine Pierre du Moulin, to whom a later chapter will be devoted. Though all the Roman writers in general defended the positions adopted by the Council of Trent, they had many different approaches to the defence of the rights of the Church against heresy, and this is no doubt the reason why our collection is far less homogeneous in its Catholic writings than in its contemporaneous Protestant writings.

Although basically adhering to the doctrines of the Post-Tridentine Church, there were a number of important figures in France during the period covered by the present study who diverged in matters of faith and morals from the rules and canons established at the Council of Trent. One distinctive feature of French religious life in the early seventeenth century was the role played by Saint François de Sales (1567 - 1622), the greatest French religious writer and moralist of his time. He introduced psychological and other considerations to the construction of a Christian morality which was independent of mysticism. His was an essentially rational view of morality, and he developed a moral system which was deprived of austerity, in fact a rather more amiable approach which could well appear more attractive to the worldly conscience than could other more
rigorous systems. This trend of thought with regard to moral concepts had a considerable effect in France.

There were other writers, some of whom are found among those in the Cosin Library, who progressed further towards the acceptance of a pragmatic morality rather than a morality strictly founded upon transcendental beliefs, while at the same time paying lip-service to the more orthodox positions. Some of the early seventeenth century free-thinkers come into this category—some of whom have been mentioned in the previous chapter—while others of course went much further towards scepticism and agnosticism. 28

In complete contrast to these, however, we must now consider that tremendously influential system propounded by Cornelius Jansen (d. 1638), who shook the Church to her very foundations by his teachings, which were given a wide currency by the publication of his Augustinus (posth. 1640) 29 in which Jansen expounded that rigorous code of doctrine and morality which became known as Jansenism, and which was to divide France.

Jansenism, which had a tremendous impact on French life, took its name from its instigator the Bishop of Ypres. It was a doctrinal system drawn largely from the writings of Saint Augustine, which rejects totally the power of the human will and asserts the sovereignty of divine grace in salvation, even to the extent of maintaining a belief in a form of predestination. It is thus a strongly anti-Pelagian doctrine, that is, it repudiates the doctrine of free-will and salvation by works, which had been permitted to some degree by the theologians of the Counter-Reformation. At its most extreme in this respect Jansenism could even be compared with Calvinism. It was introduced into the Community of Port-Royal in 1635 by its Director, Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, and there it flourished in an atmosphere of dedication and austerity. Though condemned at the instigation of the Jesuits its bitterest opponents by Pope Innocent IX in 1653, Jansenism did not fail to influence many aspects of the national life, notably the Parlement. Most later seventeenth century men of letters (with the notable exceptions of Molière and La Fontaine) felt something of its attraction, even though few accepted its doctrines in their entirety.
After its introduction to the community of Port-Royal by Duvergier de Hauranne its direct transmission, Jansenism caused a particularly bitter controversy within the French Catholic Church, since it opposed in particular the theology and the morality of the Jesuits. The essential point about Jansenism in theological terms was that it involved a determined and vigorous return to Augustinianism - the belief that divine grace is sovereign in all things to the subjection of the role of the human will - and hence a strong reaction against the trends towards Pelagianism and indeed Arminianism which were then evident in the Church. It may be noted that the influence of Jansenism was just beginning to be felt in France during the period of John Cosin's residence there. Although in some ways it is true that Jansenism does in some measure approximate to Calvinism it should of course also be borne in mind that some of the most resolute and effective opponents of the French Protestants were in fact of the Jansenist movement, and in this connection there was no better example than Antoine Arnauld.

The tremendous impact made by the Reformation on the French religious literature of the time of the formation of the Cosin Library can hardly be over-estimated, especially when we bear in mind that not only were so many of the writers either active disciples of Calvin or in some way positively affected by his works, but that the Catholic Church's reaction to the Reformation, which was enshrined in the decrees formulated by the Council of Trent, also resulted in the flowering of its own kind of literature. Very few indeed of the more than five hundred works preserved in Bishop Cosin's Library and composed in the French language have escaped the direct and decisive influence of these two complementary movements of western civilisation, as will appear more precisely in the course of the survey of the contents of the Collection which now follows.
1. Cosin has two works relating particularly to this conflict within the French Church, namely Jacques Gillot: Traité des droits et libertés de l'Église Gallicane (Paris, 1612), at F iv 14, and Marc de Vulson: De la puissance du Pape et des libertés de l'Église Gallicane. (Geneva, 1635). at O iii 1.

2. Quite a number of the writers represented in Cosin were doctors of the Sorbonne. These include Charles François d'Abra de Raconis, Antoine Arnauld, Jacques Bourgeois, Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, Pierre Halier and Godefroi Hermant.

3. Pelagius (fifth century A.D.) held that God could not rightly demand from man more than man is able to perform. The attitude is summed up in the dictum 'if I ought, I can'. The essential points are that man has complete power, at any given time, to desire either the evil or the good. Sin is therefore a deliberate, momentary choice of evil. There is no hereditary principle of sin. Man is even able to live free from sin if he so wishes. Hence the teaching amounts to a denial of original sin and of the absolute necessity of divine grace in redemption. Schools of thought which approximate to these doctrines of Pelagius (and some of their adherents are represented in Cosin) are known as Pelagian, or Semi-Pelagian.


5. See, in Cosin, for example, François Veron: Justes plaintes de l'Église Catholique, sur les falcifications de l'Écriture. Sainte . .
In this connection see Chapter V, Section 2 of the present study for books on the controversies of Pierre du Moulin.

6. Council of Trent, On Original sin, Session 5, June 1546.

7. See, in Cosin, for example, Pierre du Moulin: *De la juste providence de Dieu* (Geneva, 1624), at Cosin I vi 28 (4) and see also a work by Arnaud Sorbin: *Response au Traicté de la Predestination composé par le Sieur Corvet* (Paris, 1604), at Cosin G iv 16 (2).


12. Withholding the Cup was, incidentally, in contravention of earlier papal decrees, e.g. of Pope Paschal II in 1118. Council of Trent On the Eucharist, Chapter 5.

13. Council of Trent, On the most holy sacrifice of the mass, Session 22, September, 1562.


15. See, in Cosin, Jacques Suarez: *Torrent de feu* (Paris 1603) at Cosin H v 17 (5) and see Chapter V, Section 2 of the present study for items relating to Du Moulin's controversies on Purgatory.


19. Items in French in Cosin include in particular: Livre des règles indulgences, Pratique et Prières de la Congregation de Saint Denis de Montmartre, (Paris, 1624) at Cosin G vi 14.


21. Cosin has an anonymous biography in French of St. Ignatius Loyola: La vie, les miracles, et la canonisation de S. Ignace Loyola (Rouen, 1629) at Cosin P v 23.

22. The most notable French Jesuit writers represented in Cosin's Library include Louis Richéome and François Veron. Foreign Jesuits represented by French translations include Juan Maldonatus and Robert Parsons.

23. See Chapter V of the present study, section 2, for reference to Pierre du Moulin's numerous Jesuit adversaries.

24. See in Cosin, for example, works of the minister Charles Drelincourt on the 'missionnaires' at Cosin I iv 30. See also in Cosin a work by Guillaume Ribier: Apologie pour le discours au Roy sur la reunion de ses sujets en une mesme et seule religion. (1607) at Cosin N iii 28, and the anonymous: Avis a Messieurs les Deputez . . . d'un moyen . . . de faire qu'il n'y aye plus de diversité d'Eglise en ce Royaume (n.d.) at Cosin W v 26.

25. See Chapter I of the present study, Section 1, on the exile, for Cosin's dispute with one of the fathers of the Oratoire, (p. 7).

26. Benedictines represented in French in Cosin include Jacques Doublet and Simon Germain Millet. On the Dominican and Franciscan orders see in Cosin works by Jean-Pierre Camus, and Nicolas Vignier: Legende dorée (Leyden, 1608) at Cosin K v 38 (2).

27. His Introduction a la vie devote (Lyon, 1630) is at Cosin G v 22, and see Chapter IV of the present study about this item.

28. Guiz de Balzac, for example, is represented in Cosin by some works in defence of orthodox religion, see in Cosin: Aristippe, ou de la Cour (Amsterdam, 1664) at Cosin BB vii 2, and Les oeuvres diverses
29. **Augustinus** is present in Durham Cathedral Library in a relatively late edition.


31. Jean Claude was Arnauld's greatest Protestant adversary. Cosin has volume one only of Arnauld and Nicole's *De la perpetuite de la foy* (Paris, 1669) at H iv 1.

Cosin also has a rather earlier treatise by Arnauld with the same title (Paris, 1666) at H v 16. There are two editions of Claude's reply: *Response aux deux Traités* (Paris and Charenton, 1666) at I iv 15, and (Paris and Charenton, 1668) at Cosin I iii 1.
CHAPTER IV

THE COMPOSITION OF THE FRENCH SECTION OF BISHOP COSIN'S LIBRARY
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THE COMPOSITION OF THE FRENCH SECTION OF BISHOP COSIN'S LIBRARY

The Cosin Library, which is at present still housed in the building specially constructed for it by its Founder at the time of his Episcopate, the work being completed in 1669, is the oldest of the Special Collections now incorporated into Durham University Library. According to the catalogues present in the University Library the collection consists of 5137 titles contained in 4400 volumes.

The books are in English, French, Latin and Greek, with occasional examples in other languages, including Arabic. Statistics for the holdings of books in languages other than French have not yet been compiled but it is clear that by far the largest proportion, especially of the books acquired by the Founder himself, are in Latin, with the next largest number in English. In the course of the present study a total of 540 separately identifiable works in the French language have been uncovered and entered in the select lists which accompany this chapter. Thus rather more than ten per cent of the total number of titles are of works written in the French language, a significant proportion considering the circumstances of the formation, and the purpose of the Library.

It is true that about half the French writings are relatively short treatises and sermons bound in composite volumes of which there are many, but the remainder do contain many substantial works, several exceeding 1000 pages in folio or quarto. It is equally true, however, that the majority of the finest and most important items in the Library are in languages other than French, especially English. Among other fine examples we may mention here the First Shakespeare Folio of 1623; a Bible and a Prayer Book in Charles II's royal binding; Wycliffe's Bible translation, and a book printed by Wynkyn de Worde. The French collection cannot rival any of these masterpieces of printing but it yet contains many items of great interest, and some which, although on a rather humble level, are quite rare examples of their kind. As a whole the Cosin Library affords
us a varied and wide-ranging though not comprehensive selection of some areas of the literature in print at the time of its inception.

Certainly there are omissions, even in so far as the material one would naturally expect to find in such a collection is concerned, and these omissions are as evident amongst the French books as amongst those of other languages. Yet William Flower's catalogue, compiled c. 1668-70 under the Bishop's supervision, and preserved in good condition, informs us how carefully and methodically the collection had been put together. Cosin certainly was an avid book collector, and on occasions he could almost be called - with some justification - omnivorous, yet his studied watchfulness is as evident in his Library building and management as in his other concerns. Flower's meticulous and invaluable catalogue, the only reliable source in fact concerning the original contents of the Library, is carefully written out in two column-form, divided up under explicit Latin subject headings. These include Biblia Sancta, Patres Latini, Scriptores Pontifici and Scriptores Reformati comprising religious writings in all languages, and other headings such as Postae and Politici denoting secular writings. Upon the Bishop's own instructions (it appears) the handwriting in the final version of this catalogue was to be varied for books in Latin, English and French. In fact, however, there is no such differentiation of script in William Flower's Catalogue, but there is in the first section (Biblia) of Thomas Blakiston's unfinished fair copy of a Classified Catalogue - which corresponds with the instructions (Correspondence ii, p265) in that it is written in single columns, not two per page as in Flower's and in the exemplar to which the Bishop refers.

The French books are all entered in this catalogue (except of course for the subsequent acquisitions) usually with title, size and reference, although some of the shorter French writings are often entered under collective headings like 'Divers Traictés'. Within each subject-category authors are listed alphabetically, as are many important individual works.
From this catalogue, as indeed from any of the modern catalogues, it can clearly be seen that the French books by and large reflect the composition of the collection as a whole in so far as their contents are concerned. Some 400 of the 540 works are religious writings, while the remainder consist of political, historical, literary and miscellaneous writings. In particular late sixteenth and seventeenth century controversial religious treatises predominate in French just as in most other languages. Indeed there are several authors represented in French who also have similar writings in Latin and English.

There are, however, certain aspects of the French books which are peculiar to those in that language. They contain (proportionately) the largest body of Calvinist material of any language, since there are over 300 writings originating from French Reformed and other Calvinist sources. The French section also has a far smaller proportionate quota of drama and poetry than the English or Latin.

Many of the French books are relatively cheaply bound in vellum or parchment, and in some cases not bound at all. This in itself may be a reflection on the circumstances of deprivation experienced by Cosin during those sixteen years of exile in France, a period of such great importance with regard to the acquisition of the French books.

There are books in the French language located in almost all the presses of the Cosin Library, though there are certain places where French books are especially numerous. There are, for example, a large number of French Protestant sermons in Press C on shelves v and vi, and many Protestant treatises in presses I, K, N, O, and X. Many of the French Catholic religious writings are found in Presses G and H, while political and historical works are normally found in Presses P to T. The shelves
are usually arranged according to book size, with shelf i containing the
largest folio volumes and shelves vi and vii the 12° to 32° editions.
As far as the French books are concerned, 8° is the predominant book size
applying to some 80% of the 450 or so volumes either consisting of or
containing works in French. There are about 20 works in folio, these
being chiefly Bibles, exhaustive theological treatises, dictionaries,
or other works containing woodcut illustrations, for example Hydrographie
by Georges Fournier (Paris, 1667) at Y i 12. The quarto-size books
include works of all kinds. There are, it may be noted, a number of
books which are collated in gatherings of four leaves, but which are in
fact octavo-size. Octavo is the most usual size for most books of religious
treatises and sermons published in the period covered by the Collection.
The actual page sizes do vary somewhat, however, the norm being something
in the region of eight inches by five for 8°. Duodecimo books are the third
most numerous after octavo and quarto. About half of these are gathered in
twelves, the remainder in eights and fours. This size is quite popular for
French Catholic devotional and controversial writings. The sextodecimo
volumes are all gathered in eights. This size is particularly applicable
to small books of sermons and devotions, like, for example, Sainctes Prières,
plus divers Traictes (Geneva, 1633) at O vi 38 by Pierre du Moulin. There
are only one or two works in French in 24° (possibly a small 12°) including
La Pratique des deux Oraisons (Montauban, 1656) at X vi 33 by Jean de Labadie.
The smallest size of any of the French books is 32°, for example, in a volume
of sermons by Denis Boutæoue and François Murat, gathered in eights, though
this may well be in 16°. (I v 55).

The format of many of the very small books in the Collection often
presents peculiar difficulties to the bibliographer. It is often quite
possible for such items to be considered, with almost equal justification,
to be in 12°, 16°, 24°, or even 32°.

It is noteworthy that the great majority of the books in the French
language which are bound still have their original bindings. Quite a
number of them have been restored within the past ten years or so with
the help of the Pilgrim Trust. The bindings of the books are generally not of a very expensive variety, consisting mainly of rather cheap leather, with a high proportion of the Protestant writings in particular in vellum. The internal condition of the books varies, depending of course mainly on the amount of usage a book has sustained, particularly during the early years after publication. It is clear from the presence of handwritten names in several of the volumes that these had one or more previous owners before they were added to the Library. For example, on the flyleaf of Traité de l'Eglise (Geneva, 1599) by Philippe Duplessis-Mornay we find the words "Ce livre appartient à M. Brune, gentilhomme anglais" 11 September 1644 (see Chapter VI).

Since contributions and books for the Library were sought from many quarters during Cosin's episcopate, and since many of the books were published long before Cosin's own book-collecting career began, it is obvious that quite a few of the books must have been well used by the time they entered the Library. It would seem that those which were acquired new by Cosin himself have remained in the finest condition, though few have escaped the ravages of time and climate.

Apart from one volume (mentioned in Chapter I) by Jean Daille (X v 25) which was presented to Cosin in 1660, Lettre escripte à Monsieur le Coq, Sieur de la Talonnière (Charenton, 1660), the number of handwritten inscriptions in the books is limited. On ten blank pages following a treatise by Théophile Brachet de la Milletière there is a brief handwritten refutation, undoubtedly in Cosin's own hand, of La Milletière's arguments. A few books have the author's name supplied in handwriting on the title-page, as, for example, in the case of Epistre de Jacques Mallortye (Sedan 1605, at 1 v 25 (3)) by Daniel Tilenus. Here the attribution to Tilenus, which is confirmed as correct by reliable sources, is clearly in Cosin's own hand, and it is significant that the first item in the same volume (James I: Apologia, Amsterdam, 1609) has a (cropped) inscription 'Pour Monsieur Tilen'
which indicates that it was a gift or loan to him from someone. The second item in the volume was printed at Sedan in 1602; the fourth is dated 1614, and they are bound together in contemporary vellum. 6a

The name Franciscus, Charles' appears in handwriting on two sixteenth century Catholic writings in H. v. 36. 7

Apart from a few cases such as these, however, and the usual practice of entering the press-mark in the top right-hand corner of the title-page, the books are generally free from handwriting of any kind. (See Chapter VI for further documentation).

The dates of the French books in Bishop Cosin's Library run from 1541 (La Sainte Bible en francois, A ii 10) to 1767 (Thomas Sharp: Relation des mesures qui furent prises .... London, V iii 18). Apart from the 24 works which are clearly late acquisitions, the overwhelming majority of the French books were published during the seventeenth century. Eighty-five were published before 1600, while 431 were published between 1600 and 1672, the year of Cosin's death. Indeed there are no items dated between 1670 and 1685. Only a score of items were brought to publication during the years of Cosin's episcopate, while some 120 date from the time of Cosin's exile, 1644-60. Rather more than half of the total of 540 were in fact issued during the twenty-five years preceding the departure of Cosin for France. The 300 plus French Protestant writings are indeed distributed throughout the span of years covered by the collection in a similar proportion to that of the French section as a whole, although there is a heavy concentration of Protestant writings printed, during the exile period (75-80). A small proportion of the books in the collection are undated, and their content is our only guide in estimating when they were issued. Such writings are usually in the form of short addresses or pamphlets, 8 with the occasional larger item.

It will be apparent from the dating of the majority of the French books, as well as from their general character, that fine printing is
not one of their strongest features. Indeed the majority of the French books were printed by honest and competent tradesmen rather than by scholar printers. Apart from the items produced by the Elzevirs in Holland\(^9\), the occurrence of the names of really eminent printers is rare\(^10\). The Chapter of the present study devoted to selected bibliographical descriptions (Chapter VI) will provide detailed documentation of the physical composition of many of the French books in the Library to which reference is made in this Chapter.

Over 80\% of the writings in French were published and printed within the borders of France, the remainder being the products of presses in the Netherlands, Great Britain, Switzerland and the Empire. Protestant towns and cities provide some 60\% (306) of the total (540) and the Protestant cities of refuge in France granted by the Edict of Nantes alone provided some 40\% of the total. Almost all the eighteenth century acquisitions were published outside France. The writings published during the period of Cosin's exile in Paris show a majority deriving from the Protestant centre of Charenton and a few other Protestant centres, with almost an equal number from the Catholic presses of the Capital\(^5\). The table given below indicates the distribution of the 540 works under consideration:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amsterdam</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antwerp</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arras</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ath</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Basle</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Besançon</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bruges</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brussels</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charenton</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cologne</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Metz</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Montauban</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Niort</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quevilly</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rennes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rheims</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rotterdam</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rouen</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douai</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geneve</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanover</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>La Rochelle</td>
<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leyden</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lille</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limoges</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Louvain</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyon</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Quentin</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saumur</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sedan</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sens</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strasbourg</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hague</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troyes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utrecht</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utrecht</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vercennes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No place of publication given</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It must be remembered, of course, that this last number (78) could probably be substantially reduced by further searching of catalogues and other bibliographical tools.

Wherever a title-page bears the place of publication, it is usually for the name of the printer to appear below. Among the French books in Cosin, however, there are a significant number - some 10% - where the printer's name is not given, either for reasons of safety, or mere inadvertence, or because his name is added in an imprint.

Of the printers whose names do appear the most significant contributions are provided by those of Geneva and the French Protestant towns. Printers active at Geneva during the period 1570-1670 who are well represented include in chronological order:

Pierre de la Rouière; Gabriel Cartier; Jean de Tournes; Jean le Preux; Jean Berjon; Pierre Aubert; Jacques Planchant and Etienne Voisin; Jacques and Pierre Chouët. Pierre Aubert, whose shop was operating c. 1610-40 has some 30 examples - French Protestant writings - among the Cosin French books. Jacques and Pierre Chouët have some 20 examples dating from the 1630's, 1640's and early 1650's. One example by Gabriel Cartier, who was at work at the beginning of the century, namely Les Oeuvres Poétiques (O vi 39) by Du Bartas, the first collected edition (1598) bears no place of publication. The importance of Geneva for the printing and publication of French Protestant literature at this time cannot be over-estimated. In some cases Geneva editions may well have been more readily available than any corresponding editions produced inside France.

The presses of Charenton, where from 1606 the French Protestants' chief place of worship was situated, are second only to those of Geneva in their contribution to the Cosin Library. These date from 1620 to 1670 and are the work of printers including, in chronological order:
Antoine Cellier, Melchior Mondière, Louis Vendosme, Samuel Petit, and Samuel Perier. A large number of sermons which were first delivered
at Charenton during Cosin's exile by divines such as Amyraut, Daille, Drelincourt and Gaches, were first published at Charenton by Vendozme, Petit and Perier, especially during the years 1651-1658.

La Rochelle on the west coast, for many years an important fortress and centre of French Protestantism, not surprisingly was an important centre for the publication of Protestant literature, of which some has found a place in Bishop Cosin's collection. Hierosme Haultin, who was in production during the latter years of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century has given us several important works, notably treatises by Philippe de Momay (1599, 0 iv 18) and Jean-Baptiste Roian (1595, 1 iv 43) among others. The heirs of Haultin continued his work after his death, and Cosin possesses several examples of their work. Other La Rochelle printers whose work is preserved in the collection include Pierre de la Croix. With one exception, the writings published at La Rochelle in this collection date from before (and during) 1618.

Nearby Saumur, another important French Protestant centre, which had been under the governorship of Duplessis-Mornay, and was famous for its Académie, which produced many learned scholars and theologians, is the place of publication for a wide range of Protestant literature. Notable printers represented in the Library include, in chronological order: Thomas Portau; Charles Girard; Abraham Velquin; Isaac Desbordes; Daniel de l'Episcop; Jean Léassier and Gaucher Collas. Their works date from c. 1600 to c. 1660, with a predominance in the years of Cosin's exile. Saumur is mentioned several times in Cosin's writings; several divines who migrated to England (including Isaac Basire) attended the Académie. A large number of sermons present in the collection are the product of Saumur printers.

The famous frontier-town of Sedan in the east was a centre of the Reformed Religion even after 1640 when its protector, the Duc de Bouillon, was converted to Catholicism and ceded the hitherto independent city to
the French Crown. Prior to 1640 the city was a safe refuge for the
Protestants, and its Académie, founded in 1602, had a distinguished
history. A number of competent and sometimes scholarly printers
functioned there during the period under review, their works present
in this collection dating from 1602 to 1653. There is one particularly
interesting volume of theses associated with the Sédan Académie in Cosin.
Cosin ms. B.i. 5-8 contains printed Latin, and French and Latin manuscript
theses associated with Daniel Tilenus by an inscription in Cosin's hand,
and their contents, this being the only volume of its kind in the
collection.

The earliest Sedan printer represented in the collection of French
books is Jacob Salesse; later came Jean Jannon, a printer who moved
from Paris to Sedan c. 1610, and continued printing there for over
20 years. Jean Baillet, Abdias Buysard and François Chayer supply the
remainder of the works produced at Sedan. A considerable number of
substantial French Protestant treatises had their first editions
brought to light there.

In addition to the important centres of French Protestant learning
mentioned above, Cosin's Library also affords us examples of printing
from many other Huguenot towns. Notable printers whose work is well-
represented include: Jacques Cailloue (Quevilly), Pierre Bertié
(Montauban), Edouard Raban (Orange), René Troismailles (Niort),
Robert Valentin and Abraham Velquin (Quevilly).

Outside France, with the exception of Geneva, the largest number
of French Protestant works were published in the United Provinces,
where, since the independence from Spain, the press was free to publish
much that was prohibited elsewhere. The collection has four examples from
the famous Elzevir presses of Amsterdam and Leyden dating from the mid-
seventeenth century, including two works by Guillaume Balzac and a life of
Philippe Duplessis-Mornay by David Licques and others (Leyden, 1647, S iii 4).
In addition to the Elzevir publications, Amsterdam is represented by Jean de Ravesteyn, active in the mid-seventeenth century, and by a few eighteenth-century printers represented among the late acquisitions. Leyden is also represented by Jean le Maire, in a work dated 1608. Rotterdam is represented with a work from the printing-shop of Matthias Bastien. Antwerp was the place of publication for several of the Library's late sixteenth-century French political treatises, and the famous press of Christophe Plantin provides one or two works, notably an account of 1582 of the attempted assassination of William I of Orange by Jean Janse (S iv 21 (2)). The conflict in progress in the Low Countries during the late sixteenth century also provides the background for a number of pieces produced at other presses in that region, for example, that of Thomas Moerman at Bruges.

The one other significant contribution to the French books of Protestant origin comes from the presses of London, where a fair number of French Protestant and other miscellaneous writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries first saw the light of day. Although half of the works published in London are clearly eighteenth-century additions, four interesting London printers of the late sixteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries are represented in Cosin by books published in the French language, namely George Godbid, William Notts, Richard Tottell and Thomas Woodcock, dates ranging from 1573 to 1661. Two of the works published in London are English-French dictionaries.

The collection has occasional examples of printing from towns in other parts of Europe, including Hanover and Venice. Cologne has provided items from the press of Herman Lobin.

Of the 230 writings originating from non-Protestant, or specifically Catholic sources, almost two-thirds were produced on the presses of Paris, between about 1560 and the early eighteenth-century. Obviously a wide selection of sixteenth and seventeenth century printers of various degrees
of proficiency are represented, including a number of royal printers, for example, Morel, Cramoisy, Saureux. The list of the most numerously represented includes: Gervais Alliot; Louis Boulenger; Charles Chastellain; Pierre de Forge; Isaac Mesnier; Jean Mestais; Frederic and Claude Morel; Adrian Perier, and others.

A large number of edicts, documents of the Parlement, and other political material including Mazarinades, present in the collection were published in Paris; many of these omitting to disclose their place of publication. The period of Cosin's exile is particularly fertile in such publications. A large number of controversial treatises, many by Sorbonists, were the products of numerous competent, though undistinguished Parisian printers.

Writings published in many of the great provincial cities of France, Lyon, Rouen, Rheims, Troyes, Besançon, etc., are in this collection in the main Catholic religious treatises. Well represented printers of such works include Jean de Foigny (Rheims), Laurens Haury (Rouen), and Jean Lautret (Lyon).

A table of the Printers whose work is represented among the French books in Bishop Cosin's Library, with reference to the Collection.

Printers of Geneva.

Aubert (Pierre) C v 22(5), I vi 25(1-4), I vi 26, I vi 27(2-4), I vi 28(1-12), I vi 29(1-3), R v 9(1), X iv 25.

Berjon (Matthieu) I vi 27(1), Q v 10.

Cartier (Gabriel) 0 vi 39, X v 10.

Chouët (Jacques) C v 22(1-4), I vi 37, K i 1, K v 38(4).

Chouët (Pierre, 1) I vi 36.


Chouët (Samuel) C v 13-17, I iv 10.

La Pierre (Jacques de) C v 27, K v 38(3).

La Rouière (Pierre de) K v 38(1).
Le Preux (Jean) X iii 29.

Planchant (Jacques) and Voisin (Etienne) I v 55(2-3).

Prud'homme (Denis) I v 11.

Tournes (Jean de) 0 iii 1, P iv 24, X vi 35.

Printers of Charenton

Berjon (Jean) and Daniel (Michel) X iv 14.

Cellier (Antoine) C v 2-3, C vi 11(3-4), K v 26(4), 0 iv 38.

Joallin (Jean-Antoine) I iv 34(1).

Mondière (Melchior) K v 44, X iv 31(2).

Niverd (Georges) D v 22(2).

Petit (Samuel) C vi 11(7), D v 22(3), N v 36(3), 0 iv 36, X v 14, X vi 15(1-2), X vi 40.

Perier (Samuel) C v 1, C v 8, C v 9, C vi 11 (10,12,13), C vi 15(4, 7), I iv 32(2), N iii 27.

Varennes (Olivier de) C vi 11 (5,6), C vi 15(5).

Vendosme (Louis) C v 6-8, C vi 11(8; 9, 11), C vi 15(1-3), G iii 13(3), I iv 30(1-2), I iv 32(1), I vi 20, I vi 24(2), N iii 7.

Printers of La Rochelle

Haultin (Hierosme) C v 24, I iv 43, I vi 11, 0 iv 18, W v 46(3), X iii 1, X v 42, X vi 24.

Haultin (H, he's of) 0 iv 34.

La Croix (Pierre de) X iv 31(3-4).

Printers of Saumur

Collas (Gaucher) 0 iv 16.

Desbordes (Isaac) C vi 11(1), K v 26(1-3).

Girard (Claude) and L'Erpinière (Daniel de) C v 12, X iv 22, BB v 47.

Hernault (Antoine) C vi 15(6).

Lesnier (Jean) C vi 11(2), I vi 10, I vi 46, 0 vi 14, X iv 26.

Portau (Thomas) 0 iv 19, X v 27, X vi 36.

Ribotteau (Jean) P v 8.
Printers of Sedan

Baillet (Jean) X iv 9 (1).
Buyzard (Abdias) K v 30.
Chayer (François) C v 25, C v 26, C vi 10(2-3), I vi 33, N v 20, X v 37.
Le Fevre (Jean) O vi 14.
Raoult (Hebert) O vi 13.
Salesse (Jacob) I v 25(2-3).

Other Protestant printers

Montauban
Bertié (Pierre) X vi 33.
Niort
Troismailles (René) O iv 42, X vi 27.
Orange
Raban (Edouard) X v 3.
Quevilly
Berthelein (Jean) X iv 45.
Cailloué (Jacques) K v 34.
Petit (Jean) C vi 15(8).
Valentin (Robert) X v 21.
Velquin (Abraham) N v 36(6).
Rouen
Clemence (Abel) P v 19.

Netherlands, etc..

Amsterdam
Blaeu (Jean) X iii 26.
Elzevier (Bonaventure and Abraham) BB vii 2.
Le Grand (Pierre) C vi 16.
Ravesteyn (Jean de) C v 28.
Antwerp
Plantin (Christophe) S iv 21(2).
Steelsius. (Jean) P v 45.

Bruges
Moerman (T.) S iv 21(8).

Cologne
Lobin (Hermann) X iv 44.

Leyden
Elzevier (Bonaventure and Abraham ) N v 45, S iii 4, BB vii 1.

Le Maire (Jean) K v 38 (3).

Rotterdam
Bastien (Matthias) N iv 17(6).

London
Crooke (A.) L iii 13.
Godbid (G.) C ii 13(13).
Notts (W.) C ii 13(14).
Tottell (R.) I i 3.
Woodcock (T.) T v 1.

Printers of Paris
Alliot (Gervais) H v 28(5).
Besonge (Cardui) T v 3.
Billaine (Pierre) I v 51.
Blaise (Thomas) L v 6.
Bouillevot (Joseph) X iv 30.
Boulanger (Louis) G v 18 (4), G vi 11, W v 55.
Cavellat (Pierre) X v 24(1).
Chapelain (Charles) 0 vi 28.
Charles (N.) W v 2.
Chastellain (Charles) G iii 7.
Chaudière (Guillaume) G v 13, H v 9(1), T i 21(1).
Chevillot (Pierre) S iv 21(11).
Chuppin (Antoine) I iv 42.
Colombel (veuve de Robert) L v 9.
Cramoisy (Sebastien) G v 14, H i 16, N v 36.
Creuel (Jean) L v 25.
Dehors (Fiacre) H v 27.
Du Bray (Toussaint) G vi 12(1).
Du Pays (Jacques) X v 24(5).
Elsevier (Daniel) P iv 14.
Fremy (Claude) X v 24(4).
Guillemat (Veuve de Matthieu) L iv 47.
Heuqueville (Jean de) G vi 14.
Houze (Jean) T v 8.
Jast (Jean) S vii 36.
Julliot (François) G vi 15.
Kervert (veuve de J.) T i 21(2).
La Forge (Pierre de) G v 18(3).
L'Astre (Jean) S iv 21(1).
Le Haire (Jean) G vii 21.
L'Huillier (Pierre) G iv 16(2).
Maire (Théodore) X vi 28.
Mattaier (Michel) L iv 26.
Mesnier (Isaac) G v 18(1-2).
Mestais (Jean) H v 9(4).
Micard (Claude) H v 44(1).
Morel (Claude) S iv 21(19).
Morel (Frederic) L iv 3, P v 30, S iv 21(18).
Mulot (Nicolas) T v 53.
Nivelle (Robert) X iii 12(1).
Perier (Adrian) S iv 12(1-2).
Proue (Jean) O vi 17.
Rosset (veuve de Nicolas) X v 24(2).
Sarce (Henri) Q ii 3.
Saureux (Charles) Q iii 20.
Sertences (Vincent) X vi 7.
Seutia (Antoine) H v 44 (2).
Sonneins (Michel) H v 17(5).
Thierry (Denis) Y iv 2.
Thierry (Rolin) X v 24 (3).
Vascosau (M. de) C vi 12(2).
Vignon (Eustace) P v 38.
Vitré (Antoine) H iv 6, N ii 11(7).

Other Catholic Printers

Arras
La Rivière (Guillaume de) H v 37(1).

Lille
Beys (Christophle) Y iv 14(3).

Louvain
Gravius (veuve de Jacques) G iii 14.

Lyon
Lautret (Jean) G vi 13.

Pillehotte (Jean) G vii 20.

Rigaud (veuve de Claude) G v 22.

Rennes
Glaivet (Noël) W v 10.

Rheims
Chesneau (Nicolas) H v 36(2).

Rouen
Haunry (Laurens) H v 36 (1).

Le Villain (Claude) X vi 31.

Saint Quentin
Le Queux (Claude) H v 36(4).

Sens
Pillehotte (Jean) D v 22(1), I v 11(1).

Troyes
Note. The above has been compiled from the information supplied on the title-pages of the books in Cosin. It is likely that, among the books giving no indication of their printer, there are other printers not mentioned above, as well as further examples from those which are mentioned.

Many of the works included in the present collection ran into numerous editions. In the first half of the seventeenth century it was not uncommon for, say, a religious treatise to be re-edited as many as ten times, and issued from several places of publication. Some were issued simultaneously in two or more places, for example, at Sedan and Geneva. Frequently unauthorised editions were produced, often from copies of recognized editions prepared by their authors, and pirated editions were sometimes issued without the author's knowledge or consent. In the case of polemical treatises, expansions and additions were often inserted into the original text following the author's revision of it. Such works in Cosin, usually state on the title-page 'revue et augmentée par l'Auteur'. The numerical status of the edition is normally given on the title-page in these works, although the term 'dernière edition' may not always be taken at face value. Of the 540 titles in French present in the Cosin Collection approximately 170-180 are identifiable as first editions, although as many as half of this total probably never had a second edition, while a large proportion of the remainder are relatively late or 'definitive' editions. The importance of the edition status in determining the scarcity of the books in such a collection as this one is not always calculable, since it is the number of surviving copies which is determinative. In the case of quite a number of items among the French books in Cosin, some of the later editions of works appear to be absent from some of the great libraries, when the first editions are present.

Among the holding of French books in the Library there are some 70 items which are present in the Bibliothèque Nationale only in editions.
other than those possessed by Cosin. In several cases the Cosin edition predates the Bibliothèque Nationale edition. It has not as yet been possible to determine how many Cosin editions are absent from the British Museum, since their short-title catalogue of seventeenth-century French books was (at the time of the preparation of this study) still being compiled, but the number may well be in excess of 100. A consultation of the catalogues of other British libraries possessing seventeenth-century French material also reveals frequent disparities in edition of works held by these and the Cosin Library.

It is not only for their scarcity of edition that many of the Cosin French books are of interest, however. Eighty-three items in French are known to be entirely absent from the Bibliothèque Nationale, even following a recent enquiry made there by Durham University Library, when fifteen items were discovered to be present in the great French Library of which their printed catalogue apparently gives no indication. As far as the Library of the British Museum is concerned, the total of items absent there and present in Cosin may even be rather higher than that for the Bibliothèque Nationale, though accurate information on this is not yet to hand.

NOTES ON THE PUBLICATION OF THE FRENCH PROTESTANT WORKS IN COSIN.

As has already been shown in Chapter II the French books in Cosin's Library, both as regards their publication and contents, were inevitably the products of their historical and cultural background. The political events were deeply coloured by the outcome of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, as well as by the dichotomy between the rise of absolutism in France and Parliamentarianism in England. The French
books collected by Cosin extend over a span of time encompassing the French Wars of Religion, the rise of Henri IV, the Edict of Nantes, and on through the ministries of Richelieu and Mazarin to the beginning of the personal rule of Louis XIV. This was clearly a period of rapid change which affected the publication of books as well as both secular and religious life in general. The developments in religious life are obviously of greatest significance here, since some 80% of the writings under discussion are primarily religious in character.

The Edict of Nantes, promulgated in 1598, had a profound and far-reaching effect on religious and political life, since it allowed a measure of religious toleration in France greater (in theory at any rate) than that enjoyed by a religious minority in any other European state. The social and political provisions of the Edict have been discussed more fully in Chapter II. Article XXI of the Edict, however, had a word concerning the publication of Protestant literature which is of particular interest here.

"Books concerning this religion are not to be printed and exposed for sale save in towns and districts where the public practice of the said religion is allowed."

The state of relative toleration in the field of publication led to the flowering of Protestant literature in the early seventeenth century which is reflected in Bishop Cosin's Library. But as the political climate for the Protestants deteriorated as the seventeenth century progressed, it was not surprising that the publication of Huguenot writings met with increasing difficulties.

Protestant books were often condemned by the Parlements. In the early part of the seventeenth century a form of censorship did operate against these writings, through the application of the royal Privilege and Permission. The authorities were especially sensitive when any political questions were involved. A mistake in Défense de la Confession de Foy des Eglises Réformées
de France (La Rochelle, 1617) at X vi 13, led to a political storm. Writings of a purely religious nature, however, which form the bulk of the material in Cosin, were generally permitted without alteration.

Charenton not surprisingly became the most important centre for French Protestant publication towards the middle of the seventeenth century. A large proportion of France's Protestant community resided in and around the capital, so there was great demand for literature there. Most of the centres of Protestant publication were also centres of Protestant learning, with many schools and academies requiring religious and other material. Quite a number of the printers mentioned in this chapter were attached to the Académies as Imprimeurs ordinaires, and much of the material in Cosin admits to having been sanctioned by these institutions.

In the political climate then obtaining it is not surprising that religious as well as political tensions were strongly evident in the works possessed by Cosin. The use of literature played an important role in the efforts of the Roman clergy to win converts and undermine the Calvinist heresy. The means employed were sometimes direct, sometimes more subtle. The Verbal Conference was exploited by both sides. The numerous religious conferences, some of which are well documented by French items in Cosin, were staged to win converts and to discredit the opposition. The Protestant divines usually entered these verbal tournaments with a defensive intent, though their accounts are often very bold indeed.

These debates, which were at their height during the first half of the seventeenth century, generally took place between one or two chief disputants of each religion before several witnesses. It was usual for transcripts or 'Actes' to be made following the encounter to the advantage of one or other party. This often led to a pamphlet war, exchanges of correspondence, and extended treatises. As examples we may take the disputes of Pierre du Moulin with Gontier and Raconis, see the works described in Chapter V Section 2. Many debates are examined in the
Among the one hundred or so French Protestant writers whose works are present in the Library about ten have a truly representative selection of their writings, both as regards the number and content of these works. Moïse Amyraut has six important theological treatises concerned mainly with the doctrine and government of the Church (see esp. Cosin K v 26 (1) and (2)). In addition there are six works consisting of sermons, many of which were preached during Cosin's exile, some at Charenton, see Descriptions in Chapter VI. David Blondel, a learned ecclesiastical historian and scholar as well as an expert theologian, has eight items in French in the collection. These include 'De la Primaute de l'Eglise' (Geneva, 1641) at K i 1, his greatest ecclesiological work; several treatises on the doctrine of the Eucharist, and one advocating Protestant reunion 25. The work on the Sibylline oracles and their interpretation by pagan and early Christian antiquity published at Charenton in 1649, is particularly interesting (Cosin R iv 5). The seven works by Jean Daillé have numerically the second largest quota of books in French of any author. The twenty works consist mainly of sermons, with some letters and short treatises. Seven of these, mainly sermons, are not present in the Bibliothèque Nationale, while an additional five are there only in different editions 21. Of special interest among the works of
Daillé in Cosin is "Les deux derniers sermons, avec un abrégé de sa vie et
le Catalogue de ses œuvres" (Charenton, 1670) at C v 1. This catalogue
is of value in that it informs us about the works of Daillé which were
known to exist by the printer at Charenton in 1670, thirty-two in all.
It is far from complete.

The twelve treatises and sermons by Charles Drelincourt are of interest
chiefly for several eloquent defences of the Reformation and the Reformed
Churches, and for manuals on religious controversy such as Abbégé de
Controverses (Charenton, 1624), at I iv 34, designed for the use of the
layman. The arguments of the missionnaires – emissaries sent out by the
French clergy to win converts – are refuted in two treatises (I iv 30, 31).
The works of Pierre du Moulin, the leading French Protestant divine and
theologian of the early seventeenth century, are considered in a separate
chapter. Among these are many very substantial treatises, in particular
the masterly Boucher de la Foy (Geneva, 1635) at I vi 26 in defence of the
French Protestants' Confession, and Nouveauté du Papisme (Geneva, 1633) at
N ii 21, a massive 1000 page defence of James I's Confession against
Cardinal du Perron.

Four of the Library's six writings by the Huguenot statesman
Philippe Duplessis-Mornay are concerned with the conference he had with
the Bishop of Evreux, Jacques-Davy Du Perron at Fontainebleau on 4 May 1600.
The authorities cited by Duplessis in De l'Institution, usage et doctrine du
saint sacrement de l'Eucharistie en l'Eglise ancienne (which Cosin
possesses, at 0 iv 18, in an edition published at La Rochelle in 1599),
were challenged by Du Perron and occasioned the conference. Cosin has a
Protestant Discours véritable (La Rochelle, 1600) at N v 20 (6) of the
conference itself; Duplessis' reply to Du Perron's own treatise, namely
Response au livre publié par le Sieur Evesque d'Evreux sur la Conférence
tenue à Fontainebleau le 4 May 1600 (Saumur, 1603) at 0 iv 19, and a
further defence of his treatise on the Eucharist by its author, this time against a Jesuit Louis Richeome, which is undated (F v 16). The comprehensive Traité de l'Eglise (Geneva, 1599) at X iii 29 is the earliest of several Protestant ecclesiological treatises in French possessed by the Library.

Another treatise of this kind is found among the writings of Jean Mestrezat, Traité de l'Eglise (Geneva, 1649), at N iii 27, which could be considered as a text-book of the orthodox French Reformed doctrine of the church in the mid-seventeenth century. Apart from the expected works on the Eucharist (I vi 4), and the Scriptures (I vi 37), Mestrezat's writings here present include two expositions of New Testament epistles, the first of I John in thirty sermons (2 vols. Geneva, 1651), at C v 18-19, the second of Hebrews in forty-nine sermons (5 vols. Geneva 1653-5), at C v 13-17. Mestrezat was also a formidable controversialist, and Cosin preserves the record of a conference he engaged in with the Jesuit François Véron in 1624, published at Charenton in 1655 (I iv 30 (2)).

Two of the six writings by the minister André Rivet are defences of Le Mystère d'Iniquité (Saumur, 1611) by Duplessis-Mornay against Nicolas Coëffetseau, and others. Instruction du prince chrétien (Leyden, 1642) at N v 45, written in the form of dialogues between a young prince and his tutor, treats the French Protestant conception of royal government. An account of Rivet's Dernières heures or last days of life—these pious and devotional accounts were greatly revered by the French Protestants—is a feature of the work entitled La bonne vieillesse (Utrecht, 1652), at X v 4, containing a letter from André Rivet to his brother Guillaume.

Notable features of the six treatises by Daniel Tilenus in the collection are two controversial works critical of Les Trois Vérités by Pierre Charron: Response à un livre intitulé — Les Trois Vérités.
(La Rochelle, 1594), at X iv 35, and *Defense de la response faicte:à la troisième pretendue Verité, contre la Replique de M. Pierre Charron* (La Rochelle, 1597), at X iv 19. Two writings which have no indication in print (on the title-page) of the authorship, namely *Epistre de Jacques Mallortye* (Sedan, 1605), at I v 25 (3), and *Lettres à un ami touchant la nouvelle confession de Cyrille, soi-disant Patriarche de Constantinople* (n.p. 1629) at H v 3, are undoubtedly the work of Tilenus.\(^{23}\)

Certainly the overwhelming majority of the French Protestant writings in the collection are the work of divines and theologians, but there are other types of literature also from these sources. The most noteworthy examples of non-theological French Protestant writing include:

- *Cosmographie, ou doctrine de la sphere, avec un Traicté de la geographie* (Saumur, 1641) at X iv 42 by Claude Pithoys, a convert to Protestantism and Professor at the Académie of Sedan, and *De l'instinct et de la connoissance des animaux* (La Rochelle, 1646) at X iii 28, by Pierre Chanet, physician of La Rochelle. Apart from four French Protestant Bible translations, two sixteenth and two eighteenth century, perhaps the most interesting non-theological Protestant work in the collection is *Les Oeuvres poetiques et chrestiennes* (Geneva, 1598) by Guillaume de Salluste, Seigneur du Bartas, at Cosin 0 vi 39.

Of the 230-35 items in French not of Protestant origin, the largest proportion are not surprisingly the works of Catholic theologians, many of which are in reply to Protestant works. Few of the Catholic writers are as well represented as the Protestant divines, mentioned above, and there are many more important omissions among these. Antoine Arnauld is quite well represented, with four theological works and one grammatical work, *Grammaire generale et raisonnée*, written in collaboration with
Claude Lancelot, the collection possessing the second edition, (Paris, 1664). The Library has no complete definitive edition of *De la Perpétuité de la foy de l'Eglise Catholique*, which was published in three volumes from 1669-76 in collaboration with Pierre Nicole. Volume one only (Paris, 1669) is in the Cosin Library, at H iv 1, while the fourth edition of an earlier phase of the work's development, being the same title (Paris, 1666) is also present (H v 16). Apart from a short treatise against Théophile Brachet de la Milletière, at N ii 11 (6), Cosin's only remaining French monograph by Arnauld is the fourth edition of *La Tradition de l'Eglise sur le sujet de la penitence et de la communion* (Paris, 1653), at H v 5.

Jean-Pierre Camus, Bishop of Belley, is represented chiefly in his writings on the function and purpose of the monastic orders, particularly the mendicant friars. Six of his seven writings in Cosin are concerned with the subject (see Cosin H v 24 (1-2), H v 25 (1-2) and H v 43 (1-2)), the seventh being *L'avoisinement des Protestants vers l'Eglise Romaine* (Paris, 1640) at H v 28 (1).

It is not surprising to find that the majority of the Catholic controversialists are represented mainly by short treatises in response to Protestant adversaries including Du Moulin, Duplessis and others. There are, however, a number of very substantial works among the Roman writings which merit reference here: *Response au livre intitulé Le Mystere d'Iniquité du sieur Du Plessis* (Paris, 1614) by Nicolas Coëffeteau, a folio volume of more than 1200 pages (H i 16); *Démonstration des Impostures ... du sieur du Moulin* (Paris, 1617) by one D.M.R. of 750 pages (G iii 7); *Le Triomphe de la Foy* (Lyon, 1621) by Jacques Marcel, of 600 pages (G vi 13) and *Regle generale de la Foy Catholique* (Paris, 1645) by François Veron, contained in a folio volume, of 112 pages l i 11 (2) and, by the same author: *La discipline des Eglises pretendues reformées de France* (Paris, 1643), of 600 pages, (G vi 11).
It is still true to conclude, however, that a number of important Catholic theologians, Du Perron among them, are greatly under-represented in French in the Library. Two exceptions are provided, however, by the welcome presence of works by Jean Duvergier de Hauranne (three), and Saint François de Sales. The Cosin copy of the work by St. François de Sales is of singular interest. *Introduction à la Vie devote* (Lyon, 1630), Cosin G v 22, has been censored with cancellations and excisions by a contemporary hand of strongly Protestant (presumably Huguenot) sympathies - not apparently by Cosin himself.

In addition to monographs, which do comprise some ninety per cent of the French books in Cosin, there are a number of works of collective authorship, including Acts of Synods and Councils, accounts of ceremonies, ecclesiastical rules and disciplines, annals, and so forth. In the Catalogue these are entered, where appropriate, either under the names of their collective authors, or under the name of the place mentioned in the title, for example: Charenton (Synod of), *Actes (1623)* at D v 22 (3).

As far as anonymous works are concerned, these are somewhat more prevalent among the religious than among the secular writings. There are approximately fifty works in French in the collection which are clearly monographs, but of which the author's name is not given on the title-page, or elsewhere. The reasons for anonymity are numerous and varied. Occasionally it may be due to modesty on the part of the author, or in order to conceal the name of the author for reasons of safety, or because the author's identity was already well-known to his readership. The case of a work such as *Traité orthodoxe de l'Eucharistie* (La Rochelle, 1595) at
1 iv 43 could well be an illustration of either the first or the third reason. It is probably by Jean-Baptiste Rotan (see Chapter VI): the identity of the author of a work such as the following: Response chrestienne au premier livre des calomnies et renouvelées faussetez de deux Apostats ... n'agueres ministres et maintenant retournez à leur vomissement (n.p. 1578), at X iv 10 may well have been withheld because of the work's highly provocative character which could well have brought an angry reaction against its author had his name been divulged. In the course of this study the identity of about half the anonymous writers has been traced. The remainder would seem to be as yet unidentifiable for want of information.

Besides the works whose authorship is entirely unidentifiable from the evidence of the books themselves, there are about a dozen items in French whose author is designated by initials. These include an unmistakable name - initials such as P.M.I.D.L'E. (=Jean de l'Espine), X v 42; M.F. (on a French translation of a work by I. Basire and J. Bramhall), Q v 9, and S.P.D.M. (=le Sieur Philippe de Momay), 0 vi 15 (8). There are, however, some rather more complicated initials indicating the name of an author, for example, M.V.D.C.C.D. (=Monsieur Viole d'Athys, Conseiller au Conseil d'État) at X iv 20.

As in the case of the totally anonymous works, some of these initialled items have been identified with reference to the well-known works of Barbier and Quérard,31 while others have remained as yet unresolved.32 In one example among the French books in Bishop Cosin's Library, that is, La legende dorée (Leyden, 1608) at K v 38 (2) the author's name is disguised in the form of a motto printed on the title-page: NVL GAIN I RECOIS, which is an anagram of the author, Nicolas Vigfier.

Pseudonyms, which are employed by some twelve of the authors of French books in Cosin, are often used rather facetiously, as in the case of the three pseudonyms of Etienne Tabourot in Les bigarrures ... etc. (Rouen, 1640) at R v 11. On occasions, however, the pseudonym is
more extravagant and conveys a meaning, as in the case of *Histoire de la Mappe-Monde papistique* (n.p. 1567) by Théodore de Bèze, who styles himself M. Frangidelphe Escorche-Messes (N iii 28). In the case of one item, *Resolution des Doutes* (La Rochelle, 1617) at X iv 31 (4), it is clear that the name of a real person, François Monginot, Sieur de la Sale, a physician, is used by Pierre du Moulin to mask his own (at least partial) authorship.

It will be clear from the foregoing observations as well as from the more detailed references to the catalogue of the collection given below, that the quota of French books in the Cosin Library, though extensive and varied, does not provide in any way a comprehensive, nor even a truly representative picture of late sixteenth and seventeenth century French literature. There are widespread omissions, which include both those one would expect and those which are rather puzzling. One certainly would not expect to find, nor indeed does one find, more than a very few examples of light or fashionable literature; there are no romances, early novels, or comedies. The French theatre in fact is totally neglected with the exception of one volume of late acquisitions, a volume containing Voltaire's *Zaïre* and four other plays (Paris ? 1733), an addition made by Bishop Trevor (BB iv 26).

It is rather surprising, however, to discover important omissions in the realm of religious and philosophical writings; Montaigne, Descartes and even Pascal are totally unrepresented in French (as in Latin). French poetry is almost completely ignored with Du Bartas being the one important exception. It is particularly puzzling that Agrippa d'Aubigné the leading Protestant poet of France should be absent from the collection. Even among
theological writings as such there are some glaring omissions. Calvin himself is only represented in French by one relatively short item, *Traité des reliques* (Geneva, 1599) at K v 38 (1), while his *Institution religionis christianae*, which is found in Cosin in Latin (Geneva, 1590) is not present in any one of its more extended French editions published from 1541 onwards. Théodore de Bèze has no really important treatise in French and Duplessis-Mornay's most influential and controversial work in French *Le Mystère d'Iniquité* (Saumur, 1611) is absent. It is unquestionably true that the collection is much more extensive and comprehensive, so far as its French works are concerned, for the period covered by Cosin's rise to ecclesiastical eminence and his exile in France, than for the years either before or after this period. By its omissions as well as by its contents, the French section of Bishop Cosin's Library does provide us with some valuable information on which French writers were considered of merit by a contemporary English theologian and scholar as discerning as John Cosin undoubtedly was.

Following the above outline of the most important and characteristic features of the collection of French books in Bishop Cosin's Library, the present survey continues with an analysis of all the works present under various categories and subject-headings.

Late acquisitions. These are works (24 in number) published after 1672, the date of Cosin's death, which were acquired during the eighteenth century and added to the collection, notably by the bequest of Bishop Trevor (1771). Some of these, like for example Paolo Sarpi's *Histoire du Concile de Trente* (London, 1730) Q i 1-2, and Maximilien de
Sully's Memoires (London 1747) B4 iv 18-25, throw further light on the sixteenth and seventeenth-century religious situation from which the works actually acquired by Cosin originated. More than half the late additions were published outside France, chiefly in Holland and England. Only four of these works date from before 1700, while the remainder date from 1715 to 1767. With the exception of Voltaire's Zaire and the 4 other plays (Paris, or possibly London, 1733), the genres of drama and poetry (in the strict sense of the terms) are not found among this section, as indeed they are in general absent from Cosin's own choice of material. The books are chiefly concerned with historical subjects, religious and secular, together with Bibles and Bible commentaries, and philosophical treatises.

Other aspects of the original collection do appear to have been supplemented by later acquisitions, for example, the collection of French travel books. A work of Jean de Thevenot (1633-77): Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant (Paris, 1685) at Y iv 3. The 24 titles known to be late acquisitions may be identified more explicitly by reference to the Catalogue under the following headings:

Aubeuf (René Aubert de Vertot d') Le Gêne (Charles)
Beaumarché (Isaac de) Le Clerc (Jean)
Bible, (French version) Rabutin (Roger de)
Boileau-Despréaux (Nicolas) Richelieu (Armand Du Plessis, Cardinal)
Boullier (David-Renaud) Sarpi (Paolo)
Bruys (François de) Sharp (Thomas)
Calmet (Augustin) Sully (Maximilian, duc de)
Penelopon (François de) Thevenot (Jean de)
Fontenelle (Bernard le Bovier de) Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet)

Translations.

It is interesting to note that a number of the French items in Bishop Cosin's Library are translations from other languages including Greek,
Latin, English, Italian, Flemish and Spanish. These cover a wide range of subject-matter and date from the sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries.

A list of references is given below to identify the works in question -

- Bres (Guy de)
- Breval (Francis Darant de)
- Brook (Sir Robert)
- Cameron (John)
- Chrysostom (John, Saint)
- Cicero (Marcus Tullius)
- Clement I (Pope, Saint)
- Dominis (Marco Antonio de)
- Durel (John)
- Farnese (Alessandro, Cardinal)
- Fuchs (Leonhard)
- Gomez de Quevedo Vallegas (Francisco)
- Hilary (Bishop of Poitiers, Saint)
- Hasi (Stanislaus, Cardinal)
- Kochhaff (David)
- Le Monte Regal
- Lynde (Sir Humphrey)
- M.F.
- Maldonatus (Juan)
- Muhammad Ibn Sirin
- Netherlands (Several items)
- Rolle (Henry)
- Sarpi (Paolo)
- Sharp (Thomas)
- Vedelius (Nicolas)
- Vermigti (Pietro Martire)
- Vorst (Conrad)

Dictionaries and linguistic writings.

No collection of books in French compiled by an Englishman, and still less by an English exile in France, could be complete, or even adequate, without a number of works of reference - grammars, dictionaries, books on usage, and the art of speech - on the French language. It is clear from the limited information we have concerning his exile that Cosin had a good knowledge of French, certainly good enough to understand and appreciate the services at Charenton, and on occasions possibly to correspond with French divines (we may surmise, though with little certain evidence) in their native tongue. The collection possesses two bilingual dictionaries, the earlier of the two being A Dictionarie French and English by Claude de Saenliens (London, 1593) at Y v 1 and the later (and more valuable for its content) Randle Cotgrave (d. 1634): A French-English.
Dictionary, revised by J. Howell, (London, 1650) at Y ii 21. Between the two chronologically comes Le Dictionnaire des six Langages Latin, Flemish, French, Italian, Spanish and English, which is anonymous and published by Claude de Villain at Rouen in 1625 (X vi 31). There are notable French grammars by Charles Maupas (X v 47) and Antoine Oudin, (d.1653) at X v 37 and the great work by Antoine Arnauld and Claude Lancelot Grammaire generale et raisonnée (Paris, 1664) at Y v 12. Other languages besides French figure among the linguistic writings, which include Claude Duret (d.1611): Thresor de l'histoire des langages de cest Univers (Cologne, 1613) at R iv 2 and Antoine Fabre (1557-1624): Grammaire pour apprendre la langue italienne, francaise et espagnole (Venice, 1637) at Y v 49. The linguistic writings are entered in detail in the Catalogue under the following headings:

Arnauld (Antoine) and Lancelot (Claude)
Cotgrave (Randle)
Dictionnaire le
Duret (Claude)
Fabre (Antoine)
Garnier (Philippe)
Maupas (Charles)
Oudin (Antoine)
Saenliens (Claude de).

Political, historical and legal writings

These are works covering the political history of France and other parts of Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and earlier. Material concerning the political affairs of France, naturally, predominates, but there is a significant body relating to Holland and England, particularly to the circumstances attending the Civil War period. In this connection the verse Remonstrance (W v 2) against the English Parliamentarians following the execution of Charles I is particularly...
interesting: it is the work of Mlle. de Salvancy, Isabeau de Lagnes, (Paris, 1649), who was also the author of Oeuvres spirituelles and other religious or devotional writings (Avignon, 1637). Several of the historical treatises make use of geographical and other material. One of the collection's bibliographical works of some importance may be mentioned here, namely, Bibliothèque des Auteurs qui ont écrit l'histoire et la topographie de la France by André Duchesne (1584-1640) (Paris, 1627) at R v 28.

Sixteenth-century political theorists, including Jean Bodin, Auger Ferrier and Etienne Pasquier have several short treatises concerning questions of government and economics, (see Cosin X v 24), while there are numerous legal writings present also. Two great sixteenth century Huguenot leaders figure in the Collection: Louis de Bourbon (1530-69) in Sommaire receuil des choses que le Seigneur Prince de Condé a protestées et faictes pour la gloire de Dieu (Strasbourg, 4 vols, 1564-7), at Q vi 22-25, and Gaspard de Coligny (1517-72) in Response à un certain écrit publié par l'Admiral et ses adherens (Paris, 1568) by A. Fleury, (X v 24 (4)).

General histories are among the earliest books in French in the Library, for example, Histoire catholique de nostre temps by Simon Fontaine (Antwerp, 1558) and Histoire de nostre temps by Pierre de la Place (n.s.p. 2 vols, 1566-7) at Q vi 24-25. André Thevet (1502-90): Pourtraicts (1584) is one of the Collection's most interesting French biographical works (T i 21). The History of heraldry and the ancient public offices of France is treated in several of the French books, particularly in two works by Claude Fauchet (1530-1601): Origines des Chevaliers, Armoiries et Herauts (Paris, 1606) and Origines des Dignitez et Magistrats de France (Paris, 1506), (S iv 12). Events of the period of the Ligue are anonymously recounted in Receuil contenant les choses memorables advenues sous la Ligue, from a sympathetic point of view, (Paris, 2 vols, 1587-9) at Q v 22-3. A number of Royal Edicts are

- 138 -
present, including various edicts of pacification and some concerning
the coinage in the year 1643. Twelve documents, 'arrests', 'jugements'
etc. deriving mainly from the period of Mazarin's government, are present,
two concerning the publication of De Imitatione Christi in France (X:ii 11).
A document of 1610 is concerned with the political doctrines of Bellarmin
(G ii 1 (1)). Other documents of the Parlement are concerned with taxation,
including its relation to the clergy (N v 36).

The progress of Richelieu's administration (1624-42) is followed in
the work by Guillaume du Peyrat, (d. 1643): Histoire du ministère de
Richelieu (Paris, 2 vols, 1650) at BB vi 47-8, while an undated edition of
the Cardinal's Testament politique (not published at all until 1688) has
been added to the Collection in the eighteenth century, at I iii 38. The
addition of Sully's Memoires (London 8 vols. 1747) by an eighteenth-century
benefactor served to complete the picture of affairs of state in France
under Henri IV revealed by other works in the Collection.

Full titles of all the political and historical works falling into
the above-mentioned category may be seen by reference to the Cosin
Catalogue under the following names and headings:

**FRANCE**

Belon (André)  
Bignon (Jerôme)  
Bodin (Jean)  
Bouillon (Jean)  
Charlier de Gerson (Jean)  
Colazon (François)  
(Condé (Louis de Bourbon, Pr. de))  
Duchesne (André)  
Du Peyrat (Guillaume)  

Le Caron (Louis)  
Le Clerc (Jean)  
Le Roy (Jean)  
Le Roy (Louis)  
Leschassier (Jacques)  
Ligue, La  
Malignre (Claude)  
Marchais (Antoine)  
Matthieu (Pierre)
Fauchet (Claude)
Ferrier (Auger)
Fleury (Antoine)
Fontaine (Simon)
France (Royal Edicts etc.)
Grandsaigne (François)
Haër (Florent van der)
Hay du Chastelet (Paul)
L'Abbé (Philippe)
L'Amy (Bernard)
La Place (Pierre de)
Laurens (Honoré de)

AUSTRIA
Hay du Chastelet (Paul)

ENGLAND
Bernard de Lagnes (Isabeau)
(Charles I)
(Charles II)
England
Gordon (John)

HENRIETTA MARIA, QUEEN
Mentet de Salmonet (Robert de)
Parsons (Robert)
Rolle (Henry)
Remonstrance

HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

ITALY

SANSON (NICOLAS)

NETHERLANDS
Netherlands, Treatises 1577-1602;
Spain; William I, Prince of Orange

PORTUGAL
Anthony (Prior of Crato)
The collection contains a considerable number of works which are of individual merit and interest yet difficult to categorize. Among these are found a number of travel books, speculative and scientific writings and other curiosities. The travel books, which are among the earliest of their kind in French, relate the travels of merchants, monks and soldiers to distant lands, mainly during the first half of the seventeenth century. The lands described include the East Indies (by François Pyrau (1570-1621) Paris, 1611), at S iv 4; the Guinea Coast (by Nicolas Villaut (17th century) Paris, 1669) at W v 22; the Levant (by Jean de Thevenot (1633-77), Paris, 1685) at Y iv 3; and Tartary (by Pierre Bergerac (17th century) Paris, 1634) at R v 6. In addition a journey through France is described by Claude de Varennes (d. 1660) (Paris, 1539) at X v 18, and there is an anonymous work on Spain 38. The scientific writings include treatises on botany by Leonhard Fuchs (1501-66) (Fr. trans;) at T v 53; cosmography by Claude Pithoys (1587-1676) at X iv 42; hydrography by Georges Fournier (1592-1653) at Y i 12, and the invention of a calculating device by Le Monte Regal 39. The Library also possesses Traité des Feux artificiels, (Paris, 1629) by François
Malthes (T v 3). The several 'curiosities' include Du Soucy (François): Le Projet du plan de la creation du monde, (Paris, 1653) at N v 36 (5) and Apologie des Significations et Evenemens des Songes, the French version (Paris, 1581) of a work by Muhammad Ibn Sirin (T v 8). Etienne Binet's work Essay des Merveilles de nature et des plus nobles artifices (Paris, 1632) may also be mentioned in this context (S iv 14).

Lastly we may take note of several 'literary' works of singular interest, namely, Les Contes et Discours d'Eutrapel, (Rennes, 1597) by Noël du Fail (1520-91) W v 10; Les Bigarrures et touches du Seigneur des Accords, (Rouen, 1640) at R v 11, by Etienne Tabourot (1549-90) and Scaronides, ou le Virgile Travesty (Paris, 1664) at W v 16 by Paul Scarron (1610-60).

A French translation of Cicero: Les Sentences Illustres, (Paris, 1605) is also noteworthy (O vi 28). Volumes one, two and three of Le Journal des Scavans, (Paris, 1665-7) are contained in one volume (at Cosin W.V.13).

Two Cosin volumes of poetry in classical languages as well as French may deserve a special mention here, namely Pierre du Moulin (the elder): Quatrains (by Guy du Faur, Sieur de Pibrac, 1529-84), traduicts en Grec (Sedan, 1641) at O iv 15, and an anonymous volume entitled Genius Pantoudidamas ... ad diam Scholam ... Apud Parisios ... in Lyra (Paris, 1654) at T iv 5, a criticism of Charles Guillaume (1588-1656).

Religious writings.

Some 400 writings present in the Library must be classified as primarily religious in character, and of these some three quarters are French Protestant writings. The remainder are the works of Catholic priests and theologians. Both sections, but especially the Protestant section, can be divided roughly into two classes; sermons and treatises. Protestant sermons of which there are some 500 in number, often bound together in composite volumes, as for example, the ten Decades de Sermons by Pierre Du Moulin, and the Expositions of new Testament epistles by Daillé and Mestrezat, are one of the salient features of Cosin's French...
books. A large proportion of these sermons (more than half) were
delivered in the Temple at Charenton or elsewhere during Cosin's exile.
The important feature of the French Protestant treatises is the
abundance of controversial material, particularly on the subject of the
Eucharist and the doctrine of the Church. The majority of the scarce
material present among Cosin's French books is undoubtedly to be found
among the Protestant sermons and treatises, of which some 60 titles
are entirely absent from the Bibliothèque Nationale (see Chapter VI).
The following is designed as a concise alphabetical summary of the
contents of the religious writings; references are made to the nominal
headings used in the Cosin Catalogue:

CATHOLIC WRITINGS

Albigensians, see DU TILLET (Jean); DES VAUX DE CERNAY (Pierre);

VALTELLINA;

Angels, see MALDONATUS (Juan);

Bible, Dictionary of, see CALMET (Augustin);

Bible, Prot. ministers' doctrine of, see VERON (François);

Canonization, see BORROMEO (Charles), (Loyola (Saint Ignatius)),
Victon (François);

Catechism, see ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Charenton, Synod of (1623), see I.B.D.A;

Confession of Calvinists, see JOUVERNAY (Pierre);

Controversial writings (against Prot. adversaries), see ABRA DE RACONIS
(Charles-François); ARNAULD (Antoine);
COEFFTEAU (Nicolas); D.M.R., DUPERRON (Jacques-Davy);
HALIER (Pierre); JOYEUSE (François);
MARCEL (Jacques); VERON (François);

Conversions to Catholicism from Prot., see BRACHET DE LA MILLETIÈRE
(Theophile); FROMENTIÈRES (Anne de, Baronne de
Courville); PALINGAN (G.R. Sr de);

Council of Toledo, see TOLEDO, COUNCIL OF;

Council of Trent, see GREGOIRE (Pierre); SARPI (Paolo);
Court, see DU PEYRAT (Guillaume); GUEZ DE BALZAC (Jean-Louis);

English Catholics, see (CHARLES I); PARSONS (Robert);
Eucharist, see ARNAULD (Antoine); BOURGEOIS (Jacques); L.D.I; L'AUBESPINE (Gabriel de); LESCORNAY (Jacques); MONTBOSSIER (Pierre); THYARD (Pontus de);

Gallican Church, see GILLOT (Jacques);

Greek and Latin Fathers, see BILLY DE PRUNAY (Jacques de);

Indulgences, see MONTMAERTRE, CONGREGATION OF S. DENIS OF;

Jesuits, see PONTAC (Arnaud);

Marriage, see CORBIN (Jacques);

Mass, see L.D.I.; MONTBOSSIER (Pierre de);

Mendicant orders, see CAMUS (Jean-Pierre);

Ministers, Prot., see GRANDIN (François); JOUVERNAY (Pierre);

Ministry, the, see SORBIN (Arnauld);

Miracles, see BOURGEOIS (Jacques); (LOYOLA (Saint Ignatius)); TONGRES;

Monastic orders, see AUGUSTINE (Saint); CAMUS (Jean-Pierre);
L'ABBÉ (Philippe); LACROIX (Etienne de); SALES (François de Saint);

Noyon Cathedral, Annals of, see LEVASSEUR (Jacques);

Penitence, see ARNAULD (Antoine); PREVOST (Jean);

Purgatory, see SUAREZ (Jacques);

Reformed Churches of France, Discipline of, see JOUVERNAY (Pierre);
VERON (François);

Relics, see MILLET (Simon Germain); VICTON (François);

Sermons, see ESPENCE (Charles d'); FARNESI (Alessandro, Card.);
MONTLUC (Jean de);

Spanish Church, see LE ROY (Jean);

Unification of Christendom, see AVIS; BRACHT DE LA MILLETIERE (Théophile);
CAMUS (Jean-Pierre); RIBIER (Guillaume):

PROTESTANT WRITINGS

Albigensians, see PERRIN (Jean-Paul);

Anabaptists, see BRES (Guy de);

Anglican Liturgy, see DUREL (Jean); SHARP (Thomas);

Animals, instincts of, see BOULLIER (David-Renaud); CHANET (Pierre);

Antiquity of Reformed religion, see DRELINCOURT (Charles); DU MOULIN (Pierre); Remonstrance; RIVET (André);
Apocryphal books, see BLONDEL (Moïse);

Apostasies from Reformed Church, see (LAUNOY (Matthieu de));
ROTAN (Jean-Baptiste);

Atheism, see POLLOT (Laurent);

Baptism, formula of, see FRANCE, REFORMED CHURCHES OF; GUEROUlt (Antoine);

Bible, Prot. Versions of, see BIBLE;

Bible, New Testament, criticism of, see BEAUSOBR (Isaac de);

Bible, Pentateuch, see ARISTEAS;

Bible, Perfection of, see DU MOULIN (Pierre); MESTREZAT (Jean);
TILENUS (Daniel); TURRETIN (Benedict);

Bible, reading of, see CHRYSTOM, JOHN (Saint);

Bible, translations of made at Geneva, see TURRETIN (Benedict);

Capuchins, see DU MOULIN (Pierre);

Charenton, Synod of (1623), see CHARENTON;

Charenton, Synod of (1631), see BOCHART (Matthieu);

Charenton, Synod of (1644), see FRANCE, REFORMED CHURCHES OF;

Church, doctrine of, see BASNAGE (Benjamin); AMYRAUT (Moïse);
BÉDÉ DE LA GORMANDIÈRE (Jean); BLONDEL (David);
DU MOULIN (Pierre); DUPLESSIS-MORNAY (Philippe);
MESTREZAT (Jean); GESLIN (Paul);

Church government, see AMYRAUT (Moïse); DU MOULIN (Pierre);

Conscience, see GOULART (Simon);

Controversial writings (against named adversaries), see AMYRAUT (Moïse);
BLONDEL (David); CAPPEL (Jacques); DAILLÉ (Jean);
DEHINCOURT (Charles); DU MOULIN (Pierre);
DUPLESSIS-MORNAY (Philippe); MESTREZAT (Jean);
RIVET (André); TILENUS (Daniel);

Conversions - to Roman Church, see (LAUNOY (Matthieu de));
ROTAN (Jean-Baptiste); (SUISSE (Georges));

Conversions - to Reformed Church, see LE MASSON (Louis);
MAIMBOURG (Théodore de); MONGINOT (François);

Council of Trent, see GENTILLET (Innocent); RANCHIN (Guillaume);

Death, meditations on, see GOULART (Simon); L'ESPIÈNE (Jean de);

Dordrecht, Synod of (1618), see DORT;

Eucharist, see BLONDEL (David); CLAUDE (Jean); CONGHRARD (Pierre);
DU MOULIN (Pierre); DUPLESSIS-MORNAY (Philippe);
LARROQUE (Matthieu); MESTREZAT (Jean); ROTAN (Jean-Baptiste);
Fast day, see BOCHART (Matthieu); DAILLÉ (Jean);

Fontainebleau, Conference at (4 May 1600) between Duperron and Duplessis-Mornay, see DUPLESSIS-MORNAY (Philippe); RIVET (André);

Hampton Court, Conference at (January 1604) between James I and the Puritan divines, see HAMPTON COURT;

Images, worship of, see RAMBOURS (Abraham); SALLANS (François de);

Jesuits, see LA ROCHE DE CHANDIEU (Antoine de); JESUITS;

Knowledge of God, see DU MOULIN (Pierre);

Laying-on of hands, see CACHES (Raymond);

Letters, see CAPPEL (Jacques); DAILLÉ (Jean); DRELINCOURT (Charles); DU MOULIN (Pierre); LOUDUN; MAIMBOURG (Théodore de); TILENUS (Daniel); VERMIGLI (Pietro Martize);

Loudun, Synod of (1659), see LOUDUN;

Lutherans, see BOCHART (Matthieu); KOCHHAFF (David);

Marriage (between persons of contrary religion), see DU MOULIN (Pierre);

Mass, see DANEAU (Lambert); DU MOULIN (Pierre); JANSSE (Lucas);

Mendicant orders, see VIGNIER (Nicolas);

Ministry, see DU MOULIN (Pierre); MUSTACHE (David);

Miracles, see SALLANS (François de);

Missionnaires, see DRELINCOURT (Charles);

Moral philosophy, see DU MOULIN (Pierre);

Old age, see GOULART (Simon);

Omnipotence of God, see DU MOULIN (Pierre);

Oracles (Sibylline), see BLONDEL (David);

Persecution of Protestants in France, see DU MOULIN (Pierre);

Plurality of religions, see AMYRAUT (Moïse); POLLOT (Laurent);

Poissy, Colloquy of (1561), see BEZE (Théodore de);

Popes, power of, see BÉDE DE LA GORMANDIERE (Jean); BEZE (Théodore de); BLONDEL (David); GODFROY (Denis); VULSON (Marc de);

Prayers, see DU MOULIN (Pierre);

Presbyterians, English and Scots, see M.F.,

Prophecies, see AMYRAUT (Moïse); DU MOULIN (Pierre);
Purgatory, see DU MOULIN (Pierre);

Reformed Churches of France, Discipline of, see FRANCE, REFORMED CHURCHES OF; LA ROCHE DE CHANDIEU (Antoine de);

Relics, see BOCHART (Matthieu); CALVIN (Jean);

Remonstrants, see DORT;

Sacraments, Administration of, see MOZET (Etienne);

Saints, worship of, see SALLANS (Francois de);

Sermons, see AMYRAUT (Moise); BARTHE (Daniel de); BOCHART (Matthieu); BOUTEROUE (Denis); BREVAL (Francis); DAILLE (Jean); DES MARBTS (Samuel); DOMINIS (Marco Antonio de) while a Protestant; DHELINCOURT (Charles); DU MOULIN (Pierre); DUPLESSIS-MORNAI (Philippe); DUREL (Jean); GACHES (Raymond); HERAULT (Louis); MAHRMET (E.); MERLIN (Pierre); MESTREZAT (Jean); MURAT (Francois); PERROT (Charles); TURREPIN (Benedict);

Sick, visitation of, see DU MOULIN (Pierre);

Socinians, Confession of Faith of, see SOCINIANS;

Traditions in the Church, see DU MOULIN (Pierre);

Transubstantiation, see DANEAU (Lambert); PACARD (Georges);

Unification of Christendom, see DAILLE (Jean); TROTTON (Godefroi); HSUSSEAU (Jean d'); RIVET (Andre);

Vaudois churches, see CAPPEL (Jacques); GILLES (Pierre); PIEDMONT.

Note: In the above index reference is made only to writings whose principal subject-matter is described by the subject-entry. The writings in question can readily be ascertained by reference to the Catalogue.

Cross-References. In view of the fact that a large proportion of the French books are either controversial treatises or letters, a system of cross-references is clearly needed in order that the reader may appreciate how the material is inter-related. Few of the writings can be considered in complete isolation. Examination by one author of the writings of another is a strong feature of this and similar collections.

Abra de Raconis (Charles-Francois d') see, BLONDEL (David);
DU MOULIN (Pierre); FROMENTIERS (Anne de) HALLIER (Pierre);

Anjou (Henri, Duc d'), see NETHERLANDS;
Anlu (Le •- P. d', Jesuit), see BARTHE (Daniel de)
Arnauld (Antoine), see CLAUDE (Jean)
Arnoux (Jean), see DU MOULIN (Pierre)
Athys (Viole d'), see DUPERRON (Jacques-Davy)
Barclay (William), see PARIS, PARLEMENT OF
Baronius (César, Card), see BLONDEL (David)
Beausobre (Isaac de), see BIBLE
Bellarmin (Robert, Cardinal), see BLONDEL (David), CALVIN (Jean), MESTREZAT (Jean), PARIS, PARLEMENT OF
Blondel (David), see CONGNARD (Pierre)
Bodin (Jean), see FERRIER (Auger)
Bouju (Théophraste de), see DU MOULIN (Pierre)
Brachet de la Milletière (Théophile), see ARNAULD (Antoine), DAILLE (Jean) FROMENTIERES (Anne de), RIVET (André)
Calvin (Jean), see DU MOULIN (Pierre)
Casaubon (Isaac), see DU PERRON (Jacques-Davy)
Cayer (Victor-Pierre), see ROTAN (Jean-Baptiste)
Charles II, see MENTET DE SALMONET (Robert de)
Charles VIII (of France), see COMINES (Philippe de)
Charron (Pierre), see TILENUS (Daniel)
Chaumont (Jean de) see DAILLE (Jean)
Christi (Jean), see RIVET (André)
Chrysostom (John, St.), see HERMAHT (Godefroi)
Claude (Jean), see ARNAULD (Antoine)
Coeffeau (Nicolas), see BLONDEL (Moise), DU MOULIN (Pierre), RIVET (André)
Coligny (Gaspard de, Admiral), see FLEURY (Antoine)
Congnard (Pierre), see BLONDEL (David)
Corbin (A.), see L.D.I.
Corvet (A.), see SORBIN (Arnaud)
Coton (Pierre), see BLONDEL (Moise), CAPPEL (Jacques), CHAMIER (Daniel), DU MOULIN (Pierre), TURRETIN (Benedict), VIGNIER (Nicolas)
Cottiby (Samuel), see DAILLÉ (Jean)

Cyril (Patriarch of Constantinople), see TILENUS (Daniel)

Drelincourt (Charles), see DU MOULIN (Pierre)

Du Moulin (Pierre), see ABRA DE RACONIS (Charles-François), D.M.R.,
DRELINCOURT (Charles), DU FAUR (Guy), DU PERRON (Jacques-Davy),
HALIER (Pierre), JOYEUSE (François), MARCEL (Jacques),
MONGINOT (François), SUAREZ (Jacques), VERON (François)

Du Perron (Jacques-Davy, Cardinal), see BLONDEL (David), BLONDEL (Moïse),
DU MOULIN (Pierre), DUPLESSIS-MORNAY (Philippe), MESTREZAT (Jean),
TILENUS (Daniel)

Du Bray (J. Jésuit), see RIVET (André)

Duplessis-Mornay (Philippe), see COEFFETEAU (Nicolas), LICQUES (David),
RIVET (André)

Du Verger (Bernard, Jésuit), see RIVET (Guillaume)

Ernest of Austria (Archduke), see NETHERLANDS

François I, see RIBIER (Guillaume)

François II, see RIBIER (Guillaume)

Gauda (Jean de, Jésuit), see LANSBERGUE (Samuel)

Gontery (Jean, Jésuit), see CAEN, CAPPEL (Jacques), LAUNE (N. de)

Gontier (Nicolas, Jésuit), see CAPPEL (Jacques), DU MOULIN (Pierre)

Gregory I (Pope, St.), see DU MOULIN (Pierre)

Guez de Balzac (Jean-Louis), see JOYEUSE (François)

Henri II, see RIBIER (Guillaume)

Henri III, see LAURENS (Honoré de)

Henri IV, see RICHEOME (Louis), THOU (Nicolas de)

Hotman (Charles de), see GREGOIRE (Pierre)

Howell (James), see COTGRAVE (Randle)

James I, see BLONDEL (David), DU MOULIN (Pierre)

La Haye (Jean de), see BLONDEL (David)

Lancelot (Claude), see ARNAULD (Antoine)

Le Cène (Charles), see BIBLE

Le Clerc (Jean), see RICHELIEU (Armand du Plessis, Cardinal)

Le Coq (Sr. de la Talonnière), see DAILLÉ (Jean)
Le Maire (Léonard), see DU MOULIN (Pierre)
Lessius (Léonard), see CAPPEL (Jacques)
Louis XI, see COMINES (Philippe de)
Louis XIII, see SIRMOND (Jean)
Louis XIV, see FRANCE; LOUDUN;
Malestroict (Le Sgr. de), see BODIN (Jean)
Mallortye (Jacques), see TILENUS (Daniel)
Maurice of Nassau (Prince of Orange), see NETHERLANDS
Monginot (François), see D.M.R., DU MOULIN (Pierre)
Monglat (Jean de), see DAILLÉ (Jean)
Montpensier (Henri, Duc de), see FENOLLLET (Pierre)
Morlais (Joseph de, Capuchin), see DU MOULIN (Pierre)
Naudé (Gabriel), see PARIS, PARLEMENT OF
Naudin (Mr. A.) see BRISSAC (Jacques de), DES LOGES (?)
Nicole (Pierre), see ARNAULD (Antoine), CLAUDE (Jean)
Philip II of Spain, see NETHERLANDS
Philippe le Bel, see SAVARON (Jean)
Peletier (J. Jesuit), see RIVET (André)
Regourd (Louis, Jesuit), see MESTREZAT (Jean)
Richelieu (Armand du Plessis, Cardinal), see DU PEYRAT (Guillaume)
Richeome (Louis), see DUPLESSIS-MORNAV (Philippe), SALLANS (François de)
Roberti (J. Jesuit), see RAMBOURS (Abraham)
Rovanais (Le Duc de), see CILLES (Pierre)
Seyssel (Claude, Abbé), see CAPPEL (Jacques)
Saint-Rémy (Tranquille de, Capuchin), see RIVET (Guillaume)
Sixtus V, (Pope), see BELLOY (Pierre)
Soyer (Adrien, Jesuit), see LAUNE (N. de)
Saures (Jacques), see DU MOULIN (Pierre)
Veron (François, Jesuit), see DUCHAT (Yves), DU MOULIN (Pierre),
LA BALLE (Isaac de), L'ANGLE (Jean Maximilien de),
MESTREZAT (Jean)
Vigor (Simon, Ep), see L'ESPINE (Jean de)
William I (Prince of Orange), see NETHERLANDS

Note

In addition to the above, books in the collection also contain numerous references to, and quotations from other writers, too numerous to mention here. It has been possible, with the aid of various bibliographical tools, to identify the authors of all but about 30 of the French items in Bishop Cosin's Library. A list of the works which, after careful investigation remain anonymous is given here.

Anonymous writings -

Works whose authorship remains unknown after the researches of this study are listed here for future reference.

ANTI-JOSEPH French Protestant writing
Anti-Joseph, ou bien plaisant et fidelle narré d'un ministre de la religion pretendue. 8° np 1615.
COSIN X iv 13

AVIS French Catholic writing
Advis à Messieurs les Deputez des Estats d'un moyen qu'ils ont possible et bien aisé de faire qu'il n'y aye plus de diversité d'Eglise en ce Royaume. 8° np nd.
COSIN W v 26

(Charles I) French Catholic writing
Remonstrance au Roy d'Angleterre sur la miserable condition des Catholiques ses subjects. 8° Paris, 1628.
COSIN H v 37

(Charles II) French Protestant writing
A son Altesse Royale, Monséigneur le Prince de Galles, ode. 8° np nd.
COSIN I iv 38

(Charles II) French Catholic writing
Les interests et motifs qui doivent obliger les princes chrestiens à restablir le Roy-de la Grande Bretagne. 8° Paris, 1649.
COSIN I iii 38

- 151 -
(CONDE) French Protestant writing

Sommaire receuil des choses mémorables que le Seigneur Prince de Condé a protestées et faictes pour la gloire de Dieu. 16° Strasbourg, 1564-7. 4 vols.

COSIN Q vi 22-25

D.M.R. French Catholic writing

Demonstration des impostures, faussetez, impieties et blasphemes mis en lumière par le ministre du Moulin sous le nom de Monginot, prétendu Medecin du Roy avec abundante preuve par l'Escriture de quatorze points controversés par les heretiques de ce temps. 8° Paris, 1617.

COSIN G iii 7

DICTIONNAIRE


COSIN X vi 31

DIVERSES LEÇONS French Protestant writing

Diverses leçons sur plusieurs questions. 8° np. 1636.

COSIN I vi 35

DOM PACIFIQUE D'AVRANCHES

'Response...' has been attributed to Antoine ARNAULD (Barbier, iv)

Response au libelle intitulé Dom Pacifique d'Avranches. 4° Paris, 1654.

COSIN N ii 11 (5)

ENGLAND

Lettres sur les désordres d'Angleterre écrites de Londres 22 Janvier, 1644. 8° np nd.

COSIN R iv 11

FACTUM French Protestant writing

Factum, ou deffense de ceux de la Religion contre les memoires envoyez dans les Provinces par les sieurs agens generaux du clergé de France. 8° np nd.

COSIN X vi 3

(GUILLEMEAU (Charles))

Genius Pantoudidame ... ad diem Scholam ... apud Parisios... in Lyra. Poems, some in French. 8° Paris, 1654.

COSIN T iv 5

- 152 -
HAMPTON COURT


COSIN W v 46

HAMPTON COURT

Veritable nare de la Conference tenue à Hampton Court entre les Evesques Anglais et les Puritains. 1604. 8° Rouen, 1605.

COSIN W v 46

(HENRIETTA MARIA, Queen)

Discours du bon etloyal sujet de la Grande Bretagne à la Reyne de ce Pays touchant la paix et affaires d'iceluy. 8° Paris, 1648.

COSIN L iv 26

I.B.D.A. French Catholic writing


COSIN H v 28 (6)

JESUITS French Protestant writing

Traité montrant le dernier retranchement oû se jettent les Jesuites. 4° n.p. nd.

COSIN I iii 39

L.D.I. French Catholic writing


COSIN G vii 9

(LAUNOY) French Protestant writing

Response chrestiene au premier livre des calomnies et renouvelées faussesletz de deux Apostats, Matthieu de Launoy:Premtre, et Henry Pennetier, n'agueres Ministres et maintenant retournez à leur vomissement. 8° n.p. 1578.

COSIN X iv 10

LE COUETELLIER PRESCHEUR DEFERRÉ French Protestant writing

Le coutellier prescheur deferré. 8° Saumur, 1643.

COSIN X iv 26
LE PROTESTANT FRANÇOIS  French Protestant writing

Le Protestant français. Contre les faux titres qui sont imposés aux Protestants par les ennemis de la vérité de leur religion.  
8° La Rochelle, 1617.

COSIN O iv 41

LIGUE, LA  Anonymous French Catholic writing

Receuil contenant les choses memorables advenues sous la Ligue.  
2 Vols.

COSIN Q v 22-23

(LOYOLA)

La vie, les miracles et la canonisation de Saint Ignace Loyola.  
8° Rouen, 1629.

COSIN P v 23

(WILLIAM I, PRINCE OF ORANGE)

Receuil au vray de l'assassinat commis en la personne du tres-illustre Prince, Monseigneur le Prince d'Orange par Jean Jans, Espagnol.  
8° Anvers, 1582.

COSIN S iv 21 (2)

P.D.S.D.

Advis sur la nécessité du Concile, et sur la forme de le rendre legitime et libre pour l'union chrestienne. Par P.D.S.D.  
8° n.p. n.d.

COSIN X iv 29

P.D.W.

Copie d'une lettre escripte à Monseigneur Paulino, autrefois Dataire - signed P.D.W.  
8° 1610.

COSIN G vii 11

PIEDMONT  French Protestant writing

Receuil véritable de ce qui est advenu depuis peu aux Vallées de Piedmont.  
8° n.p. 1655.

COSIN X vi 11

REMONSTRANCE  French Protestant writing

Remonstrance touchant l'ancienneté de la doctrine Reformée.  
8° n.p. 1617.

COSIN X vi 16

- 154 -
SPAIN

Journal des Voyages d'Espagne. 8° Paris, 1669.

COSIN Y iv 2

(SUISSE) French Protestant writings

Examen de la déclaration publiée par George Suisse, se qualifiant Sieur de Soulas sur les causes prétendues de sa revolte. A Messieurs de la Religion Romaine. 8° Saumur, 1613.

COSIN X iv 16

TONGRES French Catholic writings

Miracles advenus à l'invocation de la glorieuse Vierge Marie à Tongre. 8° Ath, 1636.

COSIN G vii 23

TRAITÉ French Catholic writing

Traité contenant le vray et certain moyen de mettre d'accord ceux qui aujourd'hui sont de diverses opinions touchant le sacrement de l'Eucharistie, qui est la Sainte Cène de Nostre Seigneur. Receuilli fidelement du Maistre des Sentences, principal docteur des Scholastiques par un bon Catholique. 8° n.p. 1571.

COSIN I iv 42

VALTELLINA

Discours sur l'affaire de la Valtelline et des Grisons. 8° Paris, 1625.

COSIN X iv 30

The French Protestant writers, and any other Protestant writers whose works appear in the collection in the French language are listed below with some brief biographical details.

Amyraut (Moise) 1596-1664 French Protestant divine and theologian, Professor at the Académie of Saumur from 1626.

André (Jacques) = Jakob Andreae, called Schmidtlein 1528-96 German Protestant (Lutheran) theologian.

Barthe (Daniel de) d. 1653 French Protestant divine, minister at Limoges from 1620.

Basnage (Benjamin) 1580-1652 French Protestant divine.

Beausobre (Isaac de) 1659-1738 French Protestant divine, philologist and philosopher.
Bédé de la Gormandière (Jean) d.c. 1650 Advocate at the Paris Parlement, alder of the Reformed Church of Paris.

Bèze (Théodore de) 1519-1605 French Protestant divine and theologian, chief minister of the Reformed Church of Geneva after Calvin.

Blondel (David) 1590-1655 French Protestant divine, minister at Houdan from 1614, and at Saumur from 1631.

Blondel (Moïse) 1580-1660 French Protestant divine, minister at Meaux from 1604, and in the French Reformed Church in London.

Bochart (Matthieu) d. 1662 French Protestant divine, minister at Alençon.

Boissard (Jean-Jacques) 1528-1602 French Protestant antiquarian and Latin poet.

Boullier (David Renaud) 1659-1759 French Protestant divine, minister at Amsterdam, and in London from 1749.

Bouteroue (Denis) d. 1640 French Protestant divine, minister at Grenoble from 1607.

Bres (Guy de) 1523-67 Dutch Protestant divine.

Breval (Francis Darant de) French Protestant divine, minister in London.

Brissac (Jacques de) French Protestant divine, minister at Loudun.

Calvin (Jean) 1509-64 Reformer and chief minister of the Church of Geneva.

Cameron (John) 1579-1625 Scots Protestant divine, later minister in France.

Cappel (Jacques) 1568-1624 French Protestant divine, minister at Sedan and Professor at the Académie of Sedan.

Chamier (Daniel) 1564-1622 French Protestant divine, minister at Montelimar, and at Montauban from 1612.

Chenet (Pierre) 1600-62 French Protestant, physician of La Rochelle.

Claude (Jean) 1619-67 French Protestant divine, minister at Nimes from 1654, Montpellier from 1662, Charenton from 1666 to 1685.

Congnard (Pierre) French Protestant.

Cottiere (Matthieu) French Protestant divine, minister at Tours.

Couet (Jacques) Sieur de Vivier, French Protestant divine, minister at Courcelle-Chaussy.

Croï (Jean) French Protestant divine.

Daillé (Jean) 1594-1670 French Protestant divine, minister at Saumur from 1624 and at Charenton from 1626 to 1670.

Daneau (Lambert) 1530-95 French Protestant divine.
Des Marets (Samuel) 1599-1672 French Protestant divine, professor of Theology at Groningen.

Dominis (Marco Antonio de) 1566-1624 Archbishop of Spalatro, repudiated Catholicism, migrated to England 1616, made Dean of Windsor, later returned to Rome.

Drelincourt (Charles) 1595-1669 French Protestant divine, minister at Charenton, 1620-69.

Duchat (Yves) d. 1629 French Protestant divine.

Dumay (Louis) Sieur de Salette d. 1681 French Protestant historical and political writer, Professor of French at Tübingen.

Du Moulin (Cyrus) 1610-74 French Protestant divine, minister at Châteaudun from 1637.

Du Moulin (Pierre) 1568-1658 French Protestant divine, professor at Leyden, 1593, minister at Charenton, 1599-1620, professor at Sedan, 1621-58.

Du Moulin (Pierre) le fils 1601-84 French Protestant divine, Canon of Canterbury Cathedral, a chaplain to Charles II.

Duplessis-Mornay (Philippe) Seigneur du Plessis-Marly 1549-1623 French Protestant leader and counsellor to Henri IV.

Durel (Jean) 1625-83 French Protestant divine, Prebendary of Durham Cathedral, 1668, later Dean of Windsor.

Eudes (Morton) English Protestant divine.

Eustache (David) 1595-1661 French Protestant divine, minister at La Mure from 1625, Die from 1638, Montpellier from 1642.

Gaches (Raymond) 1615-68 French Protestant divine, minister at Charenton from 1654.

Gaillard (Gilles de) Sieur de la Motte-Lusson, French Protestant divine, minister at Orange.

Gaultier (Jacques) 1597-1660 French Protestant divine, minister at Archiac, and at Gien, 1660.

Gentillet (Innocent) d. 1595 French Protestant divine, minister at Geneva.

Geslin (Paul) Sieur de la Piltière, French Protestant divine.

Gilles (Pierre) c.1572-c.1645 French Protestant divine, minister at La Tour.

Godefroy (Denis) the elder (1549-1623) French Protestant jurist.

Gordon (John) 1544-1619 Dean of Salisbury.

Goulart (Simon) 1576-1628 Swiss Protestant divine, minister at Amsterdam from 1601.
Gueroult (Antoine) Priest, converted to Protestantism, minister at Dieppe from 1590.

Hay du Chastelet (Paul) Marquis du Chastelet d.1682 French Protestant advocate, Maistre des Requestes.

Herault (Louis) 1604-c.1670 French Protestant divine, minister at Alençon and in the Walloon Church in London.

Hotman (François de) 1524-90 French Protestant jurist and political philosopher.

Hotton (Godefridi) d.1656 French Protestant divine, minister at Amsterdam from 1634.

Huisseau (Jean d') d.1672 French Protestant divine and theologian, minister at Saumur from 1630, Rector of the Académie of Saumur 1665.

Hume (David) 1560-1630 Scots Protestant divine, minister in France at Duras.

Jansse (Lucas) 1605-86 French Protestant writer.

Justel (Christophe) 1580-1649 Secretary to the Duc de Bouillon, Historiographe de France.

Kochhaff (David) 1533-1600 German Protestant (Lutheran) theologian.

Labadie (Jean de) 1610-74 French Protestant divine, minister at Orange, later at Montauban.

La Balle (Isaac de) French Protestant divine, minister at Rouen.

La Paye (Jean de) 1600-76 French Protestant divine, minister at Loriol.

L'Allouette (Edmond de) 1520-1602 French Protestant writer.

L'Angé (Jean Maximilien de) 1590-1674 French Protestant divine, minister at Rouen.

Lansberge (François) 1580-1628 Dutch Protestant divine, minister at Rotterdam.

La Place (Josué de) 1606-65 French Protestant divine, minister at Nîmes.

La Roche de Chandieu (Antoine de) French Protestant divine, called Sadeel (Heb= 'Chant de Dieu').

Larroque (Matthieu) 1619-84 French Protestant divine, minister at Vitré from 1643 and at Rouen from 1669.

Le Cène (Charles) 1647-1703 French Protestant divine, migrated to England.

Le Masson (Louis) Priest, converted to Protestantism in 1657.

L'Espine (Jean de) 1506-97 Monk, converted to Protestantism, French Protestant divine, minister at Saumur.
Licques (David) French Protestant divine.

Lynde (Sir Humphrey) 1579-1636 English Puritan controversialist.

Maimbourg (Théodore de) Cousin of Louis de M., converted to Protestantism in 1658.

Marmet (E.) French Protestant divine, minister of the French Reformed Church in London.

Matthieu (Pierre) 1563-1621 French Protestant historian and poet.

Merlin (Pierre) 1535-1603 French Protestant divine, minister at Laval.

Mestrezat (Jean) 1592-1657 French Protestant divine, minister at Charenton from 1614.

Monginot (François) = François de la Sale, 1569-1637 physician of Montpellier, converted to Protestantism in 1617.

Mozet (Etienne) d. 1635 French Protestant divine, minister at Sedan, later at Metz.

Murat (François) French Protestant divine, minister at Grenoble.

Pacard (Georges) d. 1610 French Protestant divine, minister at La Rochefoucauld, and at Saint Claude from 1602.

Peju (Elie) French Protestant divine, minister at Mer in Anjou.

Perrin (Jean-Paul) French Protestant divine, minister at Nyons from 1603.

Perrot (Charles) 1541-1608 French Protestant divine, minister at Geneva from 1567.

Pithoys (Claude) 1587-1676 Monk, converted to Protestantism in 1632, professor at the Académie of Sedan from 1633. Geographer and philosopher.

Pollot (Laurent) French Protestant divine.

Rambours (Abraham) 1590-1651 French Protestant divine and theologian, minister at Sedan from 1616, professor at the Académie of Sedan from 1620.

Ranchin (Guillaume) 1564-1641 French Protestant divine.

Rivet (André) 1572-1651 French Protestant divine, minister at Thouars from 1595, Professor at the University of Leyden from 1620.

Rivet (Guillaume) Sieur de Champvernon 1580-1651. French Protestant divine, minister at Taillebourg from 1603.

Rotan (Jean-Baptiste) d. 1598 French Protestant divine, minister at Vandoeuvres from 1576 and at Castres from 1596.

Royer (Jean) Elder of the Reformed Church at Uvassy in Champagne.
Finally, the authors of the Roman Catholic writings in Cosin in the French language are given together with some biographical details for clearer identification.

Abra de Raconis (Charles-François de) 1580-1646 Professor at the Collège du Plessis, 1609, Royal Almoner, 1618, Bishop of Lavaur, 1637.

Arnauld (Antoine) 1612-94 'Le grand Arnauld' Doctor of Theology at the Sorbonne, 1641.

Aubeuf (René Aubert de Vertot de) 1655-1735 Priest and historian.

Belle-Garde (Octave de) Archbishop of Sens.

Belloy (Pierre) French priest.

Billy de Prunay (Jacques de) 1535-81 Translator into French of the works of the Fathers, Abbé de Saint Michel en l'Her.

Binet (Etienne) 1569-1639 Jesuit, 1590.

Boileau-Despréaux (Nicolas) 1636-1711 Poet and literary critic.

Bourgeois (Jacques) 1604-87 Doctor of the Sorbonne, Abbé de la Merci-Dieu.
Brachat de la Milletière (Théophile) 1588-1665 Converted from Protestantism to Catholicism in 1645, controversialist.

Bruys (Franois) 1708-38 French historian.

Calmet (Dom. Augustin) 1672-1757 Benedictine scholar.

Camus (Jean-Pierre) 1582-1653 Bishop of Belley.

Coeffeteau (Nicolas) 1574-1623 Bishop of Dardélie from 1617, and of Marseille from 1621.

Corbin (Jacques) 1580-1653 Advocate at the Parlement of Paris.

Cousin (Jean) d. 1636 Canon of Tournay.

Crespin (Jean) d. 1572 French Catholic historian.

Denis (René) French Catholic theologian.

Doublet (Jacques) 1560-1648 Benedictine.


Du Peyrat (Guillaume) d. 1643 French Catholic historian and miscellaneous writer.

Du Tillet (Jean) French Catholic historian.

Du Verdier (Philippe) Abbé de Saint Romain, Jesuit.

Duvergier de Hauranne (Jean) 1561-1643 Director of Port-Royal from 1635.

Espence (Charles d') 1511-71 Cardinal.

Farnese (Alessandro) 1458-1549 Cardinal, later Pope Paul III.

Fenelon (Franois de Salignac de la Mothe) 1651-1715 Archbishop of Cambrai.

Fencllet (Pierre) d. 1652 Bishop of Montpellier from 1607.

Fromentières (Anne de) Baronne de Courville, French Protestant lady converted to Catholicism in 1617.

Gillot (Jacques) 1560- French Catholic theologian.

Grandin (Francois) French Catholic theologian.

Gregoire (Pierre) French jurist.

Gasp de Balzac (Jean-Louis) 1594-1654 French prose stylist and moralist.

Hamelier (Pierre) Professor of Philosophy at the Sorbonne.

Hermant (Godefroi) 1617-90 Doctor of the Sorbonne, Canon of Beauvais.

- 161 -
Hesnault (Jean de) French Catholic theologian.
Hosius (Stanislaus) 1504-79 Polish Cardinal.
Jouvernay (Pierre) Parisian priest.
Joyeuse (François) Archbishop of Rouen.
La Croix (Étienne de) 1579-1643 French priest.
La Martelière (Pierre de) d. 1631 French lawyer.
L'Aubespine (Gabriel de) 1579-1630 Bishop of Orléans.
Le Roy (Jean) Canon of Rouen.
Lescorneay (Jacques de) French lawyer.
Maldonatus (Juan) 1534-83 Spanish Jesuit.
Marcel (Jacques) French theologian, of the Congrégation de la Doctrine Chrétienne, Dauphiné.
Millet (Simon Germain) 1575-1647 Benedictine.
Montbossier (Pierre de) Abbot of Cluny.
Montluc (Jean de) Bishop.
Palingan (G.R. de) English Protestant divine converted to Catholicism.
Parsons (Robert) 1546-1610 English Jesuit.
Paul V, Pope (Camillo Borghese) 1562-1621.
Perrenot de Granville (Antoine) 1517-86 French Cardinal and statesman.
Prevost (Jean) French Catholic theologian.
Pcntac (Arnaud) Bishop.
Ribier (Guillaume) 1578-1663 Lieutenant au baillage de Blois.
Richeome (Louis) pseud. Florimond de Raemond. 1544-1625 Jesuit from 1565.
Sainctes (Claude de) 1525-91 Bishop of Evreux.
Sales (François de) Saint 1567-1622 Titular Bishop of Geneva from 1602, founder of the Order of the Visitation.
Sarpi (Paolo) 1552-1623 'Father Paul' Venetian Servite monk.
Sorbin de Sainte-Foi (Arnauld) 1532-1606 Bishop of Nevers.
Saurez (Jacques) Portuguese Cordelier.
Thou (Nicolas de) 1528-98 Bishop of Chartres.

Thyard (Pontus de) 1521-1605 Pléiade poet, later Bishop of Chalon.

Veron (François) 1575-1649 Jesuit from 1595 to 1628, Prédicateur du Roy pour les controverses from 1622, Curé at Charenton from 1638.

Victon (François) Parísismpriest.

Vigor (Simon) 1556-1624 Archbishop, Conseiller au Grand Conseil.

Although the vast majority of the books in French in Cosin provide the reader with relatively few irregularities and difficulties as regards their physical appearance, certain volumes do have many irregularities in pagination and collation. Examples of these are elucidated in the section devoted to bibliographical descriptions. In Héraclite (Geneva, 1619) at O vi 37, by Pierre du Moulin, for example, there is an irregularity in the collation, which is in duodecimo, with cut-offs of one third of each sheet gathered in pairs so as to make the regular quires of eight.

Another fairly unusual occurrence is the case of Cosin I vi 28 (7) where a new title-page for Familiar instruction pour consoler les malades (Geneva, 1625) occurs at F2r of a sequence of signatures beginning with Traité de la Connaissance de Dieu (Geneva, 1625), both works by Pierre du Moulin. A number of items have wanting (Cosin I v 55 (1)) or damaged (Cosin I v 51) title-pages, and one, namely Sixième decade de sermons (Sedan, 1647) at C vi 10 (1) by Du Moulin is seriously defective in its title-page. Misprints in the text are in general fairly numerous in most of the books and are usually corrected — often inadequately — in an appended section usually headed Fautes à corriger, although elementary printing mistakes, doubled letters, etc., are often left for the reader himself to correct. The use of woodcuts and ornaments is relatively sparing. The Cosin armorial and mitre (with coronet) is found in general only on those books with substantial bindings.
For the purposes of the present study a wide selection of the French books in Cosin have been examined, and described in Chapters V and VI in order that the points made in this chapter (and in the other chapters) may be well substantiated.

**FOOTNOTES**

1. The sources from which some of the late acquisitions came into the Library are not known, but it is clear that the bequest of Bishop Trevor (1771) accounts for the bulk of these.

2. There are 540 titles of works in Cosin known to have been published in England down to 1640, though many of these are in Latin. There are perhaps 1,000 items published in England between 1641 and 1700.

3. See, for example, Cosin S iv 21 which has 22 short items, C vi 11 with 13, and C vi 15 with 11.

4. It should be noted that Cosin's Library does possess quite a few items in Latin by some of the authors who are also represented in French. Latin works by Daniel Tillemus, for example, will be mentioned in this chapter. There are also some by Moïse Amyraut, Pierre du Moulin (see Chapter V, 1) Calvin and Besa, and several writers of non-French origin. The catalogues can be consulted for full details.

5. For example, see in Cosin a treatise by Jean Mestreza De la communion à Jesus Christ (Sedan, 1624) at I vi 4, which has the name 'Chastillon' on the title-page in a French hand. Other inscriptions are noted in Chapter VI.

6. See in Cosin Discours du Sieur de la Milletière (Paris, 1645) at N ii 11 (8).
6a. It may be noted that, while a complete investigation of all the French books and their places of publication is too large and not necessarily relevant to the present purpose, it has been possible, in the case of La Rochelle, to compare the items in Cosin with those described in the study entitled *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle* (3 vols. Geneva, E. Droz, 1960), of which the last volume, devoted to the Haultin family, is of particular interest. (See the list of printers given in this chapter, and Chapter VI.)

7. See in Cosin writings by Stanislaus Hosius (H v 36/2), and G.R. de Palingan (H v 36/4).

8. See, in Cosin, for example, *Avis à Messieurs les Deputez des Estates* (n d) at W v 26.

9. See in Cosin the two items by Guez de Balzac (BB vii 1 and 2); David Licques: *Histoire de la vie de Messire Phillipes de Mornay* (Leyden, 1647) at S iii 4, and André Rivet: *Instruction du prince chrestien, par dialogues entre un jeune prince et son precepteur, avec une meditation sur le vœu de David au Ps. CI* (Leyden, 1642) at N v 45.

10. See in Cosin: *Receuil au vray de l'assassinat commis en la personne du tres-illustre Prince, Monseigneur le Prince d'Orange, par Jean Jauregui Espafenol.* (Anvers, 1582) at S iv 21 (2), from the workshop of C. Plantin.

11. The work by Pierre Chanet published in 1646, is the one exception (X iii 28).

12. See in Cosin Nicolas Vignier: *Legende dorée, ou sommaire de l'histoire des freres mendians de l'ordre de Dominique et de François* (Leyden, 1608) at K v 38 (2).

13. See in Cosin, Samuel Lansberge: *Conference verbale touchant la doctrine de la Transubstantiation* (Rotterdam, 1609) at N iv 17 (6).

15. See, in Cosin, for example, Pierre du Moulin: *Le Capucin* (Sedan and Geneva, 1641) at K v 38 (3).

15. Examples can be found in many of the items in Cosin I vi 28, published by Pierre Aubert at Geneva in 1624.

17. See in Cosin, for example, Jacques André (Andreae): *Brief receuil du Colloque de Mombéliard entre J. André et Th. de Beze* (1588) at K v 47.

18. At the time of writing this catalogue (1969-72) had reached the letter L. (It has since been completed).

19. See in Cosin David Blondel: *Actes authentiques des Eglises Reformées de France, touchant la paix et charité fraternelle que tous les serviteurs de Dieu doivent maintenant entretenir avec les Protestans qui ont quelque diversité et rassembler pour la consolation et confirmation des âmes pressées, et pour l'instruction de la posterité*. (Amsterdam, 1655) at I iii 24.

20. See in Cosin Jacques Cappel (about Claude Seyssel): *La doctrine des Vaudois, représentée par Claude Sassel, Archevesque de Turin* (Sedan, 1618) at X iii 31, and by the same author: *Les Livrées de Babel, ou histoire du Siege romain* (Sedan 1616), at K v 31.


22. See in Cosin Coëffeteau's *Response au livre intitulé le Mystere d'Iniquité* (Paris, 1614) at H i 16.


25. Several Protestant Synods are recounted in French items in Cosin, for example, see *Les Actes du Synode ... de Charenton* (Charenton, 1623) at D v 22 (3). An earlier Church Council is documented in *Les Canons du Concile de Tolède* (1615) at D v 30. One interesting item descriptive of the ceremonial of the Counter Reformation period is *Les ceremonies observées à Rome à la canonization de Saint Charles Borromée* (Paris, 1611) at H v 36 (1).

26. Ecclesiastical rules and disciplines in Cosin include *Le formulaire du prêtre que chaque curé est obligé de faire tous les dimanches en sa paroisse, par le commandement de l'Archevesque* (de Sens) (Sens, 1625) at D v 22 (2). *Table ecclesiastique, contenant un abrégé de la discipline du Clergé, et des principales fonctions de chaque Ordre* (Rouen, 1648) at H v 36 (6).


28. The authors of the following anonymous works (in addition to those mentioned in the text) have been identified in the course of the present study: *Actes de la dispute et conference tenue à Paris en l'en 1566 entre deux docteurs de Sorbonne* (Vigor and De Santos) et deux ministres de l'Eglise Reformée (L'Espine and Du Rosier) at I iv 48 is by Jean de l'Espine; *Apologie pour le discours au Roy sur la reunion de ses subjectz en une mesme et seule religion* (1607) is by Guillaume Ribier (N iii 28) and *Moyens d'abus, entreprises et nullités du rescrit et bulle du Pape Sixte V contre Henri de Bourbon* (Cologne, 1586) at X iv 44 is by Pierre de Belloy.
37. See especially works in volume N v 36.


39. Full title, *Invention nouvelle et admirable pour faire toutes sortes de comptes* (Lyon, 1620) at X vi 36. The author is described as 'Le Monte Regal Piedmontois'. The Br. Mus. Catalogue describes this work as anonymous.
CHAPTER V

SECTION 1

PIERRE DU MOULIN AND HIS WORKS IN BISHOP COSIN'S LIBRARY
PIERRE DU MOULIN AND THE COSIN LIBRARY.

Pierre du Moxain (1568 - 1658) was undoubtedly one of the leading French Protestants of the seventeenth century. He was minister of the Reformed Church of Paris from 1599 to 1620, Professor at the Académie of Sedan 1621 - 58, and had many connections with England. He is of particular interest here, however, with regard to the French books in Bishop Cosin's Library, which has forty-eight of his works, a far larger representation than that enjoyed by any other writer in the French language. These forty-eight works include several voluminous treatises, and some 110 sermons. The majority of these works are present in editions other than those possessed by the British Museum or the Bibliothèque Nationale. Six of du Moulin's works have two editions in Cosin (see Section 2, Descriptions). The forty-eight titles mentioned above in fact comprise 61 works which have been published separately.

Le France Protestante cites 82 works in French and Latin by du Moulin, while Gideon Gory in his Thèse sur Pierre du Moulin (Paris, 1888) lists a total of 92 works. Lucien Rimbault in his book Pierre du Moulin, un Pasteur classique à l'âge classique (Paris, 1966) mentions ninety monographs. The importance of Pierre du Moulin with regard to the French books in Bishop Cosin's Library is emphasised still further, however, when we consider that the collection possesses many more works directly or indirectly relating to Pierre du Moulin. Thirteen writings, eleven Catholic and two Protestant, are works of controversy directed against, or in support of the Protestant minister. In addition some 100 writings in Cosin are the works of Du Moulin's contemporaries, both colleagues and adversaries; some of these works refer directly to Du Moulin. It can thus be seen that Pierre du Moulin occupies a central position so far as the French religious literature in Bishop Cosin's Library is concerned.

Indeed the quota of Du Moulin's works held by the Bishop's Library compares very favourably with the holdings of other libraries. According to their Short-title catalogue of Books in French published in the seventeenth century...
century (London, 1969-72), the British Museum has 51 items in French, with some in English and Latin. The Bibliothèque Nationale has a total of 170 items in French and Latin and English. A number of the British, Irish and French Libraries, including Dr. Williams’s Library, London and Marsh’s Library, Dublin, have good stocks of Du Moulin’s works. In Scotland Edinburgh University and the National Library of Scotland each have several writings, as have several Cathedral Libraries, and College and University Libraries at Oxford and Cambridge. On the continent the Bibliothèque du Protestantisme français, for which no published catalogue exists, has many of Du Moulin’s works. Nevertheless, Bishop Cosin’s Library which has 48 French and 3 Latin treatises by Du Moulin is clearly one of the richest sources of material concerning this writer.

It is almost certain that all the works by Du Moulin in the Library were acquired by Cosin himself either before or during his exile in France. The editions present date from 1610 to 1653, with a preponderance dating from the third and fourth decades of the century. A large proportion (33 out of 48) are editions published at Geneva by Pierre Aubert and Jacques Chouët, the remainder being from Sedan, Charenton and La Rochelle. There is no mention of Du Moulin in the Peterhouse lists of books dating from 1643 and 1651, but the works are all mentioned in William Flower’s Classicall Catalogue of the Episcopal Library compiled 1668-70. There are no written dedications or signatures in the volumes containing Du Moulin’s works.

We must assume, in view of the extent of the material which occupies some 10,000 pages in 25 volumes, that Cosin had a more than ordinary interest in Du Moulin and his works, even despite the real differences in theology between the two divines. At first sight the differences in outlook between an Anglo-Catholic and a strict Calvinist seem enormous. Nevertheless, there was a good deal of common ground between the two, especially their common hatred for the doctrines newly propounded by the Council of Trent (1545-63). In his Letter to the Countess of Peterborough, which, although undated, must have been written while he was Dean of the Cathedral of that city, Cosin
lists fourteen points of doctrine on which the Church of England differs from the Church of Rome. Du Moulin and the Dean would doubtless agree that Rome was not 'the Mother and Mistress of all other Churches in the world', (Article 1); that the Pope was not the Vicar-General of Christ with universal jurisdiction, (2); that Trent was no General Council (3); that there are but two sacraments, (4); that the sacrifice of the mass is false, (5); as is Transubstantiation, (6), and communion in one kind only, (7).

There were, however, differences between the two divines on the interpretation of the Eucharist. Both rejected Purgatory, (article 8); the invocation of saints, (9); the worship of images, (10), and relics, (11). The Roman ecclesiastical hierarchy and many ceremonies were repugnant to both, though Du Moulin, the Calvinist, was more violent than Cosin in their denunciation, (see articles 12 - 14). Yet Du Moulin and his colleagues frequently echoed the Dean's general conclusion regarding the Roman doctrines which he held 'some to be pernicious, some unnecessary, many false, and many fond' ⁵.

Yet against this it must be said that Cosin, at the time of writing the epistle to the Countess of Peterborough at any rate, still envisaged the possibility of reunion between the Church of England and Rome. In the letter quoted above Cosin outlines fourteen points, which, if Rome would accept them, could form the basis of reunion. Certainly, Cosin's attitude towards Rome became more hostile during his French exile for reasons described in an earlier chapter ⁶. Nevertheless for the Calvinist reunion with the Catholics was unthinkable. Cosin's fourteen points to be accepted by Rome as a pre-requisite for reunion express a reliance on Holy Scripture, and to a lesser extent on the ancient Fathers and Councils, as the foundation of faith. There is generally speaking more emphasis on Fathers and Councils in John Cosin's writings, for example, in his History of Popish Transubstantiation (London, 1675), where he catalogues many hundreds of their testimonies as authoritative, than in the writings of Du Moulin. Cosin's authorities date from as late as 1215 A.D. whereas Du Moulin usually confines himself to the testimonies of the first four centuries A.D.

Cosin and Du Moulin are, however, in complete agreement on the doctrine.
of Holy Scripture, which the Dean declares unequivocally to be the one final authority (points 1 - 2). In addition to acceptance of the final authority of Scripture, Cosin declares that, if reunion is to be feasible, there must be a total change in Catholic doctrines on the Eucharist, (points 7 and 9), and on the supremacy of the Pope, (point 14). Yet in so far as ceremonies and minor points of doctrine are concerned, a moderation of excess on the part of Rome is regarded by Cosin as sufficient. Du Moulin, on the other hand, was very concerned about 'nouvelles briques' - doctrinal and other innovations compounded by the would-be rebuilders of Babel, the Post-Tridentine theologians. The ceremonial and other external excesses which were apparent in some sections of the Roman Church during the seventeenth century were seen by the French Protestant divines as evidence of inner corruption. Du Moulin and his colleagues would certainly have condemned Cosin's own lavish use of ceremonial, for example, in the Chapel of Peterhouse during his mastership.

As for the fundamental theology of God, Man, Sin, Justification and Judgement, however, there was basic agreement between Cosin and Du Moulin. The doctrine of predestination was hotly disputed at that time. Du Moulin, in several treatises, shows himself to be a staunch upholder of this doctrine, while Cosin had reservations about it. Yet both divines agreed on the issue of justification by faith.

Both Cosin and Du Moulin disapproved strongly of congregationalism, though it is possible that Du Moulin, in some of his writings, did in fact help to open a way for it in France. In his early years, Cosin was more severe on Puritans than on Romanists. Du Moulin also condemned sectarians, notably the Anabaptists, in Dialogues Rustiques (1609). Both men had a highly exalted view of the Church as a divine institution, though in practice their conceptions differed widely, especially over the question of the civil power; Cosin, the Anglican, believing that the church should be allied to it, and Du Moulin, the Calvinist, asserting that it should be separated from it. Cosin's lordly, almost regal, episcopate (1660 - 72), with all its display of temporal power, would have been repugnant to Du Moulin's
way of thinking. Yet so was Cromwell's system. Du Moulin, like Cosin, was a fervent monarchist.

Further evidence as to why John Cosin acquired such a comprehensive selection of Du Moulin's works may be gathered through a brief examination of certain pertinent aspects of Du Moulin's life, particularly regarding his connections with England. From 1589 to 1592 Du Moulin studied at Cambridge under the Calvinist Professor Whitaker. He made numerous acquaintances in England. One Scottish divine, Andrew Melville, later visited Du Moulin in Paris in 1611.

Du Moulin became known to James I during the early years of his reign, partly through the recommendation of Sir Theodore Mayerne. His reputation as a theologian grew in England as well as in France during the early years of his Paris ministry. Du Moulin defended James I's Confession of the Catholick Christian Faith in Défense de la Roy Catholique, 3 vols. (1611-12). In 1615 he was invited to London by James I, treated with great favour, and granted a Prebendary's stall at Canterbury Cathedral and a benefice in Wales, together providing some £200 per annum. James I's continued favour towards Du Moulin is illustrated by the fact that he bestowed a pension on the French divine in 1619. Du Moulin's influence with the English King is evidenced by Herbert of Cherbury's request to Du Moulin to write to James in support of the Elector Palatine.

Du Moulin was again summoned to London by the king in 1624, and he remained in England for fifteen months. He met several influential English divines and others while in London. Whether or not he met Cosin is uncertain, but possible.

Du Moulin had a correspondence with Lancelot Andrewes (1555 - 1626) Bishop of Ely, later of Winchester, a leading Anglo-Catholic divine and mentor to John Cosin. The three Latin epistles from Du Moulin were published among Andrewes' posthumous works in London in 1629. In his letters to Du Moulin Andrewes complained that the French minister in his De la Vocation des Pasteurs (Sedan, 1618) had devalued the importance of ecclesiastical government and confused the distinct orders of Bishop, Priest and Elder.
Du Moulin for his part claimed that the three types of minister were but three degrees of the ministry, rather than three distinct orders. The exchange of correspondence was sometimes rather acrimonious, and so Du Moulin, in his third epistle, tried to smoothe over the differences by submitting that political necessity alone forbade the French Protestants from having an episcopacy. John Cosin allowed this defence which was often put forward by the French Reformed, for example, in his Letter to Mr. Cordel.

In addition to Andrewes, Du Moulin is known to have had connections with other divines and scholars known to Cosin. During his Professorship at Leydén (1593 - 6) Du Moulin studied with Scaliger and taught Hugo Grotius (1583 - 1645), who corresponded in Latin with John Cosin. These two scholars, Scaliger and Grotius, were very influential among the circle of acquaintances familiar to John Cosin during his rise to ecclesiastical eminence.

If Pierre Du Moulin's influence and reputation were felt in England during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, they were also felt later in the century as a result of the presence in England of his two elder sons, Pierre and Louis. Peter du Moulin the younger (1601 - 84) became a Canon of Canterbury Cathedral and a Chaplain to Charles II, during Cosin's episcopate. Inspired by his father's works, he condemned the execution of Charles I in 1649 in his violent denunciation of the regicides entitled *Clamor sanguinis regii ad coelum adversus parricidios anglicanos*, which provoked a vehement ripost from John Milton. Peter du Moulin, as well as an arch-Royalist, was also a convinced episcopalian and High Churchman. In the Preface to his English translation of his father's monumental treatise *The Novelty of Popery* (London, 1664), he tries to make excuses for the absence of episcopacy in the French Reformed Churches, a serious fault which he felt had to be explained. No doubt such a defence was felt to be necessary because some Anglican divines were, by that time, contesting the validity of the French Reformed Churches in view of their drift towards congregationalism.

Lewis du Moulin (1606 - 80), who, like his brother took up residence
in England, held quite the opposite point of view. He became Professor of History at Oxford under Cromwell, was dismissed at the Restoration and later practised medicine. He was a passionate Independent, although he did remain a dissident member of the Church of England. He not only railed against that church in particular, which he denounced for being least in conformity with the Primitive Church, but also inveighed against every ecclesiastical power. He criticised the Reformed Churches' servile submission to the fallible authority of Synods. His most important work The Conformity of the Discipline and Government of those who are commonly called Independents to that of the ancient primitive Christians was published in London in 1680 and showed Lewis to be very much the black sheep of the family although he was, like his brother, a great admirer of his father's works. The influence of Pierre du Moulin's two eldest sons - the third, Cyrus, being minister at Châteaudun - did much to maintain interest in his works in England, most of which were early translated into English.

During Cosin's exile in Paris it appears that there was one occasion, in 1644, when he could well have met Pierre du Moulin. It is known from his son's biography of him that he was permitted by the authorities to revisit his old Church at Charenton on a journey to the Auvergne for a cure. This was the only known occasion on which Du Moulin certainly did re-visit Paris. He was received at Charenton by his former congregation with great warmth and enthusiasm, and preached there several times during a stay of perhaps three months. Whether Cosin, who frequented Charenton, heard Du Moulin preach there on this occasion, must, however, remain a matter for conjecture.

For many reasons, therefore, it is not really surprising that Cosin should have taken an interest in the works of Pierre du Moulin. By no means the least important reason, furthermore, was their intrinsic merit. Du Moulin was undoubtedly the leading French Protestant theologian of the first half of the seventeenth century. His writing on the Eucharist and on the vocation of ministers was, and remains, of considerable theological interest. At their best his books are of outstanding scholarship,
perception and lucidity. His devotional works are inspiring, his sermons clear and convincing. His controversial treatises were for many years regarded by the Protestants as manuals of the art. In some ways his best works have aged less in three and a half centuries than some of those of his contemporaries. From what we know of his personal qualities, and of his eventful life, the extent of the representation of his works in Bishop Cosin's Library was, and remains, fully justified.¹²

FOOTNOTES

1. Three titles: Copie d'une lettre escripte a un sien ami en Hollande (Geneva, 1625); Le saint Resveil spiritual (Geneva, 1625); and La Vie et Religion de deux bons Papes (Sedan, 1650) are entirely absent from the Bibliothèque Nationale; some 12 are absent from the British Museum. 23 further works possessed by Cosin are present in Bibliothèque Nationale only in different editions.


3. See, for example, works in Cosin of Duperron, Brachet de la Malletière, Jouvernay.

4. The three important Latin treatises by Du Moulin in Cosin are: De cognitione Dei tractatus, 24°(Leyden, 1625), 144 pp.; P.M. de monarchia temporali Pontificis Romani, 8°(London, 1614), 363pp.; P.M. Hyperaspistes, 8°(Geneva, 1636), 558pp.


6. See Chapter I of the present study, p. 15.

7. See Nouvelles briques pour le bastiment de Babel (Geneva, 1625).

8. See De la juste Providence de Dieu (Geneva, 1624).

9. See especially De la Vocation des Pasteurs (Sedan, 1618).


The other contemporary account of the life of Pierre du Moulin is the one by his son Pierre du Moulin, printed as part of the preliminaries to his English translation of his father's *The Novelty of Popery* (London, 1664).
CHAPTER V

SECTION 2

THE WORKS OF PIERRE DU MOULIN IN THE FRENCH LANGUAGE
IN BISHOP COSIN'S LIBRARY.

Titles prefixed by an asterisk are not found in the Catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale. The items are listed here in strict alphabetical order corresponding with their title-pages. Details of other editions are provided where known.
Accomplissement des propheties. 1631. Cosin I vi 29(2).


Alr title-page, p(1): ACCOMPLISSEMENT / DES PROPHETIQUES / TROISIÈME PARTIE
DV LIVRE / DE LA DEFENSE DE LA FOY DV / Serenissime Roi Iaques / Roi de/
la Grand' Bretagne. / On est montré que les Propheties de S. Paul, & de
l'Apocalypse, & de Daniel, touchant les combats de l'Eglise / sont
accomplies. / Par PIERRE DU MOVLIN, Ministre de la Parole / de Dieu en
l'Eglise de Paris. / EDITION dernière reueue & de beaucoup augmentee /
par l'Auteur. / (woodcut) / A GENEVE, / Chez PIERRE AVERT, Imprimeur /
ordinaire de la Republique & Academie. / M. DC. XXXI .

A lv blank, p(2); A2r - A7v preface au lecteur, pp 3 - 14; A8r - Cc4r
text, pp 15 - 407; Cc4v blank.

The first complete edition of all three parts of Defense de la Foy
catholique was 8° np 1612 (576 + 357pp) BN.

Accroissement des Eaux de Siloe. 1624. Cosin I vi 27(3).


Alr title-page, p(1): ACCROISSEMENT / DES EAVX / DE SILOÉ / POUR
ESTEINDRE LE FEV DE/ Purgatoire, & noyer les satisfactions humaines /
& les indulgences Papales. / CONTRE LES RAISONS ET / ALLEGATIONS D'UN
CORDELIER POR - / tugais, defendues par trois escrits dont l'un est du /
mesme Cordelier intitule Le Torrent de Feu &c. Les au - / tres de deux
docteurs de la Sorbonne : l'un intitule La Fournaise ardente, l'autre
Le Feu d'Helie. / Par PIERRE du MOVLIN, Ministre de la parole de Dieu./
Ils m'auoyent enuironne comme abeilles, mais ils seront estoints comme feux d'espines.

Ps. 12 uers. 12. / (woodcut) / A GENEVE, / PAR PIERRE AVBERT./

(half rule) / M. DC. XXIII.

Alv blank, p (2); A2r - Blv preface, pp 3 - 18; B2r adversissement, p19; B2v contents, p20; B3r - Q8r text, pp 21 - 255; Q8v blank.

Other known editions: 8° La Rochelle, 1604 (260pp); 8° Geneva, 1614 (255pp). B.N.


8° (in fours) a⁴, A - Aa⁴. (viii) + 190pp.

Air title-page, p (i): ANATOMIE / DV LIVRE DV SIEVR / COEFFETEAU intitulé / REFVTATION DES / faussesz contenus en la deuxieme edition de l'Apologie de la Cene / du Ministre du Moulin. / Par PIERRE DV MOULIN, Mini - / stre de la parole de Dieu en l'Eglise / de Paris./ (woodcut) / A SEDAN, / Pour IÉXAN BAILLET / M. DC. X.

Alv blank, p (ii); a2r - a4r A Monsieur du Moulin mon père, P. du Moulin, pp (iii - vii); a4v contents, p (viii); Alr - Aa3v text, pp 1 - 190; Aa4r - Aa4v blank.

Other known editions: 8° Geneva, 1610 (viii) + 130 pp ; 8° Geneva, 1625 (viii) + 130 pp ; 8° Sedan, 1610 (190 pp): B.N. 

see Cosin I vi 27 (2).

8° a - h*, i* (vi) + 130 pp.

Air title-page, p (i): ANATOMIE / DU LIVRE DV / SIEVR COEFFETEAU,
intitulé / REFUTATION DES PAVISSE - / tez contenus en la deuxiesme
edition de / l'Apologie de la Géne, du Mini- / stre du Moulin./ Par
PIERRE DV MOULIN, Mini/- stre de la parole de Dieu en l'E- / glise de
Paris. / (woodcut) / A GENEVE, / Pour PIERRE AVBERT, / (half rule) /
M. DC. XXV.

Alv explication de la figure qui est en la page precedente, p (ii); a2r - a3r A Monsieur du Moulin mon père, P. du Moulin, pp (iii - v); a3v contents, p (vi); a4r - i4v text, pp 1 - 130.

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Part 1.

8° A*, A - P* (xii) + 243 + (i) pp.

Air title-page, p (i): ANATOMIE / DE LA MESSSE./ Où est montré par
l'Escriture Saincte / & par les tesmoignages de l'ancienne Eglise /
que la Messe est contraire à la Parole de Dieu, / & esloignée du chemin
du salut. / Par PIERRE DV MOULIN, / Ministre de la Parole de Dieu en
l'Eglise de Sedan, & profes / seur en Theologie./ CINQVIESME EDITION,
reueue & augmentee./ (woodcut) / Et se vendent / à Charenton / Chez
LOVYS VENDOSME. / (rule) / M. DC. XLVII.

Alv blank, p (ii); A2r - A3r A haute et puissante PrincesseMadamoiselle
de Bouillon, Du Moulin, 4 Mars 1636, pp (iii - y); A3v - A6r contents, pp (vi - xi); A6v quotations, p (xii); A7r - A8v, Air - P8r text, pp 1 - 243; P8v quotation.
Part 2.

8° • A - R⁹, (xii) + 276 pp.

4lr title-page, p (i): DEUXIÈME PARTIE / DE / L'ANATOMIE / DE LA MESSE./ Contenante / LA MESSE EN FRANÇAIS / ET EN LATIN / Avec un Commentaire, / ou aussi sont descrites les diverses espe - / ces de Messes, avec les Mysteres, & / ceremonies, & origine de chas -/ que piece de la Messe. / Par PIERRE DV MOVLIN, Ministre / de la parole de Dieu en l'Eglise de Sedan, / & Proffesseur en Theologie, / Avec approbation du Conseil des Moderateurs./ Derniere Edition./ (woodcut) / Et se vendent / A CHARENTON,/ Chez LOVYS VENDOSME./ (rule) / M. DC. XLVII.

4lv blank, p (ii); 42r - 13v A Monsieur Vincent pasteur de la Rochelle, Du Moulin, 2 Aoust 1639, pp (iii - vi); 14r - 16v contents, pp (vii - xii); 17r - 18v, Alr - Rgv text; pp 1 - 276.

Notes Other known editions :

Part 1. 8° Sedan, 1636.
Part 2. 8° Sedan, 1639. B.N.

Apologie pour la sainte Cene du Seigneur, 1610. Cosin I vi 27(1).

8° A-Kk⁹. 264 leaves (foliated)

Alv blank; A2r - A5v A très noble et très vertueux Seigneur Cyrus de Béthune, Seigneur de Congi, &c. (Fols 2 - 5); A6r - A7v adverdissement au lecteurs; (fols 6 - 7); A8r - A 8v contents, (fol 8); Hlr-Kk8r text, (fols 9 - 26#); Kk 8v quotation.

Other known editions: 8° La Rochelle, 1607 (296 leaves); 8° La Rochelle, 1609 (296 leaves); 8° Geneva (Le Preux), 1610 (??) 486 pp.) B.N.


8° A - Lll 9, A - C 3 (52) + 349 + (xi + ) + 48 pp.


Alv blank, p (2); A2r - A3v A tres haut et tres puissant Prince Monseigneur le Prince de Galles, le Moulin, pp (3 - 6); A4r - C6v preface a Messieurs de l'Eglise Romaine, pp (7 - 44); C7r - D2v contents, pp (45-52); D3r - Hhhlr text, pp 1 - 799; Hhhlv - Lll2r fuites et evasions du sieur Arnoux Jesuite, pp 800 - 849; Lll2v - Lll7v indices; Lll8r - Lll8v blank;

Alv blank, p (2); A2r - A7v Au Roy, pp (3 - 14); A8r - A8v advertissement au lecteur; pp (15 - 16); B1r - C6v text, pp 17-44; C7r - C8v textes faussement allégués, pp 45 - 48.

Other known editions:
- 8° Charenton, 1618 (2 parts) B.N.
- 8° Charenton, 1619 (3 parts) B.N.
- 8° Sedan, 1621
- 8° Sedan, 1624
- 8° Geneva, 1630.

Cartel de deffy du Sieur de Bouju, 1625. Cosin I vi 29 (3).


Alv blank, p (2); A2r - A2v L'Imprimeur au lecteur, pp 3 - 4; A3r - H7r text, pp 5 - 125; H7v - H8r table; H8v blank.
The above is the only known edition.

* Copie d'une lettre ....... à un sien ami en Hollande. 1624.
Cosin I vi 28 (5).

8° * 15 pp.


Alv blank, p (2); A2r - A8r text, signed Du Moulin, 5 Decembre, 1616, pp 3 - 15; A8v blank.
Co-authors with DU MOULIN are: Montigny, Durand and Mestrezat, the other ministers of the Reformed Church of Paris at that time.

**Defense de la Confession des Eglises Reformées de France 1617. Cosin X VI 13.**


Alt blank, p (2): A2r - B2v Au Roy, pp 3-12; B3r - B3v advertiseuement au lecteur, pp.13-14; B4r. - F4r..text, pp 15-47; F4v blank.

Other known editions: 8° La Rochelle, 1617 (47 pp) B.N. 8° La Rochelle, 1618 (47 pp) B.N. 8° Charenton, 1618 (68 pp) B.N.

The work has also been reprinted in some editions of Bouclier de la Foy, e.g. 8° Geneva, 1635, COSIN I VI 26.

**Defense de la Foy Catholique. 1631. Cosin I vi 29 (1).**

8° a-ff, 463 pp.

The first edition of parts 1 and 2 of Defense de la Foy catholique (contents as the volume described above) was 8° La Rochelle, 1607 (576 pp) B.N.
De la vocation des pasteurs. 1624. Cosin I VI 27 (4).


xl title-page, p (i): DE LA / VOCATION / DES / PASTEURS./ Par
PIERRE DU MOULIN, / Ministre de la Parole de Dieu / en l'Eglise de Paris./
Derniere Edition reueva & corrigee / par l'Autheur./ (woodcut) / A GENEVE,/ Pour PIERRE AUBERT./ (half rule) / M.DC. XXIII.

xlv blank, p (ii); x2v - x5v A messieurs et tres-honorez freres les
pasteurs des Eglises Reforme & de France, pp (iii-x); x6v - x9r contents,
pp (xi-xv); x9v note to the reader, p (xvi); Alr-Q7r text, pp 1-253;
Q7v - Q8v forma iuramenti.

Notes  A note at x9v declares this to be the author's final and definitive
edition and requests that the controversy be concluded.

Other known editions: 8° Sedan, 1618 (255 pp) Printed by J: Jannon,
B.N. see I vi 21;
8° Charenton, 1618 (? + 333 pp) B.N.
8° Sedan, 1618 (? + 366 pp) Printed by J. Jannon B.N.
Des Traditions et de la perfection et suffisance de l'Escriture Sainte.
1632. Cosin I vi 25 (2).

8o à ⁹, A - Cc ⁹, Dd ⁴ (xvi) + 423 pp.


Alv blank, p (ii); a2r - a4r A tres haut et tres puissant,
Prince Frederig Maurice de la Tour, Du Moulin, 28 Mai 1631, pp (iii-vii);
a4v - a8v contents, pp (viii-xvi); Alr - Dd4r text, pp 1-423; Dd4v blank.

Other known editions: 12o Sedan, 1621 B.N.
8o Sedan, 1631 (520 pp) B.N.

Du combat chrestien and Conseil fidele et salutaire sur les mariages.
1624. Cosin I VI 28 (2).

8o A - L ⁸. 175 pp.

Title-page, p (1): DV COMBAT / CHRESTIEN; / DV / DES AFFLICTIONS. / A Messieurs de l'Eglise Reformee de Paris; / Par PIERRE DV MOVLIN,
Ministre de la Parole de Dieu & Professeur en Theologie en l'Academie de Sedan; / Troisieme Edition, reueue & augmentee. / (woodcut) / À GENEVE. / Pour PIERRE AVBERT. (rule) M. DC. XXIII.

Alv blank, p(2); A2r - H3v A l'Eglise de Dieu qui est à Paris et à tous ceux qui aiment Jesus Carist & souffrent pour son Nom, pp 3 - 118; H4r - H 8r Priere et meditation de l'ame fidele sur l'affliction presente de l'Eglise, pp 119-127; H9v - K6r Sermon de la priere en temps d'affliction Ps. 50. 15, pp 128-156; K7r - L4r Conseil fidele et salutaire sur les mariages entre personnes de contraire religion, pp 157-167; L4v - L7r
Prière du matin, prière du soir, pp 168-173; L7v - L8r (misnumbered 36)
contents, pp 174 - 175; L8v blank.

Other known editions:
- 8° Sedan, 1622 (305 pp) B.N.;
- 12° Sedan, 1622 (484 pp);
- 8° Geneva, 1623 (175 pp);

A Second Part of Du Combat Chrestien was issued at Sedan in 1642.


Alr title-page, p (1): DV IVGE / DES / CONTROVERSES./ TRAITÉ /
Auquel est defendue l'authorité & / la perfection de la Saincte /
Escriture,/ CONTRE LES VSVRPATIONS / & accusations de l'Eglise Romaine./
PAR / PIERRE DV MOVLIN, Ministre de la paro- / le de Dieu en l'Eglise de /
Sedan, & Professeur / en Theologie./ (woodcut)/ A GENEVE,/ Chez PIERRE /
AVBERT, Imprimeur ordinaire / de la Republique et Academie./ (rule) /
M. DC. XXXI. / Avec permission & privilège.

Alv blank, p (2); A2r - Blr  A très-haute et très-illustre
Princesse Madame Elizabeth de Nassau, Princesse en Orange, Duchesse
de Bouillon, a Du Moulin, pp (3-17); Blv advertiseissement au lector,
p (18); B2r - Dlv passages tires des escrits de nos adversaires,
pp 19-50; D2r - D6v reiglemens des Papes qui defendent la lecture de
l'Escriture, pp 51-60; D7r - Ll8v text, pp 61-544.

One other known edition is 8° Sedan, 1630 (659 pp) Br. Mus. B.N.
Elements de la logique. 1631. Cosin I VI 25 (3).

8° a - k , 154 + (iv) pp.

alt title-page, p (1): ELEMENTS / DE LA / LOGIQUE / FRANÇOISE./ Par
PIERRE DV MOULIN / Ministre de la Parole / de Dieu./ (woodcut) / À GENEVE,/ Chez PIERRE AVBERT, Imprimeur / ordinaire de / la Republique & Academie./ (half rule) / M.DC. XXXI./ Avec privilège.

alv blank, p (2); a2r - a5v A Monseigneur Frederic Maurice de la Tour, Prince de Sedan, Du Moulin, pp.3-10; a6r - k5v text, pp 11-154; k6r - k7v table des chapitres; k8r - k8v blank.

One other known edition is: 12° Sedan, 1621 (245 pp) B.N.


8° f° , A - L° , M . (M4 signed ( - M1, M3, 4) ). (xvi) + 184 pp.

†1r title-page, p (i): EXAMEN / DV LIVRE DV / PERE JOSEPH DE / MORLAIS CAPUCIN, / Intitulé / LETTRE DV SIEUR CRESCENTIAN / DE MONT-OUVERT./ Et promettant la refutation des trois Sermons/ de Du Moulin./ Par PIERRE DV MOULIN Ministre de la / parole de Dieu en l'Eglise de Sedan, & / Professeur en Theologie./ (ornament) / À SEDAN./ Par PIERRE IANNON Imprimeur de l'Academie./ M. DC. XLI./ (short rule)/ Avec Approbation du Conseil des / Moderateurs.

†1v blank, p (ii); †2r - †5r preface, pp (iii-ix); †5v - †8r contents, pp (x-xv); †8v fautes à corriger, p (xvi); Alr - M2v. text, pp 1-180; M3r - M4v additions au Traité du Purgatoire, pp 181-184.

Notes. The above is the only known edition.
Heraclite, Theophile. 1619. Gosin 0 VI 37.


Alv blank, p (2); A2r - A6v A Mademoiselle Anne de Rohan, P.D.M., pp (3-12); A7r HEB r text, pp 13-311; HEBv blank.

Notes
The above is in 12° with cut-offs of one third of each sheet gathered in pairs so as to make the regular quires of eight (see R.B. McKerrow, An Introduction to Bibliography, p 168). There are printer's rules visible at the feet of V3r - V6v, Y3v - Y6v, Z3v - Z6r, indicating where the cuts were to be made.

Heraclite, Theophile. 1624. Gosin I VI 28 (1).

8° A - K⁸, 52 + (xii) + 92 pp.


Alv blank, p (2); A2r - A4r A mademoiselle Anne de Rohan, P.D.M., pp (3-7); A4v ornament, p (8); A5r - D2v text of Heraclite, pp 9-52; D3r half-title: Theophile ou de l'amour divin, p (53); D3v blank, p (54); D4r - Elr A haute et puissante dame Anne d'Allègre, femme de haut et puissant Seigneur Monsieur de Fervaques, Marechal de France, et Lieutenant pour le Roi en Normandie, P.D.M., pp (55-65); Elv - K6v text of Theophile, pp 2-92; K7r - K8v blank.
Notes

The two treatises have appeared both in combined editions as above and separately.

Other known editions: (a) separate:

- Heraclite: 18° np 1609 (49 l)
- Theophile: 12° La Rochelle, 1609 (102 l)
  8° np 1610 (102 l)
  12° Rouen, 1615 (434 pp)
  12° Rouen, 1627 (432 pp)

(b) combined: 12° Geneva, 1619 (311 pp).

In Cosin copy Heraclite is paged to 52. The half-title and preliminaries of Theophile are not paged. Text of Theophile is paged 2-92.


8° a , e , i , A - K (39) + 160 pp.

Air title-page, p (1): IVSTIFICATION / DE / MONSIEUR DV MOVLIN, /
CONTRE LES IMPOSTVRES / ET CALOMNIES DE LEONARD / le Maire, dit Limburg./
Ps. 109. 28./ Ils maudiront, Mais tu beniras./ P.M.D.D.W.S.E./ (woodcut)/
Et se vendent a Charenton, / Par Lovys de Vundosme, tenant sa boutique a Paris, rue / de la Pelleterie, proche S. Denis de la Chartre, / a l'Image Saint Nicolas./ (rule) / M. DC. XXXX.

Alv blank, p (2); a2r - i4r preface, signed Mestrezat (including a letter signed by Blondel), pp 3-39; i4v blank;
Alr - K8v text, pp 1-160.

One other known edition: 8° Geneva, 1659 (?) + 160 pp. B.N.
La vie et religion de deux bons papes. 1650. Cosin X V 37.

8° (in fours) 1 unsigned, Q^1, Q^2, Q^4, A^5 F^4, A^5 - Q^4. (xii) + 44, (viii) + 127 pp.

Unsigned leaf r, title-page, p (i): LA VIE ET / RELIGION / DE DEUX / BONS PAPES / LEON PREMIER / ET / GREGOIRE PREMIER / Où est montré que / la Doctrine & Religion / de ces Pontifes tant célèbres, est contraire / à la Religion Romaine de ce temps. / Par PIERRE DU MOVLIN, Pasteur / & Professeur en Theologie. / (type-flower) / A SEDAN, / Par FRANÇOIS CHAYER, / deuant / la Maison de Ville. / (rule) / M. DC. L.

Unsigned leaf v. blank, p (ii); Qr half-title, p (iii): Actions et doctrine de Leon I. Surnommé le Grand, Sedan, 1650; Qlv blank, p (iv); Q2r - Q2v contents, pp (v-vi); Qr - Q4v preface, pp (vii-xii); Alr - F2v text, pp 1-44; F3r - F4v blank; Alr half-title, p (i): La vie et religion de Gregoire I. Evêque de Rome, Surnommé le Grand, Sedan, 1650; Alv blank, p (ii); A2r - A4v contents, pp (iii-viii); Alr - Q4r text, pp 1-127; Q4v blank.

The above is the only known edition.

Le Capucin. 1641. Cosin K.V. 38 (3).

8° A - F^8, 44 leaves; (8) + 80 pp.

Alr title-page, p (1): LE / CAPUCIN / TRAITÉ, / AVQVEL EST DESCRITE / & examinée l'Origine des Capucins, leurs / Voeux, Règles, & Disciplines:/ / Par PIERRE DU MOVLIN,/ Ministre de la Parole de Dieu. / I Timothée chap v. / vers.8. / L'exercice corporelle est profitable à peu de choses; ma la / pieté est profitable à toutes choses, avans les promesses de / la vie / présente et de celle qui est à venir. / Avec approbation du Conseil des / Moderateurs. / (woodcut) / A GENEVE, / Pour IAIQUES DE LA PIERRE, Ioincée la / Co- / pie imprimée à Sedan. / (half rule) / M. XCV. XI.

Alv blank; p (2); A2r - A3v preface, pp (3-6); A4r - A4v contents, pp (7-8); A5r - F4v text, pp 1-80.

The above is the only known edition in French.
Le saint resveil spirituel. 1624. Cosin I VI 28 (3).

8° a - b', 32 pp.

Air title-page, p (l) : LE SAINCT / RESVEIL / SPIRITUEL./ Par
PIERRE DU MOVLIN, / Ministre de la Parole de Dieu / en l'Eglise de Paris./
(woodcut) / A GENEVES, Pour PIERRE AVBERT. / (half rule) / M. DC. XXIII.

alv blank, p (2); a2r - b8v text, pp 3-32.

Other known editions: 12° La Rochelle, 1614 B.N.
  8° Genev, 1632 Br. Mus.


8° a - i 141 + (iii) pp.

Air title-page, p (l) : LES / ELEMENTS / DE LA / PHILOSOPHIE / MORALE./
Nouuellement traducts dû-Latin'de M.- PIERRE DU MOVLIN./ Avec la
TABLE des Chapitres adiouste / à la fin./ (woodcut) / A GENEVES,
POVR PIERRE AVBERT, Imprimeur ordinaire de la Re- / publique & Academie./
(rule) / M. DC. XXVII. / Avec privilege.

alv explication de la figure qui est en la page precedente, p (2);
a2r - i7r text, pp 3-141; i7v - i8v contents.

Other known edition: 12° Sedan, 1624 (280 pp) B.N.

4o θ⁴, b - k⁴, A - VVVVVV (lxx) + 1034 + (xlvi)pp.

1r title-page, p (i): NOUVEAUTÉ DU PAPISME, OPPOSEE A L'ANTIQUITÉ DU VRAI CHRISTIANISME, Contre le liure de M. le Cardinal du Perron, INTITULÉ REPLIQUE À LA RESPONSE Du Serenissime Roy IAYVES I, Roy de la Grand'Bretagne, PAR PIERRE DU MOULIN, Ministre de la Parole de Dieu, Troisième ÉDITION resuëü & augmentée de diuers Traitsez par l'Auteur. Ps. 109. v. 28. Ils me maudiront, mais tu me beniras. (woodcut) / À GENEVE. / De l'Imprimerie de Pierre Chouet. (half rule) / M. DC. XXXIII.

lv blank, p (ii); 2r - 4r Au Serenissime Roy Charles I, Du Moulin, pp (iii-vii); 4v blank, p (viii); blr - f3v preface, pp (ix-xlvi); f4r - ilr eschantillon de faussetez et depravations de passages alleguez par Mr. le Cardinal du Perron, pp (xlvii-lxv); ilv- k4v contents, pp (lxvi-lxxx); ilv-PPPppp3v text, pp 1 - 1034; PPPppp2r - PPPppp2v apologie; PPPppp3r - VVVVVV4v indices.

Other known editions: Fol. Sedan, 1627 ((xviii) + 1083 pp) B.N.
4o Geneva, 1627 (2 parts). B.N.

Oppositions de la Parole de Dieu avec la doctrine de l'Eglise Romaine.
1624. Cosin I IV 34 (2).


1r title-page, p (1): OPPOSITIONS DE LA PAROLE DE DIEU AVEC LA DOCTRINE DE L'ÉGLISE ROMAINE, PLVS LES MATIRES TENVES EN icelle Eglise Romaine, que l'on cache à / ceux qu'on y veut attirer./ Par P.D.M./ À SEDAN./ M. DC. XXIII.

1v blank, p (2); A2r - C4v text, pp 3-32.

Cosin I VI 28 (11).


Alr title-page, p (1): OPPOSITIONS / DE LA / PAROLE DE DIEU / avec la/ DOCTRINE DE L'EGLISE / Romaine. / PLVS / LES MATIERES TENVES EN / icelle Eglise Romaine que l'on cache à ceux qu'on y veut attirer. / Par PIERRE DV MOVLIN, Ministre de la / Parole de DIEV, & Professeur en Theo-/ logie à Sedan. / (woodcut) / A GENEVE, / Chez PIERRE AVBERT, Imprimeur ordinaire / de la Republique & Academie. / (half rule) / M. DC. XXXI. / Avec privilege.

Alv blank, p (2); A2r - C4v text, pp 3-24;

Alr title-page, p (25): NOVELLES / BRQUES POVR LE / BASTIMENT DE BABEL,/ c'est à dire / ERREURS DE L'EGLISE / Romaine; nouvellement forgez, pour / establir la grandeur de l'Eves-/ que de Rome. / Par PIERRE DV MOVLIN, Ministre de la / Parole de DIEV & Professeur en Theo-/ logie à Sedan. / (woodcut) / A GENEVE, / Chez PIERRE AVBERT, Imprimeur ordinaire / de la Republique & Academie. / (rule) / M. DC. XXXI. / Avec privilege.

Alv blank, p (26); A2r - A2v, D3r - D4v, Etr - E3r text, pp 27-47;
E8v blank, p (48);


Flv blank, p (50); F2r - H4v text, pp 51-88.

Other known editions:
- Opposotions de la Parole de Dieu
  8° Sedan, 1624 (24pp) COSIN I IV 34 (2)
  8° Geneva, 1637 (47pp) B.N.
- Nouvelles briques
  8° La Rochelle, 1604 (23 pp)
- Veritable narré
  8° La Rochelle, 1618 (40 pp) B.N.
  8° Geneva, 1635 (40 pp)
  8° Geneva, 1637 (40 pp).
Premier - Dixième Décade de Sermons. 1643 - 1653. 4 vols.

Premier decade. 1643. Cosin C V 22 (1).

8° a - R (viii) + 272 pp.

All title-page, p (i): PREMIER / DECADE / DE / SERMONS. / PAR PIERRE DU MOULIN, / Ministre de la Parole de Dieu à Sedan, / & Professeur en Theologie / (woodcut) / A GENEVE, / Pour IAQUES CHOVET. / (rule) / M. DC. XLIII.

All blank, p (ii); a2r - a3v A Monsieur de Maupeou, Du Moulin; 10 Nov. 1636, pp (iii-vi); a4r - a4v contents, pp (vii-viii); Alr - B8v text, pp 1-272.

Deuxième decade 1645. Cosin C V 22 (2).

8° Q - Q (viii) + 252 pp.

All title-page, p (i): DEUXIÈME / DECADE / DE / SERMONS. / PAR PIERRE DU MOULIN, / Ministre de la Parole de Dieu à Sedan, / & Professeur en Theologie / (woodcut) / A GENEVE, / Pour IAQUES CHOVET. / (rule) / M. DC. XLV.

All blank, p (ii); Q2r - Q3v A Mademoiselle le Roy, Du Moulin, pp (iii-vi); Q4r - Q4v contents, pp (vii-viii); Alr - Q8v text, pp 1-252; Q7r - Q8v blank.

Troisième decade. 1645. Cosin C V 22 (3).

8° Q - Q (viii) + 248 pp.

All title-page, p (i): TROISIÈME / DECADE / DE / SERMONS. / PAR PIERRE DU MOULIN, / Ministre de la Parole de Dieu à Sedan, / & Professeur en Theologie / (woodcut) / A GENEVE, / Pour IAQUES CHOVET. / (rule) / M. DC. XLV.

All blank, p (ii); Q2r - Q3v A Madame la Duchesse de la Trimouille, Du Moulin, 29 Juillet, 1639, pp (iii-vi); Q4r - Q4v contents, pp (vii-viii): Alr - Q8v text, pp 1-248.

- 197 -
Quatrième decade. 1645. Cosin C V 22 (4).


q lr title-page, p (i): QUATRIÈME / DECADE / DE / SERMONS./ PAR PIERRE DV
MOULIN, / Ministre de la Parole de Dieu à Sedan, / & Professeur en Theologie./
(woodcut)/ A GENEVE;/ Pour IAEVES CHOVET / (rule)/ M. DC. XLV.

q lv blank, p (ii); q2r - q3v A Messire Armand de Caumont, Du Moulin, 10 Septembre 1640, pp (iii-vi); q4r - q4v contents, pp (vii-viii); Alr - R4r text, pp 1-263, R4v blank.

Cinquième decade. 1645. Cosin C V 22 (5).

8° 9°, A-0, P (viii) + 228 pp.

q lr title-page, p (i): CINQUIEME / DECADE/ DE / SERMONS./ PAR PIERRE DV
MOULIN ,/ Ministre de la Parole de Dieu à Sedan, / & Professeur en Theologie;/
(woodcut)/ A GENEVE;/ Pour IAEVES CHOVET./ (rule)/ M. DC. XLV.

q lv blank, p (ii); a2r - a3v A Mademoiselle Rivet ma soeur, Du Moulin, 17 Février, 1642, pp (iii-vi); a4r - a4v contents, pp (vii-viii); Alr - P2v text, pp 1-228: P3r - P4v blank.

Sixième decade. 1647. Cosin C VI 10 (1).

8° 9°, A-V, X (viii) + 327 pp.

q lr title-page, p (i): SIXIEME / DECADE / DE SERMONS./ PAR PIERRE DV
MOULIN, / Ministre de la Parole de Dieu à Sedan, / & Professeur en Theologie;/
(woodcut)/ A SEDAN / Par IJEAN IANNON Imprimeur / de l'Academie./ (rule)/
M. DC. XLVII./ Avec approbation du Conseil des Moderateurs.

q lv blank, p (ii); q2r - q3v Au peuple fidèle de l'Eglise de Sedan, Du Moulin, pp (iii-vi); q4r - q4v contents, pp (vii-viii); Alr - X4r text, pp 1-327.
Septieme decade. 1647. Cosin C VI 10 (2).


1er title-page, p (i): SEPTIEME / DECADE / DE SERMONS./ PAR PIERRE DV
MOVLIN./ Ministre de la Parole de Dieu / à Sedan, & Professeur / en
Theologie./ (woodcut) / A SEDAN, PAR JEAN LANNON Imprimeur / de
l'Academie./ (rule)/ M. DC. XLVII.

1lv blank, p (ii): 72r - 16r A haut et puissant Prince Henri de la Tour,
Du Moulin, 24 Septembre 1647, pp (iii-xi); 16v - 18r contents, pp (xii-xv); 18v blank, p (xvi); 0ir - 02v + unsigned leaf r. and v. contents, pp (xvii-xxii); Alr - T6r text, pp 1-299; T6v - T8v blank.

Huitieme decade. 1649. Cosin C VI 10 (3).

8° a4, e8, A - VX (xxxii) + 327 pp.

1er title-page, p (i): HUITIEME / DECADE / DE SERMONS./ PAR PIERRE DV
MOVLIN./ Ministre de la Parole de Dieu / à Sedan, & Professeur / en
Theologie./ (woodcut) / A SEDAN, PAR FRANCOIS CHAYER, deuant /
la Maison de Ville./ (rule)/ M. DC. XLIX

1lv blank, p (ii): 22r - 37r A mes fils Pierre, Louis et Cyrus du Moulin,
P. du Moulin, 19 Octobre 1649, pp (iii-xxix); 87v - 89v contents, pp (xxx-xxxii); Alr - X4r text, pp 1-327; X4v blank.


1er title-page, p (i), NEUFVIE / DECADE / DE SERMONS./ PAR PIERRE DV
MOVLIN./ Ministre de la Parole de Dieu / à Sedan, & Professeur / en
Theologie./ (woodcut) / A SEDAN, PAR FRANCOIS CHAYER./ (rule)/ M. DC. LII.

1lv blank, p (ii): Q2r - Q3r A Monsieur de Rambouillet, Conseiller et
Secretaire du Roy, Du Moulin, 6 Juin 1652, pp (iii-v); Q3v - Q4v contents, pp (vi-viii);Alr - Q7r text, pp 1-253; Q7r fautes à corriger, etc. p 253.

8°. q4, q2q, a - v2 (xii) + 316 pp.

1lr title-page, p (i): DIXIEME / DECADE / DE SERMONS,/ avec un
TRAITTE DE MELCHISEDEC./ Par PIERRE DV MOULIN,/ Ministre de la Parole de
Dieu a Sedan / & Professeur en Theologie./ ACTES xx. 24 (quotation) /
(woodcut) / A SEDAN,/ PAR FRANCOIS CHAYER./ (rule) / M. DC LIII.

1lv blank, p (ii) q2r - q4v A Madame la Princesse de Turene, Du Moulin
18 Juillet 1653, pp (iii-viii); qqr - q2v contents, pp (ix-xii);
alr - v6v text, pp 1-316; v7r - v8v blank.

The ten Decades were published complete at Geneva for the first time,
10 vols. 8° Geneva, 1653-5 B.N.
Decades 1-8 at least were published separately at earlier dates.

Response a quatre demandes. 1624. Cosin I vi 28 (6).

8° a - f, g 103 pp.

alr title-page, p (i): RESPONSE / A QUATRE / DEMANDES,/ FAITES PAR VN
GENTIL- / homme de Poictou;/ PAR/ PIERRE DV MOULIN;/ Ministre de la
Parole de Dieu./ (woodcut)/ A GENEVE; / Pour PIERRE AVBERT./ (rule)/
M. DC. XXIII.

alv blank, p (2); a2r - a2v A Monsieur de la Ravardiere, Du Moulin,
pp (3-4); a3r - g4r text, pp 5-103; g4v blank.

Other known editions: 8° Sedan, 1623 (143pp) B.N.
8° Geneva, 1629 (102pp) B.N.

- 200 -
Sermons sur quelques textes. 1625. Cosin 1 VI 28 (6).

8° A - 0°. 224 pp.

Air title-page, p (1): SERMONS / SVR QVELQVES / TEXTES DE L'ES - / criure Saincte. / PAR / PIERRE D' MOVLIN, / Ministre de la Parole de Dieu, & Professeur / en Theologie en l'Academie de Sedan. / L'Indice desquels se void à la fin desdits / Sermons. / (woodcut) / A GENEVE. / Pour PIERRE AVBERT. / (rule) / M. DC. XXV.

Av blank, p (2); A2r - 08v text, pp 3-224; 08v indice des VII. Sermons, p 224.


Sainctes Prières, plus divers Traittez. 1638. Cosin 0 VI 38.


Mr title-page, p (i): (within woodcut border) SAINCTES / PRIERES, / Plus / DIVERS TRAITTEZ / le contenu desquels se void / en la page suivante. / PAR / PIERRE D MOVLIN / Ministre de la Parole / de Dieu. / (woodcut) / A GENEVE. / Pour PIERRE AVBERT. / (rule). / M. DC. XXXIII. / (below within woodcut border the word Regnand).

Av blank, p (ii); A1r - Q2r sainctes prières, pp 1-243; Q2v - Q3v au lecteur, pp (1-3); Q4r - Bbbv divers traittez, pp.1-538.

One other known edition : 32° Geneva, 1659. B.N.
Traicté de la connaissance de Dieu. 1625. Cosin XI 40.

12°, 16°, or 24° (in eights) Q3, A - S (xvi) + 288 pp.

9r title-page, p (i): TRAITÉ / DE LA / CONNAISSANCE / DE DIEU /
Compose en Latin par M./ PIERRE DU MOULIN / Traduit par CHARLES / DRELINCOURT. / Seconde edition reueue & corrigee. / (type ornament) /
Et se vendent à Charenton, Par / SAMUEL PETIT, demeurant / à Paris, rue S. Jacques, au / Cheval rouge, près / S. Seurin. / (rule) /
M. DC. XXV.

9v advertisement. Celuy qui a traduit ce Traicté prie ceux qui désireront de le lire de s'arrester à la presente edition. Car quelques Imprimeurs l'ayans imprimé à son insceu, il s'y est glissé un si grand nombre de fautes qu'il n'y reconnoist point son ouvrage, p (ii); q 2r - q 8v

A monsieur du Moulin fidele ministre du sainct Evangile, pp (iii-xvi); Alg - 38v text, pp 1-288.

First edition (French) 12° (? Charenton, 1625 (16) + 271 pp) B.N.

Other known editions : 8° Geneva, 1625 (70 pp) - Cosin XI 28 (7);
8° Geneva, 1637 (70 pp).

Cosin also has the Latin version De Cognitiohe Dei (1625).

Traicté de la connaissance de Dieu. 1625. Cosin XI 28 (7).

8° A - I8, 70 + 12 + 46 + 16 pp.

9r title - page, p (1): TRAITÉ DE LA / CONNAISSANCE / DE DIEU; /
PAR M. PIERRE DU MOULIN, MINISTRE DE... / la parole de Dieu, & Profes- / seur en Theologie en l'Academie de Sédan. / Nouuellement tourné de Latin en / Françoys par S.G.S. / (woodcut) / A GENEVE, / Pour PIERRE AUBERT. / (rule) / M. DC. XXV.
Trentedeux demandes proposées par le Père Cotton. 1625. Cosin I VI 28 (10).


Alv blank, p (2); A2r - A2v avertissement au lecteur, pp (3-4); A3r - A4v contents, pp (5-8); A5r - D4v text, pp 9-56.

Other known editions: 8° La Rochelle, 1607 (31 pp) B.N. 8° La Rochelle, 1616 (51 pp). 8° Saint Maurice, 1625 (56 pp).

8° a-f^, (ii) + 88 pp.

air title-page, p (i): TROIS / SERMONS / FAITS EN PRESENCE / DES PERES 
CAPUCINS, qui les ont honorez de /leur presence. / PAR / PIERRE DV 
MOVLIN, Ministre de la Parole de Dieu. / Avec approbation du Conseil 
des Moderateurs, / (woodcut) / A GENEVE, / Par Jacques Chouet. / (rule) / 
M. D.C. XL.

alv blank, p (ii); a2r-a2v preface, pp 1-2; a3r-F5v text, pp 3-88.

The above is the only known edition in French.

Veritable narré de la conference entre les sieurs du Moulin et Contier. 
1625. Cosin I VI 28 (9).

8° a-b . 32 pp.

air title-page, p (1): VERITABLE / NARRÉ DE LA / CONFERENCE / ENTRE / 
les Sieurs du Moulin / &- Contier;/-SECONDE;/ PAR MADAME LA / Baronne 
de Salignac. / (woodcut) / A GENEVE, / Pour PIERRE AUBERT. / (rule) / M. DC.XXV.

alv blank, p (2); a2r-t1v text, pp 3-18; b2r title, p (19): RESPONSE / 
DV SIEVR DV / MOVLIN, / AVX LETTRRS DV / Sieur Contier, escrites au / Roy 
sur le suiet de leur / conference. / (woodcut) / A GENEVE, / Pour PIERRE 
AUBERT. / (rule) / M. DC. XXV. 52v blank, p (20); b3r-B8v text, pp 21-32.

Other known editions : Veritable narré, etc. 
8° n.p. 1609 (19 pp) B.N.

Response du sieur du Moulin, etc, has been published separately. 8° n.p. 
1609 (13 pp) B.N. but in subsequent editions only together zith . 
Veritable narré.
CHAPTER V

SECTION 2 (CONT'D.)

OTHER WORKS DIRECTLY RELATING TO PIERRE DU MOULIN.
ABRA DE RACONIS (Charles-François d')


Alv blank, p (2); A2r - A4v A madame seur du Roy, pp 3-7; A4v - E3r avis aux lecteurs sur les motifs de cette conference, pp 8-13; E3v - F4r text, pp 14-47; F4v quatre articles envoyés par Monsieur de Raconis au Sieur du Moulin; Air - A2r approbation; A2v permission.

ABRA DE RACONIS (Charles-François d')

Le triumfo de la verité. 1618. Cosin G V 18 (2).


Air title-page, p (i): LE / TRIOMPHE / DE LA VERITÉ / FORGANT LE SIEVR DV MOUV-/- lin de confesser sa fuitte en la Conference / qu'il a eù auec le Sieur de Raconis / Licencié & Professeur en / Theologie./ ENSEMBLE / Un Examen veritable, fait par le dit Sieur de Raconis du peu veritable Narré, mis ou iour par le Sieur du Mou-/- lin touchant la mesme Conference, où sont toujous &/ esclaircis tous les articles de ladicte Conference./ Et la responce adioustée par ledit Sieur du Moulin conaincue de faussetes, desguise-/-ments, & ignorances grossieres./ Dedié à MADAME SEVR DV ROY./ (woodcut) / A PARIS, / Chez ISAAC MESNIER, rue S. Iaques,/ au Chesne Verd./ 1618./ Avec Privilège du Roy & Approbation.

Alv blank, p (ii); A2r - A4v A madame, pp (iii-viii); Air - T2v text, pp 1-148; T2v permission; T3r - T4v blank.
D.M.R.
30 a, , 8, A-Aaa8. (xxxii) + 746 + (iii) pp

Air title-page, p (i): DEMONSTRATION / DES / IMPOSTURES / ET BLASPHEMES, PREVUE / par l'Escriture de quatorze points con - / trouvées par les heretiques / de ce temps. / L'enseigneray tes voeux aux meschans, & les / impies se convertiront à toy. Psal. 50. v. 15. / (type ornament) / A PARIS, / Chez CHARLES CHASTELLAIN, Marchand / Libraire, demeurant rue S. Iacques / devant / Saint Yves, à la Constance. / (rule) / M.DC.XVII. / Avec Privilege & Approbation.

Alv blank, p (ii); a2r – a2v oraison dedicatoire, pp (iii–iv); a3r – a5r l'auteur au lecteur, pp (v–ix); a5v–a7v preface à messieurs de la religion pretende reformée, contenant le sommaire du livre, pp (x–xxx); e6r approbation, p (xxi); e8v table des traictez, p (xxxii); Alr – Aaa5v text, pp1–746; Aaa6r – Aaa7r fautes survenues à l'impression; Aaa7v privilege; Aaa7v – Aaa8v blank.

Notes. The 'Approbation' (é8r) declares the work 'composé par D.M.R.' This is the only clue as to the work's authorship.

DRELINCOURT (Charles)
30 A – B8 32 pp.


Alv blank, p (2); A2r – B8v text, pp 3–32.
DU PERRON (Jacques-Davy, Bp. of Evreux)

Articles des ministres. 1601. Cosin W V 46 (1).


Xlr title-page; p (i): ARTICLES / DES MINISTRES / ET AVTRES APPELÉZ / PAR MADAME POUR LA / Conference proposee entre eux & / Monsieur l'Evesque d'Evreux./ Avec les Reponsses & Repliques des / uns & des autres./ (woodcut) / A PARIS,/ Par ANTOINE LE MARIÉ./ (rule)/ 1601./ Avec Priuilege du Roy.

Xlv fautes à corriger p (ii); x2r - x2v au lecteur pp (iii-iv); A1r-A2r articles des ministres, signed De Beaulieu, du Moulin, F. de Gordon, D. Tilenus pp 1-3; A2v - S4r reponse de M. l'Evesque d'Evreux pp 4-143; S4v blank.

FROMENTIERES (Anne de)

Lettre de Madame la Baronne de Courville. 1617. Cosin G V 18 (3).

8° (in fours) A - I4r. 70 pp.

A1r title-page, p (1) : LETTRE / DE MADAME / LA BARONNE DE / COUVILLE ESCRITE A / Madame de Montigny sa / mere, sur le suiet de sa / Conversion./ Oh est fidelement rapporté ce qui se passa / tant au logis de Monsieur du Moulin qu'en sa maison, entre Monsieur de Raconis, Bachelier & Professeur en theologie, & Monsieur de la Miltière,/ Aducrat en Parlement au refus, et sur la fuitte / du Sieur du Moulin & c./ (woodcut) / A PARIS,/ Chez PIERRE DE FORGE, rue Saint / Iacques, aux Colonnes./ (rule)/ M.DC.XVII.

A1v blank, p (2); A2r - I3v text, pp 3-70: I4r - I4v blank.
HALIER (Pierre)


Alv - G4v text, pp 2-24.

JOYEUSE (François)
Avis aux curieux sur les Communications entre Du Moulin et de Balzac. 1633. Cosin H V 28 (5).

Air title-page, p (1): ADVIS / AVS CVRIEVX / SVR LES / COMMUNICATIONS / DE DV MOVLIN / ET DV BALKZAC:/ PAR MONSEIGNEVR / l'ILLUSTRISSEME & / Reverendissime / Archevesque de Rouen; Pri/ met de Normandie./ (type-ornament)/ A PARIS, / Chez GERVAIS ALLIOT, au Palais,/ près la Chapelle S. Michel,/ (rule) / MDC. XXXIII.

Alv blank, p(2): A2r - A5r text of Advis, pp 3-9; A5v - B6r fautes de du Moulin et de Balzac, pp 10-27; B6v - E5r fautes de du Moulin en la religion, pp 28-73; E5v - G7v fautes de Du Moulin contre l'estat, pp 74-110; G6r - G8v blank.
De la puissance des rois, n.d. Cosin H V 28 (6).


Alr woodcut border, p (1); Alv blank, p (2);
A2r - F4r, text, pp 3 - 87; F4v blank.

Notes  † Alr is in effect the title-page, though it has no letterpress title. Above the woodcut border the title is written in seventeenth-century handwriting: De la puissance des Rois. A note in the margin of Alr in seventeenth-century handwriting also states that the following text is an Apology for the foregoing treatise (Cosin H V 28 (5)). *Advis aux curieux* (Paris, 1633) by François Joyeuse. *De la puissance des rois* is explicitly stated to be a Catholic writing. It is specifically an apology for the section of Joyeuse's writing entitled 'Fautes de du Moulin contre l'estat'.

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MARCEL (Jacques)


12° e, a, A - Cc, (26) + 612 + (12) pp.

Alr title-page, p (1): LE / TRIOMPHE/ DE LA FOY / CATHOLIQUE, / Auquel PIERRE DU MOVLIN, Ministre de Charenton, portant son chetif / Bouclier de la Foy Huguenotte, mis en pieces, est traine captif; / Dressé / Par le P. IACQUES MARCEL, Religieux de la Congregation de la / Doctrine Chrestienne Dauphinois, / & Dedié / A Monseigneur l'Ilustrissime & Reveren- / dissime Cardinal de la ROCHE ..... / Grand Aumosnier, / (woodcut) / A LYON, / Par LEAN LAVTRET, Avec / Approbation & Priuilege. / (rule) / M. DC. XXI.

Alv blank; p (2); e2r - e12v preliminaries, pp (3-24); alr - alv extraict du priuilege du roy, pp (25-26); Alr - Cc6v text, pp 1-612; Cc7r - Cc12v contents, pp (1-12).
MONGINOT (François de)

Resolution des doutes. 1617. Cosin X IV 31 (4).

8° (in fours); A - I 4; 72 pp.

Alv title-page, p (1): RESOLVTION / DES DUVTES / UV / SUMMAIRE DECISION
DES, controuerses entre l'Eglise Reformee / & l'Eglise Romaine./ Par
FRANÇOIS MONGINOT, Medecin du Roy./ Traicté contenant les causes et
raisons qui ont / meu ledit F. MONGINOT à sortir de l'Eglise / Romaine
pour se ranger à l'Eglise Reformée./ Reueu, corrigé & augmenté par
l'Auteur en ceste / derniere Edition./ (woodcut) / A LA ROCHELLE,/ PAR
PIERRE DE LA CROIX./ (rule) / M. DC. XVII.

Alv blank, p (2); A2r - B3r Epistre dedicatoire à Messieurs de l'Eglise
Romaine de la ville de Langres, pp (3-13); B3v contents, p (14);
B4r - I4v text, pp 15-72.

Notes The title-page of Demonstration des impostures, 1617, see Cosin
G III 7, informs us that a work (almost certainly the above) which
appeared under the name of Monginot was in fact by Pierre du Moulin.

SUAREZ (Jacques)

Torrent de Feu. 1603. Cosin H V 17 (5).


"1r title-page p (1): TORRENT / DE FEU SORTANT / DE LA FACE DE DIEU,
pour desseicher les eaux de Mara,/ encloses dans la chossee / du Molin
da Ablon./ ou est amplement preue le Purgatoire & suffrages / pour les
trespassez, & sont descouuertes les fausse-/ tez & calomnies du
Ministre Molin./ Compose par le R.P.F. IACQVES SVARES / de Ste. Marie
Observatin Portugais,/ Docteur en Theologie, & Predicateur / ordinaire
du Roy./ Un fleuue de feu courant legerement sortoit / de sa face.
Dan. 7./ (woodcut) / A PARIS,/ Chez MICHEL & SonnIVS, rue S/ Iacques, a /
l'Escu de Basle:/ (rule) / M. DC. III./ AVEC APPROBATION.

"1v contents p (2); "2r - "2v Au Roy pp (3-4); "3r - "4r A Messieurs les
catholiques de Paris pp (5-7); "4v Approbation des docteurs p (8);
Alr - 04v text, pp (1) 2-112 (misnumbered 121).

- 210 -
VERON (François)

8° (in fours); a 4, a - h 4; (viii) + 64 pp.

-alr title-page p (1): IVSTES / PLAINTES DE / L'ÉGLISE CATHOLIQUE, / SVR / LES FAŁCIFICATIONS / de l'Escriture saincte & des SS. / Peres faictes par les Ministres, &/ specialement par du Moulin;/ Verifiees par vn nouveau moyen, scevoir par / les contrarietez de dix Bibles Francoises / de la version de Geneue, en tous les princi- / paux textes decisifs des plus celebres arti-fles de leur reformation pretendue./ REPRESENTEES AV ROY, / Par M. FRANCOIS VERON, Predicateur / de sa Maieste pour les contouerces,/ & Docteur en Theologie./Avec vne briefue Refutation des liures intitulez/ Bouclier de la foy; Lieuxcommuns, ov / Oracle; & Response à 4. demandes/ par du Moulin./ (type-flower)/ A PARIS,/ Chez I. MESTAIS Imprimeur &/ Libraire, demeurant à la porte / saïnc Victor./ (rule)/ M. DC. XCI.

-alv contents p (ii); ā2r - ā3r Au Roy pp (iii-v); ā3v - ā4r A tous les ministres de France, speciallement à ceux de Charenton, à leurs anciens & toute leur eglise, & plus particulierement au Sieur du Moulin pp (vi-vii); ā4v blank p (viii); -alr second title-page p (4): LA SCTE./ BIBLE / ET LES SS. PERES / falcifiez par les Ministres, & / specialement par du Moulin en/ son Bouclier, pour appuyer tous / les principaux Articles de leur / Confession de foy, / Avec l'excommunication de S. Iean / & de S. Paul contre tous lesdits / Ministres: Publiez / Par M. FRANCOIS VERON, / Predicateur du Roy pour les / contouerces, & Docteur / en Theologie./ (woodcut)/ A PARIS,/ Chez I. MESTAIS, Imprimeur & Libraire / demeurant à la porte S. Victor./ (rule)/ M. DC. XXIII.
alv blank p (2); a2r - h4v text, pp 3-64.

Notes The second title-page (alr) is clearly a cancelland. The Bibliothèque Nationale has one copy (D. 22102/5) which has both present like the Cosin copy, and another ( D.54355) with only the second. It may be presumed that the first title-page was meant to cancel the second since the preliminaries which were composed last contain a reference to the work's dedication to the King (Louis XIII). This would never have been omitted had the second title-page been intended to stand. The work originally must have had the second title-page beginning LA SCTE, and subsequently, after or while the text was set, permission to dedicate to the King was obtained and a dedication and new title-page composed.
CHAPTER VI

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS OF A SELECTION OF THE FRENCH BOOKS IN BISHOP COSIN'S LIBRARY
The items described in this chapter have been selected mainly for their bibliographical interest, but partly also to give support to the discussions of the foregoing chapters. Many have been chosen because they are quite rare, not being present in the BN and other great libraries. The French Protestant writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth century do have a particular fascination for the present writer, and since these works do comprise the majority of the Collection, it is not surprising that these have received extensive attention here. The smaller number of Roman Catholic writings were selected chiefly for their relationship to the Protestant writings described earlier.

Titles prefixed with an asterisk are not found in the Catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale.
AMYRAUT (Moise)

Apologie pour ceux de la Religion. 1647. Cosin I iv 46.

Air title-page: APOLOGIE / POVR CEVX / DE LA / RELIGION,/ sur les sujets d'aversion que plus/+ sieurs pensent avoir contre leurs / Personnes & leur Croyance./ Par MOYSE AMYRAVT./ (type-flowers) / A SAVMVR./ Par IEAN LESNIER, Imprimeur / & Libraire./ M. DC. XLVII.

Auv blank; A2r - A5r A Monsieur Monsieur Sarrau, Conseiller du Roy en son Parlement, Amyraut, Easter 1647; A5v - A6v advertiseissement; E1r - Cc4r text; Cc4v contents.

Coll. 12° (in eights and fours) A² (less A7, A8), B⁸, C⁴ - Cc⁴. 168 leaves 335 + (i) pp.

*Deux sermons sur ces paroles de S. Paul I Cor. 2. vers. 9 et de Christ Jean 16. vers. 8.9.10.11. 1658. Cosin C vii 11 (2).

Air title-page: DEVX / SERMONS / L'un,/ SVR CES PAROLES DE S. PAUL,/ I Cor. 2 vers. 9./ Mais ainsi qu'il est escrit: Ce sont les choses qu'oeil/ n'a point veues, ni oreille ouies, &c./ L'autre,/ SVR CES PAROLES DE CHRIST,/ Iean 16. v. 8. 9. 10. 11./ Quand cestuy-la sera venu il conuaincra le monde/ de peché, de iustice & de ijugement. De peché,/ parce qu'ils ne croyent point en moy, &c./ Prononcez à Charenton,/ PAR/ MOYSE AMYRAVT./ (type-flowers)/ Se vendent à Charenton,/ Par ANTHOINE CELLIER, demeurant / à Paris, rue de la Harpe, aux Gands / Couronnes./ (half rule) / M. DC. LVIII.

Auv blank; a2r - a2v A Madame Madame la Controleuse Generale Hervart, Amyraut; Air - D4v Sermon sur ces paroles de S. Paul; Air - D4r Sermon sur ces paroles de Christ; D4v blank.

Coll. 8° a², A - C⁸, D⁴. A - C⁸, D⁴. (2) + 28 + 28 leaves (iv) + 56 + 55 pp.

Air title-page: DISCOUVRS / CHRESTIEN / SVR LES EAVX / DE BOVRBOW./ Prononcé
au même lieu après la / lecture du chap. 7. de S. Jean,/ le 22. Septembre
1658./ Par MOYSE AMYRAVT,/ (device) / Se vend à-Charonton./ Par ANTHOINE
CELLIER, demeurant / à Paris, rue de la Harpe, aux Gands / Couronnez,
près la Roze Rouge./ (half rule) / M. DC. LVIII.

Alv blank; A2r - A2v A Monsieur Monsieur Amyot docteur en medecine a Gyen,
26 Octobre 1658, Amyraut; A3r - F4v text.

Coll. 4° A - F. 24 leaves 48pp.

Du gouvernement de l'église. 1653. Cosin K v 26 (1).

Air title-page: DV / GOVERNEMENT / DE L'EGLISE./ CONTRE CEUX QVI /
veulent abolir l'usage & l'autorité des Synodes./ Par MOYSE AMYRAVT./
(device)/ A SAVMVR./ Chés ISAAC DESBORDES,/ Imprimeur & Libraire./ (rule)/
M. DC. LIII.

Alv blank; a2r - e1r A Messieurs du Synode tenant de present a Saumur,
20 Juin 1653, Amyraut; e1v approbation; e2r - e2v contents; Alr - Cc8v text.

Coll. 8° a°, e°, A - Cc°. (6) + 208 leaves (xii) + 416pp.


Air title-page: APPENDICE / AV LIVRE / DV / GOVERNEMENT / DE L'EGLISE./
Où il est traitté de la puissance des / Consistoires./ Par MOYSE AMYRAVT./
(device)/ A SAVMVR./ Chés ISAAC DESBORDES./ (half rule)/ M. DC. LVI.

Alv blank; A2r - F3v text; F4r - F4v blank.

Coll. 8° A - E°, F°. 43 leaves 86pp.
Sermon sur le sujet de la paix. 1660. Cosin C vi 11 (5).

Air title-page: SERMON / SVR LE SVIET / DE/LA PAIX./ Prononcé à Saumur
le Dimanche dernier / de Février 1660./ Par MOYSE AMYRAVT./ (type flowers) /
Se vend à Charenton./ Par OLIVIER DE VARENNES, le jeune / demeurant au
Palais en la Gallerie des Prisonniers / près la Chancellerie, au Vase d'Or./
(half rule)/ M. DC. LV.

Alv blank; A2r - A2v A Monsieur Monsieur du Vivier F.N.D.E; A3r - C6v text.
Coll. 8° A - C . 24 leaves (ii) + 46 pp.

Traité des religions. 1631. Cosin BB v 35.

Air title-page: TRAITÉ / DES / RELIGIONS / CONTRE CEUX QVI / LES ESTIMENT
TOUVES / Indifférentes./ Divisé en trois Parties,/ Par M. AMYRAVT,/ (device) /
A SAVVVR./ Pour CLAVDE GIRARD,ET / DANIEL DE L'ERPINIERE./(half rule)/M. DC. XXXI.

Alv blank; *2r - *6v preface; *7r - *8v table des chapitres de ce livre;
Air - Fflr text; Fflv fautes a corriger; Ff2r - Ff4v blank.
Coll. 8° *8 , A - Ee8 , Ff4 . (8) + 232 leaves (xvi) + 464 pp.


Air title-page: TROIS / SERMONS / SVR CES PAROLES / de l'Epistre aux Hebreux,/ Ch. I. vers. 3./ Lequel Fils estant la resplendeur de la gloire, & / la marque engravee de la personne d'iceluy,/ & soustenant toutes choses par sa parole puis-/ sante, ayant fait par soy-mesme la purgation / de nos pechez, s'est assis à la dextre de la / Maiesté ès lieux tres-hauts./ Prononcez à Charenton,/ PAR / MOYSE AMYRAVT./ (device)/ Se vendent à Charenton,/ Par ANTHOINE CELLIER,
demeurant / à Paris, rue de la Harpe, aux Gands / Couronnes./(half rule)/M. DC.LVIII.

Alv blank; a2r - a2v À Son Altesse Mademoiselle de Buillon, Amyraut; Alr - I8v text.
Coll. 8° a2 , A - l8 . (2) + 65 leaves (iv) + 130 pp.


Coll. 8°. A - D $^8$ (1) + 26 leaves (ii) + 50 pp.
Histoire de la Mappemonde Papistique. 1567. Cosin N iii 28 (1).

1r title-page: HISTOIRE DE LA / MAPPEMONDE PAPISTIQUE / EN LAQUELLE EST 
DECLARÉ TOVT / ce qui est contenu & pourtaict en la grande Table;/ ou 
Carte de la Mappemonde,/ Compösee par M. Prangidelpe / Escorche-Messes. / 
(woodcut)/ Imprimee en la ville de Luce Nouvelle,/ Brisaud Chasse-diables./ 
M. D. LXVII.

1v blank; 2r - 4v Preface sur la nouvelle Mappemonde Papistique; 
alr - 24v, Alr - A3v Provinces du monde papistique, text; A4r author's 
note; A4v blank.

Coll. 4°. *#; a - z *, A *. (4) + 92 + 4 leaves (viii) + 190 + (i) pp.

La troisieme harangue de M. Theodore de Besze. 1561. Cosin N iii 28 (2).

Alr title-page: LA TROISIEME / HARANGUE / DE M. THEODORE / DE BESZE, 
MINISTRE DU / sainct Euangile, prononcé a Poissy / devant la Maisté de 
la Reine, les / Princes du san^e & Seigneurs du / Conseil, presens Messieurs 
les Cardi-/ naux, Prelats, & Docteurs; ledict de / Besze assisté de douze 
Ministres, & / douze Deputez des Eglises refor-/ mées de ce Royaume: Le 
vingtsi-/ xieme jour du mois de Septembre,/ 1561./ AV LECTEUR / Ceste 
troisieme harangue, par cy devant imprimé avec / grandes omissions & 
faultes, a esté supposé par la se-/ conde, comme tu peux cognoistre par 
la date mesmes de / la vraye seconde qui t'est maintenant presentée.

Alv - B4v text.

Coll. 4°. A - B 8 leaves 16 pp.
Abus du jugement que Monsieur de la Milletière a voulu tendre contre le livre de l'Eucharistie adressé par D. Blondel à Mr. de la Motte-Launay. 1641. Cosin K v 44.

Alv title-page: ABUS / DV/ IVGEMENT / QUE MONSIEUR / DE LA MILLETIÈRE / a voulu tendre contre le livre / de l'Eucharistie. / Addressé par D. Blondel à Mr./ de la Motte Launay. / Où la faiblesse des preuves dudit Sieur / de la Milletière est démontrée à l'oeil. / (woodcut) / Sa vendent à Charenton, / Par MELCHIOR MONDLIERE, / (rule) / M. DC. XLI.

Alv blank; A2r - G8v A Monsieur de la Motte Launay; D. Blondel.

Coll. 8° A - G 56 leaves 112 pp.

Notes: Cosin 0 iv 20 is another copy.

De la primauté de l'Eglise. 1641. Cosin K i 1.

Alv blank; 2r - 3v A messieurs les pasteurs anciens et fideles membres de Nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ qui ont leur residence à Paris et leur exercice de religion à Charenton, à Roucy, 1 Nov. 1639. D. Blondel; 4r - 5v preface au lector christian; 5v - 6v indice des passages du Cardinal du Perron examinez en ce livre; 7r - 8v texte; PPppplr - Pppplr indice des passages de l'escriture sainte exposez, etc.; PPPppl - PPPppl indice des principales matières; QQqqqlr - QQqqql indice des passages du Cardinal du Perron examinez en ce livre; Alr - 000002v texte; text; PPppplr - Ppppl indice des passages de l'escriture sainte exposez, etc.; PPPppl - PPPppl indice des principales matières; QQqqqlr - QQqqql indice des passages de l'escriture sainte exposez, etc.; etc.

Coll. Fol (gathered in threes) 4, 4, 4; A - NNNMM 00000 a, PPPP - QQQQ (18) + 646 leaves; (xxxvi) + 1268 + (xxi) pp.

- 219 -

Alr title-page; ESCLAIRCISSEMENTS / FAMILIERS / DE LA / CONTROVERSE / DE L'EUCARISTIE,/ TIREZ DE LA PAROLE DE DIEU, & des écrits des SS./ Peres./ Par DAVID BLONDEL, Ministre / du saint Evangile./ (type-flowers)/ Et se vendent à Quevilly,/ Par IACQUES CAILOUE,/ demeurant à Rouen, dans la/ Court du Palais./ (rule) / M. DC. XLI.

Coll. 4° {a}^{+}, {q}^{+}, A - Yyy^{4}. (8) + 248 leaves (xvi) + 495 pp.

Modeste declaration de la sincerité et verité des Eglises Reformées de France. 1619. Cosin K v 35.

Alr title-page: MODESTE / DECLARATION / DE LA SINCERITÉ / ET VERITÉ / DES EGLISES / REFORMÉES / de France,/ OPPOSÉE AUX INVESTITIVES DE / Messieurs l'Evêque de Lusson, Vialar Prieur / de Beu, Raconis, Professeur / en Theo/- logie, Pitard Chanoïne de / Aaintes, &c./ Par DAVID BLONDEL, / Ministre de la Parole / de Dieu en l'Eglise Reformée / de Houdan. / Éternel délivre mon âme des fausses leures, & de la langue qui / n'est que tromperie. Je suis du tout adonné à la paix, mais / quand / i'en parle, les voilà à la guerre. Pseu. 120 v. 2. & 7. / (device)/ A SEDAN, / De l'imprimerie de IÉAN IANNON./ (half rule) / M. DC. XIX.

Alv blank; A2r - Blv au lecteur; B2r - Aa6v text; Aa7r - Aa7v / A mes chers & bien aimés les députés de nos sujets de la religion / prétendue reformée assemelé au Synode de Vitré, par le Roy, / LOYIS, & plus bas PHILIPPEAVX; Aa8r - Aa8v blank.

Coll. 8° A - Aa^{6}; 192 leaves 382 pp.
BLONDEL (Moise)


Air title-page: JERUSALEM / AV SECOURS / DE GENEVE, / C'EST A Dire, /
Traité des Livres Apocryphes, auquel sont rassemblés, pour confirmation de la do-ctrine des Eglises Reformées, les tesmoignages d'une Centaine de / Docteurs de l'Eglise / Primitive;/ Avec RESPONSE sur les Objections & Observations / des Sieurs Du Perron & Coeffeteau, de Coccius,/
Serarius, Gretser, Coton, & autres./ Par MOYSE BLONDEL, Ministre de la Parole de / Dieu en l'Eglise Reformée de Meaux./ (woodcut) / A SEDAN,/
Chez AEDIAS BUYZARD, deuant l'hostel de Ville./ (rule) / M. DC. XXIII.

Alv blank; A2r - A7r A Messieurs Messieurs les Pasteurs des Eglises Reformées de l'Isle de France, Picardie, Champagne & Pais Chartrain, M. Blondel; A7v blank; A8r - B5r preface aux lecteurs; B5v blank; B6r - B6v preface au sieur Coton, docteur Jesuite; Air title; Alv blank A2r - N5r text; N5r - N6r table des chapitres contenus en ceste premiere partie; N6v - N8v blank.

Coll. 8° a - b ; A - N ; (l6) + 102 leaves (xxxii) + 201 + (i) pp.

Notes Air is a second title-page. Gatherings a and b printed by Buyzard have been prefixed to the remainder of the work, printed by Jannon (Sedan, 1621).


Air title-page: ROME / AV SECOURS / DE GENEVE,/ OV / TRAITÉ AVQVEL /
est justifiée la doctrine des Eglises Reformées, par la sentence de /
plusieurs docteurs de / l'Eglise Romane./ (woodcut) / A CHARENTON,/
Pour I. Berjon & Michel Daniel./ (rule) / M. DC. XIX.

Alv blank; A2r - A3v, Alr - Q4v text.

Coll. 4° A1, A2, A3, A - Q* (3) + 64 leaves (vi) + 128 pp.
BOCHART (Matthieu)


Alr title-page: SERMON / DV/ IVSNE./ Prononcé à Alençon le jour de la / celebration du lune de Ieudy / 25 Mars. 1660./ Par MATTHIEV BOCHART ./ (woodcut) / Se vend à Charenton, / Par OLIVIER DE VARENNES, le ieune, / demeurant au Palais en la Gallerie des Prisonniers, / prés la Chancellerie, / au Vase d'Or. / (half rule)/ M. DC. LX.

Coll. 8°; A2r (signed a2) - A2v A Monsieur Monsieur le comte de Duce; M. Bochart; A3r - C3v text; C4r fautes; C4v blank.

Notes In this edition the epistle, signed a2, is clearly a substitution.

BOUTEROUE (Denis)

*Le Mystere de Pieté. 1633. Cosin I v 55 (2).


Coll. 16° (in eights) a4, b8 - f8, g8. 56 leaves 111 pp.
BRISSAC (Jacques de)

"Lettre de Mr. A Naudin à Mr. Des Loges. 1651. Cosin I vi 10.

Alr title-page: LETTRE / DE MR. A. NAUDIN,/ ADVOCAT EN PAR.-/ LEMENT,/ A Monsieur Des Loges, Ministre à / Loudun./ Sur son changement de Religion./ Avec la Response dudit Sr. Des Loges, / ou sont traitées les principales/ Controverses./ (device) / A SAVMr./ Par JEAN LESNIER, Imprimeur /& Libraire; Au Liure d'Or./ M. DC LI.

alv blank; a2r - o2v text of letter, Paris, 1 Jan 1651, Naudin; o2v fautes survenues à l'impression:

Air second title-page: RESPONSE / À LA LETTRE / DE MR. A NAVDIN/ À ADVOCAT EN PARLE.-/ MENT, DEMEVRANT A LOUDUN./ Sur son changement de Religion,/ PAR / JACQUES DE BRIS3AC;/ Pasteur audict Loudun./ (device) / A SAVMr./ Par JEAN LESNIER, Imprimeur /& Libraire, Au Liure d'Or./ M. DC LI.

Alv blank; A2r - X4v text of reply.

Coll. 4° a 4 , e 4 , i 4 , o 2 , A - X 4 (14) + 84 leaves (26) + 168 pp.

Notes A printer's note at the end of the work (X4v, p 168) declares that the Response was printed between 16 Jan. and 28 Feb. 1651.

CAEN

"Simple et veritable discours de ce qui s'est passé en la conference encommencée à Caen. 1606. Cosin N v 36 (8).

Alr title-page: SIMPLE / ET VERITABLE^ / DISCOVRS DE CE QVI / s'est passé en la Conference en-/ commencée à Caen, entre le le-/ suite Conteri, accompagné d'un / Docteur Iacobin, & les Ministres / de Caen & de Sainte-Mere - E /- glise. / M. DC. VI.

Alv blank; A2r - F4v text.

Coll. 4° A - F 4 . 24 leaves 48 pp.
CALVIN (Jean)

Traité des reliques. 1599. Cosin K v 38 (1).

*title-page: TRAITÉ DES RELIQUES ou, ADVERTISSEMENT TRES-utile du grand profit qui reviendroit à la Chre-/stiente s'il se faisait inventaire de tous les corps,/ Saints et Reliques qui sont tant en Italie qu'en France, Allemagne, Espagne, & autres Royau--mes & pays./ Par I. Caluin./ AVTRE TRAITÉ DES RELIQUES / contre le decret du Concile de Trente, traduit du / Latin de M. Cheirnicius./ INVENTAIRE DES RELIQUES / de Rome, mis d'Italien en Françoies./ RESPONSE AVX ALLEGATIONS / de Robert Bellarmin Iesuite pour les Reliques./ (device)/ A GENEVE./ Par Pierre de la Rouiere./ (half rule)/ M. D. XCIX.

*blank; *2r - *4r preface; *4v - *4v contents; *1r - *8v text.


CAPPEL (Jacques)

Apologie pour les eglises reformées. 1611. Cosin I iv 9 (3).

*title-page: APOLOGIE / POUR LES EGLISES / REFORMÉES CONTRE LES / blasphèmes de LEONARD LESSIVS,/ PIERRE COTON, & autres./ PAR IACQUES CAPPEL,/ Ministre de la parole de Dieu / en l'Eglise de Sedan./ (device)/ A SEDAN./ Par JEAN IANNON, (half rule)/ M. DC. XI.

*blank; *2r - *6v a Monseigneur Monseigneur le duc Frederick, heritier de l'Electorat Palatin, Cappel; *7r - *7v Indice des chapitres; *8r - *4r text; *4r fautes; *4v blank.

Instruction chrétienne responsive au premier tome de l'Institution de

Air title-page: INSTRUCTION / CHRESTIENNE./ RESPONSIVE AU PREMIER /
TOME DE L'INSTITUTIOIN / de P. COTON Iesuite, / Par IACQUES CAPPiEL,
Ministre du / S. Euangile, & Professeur en Theo--logie en l'Eglise &
Academie / de Sedan./ (device)/ A SEDAN,/ De l'Imprimerie de IEAN IANNON,/ 
M.DC. XIX.

âlv blank; â2r - â4v a tres-haute et tres puissants Princesse Madame
Louyse Julienne de Nassau, Douairière Electrice Palatine du Rhin, Cappel;
â5r - â8v a messieurs de l'Eglise Romaine: âir - â8v response aux prefaces
de P. Coton; Alr - Zz4v text.

Coll. e° à g, e, i, o, A - Yy, Zz. (32) + 364 leaves
(lxvi) + 728 pp.


Air title-page: LES / TROPHÈES / DE P. GONTERI / IESVITE,/ Auec / VN 
CATECHISME POUR / SON INSTRUCTION./ Par Jacques Cappel, Ministre de la
Parole de Dieu; / & Professeur en Theologie en l'Eglise / & Academie de 
Sedan./ (device)/ A SEDAN,/ De l'Imprimerie de Jean Iannon,/ (half rule)/ 
M. DC. XIII.

âlv les chapitres de ce livret; â2r - â4v a Madame de la Tremouille,
Duchesse de Thouars, Cappel; âir - n4v fuite de Pere Gontery; Alr - D4v 
catechisme.

Coll. 4° à , A-D (4) + 52 + 16 leaves (viii) + 104 + 32 pp.
CHRYSOSTOM (John, St.)


Air title-page: SERMON / DE / SAINT JEAN / CHRYSOSTOME / TOUCHANT LA LECTURE / de l'Écriture Sainte./ (woodcut)/ Se vendent à Charenton,/ Par SAMUEL PETIT, demeurant à / Paris en la Cour du Palais, place / du Change, à la Bible d'Or.

Alv - A2r a Monsieur le Doyen de Cisors, signed votre serviteur TRICOTEL; A2v - B4v text.

Coll. 4°. A - B⁴. 8 leaves 16 pp.

CONGNARD (Pierre)


Air title-page: TRAITÉ / CONTRE / L'ESCLAIRCISSEMENT / DONNÉ PAR / M. BLONDEL,/ EN LA QUESTION,/ Si une femme a été assise au Siège Papal / de Rome, entre
Leon IX. / & Benoist III. / par le Sieur CONGNARD,/ Avocat au Parlement de
Normandie. / (type-flowers)/ À SAUMUR,/ Par JEAN RIBOTTEAU & ANTOINE /
ROUSSELET, Imprimeurs & / Libraires./ M. DC. LV.

Alv blank; a2r - a4v à Mme. la Princessé de Turenne, Congnard; a5r - a7r au lecteur; a7v blank; Alr - T3v text.

Coll. 8° a², (less a8) A - T⁸. (7) + 156 leaves (xiv) + 312 pp.

- 227 -
CROI (Jean de)

La Vérité de la Religion Reformée. 1650. Cosin 1 iv 10.

Air title-page: UN / VÉRITÉ / DE LA / RELIGION / REFORMÉE. / OV, /
L'ÉCLAIRCISSEMENT, / et la preuve de la CONFESSION DE / FOY des Eglises
Reformées, / Par les Tesmoignages de la S. Escriture. / PAR I. DE CRUI /
Seconde edition reueue et de beaucoup augmentée / par l'Auteur. / (device)/
A GENEVE. / Pour Samuel Chouët. / (rule) / M. DC. L.

1v blank; 92r – 94v A nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ; 95r – 95v Preface;
Alr – 98r text.
Coll. 8° (less 96, 7, 8) A – QQ* (5) + 312 leaves (ix) + 624 pp.

DAILLE (Jean)

Considerations de Jean Daille sur le livre de M. de Chaumont. 1634.
Cosin X v 15.

Air title-page: CONSIDERATIONS / DE JEAN DAILLE, / SUR LE LIVRE /
DE MONSIEUR DE CHAUMONT / Intitulé, / DISCOVRS PACIFIQUE. / (device)/
A SEDAN, / Par JEAN IANNON Imprimeur / de l'Academie, / (rule) / M. DC. XXXIV.

A2r – 04v text.
Coll. 4°, A – 0 1/2. 55 leaves 112 pp.

Sir title-page: EXAMEN DE L'ADVIS DE MONSIEVR DE LA MILLETIERE, SVR L'ACCOMMODEMENT DES DIFFERENTS de la Religion. Par JEAN DAILLE, Ministre du saint Evangile. (device) Se vendent à Charenton par SAMUEL PETIT, demeurant à Paris dans la court du Palais, Place du Change à la Bible d'or. (half rule) M. DC. XXXVII.

Coll. 8° A - 0. (4) + 112 leaves (viii) + 222 + (i) pp.

Notes. According to Daille, La Milletière's book was first published in 1634 or 1635.


Coll. 8° (less 9/8) A - Aaa 8 , (7) + 376 leaves (xiii) + 751 pp.
EXPOSITION / DE JEAN DAÏLLE / SUR LA DIVINE ÉPIÈRE /
DE L'APÔTRE S. PAVL / Aux Filippiens / EN VINGT-NEUF SERMONS, / prononcés à Charenton, dans les saintes assemblées de l'Église Réformée de Paris,
l'an 1639. / 1640. 1641. 1642. / SECONDE PARTIE, / sur les deux derniers Chapitres. / ÉDITION DEUXIÈME, revue & corrigée par l'Auteur. / (device) /
A GENEVE. / Par PIERRE CHOVET, / (rule) / En l'an M. DC. LIX.

A Madame de Dangeau, 14 Avril 1647, Daille;

Coll: 8° 9r. A - Li°, Mm°. (4) + 274 leaves (viii) + 547 pp.
Exposition de l'Epistre de S. Paul à Tite. 1655. Cosin C v 9.

Àl r title-page: EXPOSITION / DE L'EPISTRE / DE S. PAUL / À TITE, / EN
DIX-HUIT SERMONS, / Prononcées à Charenton, / Par JEAN DAÏLLE / l'an 1652,
1653 & 1654. / (device) / Se vend à Charenton, / Par SAMUEL PERIER, demeurant
à / Paris, dans la Cour du Palais, / au Roy de Suède / (rule) / M. DC. LV.

Coll. 8° à 2r - à 3v, A - Sa 3 . (6) + 326 leaves (xii) + 652 + (ii) pp.

Exposition de l'Epistre deuxième de Saint Paul à Timothée. 2 vols. 1660.
Cosin C v 2-3.

Àlr title-page: EXPOSITION / DE / L'EPISTRE DEUXIÈME / DE SAINT PAUL / À
TIMOTHEE / EN TRENTECINQ SERMONS / Prononcées à Charenton, / PAR / JEAN DAÏLLE /
Premier Volume / (type-flowers) / À GENEVE. Pour I. Ant. & Samuel de Tournes.
Se vend à Charenton / PAR A. CELLIER, demeurant à Paris, rue de la Harpe,
à / l'Imprimerie des Roziers. / (rule) / M. DC LX.

Coll. 8° à à 2r - à 6r A Madame la Princesse de Turenne, 1 Mars 1659, Daillé;
à 6v blank; ÀIR - Dd7v text; Dd8r - Dd8v table.

(less à 7,8) misnumbered 778)

Àlr title-page: EXPOSITION / DE / L'EPISTRE DEUXIÈME / DE SAINT PAUL / À
TIMOTHEE / EN TRENTECINQ SERMONS / Prononcées à Charenton, PAR / JEAN DAÏLLE /
Second Volume / (type-flowers) / À GENEVE. Pour I. Ant. & Samuel de Tournes
Se vend à Charenton / PAR A. CELLIER, demeurant à Paris, rue de la Harpe,
à / l'Imprimerie des Roziers. / (rule) / M. DC LX.

Coll. 8° Q 2r - Q 7v A Mademoiselle de Bouillon, 1 Mars, 1659, Daillé;
Air - Rr3v text; Ar3v - Rr4r table; Rr4v blank.

(less Q 8) A - Qq 3 , Rr 4 + (7) + 316 leaves
(xiv) + 629 + (ii) pp.

alt title-page: LES / DEUX DERNIERS / SERMONS / DE / Mgr DAILLE, / PRONONCEZ / A CHARENTON / LE IOVR DE / PASQUES / sixiesme auriil 1670 & le / Jeudi suivant. / Avec un Abregé de sa Vie, & le / Catalogue de ses Oeuvres. / (type-flower) / Se vendent à Charenton. / Par SAMUEL PERIER demeurant à / Paris, dans la Court du Palais, au / Roy de Suède. / (rule) / M. DC. LXX.

alv blank; a2r - a5v A Madame la Marquise de Gouvernet, Daille; a6r - a8v catalogue des œuvres de Mr. Daille, imprimées tant en français qu'en latin; alr - aa4v abrégé de la vie de Mr. Daille; alr - D8r text: D8v blank.

Coll. 8° a 1, e 1, i 1, o 1, u 1, ae 1; A - D 8. (44) + 32 leaves (xvi) + 72 + 63 pp.


(*)1r title-page: MELANGE / DE / SERMONS, / Prononces par / Ixan DAILLE / A CHARENTON près de PARIS, en divers / temps, & sur divers sujets. / PREMIERE PARTIE. / (device with the word EXSPECTANDO) / A AMSTELDM, / Chez Ixan De RAVESTEYN / CID. IC. C. LVIII.

(*)1v blank; (*)2r - (*)5v A Monsieur François d'Aerssen de Sommersdyck, Daille, Paris, 15 Oct. 1657; (*)6r - (*)6v table des sermons contenus au premier volume; alr - Qq4r text; Qq4v blank.

Coll. 8° (*) 1 less (*) 7, 8, A - Fp 8, Qq 1. (6) + 306 leaves (xii) + 615 pp.

Quinze sermons. 1655. Cosin C v 12.

alt title-page: QUINZE / SERMONS / DE / IxAN DAILLE / PRONONCEZ EN / divers lieux, & sur divers sujets, / l’an 1653, & 1654. / (device VINCIT AMOR PATRIAIE) / A SAVYVR, / Pour DANIEL DE LERPINIERE. / (rule) / M. DC. LV.

alv blank; a2r - a3v A Messieurs les pasteurs, anciens et diacres de l’Eglise Reformée de la Rochelle, 22 Mai 1655, Daille; a4r table des sections contenues en ce volume; a4v blank; alr - alr text; alv blank. a2r - a2r fautes à corriger.

Coll. 8° a 1, A - Z 8, Aa - Dd 8, X 8. (4) + 216 + (2) leaves (viii) + 434 + (ii) pp. - 231 -


Alv blank; A2r - C7v text; C8r - C8v blank.
Coll. 8° A - C 16, 24 leaves 46 pp.

Sermon sur le XXII chapitre de S. Luc, verset xv, xvi. 1651. Cosin C vi 11 (9).

Air title-page: SERMON / DE / JEAN DAULÉ / Sur le mi chap. de Saint Luc / Vers. xv, xvi. / Prononcé à Charenton le jour de Pasque / [9 avril 1651]. / (design) / Se vend à Charenton, / Par LOVIS VENDOSME, demeurant à / Paris, rue de la Harpe, proche le Pont / S. Michel, au Sacrifice d'Abraham. / (rule) / M. DC. LI.

Alv blank; A2r - E4r text; E4v blank.

Sermon ... sur l'Apocalypse, chapitre 1, verset 17, 18. 1651. Cosin C vi 11 (10).

Air title-page: SERMON / DE JEAN DAULÉ / Sur le dixseptiesme & dixhuitiesme verset / du premier Chapitre de l'Apocalypse / de saint Jean. / Prononcé à Charenton le 27 suril 1651. / (device) / SE VEND A CHARENTON / PAR SAMUEL PERIER, demeurant À Paris, / vis à vis le College Royal, au petit Jesus. / (half rule) / M. DC. LI.

A2r - C4r text; C4v - C5v fautes à corriger; C6r - C8v blank.
Coll. 8° A - C 16, 24 leaves 42 pp.
Sermon ... sur la première épître de S. Paul aux Corinthiens, chapitre 11 versets 28, 29. 1652. Cosin C vi 11 (13).


Alv blank; A2r - E4v text.
Coll. 4° A - E 4. 20 leaves, (ii) + 38 pp.

*Sermon ... sur le jeûne de Nôtre Seigneur. 1651. Cosin C vi 11 (8).

Alr title-page: SERMON / DE JÉAN DAÏLÉ / SUR / Le leusne de nStre Seigneur / dans le desert; / Prononcé à Charenton, le leudi 25. iour de mars 1651. / (type flowers) / Se vend à Charenton, / Par LOVYS VENDO3ME, demeurant à Paris, / rue de la Harpe, proche le Pont S. Michel, / au Sacrifice d'Abraham. / (half rule) / M. DC. LI.

Alv blank; A2r - E4v text.
Coll. 4°. A - E 4. 20 leaves (ii) + 38 pp.


Alr title-page: SERMON / SVR LA / RESVRRBCTION / DE NOSTRE-SEIGNEVR / IESVS CHRIST. / Prononcé à Charenton le lendemain de / Pasque, premier iour d'Auril 1652. / PAR IEM DAÏLÉ. / (type flowers) / Se vend à Charenton, / Par SAMVEL PERIER, demeurant à / Paris près le College Saint Iean de / Latran, au petit IESVS. / (rule) / M. DC. LII.

Alv blank; A2r - E4v text.
Coll. 4° A - E 4. 20 leaves 40 pp.
Sermons ... de la naissance, de la mort, resurrection et ascension de Nostre Seigneur. 1661. Cosin C v 8.


Alv blank; a2r - a2v Table des Sermons contenus en ce volume; Alr - Oo5r text; Oo5v - Oo8v blank.
Coll. 8°. +, A - Oo 9, (2) + 296 leaves (iv) + 585 pp.


Alv blank; a2r (signed a3) - a7v A Monsieur du Candal Seigneur de Fontenaille, 1 Avril 1648, Daillé; a8r - a8v note on printing errors; Alr - Mm7r text; Mm7v - Mm8v blank.
Coll. 8°. +, A - Mm 9 (7) + 279 leaves (xiv) + 557 pp.

Alv blank; a2r (signed a3) - a7v A Monsieur Monsieur Bigot Seigneur de Lathonville, 1 Avril 1648, Daillé; a8r - a8v note on printing errors; Alr - Mm4v text.
SERMONS / DE JEAN DAILLÉ / Sur l'Epitre de l'Apôtre

Saint Paul / aux Colossiens. / TROISIÈME PARTIE, / Qui contient l'exposition

des deux derniers / chapitres, en dix-huit Sermons. / (device) / Se vendent

à Charenton, / Par LOVYS VENDOSME, demeurant / à Paris en la Gallerie des

Oyseaux, / à la Caille, & au Sacrifice / d'Abraham. / (rule) / M. DC. XLVIII.

DES MARETS (Samuel)

DRELINCOURT (Charles)

Abbégé des controverses. 1634. Cosin I iv 34 (1).

Air title-page: ABBÉGÉ / DES / CONTROVERSES / OV / Sommaire des erreurs de nostre temps, avec leur refutation par textes ex- pres de la Bible de Louuain. / Par CHARLES DRELINCOURT, / Ministre de la Parole de Dieu / en l'Eglise de Paris. / (woodcut) / Et se vendent à Charenton, par JEAN ANTHOINE / IOALLIN, demeurant à Paris dans la Court du / Palais, & place du Change proche la / Perle de Venise. / (rule) / M. DC. XXXIII. (1)

Avertissement sur les disputes et le procedé des missionnaires. 1654. Cosin I iv 30 (1).

Air title-page: AVERTISSEMENT / SVR LES DISPUTES / ET LE PROCÉDÉ / DES MISSIONNAIRES. / Par CHARLES DRELINCOURT. / (woodcut: with the words: ERVDENTIA UINCVNT) / Se vend à Charenton, / Par LOVIS VENDSME, Marchand Libraire / demeurant à Paris au bout du Pont S. Michel / au Sacrifice d'Abraham. 1654.

Alv blank; A2r - P3v text; P3v woodcut, with words: QVAM SPERATA VICTORIA FAX CERTA MELIOR and TYPVS PACIS; P4r - P4v blank.

Coll. 8° A - 0 3, P 4 116 leaves 230 pp.

Air title-page: DES / NULLITÉS / PRETENDUES / DE LA / REFORMATION / DE
L'ÉGLISE,/ PAR / CHARLES DRELINCOURT./ (device)/ SE VEND A CHARENTON,/ Par SAMUEL PERIER, demeurant à Paris,/ près Saint Iean de Latran, au Petit Jesus, / deuant le College Royal,/ (rule) / M. DC. LIII.

Alv blank; A2r - A4v table des sections; A5r - T2v text; T3r - T4v blank.
Coll. 8° A - S^ 8, T^ 4. 146 leaves (ii) + 290 pp.


Air title-page: DIALOGUES / FAMILIERS SUR / LES PRINCIPALES / Objections des
missionnaires de / ce temps./ PAR / CHARLES DRELINCOURT./ (woodcut, with the words: DISCITE IVSTITIAM MONITI)/ (rule) / M. DC. XLVIII.

Alv blank; a2r - a8v Au serenissime Prince Monseigneur le Prince Guillaume VI Landgrave de Hesse, 15 Oct. 1647, Drelincourt; 5lr - 58v Au peuple chrestien separé de la communio de Rome, 16 Oct. 1647, Drelincourt; 9lr - 9lv avertissement; 92r - 94v preface; Alr - S3v text; S4r - S4v table.
Coll. 8° a - 9, e - 9, y^ 4, A - R^ 8, S^ 4. (20) + 140 leaves (xxxviii) + 280 + (ii) pp.


Air title-page: DV / FAUS VISAGE / DE L'ANTIQUITÉ / PAR / CHARLES DRELINCOURT./ (device) / SE VEND A CHARENTON,/ Par LOVIS VENDOSME, demeurant / à Paris, rue de la Harpe, proche le Pont / S. Michel, au Sacrifice d'Abraham./ (rule) / M. DC. LIII.

3v blank, 2r - 2v preface; 3r - 4v table des sections; Alr - R6r text; R8v blank.
Coll. 8° 4, A - R^ 9, (4) + 136 leaves (vii) + 273 pp.

Notés On 4v the roman numbers of the sections are in smaller type than those on the three preceding pages.

- 237 -

* title-page: LE / PASTEVR / FIDELE, / OV / SERMON / SVR LES ACTES DES / Apôtres, chap. 20. vers. 28. / Prononcé en l'Eglise Reformée de Gien le 27/ Octobre 1658. / Par CHARLES DRELINCOVVT. / Avec les discours qu'il a faicts, / & la priere / qu'il a prononcée en imposant les mains à / HENRI DRELINCOVVT / son file. / (type flowers) / SE VEND A CHARENTON / Par LOVYS VENDOSME / demeurant à Paris. / 

° title-page: SERMON / SVR LA PAIX, / PAR / CHARLES DRELINCOVVT, / Ministre du Saint Evangile. / (device, with the words: MELIVS EST SPERARE IN DOMINO QVAM IN HOMINE) / Et se vend à Charenton. / Par LOVYS VENDOSME, Marchand / Libraire à Paris, demeurant sur le Quay / de Givre, à l'Enseigne de la Caille. / (half rule) / M. DC. XLIX.


Traitte des justes causes de la separation des Protestans d'avec l'Eglise Romaine. 1649. Cosin N iii 7.

Air title-page: TRAITÉ / DES / IVSTES CAUSES / DE LA / SEPARATION DES PROTESTANS / d'avec l'Eglise Romaine./ Et particulièrement de l'adoration de la Croix./ de l'adoration du Sacrement, & de la / Transubstantiation./ PAR / CHARLES DRELINCOURT, / Ministre de Iesus Christ. † / (device) / Et se vend à Charenton,/ Par LOVIS VANDOSME, demeurant à Paris,/ Sur le Quay de Gévre, à la Caille./ (rule) / M. DC. XLIX.

Alv blank; A2r - A2v A son Altess electorale palatine, Drelincourt, 1 Sept. 1647; A3r - A4v table des matières contenues en ce traitte; A4v advertissement; Alv - Eee4r text; Eee4v blank.

Coll. 4° a à *, e *, i *, A - Eee4; (12) + 296 leaves (xxiv) + 587 pp.

Notes† The words 'contre Milletierre'are found on the title-page in seventeenth-century handwriting (probably Cosin's) where indicated.

DUCHAT (Yves)

^Récit veritable de la conference entre les sieurs Duchat et Veron. 1619. Cosin N v 36 (3).

Air title - page: RECIT / VERITABLE / DE LA CONFERENCE / entre les Sieurs Duchat, Ministre / de la Parole de Dieu, & Veron / Jesuite. / CONTRE LES FAUSSETEZ / de la Conference pretendue entre / les susdits que ledit Sieur Veron a / nouvellement mis à jour à son ad-/ vantage./ (woodcut)/ Et se vendent à Charenton, Par Samuel Petit./ M. DC XIX.

Alv blank; A2r - A3r au lecteur; A3v blank; A4r - M4v text.

DU MOULIN (Cyrus)

*Catechisme auquel les Controverses de ce temps sont brièvement décidées par la Parole de Dieu. 1639. Cosin I vi 33.

Air title-page: CATECHISME / AUQUEL LES CON-/ TROVERSES DE CE / temps sont brièvement de-/ cides par la Parole de Dieu / PAR CYRVS DV MOVLIN/ Pasteur de l'Eglise de Chasteaudur:/ (woodcut) / A SEDAN, / Par FRANÇOIS CHAYER, devant / la Maison de Ville:/ (rule) / M. DC. XXXIX.

Avl blank; A2r - Y4v text.


DU MOULIN (Pierre) le fils.

Traitté de la paix de l'âme et du contentement de l'esprit. 1660. Cosin N v 20 (1).

Air title-page: TRAITTE / DE LA PAIX / DE L'AME / ET DV / CONTENTEMENT/ DE / L'ESPRIT: / PAR PIERRE DV MOVLIN,/ LE FILS./ (woodcut) / A SEDAN,/ Par FRANÇOIS CHAYER, près la / Maison de Ville./ (rule) / M. DC. LX.

Avl blank; A2r - A3v A Madame la Duchesse de la Force, P. du Moulin; A4r - A3r preface; A3v table de ce Traitté; Alr - Kkk4r text; Kkk4v blank.

Coll. 4° A4; A5, (less A4) A - Kkk4 (7) + 224 leaves (xiv) + 447 pp.
DUPLESSIS-MORNAY (Philippe)

De l'institution usage et doctrine du saint sacrement de l'Eucharistie. 1599. Cosin 0 iv 18.

Air title-page: DE / L'INSTITUTION (red) / VSAGE ET DOCTRINE / DV SAINT SACREMENT (red) / de l'Eucharistie (red) en l'Eglise / Ancienne;/ Ensemble Comment, Quand, & par quels Degres / la Messe s'est introduite en sa place;/ LE TOVT EN QUATRE LIVRES (red) / Par Messire PHILIPPE DE MORNAY, (red) Seigneur de Ples-/ sis Marli, Conseiller du Roy en son Conseil d'Estat;/ Capitaine de cinquante hommes d'armes de ses / Ordonnances, Gouerneur de la Ville & / Chasteau de Saumur, Surintendant de/ sa Maison & Couronne de Naurarre;/ Derniere Edition, reueue par l'Auteur, & augmentee / de deux Tables, l'une des Autheurs, l'autre des / matieres plus remarquables;/ (device)/ A LA ROCHELLE;(red) / (rule) / M. D. XCIX.

Alv S. Cyprian au Traite du sacrement de la coupe du Seigneur, quotation; A2r - D2v preface de l'auteur & Messieurs de l'Eglise Romaine; D3r De antiqua et nova missa, per Joh. Gordonem Scotum, verse; D3v - D6r. Quel est le but de l'Auteur en ce livre; D6v - Elv sommaire des chapitres; E2r - E3r table des auteurs alleguez; E3v blank, Alr - Ccc4r text; Ccc4v blank; Ccc5r - Ccc8v repertoire general et alphabetique des plus dignes et notables matieres deduictes en ce volume.

Coll. 8° A - E9, A - Ccc8, (40) + 392 leaves (lxxvi) + 779 + (viii) pp.


Air title-page: DEVX / HOMELIES;/ DV MOYEN DE SE / RESOVDRE SVR LES / contouerses de ce / temps./ † Par le S.P.D.M./ (woodcut) / Et se vendent à Queuilly, / Par LEAN PETIT,/ (half rule) / M. DC. XII.

Alv blank; A2r - I3v text; I4r - I4v blank;

Coll. 8° (in fours) A - I4, 36 leaves, 70 pp.

Note † Inscription (wrongly) ascribes work to Pierre du Moulin. This inscription, probably in Thomas Rudd's hand, is very difficult to read. Dr. A.I. Doyle reads it as 'an litterar ordine paulu imutato le Sieur Pierre du Moulin', which presumably is a reference to the fact that the work is described as being by le S.P.D.M. Rudd is probably suggesting an arrangement of these letters to indicate Pierre Du Moulin. Bibl. de la litt. fr. au XVIIe siècle ascribes the work to Duplessis-Mornay.
Discours veritable de la conference tenue à Fontainebleault. 1600.
Cosin N v 20 (3).

Air title-page: DISCOVRS / VERITABLE / DE LA CONFERENCE / TENVE A
FONTAINE- / BELLEAV:/ Le quatriesme May, 1600./ (type-flower)/
Imprimé l'an de grace,/ M.D.C.

Alv blank; A2r - H4v text.
Coll. 4° A - H 4 32 leaves 64 pp.

Notes A Protestant publication. No place of publication given.

Response au livre publié par le Sieur Evesque d'Evreux sur la Conference
tenue à Fontainebleau le 4 May 1600. 1603. Cosin 0 iv 19.

Air title-page: RESPONSE / AV LIVRE PVBLIE PAR / LE SIEVR EVESQUE D'EVREX,/
Sur la Conference tenue à Fon-/ taine-Bleau le quatriesme / de May 1600./
Par PHILIPPES DE MORNAY,/ Sieur du Plessis-Marly./ En laquelle sont
excellemment traîtées les principales / matieres de controuerse en ce temps./
Ib. 6. 25. (quotation) / Ps. 18. 29. (quotation) / Seconde Edition, reueué
par l'Auteur./ (woodcut) / A SAVMVN, / Par THOMAS PORTAT,/ (rule) / 1603.

Alv Augustinus Lib. II Confessionum: cap. 2. Sint casiae deiciae meae
scriptyrae tva; mei fallar in eis, ne fallam ex eis, quotation;
A2r - A7v A messieurs de l'Eglise Romaine; A8r - B6v Avertissement de
l'Auteur à Messieurs de l'Eglise Romaine, publié au mois d'août 1601
sur le livre lors mis en lumiere:du Sieur d'Evrevx; B7r - C2v Indice.des
principaux auteurs; Alr - Yy2v text; Yy3r - Yy4v blank.
Coll. 8° A 8 , B 8 , C 2 ; A - Xx 8 , Yy 4 . (18) + 356 leaves (xxxvi)
+ 708 pp.

1er title-page: TRAITÉ / DE L'EGLISE;/ AVQVEL SONT DISPV-/ TEES LES PRINCIPALES / questions meuës sur ce pointct,/ en nostre temps,/ PAR / Messire PHILIPPES DE MORNAL, Sei-/ gneur du Plessis-Marli; Conseiller du Roy en son / Conseil d'Estat; Capitaine de Cinquante hommes / d'armes de ses Ordonnances; Gouerneur pour sa Ma-/ iesté en la Ville & Seneschauece de Saumur, & Sur-/ Intendant de la Maison & Couronne de Nauarre./ Reueue, & augmente par l'Auutheur; & les passages / des Peres emplioyez a la marge, contre les ca-/ lomnies ordinaires de ce siecle./
(woodcut) / A GENEVE,/ PAR JEAN LE PREVX./ (rule) / M. D. XCIX.

5iv Apcoc. Ch. 18, quotation; 5iv - 5v Au serenissime Henri, Roi de Navarre, Souverain de Bearn, &c., Pair & premier Prince du Sang de France; 5v sonnet au Roi de Navarre, 5v - 6r preface sur cette seconde edition; 6r au lecteur; 5v - 15v sommaire des chapitres; 16r - Dd2v text; Dd3v - Dd4v brief indice.

Coll. 8° a+b, A - Cc* , Dd*. (8) + 212 leaves (xvi) + 420 + (iv) pp.

Notes A handwritten note on flyleaf states: "1644. ce livre appartient à M. Brune gentilhomme anglois 11 7bre".

EUDES (Morton)


1er title-page (within border) : TRADITION CATHOLIQ / ou/ TRAICTÉ DE LA / CROYANCE DES CHRE-/ stiens d'Asie, d'Europe & / d'Afrique ez dogmes / principalement / controversez / en ce temps./ EN FAEUVR DES AMA-/ teurs de la verité Catholique, & de la paix de l'Eglise./ Par Th. A.I.C./ (rule) / (Quotation : Iraeneus) / M. DC. IX.

5v blank; 2v - 4v A Mgr. Henri Prince de la Grand'Bretagne, signed Th. A.I.C.; 6r - Ll3r text; Ll3v - Ll4r tables des matières; Ll4r fautes; Ll4v blank.

Coll. 4° a+b, B - Ll 136 leaves 269 + (ii) pp.


- 243 -
GACHES (Raymond)

*De l'imposition des mains. 1658. Cosin C vi 15 (5).

Air title-page: **DE L'IMPOSITION / DES MAINS,/ OV / SE MON / SVR L'EPISTRE / de St. Paul aux Romains,/ chapitre 10. verset 15./ Prononcé à Nanteuil-lez-Meaux, le 14/ Octobre 1657./ Par RAYMOND GACHES./ Se vend à Charenton./ Par OLIVIER DE VARENNES, de-/ meurant au Palais en la Gallerie des / Prisonniers; prés la Chancellerie, / au Vase d'Or./ (half rule) / M. DC. LVIII.

Alv blank; Unsigned lr - Unsigned 2v A Madame Madame Sarrau veuve de feu Monsieur Sarrau, Conseiller du Roy en sa Cour de Parlement de Paris, Gaches; A2r - D4v text.

Coll. 8° A - C ²; D ⁴ (plus 2 unsigned leaves after Al) 30 leaves (iv) + 56 pp.

GAILLARD (Gilles de)


Air title-page: **LE / PROSELYTE / EVANGELIQUE:/ (ornament)/ LIVRE AVQVEL / LE VRAY / Christianisme est tres-clairement demonstré / par la Parole de Dieu, contre la / Tradition des hommes./ Par GILLES de GAILLARD./ Le tout diuise en deux parties,/ SECONDE EDITION,/ Reueue et augmentee par l'Auteur./ (woodcut) / A GENEVE / Chez PIERRE CHOVET,/ (rule) / M. IC. XLVIII.

Qlv blank; 92r - 95r A messire François Vallée, Seigneur de Chenailles, Gaillard, 1 Apl. 1635.; 95v - 96v advertisement à messieurs les docteurs romains; 97r - 98r article du Synode des églises de Dauphiné touchant le présent livre; 98r extract, des Actes du Synode des Eglises Reformées de ceste Province, 99v - 99r lettre dudit Synode à l'auteur; 99r - 100v table des matières traitées en ceste ouvrage selon l'ordre des sections; Alr - Aa2v text of part one; alr - ii4r text of part two; ii4v blank; ii5r - 118v table des choses remarquables mentionnées au present livre.

Coll. 8° ³, ⁴, A - Z ²; Aa ; a - ll ². (16) + 186, 272 leaves (xxxii) + 372; 503 + (xl) pp.
GESLIN (Paul)

La sainte Chorographie. 1629. Cosin X iv 22.

Air title-page: LA SAINCTE / CHOROGRAPHIE / OV / DESCRIPTION DES / LIEUX
OV RESIDE L'ÉGLISE / Chrestienne par tout / l'Univers./ CANTIQU. DES
CANTIQU. / Chap 1. verset VII. / Declare-moy, O Toy qu'aime mon Ame, où / tu
paies, & oh tu fais reposer ton / Troupeau sur le Midi. / Par P. GESLIN./
(woodcut) / A SAVOIR, / Par C. GIRARD, & D. DE L'ERPINIERE,/ (rule) / M. DC. XXIX.

Alv blank; A2r - A5v Aux Lecteurs; A4r - G7r text; G7r Fin. à Saumur, De
l'Imprimerie de JEAN LÉGENIER, & ISAAC DESBordes M. DC XXIX; G7v - G8v blank.

Coll. 8° A - G 56 leaves 109 pp.

GILLES (Pierre)

Histoire ecclesiastique des Eglises Reformées des Vaudois. 1644.
Cosin P iv 24.

Mir title-page: HISTOIRE / ECCLESIASTIQUE / DES EGLISES / REFORMÉES,
RECEVILLIES EN QUELQUES / VALLÉES DE PIEDMONT, & Circonvoisines /
Autrefois appelées EGLISES VAUDOISES, / commençant dès l'an 1160 de notre
Seigneur, & / finissant en l'an mil six cents quarante trois. / Par PIERRE
GILLES, Pasteur de l'Église / Reformée de la Tour. / Avec deux indices,
l'un des sommaires des chapitres, aussi la / designation des années &
l'autre est un indice tres-ample / des matières contenues en la dicte
histoire./ (woodcut, with the words: ART. EN SON DIEV) / A-GENEVE, / Par
JEAN DE TOURNES, Imprimeur ordinaire de / la République & Académie./
(rule) / M. DC. XLIV.

Alv blank; 2r - 4v A messieurs mes tres-honores et tres-chers frères en
nostre seigneur, les pasteurs, anciens, Diacres & autres Directeurs en
ensemble; à tous les autres fidèles, membres des églises reformées, des
Valées de Piedmont, & circonvoisines, P. Gilles, 27 Juin 1643, de mon aage
le 72; 1r - 4v indice; 1r - 12v indice; Alr - Hhhh4v text.

Coll. 4° 4, 4, 2; A - Hhhh 4, (10) + 308 leaves (xx) + 616 pp.

Air title-page: ORAISON / FVNEBRE / DE FEV / MONSIEVR / LE DVC / DE /
ROVANMAIS;/ PRESCHÉE EN SON EGLISE / D'OVAIRON./ Par le P. GILLES, Recollect
de la / Prouince de la Magdelaine./ (type flower)/ A SAVMVR,/ Par ANT. HERNAVLIT,
Im-/ primeur & Libraire, à la Grand / rue, au Nom de IESVS./ M. DC. XLIII.

Alv blank; A2r - H4v Saul & Ionathas ambo ambules non sunt in morte divisi;
text.

Coll. 8o (in fours) A - H‡, 32 leaves 64 pp.

Notes Irregular line-spacing, many irregularities also in pagination, p 11
misnumbered 10, etc.

GOUART (Simon)

Notables considerations touchant la Conscience humaine. 1607. Cosin I v 35.

Ir title-page: NOTABLES / CONSIDERA---/ TIONS TOV-/ CHANT LA / CONSCIENCE /
HVMAINE./ Tirées de la reigle d'icelle & reduittes en deux Liures./ PLVS /
DIVERS TRAICTEZ : / 1. De nostre iustice deuant Dieu,/ 2. De nostre Naissance
& Renaissance,/ 3. Du vieil & nouuel homme, / 4. De l'Espirit & de la Lettre,
du Chrestien,/ 8. Des Marques du Chrestien;/ Le tout receuille, descrit, &
nouellement / mis en François par S.C.S./ (asterisks)/ † / Pour PIERRE &
IAQVES CHOVET,/ (rule) / M. DC. VII.

Qiv Pseaume CXIX quotation; Q2r - Q3v A Iean le Fevre de Tournay, 15 Aoust
1605, Simon Goulart; Q4r - Q5r Chapitres des deux livres de la Conscience;
Q5v - Q12r Preface aux Lecteurs; Q12v A Dieu tout bon et tout puissant, verse;
Air - Q12r text; Q12v blank.

Coll. 12o Q12, A - Q1a (12) + 192 leaves (xxiv) + 383 pp.

Notes. † The name 'Goulart' appears on the title-page in a seventeenth
century hand.
La Messe trouvée dans l'Écriture. n.d. Cosin X vi 21.

Air title-page: LA / MESSE / TROUVÉE / DANS L'ÉCRITURE. (rule) ♦

Alv. Je prie le lecteur de ne pas trouver mauvais l'air avec lequel j'ai traité cette matière, & de considérer que l'action ridicule que je combats, provoque de foy, même à la raillerie, et ne mérite pas d'être condamnée d'une façon plus sévère; A2r - E4r text; E4v blank.

Coll. 4° A - E 20 leaves 39 pp.

Notes In this copy the title-page bears the inscription, in Cosin's own hand, 'pour Mons. de Langley a Rouen'. Bibl. de la litt. française au XVIIe siècle attributes the work to Lucas Jansse.

LABADIE (Jean de)

La pratique des deux oraisons. 1656. Cosin X vi 33.

Air title-page: LA PRATIQUE / Des deux Oraisons, / Mentale, & Vocale: /

Contenue en trois Livres / de JEAN DE LABADIE, / Pasteur / PREMIERE PARTIE /

Addressée à Mademoiselle / Judith de la Chaussade, / de Calonges. / (type-flower) / A MONTAUBAN, / Par PIERRE BERTIE, / Imprimeur de la / Ville et de l'A - / cademie. 1656.

Alv blank; a2r - ß6v A mademoiselle Judith de la Chaussade, 2 Fevr. 1656, Labadie; ß7r - (O?))lv table; (O)3r - (O)4v blank; A2r - P12v text.

Coll. 24° (in eights and fours) à, e, ß, (O), A 4+4, B 4+4, P 4+4. (24) + 180 leaves; (xliv) + 360 pp.
LA BALLE (Isaac de)

*Veritable narré de ce qui s'est passé en la conference tenue au Chasteau de Lindeboeuf entre Isaac de la Balle et François Veron. 1619. Cosin X v 21.

Air title-page: VERITABLE / NARRÉ DE CE QVI / S'EST PASSÉ EN LA / Conference tenue au Chasteau de / Lindeboeuf entre Isaac de la Balle / Ministre de la Parole de Dieu, & / François Veron Jesuite./ ENSEMBLE LA / RESPONSE / aux impostures & discours iniurieux inserez / & adiustes aux / actes qui ont esté / mis en lumiere par le sieur / Veron, sous un / nom / supposé./ Par Isaac de la Balle, Ministre de la parole de Dieu./ (device) / IMPRIMÉ À QVEVILLY,/ Pour ROBERT VALENTIN,/ (rule) / M. DC. XIX.


LA FAYE (Jean de)


Air title-page: LES / ECLAIRS / DE LA VERITÉ / RESPLENDISSANS / au milieu / des tenebres / A la decouverte & confusion des faux ames / & serviteurs de / la sainte Vierge ; / (2 lines of Greek quotation) / (woodcut) / A ORANGE, / Par EDOVARD RABAN, Imprimeur / & Libraire de son Altesse, de la / Ville & / Université./ (rule) / M. DC. XLVII.

Coll. 4° A4, A - K4, L2 (4) + 42 leaves ( viii) + 84 pp.

Notes † In contemporary handwriting on the title-page are the words 'per Johann, Fayum'.
L'ANGLE (Jean Maximilien de)

Recit de la Conference tenue entre l'Angle et Veron. n.d. Cosin N v 36 (6).

Air title-page: RECIT DE LA / CONFERENCE / TENUE ENTRE IÉAN / MAXIMILIAN DE L'ANGLE,/ Ministre de la Parole de Dieu / en l'Eglise Reformée de / Rouen, & François / Veron Iesuite./ A la fin de ce narré est adjouste un petit discours,/ pour Replique au libelle du Capucin qu'il / a fait contre le supplement./ Or de ces choses que je vous escry, voicy je vous de- (illegible) / devant Dieu que je n'en men point. Gal I. v. 20 / (woodcut)/ A QVEVILLY, /Par Abraham Velquin.

Alv sur le sujet des con-ferences d'entre les sieurs de La Balle & de L'Angle & le Iesuite Veron, énoncé in French; A2r - Div preface au lecteur; D2r - T4v text.

Coll. 4° A - T 4 76 leaves 152 pp.

LANSBERGUE (Samuel)

Conference verbale touchant la doctrine de la Transubstantiation. 1609. Cosin N iv 17 (6).

Air title-page: CONFERENCE VERBALE, / TOUCHANT LA DOCTRINE / De la / TRANSUBSTANTIATION,/ TENUE NAGVERES EN ANVER, ENTRE / FRANÇOIS LANSBERGUE, Ministre de l'Eglise de Christ à / ROTTERDAM & le PERE IÉAN DE GAVDA, Prestre / de la Compaignie dicte de IESVS./ (rule) / Mise en lumiere par Samuel Lansbergue, fils de Françoys Lansbergue, Ministre du / Saint Euangile en l'Eglise de Christ à ROTTERDAM; enrichie par luy,/ de certaines Annotations sur la marge:/ Et / Traduite de Flameng en Françoys par IÉAN de la HAYE, Ministre de la/Parole de Dieu, en la Langue Françoise./ (rule) / Iean.

CHAP. 7. Vers.51./ Nostre loy iuge-elle un'homme, devant que l'auoir oui / (woodcut) / A ROTTERDAM, / Par Matthias Bastien, Libraire demeurant au West-pieuve -/ Lant, à l'Enseigne de Joseph. Anno 1609.

Alv Extraict du Tesmoignage; A2r - A2v à messievs, et reverens D. Peres, M. Iean de Gavda et M. Cornelle Cornelii, prestres de la compai-gnie ditte de Iesvs, Samuel Lansbergue; A3r - H4r text; H4v blank.


(P.45 is signed F3, P.47 as G, no F4) - 249 -
LA PLACE (Josué de)

*Discours en forme de dialogue entre un père et son fils. 1643. Cosin 0 iv 36.

Air title-page: DISCOVRS / EN FORME DE / DIALOGUE, ENTRE VN / père & son
fils, sur la question si on peut / faire son salut en allant à la Messe
pour / éviter la persecution./ PAR IOSVE DE LA PLACE./ Quatiesme Edition,
reueue & augmentée./ IERM VI. uers. 16 / Ainsi a dit l'Eternel, tenez vous
sur les chemins, & / regardez, & vous enquirez touchant les sentier / de
jadis, quel est le bon chemin, & y cheminez, & / vous trouuerez repos à vos
ames, & ils ont respondu / nous n'y cheminerons point./ (woodcut) / Se
vendent à Charenton./ Par SAMVEL PETIT, Marchand Libraire de-/ meurant à
Paris dans la Cour du Palais,/ à la Bible D'or./ M. DC. XLIII.

Alv blank; A2r - 07r text; 07v - 08v blank.
Coll. 8° A - O°. 112 leaves 221 pp.

LA ROCHE DE CHANDIEU (Antoine de)

La Confirmation de la Discipline des Eglises Reformées de France. 1566.
Cosin I iv 38 (2).

Air title-page: LA CONFIR-/ mation de la discipline ec-/ lesiastique,
observe es e-/ glises reformees du royau- / me de France./ Avec la
response aux obiectios / proposees alemencontre./ (woodcut) / M. D. LXVI.

Alv blank; A2r - R5r text; R5v-R8v blank.
(243 misnumbered 432).
(LAUNOY (Matthieu de))


Air title-page: RESPONSE / CHRESTIENE;/ AV PREMIER LIure des calomnies & renouvel- / lées faussetez de deux Apê-/ stats, Matthieu de Launoy / Prestre, & Henry Pennetier,/ n'agueres Ministres, & mainte-/ nant retournez à leur uomisse- / ment. † / LIURE PAR LE;/ quel se verra le iuste iugement de / Dieu, aueuglant au double ceux qui / abusent de ses graces./ I Tim. 5. 24./ Les Pechez d'aucuns se manifestent deuant & uiuement / en avant en condemnation, mais ils se fuyent en d'autres./ I lean. 2. 20./ S'ils eussent esté d'entre nous ils fussent demourez auec / nous; mais c'est afin qu'il fust manifesté que tous ne sont/pas d'entre nous./ M. D. LXXVIII.

Alv blank; A2r - A6r advertissement au lecteur; A6v les matières desquelles il est traité en ce livre; A7r-28v, A1r - H3r text; H3v fautes à corriger, H4r - H4v blank.


Notes † In this copy the words 'Richier [M. (or W.')] 1601' appear on title-page in contemporary handwriting where indicated.

LE PROTESTANT FRANÇOIS

Le Protestant français. 1617. Cosin 0 iv 41.

Air title-page: LE / PROTESTANT / FRANÇOIS / CONTRE LES FAUX TILTRES / qui sont imposés aux Protestans de France,/ par les ennemis de la verité de / leur Religion;/ AV ROY,/ (type flowers) / A LA ROCHELLE,/ 1617.

Alv blank; A2r - Aa3v text; Aa4r - Aa4v blank.

Coll. 4° A - Aa°, 96 leaves 190 pp.

- 251 -
LICQUES (David)


Sir title-page: HISTOIRE / DE LA VIE / DE MESSIRE / PHILIPPE DE MORNAY,
SEIGNEUR DU PLESSIS-MARLY; & CONTENANT / Outre la RELATION de plusieurs
evenemens notables en / L'ESTAT, en L'EGLISE, & de COVRS, & de ARMEES, divers /
ADVIS POLITIQS, ECCLESIASTIQS & MILITAIRES sur beaucoup de Nouue- / mens
Importans de l'Europe; SOVBS / HENRI III. HENRI IV. & LOYYS XIII./
(woodcut, with the words: NON. SOLVS) / A LEYDE,/ Chez Bonaunture &
Abraham Elseuier, / (rule) / M. DC. XLVII.

Coll. 4° . 5° . A - A 4 (6) + 369 leaves (xii) + 732 + (v) pp.

MARMET (E.)

* Dixhuit sermons sur Job. 1641. Cosin C v 27.

Sir title-page: DIX-HVICT / SERMONS / SVR JOB./ A la miene uolonté que
mes propos fussent escrits, & qu'ils fussent grauez en un liure.; &c. Quant à /
moy ie scai que mon Redempteur est uiuant, & / qu'il demeurera le dernier sur
la terre; Et encor / qu'apres ma peau on ait rongé cecy, ie uerai Dieu / de
ma chair, mes yeux le uerront, et non autre./ Job. Chapitre. 19. uerset. 23.
24. 25. 26. 27./ Par E. Marmet, Ministre de la Parole de Dieu en / l'Eglise
Françoise de Londres./ (woodcut) / A GENEVE,/ Pour Iacques de la Pierre./
(rule) / M. D. C. XLI.

Alv blank; A2r - A2v au lecteur; A3r - Ff6r text; Ff6v - Ff8v blank.
Coll. 8° A - Ff 232 leaves 459 pp. - 252 -
Dix sermons sur quelques textes. 1636. Cosin C v 23.

1r title-page: DIX / SERMONS / SVR / QVELQVES TEXTES / tirez de l'Escriture
Saincte qui / sont denotees au feuillet / suivant:/ Par E. MARMET, Ministre
de la / Parole de Dieu en l'Eglise / Françoise de Londres./ (device) /
A GENEVE,/ Par Pierre Chouët,/ (rule) / M.DC. XXXVI.

1lv blank; 12r - 12v table des sermons contenus en ce livre; Alr - Dd6r
text; Dd6v - Dd6v blank.

Coll. 8° 1*, A - Dd 8 (2) + 216 leaves (iv) + 427 pp.

MERLIN (Pierre)


Alr title-page: XXVI / SERMONS / SVR LE LIVRE / D'ESTER,/ PAR PIERRE MERLIN,/ Ministre de la Parole de Dieu / en l'Eglise de Laval./ (woodcut /
A LA ROCHELLE,/ Par Hierosme Haultin./ (rule) / 1591.

Alv blank; A2r - A4v epistre au Roy, P. Merlin; A5r - Aa6v text;
Aa7r - Aa8v blank.

Coll. 8° A - Aa 8 , 192 leaves 386 pp.
MESTREZAT (Jean)

Actes d'une conference tenue au sujet d'une dame en l'année 1624 entre Monsieur Mestrezat & le P. Veron. 1655. Cosin I iv 30 (2).

Air title-page: ACTES / D'VNE / CONFERENCE / TENVE AV SVIET D'VNE DAME /
 en l'année 1624, entre Monsieur / Mestrezat / & le P. Veron / Où se voit combien est esloignée de raison / la maniere de disputer des disciples /
 & Successeurs de Veron, & que la bou -'/ che leur a esté assez fermée des lors / pour l'advenir./ (woodcut) / Se vendent à Charenton,/ Par LOVIS VENDOSME, demeurant à Pa/- ris au bout de la rue de la Harpe, prés le / Pont S. Michel, au Sacrifice d'Abraham./ (rule) / M. DC. LV.

Alv blank; A2r - D2r text; D2r Au reste si que veut voir une ample & forte refutation de la chicane de ces Disputeurs qu'il lise le Traité de Mons. Daillé intitulé La Foy fondée sur les Escritures, Et si quelqu'un veut voir nos controverses décidées par passages exprès de L'Escriture Sainte, qu'il lise L'Abregé des Controverses de Monsieur Drelincourt;
D2v - D4v blank.


De la communion à Jesus-Christ. 1624. Cosin I vi 4.

Air title-page: DE LA / COMMUNION / A IESVS CHRIST, / AV SACREMENT / de l'Eucharistie / CONTRE LES CARDINAVX,/ Bellarmin & du Perron / Par IÉAN MESTREZAT, Ministre de la Parole de / Dieu, en l'Eglise Reformée de Paris./ (device) / A SEDAN,/ Par IÉAN IANON, Imprimeur / de l'Academie./ (rule) / M. DC. XXIII.

Alv blank; a2r - a3r A haut et puissant seigneur Messire Louys de Chamagne Mestrezat, 1 Jan 1624 ; a3v - a8r table des chapitres de ce Traicté; a8v blank; Alr - Mm3r text; Mm3v - Mm4v blank.

Coll. 8° a°, A - Li°, Mm 4°. (8) + 273 leaves (xv) + 545 pp.

Notes The name 'Chastillon' is written at the foot of the title-page in a contemporary hand.

- 254 -

1r title-page: DE LA / DIGNITÉ ET GLOIRE / DU MÉDIATEUR DU / NOUVEAU Testament. OV, SERMONS / SUR LES DEUX / PREMIERS CHAPITRES / de l'Épître aux Hébreux. PRONONCÉS À CHARENTON, Par Jean Mestrezat. (woodcut) / À GENEVE, Pour Samuel Chouët, M. DC. LIII.

1v blank; 2r - 3r À Madame Madame la Mareschale de Chastillon, 24 Novembre 1658, Mestrezat; 3v fautes survenues en l'impression; Alr - Bbe2v text; Bbe2v - Bbe4v blank.

Coll. 8° 4°, (less 4°) A - Ddd 8°, Eee 4°. (3) + 412 leaves (vi) + 821 pp.


1r title-page: SERMONS / SUR / LES CHAPITRES / Troisième, Quatrième, / Cinquième & Sixième / de / L'ÉPISTRE AUX HÉBREUX. Prononcés à Charenton, / Par Jean Mestrezat. (woodcut) / À GENEVE, Pour Samuel Chouët, (rule) / M. DC. LIII.

1v blank; 2r - 3r À Monsieur Philippe Mestrezat, 4 Juin 1652, Mestrezat; 3v fautes survenues en l'impression; Alr - Ppp4v text.

Coll. 8° 4° (less 4°), A - Ooo 8°, Ppp 4°. (3) + 484 leaves (vi) + 968 pp.

De la sacrificature de Jesus Christ. 1653. Cosin C v 15.


Alv blank; A2r - Fff4v text; Alr - P4v sermon quatrième sur Heb. Chap. X. Vers. 19-22.


"Notes" A printer's note (v2r) states that in the preceding edition this volume began with the sermon on verses 38 and 39 of the tenth chapter, but that in the present edition two sermons are prefixed covering verses 32 to 37, in order to shorten the third volume of the set (De la dignité, etc.).

1r title-page: TRAICTÉ DE / L'ESCRITURE SAINCTE, / Où est montrée / LA CERTITVDE ET PLENI- / tude de la FOY & son independance / de l'authorité / de l'Eglise./ Contre les pretendues Demonstrations Catholiques du / l'eseuite / REGOUVRD, En quoi est comprise la refuta- / tion du troisième liure de la / Replique du Cardinal / DV FERRON touchant les traditions,/ PAR / lEAN / MESTREZAT, Pasteur de l'Eglise / Reformée de Paris./ (woodcut, with the / words: QVOD TIBI FIERI NON VIS, AVTERI NE FECERIS)/ A GENEVE./ Imprimé / par Jacques Chouët./ (rule) / M. DC. XXXIII.

1v blank; 2r - 3v A haut et puissant Seigneur Monseigneur Jacques Nomper / de Caumont Marquis de la Force, Mareschal de France, 1 Oct. 1632, Mestrezat; / 4r - 5v Traicté de l'Écriture Sainte, preface; Alr - Vv4v text; / 6r - 7v indice des passages de l'Écriture qui sont ou alleguez ou / exposez en ce livre; Unsigned 1r - Unsigned 4v table des chapitres; / Unsigned 5r - Unsigned 5v fautes.

Coll. 8° 9v (plus 5 unsigned leaves) (8) + 352 + (5) leaves (xvi) + 680 + (xxiv) + (x) pp.

Traicté de l'Église. 1649. Cosin N iii 27.

1r title-page: TRAITTE / DE / L'EGLISE / PAR / lEAN MESTREZAT / Ministre / du sainct Euangile./ (woodcut) / A Geneue,/ Et se vendent a Charenton,/ Par la vevfue L. PERIER & N. PERIER, demeurans / à Paris rue nevfue / Saincte Anne près le Palais / au Roy de Suede / (rule) / M. DC. XLIX. 

1v blank; 2r - 3r A tres-haut et tres-illustre prince Henri de la Tour, / Mestrezat, 18 Aug. 1648.; 4v blank; 5r - 6r table des chapitres; / 7r fautes à corriger; 8v approbation; Alr - SsSbr text; SsSs4v blank.

Coll. 4° 4r, 5r, 6r, A - SssS a; (8) + 348 leaves (xv) + 695 pp.

Notes † The inscription 'Pour Monsieur Bugnet f.m.D.S.E. Mestrezat' / in a contemporary hand, appears on the title-page of the copy / as indicated. It would thus appear to be a presentation copy.
MOZET (Etienne)

*Admonition apologetique. 1613. Cosin X v 12.

Air title-page: ADMONITION / APOLOGETIQUE / D'ESTIENNE MOZET / MINISTRE
DE L'EGLISE / reformee de Mets, / Touchant la droite & legitime administra-
tion des Sacremens, & notamment ce- / luy de la sainte Cene. / (ornament)/
(rule) / M. DC. XIII.

Alv quotations; A2r - 02v text.
Coll. 4° A - N 4, O 2. 54 leaves 10g pp.

MURAT (François)

*Sermon pour la repentance. 1633. Cosin I v 55 (3).

Air title-page: SERMON / pour la / REPENTANCE / ET BENEDICTIONS / DE
L'EGLISE./ Sur les vers.XIX. &. XX. du / Pseaume LI./ Par FRANCOIS MVRAT,
Pasteur en l'Eglise Refor- / mée de Grenoble./ (type-flowers) / A GENEVE./
Chez Iacques Planchant & / Estienne Voisin./ (rule) / M. DC. XXXIII.

Alv blank; A2r - G3r text; G3v - G4v blank.

(pp 97-101 mismnumbered 77-81)
PEJU (Elie)

Antidote contre les vains pretextes des Apostats. n.d. Gosin 0 iv 16.

Aq title-page: ANTIDOTE / CONTRE LES VAINS PRETEXTES DES APOSTATS,
OV BIEN / INSTRUCTION/ SUR LES PRINCIPALES CONTRIVES DE CE TEMPS, AV
subject de 19. questions proposees a l'auteur,/ Auxquelles il est respondu
& maintenu / QUE L'EGLISE ROMAINE N'EST PAS / la vraie Eglise, que sa
doctrine est nouvelle, son / service degeneré/ ET LE TOVT / SELON
L'AUTHOR'IT DES SAIN/ ctes Escritures, celles des premiers siecles et le
pro/ pre testimonage des Adversaires./ Par ELIE PEIV, Angouin, Ministre
du S. Euangile./ (woodcut) / Du commencement il n'estoit pas ainsi. Matth.
16. v. 8./ Verite est grande et la: plus forte. 3 Esdras. 4. v. 41./ (rule)/
A SAVMVR,/ Par GAVCHER COLLAS, demeurant/ à Blois ↑

Atv Augustinus in psalmuum 21, quotation; At2r - At5r A messieurs de l'Eglise
de Mer faisants profession de la religion reformee, 24 Oct. 1629, Murat;
At5v - Atlr au lecFur; Atlv - At3v table des XIX. demandes contenus en ce livre;
At4r - At4v indice alphabeticque; Alr - Z4r text; Z4v - Aa5v table des matieres
principales.
Coll. 8° A 8° , A 4° ; A - Aa 6° , (12) + 192 leaves (xxiv) + 343 + (xxv) pp.
Notes ↑ Title-page damaged.

PERRIN (Jean-Paul)


Aq title-page: HISTOIRE DES / CHRESTIENS / ALBIGEOIS./ (ornament) /
Contenant les longues guerres, per/secutions qu'ils ont souffert à /
cause de la doctrine de l'Evangile./ Le tout fidelement receuilli des
historiens qui en/ ont escrit, & des memoires qui nous ont esté /
fournies par personnes dignes de foy, habitees / en ladite contrée
& cottes en marge./ Par JEAN PAUL PERRIN, LIONNOIS./ (device) / A GENEVE, /
Par MATTHIEV BERJON./ (rule) / M. DC. XVIII.

Atv blank; A2r - A4v A Monseigneur Henri de Poix, 1 Jan. 1618, Perrin;
Alr - X4r text; X4v blank.
Coll. 8° S 8° , A - V 8° , X 8° (viii) + 333 pp.
**RIVET (André)**

*Response aux demandes de Jean Christi, docteur de Sorbonne. 1600. Cosin y vi 27.*

Air title-page: **RESPONSE / AVX DEMANDES / DE LEAN CHRISTI DU- / CTEVR DE SORBONNE, / & Chanciere Theological / A WANTS / EN VN LIVRET INTITULÉ LE RE- / veille-matin des Ministres, &c./ Par ANDRÉ RIVET, Pasteur de / l'Eglise de Thouars. / (device with the words - LA MAILLE SAVVE LE DENIER) / A NIORT,/ Par René Troismailles. / (rule) / 1600.**

**Aly 1: Tim, 6: 3,4,5, quotation; A2r - A2v A très-haut et très-puissant Seigneur, Monseigneur Claude, S. de la Tremoille, Duc de Thouars, Pair de France, Prince de Talmond, Comte de Benon, Guynès & Taillebourg, Baron de Suilly, l'Isle Bouchart, Mauléon, Doulé, Montaigu, &c, 3 Jan. 1600, Rivet; A3r - KB8r text; KB8v fautes a corriger.**


**RIVET (Guillaume)**

*Apologie pour le veritable narré d' une Conference tenue à Romette. 1612. Cosin 0 iv 34.*

Air title-page: **APOLOGIE / POVR LE VERI- / TABLE NARRÉ D'VNE / CONFERENCE TENVE / A ROMETTE EN / Xaintonge: / OV / Defense de la verité de faict qui'y est recité, &/ des doctrines & arguments qui y sont mainte-/ nus & proposez par le recitant:/ Contre ce qu'y a opposé BERNARD DV VER-/ GER, Recollé, en son liure intitulé, Refutation d'un / imprimé; / Où est disputé de la vraye Eglise, de ses marques, & des principes de la foy./ Par GVILLAVME RIVET, Poitcauin, Pasteur / de l'Eglise de Taillebourg./ (woodcut) /A LA ROCHELLE,/ Par les heritiers de Hierosme Haultin. 1612./ (10 line quotation from Tertullian, Apologetic, Chap. 6).**

*Coll. 6⁰ 9/ (less 7,8) A - Bb³, Cc, (6) + 201 leaves (xii) + 400 pp. - 260 -*
La défense des droits de Dieu. 1634. Cosin 0 vi 14.

Air title-page: LA DEFENCE / DES DROITS/ DE DIEU,/ Où est disputé de
l'Empire sur les consciences appartenant au seul Créateur, & de l'honneur
d'in- / vocation, Religion & Adoration, non / communicable à aucun autre./
Avec un Traité de l'Origine de l'Inoculation / des hommes morts, & des
moyens de l'in- / traduction d'icelle entre les Christiens; / Contre les
inventions & artifices du Sieur TRAN- / QVILLE DE S. REMY, Supérieur de
Capucins de la Rochelle; / Par GVILLAVME RIVET, Pasteur de / l'Eglise
Reformée de Taillebourg./ ESA. Chap. 42. 18 / Je suis l'Eternel. c'est là
son nom; je ne donnerai / point ma gloire à un autre./ IOB. Chap. 33 y
Voici je suis pour le Dieu fort... Je suis aussi fait de boue./ (type-
flowers)/ A SAVMVR./ Par IEAN LESENIER, ET ISAAC DESBORDES,/(rule) / M. DC. XXXIII.

alv advertissement au lecteur; a2r - a5r A tres-haute et tres-puissante /
Princesse Marie de la Tour de Bouillon Duchesse de la Tremoille et de
Touars, 22 Jan. 1634, G. Rivet; a5v pourbations; a6r - i5r preface; i5v blank; i6r - i8v table des parties de cet écrit, & des chapitres de
cachem d'ecelle; Alr - Ty5r text; Yy3v fautes à corriger; Yy4r (large
ornament); Yy4v (woodcut).
Coll. 8° a 8, e 3, i 8, A - Xx 8, Yy 4 (24) + 356 leaves (xlviii) + 709 + (1) pp.

ROTAN (Jean-Baptiste) (?)

Traicté orthodoxe de l'Eucharistie. 1595. Cosin I iv 43.

Air title-page: TRAICTÉ / ORTHODOXE / DE L'Eucharistie;/ ET SAINCT SACREMENT
DW CORPS / & le sang de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ; / Receuilli tant de la
pure Parole de / Dieu que des S. Peres & anciens / Docteurs de l'Eglise, & /
des Conciles./ (type-flowers)/ Auquel les principaux argumentes, raisons &
objectios, tant des vraies que des fausses doctrines & opinions / sur ceste
matière sont amplemet deduictes & discutées./ (woodcut) / A LA ROCHELLE,/ Par Hierosme Haultin,/ (rule) / 1595 + .

Alv blank; A2r - A2v noms des auteurs citez en ce livre, avec les Conciles,
les Canons, & leurs Closes; et en quelle page ils se trouvent. A3r - A4r
aux lecteurs amateurs de leur salut; A4v - Nn8v text.
Coll. 8° A - Nn 8, 288 leaves (i) + 576 pp.
- 261 -
Notes  The name 'Boyer' or 'Boyers' appears in a contemporary hand at foot of title-page. There is a flourish which may be the letter s. There is also an almost completely erased inscription which, under ultraviolet light, looks like 'Myllart' but it is by no means certain.

The work is ascribed to Rotan by the brothers Haag in *La France Protestant*.

R*O*YER (Jean)

*Vanité des Demonstrations du Sieur Limbourg. 1642. Cosin 0 iv 38.*

 ál title-page: VANITE / DES DEMONSTRATIONS / DV SIEVR LIMBOVRG, / sur le sujet de la presence reelle du / corps de nostre Seigneur en l'Eucha-/
 ristie. / Mise au jour par Maistre Jean Royer. / Ancien de l'Eglise Reformée de Uvassy / en Champagne. / (device) / Et se vendent à Charenton. / Par ANTHOINE CELLIER, demeurant / à Paris, rue de la Harpe, à la / Roze Rouge. / (rule) / M. DC. XLII.

 álv blank; a2r - a2v A Monsieur Monsieur de Bussy, Seigneur de Helmaurut, & Colonel d'un regiment de cavalerie pour le service du Roy, 10 Nov. 1641, Royer; Alr - Q2v text; Q3r - Q4v blank.

Coll. 8° à², A - F⁸, Q⁴ (2) + 122 leaves (iv) + 244 pp.
SALLUSTE (Guillaume de, Seigneur du Bartas)


Smlr title-page: LES OEUVRES (red) / POETIQUES (red) / & Chrestiennes; / DE G. DE SALLUSTE (red) / SEIGNEUR DV / BARTAS (red) / En ceste nouvelle edition est contenu tout ce / qu'a esté mis en lumiere dudit Auteur / tant avant qu'apres son deces. / (woodcut) / PAR GABRIEL CARTIER, (red) / (rule) / M. D. XVIII.

Smlv blank; s2r - s4r l'imprimeur aux lecteurs; s4v sur les excellents admirables et divins poèmes du seigneur du Bartas, Epigramme sur le decès de l'auteur, verse; alv cataloge des opuscules du Seigneur du Bartas; a2r - a3v advertisement servant de preface du Seigneur du Bartas sur ses opuscules; a4r - T6v text (Opuscules); s1r suite des oeuvres, title; s1v le contenu de ceste suite; s2r - s4v sonnets à la louange de l'Auteur; alr - Nn6v text (suite des oeuvres).


Notes G. Cartier was a printer at Geneva, c.1600.

SERMON


Smlr title-page: SERMON / SVR LE PSEAVME / XXVIII. vers. 4. / J'ay demandé une chose à l'Eternel. ie la / requerry, que i'habite dans la maison / de l'Eternel tous lesjours de ma vie, pour / contempler la plaisance de l'Eternel. & / pour visiter soigneusement son Palais. / (device) / Se vend à Charenton, / Par SAMUEL PERRIER, demeurant / à Paris, dans la Cour du Palais, / au Roy de Suede. / (rule) / M. DC. LVII  

Smlv blank; A2r - A3v A Mademoiselle de la Suze; A4r - P4v text.

Coll. 8° (in fours) A - P^4 24 leaves (vi) + 42 pp.

Notes * The sermon is anonymous, but in the middle of the title-page of this copy appears the name 'J. Durel' which in the opinion of Dr. A.I. Doyle is probably in the handwriting of the early eighteenth century librarian Thomas Rud. Further handwriting at the foot of the title-page in a different, probably contemporary hand, states 'Pour Madame de Carteret', and still more handwriting, or perhaps a stroke, may have been lost in cutting for re-binding.
Examen de la déclaration publiée par George Suisse. 1613. Cosin X iv 16.

Unsign. I° title-page: EXAMEN / DE LA DECLARATION PUBLIEE PAR /
George Suisse se qualifiant Sieur de Soulas, sur les causes pretendues de sa révolte. / A Messieurs de la Religion / Romaine. / Imprimé à Saumur, / M. DC. XIII.

Unsign. v° blank; A1r - N3v text; N4r - N4v blank.
Coll. 8° (in fours) Unsign. leaf, A - N 4°. (1) + 51 leaves (i) + 102 pp.

TAPPIN (Jean)


A1r title-page: DES MARQUES / DES ENFANTS / DE DIEU, ET DES CON-/ SOLATIONS EN LEVRS / afflictions, / Par Jean Tappin. / Quatriemes edition. / Rom. 8. 16. / Le S. Esprit rend tesmoignage avec nostre esprit, que nous sommes enfans de / Dieu: Et si nous sommes enfans, nous som- / mes donc heritiers, daie de / Dieu, & coheritiers de Christ: voire si nous souffrons avec luy, afin que nous / soions aussi glorifies avec lui / (woodcut) / A SAVMVR , / Par Thomas Portau. / (rule) / 1601.

A1v blank; A2r Prophetie ou prediction de l'Estat de l'Eglise jusqu'à la fin du monde; A2v Prophetie ou prediction de l'Estat de l'Eglise après la resurrection; A3r - A4r Matières deduites en ce Traité; A4v - A5v Aux fideles du Pays Bas; A6r - V12r text; V12v blank.
Coll. 12° A - V 12° 204 leaves 395 + (xii) pp.
TILENUS (Daniel)


Image:

**Title-page:** (within orn. border) DEFENSE / DE LA SUFFISANCE / ET PERFECTION / DE L'ESCRITURE / SAINCTE; CONTRE LES CAVIL- / gations du Sr. du Perron Biesque / d'Eureux, / Par lesquelles il s'efforce de maintenir / son Traité de l'Insuffisance & Im- / perfection de l'Escriture Saincte. / Par DAN. TILENVS, Professeur en / Theologie en l'Université / de Sedan./ (woodcut) / A SEDAN, / Par Iacob Salesse / 1602.

**Page:**

Epistle de Jaques Mallortye à M. l'Abbé de Bucilli. 1605. Cosin I v 25 (3).

Air title-page: EPISTRE / DE IAAVES MALLORTYE / n'aguères Predicateur en l'Eglise / Romaine, & à present Tiseran / pour uiure de labeur de ses mains / en l'Eglise de Jesus Christ,/ A MONSIEVR L'ABBÉ / DE BUCILLI;/ Pour l'aduertir de l'examen de sa Res-/3ponse aux huit articles enuoyez / à Monsieur le Conte / de Laual./ FAIT / Par les Escoliers en l'Academie / de Sedan./ t / (type-flower) / Par IACOB SALESSE ,/ (rule) / M. DC. V.

**Page:**

Notes † In this copy the title-page bears the name of the author in 17th. cent. handwriting 'par D. Tilenus' where indicated.
Examen de la Replique de Messire Jacques Davi. 1598. Cosin 0 vi 14.

Alr title-page: EXAMEN / DE LA REPLIQUE / DE MESSIRE JACQUES / Davi, se
disant Euesque d'Eureux; à / la responce de quelques Ministres des /
Eglises reformées; sur un certain / escrit, touchant leur vocation &/
marques de l'Eglise./ (type -flower) / Imprié à Sedan, par Iean le Febure./
M. D. XCVIII.

Alv au lecteur; a2r - a5v A Madame Soeur Unique du Roy, Dan. Tilenus;
Alr - M2v text; M3r - M4r table; M4v blank.
Coll. 8° a ®, (less a6, 7, 8) A - L 8, M 4 (5) + 92 leaves (x) + 180+
+i (iii) pp.

VIGNIER (Nicolas)

Legende dorée. 1608. Cosin K v 38 (2).

Alr title-page: LEGENDE DORÉE,/ OV / Sommaire de l'histoire des frères
Men-/ dians de l'Ordre de Dominique & de / François, comprenant briefeument
& / uleritament l'origine, le progrez,/ la doctrine et les combats d'iceux,
tant / contre l'Eglise Gallicane principale--/ ment, que contre les Papes &
entr'eux / mesmes depuis quatre cens ans / (woodcut, with anagram : NVL GAIN
I RECOIS) / A LEYDEN, / Pour Iean le Maire, 1608.

Alv anagramme sur le nom de l'auteur ; A2r - A6v advertisscment au lecteur;
A7r - K7v text, K8r - K8v blank.
Coll. 8° A - K 8. 80 leaves 158 pp.
WILLIAM I, Prince of Orange

Receuil au vray de l'assassinat commis en la personne .... du prince d'Orange. 1582. Cosin S iv 21 (2).

Air title-page: RÉCEUIL AU VRAI / DE L'ASSASINAT, / COMMIS / EN LA PERSONNE / du / TRESILLUSTRE PRINCE, / Monseigneur le Prince d'Orange, / Conte de Nassau, / Marquis de / La Vere, &c., par Iean Iau-/ regui Espaïmol, / ENSEMBLE / Les / Copies des Papiers trouuez sur l'Assasina-/ teur, les despositions des / Criminals, lettres / d'Amaastro, & du Prince de Parme. / (woodcut) / / A ANVERS, / En l'Imprimerie de Christophe Plantin, / (rule) / M. D. LXXXII.

Alv sommaire du privilege; A2r - H4v. text.

Coll. 4° A - H ‡, 32 leaves 64 pp.
SECTION 2.

FRENCH CATHOLIC WRITINGS
ARNAULD (Antoine)


Alr title-page: DEFENSE / DE LA VERITÉ / CATHOLIQUE / CONTRE LES ERREVRS
ET LES / Heresies du Liure du Sieur DE LA MILLETERE / intitulé LE PACIFIQUE
VERITABLE./ COMPOSÉ PAR MR. ARNAULD, Docteur en / Theologie de la Maison de
Sorbonner/ ET / ADDRESSEE A MESSEIGNEVRS LES / Prelats, Approbateurs de son
Liure, De la / Frequent Communion./ A PARIS./ (rule) / M. DC. XLIV.

Alv blank; A2r - H4r Defense de la verité catholique, Antoine Arnauld,
18 Juin 1644; H4v blank.
Coll. 4° A - H* 32 leaves 63 pp.

BILLY DE PRUNAY (Jacques de)

#Sonnets spirituels. 1579. Cosin O vi 32.

alr title-page: SONNETS / SPIRITUELS, / RECEVILLIS POUR / LA PLVS PART DES /
anciens Theologiens tant / Grecs que Latins./ Par Maistre Jaques de Billy,
Abbé de / saint Michel en l'Her./ LIURE SECOND./ (woodcut) / A PARIS,/ Chez
Nicolas Chesneau, rue Saint / Iaques, au Chesne verd./ M. D. LXXIX./ (rule) /
Auc privilège du Roy.

alv extraict du privilege du roy; a2r - a4r A très-haute et très-vertueuse
dame, Magdelaine de Savoie, veuve de très-haut et très-puissant Seigneur
Anne, en son vivant duc de Montmorency, Pair et Connestable de France;
a4v - a5v table des similitudes; a6r - a6v table des figures; Aalr - Fff3v
text; Fff4r achevé d'imprimer le douziesme juillet mil cinq cens septante-
huit, pour la premiere impression; Fff4v blank; elr - e7r table des principales
matières et sentences contenues en ce livre second des Sonnetz Spirituelz;
e7v - e8r fautes a corriger; e8v blank.
Coll. 16° (in eights) a*, (less a7, 8) Aa - Eee*, Pff*, e - e*,
(6) + 228 + (8) leaves (xii) + 454 + (xv) pp.
BORROMEO (Charles, Cardinal)

Les ceremonies observes a Rome a la canonization de S. Charles Borromee. 1611. Cosin H. v 36 (1).


Alv blank; A2r - A2v A Monseigaeur l'illustrissime et reverendissime messire Claude de Bellièvre, archeveque et Comte de Lyon, Primat des Gaules, et conseiller du Roy en son conseil d'Estat & Privé, F. Passardy; A3r - P4v text.
Coll. 4°, A - P 60 leaves 120 pp.

BRACKET DE LA MILLETIERE (Theophile)

Declaration du Sieur de la Milletiere. 1645. Cosin N ii 11 (7).


#1v blank; #2r approbations; #2v privilège du roy; Alr - G4v text.
Coll. 4° A - G4 (2) + 28 leaves (iv) + 56 pp.
Discours du Sieur de la Milletière. 1645. Cosin N ii 11 (8).

Air title-page: DISCOVER DV SIEVR DE LA MILLETIERE, AV SINODE DES EGLISES / REFORMÉES DE FRANCE, ASSEMBLÉ / A CHARENTON PAR PERMISSION DV ROY / ET DE LA REINE REGENTE. CONTENANT LA PROPOSITION / des causes nécessaires de leur reunion à l'Eglise / Catholique. (woodcut) M. DC. XLV.

Alv blank; A2r - E4v text.

Coll. 4o A - E 4 24 leaves 48 pp.

Notes In this volume the work is followed by five separate leaves of Cosin’s own handwriting, a commentary on La Milletière’s discourse, with detailed reference to it, with extensive mainly Latin quotations. The comments are most profuse on the subject of 'la primauté de Saint Pierre', which is dealt with on page 11 et seq. of the printed text of La Milletière.

COEFFETEAU (Nicolas)


†lr title-page: RESPONSE (red) AV LIVRE / INTITULÉ LE (red) MYSTERE D'INIQVITE DV SIEVR DV PLESSIS./ OV L'ON VOIT FIDELLEMENT DEDVICTE / L'HISTOIRE DES SOVERAINS PONTIFES, DES EMPEREURS, & des Rois Chrestiens, depuis S. Pierre jusques a nostre siecle./ PAR F.N. COEFFETEAU, (red) RELIGIEUX DE L'ORDRE / DES FRERES PRESCHEVRS, DOCTEUR EN THEOLOGIE DE LA / Faculté de Paris, & Predicteur ordinaire du Roy./ (woodcut) A PARIS, (red) EN LA BOVTIQVE DE NIVELLE./ Chez SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY, rue S. Iaques, aux Cicognes./ (rule) CI6XIV./ Avec Priuilege du Roy.

†lv blank; ‡r - †v A la Reyne,Coefletteau; ‡r aux lecteurs; ‡v - ‡r liste des fausses allegations; ‡v approbation; Alv - MMMmm 1v text; MMMmm2r - MMMmm3r privilege, etc.; MMMmm3v - PPPpp3v tables and indices; PPPpp4r - PPPpp6v blank.

Coll. Fol. (gathered in threes), 4v A - PPPpp 6 + 639 leaves (xii) + 1238 + (xl) pp.

- 270 -
DUVERGIER DE HAURANNE (Jean)


Alv blank; a2r - a2v l'imprimeur au lecteur; a3r - a3v approbation; a4r - L2v text; L3r - L5v extrait du privilège; L4r - L4v blank.

Coll. 8° a⁴, A - K⁸, L⁴, (4) + 84 leaves (viii) + 166 + (ii) pp.

Notes ↑ On the title-page, in a seventeenth century hand, is the attribution 'par St. Cyran'.

FENOLLIEET (Pierre)

Oraison funèbre sur ... Henry de Bourbon, duc de Montpensier. 1608. Cosin X v 24 (3).

Alr title-page: ORAISON / FUNEBRE / SVR LE TRESPAS DE / Tres-haut, tres-puissant, & tres-illustre / Prince HENRY DE BOUROON, / Duc de Montpensier, Pair de France, / Souuerain de Dombes, &c., Gouuerneur / & Lieutenant General pour le / ROY en Normandie. / Prononcée en la grande Eglise de Nostre Dame de / Paris le 21 iour de mars 1608. / Par Messire PIERRE FENOLLIEET, Docteur en / Theologie, Predicateur ordinaire du ROY & nommé / par sa Maiesté à l'Euesché de Montpellier. / (woodcut) / A PARIS, / Chez ROLIN THIMPHY, rue S. Iaques, / au Soleil d'Or. / 1608. / (rule) / AUCF PRIU Pamela DV ROY.

Alv blank; A2r - H4v text.

Coll. 8° (in fours) A - H⁴, 32 leaves 64 pp.
HERWANT (Godefroi)

La Vie de Saint Jean Chrysostome. 1665. Cosin q iii 20.

Unsigned r blank; Unsigned v woodcut (portrait);
air title-page: LA VIE / DE SAINT JEAN / CHRYSOSTOME, / PATRIARCHE / DE
CONSTANTINOPLE, / & Docteur de l'Eglise, / DIVISÉE EN DOUZE LIURES, / dont
les neuf premiers contiennent l'Histoire de sa Vie, / Et les trois derniers
representent son esprit & sa conduite. / SECONDE EDITION. / (woodcut, with
the words: ARDET AMANS SPE NIXA FIDES) / A PARIS,/ Chez Charles Saureux,
uu pied de la Tour de / Notre Dame, à l'Enseigne des trois Vertus. / (rule)/
M. DC. LXV. / Avec Approbation & Privilege.

alv blank; a2r - A6v avertissement; A7r approbation des docteurs;
A7v privilège du roy; Alr - Vvvèr text; Vvvèr extrait du privilège
du roy; Vvvèr blank.

Coll. 8° Unsigned leaf, a1, a2, a3, A4, A5, A6, A7: A - Vvvèr,
(7) + 528 leaves (xiv) + 1055 pp.

HOZYSZ (Stanislaus, Cardinal)


Air title-page: ADVIS ET / REMONSTRAN-/ CE DV REVERENDIS- / SIME CARDINAL
HOZYSZ, / Evesque de Vane en Pologne, tou-/ chant la Censure que les
Ministres deZürich & de Hildeberque ont / donnée sur la doctrine n'agueres
se-/ mée en Pologne, contre la Trinité. / Où est amplement déclaré qu'une
heresie / attire l'autre, & que la fin de toutes / n'est qu'un pur Atheisme./
Livre Catholique & docte, & fort digne d'estre / leu en ce temps, où regnent
plus-/ sieurs Sectes. / Traduict de Latin en François par M. Nicolas/Chesneau,
Rethelois / † / A RHEINS, / Par Jean de Foigny, Imprimeur de Monseigneur le
Car-/ dinal de Lorraine, à l'Enseigne du Lyon, près le / College des bons
Enfans. / 1573. / AVEC PRIULIGE DU ROY. / Et à Paris, / Chez Nicolas Chesneau,
ruè S. Iacques, au Chesne verd.

Alv extrait du privilège; Au reverendissime Cardinal Hosius;
A2r - A6v, N. Chesneau; A7r - R4v text.
Coll. 4° A - R 4, 68 leaves 128 + (viii) pp.

Notes * In this copy the title-page bears the name 'Franciscus Charles' in
seventeenth century handwriting where indicated.
- 272 -

Alv blank; A2r - F4r Remonstrance aux principaux de ceux de la Religion pretendue reformée tant de seigneurs ou gens d'espée que de justice qui assistent au Synode National lequel se tient à Charenton, en ce mois de septembre l'an mil six cens vingt & trois; Et à tous les autres Seigneurs & Magistrats et gens de grandes lettres et de bon sens de ladite Religion de ce Royaume en quelque part qu'ils soient; F4r (below text) Maledictus qui facit opus Dei negligenter. I.B.D.A.; F4v blank.

Coll. 8° A - E ; F* 44 leaves 87 pp.

JOUVERNAY (Pierre)

Ramas des contradictions. 1643. Cosin W v 55.

Alv title-page: RAMAS DES / CONTRADICTIONS / qui se retrouvent dans / la Confession de Foy,/ Catechisme, maniere / d'administrer les Sacre- / mens, forme des prieres / ecclesiastiques & Dis-/ cipline des Caluinistes./ Et quelques passages particuliers / escripts de leurs principaux Mi-/ nistres

uiuans à present, opposes & / repugnans a plusieurs de ces choses./ Pour montrer au doigt & à l'oeil à toute / personne ayant tant soit peu de lumie-/ re ou iugement naturel, la vanité & / nullité de leur Religion

pretendue re-/ formée./ Par P. IVVERNAY, Prestre, Parisien./ (woodcut)/ A PARIS,/ Chez Lovys Boulenger, rue S. Iacques,/ à l'Image S. Lovys. 1643.

Alv blank; A2r - A3v preface; A4r - I3r text; I3v - I5v table des- / chapitres; I5v approbation; I6r - I8v blank.

Coll. 12° (in eights and fours) A ; E - I ; 53 leaves 101 + (iii) pp.
PALINGAN (G. R. de)

Demandes proposées à Messieurs faisans profession de la religion pretendue reformée en France. 1655. Cosin H v 36 (4).

Unsigned r title-page: DEMANDES / PROPOSEES / A MESSIEURS / FAISANS

PROFESSION DE / LA RELIGION PRETENDUE / Reformée en France / Par le Sieur

G.R. DE PALINGAN, cy deuant / Ministre de la Religion Protestante en

Angleterre./ (woodcut) / A S. QVENTIN,/ Chez CLAVDE LE QVEVX, Imprimeur/

& Libraire./ (rule) / M. IC. LV./ Avec Permission des Superieurs.

Unsigned v A maistre Estienne Le Vent, G.R. de Palingan; Alr - C4v text.

Coll. 4° Unsigned leaf, A - C 4 , (1) + 12 leaves 26 pp.

ROUEN

Table ecclesiastique. 1648. Cosin H v 36 (6).

Unsigned r title-page: TABLE / ECCLESIASTIQUE,/ CONTENANT VN ABREGE /

de la discipline du Clergé, & des / principales fonctions de / chaque

Ordre./ Reueuë & augmentée par le commandement de / Monseigneur le

Religieusissime Archeuesque / de Rouen, Primat de Normandie./ Pour l'usage

des Eglises de son Diocese./ (woodcut) / A ROVEN,/ De l'Imprimerie de

L'ARCHEVESCHÉ,/ Par LAVRENS HAVRRY, ruë aux Iuifs,/ derrière la Chapelle

du Palais,/ (rule) / M. DC. XLVIII./ Avec PERMISSION.

Unsigned v blank; Alr - T4v text.

Coll. 4° Unsigned leaf, A - T 4 (1) + 76 leaves (i) + 152 pp.
TRAITÉ

Traité contenant le vray et certain moyen de mettre d'accord ceux qui aujourd'hui sont de diverses opinions touchant le sacrement de l'Eucharistie 1571. Cosin I iv 42.


Alv blank; A2r - K7r text; K7v - K8v blank.


VERON (François)

La discipline des Eglises pretendues reformées de France 1643. Cosin G vi 11.

Air title-page: LA / DISCIPLINE / DES / EGLISES PRETENDUES / reformées de France; c'est à dire / l'ordre par lequel elles sont conduites / & gouvernées / suivant qu'elle a esté reçue & corrigée / au Synode Nationale tenue / à Charenton l'an 1631. AVEC / La Refutation d'icelle, par la discipline contenue en l'Écriture sainte, & es Conciles / des six premiers Siecles. / Par FRANÇOIS VERON, Docteur en Theologie, Predicatar & Lecteur du Roy, & Ecriuin deputé du Clergé, pour les Com-/ trouvées, & Cure de Charenton. / (three daggers) / A PARIS, / Chez LOYS BOVLANGER, rue S. Iacques, à l'Image S. Lovys. / (rule) / M. DC. XLIII. / Avec Approbation & Priuilege.

Alv blank; A2r - A4v Oecumenico Papa ecclesiae catholicae Episcopo Urbano VIII. Denunciatio 1.; A5r - A5r Au Roy, P. Veron, 1 Jan 1643; A3v-A4v table des articles; Alr - A4v A Monseigneur l'Archevesque de Paris; Alr - Z12v, Aalr - Cc7v text; Cc8r - Dd7r indices; Dd7v - Dd8v blank.

Coll. 12° and 8° a - 9, 8, 4, a - Z, A - D, Aa - Dd 8. (16) + 308 leaves; (xxxii) + 598 + (xv) pp.
Almost all the French books in Cosin are printed in various derivatives of the 'Garamond' type-face - the types cut by four French printers about 1540, who included Robert Estienne and Claude Garamond. Estienne's lower-case Roman became standard in France and throughout much of Western Europe towards the end of the sixteenth century.

There is in general little difference between the Roman types of the seventeenth century and those of the sixteenth, apart from the increased use of larger and heavier types in titles. The seventeenth century is not significant for the development of entirely new type forms.

One French printer who is well represented in the items described above, however, did have an important influence on the development of French typography. He was the Protestant Jean Jannon, who in 1621 issued his type specimen, which is in essence a copy of Garamond, but with certain peculiarities of its own, notably the fact that the top serifs of the m, n, p and r are conspicuously pointed up. These peculiarities are found in the Caractères de l'Université of 1845 issued by the Imprimerie Royale, and labelled 'Garamond 1540'. These similarities were noted by Mrs. B. Warde in the introduction to The 1621 Specimen of Jean Jannon, Paris and Sedan, designer and engraver of the Caractères de l'Université. (Edited in facsimile, Chiswick Press, London, 1927.)

The Imprimerie Royale, founded at the Louvre by Richelieu in 1640, did in fact introduce these Jannon types in 1642. Thus the work of an early seventeenth century French Protestant printer came to play its part in some of the finest book-production of the Royal Printing Office.
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CHAPTER V


CHAPTER VI


McKerrow, R.B. An Introduction to Bibliography for literary students.
INDEX
INDEX

A
Académie française, 65
Allen, Edward, 30
Amsterdam, 114
Amyraut, Moïse, 22, 33, 34, 83, 113, 126, 212-16
Andrewes, Lancelot, 1, 31, 174-5
Arianism, 12
Armsten, Jakob, 83
Arminianism, 2, 67, 83
Armul, Antoine, 64, 100, 129, 137, 268
Astrology, 13
Athy, Viole d', 132
Aubigné, Agrippa d', 60, 133
Auckland Castle, 34
Augustine, St., 69, 72

B
Baptism, 78
Barrington, Bp., 41
Basire, Isaac, 14, 18, 21, 22, 29, 113, 132
Baxter, Richard, 24
Bellarmine, Robert, 139
Bergerac, Pierre, 141
Bérulle, Pierre de, 97
Bèze, Théodore de, 23, 133, 134, 218
Blakiston, Frances, 3, 5
Blakiston, Thomas, 37, 38
Blondel, David, 22, 126, 219-20
Bochart, Samuel, 22
Bodin, Jean, 138
Boileau, Nicolas, 71
Bourbon, Catherine de, 47
Bouteroue, Denis, 108, 222
Brachet, Théophile, 109, 269-70
Breda, 20
Brevint, Daniel, 16, 34
Browne, Sir Richard, 5
Buckingham, Duke of, 2, 3, 49
Burton, Henry, 3

C
Caen, 22, 223
Calvin, Jean, 11, 13, 23, 67, 91, 134, 224
Calvinists, 14, 15, 17, 68, 70, 91
Camus, Jean-Pierre, 130
Cappel, Jacques, 126, 224-6
Capuchins, 97
Carney, Sir William, 18
Cartier, Gabriel, Geneva, 112, 226, 263
Charenton, 14, 16, 22, 23, 33, 47, 49, 52, 79, 112-3, 125, 131,
Champlain, Samuel, 46
Chanet, Pierre, 129
Charles I, 3, 4, 5, 19, 20, 137
Charles II, 20, 23, 34, 105
Chouët, Jacques, Geneva, 171, 197, 219
Chouët, Pierre, Geneva, 112, 195, 253
Claude, Jean, 61

- 277 -
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C</th>
<th>Coëffeteau, Nicolas, 130, 270</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coligny, Gaspard de, 44, 45, 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Concord, Concinc, 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Condé, Louis, Prince de, 44, 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conventicles, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Corneille, Pierre, 56, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cosin, Giles, 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cosin, John, the younger, 19, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cotgrave, Randle, 65, 136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cramoisy, Sebastien, Paris, 116, 270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cromwell, Oliver, 53, 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cyrano de Bergerac, Savinien de, 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cyril of Trapezon, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Daillé, Jean, 14, 22, 32, 33, 61, 82, 109, 113, 126-7, 228-35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Davenport, George, 35, 36, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Descartes, René, 12, 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dord, Synod of, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Drelincourt, Charles, 14, 61, 82, 113, 127, 206, 236-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Du Bartas, Guillaume, 60, 129, 133, 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Duchesne, André, 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Du Fail, Noël, 142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Du Haillon, Bernard, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Du Moulin, Cyrus, 176, 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Du Moulin, Louis, 175, 176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Du Moulin, Pierre, the elder, 18, 31, 68, 82, 83, 98, 108, 125, 127, 133, 142, 163, 170-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Du Moulin, Pierre, the younger, 175, 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Du Perron, Jacques-Davy, 23, 127, 131, 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Du Peyrat, Guillaume, 139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Duplessis-Mornay, Philippe, 44, 109, 113, 114, 127, 132, 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Durel, Jean, 16, 34, 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Duret, Claude, 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Duvergier de Hauranne, Jean, 99, 100, 131, 271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Elzeviers, Amsterdam and Leiden, 111, 252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eucharist, 76-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Evelyn, John, 8, 19, 20, 32, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Fabre, Antoine, 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fauchet, Claude, 62, 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ferrier, Auger, 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Flower, William, 36, 106, 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fournier, Georges, 108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>François I, 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frondes, 52, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fuchs, Leonhard, 141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fuller, Thomas, 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Gaches, Raymond, 22, 113, 244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Geneva, 19, 31, 32, 68, 80, 112, 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gamon, Christophe de, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grotius, Hugo, 1, 175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guillemeau, Charles, 142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guise, Henri, Duc de, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gunning, Peter, 17, 18, 22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Harley, Lord, 41
Haultin, Hierosme, La Rochelle, 113, 233, 261
Haultin, heirs of, La Rochelle, 113, 260
Henri III, 45
Henri IV, 45, 46-8, 63, 96
Henrietta Maria, Queen, 5, 19, 20, 21
Hobbes, Thomas, 8
Howson, Bp., 4,
Hunt, Richard, 29

Imprimerie Royale, 275 (Note on Typography)

James I, 18, 109, 174
Jannon, Jean, Paris and Sedan, 114, 167, 275 (Note on Typography)
Jansen, Cornelius, 99
Jansenism, 59, 60, 89, 99-100
Jesuits, 19, 48, 60, 88, 96-7
Jurien, Pierre, 61

Keightley, Thomas, 19, 20

Labadie, Jean de, 22, 108, 247
La Mothe le Vayer, François de, 58
Lancelot, Claude, 64, 130
Lagnes, Isabeau de, 138
La Rochelle, 49, 113, 171
Laud, William, 3, 4
Laune, Matthieu de, 18
Leiden, 18, 114
L'Espine, Jean de, 132
Ligue, La Sainte, 44, 45
Loudun, Synod of, 23
Louis XIII, 48, 211
Louis XIV, 51, 82
Louvre, 20, 32, 50, 275 (Note on Typography)
Loyola, St. Ignatius, 96
Luther, Martin, 11, 69, 77
Luynes, Albert de, 48

Mainbourg, Louis de, 62
Malebranche, Nicolas, 97
Malherbe, François, 57
Marcel, Jacques, 130
Massillon, Jean-Baptiste, 97
Maupas, Charles, 137
Mayerne, Sir Theodore, 174
Mazarin, Cardinal, 51-4, 62, 139
Mazarinades, 62, 63, 115
Medici, Catherine de, 45
Medici, Maria de, 48
Melville, Andrew, 174
Ménage, Gilles, 64
Mestrezat, Jean, 14, 33, 61, 82, 128, 254-7
Mézeray, François Budes de, 62
Mickleton MSS, 41
Monet, Philibert, 64
Montagu, Richard, 2, 31
Montauban, 49, 80, 114.
Morley, George, 17, 22
Morton, Bp., 7, 22
Murat, François, 108, 258

- 279 -
Nantes, Edict of, 46-7, 82, 111, 124
Naudé, Gabriel, 53, 58, 63
Neill, Richard, Bp., 2, 4
Neri, St. Philip, 97
Nicot, Jean, 64
Niort, 114, 260

Orange, 80, 114, 115, 248
Oratoire, 7, 97
Omsby, George, 29
Oudin, Antoine, 64, 137
Overall, John, 1, 29, 31

Particelli, Michel, 52
Pascal, Blaise, 59, 60
Pasquier, Estienne, 61, 62, 138
Pelagians, 10, 88
Peterhouse, Cambridge, 4, 5, 23, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34
Phynys, Claude, 129, 141
Plantin, Christophle, Antwerp, 115, 267
Port-Royal, 99
Predestination, 10, 73-5, 173
Presbyterians, 18
Prynne, William, 3, 29
Pyrau, Francois, 141

Quevilly, 114

Renaudot, Théophraste, 62
Retz, Cardinal de, 52
Richelieu, Cardinal, 49-51, 139, 275 (Note on Typography)
Rivet, André, 128, 260
Robinson, Prior, 6, 32
Rooroi, Battle of, 51
Rotan, Jean-Baptiste, 131, 261
Rotterdam, 115, 249
Rudd, Thomas, 41, 241, 263

Saenliens, Claude de, 136
Saintes, Claude de, 23
Saint Germain, 52
Sales, St. François de, 98, 131
Sancroft, William, 6, 22, 32, 34, 35
Sarpi, Paolo, 134
Saumur, 18, 22, 80, 83, 113
Savoy, the, 24
Scarron, Paul, 57, 142
Scudamore, Lord, 18
Sedan, 80, 113-4, 122, 171
Sixtus V, Pope, 46
Smart, Peter, 3, 4, 5
Socinianism, 11
Sorbonne, doctors of, 7, 89
Soubise, Benjamin de Rohan, Seigneur de, 49
Southey, Robert, 41
Stapylton, Miles, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38
Steward, Richard, 21, 22
Sully, Maximilien, Duc de, 46, 135, 139
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
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